Jewish Summer Camps in the United States and Canada, 1900-1969

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Abstract
It is the purpose of this introduction to examine the problem of creative continuity which faces the American Jewish community, comment upon the generally ineffectual response being made, particularly in the field of Jewish education, and direct attention to the potentialities of the Jewish summer camp as an effective ally in meeting the challenges to our youth of Jewish identification, knowledge, and commitment.

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Comments
JEWISH SUMMER CAMPS IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA
1900 - 1969

by

Daniel Isaacman

A Dissertation
submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

Doctor of Education

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Philadelphia
1970
APPROVAL

This dissertation, entitled

JEWISH SUMMER CAMPS IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA
1900 - 1969

by

Daniel Isaacman

Candidate for the degree of

Doctor of Education

has been read and approved by

[Signatures]

Date February 17, 1970
DEDICATION

To the memory of my beloved father,

Reuben Isaacman
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INTRODUCTION

It is the purpose of this introduction to examine the problem of creative continuity which faces the American Jewish community, comment upon the generally ineffectual response being made, particularly in the field of Jewish education, and direct attention to the potentialities of the Jewish summer camp as an effective ally in meeting the challenges to our youth of Jewish identification, knowledge, and commitment.

A. Statement of the Problem

1. Jewish Youth on Campus

The face of the American Jewish Community of tomorrow may be seen on the college campus today. According to Rabbi Benjamin M. Kahn,

the unprecedented interest in the college campus today flows from a new recognition of the importance of higher education in the shaping of the future of American civilization. This development is of particular significance for the Jewish community in light of the fact that at least 80% of
all young Jewish men and women of college age matriculate at a university.\(^1\)

By 1972, it is estimated that this figure will rise to close to 90 per cent.

The implications of these statistics are obvious. The identification with, the commitment to, the quality of Jewish life will, in large measure, be dependent upon these young people. The Jewish community has good reason to view with alarm and consternation the fact that "only a minority of our student population is intensively involved in Jewish life."\(^2\)

a. Hillel

The B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundations claim a national membership of between 75,000 and 80,000 students—only 20 per cent of the 400,000 Jewish collegiate enrollment. Since Hillel represents the Jewish community on campus, it seems to follow that 80 per cent of our youth have determined not to identify with the "Jewish establishment." This has variously been ascribed to the natural rebellion of the young against parental values, the "search for identity," that is typical of the younger generation and is frequently accompanied by a rejection of the values of their culture—anti-


\(^2\)Ibid.
establishment, anti-institutional, anti-tradition. Rabbi Max Ticktin, National Director of Leadership Training, B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation, feels that the impact of Hillel has not been effective because of staff limitations and inadequate resources. While this is undoubtedly a factor, it cannot completely account for the fact that 320,000 young American Jews on campus do not affiliate.

b. Social Concerns

Our Jewish young men and women on campus share with their non-Jewish classmates the social upheaval and turmoil that surrounds them. Both reject and rebel against the values of American society. They are deeply resentful of the non-involvement of most adults in the burning social issues of the day—the war in Viet-Nam, resistance to the draft, problems of poverty and the ghetto, the black revolution, and so on. They become alienated and very critical of the total adult community. In addition, they face the problems common to all young people in late adolescence and early adulthood. The college experience itself provides new dimensions in their lives, such as living away from home and parental controls, meeting many individuals of diverse and unfamiliar


4See Memorandum to Committee on College and University Students (Philadelphia: Federation of Jewish Agencies of Greater Philadelphia, June, 1968), p. 4, (Mimeographed.)
backgrounds exposure to the exhilarating world of ideas and studies and a quest for knowledge and a drive for self-realization.\(^5\)

c. Apathy

The danger of Jewish continuity is manifested in the acculturation, alienation, and oftentimes complete rejection of Jewish values and identification by significant numbers, represented only in small part by those identified with the New Left and S.D.S.

One of our principal problems is the number of students who are and remain apathetic toward Judaism . . . . It is beyond our power to change the Jewish home, to improve the pre-college system of Jewish education, or to offset the failure of the synagogue in the short span of time during which the students are accessible to us.\(^6\)

As will be seen more clearly later, when problems of camp staff are discussed, the college student becomes a deterrent to Jewish programming because of the attitudes he brings to camp. Among camp directors' reports, we find such statements as:

There is considerable evidence among staff of self-hatred around Jewishness. They consider any type of Jewish programming as religious indoctrination.

Some staff feel quite uncomfortable about anything Jewish, whether it is in discussion, observance or language.

\(^5\)Richard E. Peterson, The Student Left in American Higher Education (Howard University Center for International Affairs, 1967)

The major problem in implementing the Jewish educational goals of our camp is the resistance frequently encountered among our counsellors, themselves young Jewish adults, many of whom have not yet resolved their attitudes and feelings regarding their own Jewishness.

The search for identity and an acceptable set of personal values which is characteristic of all young collegians further affects the Jewish student in that the purposes and values of Jewish life, as he childishly understands them, appear to be irrelevant to their daily lives. The idealism and social action interests which he holds seems to find little response in the organized Jewish community. Many of these students view the Jewish community as unrelated to the broad social issues and overly concerned with its own narrow welfare to the exclusion of all else. They lack the most elementary understanding of the purposes and significance of the organized Jewish community and the actual breadth of its enterprise and concern.

d. **Interrmarriage**

The disaffection of many of these young people with their own Jewish group is also evident in the increasing rate of intermarriage. The apparent irrelevancy of Jewishness in their own lives makes intermarriage not only possible but perhaps even more probable with the passing years.7

e. **Jewish Faculty**

The problem is further aggravated by the nature of the increased number of Jewish faculty on campus. Many of them, not very far removed in either age or background from their students are disassociated from Jewish communal life. They frequently use their positions of authority, their facility with words and ideas to negatively influence their charges, who, on campus, rarely have the opportunity to encounter other points of view.

2. **The Challenge of Freedom**

Paradoxical as it may seem, the open society and the freedom we have achieved present a grave challenge to Jewish creative continuity in America. The college student, a product of this environment, seems impervious to the historical process through which the Jewish people have struggled as it strove toward equal rights, individual, and group emancipation, recognition of itself as a people among peoples.

   a. **The Gentile World**

   For the past two thousand years, Jewish continuity has been aided by the presence of two concurrent pressures. On the one hand, there was the external pressure of the gentile community. Jews were clearly identified as Jews. Large parts of the gentile world variously forced the Jew
to either live in ghettos or pales of settlement, wear the yellow star or other visible means of identification, limited and proscribed areas of livelihood and occupation, created special taxes, restricted movement and travel, established a "numerus clausus" for the pursuit of secular education, incorporated anti-semitism as a policy of the state which at some times and places fostered inquisitions, organized and conducted pogroms, led to the holocaust. The church also played a varying role in assuring clear identity to the Jew. His subjugation was on-going example of the "superiority" of Christianity and the church—a lesson for illiterate peasants to ponder.

b. The Jewish World

On the other hand, in many lands there was the well-organized internal pressure of the Jewish community. During its long years of service, the Synagogue, Rabbinnical synods, and Kehillot exerted, not only moral suasion to retain identity, but real and physical pressure. A "state within a state," the Jewish individual had little identity with the secular state other than through his membership in the Jewish community.

In many cases, if not in all, the various medieval governments exacted the taxes en masse from the

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9 Ibid., p. 483.
Jewish community, and left the collections of this lump sum to the officials of the synagogues.10

Rabbinic courts, the threat of excommunication, even prisons asserted the authority of the Kehilla. A plethora of communal organizations and institutions provided for the total educational and welfare needs of the people in consonance with the highest moral and ethical values of the tradition.11

Guided by a combination of the erudite and the economically powerful, self-contained in great measure, the Jewish community, particularly in Eastern Europe, was the rock upon which Jewish continuity was anchored.

... their transcending concern was with remaining apart from the non-Jewish world. Rather than seeking dissolution in the Gentile sea surrounding them, they bent all efforts to maintain their identity within the small island into which they were forced or withdrew voluntarily. They wanted to live in peace with their non-Jewish neighbors without changing their own way of living. Politically and socially, the Gentile majority rejected the Jewish minority; psychologically and spiritually, the Jewish minority rejected the Gentile majority.12

c. America is Different

Neither of these two pressures operate in like manner


in America today! The gentile community, far from pointing its finger at the Jew and demanding that he retain his identity, provides an environment which encourages him to conform to the general pattern of American life. The Americanization of Jewish life can be seen in the fact that, collectively American Jews regard themselves as first of all a religious community. "Ninety-seven per cent of the adolescents in the Riverton study stated that a Jew was one who identified himself with the Jewish faith."\textsuperscript{13} Judaism has been redefined by these adolescents in exclusively religious terms. Statistics offered by the Council of Churches, listing church affiliation, advise us that there are 87 million Protestants, 45 million Catholics, and 5½ million Jews, while internal Jewish statistics show that perhaps as many as 50 per cent of Jews in America are not affiliated with synagogues. This re-definition is significant because it has led to a new Jewish self-image on campus. Many young people, Jews and non-Jews, reject organized religion. The Jewish student, in rejecting Jewish theology, also mistakenly rejects his Jewishness. He does not comprehend that even if religion may be regarded as the basis for Jewish existence, it does not negate Jewish peoplehood. It is conceivable that one may be an atheist and yet remain a part of the Jewish people and participate in its cultural and

national life. The Jewish student on campus has rarely found the opportunity to consider his Jewish identity in terms other than religious observance or ritual. Inter-dating, inter-marriage, inter-racial relations increase. Few or none of the restrictions previously dictated by the gentile majority prevail. The Jewish student faces little gentile pressure on campus to remind him of his Jewishness.

d. No Organized Jewish Community

There is no organized Jewish community in America today which approaches the Kehilla of the past. Each Jew, in freedom, has assumed the right to determine for himself the extent of his Jewish identity, the depth of his Jewish commitment, the scope of his Jewish consciousness and the intensity of his Jewish practices. All of this is dependent upon whatever voluntary commitment to Jewishness he chooses to make.

Confronted with the reality of American freedom and without wanting to diminish it an iota, and faced with the realities and problems of American Jewish life, what must the Jewish community do to assure its existence? In what ways can the Jewish summer camp make a contribution?

e. The Desire to be Jews

Paradoxically, despite all of the implications of the
factors discussed, evidently many of our young people on campus, despite their rebelliousness and outward apathy, somehow want to be Jews. This was dramatically borne out during the days of crisis in 1967, when Israel faced the prospect of annihilation. During the crucial days just prior to the outbreak of the war, thousands of these very apathetic college students volunteered for service in Israel. The experience of the Philadelphia Office of Volunteers for Israel was typical of the nation. As one would have expected, the first volunteers were young people from the Zionist Youth movements and from Jewish colleges. But interview after interview revealed young men and women unrelated or identified with Jewish life, coming from homes with parents who were unaffiliated with the organized community, young people who had already been labeled as alienated and negative, whose Jewish consciousness was somehow touched by the danger to Israel. While undoubtedly crisis-oriented, this experience points out the significant fact that college students are accessible and dare not be written off as potential members of tomorrow's Jewish community. How and where to reach them presents the challenge. On campus? As members of staff of Summer camps?

f. Abysmal Ignorance

Most important of all, however, is the uncontestable
fact that the overwhelming majority of college students are abysmally ignorant of things Jewish. B'nai B'rith conducted a study of 400 incoming freshman in three colleges. Admission to these colleges is selective and among these 400 young people were merit scholarship winners and graduates in the upper 10 per cent of their high school classes. They were bright, studious, intelligent collegians. They were tested in basic areas of Jewish knowledge and the vast majority of them failed miserably. Only 13 per cent could identify Hanukkah and describe its significance. Their knowledge of Jewish history, holidays, customs and ceremonies, and Israel was infantile. Most painful of all was the fact that most of these young people had attended Jewish religious elementary schools. The minimal Jewish education of more than 90 per cent of college students and their non-participation in Jewish studies or activities during their teen years, brings them to the campus uninformed, uncommitted, and unidentified Jews. Most are bitter and negative about their Jewish religious school experience. Exposed to the University, curious, thirsting for learning, intellectually ready for studies in philosophy, sociology, and comparative religion, involved in dialogues with non-Jewish peers, the Jewish knowledge they rely on is a vestige of

14 B'nai B'rith Study of Jewish Knowledge on Campus.
childish, infantile concepts of Jewishness they vaguely remember from their elementary childhood Jewish education. It is quite understandable that Judaism, as they understand it, is relevant to their lives.

3. Challenges to the Jewish Educational Establishment

a. The Time Factor

In 1959, it was estimated that over 80 per cent of American Jewish children received some Jewish education in the course of their elementary school attendance.\(^{15}\) By 1967, the estimate dropped to 70 per cent. Whereas thirty years ago a prime problem of Jewish education was getting youngsters to enroll in "Hebrew" schools, today the pattern of Jewish suburban living has established a norm of attendance during the ages of 8 through 12. The growth of Jewish nursery schools may reduce the age to 3.

More than 90 per cent of these children attend schools sponsored by synagogue groups. The remainder attend schools which are communally sponsored, secularist, Yiddishist, or Zionist.

More than half of the children in attendance in any given year attend a one-day-a-week school. Most of these

are Reform Religious schools, although the old stereotype is changing and many Reform Religious schools are beginning to offer two and three-day-a-week programs. Children attend approximately three hours a week, an average of thirty-two weeks a year, and, if they continue through confirmation, ultimately will have had a total of approximately 840 hours of formal Jewish study.

Of the other 50 per cent, some 37 per cent attend an elementary Jewish religious school for three days a week for approximately 5½ hours per week, 34 weeks a year, for an average of 4 years. Since more than 85 per cent of this group terminate their schooling at the time of Bar Mitzvah or Bat Mitzvah, their hours of formal Jewish study come to fewer than 1,000.

The remaining children attend Jewish Day Schools or continue into Hebrew High Schools. The National Day School figures are somewhat skewed by New York City statistics, where approximately 24 per cent of Jewish children attend such schools. Aside from New York City, national figures are closer to 7 or 8 per cent. This growth will undoubtedly continue but, at best, will probably never exceed more than 20 per cent of the Jewish child population of the country. Most American Jews seem committed to the Public School and to the proposition that Jewish religious education should remain supplementary. A factor which may effect Day School
enrollment, is the future quality of public education. Many Jewish parents, particularly in New York City, are sending their children to Jewish Day Schools for questionable reasons. It is rather because they are disenchanted with the public school and its attendant racial problems than because they are committed to the educational ideals of the Jewish Day School. While many Jewish educators view these schools as either the sole or at least the primary solution to the dilemma of knowledgeable identification and look to the graduates of the Jewish Day School to supply the intellectual leadership of the Jewish community, the overwhelming majority of Jewish children are still being Jewishly educated in a one-day-a-week or three-day-a-week supplementary Jewish religious schools.

Aside from the qualitative implications, we are faced with a simple quantitative reality. Eighty-seven per cent of Jewish children receive a Jewish education which averages less than 1,000 hours; less than the number of hours a child spends in a single year in his secular school! This is the time allotted for the transmittal of a total heritage extending over a period of some 3,500 years. Clearly an impossible task!

In addition to the negative factor of time, which in itself makes adequate instruction virtually impossible, schools are faced with many other serious problems.
b. The Curriculum

In the Jewish religious school children are confronted with some eighteen areas of curriculum during their years of attendance. The child attending class three days a week, on a daled level, for example, studies the Hebrew language including mechanical reading as part of Siddur study, language per se, writing and composition; Bible, including selected chapters of Genesis in an edited edition; History; Customs and Ceremonies; Holiday celebrations; Current Events; Preparation for Religion and Ritual. Class time is also allotted for Keren Ami collections or special school campaigns, preparation for assemblies or special programs, such as the model seder or Purim carnival, participation in art and music programs, and, of course, the teacher must take time for class organization, taking roll, giving and receiving homework assignments, and allowing time-breaks to take into account the attention span of the young pupils. All of this in 5½ hours a week!

Aside from the problem of allocating class time for all of the subjects listed and structuring a program and a viable course of study, there remains the important questions of the philosophy of the school and its relationship to the course of study, as well as the specific goals and

objectives in each area of study. Dr. Avi Adar, Professor of Education at the Hebrew University, upon his completion of a six-month survey of Jewish education in the United States and Canada, found that

while Jewish educators talk a great deal about the 'aims' and 'philosophy' of Jewish education, very little thinking is devoted to specific objectives. ... The failure to define objectives clearly for each area of study leads to a failure in developing appropriate methods of teaching, and thus techniques and materials are inadequate. ...

In addition to the inadequacy of instructional material, the limited use of educational media continues to widen the gap between general education and the Jewish religious school. While the pace of learning in the good public and private school has accelerated considerably, the tempo of learning in the Jewish school lags behind. Children who are sophisticated in the understanding of science and space beyond their years, are still faced with childish challenges in the Jewish school.

c. The Educator

Central to whatever learning takes place in the Jewish religious school is the educator. His knowledge, dedication, commitment to Jewish life, ability to develop rapport

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17Zvi Adar, Jewish Education in the United States and Canada, Report to Jewish educators held in New York under the sponsorship of the Philip W. Lown School of Judaic Studies of Brandeis University, summarized in Compass, a newsletter issued by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations for the Commission on Jewish Education, Rabbi Jack D. Spiro, ed., Vol. II, No. 2.
with his students and become their mentor and guide is crucial to the educational process.

Dr. Isidor Margolis, late Executive Secretary of the National Board of License reports that of more than 16,000 persons employed in full or part-time positions in Jewish schools, only 4,000 are presently licensed teachers who meet the criteria set by the Board.¹⁸ (The Board of License is sponsored and financed by the American Association for Jewish Education and is composed of representatives of the accredited Hebrew Teachers Colleges, the Bureaus of Jewish Education, the National Council for Jewish Education, the Hebrew Teachers Federation, and accredited affiliated Boards of License in nine communities.)

Seventy-five per cent of persons holding teaching positions in Jewish Religious Schools do not meet the minimum requirements for certification and licensing! These are national figures. The situation becomes more disturbing when one realizes that the distribution of qualified teachers varies throughout the country. There are proportionally more qualified teachers in the larger communities; the smaller communities may be completely devoid of licensed teachers.

It is axiomatic to say that without properly and

adequately prepared teachers one cannot expect a meaningful Jewish education. There was a time when Eastern Europe provided the core of dedicated, devoted and qualified teachers. No more.

d. The Israeli Teacher

Ahad Ha Am dreamed of an Israel which would be the cultural center for all of Jewry and which could service the various communities of the diaspora.19

It is estimated that close to 25 per cent of the teachers currently employed in American Jewish religious schools are indeed from Israel.20 Unfortunately, large numbers of them are not trained teachers. Many are students themselves who seek part-time supplementary income, or simply men and women who obviously know Hebrew, their native tongue, but are in no way prepared educators. They frequently have an inadequate knowledge of English and have little understanding of the nature and psychology of the American Jewish children they must teach or of the American Jewish community in which they find themselves. The relatively few who are professional educators or exchange teachers

19Ahad Ha'Am, Selected Essays (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1912), p. 294.

20Oscar I. Janowsky, ed., The Education of American Jewish Teachers (Boston: Beacon Press, 1967), p. 227 (an estimate by Rabbi Hyman Chanover, Director, Department of Community Planning, American Association for Jewish Education.)
will not begin to solve the licensed teacher shortage in the country.

e. Teacher Education

Teachers for our Jewish religious schools will have to come from our own indigenous sources.

In "The Education of American Jewish Teachers," questions regarding the effectiveness of Jewish teacher educational programs and the ways in which teacher training colleges serve the present needs of Jewish religious schools are raised. The answers are quite discouraging.

Dean Walter I. Ackerman, of the University of Judaism in Los Angeles, notes that while the number of teachers' colleges has increased and that the numbers graduated in 1965-66 represents an increase of 166 per cent over the number of graduates in 1948-49, the percentage of enrolled students who receive teachers' diplomas or degrees in education is no larger. Dr. Ackerman concludes that

this would seem to substantiate the view that the Hebrew teachers' colleges are as far today (1967) from coping with the shortage of personnel in Jewish education as they were 18 years ago.

He further notes,

On the basis of information received from seven of the eleven accredited schools, we learn that of all those graduated in June 1964 (198), only 70 men and women (ca 37%) took full time or part-time posts for the following school year 1965-66.22

21 Ibid., see Introduction.
22 Ibid., see Chapter III.
The shortage and inadequacy of teachers in non-Hebraic schools is as critical as in all the others. Abraham Segal, national director of teacher education of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, reports that in a fairly extensive study covering twenty-nine institutions in twenty-four communities known or presumed to have programs for non-Hebraic teacher education, "apathy is widely prevalent ... the programs offered are generally inadequate and haphazard."23

Dr. William Chomsky, Professor Emeritus of Education and former Chairman of the Faculty at Gratz College, Philadelphia, sums up the problem as follows:

"Jewish education is trapped in a vicious circle. Since the profession offers few, if any, incentives and motives to our capable young people, the number of those choosing it (Jewish education) as a career is tragically small. Consequently our schools are inadequately staffed and are ill-equipped to motivate and prepare students to continue their Jewish education on a secondary and advanced level. Our colleges are accordingly handicapped in their efforts to educate teachers for our schools.24"

Unfortunately, even among those who are trained and certainly among those who are not,

the quantity of time allotted for Jewish education is less critical than the quality of the teaching in that time. A pedestrian teacher can succeed only in making 10 hours twice as boring as 5 hours of class time! ... teaching is based on the

23 Ibid., p. 155.

routine, the stereotyped. There is little experimentation because the educational leadership lacks a sense of courage and of daring. 25

Where are the teachers of tomorrow to come from? How can Jewish youth be inculcated with the idealism and the desire to serve their people by preparing themselves as Jewish communal workers? What influences can be brought to bear, and where? Can the camp play a role?

So, added to insufficient time and a monumental curriculum, is inadequate teaching personnel.

f. Elementary Jewish Education

To all intents and purposes, to the overwhelming majority of this generation, Jewish education is simply elementary school education. The Bar Mitzvah and increasing Bat Mitzvah syndromes are deeply established patterns of American Jewish middle class life and the Synagogue. Reciprocal trade agreements are made between parents and child in which the child accepts the drudgery of attending his religious school for the promise of "liberation" at age 13. The Jewish mother, so often caricatured as domineering and over-protective, over-solicitous, and interfering, is evidently perfectly willing to give up her prerogative and responsibility for at least the Jewish education of her child. The writer can attest to countless interviews with children who were candidates for admission to the Hebrew

High School, where the parents turn to the child and indicate that it is his or her choice as to whether or not to continue in Jewish education.

The best Jewish religious elementary school, operating under optimum conditions, and few do, can only provide what it is organized to provide—an elementary Jewish religious education. The finest graduate of the finest school has, at best, gained but an infantile, child-view of his Jewish culture, religion and heritage. These childish notions last a life-time! Is it any wonder that as the child grows and matures his self-image as a Jew deteriorates, leading, as we have seen, to rejection, alienation, or apathy among masses of Jewish young adults.

The children of the "people of the book" no longer know the Bible. At best they may have studied selections from Genesis and Exodus. Many of our young people, deeply involved in the struggle for civil rights on the one hand, have no knowledge of Prophetic Judaism; have never read or studied Isaiah or Amos. Those of the mis-led Left who mouth acrimony against Israel, have no knowledge or sense of Jewish history. Jewish bigots lack historical insight into the struggle of their people against the forces of discrimination and persecution, of Jewish sources relating to the relationship between man and man and man and society. The list is unending.
g. A New Emphasis on Secondary Education

Jewish communal leaders, prodded by Jewish educators long aware of the consequences of this ongoing pattern, have turned their attention to secondary Jewish education and to the problems of continuity of Jewish study. There are some small signs of progress. In Philadelphia, during the past ten years, the number of students enrolled in secondary schools has more than trebled. Approximately 50 per cent of the graduates of three-day-a-week Jewish religious schools in Philadelphia continue into the Hebrew High School at least for three additional years. But the overall national pattern has not changed significantly since 1959 and the Jewish community still faces the challenge of finding further ways and means of raising the level of the Jewish school and of promoting continuity of study.26

h. The Role of Home and Parent

Parental and home apathy are also factors which must be considered as deterrents to the Jewish educational process.

Uriah Z. Engelman writing on Jewish education in the American Jewish Yearbook reports that only 25 per cent of parents sending their children to Jewish religious schools can name a single subject in the school curriculum.27 Seventy-five per cent of parents have no idea of what their

children are studying. Most parents, lacking fundamental knowledge themselves, are unable to assist their children with their Jewish religious school work.

The dichotomy between home and school also arises from the fact that with 90 per cent of elementary Jewish education being offered in synagogue schools, parents must affiliate with a synagogue in order to send their children to school. The consequences and ramifications of this phenomena have been discussed by many Jewish sociologists who point out that many American Jews who affiliate with synagogues do so with little concern for the religious or theological principles of the synagogue they join. 28 Most adults join synagogues because they want to simply identify with Jewish life. The proximity of the synagogue to their home is also a factor. The reputation of the synagogue school is of great importance to those with school age children in choosing where to affiliate. To many, the social prestige of belonging to a particular synagogue stimulated membership. Many parents retain their membership only as long as their children attend the religious school.

In a study of "Value Systems of the Jewish Adolescent," Joel Carp defines Jewish identification in terms of how the

respondent 'acts out' his Jewishness.\(^{29}\) He selected as indicators, the nature of the individual's Jewish education, Kashrut observance, Synagogue attendance and membership, and Sabbath and holiday knowledge and observance. Lazerwitz, in a similar study of a large sample of Chicago's Jewish population adds, attitudes towards traditional beliefs, organizational activities including fund-raising, attitudes toward Israel, the nature and frequency of participation in Jewish community centers, the handling of Christmas in the home, interdating, intermarriage, and conversion, and attitudes toward the religious and ethnic composition of the neighborhood in which the individual resides.\(^{30}\)

The positive child growth that occurs at school can be negated to a large extent when home and community experiences do not support it. Growth is a continuous process. If children are to experience the maximum amount of growth each day, the gap that frequently exists between the out-of-school and in-school environments must be closed.\(^{31}\)

The dichotomy between the teachings of a specific religious school holding a particular religious philosophy and the practices of the home are considerable, to say the least. In the school that teaches Kashrut—the home is

\(^{29}\) Joel Carp, Values Systems of the Jewish Adolescent (paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the National Conference of Jewish Communal Service, 1965 (Mimeoographed).

\(^{30}\) B. Lazerwitz, The Analysis of the Religious Living Survey, National Jewish Welfare Board Research program at Brandeis University, (working paper, mimeographed.)

usually non-observant; most schools which encourage or mandate attendance at religious services find that parents attend infrequently (they deliver the child and drive off); children do report Christmas trees in their homes, and Jewish holidays, with the possible exception of Passover and Hanukkah (which has been elevated to a major holiday), are rarely celebrated.

Judaism, as practiced by most parents, is child-centered. Whatever ritual is observed usually meets the specification of being (1) capable of being re-defined in modern terms, (2) of not demanding social isolation, (3) of being in accord with the religious customs of the larger community, and (4) of not being performed too frequently. Everything is done "for the child." The child, no fool, soon realizes that he has but to wait beyond childhood and again, become "liberated."

Where can the child find an environment, even for a limited period of time, when Jewish living is cheerfully and meaningfully practiced by adults and children alike? Is this a major contribution the Jewish Summer camp can make?

Most American Jews would probably agree with the thesis of Harry L. Lurie to the effect that

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however far American Jews have strayed from Jewish tradition, however much they may be criticized for irreverence and outright secularism, they have still punctiliously observed one crucial religious commandment—the mitzvah of tsedakah.\(^3^3\)

In an article entitled "The Future of Jewish Giving," Marshall Sklare notes that "there is evidence enough on the other side to make it clear that a wide gulf exists between the image and the reality of Jewish philanthropy."\(^3^4\) In the four major centers of Jewish population, New York, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, and Chicago, less than 35 per cent of Jewish households contribute to the Federation. In Philadelphia, 2 per cent of the contributors provide 62 per cent of the funds raised. In Essex county, those who contribute less than $100. constitute an overwhelming 87 per cent of all givers, and 50 per cent of them contribute under $10.\(^3^5\)

Even on the level of "philanthropic Judaism" most parents serve as poor examples for their children.

The child in the Jewish Religious school, viewing his total environment from his vantage point, is faced with the spectre of hypocrisy. His home, almost completely devoid of Jewish content, whose patterns of living are frequently in direct conflict with what he is taught in his

\(^3^3\) Harry L. Lurie, A Heritage Affirmed: The Jewish Federation Movement in America (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1961)


\(^3^5\) Ibid.
religious school, soon learns not to take his Jewish studies or the synagogue seriously. He also develops a marked schizophrenia about himself as a person, as an American-Jew.

i. American-Jewish Schizophrenia

Only a minority of Lakeville parents have been able to help their children develop a viable life pattern which will combine both their Jewish and general identity (italics mine) . . . Children have fallen heir to only a 'meager Jewishness' despite a majority affiliation with synagogues, and despite the frequency of religious school attendance. 36

All too frequently Jewish children view themselves as "Jewish" while in the religious school or the synagogue, or sometimes on the Sabbath and some holidays. They see themselves as "Americans" at all other times. The psychological reality that they are "total" human beings, that identify is the total self, including the components of self-image and self-esteem, eludes them. 37 They require the experience of living in a well-integrated American-Jewish environment--an environment a good Jewish Summer camp can provide.

j. Fragmentation Within the Community

As recently as 1944 Edidin could write,
The Talmud Torah or Daily Hebrew School is the basic Jewish school in America today, and is likely to remain the predominant type for many years to come. In New York City, nearly two-thirds of the pupils attend Talmud Torahs; for the country as a whole, over half of the total Jewish school population, or 55%, are in this type of school.38

Alas, the vicissitudes of history have proven this prediction incorrect. Less than 10 per cent of our children attend communally supported or sponsored schools.

As previously noted, 90 per cent of the children attending Jewish schools attend Jewish religious schools sponsored by synagogues, Traditional, Conservative, Reform, and a few Reconstructionist.39 The demise of the communal school and the concommitant growth of the congregational school pose problems, not only in the sphere of education per se, but also in the evolving nature of the American Jewish community. "Empire building," institutional and congregational rivalry, the struggle for membership, "edifice complexes," continue to fragment the Jewish community away from the ideal of Klal Yisrael. Jewish children grow up with institutional and movement loyalty. They identify as hyphenated Jews to "my synagogue" or "my rabbi" and not to "my people." It is conceivable that a Jewish child, growing up in a Reform congregational school for example, will never have the opportunity to set down and discuss common concerns about Jewish life with a child of another

38 Ben M. Edidin, Critique of the Hebrew School Curriculum, XIV, 2 (Jewish Education, 1944), p. 11.
39 See p.
denominational group. In the evolution and development of the synagogue to a synagogue center, with recreational and leisure time activities, with its own indigenous youth groups, Men’s clubs and Sisterhoods, the unifying role long played by the Jewish Center Movement has become weakened. This is not to negate the legitimate role the synagogue must play in American Jewish life. It is rather to focus on the dire need of the total Jewish community to provide opportunities, in greater measure, for all Jewish children, adolescents and young adults to meet and live together as equal members of the total Jewish community. The camp is almost the last institutional frontier still largely able to afford such opportunities.

k. The Rising Encroachment of Public Education

Since the overwhelming numbers of the children attending Jewish religious schools also attend public schools and, in fact, the structure of American Jewish education has been fashioned to accommodate itself to this phenomena, it is well to take note of the difficulties this partnership brings on further diminishing the effectiveness of the Jewish religious school.

The last five to ten years in particular have witnessed growing pressure for more intensive and more demanding study in the public schools. Homework assignments have become more onerous, competition for grades and scholarships has become more intense, academic standards have become more rigorous, and the demands on the time of the student have become
increasingly overbearing. The result is that pupils in the public schools of today—especially the brightest students, who often take accelerated and expanded programs of study—must devote more time and effort to their public school studies than at any time in the history of the American educational system. Since there are only a fixed number of hours in the day and a finite store of energy to be expended, the student's Jewish studies must correspondingly suffer.\(^{40}\)

The pressure of the public school, in curricular and co-curricular matters may partially explain low continuity rates in secondary Jewish schools. The desire to gain admittance to prestigious colleges which require high scholastic standings, and the insistence of College counsellors that co-curricular activities 'make a difference,' detract from Jewish studies, which are viewed, in any case, as less important and tertiary. The situation on the elementary level is not much better. Parents, and Jewish parents in particular, place high priority on after-school music or dance lessons, science enrichment programs or other school sponsored activities which will add to the general cultural vista of the child—at the expense of his Jewish education.

Crowded school conditions have led to staggered attendance sessions in Philadelphia whereby pupils in certain class sections are not dismissed until 5:00 P.M.\(^{41}\) The demographic facts of life, which place large numbers of our children in suburban schools requiring complicated schedules

\(^{40}\)Leon H. Spotts, Jewish Education and the Public Schools-The Debt and the Dangers," Jewish Education, XXXVII, 3 (Spring, 1967), 130.

\(^{41}\)Ibid., p. 134.
of bus transportation, also detract from time spent in the Jewish school. Extending the day or extending the school year is being given serious consideration in many school districts.

The encroachment of the public school on the traditional time for Jewish religious education offers yet another reason for seeking new avenues for educating our young, and looking to the camp for assistance.

1. Budgeting and Fiscal Irresponsibility

In 1959, the editors of the National Study of Jewish Education estimated the annual expenditure for elementary and secondary Jewish education at $60 million exclusive of capital funds. By 1966, the investment was probably 15 per cent - 20 per cent higher, considering the gradual rise in instructional and non-instructional costs.

Federations, taken as a whole, provided only 7 percent of the total cost of Jewish education in the United States in 1959. By 1966 the percentage rose to 11.7 percent.

Meager, insufficient, and outrageous as these figures

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43 Hyman Chanover and Morris C. Horowitz, Communal Financing of Local Jewish Education, Information Bulletin No. 30
are, they represent giant statistical strides forward in comparison to the past. In twenty-two communities, for example, local Jewish education in 1966 was receiving nearly double the share of the community dollar allocated to local Jewish needs than thirty years earlier. In eighty-two cities whose central Jewish funds contributed to local Jewish education, they allocated a grand total of $55,844,774 for all local Jewish needs through their Federations and Community Chests. Of this sum only, $6,540,000 was earmarked for local Jewish education.

In most communities today, Federations have taken the view that elementary Jewish education has been pre-empted by the congregations and that community fiscal involvement should be directed to secondary and higher Jewish education. Where central agencies for Jewish education exist, funds are allocated to service elementary education through the consultation and supervisory functions of bureau personnel. Except for smaller communities there is little direct subsidy for elementary education.

If Federations are ready to concentrate their fiscal educational efforts on secondary and higher Jewish education, the Jewish Summer camp, which also services this age group, should become eligible for communal funds.

46 Ibid., p. 16.
47 Ibid., p. 11.
The effect of low fiscal priority for Jewish religious schools is self-evident. There is insufficient money to properly staff the schools, assuming personnel were available; instructional media is either non-existent or in scarce supply; research and experimentation too expensive; small, properly graded classes beyond reach; administrative and supervisory costs kept at a minimum, leading to part-time principals so involved in administrative trivia that they cannot service the classroom, or the rabbi, usually an un-trained educator, in addition to his other duties being asked to run the school.

All these deficiencies lead to negative and traumatic Jewish educational experiences for the vast majority of our children. The proof lies, at least in part, in the rejection by so many children of the Jewish school and non-continuity into the secondary level. Can camps help stem this trend?

m. The Jewish School—By Default

"As the intensity of modern life has increased, parents have expected the schools to assume more and more responsibility for the education of the young."48 If this is true in public education, it is even more valid an observation in Jewish education. The Jewish religious school, by default, has been charged with responsibilities traditionally

48op. cit., McNerney, p. 257.
carried by home and community. However, we have already seen the limitations which preclude the Jewish school from adequately coping with these responsibilities. Lack of sufficient time, the very nature of elementary education, a broad curriculum, inadequate teaching personnel, the Bar Mitzvah syndrome, the nature of the Jewish parent and the home, fragmentation within the community, budgeting and fiscal irresponsibility, the rising encroachment of public education, freedom and the open society, the weaknesses of Jewish communal organization and life, all mitigate against the efficacy of the Jewish religious school. The multitudinous problems facing the American Jewish community in providing and assuring a meaningful, dynamic, and creative Jewish life for the present as well as for the coming generation, make it mandatory that serious consideration be given every medium of education which may further the efforts of the American Jewish community in imbuing its youth with these ideals.

B. The Challenge and Opportunities of the Summer Camp

For these reasons the Jewish summer camp, whose potentialities as an important instrument for Jewish education have long been recognized, must now receive increased attention. Properly organized, financed, programmed, and staffed, these camps can advance Jewish educational aims.
The importance of the Jewish-sponsored summer camp lies in the fact that it controls the child's total environment for twenty-four hours a day, eight weeks a year, and in this time can provide more experience in Jewish living than an entire school year of class instruction. A good camp can create a Jewish atmosphere, impart knowledge, motivate commitment to a Jewish way of life, and demonstrate the relevance of Judaism to the child's and counsellor's experience.

As far back as 1916, Charles W. Eliot, President of Harvard University, claimed that "the organized summer camp is the most significant contribution to education that America has given to the world." Surprisingly, despite the fact that summer camping is a functional manifestation of progressive educational ideas, as I hope to point out in my study, little reference to camping is found in the general literature of education. Cremin's The Transformation of the School, which is probably the finest exposition of progressivism in American education, does not have a single reference in the entire book to this subject. Evidently, the potential of the summer camp as an effective instrument in education evaded the educational philosophers and theorists. There were exceptions. Kilpatrick, one of the lead-


ing progressives of the twenties noted that

in spite of all limitations, the summer camp stands
as a wonderful opportunity to show both school and
home how education may be conducted on the inherent
demands of education and life, two names for the
same process if only we conceive them adequately. 51

Among Jewish educators, the educational significance
of the summer camp has long been recognized. Dr. Samson
Benderly, pioneer and founder of modern American Jewish edu-
cation, in 1908, advocated keeping Hebrew schools open dur-
ing the summer months, 52 but later, noting that those re-
maining open were in a state of disorganization, since most
of the children did not attend, viewed the summer months as
the "bane of the Jewish schools." 53 Dr. Benderly, however,
saw in this critical period a boom for Jewish education—
"a stone which the builders rejected" which could ultimately
be made "the cornerstone" of American Jewish education. 54

By 1931, he could write,

A way must be found whereby the Hebrew School

can, so to say, be moved into the country for those
ten weeks (of the summer). There we will have an
opportunity not only to teach our pupils about the
Jews but to live with them as Jews. 55

51 William H. Kilpatrick, in the Forward to Camping
and Character, Dimock and Hendry, ed. (New York: Association

52 Samson Benderly, "Jewish Education in America,"
Jewish Exponent, January 17, 1908.

53 David Rudavsky, "The Bureau of Jewish Education
After 1918," Jewish Education, XX, 3

54 Ibid.

55 Samson Benderly, "What Can the Summer Camp Do For
Us," Parents Bulletin, 1, 4 (May, 1931)
Dr. Gannes, in an article about the Kvutzah and Camp Achvah established by Dr. Benderly, reminisces that Dr. Benderly was greatly impressed with the amount of learning that could be encompassed during the summer if the abundance of leisure time were only exploited properly. It was his earnest belief that if students devoted half a day daily during a ten week session exclusively to study, they could accomplish more than during an entire academic year. 56

In camp . . . children have ample time, and through an interesting Jewish cultural program, the camp can create the necessary environment . . . it can implant a love for and an interest in things Jewish, and arouse in the child a desire for Jewish knowledge. 57

In marking the thirtieth anniversary of the founding of Cejwin Camps, Dr. Isaac B. Berkson, educational philosopher and Jewish educator endorses the role of camps which,

in various ways make their contribution toward the upbuilding of Jewish life . . . which explicitly embody a modern educational idea as it applies to the needs of Jewish education in America. This idea is that all genuine education implies a form of living as well as knowing, that learning and living are parts of the same process. The basic aims and method of education therefore becomes participation in Jewish life in all its aspects—cultural, social, and communal. 58

Dr. Albert P. Schoolman, a disciple of Benderly and "the 'father' of Jewish educational camping in America," 59


founder and long term director of Cejwin Camps—"the first pioneering prototype of Jewish cultural camping" notes it (the camp) offers a golden opportunity to utilize for our purposes wholly and fully the time of the child without conflict or struggle with any other forces in the community. We should stop bemoaning the limitation of unavailable time at school and make use of the free time we do have at our disposal. 60

Dr. Abraham P. Gannes, successor to Dr. Schoolman as director of Cejwin Camp, adds,

... the children are free from the distractions and pressures of the normal school year, the most important contribution that the Jewish camp has made is the creation of a pleasant, aesthetic and joyous milieu in which the campers experience the dynamics of day-to-day Jewish group living. 61

In light of these claims, the Jewish summer camp must be carefully studied to ascertain whether or not it is fulfilling these potentialities, and how effectively it is being exploited as an educational instrument of the Jewish community. Are the camp sponsoring agencies fully and creatively utilizing the educational opportunities of their summer camps? How successful are these camps in achieving the educational goals they have set for themselves? How effectively are they translating their educational purposes into programmed activities?


C. Purpose of the Study

1. To ascertain the contributions representative resident Jewish summer camps are making to formal and informal Jewish education.

2. To study the camping practices and educational values in general and Jewish programming current to representative resident Jewish summer camps.

3. To project the potential educational contributions of Jewish summer camps and suggest a program of growth and development in light of current trends in Jewish education and community social planning in America.

D. Procedures of the Study

1. The Questionnaires
   a. An eight page, comprehensive "Jewish Camp Questionnaire" was prepared by the writer prior to the 1960 camp season. Based on a "stratified random sampling," categories determined by the writer, questionnaires were distributed to 58 camps representative of each category to which 27 camps responded during the summers of 1960-65.
   b. The American Association for Jewish Education circulated an "Inquiry on Communal Jewish Camping" at the end of the summer of 1963 to more than 100 camps culled from the Directory of
Resident Summer Camps under the auspices of Jewish communal organizations prepared by the National Jewish Welfare Board. Replies were received from 61 camps.

c. Where applicable, data obtained from both questionnaires has been integrated for the purposes of this study.

2. Visits to Representative Camps

a. The writer personally visited 58 camps of the 100 camps included in this study.

b. The extent of the individual camp visits varied from a minimum of one day to a maximum of five days. In the course of the five summers of major visitation, several camps were visited several times.

c. The writer has served as professional camp consultant to Camp Galil, a Labor Zionist camp, and to the New Jersey "Y" camps. He has thus spent long periods of time in two representative type camps—the Zionist camp and the Center camp. As a child he attended a Workmen's Circle camp and Camp Kinderwelt.

d. Ninety per cent of the writer's questionnaires were answered during interviews in depth with the camp directors at the time of the camp visit.
3. Interviews
   a. Additional personal interviews were conducted by the writer with administrative personnel, representatives of staff, campers, members of Boards of Directors of camps, representatives of sponsoring agencies, representatives of the American Zionist Youth Foundation (in connection with Israeli staff), Federation community planning personnel, National Jewish Welfare Board, and American Association for Jewish Education camp consultants.

4. Camping conferences
   a. The writer has participated in four conferences of the Full Time Executives of Jewish Communal Camps and has been elected to serve as the chairman of a "Task Force" charged, by the 1969 Conference, to prepare a formulation for the 1970 Conference for the establishment of a "National Conference for Jewish Sponsored Camps." The proceedings of these conferences, papers, and minutes of discussions are incorporated in the study.
   b. The writer was invited by the National Council of Federation and Welfare Funds to present a summary of his findings for the purpose of
charting the future role of Federations and Welfare Funds in Jewish communal camping. The proceedings of these meetings are incorporated in the study.

5. **Camp Survey**
   a. During the summer of 1964, the writer was invited to evaluate Camp Kinderwelt. The findings of this evaluation, conducted in greater depth than at any other camp, are incorporated in the study. The complete evaluation is a part of the appendix.

6. **Reports**
   a. Annual reports of the Consultant on Camping of the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of New York were made available to the writer as were the reports of its Functional Committee on Camping. Also, annual reports of the Jewish Vacation Associates, Inc.
   b. Reports of various camps and camping associations, published by these groups provided essential and useful information.

7. **Camp Literature**
   Comprehensive samplings of camp brochures, camper application forms, staff application forms, medical
forms, parent bulletins, clothes lists, daily and special program schedules, sample camp programs (dramatic presentations, holiday celebration scripts, evening programs), camp manuals, and other printed or mimeographed literature produced by camps were assembled by the writer and provided important primary sources of information.

8. **General and Jewish Literature**

References in journals, periodicals, books, and unpublished material.
CHAPTER I

GOALS AND OBJECTIVES FOR JEWISH CAMPS —
A PROJECTION

A. Criteria for Evaluation

Since a purpose of this study is to study the educational values in the Jewish and general programs of representative Jewish summer camps, a set of criteria must be projected by the investigator listing his conception of what the major aims of the Jewish sponsored camps should be. The value-judgments permeating this study as to the effectiveness of these camps will be based on these goals and objectives; it being clearly understood, however, that the camps themselves, in determining their own stated and real goals and objectives, may, or may not, accept any or all of the writer's criteria.

Despite the fact that the writer feels very strongly about the "total child" in a "total camp setting," paradoxical as it may appear, the goals and objectives are divided and listed in two areas: general educational objectives and Jewish educational objectives. This is predicated on the belief that there are universal aspects of good camping
practices which apply to all camps, regardless of their specific orientation, affiliation or individual goals and objectives. Camps in America exist under many auspices. Civic groups, business and labor groups, youth organizations, public and private philanthropies, and various religious and ethnic groups support and administer camps.\(^1\) Specialized camps for language, weight reduction, the handicapped, music and art, tennis, basketball, etc. have been organized and are flourishing.\(^2\) Despite the different auspices, purposes, and site possibilities which produce very different individual camps, it is the writer's contention that they all share the general educational objectives.

Camps which are Jewish sponsored have, in addition to universal camping responsibilities, particular goals and objectives pertaining to the "Jewish component." Within the community of Jewish camps there is also great diversity. Nevertheless, this writer believes that there are Jewish "universal" elements which, to greater or lesser degree, apply to all Jewish sponsored camps.

1. **General Educational Objectives**

   It was Herbert Spencer's definition of "education for complete living," a composite of the various areas of

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\(^2\) Note the Camp Advertisement Section of the *New York Times* Magazine Section, December 31, 1967, pp. 31-36.
human living, that captured the imagination of American educators and the public, in the latter part of the nineteenth century. He was probably the most influential writer in stimulating the inclusion of post-Darwinian science in education, as well as emphasizing individual happiness and social welfare. His compendium of the activities of human life which should form the basis, the aims and goals of education were adapted, in large measure, in similar listings which were to follow,

1. those which minister to self-preservation, i.e., health of body and mind. (He included knowledge of such sciences as physiology, hygiene, physics, and chemistry),

2. securing the necessities of life, i.e., earning a living (securing of food, clothing, shelter),

3. the rearing and discipline of offspring, i.e., bringing up a family (this had been wholly neglected and was a reaction against the notion that any parent is presumed capable of bringing up a child without any preparation),

4. maintenance of proper political and social relationships, i.e., the training of the citizen,

5. those which occupy the leisure part of life, i.e., utilizing resources of happiness supplied by nature (here he included knowledge of literature, art, aesthetics, including foreign languages and literature, which, since occupying the leisure of life, should also occupy the leisure of education).³

In 1918, the Commission on Reorganization of Secondary Education of the National Education Association enumerated seven educational aims representing the purposes of American education. These came to be known as the "Cardinal Principles of Education" and exerted great influence on the further development of American education. These seven aims are:

1. Health
2. Command of the fundamental processes
3. Worthy home membership
4. Vocation
5. Citizenship
6. Worthy use of leisure
7. Ethical character

These are basically Spencer's projections simply adding more emphasis on "fundamental processes" and "ethical instruction" which Spencer had implied in dealing with the bringing up of children in the home. Even more interesting is a comparison between the "Seven Cardinal Principles" and Aristotle's almost identical aims for education.

In 1924, Chapman and Counts listed "six great interests" which must always concern man. These are

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1. Caring for their bodies
2. Rearing of their children
3. Securing the economic necessities
4. Organizing for civic action
5. Engaging in recreation
6. Satisfying their religious cravings

Again we have what is basically Spencer's list with the addition of a special listing for "religious cravings."

At about the same time, Bobbitt, making use of an "activity analysis" based on an examination of materials ranging from newspapers to the Encyclopedia Britannica, in which he surveyed human experience, then divided them into ten major fields, as follows: 7

1. Language activities - social intercommunication
2. Health activities
3. Citizenship activities
4. General social activities - meeting and mingling with others
5. Spare-time activities, amusements, recreations
6. Keeping mentally fit - mental hygiene
7. Religious activities
8. Parental activities - responsibilities in the raising of children and the maintenance of proper home life

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9. Unspecialized non-vocational practical activities

10. Vocational activities — the labors of one's calling.

Spencer's list is clearly the basis for Bobbitt with the addition of language and religious activity.

Thorndike and Gates, concerned with the wants or needs of men, prepared a listing in two divisions of five groups each. The first group relates to the needs of adjusting to the physical and social environment; the second group with the type of needs required in personal development.

1. Needed adjustments to situations in modern life
   (a) Adjustments to the physical world
   (b) Adjustments to economic situations
   (c) Adjustments to family situations
   (d) Adjustments to social situations
   (e) Adjustments to civic situations

2. Needed types of personal equipment
   (a) Physical health
   (b) Mental health and balance
   (c) Recreational resources
   (d) Ethical and religious resources
   (e) Intellectual resources

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The American Council on Education, in 1937, published a list of "types of life needs as educational objectives," This list was a repetition of the others with the exception of a listing for "preparation for continued living." 9

The Education Policies Commission, in their publication The Purposes of Education in American Democracy set forth the following objectives in 1938:


For the purposes of this study, the writer is offering one final listing, formulated in 1947 by the President's Commission on Higher Education, as "establishing the goals":


1. To develop for the regulation of one's personal and civic life a code of behavior based on ethical principles consistent with democratic ideals.

2. To participate actively as an informed and responsible citizen in solving the social, economic, and political problems of one's community, State and Nation.

3. To recognize the interdependence of the different peoples of the world and one's personal responsibility for fostering international understanding and peace.

4. To understand the common phenomena in one's physical environment, to apply habits of scientific thought to both personal and civic problems, and to appreciate the implications of scientific discoveries for human welfare.

5. To understand the ideas of others and to express one's own effectively.

6. To attain a satisfactory emotional and social adjustment.

7. To maintain and improve his own health and to cooperate actively and intelligently in solving community health problems.

8. To understand and enjoy literature, art, music, and other cultural activities as expressions of personal and social experience, and to participate to some extent in some form of creative activity.

9. To acquire the knowledge and attitudes basic to a satisfying family life.

10. To choose a socially useful and personally satisfying vocation that will permit one to use to the full his particular interests and abilities.

11. To acquire and use the skills and habits involved in critical and constructive thinking.\[\text{\textsuperscript{11}}\]

Essentially, all of the aims, goals, and objectives we have reviewed to the present are basically related to the responsibilities and function of the school. However, as these objectives have evolved over recent years as a result of the continuously growing complexity of the world and the society in which we live, it becomes abundantly clear that "child development cannot be accomplished by the school alone but demands the cooperation of outside social agencies."\(^{12}\) McNerney notes that,

> since education grows out of life, and is supplementary to and preparatory for life, it seems only reasonable to recognize and use all educative forces (italics mine) present in the community to meet the life needs of our continuing unselected school population.\(^{13}\)

What are the aims and objectives which best lend themselves to the camp setting?

The American Camping Association has defined Resident Camp Standards thusly:

> Organized Resident Camping is an experience in group living in a natural environment. It is a sustained experience under the supervision of trained leadership. Camping provides a creative educational experience in co-operative group living in the out-of-doors. It utilizes the resources of the natural surroundings to contribute significantly to mental, physical, social, and spiritual growth.\(^{14}\)

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\(^{13}\) McNerney, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

After culling the literature, the writer believes that the following nine objectives are germane to all summer resident camps.\(^{15}\) The listing suggests the general areas of camp life which can reflect these goals.

1. To develop the skills and capacities that make for competent citizenship in a democratic society.

In a democratic camp community, "participatory democracy" is the key. Do campers and staff feel that they have a share in the operation of the camp and that their interest and help are solicited? Are regular staff meetings and conferences scheduled? Are there staff and camper committees elected to assist in programming? Is the camp structured to provide for freedom—to choose, change program, to plan, to explore, to play, to be alone? Is there a camp council? Is there democratic give and take within the organized groups? Are American holidays celebrated? Is there reverence for the flag? Is the camp community informed of local, national, and world events? Do campers and staff feel responsible for what happens in camp? These are some of the questions which should be answered affirmatively if the camp is to be effective in living democratically and helping prepare future democratic citizens for American life.

\(^{15}\) Note: The writer prepared his formulation of the "Goals and Objectives for the Jewish Summer Camp" in 1960. A similar listing was published by the Community Planning Services Department of the National Jewish Welfare Board in 1965.
2. To cultivate independence, interdependence, self-confidence and become dependable, self-responsible, cooperative, and socially well-oriented human beings.

Camping should emphasize group living. Small units, living and working together allows for the integration of the individual camper into the group. Placing the camper in his proper group with the right counselor should be a primary concern of the camp administration. Harmonious group living begins with knowing the individual camper. What procedures does the camp follow to try to assure proper placement and take into account individual differences?

Camp, as a child-centered community away from home, frequently affords the child his first opportunity of being away from the daily supervision of his parents—a most important experience in growing up. Does he learn to take care of his belongings, his clothes, learn to think independently or make his own decisions? The camp is generally the only place where the child really lives with his own peer group and must learn to accommodate himself to group cooperation and socialization. Does he become a dependable member of the group? As a social being, does he gain a feeling of "belongingness"—of responsibility to the group—of a movement from egocentrism, from the "I" to the "We"?

Only effective camp leadership can help accomplish these goals and objectives—not only in this particular area, but in all the others as well. The quality of the camp
staff, counselors in particular, since it is the individual counselor who wields the most direct influence on the individual camper, is of paramount importance. The relationship of the child with the counselor is a totally new experience in the realm of child-adult relationships. It should be completely different from parent-child or teacher-child relationship, even though it has elements of both. How does the camp select its staff? How are they oriented to the specific program of the camp? How are they supervised? To what extent does the camp administration recognize that staff is as much a part of educational process as is the child? 16

3. To acquire the physical skills and habits needed for efficient, healthful living.

Camping, as an out-of-doors experience which emphasizes the enjoyment of simple living, gives the camp community ample opportunities to face the basic concerns for daily functional living. Vigorous outdoor exercise, sports, work projects, hearty appetites, contact with nature are all conducive to learning. The camp where children eat three meals a day has an unusual opportunity to teach good food habits. Proper rest, dress, cleanliness, order, and safety are also natural areas for instruction. Are camp conditions uncrowded, are health conditions closely supervised, are children

16 Betty Lyle, Camping, What is It? (Martinsville, Ind.: American Camping Association, 1959),
examined by competent physicians before camp and medical records kept at camp in a properly organized infirmary with adequate medical staff? Are good manners, good fellowship, relaxed atmosphere encouraged? Is personal hygiene a matter for concern? Are skills properly taught in sports, activity groups, on hikes, and boating trips? Is a healthy sense of modesty and privacy fostered? Does the child learn to do things right?

4. To develop the character traits that make for good personal adjustments in life—-the achieving of constructive social attitudes.

The camp, as a self-contained community, in creating its own milieu and atmosphere, establishes its own value system and sets the community ideals for individual and group behavior. It rewards or admonishes members of the camp community accordingly. Generally, camp values and the values of the non-camping community are in consonance with each other; sometimes they are not. Character traits would include honesty, generousness, courage, friendliness, considerateness, believing in and having the habit of working hard, being accurate and responsible, belief in democracy—tolerance, working for the common good, free discussion, loyal acceptance of group decisions, unselfishness, cheerfulness, temperance, inventiveness, intelligence and rationality, personal and social efficiency, budgeting time intelligently and effectively between work, recreation, friends, family, civic responsibil—
ities, artistic interest and spiritual life.\textsuperscript{17}

All of these characteristics should be present in camp. Does the camp have a work program? What kind of canteen does the camp sponsor—unlimited spending by children—a system of Kupa, where children share, regardless of economic background? Is "rugged individualism" encouraged or is there a cooperative atmosphere? Are alcoholic beverages permitted in camp? What is the camp attitude toward "pot" or "LSD"? Is the camp atmosphere relaxed, conducive to good humor, or tense? Does the daily camp schedule reflect a good balance between the various aspects of programming?

5. To develop critical-mindedness as a basis for judging and evaluation.

Children learn to judge and evaluate on the basis of a "reconstruction of experience." The experiences at camp, their physical maturation, and the functional evolution of behavior, all help the child to better understand himself and his role in relation to objects, events, and persons.\textsuperscript{18} Prescott offers seven processes, all significantly present in the camp setting, by which the developing child acquires the meanings that differentiate and develop him as a "self." Does the camp offer enough opportunity for the child


to interact with the physical world? Does the child learn what his body can do? Can he symbolize meanings and communicate with others? How does camp help the child "internalize" the culture? Is the child encouraged to play social roles? Has the child developed codes of conduct? Does the child learn to identify with other individuals or with groups?

Does the camp provide opportunities for exploration, investigation with competent guidance of natural and scientific phenomena? Does the camp experiment with program? Is the camp "tradition bound" or willing to make changes based on new realities of life? Is free and open-ended discussion encouraged?

Learning is a continuous process of action and reaction of organism and environment, a process of experiencing, of trying something, of undergoing the consequences of the trial, of interpreting the experience. The product of such learning is new insights, new values, new abilities. In the light of his experience the learner reorganizes his ideas and extends the control of his conduct; he is a changed personality.19

6. To develop cultural appreciations and advance aesthetic experiences.

Despite the fact that camp is primarily and essentially a place for "informal" learning as opposed to "formal" education, it is fraught with cultural and aesthetic opportunities. Does the camp have a library? What kind of a selection of books? How is it used? Is there a camp news-

paper, or other publications? What is the nature of the dramatic, music, and arts programs? Since the camp site is most often chosen because of its aesthetic natural setting, how are the beauties of nature overtly brought to the children? Is there a cosmopolitan staff—including "foreign counselors"? Is staff selection, are the cultural interests of the candidates a matter of concern? Are guest artists brought to camp? Are actual classes conducted? How varied are "interest groups"? Is there a theatre or amphitheatre? What is the nature of camp architecture? Is food not only nutritional, but aesthetically prepared and served?

7. To gain a knowledge of the physical world and man's relationship to it.

One of the most significant aspects of camping, that which makes it unique among all other educational experiences, is the utilization of an out-door setting to its fullest in order to develop positive attitudes and understanding of man's relationship to the land and man's responsibility to other living things and to his total environment. "Reverence for life" is a major concern of camp.20

Does the camp provide meaningful contact with fields and forest, stars and clouds, animals and fossils? Does the child learn how to depend on nature to satisfy his basic needs? Is there a garden in camp where children may grow some of their own food? A garden of flowers and plants?

Are animals kept in camp? Are children given the opportunity to visit farms in the neighborhood? Did camps provide the opportunity for the children to view the first moon landing? Are experts of the physical world employed on staff? Are scientific guests invited to camp? How extensive is the "pioneering" program? Are the natural assets of the camp and area fully utilized?

8. To develop a capacity for the wholesome use of leisure time.

A properly planned and conducted camp program is replete with interests and skills which can be developed so that the camper can pursue them throughout his life. Participatory activities as opposed to spectator activities should be stressed so that these developing interests may be active, creative, and self-propulsive in character. Does the camp provide a variety of potential leisure-time pursuits—some physical, some social, some artistic, and some intellectual?

9. To explore vocational interests.

While a study has yet to be conducted on the direct effect of the camp experience on career choices, it is the writer's subjective contention, based on more than twenty-two years in the field of Jewish communal service, that significant decisions were made because of positive camp experiences, which prompted many young men and women to become social workers, teachers, rabbis, biologists, or go on "aliya"
and become farm workers in kibbutzim in Israel.

Does the camp participate in the "Careers in Social Work Program" instituted through the recommendations of the Personnel Department of the National Jewish Welfare Board? Is there a guidance program at camp? Are visitors, representing various disciplines invited to meet with older campers and staff?

2. Jewish Educational Objectives

Little attention need be given to the question of aims and goals in Jewish education in America prior to the onset of massive Jewish immigration from Eastern Europe during the later part of the nineteenth century.

Without disparaging the significant achievements of American Jewry during the 19th century, one must recognize as an historical fact that the earlier strata of American Jewry had allowed an attenuation of Jewishness to take place.21

During the early years of the nineteenth century

most communities provided for Jewish schools, not only for religious training, but also, since the public school system did not come into being till about the middle of the century, for complete secular education; parents in remote places often sent their children to such schools.22

Once public schools took hold, such Jewish schools disappeared, not to return in any significant numbers until after the second World War. Sunday schools, modelled after the type of


religious education given to Protestant children, were organized. The program of study infers the goals of such schools.

The amount of information imparted to the children obviously could not be great. Instruction was limited to the broad principles of Judaism. Leeser prepared a catechism, that is, a series of questions and answers, on religious subjects for pupils to learn by heart. There was little time for the study of Hebrew or of Jewish History...23

Eastern European Jewry brought with them their institutions of the ghetto and Shtetel and tried to transplant them on American soil. The Heder and the Talmud Torah and the Folkshuln, basically reflected the goals and aims of the religious, nationalistic, and secularistic ideologies respectively of the "old home."

Our focus must be directed to the indigenous development of American Jewish education and first and foremost to that pioneering group of educators, led and inspired by Benderly, whose conceptions have been described as "The Communal-Hebraic-Progressive Viewpoint."

Benderly, himself, projected four major goals for Jewish education which were to form the basis for most of the listings of aims and objectives which were to follow.

1. To think of Jewish education in community terms and organize it around community responsibility.

2. To Americanize Jewish education in technique and philosophy, according to the best that is available in general American education.

3. To relate the work of the Jewish schools (or camps) and teachers (or staff) to the dynamic historic struggle to build the Jewish homeland in Eretz Yisrael.

4. To teach faith in the future of American Jewry and in its spiritual power to survive and create.\textsuperscript{24}

According to Berkson, in light of the community theory,

The purpose of Jewish education may be defined as the conversion of an individual who happens to have been born a Jew into a person who consciously accepts his responsibility as a Jew and who remains a Jew because of his realization of the values inherent in Jewish life and thought . . .

The direct aim of Jewish education is to induce participation in Jewish institutions in the forms that are in harmony with American life, and to advance American Jewish life as a paramount center of the world-wide Jewish community . . .

The problem of Jewish education is to interrelate a Jewish and American thought in the consciousness of the growing child so as to develop a well-integrated personality. The effort to do so will not lead to a compromise, but to bringing out the ideal, the universal aspects in each heretage.\textsuperscript{25}

Dushkin lists some thirteen aims of Jewish education in the diaspora. Summarized, in brief, they are:

1. To educate the human being for complete living, understanding of the world in which he lives, ability to order his life toward the achievement of freedom and happiness, the will to be the partner of the Almighty in the betterment of the world, cognizance of his Jewish rela-

\textsuperscript{24}Alexander M. Dushkin, "The Personality of Samson Benderly - His Life and Influence," \textit{Jewish Education}, XX, 3 (Summer, 1949), 6.

\textsuperscript{25}Quoted in Judaism and the Jewish School, pp. 46-47.
tionships, accept his Jewishness readily, direct his Jewish life toward the completeness of his life as a human being.

2. Jewish life relationships
   (a) to family and home, reflected in traditions and ways of life
   (b) to fellow Jews, obligating participation in the life of the community, its various forms of mutual aid, and the building of Israel
   (c) to non-Jewish neighbors
   (d) an outlook on life and a cultivated attitude toward humanity and toward God.

3. Complete system of education or supplementary system.

4. Since most children will follow the supplementary pattern, its aim must be to deal with those life areas in which Jewish relationships express themselves.

5. Common goal of maze of educational forms to make Jewish teaching derive directly from source materials in the Hebrew language. The concomitant goal, to promote Hebraic atmosphere not only within the schools, but also outside of them by means of the Hebrew summer camp, as one example. This Hebraic element is the hard kernel of diaspora education.


7. To teach Jewish life in accordance with the Jewish way of living—past tradition and present experience, function generally in the festivals and Sabbath, customs, practices and culture of synagogue, community endeavors on behalf of social services, education and Israel.

8. Hebrew language and Israel studies not only nationalist but should receive religious emphasis.

9. Education toward aliyat ha-regel and

10. Aliya—not as a condition of diaspora education which basically must teach that Jews may live their lives as Jews wherever they are.
11. Participation in life of local Jewish community and desire to improve this community for efficient democratic organization.


13. Develop common themes in curricula. 26

Gamoran, a disciple of Benderly, and a graduate of Teachers College, Columbia University, during its heyday of early progressivism, came under the direct influence of Dewey and Kilpatrick and was deeply affected by their teachings which were reflected in his own formulation of the aims of Jewish education. Beginning, as must all progressive educators, with the life needs of the individual, and not overlooking his Jewish needs, Gamoran suggests that the greatest needs of the Jew in American society are:

1. A sense of psychological security in his Jewishness—a feeling of worthwhileness.

2. Socialization, which he needs as a Jew and as a human being, into an ever-widening group—the home, the school, the synagogue, and the Jewish community.

3. Satisfaction in his life as a Jew from a spiritual, cultural, esthetic point of view. 27

The aims of Jewish education formulated by the Benderly group, into the second generation, were fundamentally similar to those listed above by Dushkin, with minor variations and differing points of emphasis.


The writers in this group may disagree on the place of religion in the curriculum, the interpretation of the Zionist idea, the role of the synagogue, and the stress on Hebrew. But they agree that the Jewish people constitutes a world-wide community, that the State of Israel is both a fulfillment of an age-old dream and the most important factor in the enhancement of Jewish life in the diaspora, that Hebrew is central in any scheme of Jewish education and that the Jewish community is greater than the sum of its component constituents.  

Isidor Chein, in reacting against the two traditional definitions of "What is a Jew," suggests that a person is a Jew to the extent that he experiences himself as a Jew; things, events, and actions are Jewish to the extent that he experiences them as uniquely related or relevant to himself as a Jew—i.e., to the extent that he experiences them as Jewish.  

Chein is concerned with developing ways of integrating Jewishness into our broad patterns of living, of developing, systematically certain areas of knowledge, and of developing the ability to recognize the political, economic, and other implications for Jews of events on the general scene.  

Horace Kallen, an outstanding exponent of the theory of an American pluralistic society, points out that... the dynamic of a society's struggle for survival and notably of the society of American Jews, which is an aggregation of groups and factions competitively identifying themselves by creed, cult, and culture, and struggling to carry on in a non-Jewish...

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30 Ibid., pp. 163-164.
social milieu freely aggregated of numbers of others such. Each of these others embodies alternatives of value systems which spontaneously offer themselves to the choice of the next Jewish generation for loyalty and support. As I see it, both the immediate and remote goal of Jewish education for American Jews is not merely to win over this competition on whatever level and in whatever area it is encountered. It is, to enable the generations freely to perceive, to understand and to cherish the social and cultural heritage of the Jewish people, and freely to choose them, and the communities which are their carriers, for the most intimate center of their total and always expanding system of loyalties. It is by the methods of free inquiry to gain, to hold and to enhance their personal commitment to the configuration thus envisioned.31

American orthodoxy has changed very little. Its aims and goals are essentially those of the nineteenth century traditionalists. Lookstein addresses himself to what he considers the "common strains and obvious qualities that were present in every period of Jewish existence":

1. universality of Jewish education
2. insistence upon maximalism
3. religious motivation, and
4. uncompromising reverence for it
5. practical consequences

The "final goal" must be the "cultivation of a religious and ethical personality." We must develop "good" Jews. What is a "good" Jew? Lookstein offers a comprehensive list, each item of which must be viewed as an aim of Jewish education.

1. One who loves his people and takes pride in being one of them.

2. One who not alone accepts but observes the faith of his people.

3. One who seeks to live in accordance with the tradition of Israel.

4. One who believes in the God of his fathers and wishes to transmit that belief to his children.

5. One who is devoted, with passion and fervor, to his culture.

6. One who is committed to democracy as a way of life and is ready to surrender his life on its behalf.

7. One who practices the ethics of Judaism in his relationship with fellow Jews and fellow men.

8. One who takes pride in the miracle of Jewish statehood and participates to the utmost in the effort to achieve peace, stability, and security for the land of his fathers.

9. The "good" Jew, with a capital "G" is one who incorporates in his life as much as possible of all these definitions.32

In juxtaposition to the orthodox view, with significant similarities, are the aims of Jewish education as formulated from the Curriculum for the Jewish Religious School of the Reform Movement.

1. To inspire our children with positive and abiding faith in the Jewish religion according to the Liberal Reform tradition.

2. To stimulate their sense of community with and responsibility toward fellow Jews in all parts of the world, with deep concern for the State of Israel and its people.

3. To guide them in self-identification with the Jewish people of the past, emulating its heroes, aspiring to its ideals, and devoted to its continuance.

4. To provide them with happy, interesting, and aspiring experiences as the practice of Judaism in the home, the school, the synagogue, and the community, and in the appreciation of Jewish art, music, and literature.

5. To prepare them to utilize the religious faith, ethical standards, and traditional insights of Judaism in meeting their personal problems.

6. To inculcate in them the universal ideal of Israel's prophets and sages, leading toward their dynamic involvement in service for freedom, brotherhood, and peace.

7. The curriculum, which attempts to achieve these aims, must begin with the actual experiences of our children, and must add many important elements of the Jewish heritage which are not present in the experience of the average Jewish child in America. The study of Hebrew is an indispensable element in the achievement of this purpose and must play an important part in our course of study. Above all, our purpose must be to stimulate a process of continuous learning which extends beyond the prescribed program of the religious school and lasts as long as life itself.\(^\text{33}\)

Ben-Horin, professor of education at The Dropsie University, as one of the most articulate exponents of the "Communal - Hebraic - Reconstructionist

Formulations" of the goals of Jewish education, cites the need for a "new" education, not merely for "more" education or for more intensive learning of the already known. He is convinced that "for modern Jews the issue is that of the basic relevance and worthwhileness of their faith."

Perhaps it is not too bold to affirm that what has motivated modern Jewish nationalism, culturalism and religionism is the belief that Judaism was, is, and will be able to demonstrate its significance and relevance for men's efforts to cope with the hazards and the promises of their generations. Now, as mankind seems headed for catastrophe while seeking redemption from its menace, Judaism is challenged to furnish, through works (italics mine) evidence in support of this belief.

Since, to Ben-Horin, Jewish education is the Education of Judaism, as such it is the responsibility of Jewish education to develop Judaism's answer to the present challenge. Jewish education must be the principal generator of this response. There are three responsibilities Jewish education must accept.

1. It must make the Jewish people aware of the fact that they face the challenge of basic relevance.

2. It must lay the groundwork for a distinctive response, by motivating Jews to acquire the knowledge, the loyalties, the discipline and the "will to create."

3. It must convert motivation into actual learning, by designing and operating programs of education in which learners inquire into the nature of basic challenges encountered by Israel in the past and into the responses by which they were met.34

34 Meir Ben-Horin, "Jewish Education: The Deeper Challenge," Jewish Spectator, XXIV, 7
The writer, in evolving a formulation of the aims and objectives of Jewish education applicable to the camp setting, is most indebted to the philosophy of Mordecai M. Kaplan and to William Chomsky, himself closely attuned to reconstructionist thinking, who prepared a listing of aims and objectives for the Gratz College School of Observation and Practice.

According to Kaplan,

the only raison d'être for Jewish education is the assumption that without it the Jew cannot possibly know what to make of his status as a Jew. To be illiterate as a Jew is to be the victim of unresolved conflicts, to be a source of irritation to oneself and to society.

Self-fulfillment, in the most socialized and spiritual sense, is the prime need of the Jew.

To be trained as a Jew should mean to be given habits that would help one function creatively in all of life's situations.

To Kaplan, Jewish education, which faces the danger of being excluded from the child's life because of the exigencies of secular life, must become so effective

in enlarging the mental scope of the child's life, in socializing his attitude toward his fellowmen, in inculcating in him an appreciation of life's worth and sanctity, that parents will rejoice to have such a training imparted to their children.

To Kaplan, the aims of Jewish education may be defined thusly:

1. To participate in Jewish life.
2. To understand and appreciate the Hebrew language and literature.
3. To put into practice Jewish patterns of conduct both ethical and religious.

4. To appreciate and adopt Jewish sanctions and aspirations.

5. To stimulate artistic creativity in the expression of Jewish values.

Further, the objectives of Jewish education from the standpoint of the child are:

1. To give insight into the meaning of spiritual values and their application to different types of experience, religious, moral, social, and political; Jewish life as a developing civilization; the spiritual character of that civilization; the relationships of Jewish to other civilizations in the past; the course that Jewish life must henceforth take in the different countries of the world, and especially in America.

2. To foster an attitude of respect toward human personality as such; tolerance toward other groups, races, faiths; intellectual honesty, open-mindedness and responsibility; social and inter-national mindedness; loyalty to and participation in Jewish life in this and other countries.

3. To train appreciation of individual and group creativity in the values of civilization; Jewish creativity in religion, ethics, language, and literature, mores, laws and folkways, and the arts.

4. To inculcate ideas of justice and kindness in our social and economic relationships; peace and tolerance, a just, thriving, creative Jewish homeland in Israel, a creative Jewish life in America.

5. To condition habits of reflective thinking; purposive experiencing; using leisure to develop personality; affiliation with the synagogue or Beth Am; celebrating Jewish Sabbaths, festivals, etc.; observing Jewish customs and ceremonies; reading Hebrew books and periodicals, Anglo-Jewish books, Anglo-Jewish press,
Yiddish press, Bible, Talmud, etc.; contributing to the upbuilding of Israel; helping to support social-service and educational institutions; attending Hebrew and Anglo-Jewish theaters, concerts, etc.; patronizing Jewish artistic endeavors; buying Jewish books, works of art, etc.

6. To impart knowledge of the Hebrew language; Jewish history; the outstanding selections from the Bible, the Talmud, and subsequent Jewish writings; history and meaning of Jewish customs and ceremonials, religious beliefs, ethical ideals; current Jewish problems, institutions, endeavors; Jewish arts and crafts, home furnishings, cooking, etc.

Chomsky's list follows:

1. General Goals

(a) To prepare our pupils to participate actively and readily in Jewish living in all its aspects.

(b) To build up in our pupils worthwhile loyalties and positive attitudes, especially with regard to the Synagogue, Israel, the Hebrew language, and Jewish learning; as well as conduct-traits in consonance with Jewish traditional standards and ideals.

(c) To equip our pupils with the ability and the desire to progress from one level to another in all the subject matters of the curriculum, as well as to continue their studies beyond the elementary school level.

(d) To cultivate in our children the attitude that Jewish learning is a dynamic on-going life process, and cannot be terminated at any particular stage.

2. Goals in Child's Personality Development

(a) The school should encourage, stimulate, and guide activities with the view to achieving the following objectives:

(1) To cultivate a capacity and an attitude of cooperation, mutual understanding, and readiness to share Jewish experiences.

(2) To foster the attitude of identifying one's personal interests with the interests of the Jewish group.

(3) To provide training in the practice of engaging wholeheartedly and intelligently in communal projects, as well as in local projects of the synagogue, Talmud Torah, or neighborhood center.

(4) To utilize areas of child-centered experiences as centers of interest or "leads" around which learning of subject matter may be integrated and rendered functional. If the various subjects can be integrated naturally in a life-like pattern as a unit this should be done. No extrinsic devices should be employed to force an artificial correlation.

(5) To provide for individual differences and variations in interest and ability, and to stimulate individual and group experiences which call for initiative, resourcefulness, independent thinking, and creative self-expression in Jewish intellectual and in esthetic aspects of life.

(6) To cultivate avocational interests, as well as habits and attitudes of spending leisure time profitably, wholesomely and creatively, such as reading books of Jewish interest, listening to Jewish music, visiting exhibitions of Jewish art, and the like.

(7) To engender an attitude to the Jewish school as a place of living and experiencing and not merely as a place for
formal instruction. Both pupils and teacher should learn to meet on a level of comradeship and not just on a "classroom level."

There are, of course, distinctive similarities between the goals of general education and those of Jewish education. Since the laws of growth and psychology apply to all human beings, Jew and non-Jew alike, educators in secular and Jewish schools have identical concerns. Competent citizenship in a democratic society may be connoted as relating to the American political state as well as to the Jewish community within that state. Critical mindedness must apply equally well to Jewish thought and continuity. The wholesome use of leisure time relates to Jewish avocational interests as well as general cultural interests. Exploring vocational interests in the Jewish summer camp needs to be focused on Jewish communal service opportunities. One need not belabor the similarities, but what are the different and specific goals that are achievable in the Jewish summer camp?

1. To develop a sense of healthy self-acceptance as a Jew and clear and positive feelings of belongingness to the Jewish people.

Psychologists, psychiatrists, and social workers as well as educators, agree that mental health is a sine qua non for assuring human beings the ability and capacity for living full and happy lives.

One vital characteristic of mental health is self-acceptance. A person who is mentally healthy recognizes his strengths as well as weaknesses. He learns
to accept his limitations and handicaps and endeavors to fulfill himself to the limit of his capacities within these limitations. He does not fret and go to pieces because he is different from others, and cannot achieve in certain areas some of the things that others are capable of achieving ... It is not what we have or can do that makes us happy, but how much we enjoy what we have and can do. 36

Kurt Lewin writes:

... an early build up of a clear and positive feeling of belongingness to the Jewish group is one of the few effective things that Jewish parents can do for the later happiness of their children. In this way parents can minimize the ambiguity and the tension inherent in the situation of the Jewish minority group, and thus counteract various forms of maladjustment resulting therefrom. 37

"Black is beautiful" has become the clarion call of militant Negroes who too, are in search for self-identity and a positive self-image, so essential for self-acceptance. The Jewish camper and staff member no less, must be enveloped in a milieu where these values are clearly defined. It must be unmistakably a Jewish camp, with Jewish staff, Jewish program, and Jewish concerns. In a staff discussion on just this point, the writer recalls a non-Jewish member of staff who noted that "this camp is no different than any other camp I've ever been to"—it is precisely this situation which must be avoided—the Jewish summer camp must be different!

A sense of security comes from a feeling of belonging

36 Chomsky, Teaching and Learning, p. 17.

as well as satisfaction and pleasure. In addition,

a strong feeling of being part and parcel of the group
and having a positive attitude toward it is, for chil-
dren and adults alike, sufficient condition for the
avoidance of attitudes based on self-hatred.38

What kind of a physical milieu does the camp provide?
The very name of the camp, its divisions and cabins, streets
and walks, buildings and terminology, sets a tone. From the
moment of arrival, is it clear that one is in a Jewish camp?

Is there a relationship between camper and camp that
pre-dates the camp season itself. Does the child belong to
the youth movement that sponsors the camp, to the Center that
operates it? What percentage of the campers are returnees
with a sense of loyalty and devotion to the institution which
temper their total outlook and gives them a feeling of "be-
longing"?

Does the staff serve as proper examples for the camper?
Are they well adjusted, self-accepted Jews?

Purpose is yet another ingredient of mental health.
Does the camp evidence Jewish ideals and objectives? With
clear stated and acted-upon purposes to guide the camp, the
individual campers or staff members, or the group, are not
easily demoralized by temporary failures--the overall purpose
provides a "faith-for-living."

What kind of activities go on in camp that engender
feelings of belongingness? Is there a Jewish flag? Is

38Ibid., p. 199.
kashrut observed? Is the Sabbath celebrated? Is the camp aware of the individual differences among the campers, not only in terms of intellectual or social development, but in terms of religio-cultural differences? Can a "traditional" child feel that he "belongs"? Or a non-observer? Is the camp ready to accommodate itself to meet summer Jewish educational needs of the child recommended by his religious school?

These are but a few of the questions that need to be posed to try to determine how effective the camp is in meeting this goal.

2. To develop a positive attitude toward and a familiarity with the sources of Jewish cultural, religious, literary, and artistic self-expression.

Is the program of the camp predicated on the broadest possible definition of pluralistic Judaism, transcending denominational differences and chauvenism, or is it narrow and provincial in its approach? How are the stated Jewish aims of the camp translated into participatory activity on the part of the total camp community? How does the camp define the "Jewish component"? Is pseudo-religious ceremony the only manifestation of Jewish civilization? Are there classes, discussion groups, visits of Jewish cultural resource persons and groups? Is there a camp library, and, if yes, does it have books, magazines, periodicals, records of Jewish content? Are children encouraged to make use of these
facilities? During "storytelling times" are selections from Hebrew and Yiddish literature included? When folksinging and dancing are taught, is Jewish music and dance integrated? Does the arts and crafts shop include Jewish thematic creativity? What of the dramatics program--any plays or skits on Jewish themes? Is there a camp newspaper or radio station that gives space or time to items of Jewish concern? In the camp application forms, are questions relating to the Jewish background and experiences of the child included? In the selection of staff, are skills, abilities, educational background, concerns and interests in "Jewishness" inquired into, required or in any way elicited? Just as "specialists" are employed in all other areas of camp programming, are specialists in the "Jewish component areas," however the camp defines them, sought out? In camps using a "thematic" approach to programming, are Jewish themes included?

3. To develop an appreciation for and the adoption of Jewish ethical and religious conduct.

The essence of Jewish teaching, throughout the ages, Biblical, Rabbinic, Medieval, or Contemporary lies in the admonition to do, to act, through works and deeds of daily behavior, the principles inherent in Judaism. "Just as God clothes the naked (Adam and Eve) so should man clothe the naked; just as God visits the sick (Abraham) so should man make it his duty to visit the sick."\textsuperscript{39} Psalm 15 sets forth

\textsuperscript{39}Bereshit Raba 8.
the conduct and character expected from the virtuous man. "The blameless man acts uprightly, and speaks the truth in his heart. He neither slanders nor hurts nor insults his fellow man... He keeps his word at his own risk, and does not retract..."

Our literature and tradition is replete with ethical concepts and it is not necessary to review them at this point. Judaism has always been concerned with the relationships of man to man and man to society as well as with man to God. Fostering an attitude of respect toward human personality is a primary function of the summer camp. Is the camp community made aware of the Jewish roots and sources of what most of our young people today view as "universal ideals." For the positive self-image to come to fruition, it is essential that our youth recognize that, for example, "You shall love your neighbor as yourself" comes from Leviticus and not from the Gospels! Are there Jewishly knowledgeable people in camp, who, in the course of the typical discussions currently in vogue, on sex, drugs, civil rights, war, poverty, inter-racial issues, etc., can offer clear understandings and insights from a Jewish consciousness? How does the camp treat its hired help? What is the role of the "foreign counselor" and how do campers and staff relate to them? How is money dealt with in camp? How does the canteen operate? Are "materialistic" elements encouraged, in clothing, services, food? Good social work process, so highly regarded in most
camps, focuses on the individual and his growth. Is the camp doing a job in this area?

In those camps sponsored by denominational groups or having specific religious orientation, standards of religious conduct are prescribed—defining "religious" conduct in its narrowest sense. The diversity within the American Jewish community is evidenced in most other camps. Finding some common denominator, usually the absolute lowest, becomes general camp practice. What are the attitudes of the camp toward the variations of religious conduct? What is the nature of the religious service? Is attendance mandatory? What is the level of tolerance to those on the extremes of the religious gamut? Is "religion" offered on "Protestant" terms? Or, does camp operate in such a manner that "learners (read, campers and staff) inquire into the nature of basic challenges encountered by Israel in the past ... and lay a groundwork for a more distinctive response." How is "religious conduct" made relevant in the life of the camp community?

4. To progress in the study and/or use of the Hebrew and/or Yiddish language.

"The most effective medium for coming into possession of Jewish values, standards, modes of thought and feeling, is the Hebrew language" writes Dr. Chomsky in Teaching and Learning. He adds:
The Hebrew language has been the intimate companion, or correlate, of the Jewish people and its religio-ethnic creativity throughout its history. In times of stress or strain, of spiritual anxiety and mental anguish, as well as of joy and exultation, they resorted to it as an outlet and means of articulation. In modern times it serves, likewise, as a symbol of the Jew's spiritual and national renaissance. A Jewish creative life and education without Hebrew is, accordingly, an unthinkable anomaly. 40

The Hebrew language provides a vertical (historical) and horizontal (present world community) tie between Jews. Kaplan points out that "Hebrew can no more be omitted from the child's training as a Jew than English from his training as an American." 41

By the same token, the Yiddish language is a potent means of nurturing Jewish identification and the phenomena known as Yiddishkeit.

Yiddish, however, must be taught not only as a language but as a civilization, as a culture, as the way of life of a thousand-year old Jewish community which perished by all the most horrible means of death devised by man. This tragically-destroyed way of life is an absolutely indispensable source of values from which the developing Jewish community in America must draw to shape its physiognomy. It must assimilate these values in order to strengthen itself ideationally and nationally. It must maintain this continuity as an expression of the completeness, the unbrokenness of the chain of Jewish existence, of the interconnection between one period and another, of the new with the old. 42


41 Kaplan, op. cit., p. 483.

What role does Hebrew and/or Yiddish play in the summer camp? If used at all, how effectively are these languages employed as a part of programming? If there are formal classes, how well and by whom are they conducted? What is the difference between the Hebrew-speaking and Hebrew-centered camps? How much Yiddish does one find in so-called Yiddish camps? What are the goals and objectives of the various camps vis a vis the languages?

5. To develop the habits and skills of participation in Jewish ritual, ceremonial and holiday practices.

Undeniably, camping is not schooling. Notwithstanding the relatively small number of "camps" that have simply moved the school to a country setting, the overwhelming majority of camps are adamant in their refusal to perform what they consider to be the functions and responsibilities of other educational agencies in both the general and Jewish communities. As we shall see, significant numbers of Jewish sponsored camps view themselves primarily as leisure time, recreational agencies. It is within this context that a struggle of ideas takes place in relationship to this particular goal. Without "teaching" in the formal sense, without proselytizing, how can the camp help develop these habits and skills. If there are Sabbath services, how "free" and "open-ended" are they? Who prepares and conducts them? Are the campers and staff involved? Is there any attempt at creativity—new forms, new music or use of music, involvement of
girls as well as boys—are girls permitted to read from the Torah (assuming there is even a Torah in camp)? For the camper who shows an interest or an inclination, is there someone at camp who can instruct in Trop, or assist campers to otherwise read, conduct or participate actively in whatever the type service there is? Or is the service a stereotyped (following one denominational pattern or another), attenuated, and devoid of meaning, emotion, or Kavanah?

What of some other "common denominator" rituals? How does camp handle Blessings before and/or after meals, the lighting of candles, Havdalah. (There comes to mind that camp which scheduled Havdalah at 5:00 P.M. because it "fitted in better with the schedule.") Is the Sabbath different? How? Is Tishah B'Av observed? How? Is smoking permitted on the Sabbath? Why? (either way) Has the camp given any serious consideration to its "religions philosophy"? Does it really have a point of view? Or is it a conglomerate, eclectic, pragmatic, and non-theological? And is ritual meaningless?

What of the camp that makes a fetish proclaiming itself a democratic, community camp—can any child of the community attend and feel comfortable with a true sense of "belongingness"?

6. To promote the acquisition of such distinctive ideals as "love of learning,""Tzedakah," (as distinct from charity) "Tsa'ar Paale Hayyim," (protection of animals) prophetic ideals, of social justice and human brotherhood, and the like.
Does the camp create the conditions, through play and project activities, whereby campers and staff grow in cooperative living? How is the individual helped to understand and feel the interdependence, and interrelationship, between himself and the group? Is the camp community actively related to the community about them? Does the camp, situated as it is in natural surroundings, relate the natural world with the human experience? Does the camp conduct activities which may serve as fund-raising sources for Jewish communal purposes? Is the value of human and animal life reflected in programming? What of the war in Viet Nam?

The listing of "distinctive ideals" is only suggestive; a full listing inexhaustable. How does camp activity and programming express these various ideals?

7. To develop an active identification with Israel.

Whether one believes in the centrality of Israel in the life of a Jew, wherever he may reside, as expressed in some forty camps sponsored by various Zionist movements, or Dr. Simon Greenberg's formulation, that "the peoplehood of Israel is bound up with Eretz Yisrael, the land of Israel, as a political reality," or agrees with Jack Cohen that "the study of Israel... should be geared to stir the child to an awareness of Israel as a live option in his

striving for personal fulfillment," there is little question but that Israel is of deep concern to American Jewry.

What role does Israel play, on any level, in camp programming? Are there Israeli counselors on staff? What is their function in camp and how are they used as resources? Does the Jewish National Fund Caravan visit the camp? Is the culture of Israel present in the music, dance, or the arts in camp? Are there any specific projects in camp intended to create a bridge between American Jewry and Israel? How did camps react in the period immediately following the 1967 war?

An attempt will be made to answer these, as well as the other questions raised in the writer's formulation of his conception of the general and Jewish goals and objectives of the summer camp.

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CHAPTER II

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF CAMPING—
A BRIEF REVIEW

A. General Camping

Considering the fact that American camping is dedicated to the "mental, physical, social, and spiritual growth of individual campers," it is of historic interest and significance, that, without any evidence of communication, the first three major attempts at organized resident camping in the United States were made by an educator, a physician, and a clergyman.¹

In 1861, Frederick William Gunn and his wife took the entire student body of their school, the Gunnery School for boys in Washington, Connecticut, to a site at Milford-on-the-Sound, for two weeks of hiking, fishing, working, and sleeping out of doors. This was the first organized camp in America which might be classified as a "school camp" and which gained for its founder the recognition of being the

"founder of organized camping."\(^2\) It has been suggested that the impact of the Civil War and the exploits of the soldiers on the battlefield and in the camps excited the imagination of the young students and that this, added to the desire to find something for the students to do during the summer, motivated this first trip.

It is also important to underline the word "organized." Camping itself was certainly not new to America during the mid-nineteenth century. The entire early history of this nation was closely allied to living and coping with the out-of-doors. Early settlers and frontiersmen were able to survive because of their knowledge of field and forest. Organized camping, however, goes far beyond mere camping out. It is defined as "an educational venture which provides the participants with opportunities for work, recreation, and social living in an outdoor group setting."\(^3\) This definition has been refined and broadened by the American Camping Association to read:

Organized resident camping is an experience in group living in a natural environment. It is a sustained experience under the supervision of trained leadership. Camping provides a creative, educational experience in cooperative group living in the outdoors. It utilizes the resources of the natural surroundings to contribute significantly to mental, physical, social, and spiritual growth.\(^4\)


\(^4\)Standards Report for the Accreditation of Organized
The second organized camp was founded near Wilkes-Barre in 1876, by a physician, Dr. Joseph Rothrock. His primary objective was to improve the health of "weakly" boys. Dr. Rothrock's camp extended through four months of the summer and the campers, all boys, lived in tents and engaged in a variety of physical activities prescribed by the good doctor.

The first religiously oriented camp was established by the Reverend George W. Hinckley, as part of his church program. In 1880, with only seven campers, he organized a program of religious and educational activities during the morning, and recreational activities in the afternoon, at Gardiner's Island, Rhode Island.

Ernest B. Balch, however, is considered the real founder of the organized camping movement in America. Perhaps this is because, before opening his private camp in 1881, he made careful plans and set good educational objectives. While Rothrock's camp was also private, in the sense that it was owned and operated with the objective of making money, it was discontinued at the end of just one summer. Balch's camp had a history of nine years of successful operation. Balch believed in "learning by doing" and involved the campers in planning their own recreational programs. Developing a "sense of responsibility" for self

and others and an "appreciation of the worthwhileness of work" were his primary objectives. By giving his camp an Indian name, Camp Chocorua, he paved the way for the countless numbers of camps adopting similar identifications and the rise of the cult of Indian lore which was to typify American camping for so long a time.

Between 1881 and 1900, a momentum was developed in the organization of camps. In addition to private camps, organizational and public camps began appearing.

Organization camps are identified by the fact that non-profit, private, or communal organizations sponsor them. This category of camps includes those sponsored by churches, Boy Scouts of America, settlement houses, YMCA 's, and the like.

The first "Y" camp dates back to 1885 when Sumner F. Dudley took a group of members from the Newburgh, New York "Y" on an eight day trip. By 1951, "Y's" were operating over 600 camps across America.

Until 1900, all camps were organized to accommodate boys only. One exception occurred in 1891 when Camp Arey, a private camp owned by Professor Arey of Rochester, New York, opened his camp for a four week period for girls, after

5 Benson and Goldberg, op. cit., p. 7.
6 For a listing of the dates of founding and the sponsors of these camps, see H. W. Gibson, "A History of Organized Camping," Camping Magazine (July 1928), p. 2; (January, 1936 through December, 1936); (May, 1941), p. 11.
the regular season for boys. The first private camp for girls was founded in 1900 or 1902 on a regular basis. The pattern of serving children in a one-sex basis continued until the 1920's when co-educational camping was introduced. To this very day, however, many of the larger camps still segregate the sexes in separate camps for boys and girls, within the framework of a single camp administration.

Public camping is defined as those operated by tax-supported agencies. These include school camps, municipal camps, camps operated by state parks, and camps operated by the Department of Agriculture extension division (4-H camps).

School camping was first introduced by a school system in Dubuque, Iowa in 1912. However, this type of camping was very slow in developing. Only in recent years, particularly after the second World War, has camping, as a public function, been proposed and becoming accepted.

Overnight school camping has grown steadily... It is difficult to ascertain completely how many schools have put this into the curriculum, but a rough estimate from data acquired in a recent study is about one hundred and fifty towns and cities... The time spent in camp ranged from three days to three months, with a majority of these schools offering one week for each group. Some camps are operated on a year-round basis, while others are operated on a short camping season either during the school year or during the summer.7

Educators have long supported the school camping

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7H. Manley and M. F. Drury, Education Through School Camping (St. Louis: C. V. Mosbey Co., 1952), p. 27.
movement as an educationally sound activity. Schoolmen have argued that many skills and attitudes needed by young people can be taught more effectively out-of-doors than indoors, and while they do not claim that the school camp is a panacea for all the ills of society, "some of the direct experiences needed by young people are best found in a school camp environment."8

There is much interest today in school camping. The cost of conducting a school camp in relation to the cost of regular school programs is the biggest obstacle in the way of a rapid expansion of this type camping. It has been estimated that the cost is approximately three times greater per child than that of providing a regular school program. If camping is to be expanded, it will most likely be in the areas of school camping and other public camps.9

By 1949, more than forty colleges operated camps. Most of these camps were organized as an adjunct to Teacher Training, particularly in the areas of physical-education and recreation. Preparing counselors or learning how to teach outdoor living were the primary objectives of these camps, the first of which was organized in 1910.

Public camps trace their origins to Los Angeles in 1911. These camps are generally operated by municipal government through their recreation departments, as free or low-fee camps designed for children who cannot afford to go


9 Benson and Goldberg, op. cit., p. 8.
to private or organizational camps. They are usually non-sectarian with no restrictions as to race, color, or creed. ¹⁰

State and Federal parks maintain camp facilities and lease these camps to public or organizational groups who operate them. In New York state, for example, in the Bear Mountain section of the Palisades Interstate Park, there are almost seventy completely equipped camps leased to agencies from the New York City area. ¹¹

During the past seventy years, the variety of camps and their purposes and objectives matched the variety of needs of children, as society developed a consciousness of these needs. There are camps for all kinds of physically handicapped, for the blind, for the deaf, for the crippled, and for those with cardiac or diabetic conditions. In addition to such special camps which have general camping programs with particular sensitivity to the campers individual problems, camp educators have urged that handicapped children go to regular camps, since the afflicted child must learn to adapt to general society, and "normal" children learn to appreciate and accommodate themselves to those among them who are "different."

Inter-racial and international camps have been with


us since 1934, when Camp Rising Sun was organized, whose purpose was to bring about better understanding among the youth of the world. Campers were brought together from all parts of the country representing a cross-section of social customs, religions, and races. The pressures for inter-racial, non-sectarian camping continues to grow.\textsuperscript{12}

Since our study is restricted to "organized resident camping," we merely note in passing the development of Day Camping, credited to the Girl Scouts who introduced this type of camping in 1922, and Trip camping, which, while certainly organized and sometimes of a temporary-residential nature (Boy Scout overnights, for example), are not usually sustained experiences.

The early development of the organized resident camp took place during a period of economic and social ferment. The years between 1890 and the first World War witnessed a vast immigration into American cities, not only from abroad, but from its own rural areas. Urbanization and rapid industrialization caused untold suffering and wretched conditions among great masses of people. Slums and their attendant social problems rising out of the density of population concentrations and proximity of living conditions

led to expanded juvenile delinquency and breakdowns in moral and ethical standards. In addition,

... Most Americans, especially the industrial and white-collar classes (were) alienated from some crucial life experiences—from the soil, from independent enterprise, from the ownership of tools, from the sense of craft and the dignity of work ... 13

Cynicism toward democracy was a concomitant of the political "bossism" rampant in the large city ghettos where votes could be bought and the stifling exploitation of the "common man" by the great monopolistic industrial corporations, the trusts and holding companies which made a mockery of equalitarianism.

These harrowing conditions aroused the conscience of liberal social, political and philanthropic leaders and led to the beginnings of individual, group, and finally government action to alleviate some of the most blatant ills of society.

While the first state labor bureau was established in Massachusetts in 1869 and employment of children under ten was prohibited by law, the same law permitted employment of children between the ages of ten and fourteen, requiring an eight-hour work day and six months schooling a year.

By the end of the century one-half the states set a minimum age of twelve years in manufacturing industries and a maximum of ten hours a day, but only a dozen states regulated child labor in all types of occupations.\footnote{Arthur C. Bining, The Rise of American Economic Life (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1943), pp. 411-412.}

By the latter part of the nineteenth century, Americans, in increasing numbers, were becoming alarmed at the rate at which the nation's natural resources were being exploited, and this led to a conservation and park development movement. President Theodore Roosevelt led the struggle to preserve the great out-of-doors for future use, and, at the same time, because of his own life experience, stimulated the development of camping as a value for all American youth.

The growth of camping was, therefore, stimulated by a combination of factors at work in America at this time.

In the beginning, camping experience was primarily recreational in purpose and content. The emphasis was on rugged outdoor experience, the recapturing of the pioneer spirit and manner of life, the regaining by the city dweller of the liberating and refreshing contact with the resources of nature. In a sense, camping was viewed as a wholesome antidote or compensation for the effects of industrialization and urbanization on our culture.\footnote{Hedley S. Dimock, ed. Administration of the Modern Camp (New York: Association Press, 1950), pp. 24-25.}

Many of these early camps, particularly those operated by non-profit organizations, were founded to give underprivileged children an opportunity to get out of the
hot, crowded city slums, and spend a brief holiday in the out-of-doors. The free summer months, the decline in child-
labor, the rise in settlement houses and in youth organiza-
tions such as Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, "Y's," Camp Fire
Girls, Salvation Army, all contributed to the growth of
the organized resident camp movement.

The three cardinal concerns, epitomized by the pro-
fessional interests of the three "founding father," health,
education, and religious values, formed the basic program-
ing of these camps. It was almost taken for granted that
innate to camping itself, character development, and social
adjustment would take place, just as an inevitable concomi-
tant of simply being exposed to outdoor group living.

In those days it was assumed that character was
contagious and therefore was 'caught' rather than
'taught,' or achieved by an understanding and con-
trol of the conditions later known to be essential
for its development. Program in many camps was
highly organized, almost to the point of regimen-
tation, and participation in it was stimulated by
elaborate systems of competition, awards, points
and prizes.16

This phase in the development of camping has been
called the "recreational stage" and is generally used as
descriptive of camps until the 1920's.

Before we leave this period it would be well to
point out the fact that while the non-profit camps were
widely "welfare" oriented, largely because of the character-
istics of the sponsoring group and the instituional exper-

16 Ibid.
ience of the early professional workers, nevertheless:

... the camping program, even in the early days was not restricted to the poor; healthful life in the out-of-doors was soon recognized as beneficial for all children... Consequently, camps were established for children whose parents could pay more for the service. Some camps were started as private enterprises to serve children from affluent families.17

Camping really became a movement and a force in American education when the early camps, which were organized and administered by individual owners or founders, began meeting with other camps to discuss mutual problems and interests and to begin acting in concert along cooperative lines. The first Camp Directors' Association was formed in 1910; this was followed in 1916 by the organization of the National Association of Girls' Camps and the Mid-West Camp Directors' Association in 1921. In 1924 all three united into the Camp Directors' Association of America. By 1935 it was apparent that interest and concern for camping dare not be limited only to Camp Directors—there were many other interested parties—and consequently the American Camping Association was founded in Cleveland that year.

The American Camping Association is a voluntary professional organization made up of individuals, representatives of agencies, and institutions interested in the development of organized camping. Its

membership consists of camp directors, members of camp staffs, educators, and others directly associated with the operation of camps or interested in the camping movement. It represents private, organization, church, public, institutional, and special purpose camps. The American Camping Association has well over 5,000 members of all creeds and races. The purpose of the American Camping Association is to further the interests and welfare of children and adults through camping as an educative and recreational experience.18

The post-war period of the twenties brought a transition from the "recreational stage" to a greater emphasis on education. As with all transitions, it is impossible to delineate exact divisions, and, more important, some aspects of the earlier stage continue into the newer development, and in all too many instances, the early stage persists beyond all reasonable limits. Many camps, operating in the sixties, are still oriented almost exclusively to the "recreational stage."

The greater emphasis on education in camping can be readily understood in light of the revolution that was taking place in general education. The advances that were being made in the social sciences—in psychology, social psychology, mental hygiene, progressive education, group leadership, social group work techniques, and personnel administration—began being reflected in progressive camping as well. The literature of camping, sparse enough, began offering such titles as Camping and Education, Camping

and Character, Creative Camping, Education and the Summer Camp, and Organized Camping and Progressive Education.\(^{19}\)

From early camp objectives — such as removing the rich boy to the wholesomeness of the outdoors, away from the sophistication of summer hotels; 'fresh air' outings for the poor boy; religious conversion; and discipline — we have come to the threshold of a social, mental hygiene objective of the adequate personality functioning successfully in group living. From the earlier leadership of 'good men,' athletes, and character (at all costs) enthusiasts, we have come to the understanding group leader and personal counselor. From the nurturing of the 'soul,' the building up of the body, and the perfecting in skills, we have come to the development of the whole personality in the whole situation.\(^{20}\)

Camp leadership, direction, and staff evolved from volunteers to paid (albeit small salaries) professional and semi-professional personnel, mainly public school teachers, themselves affected by the ferment they experienced in their own teacher training institutions, or in the schools where they worked during the non-camp season. The notion that health, personality, and character came about by


"contagion" or "osmosis" previously held by camp administrators, was abandoned, and camping became deliberately educational in purpose, program, method, and leadership. Camps began experimenting with "progressive educational ideas" such as units, thematic approaches to programming, more emphasis on arts and crafts, music, dramatics, and similar activities. The regimentation and autocracy so prevalent in early camps gave way to individualization and mental-hygiene insights were employed to better understand the individual camper. External awards were frowned upon and the emphasis was on intrinsic incentives and motivations.

The thirties brought with them the Great Depression and with the advent of Roosevelt and his "New Deal" a heightened social consciousness throughout the nation. These years also witnessed the continued growth of fascism in Italy and Spain and the rise of nazism in Germany which was to lead irrevocably to war at the end of the decade.

These national and world conditions affected the summer camp in at least three discernable ways. The social planning craze which emanated from Washington accelerated a like response in camping. A rather systematic and cooperative effort was launched to both formulate and then apply standards to the operations of camps. Various committees of the American Camping Association began formulations covering every facet of camping—organization, administration, health, safety, sanitation, program, and personnel.
In November of 1940, a Workshop on Camp Standards was conducted and a report published which represented a synthesis of many formulations in which hundreds of camp people were involved. Entitled *Marks of Good Camping*, it was the forerunner of further camping standards which eventually led to an elaborate procedure of accrediting camps by the American Camping Association. By establishing universally recognized standards, a tremendous impetus was given the entire camping movement to work toward betterment and self-improvement. In pointing out the values of accreditation, the American Camping Association states:

An accredited ACA Camp may:

1. Use the ACA Emblem of Accreditation on its literature and advertising,

2. Be listed in the ACA National Directory of Accredited Camps,

3. Feel justifiably proud in the realization that it is one of many camps associated together in a great cause—the education and protection of children and the conservation of America's greatest heritage,

4. Above all, have a reasonable certainty that an ACA Accredited Camp is of high quality in its leadership, program, and operation. 21

A second effect, already implied above, was the fact that camps moved from isolated, individualistic, and laissez-faire operations to greater concern for cooperative planning. This planning understandably first related to

similar type camps and associations of like-operated camps began functioning. For example, in 1940, a group of private camp directors from the New York, Pennsylvania, and New England area organized a professional association called the Association of Private Camps. With a membership of more than 250 camps they set their purpose to "elevate the standards of camp work through mutual understanding, cooperation and effort." The Association provides services for members which include a counselor placement bureau, research and study groups, a referral service, issuance of a newsletter, information on insurance and legislation, preparation of printed forms, and public relations.22

Even more significant, however, was the involvement of camps with local social welfare structures. Serious attempts were made to begin determining the camping needs of the total community and focusing on how funding and other resources might be found and how existing camps, or new camps to be developed, might serve these needs. In Philadelphia, the Health and Welfare Council established a camping section, in Chicago, the Camping Association operates as a part of the Council of Social Agencies. Cooperation between organizational and public camps and local government accelerated while national services developed at a much slower pace. United Funds and Community Chests began allo-

22 Benson and Goldberg, op. cit., p. 16.
eating more meaningful funds to their neighboring welfare camps while the Federal government assisted by providing surplus foods, tax exemptions, cooperating in the "Importation of Foreign Workers," thus enabling camps greater latitude in employing foreign counselors, assisting in nationwide recruiting programs for workers for summer camp positions, interpreting interstate commerce provisions with regard to the transportation of campers across state lines, trip camping and travel camps, in such a way as to enable camps to operate these functions as "private carriages," thus affecting substantial savings in camp budgets.23

Government impact on private and organizational resident camping had to wait until the late fifties and the sixties when the nation was challenged by the deepening crisis in the black ghetto. Spurred on by problems of segregation, chronic unemployment, broken homes, inadequate educational systems, poor health care, a sparsity of recreational and cultural opportunities, and the like, the President of the United States, in February of 1967, delivered a message to Congress entitled "Recommendations for the Welfare of Children" during which he stated:

With the help of Congress, we can . . . enrich the summer months of boys and girls and, I might add, to give them a sense of direction which may

23Legislation Affecting Camping (Martinsville, Ind.: American Camping Association, 1968)
A manual designed to provide ACA members with information on State and Federal Legislation.
influence their lives... We can, with the help of public-spirited local organizations bring fresh air and cool streams to the slum child who must sleep in a crowded fire escape to get relief from heat... We can enlist the volunteer help of many citizens who want to give needy children a happy summer.24

Aside from the philosophical retrogression to the first decade of the twentieth century where ghetto conditions affecting other groups brought about the same reaction, although not from government sources at that time, the government, shaken by the prospects of inner-city revolution today, is grasping at all straws to cope with the problems. To implement his recommendations, the President proposed:

1. Establishment of a Cabinet-level Council headed by the Vice President to promote summer youth opportunities.

2. Through this Council, public facilities were to be made available to provide camping opportunities for additional needy children.

3. Public and private groups were to be asked to sponsor and operate these camps and to enlist college students and others to work in them.

4. In addition, the President recommended legislation to provide funds for the construction of summer camp facilities for at least 100,000 children in 1968. The building of these camps would be contingent on an agreement with private institutions or local government agencies to operate and finance them.

These recommendations have yet to come to fruition, but the direction has been set and actually had its genesis during the New Deal years of the thirties.

24 Ibid., pp. 65-66.
The threat of democracy which increased after the defeat of Republican Spain, the German march into the Saar, the Japanese invasions of China, were reflected in the greater attention given by the camping movement to the issues of democracy and the democratic living in camp.  

The war years themselves, aside from the difficulties camps faced, particularly with shortages of personnel which affected the quality of program, saw few basic changes in the development of camping.

The third stage of camping, that of social orientation and responsibility, gained momentum during the fifties and continues to this day. Greater articulation regarding the needs of social adjustment are now widespread. Emphasis on campers learning about themselves and about other people finds expression in the camp program in the encouragement of campers to make decisions, decide the rules which will govern their camp community and providing the opportunity for each camper to live as a personality with a minimum of adult domination. Despite the fact that

25 Among the articles appearing in Camping Magazine during this period, see Hedley Dimock, "The Contributions of the Camp to Democracy" (April, 1939), p. 7. During the war years, articles included Norman Studer, "Wartime Education for Democracy at Camp" (February, 1943), p. 10; Bert Gold, "Revolution and Camp Councils" (May-June, 1943), p. 2.

the overwhelming majority of campers are in the eleven to fourteen age grouping, camps are exerting much effort to serve greater numbers of teenagers. A research study in Los Angeles, conducted in 1950, revealed that "in the areas of least need was found the most camping... economic level has a significant influence on the possibilities for camping experience." Another interesting finding was that "on the whole, it was discovered that non-Chest private agencies are serving minority groups more in proportion to their total camping constituency than Chest agencies."

Camps, many of whom are deeply concerned with their social responsibility, are seeking ways to broaden their service potential.

Trends in camping were enumerated in a most comprehensive study of American camping undertaken by the American Camping Association and published in 1953. This study, which was in fact a census of organized camping, provides us with the most valid recent statistics on the state of camping in America. It also points up serious deficiencies faced by the camping movement.

1. There are extreme variations in practices, a condition which indicates the need for closer working relationships among members of the

27 Camp and Campers in the Los Angeles Area (Los Angeles: Research Department Welfare Council of Metropolitan Los Angeles, Report No. 9, June, 1950).

28 McBride, op. cit.
camping movement in order that better
camping may be provided.

2. The need for better interpretation to
parents and to members of related move-
ments such as education and recreation is
apparent. Some means must be found for
developing a better understanding if the
elements that constitute a good camp and
of the contributions of camping to the
lives of campers.

3. Continuous gathering of information about
camping and using that information for the
improvement of camping practices is neces-
sary.

4. There should be a closer working relation-
ship between the agencies of government
charged with the safeguarding of health
and safety and those groups concerned with
camping.

Some of the trends projected in 1953 and in process
of realization since, would include:

1. Camping for all--a growing trend to provide
more camping opportunities for those of all
economic levels as well as for more specialized
groups, such as teen-agers, golden agers,
family camping, culturally deprived, "problem
children," and the like.

2. Decentralized camping--mass type camping is passe
and detrimental to the individual camper who was
"lost in the shuffle." Camps are being con-
structed to allow for small units, villages,
independent decentralized areas which provide
opportunities for more democratic and educa-
tionally sound programming.

3. Indigenous Activities--a response to a develop-
ing philosophy that campers should do those
things in camp which can best be done in the
outdoors and which do not duplicate urban ex-
periences. Less out-of-camp activity.

4. Health and Safety--more attention is being
given during pre-camp training sessions to the
importance of counselors' awareness to physical and mental health.

5. General Counselors—the direction is toward using more general counselors than specialists based on the understanding that the primary task of the camp is to help the camper grow through close leadership which is best given through direct and continuous contact between the camper and mature camp leaders.

6. Flexible and Balanced Programs—as with progressive school programs, where the line between curriculum and co-or-extra curricular activities are fading, camp programs are now being interpreted as consisting of everything the campers do in camp, planned and unplanned. The program is not administered as an end in itself, but a means whereby the campers may develop those personal qualities, attitudes, skills, and interests that are the primary values of camp life. Consequently there must be a more balanced program.

7. Cooperative Planning—"participatory democracy" allows for campers and staff having a greater share in planning and carrying out programs and implementing camp policies and procedures which they have had a hand in formulating.

8. Professional Training and Leadership—the crux of any camp program lies in the calibre of staff. Recruitment, in-service training, both before the camp season for orientation, and afterwards for evaluation, and during the year for extended learning of concepts, skills and method, must receive much greater attention.

9. Year-round Camping—the utilization of camp facilities and trained staff for week-end, school camping, seminars, and retreats is increasing. Winterizing facilities should be considered by all camps to increase their service to their constituency and the community at large.

10. School Camping—community pressure must be applied to local and state legislatures to give every child enrolled in a school the opportunity to participate in a camping experience.
The census estimated that in 1951 there were approximately 12,600 organized camps in the United States, servicing at least 4 million campers. Organizational camps accounted for approximately 68 per cent of campers in some 8,500 camps; private camps served 8 per cent of the total camp population in about 2,400 camps and the remaining 24 per cent of the children attended the almost 1,700 other types of camps. Significantly, of the 32 million children enrolled in elementary and secondary schools in the United States in 1952, only 12 per cent received an organized camp experience.

The American camping movement is looking forward to the day when "a camping experience will be considered a normal part of the educational and recreational experience of every American child."^29

B. Jewish Sponsored Camping

The history and development of Jewish sponsored camps in America parallels, in large measure, but with significant differences, the development of general camping. To the extent that Jews in America faced the same vicissitudes of life affecting all Americans, Jews responded in like or at least similar manner. Where "Judaism differed," Jewish reactions and responses took on a flavor of its own.

^29 Ibid.
Mass immigration of Jews into the United States, mainly from Eastern Europe, began during the 1880's and by 1900 some 450,000 Jews had poured into a few Eastern ports, notably New York. From 1900 on, approximately 100,000 new Jewish immigrants arrived each year. This flow of humanity paused during the war years, and then continued at a somewhat lesser pace, until restrictive immigration laws slowed, then stopped the tide by 1924.

In 1920 the Jewish population stood at about 3,500,000 in a total population of about 106 million. In the forty years which witnessed the doubling of the total population, the Jews grew to be fourteen times their number (250,000) of 1880. Only one-half of 1 per cent of the population of the country when the eastern migration began, the Jews reached the proportion of 3½ per cent in 1920.30

This inundative influx brought with it intensified problems of economic, social, and religio-cultural import. But aside from these "it must never be forgotten that the immigrants came into an existing and ongoing Jewish life. They did not start Jewish life anew."31 The friction that existed between the old German Jewish settlers, who, by the latter part of the nineteenth century, were well on their way to acculturation, had adjusted to American life in language, dress, behavior patterns, and psychology, and the


new immigrants became a factor of consequence in the establishment and operation of many institutions, including camps.

Furthermore, the diversity in origin of the Jews who immigrated into the New World occasioned a multiplication of agencies. The Sephardim of New York City organized the Hebrew Benevolent Society... in 1822, but 22 years later, the recent arrivals from Germany established their own German-Hebrew Benevolent Society... the East European Jews quickly expanded beyond the synagogue and established non-congregational fraternal associations, hospitals, orphan asylums, and similar agencies.32

The duplication of internal community services arose, in part, from deep resentment felt by the new immigrants toward their more fortunate settled brothers, whose attitudes toward them were sometimes fraught with shame, embarrassment, lack of understanding, and sympathy, and perhaps above all, fear, that these newly arrived, shabbily dressed, foreign-looking and speaking people with "outmoded" patterns of religious behavior, would reflect negatively on them, in relationship to the general population.

Bezalel Sherman, in his book, The Jew Within American Society, notes that "The Polish Jew is the dirtiest of all creatures and thanks to him, the word 'Jew' is hereto coming to be used as an insult."33 Sherman further reports

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A B'nai B'rith lodge in Chicago explained that it declined to accept Polish and Russian Jews as members because... they were not yet civilized, were inclined to Orthodoxy and not fit to belong to a respectable organization of American Jews.34

Concerted attempts were made to reroute immigrant ships from Eastern seaports to such places as Galveston, Texas. It would be unfair, and historically probably untrue, to deny the Sephardic and German Jews proper credit for real humanitarian and Jewish brotherly feelings toward the new immigrant, but even these feelings found expression in paternalism. It would take several generations before these deep-rooted animosities would subside and a semblance of a united community arise.

The new immigrant faced multitudinous problems of adjustment to his new environment. First and foremost was the economic struggle he faced immediately upon landing, the severity of which made it difficult for the immigrant to tell which aspect of his new life he found most distressing: the rapid tempo of work... the all-pervading, unashamed acquisitiveness, with the rewards of success entailing a complete reversal of social status... giving up his old cultural and religious values and customs in order to attain a degree of comfort and security.35

Earning a living in the sweatshops of the needle trades, where it is estimated more than two-thirds of the immigrants began their American working experience, took so much of their time and energy that most of the immigrants

34 Ibid.

35 Grazel, op. cit., pp. 24-25.
became resigned to this fate. "Their hopes of success were transferred to their children, and their personal disappointments were expressed in dreams of social change." \(^{36}\)

While the general descriptive term "East European Jew" is used, it must be noted that this term encompasses a broad variety of countries of origin, background, and orientation and that these differences were reflected in American Jewish community organization and institutional life. Jews, in the strangeness of America, and in the absence of governmental assistance—these were the days before social security, workmens compensation, hospitalization plans, etc.—perpetuated "old world" associations by forming Landsmenschafiten, fraternal orders and relief agencies for purposes of mutual aid as well as socialization. The new immigrants also brought with them the various ideological differences which had already become acute and divisive in Eastern Europe. "Intellectual and social movements were already afoot in all of them, whose basic character was secular . . . Haskalah . . . the Jewish national movement . . . radical socialism." \(^{37}\) The Yiddish language and culture served as the great unifying force in their lives, but it became an important factor in the developing estrangement between parents and children who learned in

\(^{36}\) Ibid., p. 27.

time to look down with contempt at the Yiddish, which they
nicknamed the "jargon" of their parents (and) transferred
some of this contempt to the religion of their fathers as
well.

The inner sociological adjustment struggles which
took place on the part of the first, and between the first
and second immigrant generations, had long lasting effects
on the development of the American Jewish community, ef-
facts which are still evidenced today in the relationships
between second, third, and fourth generation American Jews.

The tight family of the peasant community or of
the Jewish tradition was subjected to the strains and
dislocations of the new society; often it was fatally
split, although those that survived found that the
ties of cohesiveness were strengthened by the fact
of their members having to face together an alien
world. Most tragic of all, the immigrants often
found that their own children - adapting more easily
to the new ways, caught up in the new rhythms, accep-
ting the new life goals, and eager to merge themselves
with the new environment--drifted away and became
alienated from their parents. Perhaps in order to
wipe out the cleavage between themselves and their
new fellows, they saw their mother and father through
the eye of 'Americans' and came to think of them as
outsiders and strangers - in short, as objects. The
circle of alienation was completed.\footnote{Lerner, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 87.}

In light of this analysis, it is not difficult to
understand the fact that the first Jewish sponsored resi-
dent camps were organized by philanthropic and Federation
agencies, primarily to serve newly arrived immigrant chil-
dren. The first such camp was probably Camp Lehman, founded
in 1893 by the Jewish Working Girls' Vacation Society and now operating as Camp Isabella Freedman.\textsuperscript{39}

Listed below is a chart indicating the dates of founding, by decade, of the 100 camps included in this study. Since these 100 camps represent a stratified random sampling of all the Jewish camps, under all types of auspiced, reference will be made to some camps, not included in the study, but significant in the history of the development of Jewish camping.

\textbf{TABLE 1}
\textbf{DATES OF FOUNDING, BY DECADE, OF 100 CAMPS INCLUDED IN THIS STUDY}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dates</th>
<th>Sponsorship</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900-1919</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920-1929</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930-1939</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940-1949</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950-1959</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960-1965</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textbf{KEY}

PR - Private         Z - Zionist  
F - Federation       P - Philanthropic  
C - Center          D - Denominational  
E - Educational     H - Hebrew  
Y - Yiddish

\textsuperscript{39}Ramon F. Berger, "Jewish Camps are as Diverse
Of the 28 camps founded between 1900 and 1929, 6 were sponsored by Federations and 7 by philanthropic groups. Centers accounted for 8 camps, while the majority of Yiddish camps appeared during the twenties and the first Zionist, Private, and Educational camps were organized, there were no denominational camps yet on the horizon.

This distribution is completely in keeping with the development of the Jewish community itself.

The origins of Jewish sponsored camping are difficult to ascertain. A definitive history of Jewish camping is yet to be written. Records were poorly kept, camps were founded and disappeared without an historic trace, and there is almost no literature of camping during this period.

Certainly among the first camps was the Educational Alliance Camp, organized in 1901 and located in Cold Springs, New York. This camp, in 1912, was jointly sponsored by the 92nd Street "Y" for eight years and then, in 1920, incorporated as Surprise Lake Camp, the name under which it functions as Jewish Life Itself," National Jewish Monthly (February, 1967).
to this very day. Now under Federation sponsorship it is one of the largest communally sponsored camps in the country.

In 1903, the Neighborhood Centre of Philadelphia, a settlement house, founded the La Grange Camp for Young Women. Neighborhood Centre, established in South Philadelphia, in the heart of the Jewish ghetto, was so pathologically concerned with the hastening of the "Americanization" process that it had a rule that Yiddish dare not be spoken inside the building. This attitude was typical in the more than ninety-five YMHA's established by 1890 and in the estimated seventy-five Jewish neighborhood centers and settlement houses which appeared by 1910. 40 Disdainful of the fact that "the two major cultural possessions in the baggage of the Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe (were) the ancient faith and the Yiddish language," 41 the overwhelming majority of these early camps did not provide kosher food, despite the fact that, at least during the first three decades, most of the immigrant children came from observant homes where kashrut was observed. Overt, concerted attempts were made to strip the child of any vestige of his so-called "old world" culture. It was felt that "the sooner they acquired the language (English) and manners of America the sooner


41Learsi, op. cit., p. 147.
they would feel, and they hoped, be made to feel, at home. 42
The immigrants, and everything that characterized them, sometimes including their religion, were disparaged. These early camps were almost completely devoid of any Jewish orientation, or, the only facet of Jewish programming was an attenuated religious service on the Sabbath eve.

The early camps were organized essentially as social welfare agencies with philanthropic lay leaders serving as members of the governing boards, assuming responsibility for financial support, policy making and employment of staff for the camps. Campers came from the most economically underprivileged Jewish families and paid minimal fees, if any. Counselors were volunteers for the most part, serving during several weeks of their summer vacation. . . . The tradition of Tzedakah, and a concern for the welfare of children of poor Jewish families has continued as one major theme in the conduct of camps under Jewish communal auspices. 43

The earliest Center camp in our study is Camp Wise, of the Cleveland Jewish Community Center, founded in 1907. If problems of Jewish adjustment to America, followed by problems of Jewish identification, plagued the large Jewish population centers, how much more so did these problems affect the smaller Jewish communities. Through the years, many small communities, either alone or in cooperation with others, exerted great efforts to establish camps, which frequently became the sole Jewish socialization force in the lives of the children from summer to summer. Camps

42 Grayzel, op. cit., p. 41.

grew from Maine (Camps Joseph and Naomi, 1933) to Oregon (Camp B'nai B'rith, 1923).

The "fresh air" and "good citizenship" phase of Jewish camping which we identified in our survey of general camping as the "recreational stage," moved into the "educational stage" in the twenties as did non-Jewish camps.

For Jewish sponsored camps, the "educational stage" has dual implications. In the first place, all of the factors which influenced general camping, the advances in the social sciences, progressive educational theory and practice, etc., described previously, had their impact on Jewish camps as well. Perhaps even more so, since Jews were traditionally more sensitive to the role of education and knowledge to life. More important, however, was the fact that Jewish educators and educational institutions began recognizing the opportunities and the challenges of the summer months to help offset the frustrations they faced in educating Jewish children. Three camps were founded during these years in response to these challenges, and, as one who is familiar with the history of Jewish education might expect, all three camps were the product of Benderly's far-reaching influence in the field.

In point of time, Cejwin Camps, organized in 1919, were the first pioneering efforts in "educational camping."
Beginning with a dozen children who were sent for a vacation to the "mountains" by the Women's Auxiliary of the Central Jewish Institute, these camps grew under the guidance, leadership, and directorship of Dr. A. P. Schoolman, who is still associated with the camp. A disciple of Benderly, Schoolman formulated the basic principles which were to guide Cejwin through the years, including the observations that the camp should be operated on the same standards as well conducted private camps and should appeal to a clientele of lower middle-class families who send their children to the more progressive Jewish schools in the community and that educationally the camp should be an integral part of the Central Jewish Institute (articulation between school and camp) and that the art of Jewish living be emphasized.44

Camp Modin, a private camp, organized in 1922 for children of parents who sought a Jewish educational program within the framework of a small private institution, was founded by three of Benderly's followers, Drs. Dushkin, Berkson, and Schoolman. The camp was under the direction of Mrs. I. B. Berkson for many years, is still in existence, but after passing from the Berkson hands, no longer represents the same commitment to Jewish education as it did historically.

Benderly himself established two camps. Significantly, these were the first camps under the sponsorship of a Bureau of Jewish Education. Also of importance is the fact that the first effort, The Kvutzah, founded in 1927, was the first Hebrew speaking camp in the country. As one might expect from an educator of the stature of Benderly, the principles under which the camp functioned were in full consonance with progressive educational ideas. The campers themselves undertook the direction of the activities and cared for all their needs. There was no hired help—the entire camp was a unique experiment in democratic living and planning. During the five years of existence Benderly utilized the camp setting to influence his "second echelon" of young leaders for careers in Jewish Education. In 1932, the camp operation moved to Godeffroy, New York, became Camp Achvah, and changed its objectives to approximate those of Cejwin.45

Four of the five Yiddish camps in our study were organized between 1919 and 1927.

In 1919 Sholem Aleichem Folk Shul #1 launched a project enabling the children of that school to spend their summer vacations out of the city in an atmosphere of play, learning and leisure. Only the parents of five boys and five girls agreed to avail themselves of this opportunity. The program consisted

of play, singing Jewish songs and reading some of the works of Sholem Aleichem. It was then and there that the children decided to name the place 'Boiberik,' after the name of the summer resort which figures in some of Sholem Aleichem's stories.46

Leibush Lehrer, the spirit and guiding light of Boiberik, acknowledged the influence of Dewey and Kilpatrick in formulating the general educational philosophy of the camp. However, the motto of the camp, "The Most Humane Education for a Jewish Child is a Jewish Education," was the camp's answer to the pressure of a sizeable group among Jewish secularists and old line "Bundists" who felt that the aim of education, including Jewish education, should be concentrated on universal humanistic ideas. There were variations in leftist, secularist, anti-Zionist, Yiddishist groups which led to the founding of various organizations and fraternal groups such as the Workmen's Circle and the Sholom Aleichem Folk Institute, to the operation of Jewish schools and to the establishment of Jewish-Yiddish camps. Most were ideologically united in negating "religion" and in the repudiation of ritual observances. Overpowering all else, however, was the love of the Yiddish language and of the folk-culture of Eastern Europe. The Bund, organized in 1897, represented, among the Jewish workers, "the revolutionary strivings of Russian socialism while recognizing the

folk—though not the national—character of the Jewish population and appealing to it through the Yiddish language." Many of these transplanted "Bundists" became completely alienated from the mainstream of Judaism through the twenties and thirties and only the aftermath of nazism softened their views. Other secularists adhered to the thinking of Simon Dubnow, who preached a unique spiritual nationalism which was diaspora centered and negated any need for political Zionism.

Kinderland, founded in 1923, is today sponsored by "a representative body of Jewish secularists dedicated to the cultural and social enrichment of the progressive Jewish community," but was originally founded by the Workmen's Circle who lost control of the camp to leftist communist elements in the organization. Kinder- ring, sponsored and now fully controlled by the Workmen's Circle, and was founded in 1927.

Kinderwelt, sponsored by the Farband-Labor Zionist Order, while classified among Yiddish camps, differs radically from the others. Founded in 1925, it was, first of all, the first camp with a specific Zionist orientation, a labor-Zionist philosophy, established as an adjunct of the Folkshuln, the pioneer Yiddish-Hebrew secularist school system in America, and torn by a "Kultur Kampf" between 47Grayzel, op. cit., pp. 34-35.
extreme Yiddishist and Hebraist proponents. Linguistically
the camp provided a Yiddish milieu, but Hebrew was always
present, in greater or lesser degrees. Today, none of
these camps are in any way linguistically Yiddish—while at
the outset the drive to educate the second generation in
Yiddishkeit with particular emphasis on the Yiddish tongue,
was the primary motivation for establishing these camps.

A secondary purpose of these camps revolved around
the interests of the Jewish Labor Movement. According to
Epstein, Jewish labor had three distinctive features:

... the veterans were militant adherents of radia-
cal beliefs—there was no 'neutral' among them...  ideological and political beginnings preceded indus-
trial organization... young intellectuals had a
decisive part in its formative stages.48

A fervor of spirit and social romanticism permeated
the camp programs. The writer recalls attending Camp Hoff-
nung, a Workmen's Circle camp in 1928, when he was a very
young boy, and the memory of listening for the Sacco-
Vanzetti verdict and the experience of meeting Norman
Thomas, the leader of American socialism, has remained un-
tarnished through the years. Involvement in social issues
and causes became a part of the camp program.

When the Jewish immigrant population began to ascend
into the middle class, and Jewish vocational goals became

white collar and professional, the ties to the Labor Movement began to weaken. Political radicalism persisted, however, and significant numbers of immigrant Jews and their children were swept up by leftist movements in the thirties and forties. Despite the change of work and economic status, the "oldtimes" persisted in the life-patterns and ideologies of their early years. The Yiddish Press, particularly The Forward, was most responsible for guiding the thought processes of these people. The camps, populated by second and third generations, were soon in conflict with their elders and the original ideals and motivations for organizing the camp became dissipated, watered-down until there is little relationship between the early camps and the same camps as operating today.

In 1926, at the suggestion of the director of the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of New York, the Jewish Vacation Association was formed. Its purpose was "to form a permanent organization for coordinating summer camp activities." This association performed valuable services in six areas:

1. Served as the camp department for three large Jewish casework agencies and handled all of their camp placements.

2. Conducted a camp application bureau to which any Jewish agency, or any persons not identified with any social agency could turn for assistance in placing children in camps.
3. Acted as a consultant on camp planning and intake for eleven camps with a total capacity of 4,000 persons. Intake for seven of these camps was completely centralized through the headquarters of the association.

4. Maintained cooperative relationships with a large number of other camps to which referrals were made in accordance with the needs and interests of the applicants.

5. Collected information about the needs of each camp applicant, including his economic status.

6. Gave each candidate referred to a camp a medical examination.\(^4^9\)

The coordination of camping services under Federation sponsorship was a significant move forward in increasing the number of children who could go to camp and trying to enrich their experiences. Efforts at coordinating camping services were initiated in other parts of the country as well.

Twenty per cent of the camps in our survey were organized during the twenties, of these, 35 per cent were center camps; 30 per cent organized by philanthropic agencies; 20 per cent by Yiddish speaking groups; 10 per cent by Federations or Welfare Funds; and one Zionist camp and one Private camp.

Two of the largest Center camps organized during this period were the New Jersey "Y" camps (1920) and the

\(^{4^9}\)Ida Oppenheimer, "A Central Camping Service," Survey Midmonthly (May, 1944)
Philadelphia "Y" camps, Arthur and Reeta (1925). These two camps were to become the prototype of the Center camps which were to continue developing during each succeeding decade and were to become the largest single grouping of camps serving the greatest number of Jewish children of all Jewish communally sponsored camps.

The world-wide economic depression which began in 1929 and extended through the thirties brought political and social upheavals and turbulence in its wake. The two revolutionary authoritarian movements which profited from the situation had far-reaching effects on all people, but particularly tragic and trying effects on Jews. The horrendous persecution, dislocation, and finally destruction of European Jewry by the nazi sub-humans on the one hand, and the false messianism of Russian communism on the other were mirrored in the thought, concerns and activity of the American Jewish community during this decade. The struggle of the Jewish Yishuv in Palestine toward the restoration of a Jewish National home, its conflict with the Arabs, its ordeal with the British mandate authorities, its frustrations in trying to provide refuge for European Jewry, particularly children organized under Youth Aliyah, reverberated throughout the Jewish world and helped bring about renewed interest in Zionism and the development of the Zionist youth movements, of Hackshurim centers and of the first Zionist camps.
This period of *Sturm und Drang* was also a time of great theoretical conflicts within the American Jewish community as to the place of ethnic and religio-cultural groups in the framework of American democracy and the evolving social and political philosophies of the time. We have seen that substantial numbers of first generation immigrants were already indifferent to affiliation with organized religion of any kind, but that they expressed their Jewish-ness in other varying ways. The second generation, oftentimes referred to as a "lost generation" vis à vis Judaism, since their parents were too preoccupied by the immediate problems of economic survival in America and could give little attention to educating their children Jewishly, coupled with the terrible dichotomy between the transplanted European *Heder* or even *Talmud Torah* and the public school with its nonsensical "melting-pot" orientation, led to notions that adjustment to America demanded obliteration of all differences. Lack of Jewish consciousness on the part of large segments of second generation Jews in the thirties, may also be attributed, according to Grayzel, "to the special susceptibility to rationalist influences ... and the inability of immigrant parents to transmit their heritage in terms of the new environment."\(^{50}\)

This inner struggle was manifested in the types of

\(^{50}\)Grayzel, *op. cit.*, p. 52.
programming that evolved and the philosophical and social overtones which appeared, particularly in Center and communal camps. Too many of the social workers were personally effected by communist ideology and this was reflected in the values they brought with them to the camps they served. "There was much confusion and lack of knowledge about Jews and Judaism. The struggle for the evolvement of a sound philosophy for Jewish communal camping was at its peak."51

Miriam Ephraim, who served until recently as Director of Program Services of the National Jewish Welfare Board writes:

It was also during this period, with the stimulating and provocative leadership of ... outstanding social workers ... that the workers in recreational and informal educational settings such as centers and camps intensified their experimentation with the new method of social group work, which was based on the creative use of the group experience, with the help of a trained group leader, for individual growth and the achievement of group goals. Combining progressive educational and social work objectives and drawing upon new knowledge in the fields of psychology and sociology, as well as other related disciplines, the social group work method was readily adopted in both camping and center programming.52

Unfortunately, a majority of social work practitioners, while deeply concerned with the individual, minimized, practically to the point of exclusion, the fact that "the personality development of the individual Jew and his adjust-

52 Ibid.
ment to his environment could be achieved most efficiently through meaningful Jewish, as well as general, group experiences."53 This led to a situation in the thirties where a substantial proportion of Center and communal camps, Federation and Philanthropic as well, and Private for sure, were almost completely devoid of any meaningful Jewish programming or consciousness during this entire period, despite the unmistakable lessons which should have been apparent to all Jews in light of world conditions and events. The tragedy, from the point of view of meaningful, creative Jewish survival in America, is the fact that these attitudes of the thirties have taken a long time in changing and vestiges of Jewish non-concern and Jewish illiteracy among the staffs of these camps, despite radical changes in upper echelon thinking, persist to this day in too many of these camps.

The economic effects of the depression brought serious deprivation to large numbers of Jews along with the rest of the population. Jewish communal services were also affected by the financial crisis, but, on the other hand, the funds available were allocated primarily for welfare purposes. Camping became a concern of councils of social agencies, of Jewish Federations, and of non-sectarian agencies which also serviced Jewish children.

53 Ibid.
The Zionist movement entered the camping arena with the founding by Hashomer Hatzair of its first camp in 1928. Hashomer Hatzair was originally a Zionist scout movement organized independently in various cities in Galicia and Poland in 1913. "... after the first World War it began to emphasize Palestine and the revival of Hebrew. With this it combined a socialist program thus forming a synthesis of Marxism and (Jewish) nationalism."\(^\text{54}\) Camp Kvutzah, organized in 1933 by the Young Poale Zion Alliance (which became Habonim in 1935) started in Accord, New York, and, today, has a network of nine camps nationally. Camp Judea, of the general Zionist movement, began in New England in 1938 and the religious halutz movement, originally called Hashomer Hadati and now B'nei Akiva organized its first Camp Moshava in 1937.\(^\text{55}\)

Understandably, only 14 per cent of the camps in our study were organized during the thirties. It is really surprising that there were even this many, considering the economic conditions of the times, except that most of the Zionist camps were founded on a shoestring with generally rented sites and the most primitive conditions which required little capital investment. A number of the Center camps organized during this period made use of State camp


facilities and were faced only with operational budgets.

The Second World War, the holocaust and the struggle and attainment of statehood by Israel were the focii of attention of the American Jewish community during the forties. The impact of these events brought significant changes in the thinking and behavioral patterns of the community. In camping, eleven of the eighteen camps in our study founded during the forties, were established by Educational (3), Zionist (4), Denominational (3)(appearing for the first time in the history of the development of camping), and Hebrew Speaking (1) institutions.

Bureaus of Education and Colleges of Jewish Studies also entered the camping field. It took almost twenty years for Bureaus of Jewish Education to follow the pioneering example of Benderly in 1926. The Chicago Board of Jewish Education founded Camp Avodah (1943) during the war to "provide young people with the opportunity of working on a farm combined with Jewish living." The Bureau also cooperated with the Chicago College of Jewish Studies in organizing Camp Sharon and was instrumental in the founding of the first Camp Ramah in Wisconsin in 1947.

Camp Yavneh was established as a study camp by the Boston Hebrew Teachers College in 1942 and in 1944 Camp Galil was opened by the Cleveland Bureau. Cincinnati oper-

ates Camp Macabee and the Maine Committee on Jewish Education established Camp Lown in 1946.

The first denominational camps were organized by the Orthodox group—Camp Aguda in 1941 and Camp Enos in 1946. As noted, the Conservative Movement began in the field of camping in 1947 with the establishment of Camp Ramah in Wisconsin. The first camp of the Reform Movement appeared in 1951.

The Hebrew Camp, sponsored by Hanoar Haivri, appeared in 1941 under the name Camp Massad. While not the first Hebrew speaking camp—this honor goes to Benderly's Kvutzah in 1926—Massad was the first camp of its type open to campers of all ages. Now developed on three separate sites, it is in reality the only Hebrew speaking camp in America.

By the forties, philanthropic and Federation camps were no longer being organized, and Federations began providing subsidies to non-Federation sponsored camps while continuing to support and expand its own previously organized camps.

We have already mentioned the effect of the activities of the American Camping Association on general camping. These effects were felt on increasing numbers of

57 Shlomo Shulsinger, "Hebrew Camping – Five Years of Massad," Jewish Education, XVII, 3 (June, 1946), 17.
Jewish camps as well. Many professionals of Jewish camps were active in the affairs and discussions of the ACA with a net result that 58 per cent of the camps in our survey are members of the association. The significance of these membership figures will be discussed in a later chapter.

Notice should also be taken of the fact that, except for Zionist camps, volunteerism practically disappeared as a factor in camp staffing and leadership in resident camping became more and more the province of the professionals, most of whom were employed by Jewish community centers or "Y's" on a year round basis, assigned to their camps for approximately four months of the year. Full-time camp directors began appearing on the scene toward the end of the forties, although there were a selected few, i.e., Schoolman at Cejwin, even earlier.

The aftermath of the Second World War wrought a revolution in the Jewish Center Movement which led to a basic re-evaluation of the fundamental purposes of the Jewish community center.

The original emphasis of centers, YM and YMHA's, Jewish settlement houses and neighborhood centers had been on the 'Americanization' of immigrants, and hence on programs designed to increase mastery of English and general acculturation. After World War II, however, the emphasis at least in administrative and professional deliberations, if not consistently and universally in actual program practices, turned to what has loosely been labeled 'Jewish content' and 'Jewish values'.

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The Center Movement, always an important factor in Jewish communal life, expanded its membership rolls from 427,000 to 646,000, and its annual expenditures from $7,171,000 to $25,051,000 between 1945 and 1960. Two significant trends were discernable in the membership figures: members under fourteen (camp age) constituted approximately one-third of the total membership, and members over the age of sixty began to be a quantitatively significant segment of the Center population. Center camping reflected these trends in the expansion of camping services to both age groups.

An historic study, the recommendations of which were to effect the entire Center movement from the time of its appearance to this very day, was undertaken by the National Jewish Welfare Board in 1947. The findings, known as the Janowsky Report or the JWB Survey, led to nationwide discussions and the adoption by the National Jewish Welfare Board of some twenty-two recommendations covering all aspects of JWB services. Included was a "Statement of Principles" providing guidelines for centers and camps in the clarification of their purposes and goals. Janowsky summarized his conclusions as follows:

The most important conclusion of the Survey is that the Jewish Center should have a Jewish purpose -

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that it should be an agency with which the Jew might identify himself in order to satisfy his specialized Jewish needs. From this premise, it follows logically that the program of the Jewish center should devote primary attention to Jewish content, without, of course, excluding or ignoring the general activities which are essential for a well-rounded center program.

This position further implies that Jewish centers cannot be non-sectarian agencies. I maintain that non-sectarian neighborhood centers are highly desirable. But, if special Jewish centers are established, they must have a Jewish purpose. They cannot be Jewish and non-sectarian at the same time. If Jewish centers are truly non-sectarian, they have no reason for existence as Jewish agencies.60

What Janowsky wrote about the centers applied equally to the camps sponsored and operated by the centers. However, as with all revolutionary and innovative ideas, it was to take a very long time to institute changes from the "ideal" to the "real." Our study will address itself, in terms of the actual practices of center camps, to these very questions.

The events leading to and the establishment of the State of Israel spurred on the accelerated development of Zionist camps. In 1945, there were more than thirty such camps operating throughout the United States and Canada. By now, all of the Zionist youth movements with the exception of Betar and Left Poale Zion, which founded their camps in 1953 and 1950 respectively, were servicing over 6,000 children during the summer.

The largest single decade of growth and development

of camps under Jewish sponsorship were the fifties. Thirty-two per cent of all the camps in our study were founded during this period, of which thirty-one per cent were denominational camps.

Sklare, in his study of Conservative Judaism written in 1955, points out that "those who feel the most guilty about having acceded to the Conservative pattern of Jewish education are the rabbis." He then cites Gordis, who writes:

... probably the most crucial (of our weaknesses) has been our widespread lack of success in Jewish education ... The Hebrew School ... has generally been the stepchild of our educational system instead of being the cornerstone. Instead of fighting the trend (toward the reduction of standards) we (rabbis) have all too often surrendered.

Dissatisfaction with the state of Jewish religious education in Conservative schools resulted in increased efforts to persuade schools to raise their standards and a slow process of upward trends began. In addition to advocating all manner of changes to intensify the school program, synagogue leaders began seeking other opportunities to improve the quality of education for their children. Realists, they recognized that whatever was to be offered, it would have to take place within the framework of the existing pattern of Conservative education—Hebrew and Sunday school.


62 Ibid., quoted from Robert Gordis, "The Tasks Before Us," Conservative Judaism, I, 1, October, 1944.
programs. Supplementary instruction in Hebrew language and in "Jewish living" could easily take place in a camp setting and Camps Ramah were born.

Katzoff, in his study of the philosophy of the Conservative Congregational School, reports that:

At a two-day educational conference of the Rabbinical Assembly, held at the end of 1946, the achievements of the Conservative schools were weightily pondered and several solutions were proposed. Emphasis was placed especially upon the utilization of the free summer months for Jewish education, by way of camp programs. Implementation of this proposal was effected by the establishment of Camp Ramah, the first Conservative camp in the country in the summer of 1947.63

The 1947 Ramah camp was in Wisconsin and serviced children mainly from Chicago. This was followed by Camp Ramah in the Poconos, in 1950, for children from the Philadelphia area, and Ramah in Connecticut in 1953 for youngsters from the New York area. California followed in 1954 and Canada in 1963. These camps, while serving local areas and operated by local camp boards, are part of a national system of camps, centrally controlled.

The Union of American Hebrew Congregations established five camps during the fifties beginning with the Union Camp Institute in Minnesota in 1951. Camps Saratoga and Hess Kramer were opened in 1952--the first served the San Francisco area and the second organized by a Reform Congregation Los Angeles. During the

summer of 1958, three more camps were opened, Camp Joseph Eisner in Massachusetts, Camp Harlam for the Philadelphia area, and the Union Camp Institute in Indiana. The seventh Reform Jewish Camp opened in 1962 in Georgia and serves Southeastern United States. All of these camps, except Hess Kramer, are guided through the Department of Camp and Youth Education from UAHC headquarters in New York City.

Of the fourteen private camps included in our study, eight were organized during the fifties. By this time the "affluent society" was in full swing and Jewish class mobility shifted from lower-middle to middle-middle and upper-middle strata. Jewish parents could more easily afford to send their children to camps, but the camps had to conform to nouveau riche qualifications. Many of these camps were simply summer resorts for children. One estimate has been made that there are approximately seventy-five private camps that cater exclusively to Jewish clientele, a second estimate places the number of such camps at 250 with 50,000 children enrolled. Unfortunately there are no valid statistics available on the total number of private camps and the nature of their campers. In most states camps need not register or be especially licensed and membership in the American Camping Association is voluntary. It is possible to review the listings of camps in the ACA Directory, try to recognize Jewish names of owners and assume that the camp

64 Melzer, op. cit., p. 40. 65 Berger, op. cit.
serves Jewish children. The "250" were probably estimated by this process. This rather unscientific procedure does not account for the probably countless thousands of Jewish children who attend non-sectarian, Boy Scout, YMCA, and other camps sponsored by non-Jewish agencies or owners. It is possible that larger numbers of Jewish children attend non-Jewish sponsored camps than camps under Jewish auspices.

The Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of New York, through its Functional Committee on Camping, based on data gathered between 1955 and 1957, outlined a blueprint for the development of voluntary agency sponsored resident camp services for the Jewish community in the New York City area. The recommendations were in the areas of priority of services, existing sites, and facilities, additional sites and facilities, capital funds and organization of camping services, non-Federation camps under Jewish communal auspices, operating costs, and research and study needs. A most comprehensive study, it has formed the basis for camping activities under Federation guidance to this very day. Among the recommendations worthy of particular note were:

1. Federation camp services should be primarily for families unable to afford private or self-sustaining camping facilities. (This is in keeping with the traditional attitude of Federation toward camping.)

2. Construction of new facilities should be primarily for elementary age school children, where the greatest demand has been evidenced.
3. Equitable opportunities for camping services should be maintained for both sexes, geographic areas, agency membership, and the community at large.

4. Of all the various reported categories of camps, potential expansion seems most likely to occur amongst the self-sustaining, Jewish, religious camps. (This prediction has indeed been realized.)

5. There is relatively little expressed demand for camping services for teenagers. The least demand for teenage services comes from the lower income group, with an increased demand coming from middle income groups primarily for girls... Despite this low demand the community is eager to encourage camping services to this age group, because of its educational potential for future leadership.

Of particular significance in this very detailed study was the fact that no attention was given to the Jewish purposes and programming of these Federation camps. Concern was shown for all aspects of the camp, except for its most essential element.

The first half of the sixties saw the continued growth of denominational camping. The orthodox camp movement was most active in purchasing former private camps and converting them for use by yeshivot, Lubavitcher groups, Yeshiva University council groups, and the like. Reform camping added a camp, and just recently a $100,000 gift from an individual was contributed toward the establishment of a Reform Camp for the New England area. Ramah camps expanded into the Berkshires and Israel.

A slow but steady metamorphosis is taking place
within Center and Federation camps in the direction of expanding and enhancing Jewish programmatic content, as a reaction to the previous historic tendency to minimize the Jewish component. To help initiate this process, the JWB sponsored a two-day national conference on resident camping in New York in December, 1961. More than a hundred camp leaders from all over America participated in deliberations which, in addition to the usual concerns about such matters as camp facilities, fee setting, budgeting and financing, purchasing, food services, the role of the camp committee or Board, etc., also addressed itself to the fundamental issues of the purposes, goals and objectives, programming, selection, and training of staff in light of newly evolving understandings of the Jewish communal responsibilities of these camps. The JWB Year Book of that year highlighted a study and analysis of Jewish communal camping trends, written by Bernard Warach of the Associated "Y's" of New York, and in 1965 Arthur Brodkin, the JWB consultant on camping compiled a Directory of Summer Camps under Jewish Communal Auspices. This directory listed some 100 camps, located mainly in New York and Pennsylvania.

The American Association for Jewish Education, cognizant of the growing demand for an emphasis on education in Jewish camping, sent a questionnaire in the summer of 1963 to more than 100 camps, not including private camps, of which 61 responded. Based on the statistical findings,
the writer of this study, prepared an analysis of the responses, which was published in the American Jewish Yearbook of 1966. This article served in small part as a catalytic agent, in precipitating increased attention to the issue of the Jewish purposes of camps operating under Jewish communal auspices.

The Conference of Full-Time Executives of Jewish Communal Camps was organized in 1957 by a handful of camp directors who recognized the benefits that could be gained by meeting together and sharing their experiences. Annual conferences were convened, with Harold Beker, then director of the Philadelphia "Y" camps, as convener. Topics discussed over the years were varied, but were mainly concerned with general camping procedures and problems. Since most of the camp directors were employed by camps affiliated with the JWB it was natural that the yearly conferences became a functional responsibility of the JWB and its camping consultant, and conference papers were published by the JWB. The preface to the 1967 proceedings is of particular significance in that a new trend became discernable.

In addition to the values inherent in the examination and discussions of the concerns of administering an effective camping program, the Conference has also served as a major vehicle for interpreting the important and significant contribution which a camping experience can make to the camper and the community. The role and function of the resident camp under Jewish communal auspices has taken on new meaning as ways are sought for strengthening the individual's identification with the Jewish people and the Jewish community. The theme of the 1967 Conference, 'Program,
Policies and Practices to Achieve the Objectives of the Jewish Communal Camp," highlights this interest on the part of the camp directors to assure that the services and activities of their camps are fulfilling these most important objectives and, at the same time, providing these services on the highest professional level. 66

The 1967 Conference included papers on such items as "Use of Intake Process in Relation to Purposes and Objectives of Camp;" Role of Staff on Achieving Purposes and Objectives," as well as general camping concerns such as "Current Salary Information and Personnel Practices for Full-Time Camp Staff" or "The Use of Camp on a Year Round Basis."

While the 1968 Conference reverted to emphasis on general camping issues, it did include a session on "Use of Israel Program and Staff in Camp."

An historic "first" took place in January of 1969 when the JWB, the AAJE, and the Conference of Full-Time Executives sponsored a National Conference on Jewish Camping, whose theme was "Strengthening the Jewish Experiences of the Children at Camp." Attending this conference were representatives of some 200 camps including those sponsored by Federations, Jewish Community Centers, bureaus of Jewish Education, synagogue bodies, Zionist organizations, and Yiddish cultural groups. Sessions included such topics as Basic Issues in Jewish Camping, The Role of Israel in the

Camp Program, Enriching Jewish Life Experiences in the Camp, Staff Training for Strengthening Jewish Identification and Practice, and Developing Effective Communication Among Camps to Strengthen Jewish Experiences of the Camper. An interesting by-product of the conference were the meetings of similar-purpose groups. For example, this was the first time, after almost forty years of co-existence, that "Yiddish" camps met as a group. The same was true for Zionist camps, and, as a result of the conference, an Association of Zionist-Sponsored Camps is in the process of organization which will incorporate the more than forty such camps being operated by the various Zionist youth movements.

Of greatest import for the future development of Jewish camping were the resolutions passed unanimously by the conference giving direction for the coming years. Two of them are worth noting:

1. It is the consensus of those in attendance at the first National Conference on Jewish Camping that the deliberations and discussions which took place is the beginning of sharing, learning, and exploration that need to take place continually in order to strengthen the Jewish dimension of the camp programs. It is therefore resolved that this group meet again next year to continue the work now begun.

2. The Conference urges that a Task Force be established to explore and assess the need for and feasibility of organizing a national body for Jewish camping. If such an organization is found feasible and useful, it should be the responsibility to project the purpose, structure, function, and budget for such an organization.
Another important development for Jewish camping took place in New York in 1962, when a meeting was held to consider the establishment of a central organization for all Jewish sponsored camps operating out of the New York area. A certificate of incorporation was issued in 1963, and finally, in April of 1964, the Association of Jewish Sponsored Camps, with Ramon Berger as director, began functioning. By 1968, thirty-seven camps, representing a wide spectrum of Jewish communal camping, were affiliated. The Association is supported by a subvention from the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of New York and by dues from member camps and cooperating agencies. Among the important activities of the Association is the publication of an Annual Directory of Member Camps which attractively and succinctly provides basic information about each camp for prospective campers. A Newsletter is published monthly and provides important and interesting information. A sampling of recent issues includes such diverse items as Information on Federal Surplus foods, a report on the development of Hasidic-Yeshivah camps indicating that there are now (July, 1969) twenty-six such camps operating, Information on low cost construction materials for camp buildings, a Department of Social Services memo, Report on a Summer Reading Program prepared by UAHC, and the like. The Association was instru-

mental in developing the very first manual written on Kash-
rut in camping. The Preamble to its by-laws states:

The Association of Jewish Sponsored Camps, Inc., in its endeavor to provide the best possible camping services to the people of the Greater New York metropolitan area will be comprised of many camps, cooperating organizations, and interested individuals representing a variety of spiritual, educational, and social purposes in both their philosophy and practices. In matters pertaining to dietary practices, Sabbath observance, religious content, and other spiritual concerns, the ASSOCIATION recognizes the wide variety of practice of its members and respects the autonomy of each organization.68

The Association inherited the functions of the Jewish Camp Application Bureau, a referral and information service for the unaffiliated community at large. It has also helped member camps find new camp sites, helped establish Judaica and general libraries in most of its affiliated camps, recruited medical and non-program personnel, and helped people in key camp positions, developed a resource library and file used by camp directors seeking ideas and information. One of its more interesting projects has been extending camp services to members of the black Jewish community. The director visits member camps during the summer and serves as a consultant to them.

Another indication of the rising interest and concern of camp directors in the role they and their camps can play in educating children and staff toward a better understanding of the relevance of Judaism to contemporary living,

68 Abstract of By-Laws, Association of Jewish Sponsored Camps, Inc.
is the participation of these individuals in seminars for camp staff conducted by JWB in Israel.

The diversity of American Jewish life is mirrored in its many-faceted camps. Like most institutions, they lag behind the more progressive thinking of the intellectual leadership. The full significance and historical importance of the Jewish summer camp lies in its future development and is yet to be written.

Israel is becoming more and more of a factor in American Jewish camping. On the one hand, thousands of American children have had the opportunity to spend their summers in Israel in camping settings. On the other hand, American camps are employing more Israelis on their staffs. During the summer of 1969, more than 200 Israelis were brought from Israel just to work in summer camps. Additional numbers of Israeli students, temporary residents of the United States, are also employed at camp. This "human-bridge" will do much to establish better understanding between American and Israeli Jews, and will also afford the opportunity for Jewish college youth to interact on an ideational level with their counterparts from Israel.

Another development which should auger well for the future of Jewish education and camping was the establishment of a Department of Camping by the American Association for Jewish Education and the appointment of a part-time con-
sultant in the person of Asher Melzer. The AAJE, which re-
lates to bureaus of Jewish education throughout the coun-
try, can serve as a stimulus for greater involvement by
bureaus in camping. The last bureau to organize a camp
did so in the forties.
CHAPTER III

GOALS AND OBJECTIVES IN JEWISH CAMPING

A. Types of Camps

For the purposes of our study, we have classified the one hundred camps into nine categories, according to institutional sponsorship.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Camp</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Private</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Federation</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Jewish Center</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Educational</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Yiddish</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Zionist</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Philanthropic</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Denominational</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Traditional</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Conservative</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>(c) Reform</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Hebrew</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

It should be noted that many of the camps could easily fit into two or more categories and that the rationale for
assigning them to a particular category depended not only upon their sponsorship but also upon their primary function.

For example, all of the denominational camps are also educational and some are either Hebrew-speaking or Hebrew-centered. However, their primary function is related to the purposes of the denominational group which sponsors them, and thus they are categorized as "Denominational."

A number of Center camps and some Philanthropic camps receive subventions from Federations. In some instances, the most significant part of their budgets come from Federation allocations. In one case, a B'nai B'rith region subsidizes a Center camp. Again, the camp was placed in its particular category because of the nature of its service and the formal sponsorship of a specific agency.

Most Zionist camps are Hebrew-centered and a few are Hebrew-speaking. A Hebrew-centered camp is one where Hebrew plays a central role in program. There may be Hebrew classes, announcements may be made in Hebrew, camp terminology is Hebraic, and so on. It differs from the Hebrew-speaking camp in that the spoken language of camp, the language employed by most campers and staff in daily activity, is English.

The category, "Yiddish" camp, is a mis-nomer if one conceives of these camps as Yiddish language speaking or even centered. Of the five such camps in our study, only one makes any real pretense toward such a definition. These
camps are sponsored by adult Yiddish language oriented organizations.

Private camps are generally commercial enterprises operated for profit, catering to a Jewish clientele. However, several private camps are also educational. Where, in the judgment of the writer, the educational program of the camp was truly significant, the camp was listed under the category "Educational." The majority of the camps in this category are sponsored by non-profit agencies, such as bureaus of Jewish education, schools, or national organizations like B'nai B'rith.

The Philanthropic camps are sponsored by private philanthropic organizations or are institutions set up specifically to operate camps, usually for "underprivileged" children.

Federation camps are those which were established by Federations or Welfare Fund agencies and whose operating budget is dependent on Federation allocations.

The single Hebrew-speaking camp in our study was organized by an independent Hebrew cultural organization and while the camp has evolved as an institution which services children from mainly orthodox affiliations, it is still listed in its own category.
B. Goals and Objectives are Viewed by:  
  a) Owners, Sponsors, and Camp Directors

The goals and objectives of the nine categories of camps as classified in our study vary in accordance with the purposes of the sponsoring organizations. Broad variations occur within a single category thus making overall generalizations difficult and sometimes misleading. Consequently, all generalizations will be hedged in recognition of the deviations within the category.

Caution must also be exercised in taking cognizance of the fact that the goals of sponsors are usually interpreted by the directors and that the actual program of the camp is more readily a reflection of the director on-the-job, than of the sponsor, who is oftentimes an absentee overseer. In many cases, the sponsor consists of a lay camp committee, frequently with diverse points of view, who generally, frequently by default, leave the operation of the camp to the professionals who themselves do not always agree with the stated purposes of the sponsoring agency. In some instances the only real continuity in the operation of the camp lies in the professional staff and the camp, over the years, takes on the particular flavor of a particular personality.

As we shall see, the true nature of the camp, whatever the category, is first and foremost dependent on whether or not it has a competent staff, in every area of
camp programming—from the director to the bunk counselor to non-educational personnel. The dichotomy between the "real"—the actual operation, and the "ideal"—the expressed and projected goals, are very often far apart.

One must also take into account the fact that most goals and objectives are broadly defined leaving much leeway for emphasis. The physical site of the camp, its facilities, and those of the neighboring area also effects the goals and objectives.

On the basis of written and verbal statements, listed below are the goals and objectives of a sampling of the camps in the study.

1. **Private Camps**

   The aims of these camps are motivated primarily by the profit motif. The children must be kept happy and healthy so that they and their parents will choose to return to the same camp the following summer. The frank director, after seeking assurance that the name of his camp will not be revealed and that his remarks will remain anonymous, bluntly advises that the key to camp is fun. Keeping the camper happy and the parents satisfied, particularly in the areas of health and welfare, is the main preoccupation of the staff. The private camp owner generally sets his sights on a particular socio-economic clientele, and organizes his program accordingly. Recognizing that today's parents, especially from the upper-middle class, are more often than
not college graduates, the owners are careful to couch their aims in sophisticated educational language. A few examples should suffice.

It is the aim at . . . to give every child a summer of happy and meaningful experiences and to help him in his physical, social, and emotional development. He will add to his maturity by learning to accept certain responsibilities, his social life will be enriched by the new friends he makes, and his emotional urges will be tempered by more serious thinking. Our program is planned but not regimented, and each camper is helped to develop his own personality and individual abilities.

In a guided environment of growth and fun, they (campers) are given the opportunity to live in harmony and acquire an appreciation of the outdoors through a sense of secure relation to the world of nature about them. A diversified schedule of Cultural and Esthetic activities is planned to develop creative hobbies and to disclose hidden talents. A complete variety of athletics under the supervision of competent specialists helps to build healthy bodies and to stimulate in the minds of the young people an awareness of their character development and the part they, themselves, must play in that development.

. . . enjoy a wonderful summer in an environment featuring a balanced program of recreation, culture, learning and sports . . . where child-care and child development are our primary concerns.

Camp . . . is dedicated to meeting the needs of each camper by offering opportunities for individual expression and wholesome, happy living.

There are private camps that are sensitive to Jewish needs. These camps are generally operated by owner/directors who have had previous camping experience in Jewishly-oriented camps, Zionist or Center, before venturing in private camping enterprise. Notice how the Jewish component becomes integrated in the statement of aims.
The challenge is this - how to make each child's stay at Camp . . . exciting, rewarding and above all - fun! To help them grow stronger and taller. To help them gain confidence in themselves and in their normal social relations with others. To heighten their sensitivity to the Arts, so as to understand and enjoy the richness of imaginative expression in music, drama, literature, crafts and ballet. To help them learn by living, or about their heritage and their future, as young American Jews. To help them mature through participation in a democratic community of their own making, in which they enjoy both the privileges and responsibilities of membership. In a word - to help them grow a "notch," physically, mentally, emotionally and socially.

Camp . . . aims to develop qualities of initiative, self-reliance, and leadership in its campers; to inculcate skills in athletic and esthetic activities in an environment that makes for healthy, robust bodies and proper mental attitudes. Under the expert guidance of mature and experienced personnel, we offer an unforgettable summer of vacation fun, planned to develop the physical, social and character growth of each individual camper. The entire camping program flourishes in a wholesome Jewish spiritual and cultural environment, designed to make Judaism a beautiful and living reality.

2. Federation Camps

In the main, Federation camps seem to be intended primarily for children whose families cannot ordinarily afford to pay the camp fees of other types of camps. These camps are generally organized to accommodate a maximum number of children during a summer by dividing the summer into a minimum of three, three-week-sessions. Of the eight Federation camps in our study, a broad gamut of aims are evident.

To provide an educational experience in a country setting with free program of activities for each age group (children, parents and senior citizens). To
enlighten campers on the role Education plays in the community. To provide vacations for those who cannot afford fees of private set-ups. To encourage democratic participation in programming through a campers' council. To work closely with communal agencies, making referrals where necessary.

To provide camping services for the population (Jewish?) living in the Metropolitan New York area; to provide camping services to enhance the physical and emotional well being of campers.

To provide for the social, recreational and educational needs of our campers in an informal setting.

To provide a healthful vacation experience for teen-age Jewish girls.

To provide a therapeutic environment for emotionally disturbed children - (occasional Jewish programs).

For orthopedic handicapped only (no Jewish program).

As we have seen, five of the eight Federation camps make no reference to Jewish purposes of the camps. Three of them do.

To help develop the social-cultural abilities of the campers in a low tension atmosphere. To help increase the campers' skills and self-acceptance. To establish a democratic climate for the inculcation of broad Jewish values.

To help campers to develop a balanced personality. The small group unit is the basis for discussion and decision making. Cooperation and competition are blended with cultural and Jewish experiences.

The camp gives full recognition to our rich Jewish Heritage through religious and cultural activities embodying Jewish customs, values and traditions . . .

Today, many Federation camps provide services for children with special needs and emphasize the social and physical growth of the campers.
3. Center Camps

There are twenty-five Center camps included in our study, the overwhelming majority of them adjuncts to Jewish Community Centers and "Y's" which function throughout the year. As one director succinctly put it, the purpose of his camp was "to provide an experience in camping within the philosophy framework of the Jewish Community Centers."

As we have indicated, the National Jewish Welfare Board adopted a "Statement of Principles and Jewish Center Purposes" in May, 1948. These goals and purposes were intended to provide guidelines for camps operated by Centers and "Y's" who are affiliated with the JWB, including all of the camps in our study. Warach, in his summary of the "Statement" notes:

This statement emphasized the goals of the Jewish Community Center as an agency of Jewish identification, including all the Jewish people in the community; as an agency of personality development, providing rich and meaningful Jewish content, and as an institution dedicated to furthering the democratic way of life. The use of the social group work method, and recreation and informal education, to achieve these purposes was enunciated . . .

These distinctive goals and purposes are based on the premise that 'the individual American Jew is identified with every phase of American life and is politically, economically, culturally and intellectually a part and parcel thereof. In addition, he recognizes certain aspects of life which concern him as a Jew.' . . . The resident camp is therefore an agency service with which he identifies himself voluntarily to satisfy his needs. Jewish content is fundamental to the program of the resident camp. In its total program, the resident camp would seek to develop and enrich human personality and group association. As with the Jewish community center, the resident camp 'should fulfill its Jewish purpose, although participation . . . is open to all inhabitants of the community.'
The functions of the resident camp should include:

1. Service as an agency of Jewish identification.

2. Service as a common meeting ground for all Jews. Participation at camp is open to the entire Jewish community, no one to be excluded by reason of Jewish doctrines or ritual or because of political or social views.

3. Service as an agency of personality development. The total needs of the individual, his interests, and capacities for growth and his needs for meaningful Jewish living in particular, are basic to the aim and method of the camp program.

4. Furtherance of the democratic way of life.

5. Assistance in the integration of the individual Jew, as well as of the Jewish group into the total American community. ¹

In light of these 1948 guidelines, let us examine a sampling of the stated aims and objectives of our twenty-five Center camps.

Beside group work and educational goals - individual development through the group; learning of new skills, etc.

To provide a healthy, happy experience for children in group living in a 'natural' surrounding. To foster growth in health, maturity and in group situations. To provide as much leadership experience as it is practical with age groups. To acquaint children with nature, and to provide experiences in all phases of program such as camp crafts, sports and social responsibility.

To provide opportunities for the child to grow physically, socially and spiritually. To provide an experience that builds self-respect and self-confidence

¹Warach, op. cit., pp. 45-46.
in a child. To create conditions under which children can appreciate themselves for what they are - and to learn to appreciate others for what they are. To help the child accept the limits that social living imposes on the individual. To demonstrate the meaning of justice and reciprocity. To provide an experience that reveals a child's limits to him in such a way that he is not discouraged but challenged. To provide sufficient opportunities to orient the camper to the outdoors - and to an awareness of the Creator in the Master Plan of Life. . .

To provide a sound camping experience for Jewish children in the . . . area.

These goals and objectives are representative of a considerable number of Center camps whose stated purposes lag far behind the 1948 "Statement," and still operate as did Center camps in the twenties, thirties, and forties where these camps restricted Jewish content or minimized the Jewish component. The evolving change from this position, by increasing numbers of Center camps, is evidenced in the following stated goals.

Give youngsters three meaningful weeks at camp in a relaxed but structured atmosphere. To expose the child to situations of cooperative living in a Jewish sponsored camp. Try to offer an appreciation of Jewish culture and values through art, dance, music, etc.

Camp . . . is devoted to providing the total Jewish community of . . . with a quality camping experience through children, teen age, family, adult and older adult camping programs. The emphasis is on Jewish content, skill teaching, and small group learning experiences.

. . . To appreciate their Jewish heritage through interesting Sabbath services, stories, songs, group discussions.
To help children achieve wholesome personalities; to help children participate in and understand the democratic process; to help children gain a more positive Jewish identification in Jewish life.

To develop the potentials of the campers as self-reliant American Jews through a happy, healthy, and creative summer experience in an attractive outdoor setting and to satisfy their needs for an intimate group experience outside of the family, home, synagogue, and school.

We are concerned with people and their attitudes rather than with the implementation of skills ... provide each youngster with opportunities and experiences which will give them a sense of belonging to the Jewish people, and through participating in programs emphasizing Jewish cultural experiences and positive attitudes toward Jewish living.

Several of the Center camps which service children from small communities add another more explicitly stated dimension—simple Jewish socialization. For example:

To give a Jewish camp experience to children coming from sections of the country not having enough Jewish children for normal Jewish associations.

4. Educational Camps

There are seven educational camps included in our study. Their overall goals and objectives are quite similar; their programmatic and methodological techniques differ. Several of the camps include formal classes, several do not. Some emphasize the Hebrew language, others include a Hebraic atmosphere but place no emphasis on language per se. Among the stated goals are:
To fulfill a long felt need for a modern camp which would provide, not only adequate physical facilities and an athletic program conducted in a Hebrew environment, but also a cultural and educational program thoroughly in keeping with traditional Judaism . . . a way of life. Our boys and girls continue their Jewish education by actually living it in their daily activities - in sporting events, cultural discussions, mealtime and Oneg Shabbat.

To give each camper an enjoyable camping experience. To be interested in each camper as an individual - to provide for his social growth and personal development. To provide for the campers an inspiring Jewish Studies program. To offer a wide choice of camping activities. Through the Jewish activities in the camp program to provide an unforgettable experience in the joy of Jewish group living in a miniature Jewish community. To develop fluency in the use of the Hebrew language through the life situations of the camp environment. To provide a relaxed atmosphere with emphasis on cooperation and democratic group living.

. . . achieves a dual purpose by providing an outstanding Hebrew environment for campers whose interests are similar, plus a well integrated program of Hebrew education . . .

To give our campers an opportunity to enjoy "Jewish group living" in an informal, natural and happy atmosphere. We also use as our motto, 'The experience of life are more beautiful when in them are reflected the wisdom of Jewish lore and the beauty of Jewish tradition.' Jewish group living expresses itself in three major interrelated motivations: educational, cultural-religious and communal.

In addition to being a setting for a good general camp program, it is also our intention to utilize the camping experience for enrichment of Jewish life and for influencing the children in a positive Jewish manner. It is this special Jewish content which makes camp . . . different from other non-profit organizations which may be running summer camps as part of their program. Jewish programming in camp means that a spirit prevails in camp life, in which certain practices and observances of religion become accepted as part of the life (kashrut, blessings, religious services), and in which program content
draws on Jewish culture sources (literature, music, arts, dance, in campcraft, dramatics, arts and crafts, stories) that learning takes place - Jewish learning too ... To summarize, our objectives then, we may say, are that in addition to a good full camping program, we genuinely try to build an appreciation of Jewish life and culture through carefully planned activities at camp.

5. Yiddish Camps

There are five camps in our study that bear the identification of "Yiddish" camps. In our discussion of the historical development of Jewish camping, we have already pointed out the fact that these camps are mis-named, since the Yiddish language does not play a significant role in all of the camps but one. The stated objectives of these camps, in most instances, do not even include Yiddish among its purposes.

We have two major objectives ... The development of a creative well-integrated camper, able to relate to his peers and staff in the camp community; and the cultural character of our camp - its secular Jewish content.

To provide sound camping experience for Jewish children and imbue them with the educational values of wholesome fun, recreation and cooperative living; to give effective expression to the campers' consciousness of Jewish belonging and have the feelings arising therefrom translated into meaningful activities.

Zionist and American-Jewish indoctrination.

Meaningful Jewish living and expression where appreciation of our history and traditions, a knowledge of Hebrew and Yiddish, a love and understanding for the State of Israel and the Jewish people, are chiefly stressed.

(These two objectives, immediately above, are statements from the same camp. The first was submitted to the AAJE - the second was given to the writer during his visit.)
The evolution of the goals and objectives of one of the Yiddish camps as reflected in a statement of the founders during the late twenties and of members of staff in recent years.

To provide Jewish children with a summer recreational program, away from the city.

To supplement the educational programs taught in the W.C. schools.

To impress upon the children socialist ideals.

To continue and utilize Yiddish, as a spoken language in the camp setting.

To bridge the gap between the immigrant generation and their children.

Camp ... is now a very large institutional camp that stresses sports, recreation and general camping activities. There is no Yiddish utilized at all ...

The educational program of Camp ... is completely bereft of Jewish education as well as of Yiddish. 2

6. Zionists Camps

All of the Zionist camps are institutions created and sponsored by various ideologically differing Zionist youth movements independent of, or in conjunction with, their senior Movements. As the Center camps, it is possible for the Zionist camps to be brief and succinct in expressing their camp aims, thus:

Supplement the year round club activities of Young Judea in the most optimum surroundings with the best hadrachahand environment.

Give the camper basic Jewish background and Labor Zionist Education.

The camp strives to educate its campers toward a personal identification with modern Zionism and Jewish values through a knowledge of Jewish history, Hebrew language and culture, contemporary Israeli and Jewish problems and achievement, Israeli songs and dances, and the spirit and accomplishments of the *Kibbutz*.

The philosophy and the principles upon which Zionist camps are based assumes the centrality of Israel within the totality of Jewish peoplehood. *Ichud Habonim*, the Labor Zionist Youth Movement, sees in the work of the Halutzim and the Kvutzah and Kibbutz in Israel the highest expression of its national and social ideals. Accordingly, the nine Habonim camps throughout the country and Canada try to simulate these Israeli institutions and the principles of Habonim camping are inspired by them. Thus, the aims and goals of the camps affiliated with the Habonim Camping Association include the following:

1. **Avodah Atzmit (self-labor)**—Through this principle we attempt to teach the dignity of labor and the satisfaction of creative achievement. In keeping with this principle, an intensive work program within the capabilities of the campers, is an integral part of camp life.

2. **Hevra (democratic group living)**—We strive to develop within the individual a sense of social responsibility; the ability to live within a group. We attempt to teach him the responsibilities and privileges of a democratic society through the *asefah Klalit* (the general meeting of staff and campers) and its elected committees.

3. **Shituf (cooperation)**—This principle instills in the camper the ideas and practices of cooperation and sharing. It is implemented through the *kupah* (communal fund) and our general approach to programming.
4. Tzofiut (scouting and physical fitness)—Through tzofiut we educate towards physical fitness, love of the outdoors, self-reliance and sportsmanship. This is carried out through a program of sports, swimming, hiking and camp craft.

5. Ivriut (Hebraism)—Ivriut implies not only the Hebrew language but also the cultural and traditional values of Judaism that have been developed over the centuries. The means used by Habonim camping to instill these values are discussion groups, holiday and Sabbath celebrations, Hebrew songs and dances, spoken Hebrew, study of Hebrew, and a general atmosphere of Hebrew and Judaism.

6. A Labor Zionist Education Program—Our social orientation and our Zionist ideology are expressed through a program of discussions. It is our purpose to give the camper an understanding of Zionism, Judaism, and social justice. We attempt, in all parts of our program, to develop the camper into a socially conscious individual and a nationally conscious Jew.³

Habonim camping strives to realize these principles through a camping approach that stresses life experience or "learning by living," an informal educational approach rather than formal educational methods. However, several Habonim camps have formed classes too.

7. Philanthropic Camps

It is rather amazing and at the same time disturbing to report that, on the main, these camps have not changed their purposes or goals in over fifty years of existence. Fresh air, character building, citizenship train-

ing, personality enrichment or bargains in camping are still their hallmark. In the minds of many people on the Boards of these camps (this applies almost equally well to Federation camp Boards), camping is essentially a health and welfare service. It is also important to note that these camps are more involved with the question of sectarianism than any of the other categories of camps.

At this very moment (1965) the Board of one of our community (philanthropic) camps in Philadelphia is split on the question of sectarianism. One group feels that the camp should become completely non-sectarian and interracial in intake and program. The other group wants to serve only Jewish children, but with the non-sectarian program.4

The issue of sectarianism is vital since it effects the basic purposes of the camp and its programmatic goals and objectives. This can be easily seen in some of the stated aims of the ten philanthropic camps in our study.

To service under-privileged children who otherwise would not have the opportunity to enjoy a camping experience.

Our camp serves different economic, ethnic and religious clientele. Our basic purpose is to help each camper become aware of his own potential and his own cultural background. It is then used as our reference group to aid the campers become more identified with his in-group as well as develop skills in being able to live harmoniously and creatively with the out-group.

Through scouting to develop character, citizenship and physical fitness.

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4 Charles Miller, "The Potentials of Summer Resident Camping under Jewish Communal Auspices," paper delivered at the 1966 Conference of Jewish Communal Service, p. 3.
To give orthopedically handicapped children an opportunity to experience a normal activity program.

To enable underprivileged girls of the Jewish faith to experience three weeks of summer camping.

8. Denominational Camps

These camps are the offsprings of the three major theological denominations within religious Judaism. Each camp serves, almost exclusively, the children of its own movement and may be generally described as educational, language, and religion centered. The traditional camps express their goals in the simplest yet broadest terms: "To orient the children in the spirit of the Torah."

Since all of the Ramah camps are centrally controlled, the stated purposes of one would apply to the others.

These camps are viewed and operated as a natural extension of the year-round educational program of the child. The opportunities provided by a twenty-four hour living experience are exploited in implementing the educational objectives of the camp.

Conducted entirely in Hebrew, the camp program offers regular instruction in Jewish classical texts, the Hebrew language, religious life and contemporary Jewish problems; in some cases, unique and experimental texts are especially created for this purpose. The camp program also offers an intensive experience in religious life, focusing on daily worship, Sabbath observance and ethical conduct. As a natural complement to these objectives, stress is placed on the creative use of the outdoors, on personality development and on the sharpening of both skills and interests. A classical program of crafts, athletics, the arts, pioneering and so forth, is tailored to meet the individual needs and interests of campers. All Ramah camps are co-educational and are conducted on an eight week basis. The plan of the total camp experience is to give each camper a direct personal experience of Jewish living.
I find it significant that this statement makes no specific reference to Israel. In 1955, Morris Freedman interviewed Dr. Judah Goldin, then the Dean of the Seminary's Teachers Institute, who noted of Ramah, "We're not a Zionist camp. Not that we exclude Israel and the subject of Zionism. It's just that our program is not one that revolves predominantly about Israel..."

The Reform camps, while also technically centrally controlled, have a greater degree of independence. The statement below, undoubtedly, applies to all UAHC camps.

To provide campers and staff with rewarding, challenging and pleasant experiences in a religious environment, and to aid in the development of knowledgeable, believing and practicing Reform Jews.

To provide opportunities to study Torah at graded levels of understanding and appreciation.

To develop, through the natural setting of a UAHC camp, an awareness of the presence of God in all life.

To develop an appreciation and an understanding of the sacred relationships between man and God, and between man and man.

To develop an understanding that life is filled with purpose and is good beyond its materialistic manifestations.

To provide youth and adults with opportunities to experience the fullness of Jewish life through prayer and other meaningful religious experiences.

To provide youth and adults with intensive training for roles of lay and professional leadership within the Reform Jewish community specifically, as well as the Jewish community at large.

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To translate religious concepts into real experiences, developing or modifying personal character and group behavior in consonance with the ideals of Judaism.

To provide a creative setting for Jewish learning and living, through integrated religious camp programming.

A most noteworthy aspect of the above set of purposes is that this is the only such expression among all the listed goals and objectives among all categories of camps that includes staff as well as children. These camps recognize that their educational responsibility goes beyond the camper. However, it must also be pointed out that despite the fact that no other camp specifically includes the staff in its statement of purposes, a number of camps do provide some educational programming for their staff, as we shall see in a later chapter.

9. Hebrew Camps

The one independent, non-denominational Hebrew camp in the country is Massad, which, in fact, operates three camps and leadership training as well. The Hanoar Haivri Organization which helped establish Massad did so because of the following set of convictions:

1. That the Hebrew movement must serve as the foundation and the guide for an organized Jewish community in America.

2. That the Hebrew language is not only a means for imparting knowledge but it is the very soul of Jewish culture.
3. That the instruction of our children in Hebrew cultural values, past and present, through the medium of the Hebrew language, is a prime essential in building a generation of Jews capable of preserving and enriching the cultural treasures of the Jewish people.

4. That the establishing of Hebrew cultural institutions in America in no way negates the Zionist idea; on the contrary, such cultural organizations are fundamental to its fulfillment.°

The cultural program of Massad guides all its activities and is based upon the following principles:

1. The Hebrew language is not merely a "vehicle" or an educational "tool." It is, rather, the very core of Hebrew culture.

2. The Zionist idea, now being realized in Israel, will provide the solution to "the Jewish problem."

3. The dynamic values of Jewish religion and tradition to which generation after generation contributes, are the foundation of the heritage of the people of Israel.

4. The idea of Halutziat must be fostered among the American Jewish youth; it aids the rebuilding of Israel while it nourishes local Jewry.

5. The Jewish way of life and Hebrew educational institutions are prerequisites for a Hebrew generation, in America, capable of preserving the people's treasures and of forging new links in our culture.7

Hiller Bavli, director of the Massad training institute for its first two years, defined the aims as follows:

°Shlomo Shulsinger, "Hebrew Camping - Five Years of Massad," Jewish Education, XVII, 3 (June, 1946), 16.

We aim to train boys and girls aged from 16 upwards, whose Hebrew and general education and background meet our standards, to qualify as instructors and counselors to Jewish summer camps. We wish to imbue these future leaders with deep realization of the importance of the task which they are about to assume, and to impart to them a portion of the thorough knowledge they must absorb. Moreover, we hope to educate counselors who will be equipped for their tasks not only in summer camps, but throughout the year, as well, in synagogues, Jewish community centers, organizations, and clubs.8

b) Parents

There is an old canard still held by some cynical camp people to the effect that most parents send their children to camp simply to get them off their hands for the summer. I am sure that this is true, for some parents, but the overwhelming majority of parents send their children to camp for good and valid educational and psychological reasons. Most parents carefully select a particular camp because they believe that their choice will best suit the needs of the child and be in consonance with their own idea of what a camp should be. This is particularly the case with parents financially able to make a choice, or members or sympathizers with the organization that sponsors the camp. The lower income family oftentimes does not have as broad a choice.

The educational background and the sophistication of the parent also determine the choice of camp and the reasoning behind the choice. Common denominators of parent

8 Ibid., pp. 20-21.
purposes in selecting a camp, revolve around health and welfare concerns. No matter which of the nine categories of camps the parent finally chooses, he is deeply concerned with the prosaics of camp life, items such as:

1. I want my youngster to enjoy himself.
2. I want him to come home healthier and stronger (gain weight or lose weight).
3. What's the proportion of staff to campers?
4. Is the quality and quantity of food good?
5. Is there an infirmary? Doctor? Nurses?
6. Is the camp site physically attractive?
7. Who's in charge? What's the quality of supervision?
8. Tell me something about the other children who will be at camp? (This is part snobbery, part social climbing, part concern for the in-group.)

A somewhat higher madregah of sophistication reflecting what parents expect of camp would include:

1. I want him to develop good personal habits, particularly good manners and tidiness.
2. I want him to learn new skills such as swimming, woodcraft and the like.
3. I want him to make new friends.
4. I want him to learn to get along with others.
5. I want him to learn to share.
6. I want him to learn to behave.
7. I want him to gain an appreciation of nature.
8. I want the camp experience to strengthen his character and improve his personality.

Most camps ask parents to send a "confidential report" to the camp director, in which the parent is asked to note any specific problems the camper might have, or alert the director to behavioral or physical difficulties. These reports, many of which were made available to the writer, often reveal both parent and child shortcomings. Many parents hope that camp will be able to correct the faults of their children, which they themselves have been unable to cope with for ten or more years. They expect camp to stop bed-wetting, nail biting, bad eating habits, inability to get along with other children, lack of self-discipline etc., etc. The camp, in loco parentis, is expected to assume almost total parental responsibilities during the season. Amazingly, the camp experience frequently does effect major changes in behavioral patterns--at least while the camper is in camp. Children who "simply won't eat" or are "very choosy eaters" have few food problems when they eat with their group at the camp table. The fact that they revert back to their problems when they return to their homes is mere evidence of the psychological roots of the difficulties.

Some parents are quite adamant about having their children learn very specific skills, showing little concern
for the overall program of the camp. Private camps have learned to cater to these kinds of requests—the others less so.

It is, of course, a psychological truism to indicate that many parents project their own needs and interests in picking a camp for their child. Parents often wish to give their children the benefits they themselves feel they missed. Parental prerogative is fundamental to the growth process of the child. It becomes dangerous and fraught with psychological overtones only if excessive. It is the responsibility of the parent to carefully choose a camp which will hopefully contribute to the continued intellectual, emotional, and social growth of the child, even if the child initially resists.

As has been discussed elsewhere in our introduction, American Jewish parents are mainly non-observant, irregular in their synagogue attendance, casual about kashrut and other ritual or ceremonial acts, and yet, in choosing a camp, they are more and more seeking camps where these factors are present. They are oftentimes embarrassed and apologetic about their own Jewish commitments on the one hand, or very blasé on the other, but want their children exposed to some "tradition," however it may be defined by the camp, so that their children will understand and identify as Jews. On the lowest level of Jewish concern, they want their children to be with other Jewish children, they want the staff to be
Jewish, they want the administration to be concerned with Jewish things— they seek a camp that is Jewish sponsored. On the highest level of Jewish concern, parents inquire into the specifics of the camp's Jewish programming, beyond simple Jewish socialization and prevention of possible future inter-marriage.

What we have just noted undoubtedly applies to the large amorphous mass of really non-existent "average" Jewish parents. There are, of course, parents with deep personal convictions in all areas of life, Jewish as well as general, and actively seek out the camp that best expresses these convictions.

The recent phenomenal growth of hasidic and traditional camps is evidence of increasing demands from parents identified with these religious movements to provide camping experiences for their children. Denominational camping, aside from the tremendous boosts it receives from the movements themselves, could not possibly be so successful, in enrollment at any rate, without the active support of the parents. Parents in the Conservative Movement literally struggle for places at the Ramah camps since they operate on a quota system, with so many places allocated to individual member-synagogues. Reform camps must structure their season in three-week sessions because of parental demands.

Even in those camps which traditionally have been lukewarm or completely disinterested in the Jewish component
parental pressures are building up for more concern for Jewish programming. Camps which were never concerned about kashrut, for example, are becoming kosher.

Camp Hemshech, the only Yiddish camp with a modicum of Yiddish, while originally organized by the United Jewish Survivors of Nazi Persecution and is an adjunct of the Jewish Labor Bund, now attracts campers of Workmen's Circle members, because these parents are disenchanted with the lack of Yiddish and socialist ideology in their own camps, and actively choose Hemshech for their children.

Many of the older established camps are serving second and third generation children whose parents were themselves campers. Parents are anxious to have their children re-live the warm and pleasant memories they have of their own camp experiences. This sometimes causes difficulties for camp directors who must gently remind the parents of a changed world that separates the generations, and makes camping today somewhat different than it was in the past. And yet, the so-called generation gap can most easily be bridged through the camp, since the essential elements of camping are unchanged. As the parent thrilled at his first real contact with nature and the outdoors, so can his child experience the identical emotion. The Zionist idealism which built the first Zionist camps in America is still present today. Parents have become members of the Camp Committees and Boards of Directors to insure that the camps continue to
serve their children as they served them. The camp then gives parent and child a common interest, a common experience, and hopefully, common values.

Unfortunately most parents have neither the ability nor the opportunity to really evaluate the camp, except, primarily, through the eyes of his child. The camper writes home, he talks of his camp experiences during the year and makes his own value judgments, which are all too frequently taken at face value by the parent. If the child wants to go back to the same camp, the parent assumes the camp to be good; if not, obviously the camp was a failure. Of course the camp was not necessarily a bad camp—it may have failed only with that particular youngster and have been successful with all the other children. The point is, that the choice of a camp, the second time, lies mainly in the hands of the child. Parental purposes become secondary to the child's initial satisfactory or unsatisfactory experience.

Parents also depend on the opinion of rabbis, educators, social workers, and friends in choosing a camp. The purposes of the camp are interpreted by these well meaning people, usually in terms of their own prejudices. Camps with particular imprimatures and community images are highly sought by parents. It is no accident that denominational camps are over-subscribed. The weight of theological authority, the use of the pulpit, the scholarships
offered by the sisterhoods and men's clubs, the placing of the past-campers in the category of "elite"--all these factors effect the parent. The private camps, which must usually work hardest for recruitment of campers, approach the parents on an individual basis, show films of camp, and "sell" their camp on generally sophisticated levels. Parents from low income families must rely on placement and referral procedures of the community agency responsible for summer camps, and are limited in choice. Whatever broad purposes they may have are sublimated to the purposes of the camp to which the child is accepted.

Surprisingly, many parents never see their children's camp before they register them. The first visiting day is frequently their first actual contact with the camp. Aside from the factors mentioned, the camp brochure, the ad in the newspaper or magazine, verbal reports from previous campers and their parents, provide the basic information upon which the camp choice is based. The parent often misinterprets or is actually fooled by these secondary sources. Some parents learn, too late, that a camp that advertises itself as "kosher style" is not kosher. Or, the parent assumes, that, after all, if the camp is sponsored by a Jewish Community Center, the Sabbath will be observed. It may be, or may not be. Or, since he is dealing with a "camp" he assumes that camping, by definition, includes hiking, woodcraft, out-of-doors activities, etc.--only to find that the
formal class or educational program is fine— but there is little actual "camping."

In truth, the parent is a central figure in the operation of any camp. The camper is at any given camp only because his parent sent him. A successful private camp owner in answer to a question about his not having a camp brochure stated, "I don't need a folder for my camp. The best way to interpret a camp to the public is, first, to satisfy parents ..." 9

Satisfying parents is a goal and objective of every camp. Interpreting the purposes of the camp to parents, so that these purposes, in turn, become the purposes of the parent, this is a task that most camps have yet to accomplish.

c) Campers

Why do children elect or agree to go to camp? Why to a particular camp? What are the reasons generally given by children when asked why they like to go to camp?

Heading the list of reasons is "having fun." Just as a major objective of all camps is to make the child happy, the child responds in kind, and returns to the camp if he feels that his basic wishes and needs were generally met. Happiness or "having fun" implies fulfillment, and is

the most cogent experience the child enjoys. In 1967, the New Jersey "Y" Camps prepared a statistical analysis of Attitudes to Camper Experiences as described by responses to a questionnaire issued to camper families. The first question asked about the total camp experience was, "How did your child feel about Camp?" Ninety-two per cent of the children indicated that they were "happy"—only an insignificant one per cent were "unhappy" and 7 per cent were indifferent. An interesting corollary is the fact that the following summer, 1968, 52 per cent of the children in attendance the summer before returned. The percentage of returnees to the Teen Camp was even more illuminating—77 per cent of the boys and 87 per cent of the girls had been in camp the previous summer. Evidently, they had had a "happy" "fun" experience.

There are many elements that lead to happiness in a child, and serve as his purposes in going to camp. Children prefer to go to camp with city friends and are concerned about making new friends at camp. They need the assurance of familiar faces and established relationships. The success of the denominational and Zionist camps is based in good measure on this phenomena. In the case of the denominational camps, Ramah with its quota system in particular, an assured number of children come from the same synagogue and Hebrew school and are known to each other before camp begins. The core of campers in the Zionist camps meet during the
year as members of the affiliated Zionist youth movements. These youngsters are usually anxious to continue their friendships and associations at camp. This may cause some initial difficulties at camp since these children tend to band together, form cliques and little "landsmanshaften" but a good staff begins an early process of integration of these children with their potentially new friends, sometimes by making a concerted effort to separate the city groups within the total camp organization.

Since campers range in age between mainly nine through fifteen, their reasons reflect their own maturity levels. They all look forward to a vacation, to getting away from the city (although Jewish suburbia is a far cry from the old crowded inner city ghetto conditions), and learning to do new things and acquiring new skills. They also look forward to getting away from their parents and siblings. To some children camp represents freedom and permissiveness—to others, the very structure of the program is the attraction. Most children couldn't be less concerned with "health and welfare" considerations, but are deeply concerned with camp facilities, particularly sports and swimming. Food at camp is an important factor in the total esprit de corps. A well run kitchen and ample, tasty food is a key to the general well-being of the camp population. In the New Jersey "Y" study referred to above, only 39 per cent thought the food was good—43 per cent rated the food
O.K., and 18 per cent not so good. While important, evidently food by itself is not the major factor in the choice of a camp (87 per cent did report that they had enough to eat).

The quality of staff concerns children, particularly his bunk counselor, who, in the final analysis is the person who really determines whether or not the camper has "fun" in camp. The "good" or "bad" counselor is one of the most crucial elements in the success or failure of the summer for the child and in determining whether or not he returns to camp.

The older, more intelligent, more sophisticated campers are also concerned with program, and with the purposes of camp beyond the recreational and social elements. The significantly large percentage of returnees to the educational, denominational, Zionist, and Hebrew camps attests to this. A thirteen year old boy writes,

When people ask me what it was about Ramah that I loved so much, I hardly know where to begin. There were so many things, in so many ways... Judaism in a new light - not so much as a collection of laws, but rather as a way of life... a very progressive camp leader who gives us the opportunity to participate in planning for our own activities... we have a candlelight Havdalah service, which thrills us... the spirit at camp... everyone - but every-one - loves it... tremendous feeling of belonging.

Each child brings his own apperceptive mass to camp.

He comes as the creation of his own environment with his own commitments or lack of commitments. The committed child actively chooses a camp in consonance with his evolving values—the other child, in the end, agrees to his parents choice.

The adolescent child, in the process of puberty, prefers coeducational camping, with opportunities for socialization. Their physical, emotional, and social needs and interests play a greater factor in their reasons for going to camp. In recognition of the special growth problems of this age group most camps are developing separate "teen camps" to better cope with these children.

We have reviewed the goals and objectives in Jewish camping as seen by owners, sponsors, directors, parents, and campers within the framework of the nine categories of camps we classified according to specific rationale.

We are now ready to look at the camps themselves.
CHAPTER IV

FACILITIES AND FINANCES

A. American Camping Association Standards as Criteria

1. Affiliation and Membership

Only 58 of the 100 camps included in our study are accredited members of the American Camping Association.¹ These membership figures are particularly revealing when we examine the number of ACA memberships in each of our nine categories of camps.

The American Camping Association considers the development, publication, and use of its "Standards Report for the Accreditation of Organized Camps" as one of its major contributions to organized camping. Since 1940, the ACA has been developing yardsticks for measuring the operation of various kinds of camps including resident, day, travel, and family camps. Essentially its purpose was to protect the children—the campers—by "examining the operation of camps in the light of proven, acceptable, high-level standards."

¹For purposes of this study a camp was considered an accredited member of the ACA if its name appeared in the ACA Directory of Accredited Camps in any year between 1960 and 1967.
TABLE 2
NUMER AND PERCENTAGE OF CAMPS BY CATEGORY THAT ARE MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN CAMPING ASSOCIATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category of Camp</th>
<th>Number of Camps in Category</th>
<th>Number of Camps That Are Members of ACA</th>
<th>Percentage of Camps That Are Members of ACA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hebrew</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reform (Denom)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>(85)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conservative (Denom)</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(83)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denominational</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Center</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philanthropic</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Federation</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional (Denom)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(24)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yiddish</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zionist</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>58%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

performance. Before selecting a camp for their children, parents are urged to look for the insignia indicating that a camp has met the standards of the American Camping Association.

A camp may claim ACA accreditation, display the Camp Member Seal on its literature, or the Accredited Camp Sign at its site, only after it has been officially visited and inspected by trained representatives of the ACA and has passed strict examinations for meeting the high standards set by the Association. The visiting team completes checklists and tabulates numerical ratings in the following ten areas:

(a) Mature, trained leadership
(b) Well-balanced meals prepared in a sanitary kitchen by experienced cooks
(c) Programs geared to ages, abilities, and interests of campers
(d) Safely designed and competently supervised waterfront
(e) Effective administrative policies
(f) Adequate sites and facilities
(g) Adequate medical services
(h) Carefully planned and maintained sanitation service
(i) Safely maintained and operated transportation vehicles
(j) A well-rounded program\(^3\)

The American Camping Association is, in the opinion of this writer, quite liberal in its interpretation of the findings of its visitation team, since it allows accreditation-

tion to camps which meet only minimal standards, generally 65 per cent of a top score in any given area. However, a camp that does receive ACA accreditation and is listed in its Directory, may be assumed to "adequately" comply with the "high health, safety, sanitation, site and facility, personnel, program, administration, and transportation standards of the largest professional camping organization in the world."\(^4\)

While it may not be completely valid to assume that a camp that is not accredited does not meet these standards, in the opinion of this writer, such an assumption is more often than not, correct.

Among the forty-two camps not accredited by the ACA, there are a number that actually meet the minimum standards in many areas, but are reluctant to apply for membership because they are keenly aware of serious shortcomings in particular requirements. Several Zionist camps, for example, might qualify except for inadequate physical sites and immature, untrained leadership. There are Denominational-Traditional camps that will not apply for ACA membership because they do not wish to allow themselves to be rated by "gentile agencies." Several camps are not convinced that membership in the ACA is either necessary or beneficial, and point to the fact that they have no difficulty registering campers without the imprimatur of the ACA, and

\(^4\)Ibid., p. 1.
save themselves membership costs. There are some camps which are simply not fully aware of the existence of the ACA, a fact which hardly seems possible to anyone in the world of camping, but is symptomatic of haphazardness and inefficient operation and does characterize some of the camps in the country.

Astonishing as it may seem, any person, irrespective of motivation, training, or experience can establish a camp in most states of the Union. Only nine states require a license to operate; thirteen states a permit to operative, and five states require camps to register. The areas of health, safety, and sanitation have attracted some State Legislators to give consideration to camping, but there are still some states that have no regulations at all, even for these areas. Fortunately, most of the camps in our study are located in states that are somewhat more "progressive" than others. New York, Pennsylvania, California, Wisconsin, Maine, Massachusetts, and Michigan are among the states that do inspect water supplies for quantity and purity; inspect food supplies and facilities, food handling, refrigeration, dispensing and storage; inspect sewerage and garbage disposal practices; toilets and washroom facilities; have stringent fire regulations; inspect transportation equipment,

etc. Consequently, even camps that are not accredited by the ACA, and are located in such states, must meet certain legal minimal mandatory requirements. A careful reading of state legislation on camping, together with the camping Standards of the American Camping Association, show obvious mutual objectives of protection, eligibility, and evaluation of camps, camp operators and campers, but also clearly show that ACA standards are considerably higher than state required minimums.

The position of the state is that of law enforcement, while that of the American Camping Association is the determination of eligibility for membership in a professional organization. Both positions are essential and each position supplements the other in the orderly process of advancing camping to the best interests, safety, and protection of the general public.6

Just as non-accreditation is not always a mark of inferiority, ACA accreditation does not always carry a mark of superiority either. Once a camp is accredited, re-accreditation visits are not as frequent as they should be.7 Conditions in camps can change drastically in short periods of time. While this may not be as true in the areas of site and facilities (although maintenance care varies) it

6 Ibid., p. 18.

7 During the summer of 1967, of 1,100 camps which were scheduled for re-accreditation visits by the ACA, only 635 were actually visited. The number of camps not being visited that should have been has alarmed the ACA and a study was instituted to find the possible causes for this condition. Reported in the Newsletter of the Association of Jewish Sponsored Camps, V, 1 (January, 1968).
is very often the case in personnel and program. This writer has visited camps, accredited by the ACA, which believe its high standards. In one case, the lake had become polluted and could not be used and a swimming pool was built without a drain. In other camps, cabins which were built to accommodate eight campers were overcrowded with fourteen children. And so on.

These variations notwithstanding, in the main, camps that are accredited by the American Camping Association do indeed have better facilities, are located on finer sites and are operated more professionally and efficiently than camps which are not accredited.

Of the nine categories of camps in our study, those which least meet the minimum standards of professional camping criteria, particularly in what has been previously described as the areas of "universal camping values," are the Zionist, Yiddish, Denominational/Traditional, and Federation sponsored camps.

B. The Physical Plant

1. Location

The physical appearance, the facilities and the technical organization of camps, while they serve as the framework for program, are in themselves essential elements of the total camp experience.
It is the campsite that makes the camp. For crafts, for games, for stories, for singing, for sports, even swimming, we can get by in the city and we may have fun too - but it is not like camping.

It is the space, the clean air, the sun and shade, the green grass, the beautiful trees, the water . . . and creatures of the woods and fields. It is these things that make a camp. They are not only beautiful but interesting, and a never ending source of program material for both children and adults.8

The location of the camp, its natural and physical setting, the planning and layout of the physical plant are therefore matters of interest and concern. The camp site must deliberately be selected for its beauty and its appeal to aesthetic values.

Table 3 and the map following locates the sites of the camps in our study.

Despite the fact that general organized camping has been growing throughout the country, the majority of all American camps are still located in New England, where camping originated. National statistics show that three states, New York, Pennsylvania, and California, have the largest number of camps.9 Since the greatest centers of Jewish population are along the Eastern seaboard and Jewish sponsored camping historically began from those centers, it is not surprising that 60 per cent of our camps are located in New York State and Pennsylvania.


### TABLE 3
LOCATION OF CAMPS BY CATEGORY BY STATE IN 1969

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Private</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Federation</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Center</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>25</td>
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<tr>
<td>Educational</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yiddish</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zionist</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philanthropic</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denominational</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trad.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conserv.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reform</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hebrew</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td>18</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

New York and Pennsylvania provide excellent sites for camps in their Bear, Catskill, Berkshire, and Pocono mountains. In addition, they meet some of the other primary considerations which are factors in camp site selection. They are within a two-three hour drive from the areas of their campers and close to sources of supply. Camp sites around the lovely lakes of Maine pose a problem
KEY TO CAMPS LISTED ON MAP ON PAGE 197

Private
1. Akiba, Reeders, Pa.
2. Circle S Ranch, Nassau, N.Y.
3. Derry, Londonderry, Vt.
4. Kewanee, Neversink, N.Y.
5. Kent, Kent, Conn.
6. Natchez, W. Copake, N.Y.
7. Pinelake, W. Copake, N.Y.
8. Shadybrook, Moodus, Conn.
9. Shangri La, Accord, N.Y.
10. Star Lake, Duane, N.Y.
14. Eton, Rhinebeck, N.Y.

Federation
15. Isabella Freedman, Falls Village, Conn.
16. Louemma, Rd. 2, Sussex, N.J.
17. Bronx House-Emanuel Camps, Copake, N.Y.
18. Wildwood, Central Valley, N.Y.
19. Oakhurst, Oakhurst, N.J.
20. Rainbow, Croton-on-Hudson, N.Y.
21. Ramapo Anchorage, Rhinebeck, N.Y.
22. Surprise Lake, Cold Spring, N.Y.

Center Camps
24. Ella Fohs, New Milford, Conn.
25. Hatikvah, Lake Cohasset, Bear Mt., N.Y.
26. Mikan-Reco, Arden, N.Y.
28. H.E.S., Southfields, N.Y.
29. Mogen Avraham, Central Valley, N.Y.
30. Sternberg, Mountaintdale, N.Y.
31. Edward Isaacs (East N.Y.) Holmes, N.Y.
32. Cummings, Brewster, N.Y.
33. Naomi & Joseph, Raymond, Harrison, Me.
34. Seneca Lake, Penn Yan, N.Y.
35. Sisel, Mendon, N.Y.
36. Wooden Acres, St. Adolphe De Howard, Quebec, Canada
38. New Jersey "Y", Milford, Pa., and Lake Como, Pa.

Educational Camps
40. B'nai B'rith, Starlight, Pa.
41. Cejwin, Port Jervis, N.Y.
42. Tel Hai, Jamison, Pa.
43. Lown, Oakland, Me.
44. Yavneh, Northwood, N.H.
45. Hi Li, White Lake, N.Y.
Yiddish Camps
46. Boiberik, Rhinebeck, N.Y.
47. Kinderwelt, Highland Mills, N.Y.
49. Kinder-ring, Hopewell Junction, N.Y.
50. Hemshekh, Hunter, N.Y.

Zionist Camps
51. Betar, Liberty, N.Y.
52. Moshava (B'nei Akiva), Beach Lake, Pa.
53. Tel Yehudah, Barryville, N.Y.
54. Ein Harod, Ellenville, N.Y.
55. Galil, Ottsville, Pa.
56. Shomria, Liberty, N.Y.
57. Bonim, Hunter, N.Y.
76. Shomria, Perth, Ontario, Canada
77. Biluim, Huntsville, Ontario, Canada

Philanthropic Camps
59. Eva, Mountaindale, N.Y.
60. Bauercrest, Amesbury, Mass.
62. Carola, Spring Valley, N.Y.
63. Sussex, Sussex, N.J.
78. Kunatah, Ten Mile River, Narrowsburg, N.Y.

Denominational Camps—
Traditional
66. Agudah, Ferndale, N.Y.
67. Bnos, Liberty, N.Y.
68. Emunah, Greenfield Park, N.Y.
69. Morasha, Lake Como, Pa.

Conservative
70. Ramah, Poconos, Lake Como, Pa.
71. Ramah, Conn., East Hampton, Conn.
72. Ramah, Berkshires, Wingdale, N.Y.

Reform

Hebrew Camps
75. Massad, Tannersville, Pa.
for children from New York City or Philadelphia, because of travel distance.

Another reason for most camps being located where they are is the fact that national Jewish organizations, sponsors of some of our camps, have their national headquarters in New York City and operate most easily from this locale. This is particularly so among the Zionist camps. The national Habonim leadership camp is therefore in New York, as is the single camp of Betar and of Dror. In these instances, the campers come from throughout the country. The Yiddish camp Hemshech is similarly organized, as is the Hebrew camp Massad. The denominational camps are more widely distributed around the country, especially those camps affiliated with the Reform movement. Center camps are also more nationwide in scope and reflect the development and spread of Jewish community centers around the country.

The ACA is quite explicit about the camp being a "community to itself" and insists that camps should be located away from the distractions of densely populated areas. Maximum privacy is the watchword. Most of our camps comply with this requirement, but some do not. Most of the Yiddish camps, for example, are located immediately adjacent to adult resort areas, to the detriment of the children's camp program. Some facilities are shared and
children are always conscious of the presence of adults and lack the essential privacy necessary for good camping. Some of the camps are actually bisected by a public road, or are located along a major highway and subject to the sound of traffic all the time. Some camps, purchased years ago, now find themselves in areas of expanding housing developments where "civilization" is encroaching on the camp site. Fortunately, some camps will benefit from rising land values and be able to sell their present sites and relocate.

A few of our camps are located very close to the city from whence comes most of their campers. Such a location has both advantages and disadvantages. The obvious advantages are mainly technical in nature. Sources of supply, laundry, maintenance personnel, time-off opportunities for staff are closer to camp. Camps near the city that are winterized can be better utilized for year-round activity. In case of emergency, the camp is more accessible to medical centers and help. On the other hand, a camp that is too close to the city loses essential privacy. Parents and visitors are too often tempted by proximity. Generally speaking, therefore, the best location for a camp is on the outer fringe of a three hour periphery of the city.

2. Size of Site

According to the American Camping Association, a
camp should have one acre or more per camper available and usable for program activities. Broadly interpreted, available acreage is not necessarily restricted to land owned by the camp itself, but rather to its own land plus areas under the camp's jurisdiction or readily available to it close by.

Very few of the camps in our study are themselves large enough to completely meet the ACA requirements for size of the site. Many of our camps, particularly those not accredited, are quite inadequate in size to carry out a full camping program properly. As we shall see, the inadequacy of the camp site limits and restricts that portion of the program which should be devoted to nature, scouting, pioneering, and all other aspects of out-door living.

The camps in our study vary in acreage from 68 to 2,000 acres. A sampling of the acreage and the number of campers clearly indicates that camps are too small. See Table 4 for example.

The recommended ACA acreage also takes into account provision for the future development of the camp. On the one hand, it allows a margin for increasing the number of campers served; on the other, adequate size provides a buffer against outside encroachment. Some of our camps face the need for serving larger numbers of campers and are frustrated by lack of space. To meet such pressing needs the New Jersey "Y" camps expanded its facilities by buying
### TABLE 4

ACREAGE AND REGISTERED NUMBERS OF CAMPERS OF TWELVE CAMPS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Camp</th>
<th>Acres</th>
<th>Campers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. J. &quot;Y&quot;</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>1,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akiba</td>
<td>850</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cejwin</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>1,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kinderwelt</td>
<td>280</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arthur and Reeta</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harlam</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shomria</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pinemere</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ramah, Pa.</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boiberik</td>
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<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Betar</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Galil</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

additional camp sites some fifty miles from its original site. Other camps will have to sell and relocate on larger sites. Still others are struggling with the more basic question of how large should ideally a camp be?

Obviously, the physical size of the camp and its facilities are directly related to the purposes of the sponsoring organization. Camps which purportedly specialize in outdoor activities must have the maximum acreage necessary
to carry out such a program. The S.G.F. camp near Philadelphia makes good use of its environment but is not large enough to carry out its program objectives. On the other hand, camps like Ramah, where the outdoor program is minimal, are able to function on sites which are less than prescribed. As we shall see, however, the size of the camper population, while dependent on the physical dimensions of the site, is frequently more dependent on other factors, including the camp layout and structure of the camp organization, as well as the availability of qualified personnel.

3. Physical Layout and Structure

Historically, camps came into being and grew without very much deliberate planning. In the beginning, camps were relatively small and facilities and equipment rather simple. "A hand pump was the water supply system; a pit privy and open drain took care of sewage disposal; a few tents or shacks provided shelter; while a wide spread fly served as dining hall and kitchen."\(^{10}\) While some primitive camps may still follow a similar pattern, most modern camps, and certainly almost all the camps in our study, have evolved into much more sophisticated establishments. However, too many of them have grown and developed without long-term guiding plans, "master plans," which call for specific skills.

and experience which can be likened to those required for the planning and building of a small rural community. Too many camps, as they expanded, simply added to existing facilities, usually in a rather haphazard manner. The writer visited a camp where the incumbent director did not know the location of water and sewage lines or where cesspools were (except when they overflowed) because no records, drawings, or maps were available for the construction that had taken place over the years.

Early camps tended to follow a straight-line placement of structures, particularly tents or cabins for campers. This was in line with the rather regimented programs which were carried out. While there are still some camps that are so regimented, that campers still line up, single file to move to activities, most camps have found a better balance between appropriate control in order to protect campers, and appropriate freedom to allow them to behave more naturally as children. The educational evolution from regimentation to greater freedom and even permissiveness is evidenced by the changes in layout and camp structures now more prevalent in camp planning. While there are many ideas and opinions in the camping field on this subject, the most recent trends are toward decentralization and the division of the larger camp into small living and program groupings that are generally known as units. Decentralization has changed the very architecture of camping, the number and
types of camp buildings. Where previously many camps used
dormitory type cabins to house campers, the present trend
leans to smaller tents or cabins, accommodating, preferably, four campers and never more than eight. ACA stan-
dards call for forty or more square feet of floor space
for sleeping only per person, at least six feet between
heads of sleepers and at least thirty inches between beds.

(a) Villages and Divisions

Decentralized camps are organized by "divisions," "villages," or "units," on the assumption that such a camp
layout is the best means of assuring proper attention to
individuals. Children living together in small groups,
limited to a maximum of forty campers, can usually better
plan their activities around their own living needs. As
we shall see, programs, under such organizational structure,
can be better adapted to the child and may avoid the com-
pulsion to make the child conform to program planning which
is almost inevitable in the large "scheduled activity
camp."

When camp becomes so large that intimate face-to-
face relationships give way to only mass contacts, it
preserves the intimacy that comes with the smallness
of the group by breaking itself down into smaller
units (italics mine). For some campers, large
groups mean excitement, wider range of contacts,
greater freedom, less supervision. Others feel
lost and submerged and need the close contacts a

11Staff Manual (Milford, Pa.: N. J. "Y" Camps,
1967), p. 1. (Mimeographed.)
small group gives in order to find themselves. Certainly what we all need is not extensiveness but intensiveness of personal relationships in the large world about us. There is a greater opportunity for participation in the small group... Greater mutuality and closer understanding are possible only in small groups. Individuality of reaction that is possible in them makes for the defining of personality. In a crowd we are lost.12

The New Jersey "Y" Camp can serve as an example of a decentralized operation. In 1965, the Girls Camp, Nah-Jee-Wah, organized 350 girls into 8 divisions of about 40 girls or 6 bunk groups to each division. Each division was physically located in its own village, separate and apart from the others, but close enough for common programming as well. Each division had its own cabins for campers and for its own group of counselors, including bunk counselors, relief counselors, and counselors with special skills such as swimming, arts and crafts, nature and the like. Divisional sanitation facilities were provided as well as its own assembly area, flag pole, divisional headquarters, and, in some cases, a divisional lodge or indoor recreational and social facility. This latter facility was usually shared with other divisions.

While each division was beautifully located in almost complete isolation in the woods, each was only a short walking distance from the camp's central area which provided

facilities for general administration, dining, medical examination and treatment, and for the group recreational and educational activities of the campers. Some divisions had their own small ballfields, but the large playing fields, tennis courts, lake and swimming and boating facilities were located in the central camp area.

A completely separate area near the entrance to camp, a greater distance from the divisions, was devoted to overall camp administration, transportations, supplies, communications, central laundry services, and the like.

Some camps have been experimenting with providing food services on a divisional level so as to avoid the mass feeding which is the general rule. To cut down on numbers being served, many camps serve two-shift meals. Generally speaking, however, even in camps committed to decentralization, central services and supplies will undoubtedly continue to be the pattern.

As already indicated, the camps in our study vary in size and consequently vary in numbers of campers. The smaller camps, those with less than 200 campers, are ordinarily in point of structure not decentralized, although in regard to program they may well be. If the camp serves both boys and girls, there may be what is tantamount to two separate camps divided by the central administrative area. If the program is co-ed, facilities may still be separate, but
shared. In smaller camps the physical layout generally has all of the camp buildings within sight of each other, some still lined in military rows, some side by side in a semi-circle facing the lake, some in a large circle or semi-circle facing a central "commons."

Several camps offer strange combinations. Older established camps which cannot afford to rebuild existing facilities have newer additions which generally follow a modern decentralized scheme. Such a camp may therefore have both the traditional style of cabins and layout in part of the camp, as well as new "villages."

(b) Camps Within Camps

The very large camps actually operate as camps within camps. Cejwin is in reality seven camps; New Jersey "Y" Camps operated five separate camps within a single administration; the Philadelphia "Y" Camps, on the same site are really Camp Arthur, for boys--Camp Reeta, for girls, and Camp Beker, a co-ed teen-age camp. Mikan-Recro are two almost distinct camps, as are Poyntelle-Ray Hill. Many other such examples could be cited.

The growth of teen-age camping has also resulted in what may be called "satellite camping." Camp Mogen Avraham added a unit for teen-age boys by developing a site that is removed from the main camp by a quarter of a mile, has its own waterfront, but shares its ballfields. Some meals are
prepared at the "satellite camp" while others are both prepared and served in the main dining room. The teen camp of the New Jersey "Y" Camps also has its own site a short distance from the main camp area. While it, too, has its own dining-social hall, it only prepares breakfast—the other meals are trucked in in vacuum containers from the main kitchens. At the Philadelphia "Y" camps, a separate dining hall was added to the kitchen of Camp Reeta to accommodate its teen age camp.

(c) Co-ed Camping

The physical layout and the structures of a camp are also understandably related to its approach to co-educational programming. In camps where the separation of boys and girls is almost complete, separate and equal facilities must be provided for each group. In camps where only the sleeping quarters are separate, common facilities can be provided at a great saving in cost, maintenance, operation, and staff.

Cejwin Camps, in 1965 for example, had seven separate camps, each camp (except the Yonim unit of some 80 girls and boys, 5 to 8 years of age) included from 150 to 200 boys or girls with an age spread of not more than two and a half years. Each camp was completely self-sufficient with separate facilities, from office and athletic fields to social hall and swimming beach, its own staff from head counselor
to porters, with independent programming, from arising and eating through the day's schedule of events to evening activities and retiring. Despite this physical separation, there were extensive co-ed activities between the camps of parallel age grouping, conducted on a divisional basis, with only one-third of each camp participating at any given time.

Camp Harlam, on the other hand, is a good example of the many camps that operate integrated co-ed programs. Sleeping quarters are, of course, separate, but, aside from athletic facilities and programming (a carry-over from earlier days when separate sports facilities were built for boys and girls) all other facilities and programming are integrated.

Most camps in our study are co-educational, as evidenced by Table 5.

It is understandable that camps sponsored by ultra-orthodox Jewish organizations would keep boys and girls completely separate. The one neo-orthodox camp in this category takes great pain to separate boys and girls for many activities, but also has a co-ed activity program.

Philanthropic camps, among the oldest, were created for specific segments of the population and are still tradition-bound. They have been the slowest to change.

Private camps, as commercial enterprises, cater to
the needs and desires of parents, some of whom, evidently, still prefer to have the sexes separate.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Camp</th>
<th>Per cent of Co-Ed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yiddish</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zionist</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conservative (Denominational)</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reform (Denominational)</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hebrew</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Federation</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Center</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philanthropic</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional (Denominational)</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

73%

The Center camps vary with the tendency toward co-ed camping predominant and growing. The New Jersey "Y" Camps, after forty-eight consecutive years of operating separate camps for boys and girls, converted to co-ed camping during the summer of 1969 with great success. At the
same time, the Philadelphia "Y" Camps, after forty-five years, continues to operate separate camps and has no plans for change. The experience of the New Jersey "Y" Camps may serve as a stimulus to other Center camps since the change was achieved with almost no need for capital fund expenditure, and the first summer of the change went so smoothly.

4. Camp Buildings

(a) General facilities

The size and variety, style and cost of the larger central buildings at camp such as dining halls and kitchens, recreation and social halls, lodges and canteens, infirmaries, administrative offices, and the like, run the gamut from primitive, inadequate and sub-standard structures to magnificent edifices costing tens of thousands of dollars.

Dining Hall and Kitchen.—The dining hall and its kitchen is the most important building in camp. Good camp directors understand that the morale and esprit de corps of campers and staff is largely dependent on an efficient food operation. The aesthetic setting is no less important than properly prepared, tasty and nourishing food, served efficiently and in acceptable portions. Usually, the most elaborate building in camp is the dining hall and a well-run kitchen, the pride of the camp administration.

Most camp buildings are generally constructed for
summer operation only, which allows for the use of light construction materials and many large, screened openings. Most dining halls are built to provide for ample outdoor light and cross ventilation, and frequently follow a T-shaped plan—an elongated horizontal area for dining and a shorter vertical area for the kitchen, with a relationship between the two that allows for service with a minimum of steps.

The ideal size dining hall should provide a floor area of between ten and fifteen square feet per diner, the exact figure depending upon the size and shape of the dining tables. The size of the tables, in turn, are dependent upon the camp's overall approach to groups and groupings. Those camps which adhere to the "bunk-centered" approach, that is, campers in a bunk unit doing everything together, have tables to accommodate the size of the bunk group plus the counselors. Tables may vary from five places to eleven. Camps, where the "division" forms the basis for activity, may assign a section of the dining hall to the "division," allowing the camper to sit wherever he pleases and assigning at least one counselor to a table. In this situation tables may be larger.

The writer has visited camps where tables were round, square, rectangular—the size and shape generally determined by whether or not the dining hall also doubles as a recreational or social hall, and the tables and chairs or benches
must be easily movable and stackable to assure the room's multiple use. The more regimented camps assign each child to a specific place—the more permissive camps allow all children the freedom to sit where they please at any meal. Interestingly enough, the campers generally end up sitting with their own bunk group, boys with boys, girls with girls, until they reach the teen age. The educational and program implications will be discussed later in our study.

Most of the small camps in our study have dining halls which are large enough to accommodate the entire camp at one time; the large camps do not and must serve meals in shifts. Crowded dining room conditions are more generally the case than not. Enlarging a dining hall is a major capital consideration and most camps try to "make do."

Overcrowdedness is not only a problem of numbers, it is aggravated by noise, discomfort, poorer food service and distribution, and the accumulation of tensions. By far, the finest dining room facilities are found in the private camps—the more primitive facilities are found in the Zionist camps. No generalizations can be made for the other types of camps—the variety is endless. There are broad differences among the Zionist camps themselves. One Zionist camp has a dining room which is little more than a big shack—another has a dining room, designed by a professional architect, that cost close to $60,000. A Denominational Conservative camp bought an exhibit building at Montreal's Expo and
reconstructed it on camp grounds. The building has two wings—one for dining, one for use as a social hall, connected by kitchens and storerooms. Set on a concrete slab, with no built-in drains, despite its size, it is not really a proper dining hall. An Educational camp has a large spacious dining room overlooking its lake—a lovely setting for every meal.

It should be noted that no criticism is intended for primitive facilities, if they meet health and sanitation standards. Many of the Zionist camps, for example, in trying to simulate the Kibbutz in Israel, or at least the Kibbutz in its formative stages, purposely keep the physical facilities as simple as possible. This writer was the director of a camp where the dining room consisted of a big circus tent and the kitchen a shack, and he had one of his finest summer educational experiences in that camp. The whole concept of "primitive camping" has a following of its own. The point we are making is that whatever the facilities they must meet minimum standards.

Kitchens present more problems than dining halls. Technically the camp kitchen should be zoned for three basic functions—the preparation of food, the serving of food, and dish and pot washing. In a properly functioning kitchen, these areas are delineated and physically separated. State, county or local sanitation laws are very explicit
regarding regulations for water supply, sanitation, storage for milk and perishable foods, cleanliness, dishwashing procedures, and the like. Camps, accredited by the ACA or not, are subject to these regulations, particularly since, as noted, most of the camps in our study are located in States where very specific laws exist. It can be stated, almost categorically, that all the camps in our study comply with the minimal standards required.

The differences that do exist among our camps are mainly related to the size of the facility, the equipment in use, personnel, the use of campers or camper waiters, food budgets, kashrut, organization, and management. We shall examine these factors in other parts of our study. However, since we are here dealing with structures and facilities several brief comments may be in order.

Aside from the educational and religious implications of a camp under Jewish sponsorship observing kashrut, there are physical and practical considerations. Some of the camps resist introducing kashrut because of theological or philosophical considerations, such as Denominational-Reform camps. Others do not agree on religious grounds but claim inability to convert to a kosher kitchen because they do not have the space or facilities for separate meat and dairy service. Camp S.G.F. agreed to become kosher only after the Philadelphia Federation of Jewish Agencies provided a special grant of $25,000 to cover the cost for changes in
the kitchen, additional storage and refrigeration facili-
ties, new dishes and pots, etc. A major stumbling block
for introducing kashrut is cost. Kitchen space in most
of our camps, of all types, is generally inadequate for
current use, let alone for expanded service. As we shall
see, even those camps that do not observe kashrut adver-
tise their food as "kosher style," as do Camp JCA in Cali-
ifornia, or Camp Coleman in Georgia, or Camp Henry Horner
in Illinois. Camps may advertise "only kosher food used,"
"no pork products," "separation of dairy and meat products."
The change from these practices to actual kashrut gen-
erally rests on the costs for converting the kitchen and
the cost for a resident mashgiah.

Frequently, the most frustrating and vexing problems
of a camp operation revolve around the kitchen and particu-
larly the kitchen staff. This is most often true when
campers are involved in kitchen tasks, such as setting
tables and serving food, preparation of vegetables, dish-
washing, and the like. Camp kitchen planners are wise if
they provide separate space for performing these tasks so
that campers and other non-professional help are kept apart
from the chefs and their assistants. Most of the camps in
our study that do involve their campers in work programs in
the kitchen rarely have such separate space and consequently
usually have the attendant problems.

The type of kitchen equipment is use again varies
so broadly that generalizations are impossible to make. Most kitchen operations are mechanized, regardless of type of camp. The very large camps, with their steam cooking vats, bakeries, vast refrigeration and freezer facilities, can efficiently serve up to 6,000 meals a day. The smaller, less affluent camps, are more dependent on manual operations and out-of-camp suppliers. In any case, keeping kitchen staff happy by providing them with proper tools for work, and keeping the rest of camp happy, by providing good food service, is a prime, on-going concern for camp administrators.

Infirmaries.--ACA standards call for every category of camp having some facility or area where health and emergency cases may be cared for and which should not be used for any other purpose. Such facilities should provide quiet, rest, comfort, and ready access to medication and isolation as may be required. ACA generally recommends that the infirmary have one cot for every twenty-five campers. Ward rooms are acceptable. The building should also have sleeping quarters for the doctor or nurse in charge and it should be located far enough from the sleeping units of the general camp cabins and from points of noisy camp recreational activity so as to assure maximum privacy for patients. Also, it should be located near enough to the dining area so as to permit the serving of hot food conveniently. It is suggested that the infirmary have a small kitchen of its own.
for the preparation of simple diets. A dispensary or first aid office should be provided, either in the main infirmary building, or in an adjacent building. An ambulance or an easily convertible camp vehicle should be available at all times for emergencies.

These health requirements seem simple enough, and yet, a number of our camps do not fully comply with these structural needs. (Staff and medical services will be discussed later.)

One camp, for example, has its infirmary located right in the middle of the main camp traffic area, almost immediately adjacent to a number of girls' bunks. Another infirmary is part of a large building which is the hub of the camp. Several camps located on rented sites maintained by the New York State Park Department are in dire need of new infirmary buildings. A number of camps which, through the years, have expanded their camper bed capacity have not enlarged their infirmary buildings commensurately. On the other hand, the larger proportion of our camps have excellent medical facilities. The New Jersey "Y" Camps recently built a new infirmary of modernistic design, on two levels, landscaped into a wooded area, with a dispensary on ground level and ward and isolation rooms on the upper level. The newer camps, in particular, have more than adequate facilities.
Recreation and Social Halls.--Recreational and Social Halls are to be found in every camp. Usually they are separate, quite elaborate buildings, some with professional stages, which can be used for multiple purposes. The recreation hall in Massad "A" is large enough with a ceiling high enough to allow for indoor basketball games. At Cejwin, each camp has a recreation hall, but, in addition, there is an overall hall large enough to accommodate several camps at one time. The same is true at the New Jersey "Y" Camps whose largest recreational hall has space for the camp library, a staff lounge, and the camp canteen. A feature of many of these facilities is a large indoor fireplace. In a number of camps, the dining hall doubles as the large camp recreational facility, with smaller buildings servicing the "villages" or divisions.

Administration Facilities.--The administration area should be located where it can be easily reached by car from the camp entrance and should be the only part of camp open to automobile traffic. Camp offices and the buildings in which they are housed also vary considerably. In some camps the office is attached to some other facility. Old farmhouses, part of the original property, serve some camps. In still others, separate office buildings have been constructed usually housing other central facilities. In many of the private camps, the office is part of the owners'
quarters. Divisional offices are much simpler, almost always consisting of simple shacks or cabins.

A discussion of general facilities should undoubtedly include some reference to garages and shops, workrooms for maintenance staff, quarters for maintenance and service personnel, camp roads and inter-communication and other sundry buildings which serve particular functions, such as a crafts building, a nature museum, and the like. Since the purpose of this study is not primarily concerned with the technical operation of camp, except for its interrelationship with the educational, and data was not collected for some of these particular areas, the writer can but offer some subjective impressions gathered as he visited these many camps. Sophisticated, professional camp directors, well aware of the fact that all of these elements, however simplistic they might seem, are essential elements in good camp programming, were quick to point out efforts they had made to provide needed services and facilities in all of the above mentioned areas. Some succeeded more than others because of their own know-how and efficiency and ability in personnel relations, or availability or lack of funds, or partially succeeded, or failed. In any case, it may be well to reiterate the presence of all of these factors as affecting the overall operation of a well run summer camp.
(b) Cultural and Programming Facilities

While all of the previously mentioned facilities are involved in overall programming, and some of them are more particularly involved in what may be deemed cultural activities, e.g., the recreational hall that serves as a theater, there are particular facilities which camps either build or do not build which reflect their attitudes toward specific cultural or programmatic concerns. These would include such structures as libraries, music rooms, classrooms, synagogues, or chapels, museums, amphitheaters, and the like.

Libraries.--As we shall see, 91 per cent of the camps in our study responding to the question, "Do you have a children's library?" indicated that they did. However, relatively few of the camps have a separate library building. Aside from the camps categorized as Educational, Denominational or Hebrew where a number of fine library buildings exist, almost none of the other camps have specific library facilities. Leaving a discussion of the quality of the library collection, its supervision and use to a later section of the study, it should be here noted that to whatever extent there are books at camp, they are usually to be found on shelves in various and sundry places. There are exceptions in each category, of course. Among Zionist camps, Galil has a small library building that was constructed
by the older campers themselves. The library at the New
Jersey "Y" Camps in Milford in exemplary, but a rather
rare phenomenon among Center camps. Among Federation
camps, Surprise Lake has adequate facilities. Camp Akiba,
a private camp, had a relatively large collection of books
in a good facility.

Synagogues and Chapels.--Very few camps have build-
ings used exclusively as chapels. The few that do include
mainly the Denominational/traditional camps as well as a
few in each other category. Pinemere, a Center camp, has
a chapel with a seating capacity of 300, which is not used
for any other purpose. Camp B'nai B'rith in Pennsylvania
made a special effort to build a chapel, but when not used
for religious purposes, is utilized as a second recreation
hall. Many amphitheaters were built in camps, originally
for Friday evening services. Once constructed, these facil-
ities are understandably given multiple use. Many camps
prefer to use an outdoor setting for services, to great ad-
vantage.

Classrooms.--Even among camps involved in a formal
educational program very few have built classroom or lecture
facilities. Camp Ramah in the Poconos converted its old
dining hall into a combination building including class-
rooms; most other such camps rely on makeshift arrangements,
and, in the main, conduct their classes outdoors. Rainy days become problems as well as the distractions of the out-of-doors. The Denominational/Traditional camps, with their several hours a day of formal study, make greater use of indoor facilities and in some few cases actually have a "school building" on camp grounds.

Crafts and Nature.--Camps that emphasize creative arts and nature programs generally provide special structures to house these activities. The craft shop is normally a simple structure for which maximum light is the prime requirement. It may be entirely open except for space which can be enclosed and locked for storage of tools and material. The variety of structures used for crafts is evidenced at the New Jersey "Y" Camps at Milford where the facilities are housed in enclosed cabins, open leantos, and imaginative octagonal shaped buildings overlooking the lake.

5. Sports facilities

The most sophisticated, varied, and well kept sports fields and facilities are to be found in the Private camps. The most informal, make-do type facilities were found in the Zionist camps. While certain sports facilities are universally found at all camps, such as baseball fields, basketball, volleyball, and swimming, other sports such as tennis, soccer, archery, riflery, horsebackriding, boating,
and canoeing are not always prevalent. This is so for a variety of reasons.

The site itself pre-determines some of the sports activities. Camps with swimming pools and no lakes obviously cannot offer boating or canoeing, except as out-of-camp experiences. Some camps, located on hilly sites, do not have sufficient level ground to allow for extensive playing fields. Costs for levelling ground and constructing facilities is high, and, in the final analysis, is probably the most potent reason for poor or inadequate facilities. On the other hand, some camps consciously limit the kind of sports they provide at camp. Many camps emphasize group activities, including sports, and will not have tennis courts, or badminton, since these are "individual" activities. Riflery is another taboo in most camps.

Baseball fields vary from simple open fields, with no backstop or one built of chickenwire to a well marked field with professional bases, foul lines, aluminum fenced backstop, etc. A basketball court may be two wooden poles with baskets on a dirt level area to a hard-top court, lined and professionally marked.

Camps which are "sports centered" will obviously give greater attention and spend more money on sports facilities than camps where sports are part of the program, but not unduly emphasized. However, even an educational camp like HI Li, in its promotional literature, and, in fact, in
its daily programming, takes pride in the large variety of sports it provides "all under competent supervision and instruction," including horsebackriding (usually limited to private camps), all the other sports mentioned plus well-built handball courts.

Of all the sports facilities at camp, the one which receives the most attention and use is the swimming facility. A proper size, filtered, well-maintained pool, requires a relatively large capital expenditure and constant care. Twenty-seven square feet of water per swimmer is recommended by the ACA, an area infrequently provided in the pools of the camps in our study. Consequently, the pool is rarely large enough to accommodate the entire camp, and split-shifts must be scheduled. Since the primary consideration of a camp swimming area is safety, much care must be taken in constructing docks and beaches along a lakefront, to meet the requirements explicitly called for by American Red Cross safety rules. Satisfaction at the swimming area is second only to satisfaction with food in making the summer a success for the average camper.

Most of the camps in our study have more than adequate watersports facilities. The few exceptions are again among the Zionist and some of the Federation camps. The American Zionist Youth Foundation is trying to provide capital funds for the Zionist camps to rectify facility inadequacies. The Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of New
York is grappling with a similar problem. Graenum Berger, Consultant on Camping for the Federation, in presenting his 1967 Report, raised the question of what Federation should do "to assist our camps in obtaining . . . funds to put their facilities in first class condition. Should substantial assistance be rendered through the annual maintenance grants?" These questions remain unanswered for the most part.


Central to the technical development of a site into a camp is the problem of providing a safe and adequate water supply and sewage disposal system. This is fortunately an area where guidelines and assistance are readily available from local and state health departments and sanitary engineers, although not all of our camps make use of these opportunities.

Common sense would seem to dictate that both these systems be planned to accommodate the maximum number of persons who will make use of the site at any given time. This is not always the case.

One camp, for example, in the middle of the summer of 1967, had to dig a new well to provide a more adequate, reliable and portable source of water. Sewage and water have plagued this camp since its beginning, partly due to
inadequate design, stringent capital economies, and neglec-
ted maintenance.

Another camp has a maze of water and sewage pipes, exposed, running all through the camp, as well as cesspools, inadequate in size, which frequently overflow and invariably give off an unpleasant stench.

Too many of our camps have antiquated water supply systems which require overhauling and replacement. Flush toilets that do not work, inadequate water storage, inadequate hot-water facilities for wash houses and showers are common in many camps. While the water is itself safe, since it must be tested for purity before the camp may open, its distribution and supply are not always adequate.

Garbage disposal poses problems for camps as well. Health departments look askance at the old system of digging a hole, filling it with refuse, burning it and then putting in lime and covering the hole, as adequate. Camps are now being required to build incinerators or have the garbage and trash carted out—an added cost factor.

All of our camps are electrified, with variations. Some of the camps have power only in central administrative units and large buildings but not in campers' living units. The reasoning here seems to be that somehow electric lights will detract from the romantic image the child has of camping. Perhaps this is so. However, the danger inherent in
other types of lighting techniques should offset any loss of romanticism and lights should be available in all camp areas. Some camps have gone to the extra expense and labor to place all wiring underground, mainly for aesthetic reasons. Overhead wiring, in a natural camping setting, seemed out of place. It should be noted that very few camps have an emergency generator system of their own, despite the fact that power shortages are a reality of rural living.

C. Camp Facilities

1. Accommodations

Basically, campers are housed in either tents or cabins of varying sizes and accoutrements. The classic argument among camping practitioners as to whether a camp should be all cabin or all tent is rather academic and has been settled by the camps in our study, which represent all three points of view. A few of our camps are all tent—Camp Moshavah for example; all cabin—Camp B'naï B'rith in Pennsylvania; and many are a combination of tents and cabins—Pinemere, for example.

Even among Zionist camps, which as already indicated represent the category most committed to more primitive camping, there is great variety. Shomria, Galil, and Tel Yehuda provide tents for older campers, usually from age fourteen and up. The tents, however, all have platforms, electric lights, cubbies, etc. The advantage of the tent
lies in its relatively low initial cost; the disadvantage lies in the maintenance problems it brings. Tents must be taken down and set up each season, stored properly, kept in repair, waterproofed. The cabin, on the other hand, is more or less permanent and has a greater appeal to parents. Some of the cabins in our camps are too permanent—more than thirty years old—and should be replaced.

The size of the tent or the cabin is again related to the conception of grouping in the camp and the quantity and quality of staff. The history of camping practices reveals a continual reduction in the number of children recommended for tent or cabin groups. Experience has shown that younger children in particular are better able to adjust to camp life and cause fewer behavior problems if they are with small groups rather than "dormitory" type groups. Most of our children, coming from middle class homes which assure them a greater degree of privacy today than was the case in the past, many with private rooms of their own, find it more difficult to adjust to a large number of bunkmates. As we shall see, ACA standards for supervision, limits the number of children for whom a counselor may be asked to assume full responsibility, to eight. The number eight has become an almost magic number for all camp groupings, and incorrectly so. Eight campers in a cabin is better than twelve (a previous magic number)—but six is even better and four seems best of all. Camping educational experts now recommend
that with campers over twelve years of age no more than four be placed in a tent or cabin. In the case of children under twelve, it is recommended that "the cabins be constructed with two rooms, large enough to accommodate four campers each, with a separate room for the counselor between the two."\textsuperscript{13}

Most of the camps in our study using tents use six, eight, or fourteen man tents. Some, notably the Center camps, do make use of four man tents. The differences here, however, are due, I believe, more to staff considerations, than costs involved. Two factors are involved. On the one hand, the smaller the group the less the supervision required. In camps where four campers are housed in a tent, counselors are housed together, in the same area, and can easily supervise larger overall numbers of children. On the other hand, tents with larger numbers of tentmates generally require a counselor to sleep in the same tent. This raises many questions about the role of supervision which we will discuss at a more appropriate time.

Few, if any, camps construct cabins for four. I do not recall visiting any such camp among those in our study. Generally, the cabins are of two basic designs. A single, self-contained cabin, with its own washroom facilities (usually sinks and toilets—showers are left for central

\textsuperscript{13}Julian H. Salomon, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 254.
shower houses) or no interior sanitation, with space for six, eight, or twelve campers and space for counselors, either as part of the total cabin group or with a separate cubby or small room. A second frequently used design consists of a rather large cabin with four separate rooms. Two large areas to accommodate between six and fourteen campers, shared washroom facilities, and a counselor's room. Pinemere, for example, adds a common play area or living room for what is tantamount to the two bunks. This room has a fireplace and an outside porch and is ideal for rainy days as well as for quiet times during a regular schedule.

While most cabins are planned for summer use only and are therefore of light construction with large window areas, much screening and frequently ingenious methods of closing in the cabin during inclement weather, some of the newer cabins being constructed to either replace the old for form parts of new "villages" are built for winter use as well. These cabins are insulated and have provision for heat.

A large, interesting, and novel variety of architectural designs may be found in our camps. In some of the private camps cabins become "cottages" and are advertised thusly: "Each cottage is equipped with inner-spring mattresses, hot and cold water, showers—and enjoys the comfort of a lounging room with a log burning fire-place."
Log exteriors, paneled interiors. Camp Derry, for example, has modern, well constructed cabins which have a very rustic appearance and blend with their natural surroundings, while Camp Eton advertises its cabins as "sturdy."

Some camps still have large barn-like dormitory buildings, which have been partitioned for smaller groupings, but are quite inadequate. "A" type buildings are appearing more frequently—an entire village of such cabins was recently built at Camp Arthur. Cejwin has experimented with low cost cabins with large overhanging roofs for weather protection which also allows for the use of less lumber, an expensive item, and more screening. Many camps, to partially solve the problems of overcrowding cabins, are using double-decker beds. This only partly helps, since while it may alleviate the floor space condition, still places too many campers in the same room.

Toilet and washing facilities vary from the simplest possible type, pit toilets and latrines, to flush toilets, which are the norm. Flush toilets can be used where the water supply is plentiful and where soil conditions allow the construction of proper cesspools or tile disposal fields. As indicated previously, some camps have encountered difficulties when sources of water and swimming areas become contaminated by improperly operating sewage systems.

The acceptable ratio of toilets to camp population is one for each ten persons. I imagine that this was com-
puted on the basis of usage and laws of averages. The ratio is somewhat inadequate at camp at the time of rising and going to bed. Two toilets for a cabin of fourteen is more than adequate on paper—less than adequate in practice. Urinals are of great help in boys' facilities—girls require a much higher toilet ratio.

Most of the camps in our study, including those camps which provide some toilet and washing facilities in the cabins, have central wash-houses or shower-houses. In decentralized camps, these are usually provided on a division level. Most of these buildings are partially open structures with a minimum of individual privacy provided. Since divisions are organized by sex, this is no problem. Sinks are either individual, or long, factory-type, equipped with delayed closing faucets. Toilets are partitioned for privacy—showers are generally common type. Each divisional shower house may have its own heating unit and bottled gas supply, or may be supplied with hot water from a central heating plant. Stall type showers have been installed in cabins as well, thus taking the pressure off the central shower house.

D. Staff Accommodations

We have already alluded to the recommended ACA standards for the ratio of staff to campers of one to eight. This applies to campers age eight or over. For
camper's under eight, the ratio should be one to six. The educational implications will be left for later. Our concern here is the effect on staff housing and accommodations.

There are two basic approaches to camper-counselor "togetherness" and several compromises. One camping philosophy insists that the counselor live with his campers and be housed in the same cabin area. An opposite approach calls for campers to live alone together and for the counselor to live in close proximity, but not in the same cabin. The compromises include having the counselor live in the same cabin, but in a separate room or cubby; the room may be completely private, or simply a partial partition. Where counselors are separate from their charges, they generally share their quarters with at least one other counselor or as many as three others. No camp permits a counselor to live alone. Counselors who share the cabin with campers, with some private accommodation, usually share the cubby with a second counselor—in a two-bunk, one-building arrangement—or with a Junior counselor. Head counselors, Division heads, Senior counselors, and specialists, generally have their own quarters. Married staff, on any level, have their own quarters, a small cabin, or some camps are now supplying trailers. Head counselors and Division heads are usually older personnel with families and many camps have recognized the fact that good housing must be supplied if they are to be attracted to camp. The New Jersey "Y" Camps at Milford have built
lovely cottages for their Head Counselors, and housing for
married staff is now a major problem facing summer camps.

To further attract staff, adult recreational and
social facilities must be provided. Lounges, lodges, can­
teens for staff are now becoming the rule rather than the
exception. Again, at the New Jersey "Y" Camps at Milford,
an entire motel-type village was constructed, with private
rooms and baths, for administrative personnel. New infirm­
aries provide excellent housing for medical staff. And
special attention is being given to housing needs of main­
tenance personnel, particularly kitchen staff. The short­
age is so acute that salary alone is no longer a sufficient
incentive.

E. Finances

1. Fees

The major source of income in most camps comes from
campers' fees. In the case of the Private camps, 100 per­
cent of the operational costs of camp, its capital improve­
ment program, as well as the margin of profit for the owner
comes exclusively from fees. At the other extreme are those
few remaining camps, mainly Philanthropic, where children
attend free of any charge and the total costs of the camp
operation must be borne by the sponsoring agency and/or by
grants from other communal sources. Most of the other camps
depend upon income from campers to the extent of between 70
per cent and 80 per cent of their operating budgets. In 1966, camps affiliated with the New York Federation of Jewish Philanthropies received allocations in the amount of $607,627 toward their total camp expenditures of $2,087,789, approximately 29 per cent of operating costs. Aside from a combined deficit of $140,011 that summer, which the individual camps had to cover by passing the hat among their board members, the remaining operating funds, 71 per cent of the total budget, came from camper fees.\footnote{14}

Fees are normally set to primarily cover the operating costs involved in maintaining and supervising a camper for a particular period of time. These costs are based on such operational expenses as camp personnel, program, food and food service, administration, operation of vehicles, maintenance of grounds and facilities, maintenance of equipment, replacement of equipment, insurance, laundry, transportation, local taxes, medical supplies, tuition fee insurance, interest on the mortgage, allocation for depreciation, and leeway for extraordinary repairs and replacements or other unforeseen emergency expenses. To operate and plan efficiently the costs per camper per day, broken down by function, must be known to the camp financial manager. Camp accounting procedures must be established so that weekly

balance sheets are available and a constant check kept on per diem expenditures compared to per diem income as related to budget. Determining camp fees depends on the accuracy of such records.

Obviously camps vary considerably in their operating standards for both maintenance and supervision. Costs, in the final analysis, reflect the camp's ideology, the scope and intensity of programming, the quality and the quantity of staff and are usually tailor-made by each organization to be as nearly as possible within the reach of the constituency using the camp. Just as family budgets must be adjusted to household earnings, camp budgets reflect their income. Camps like Ramah, with double staffs, counselor and teaching, will clearly have higher staff costs to meet than camps where the age and experience of the counselor staff is below ACA standards and the costs for employing such staff is substantially less. Camps which include extensive out-of-camp activities necessitating considerable bus transportation will understandably have greater operating expenses than camps which restrict all of their activities to in-camp programming.

The fees charged by a camp may reflect the actual full operational costs of carrying each camper, with certain allowances for those campers who cannot afford to pay full fees. Such camps charge flat fees for all campers and provide for non full-fee paying campers through subsidies,
scholarships or other income. In some camps the fee is set at somewhat less than the actual operating cost, with the difference covered by general contributions to camp or from other sources of camp income. As already noted, the Private camps charge full actual costs, plus. The Educational, Yiddish, Zionist, Denominational—Conservative and Reform—and Hebrew camps charge flat fees, based primarily but not exclusively on actual camp costs. Federation camps and many of the Philanthropic camps, on the other hand, base their fees, not on actual operating costs but on the reported family incomes of the families of campers. Here, fees, with some exceptions, are based on the camper's ability to pay and are calculated on a carefully prepared sliding scale. The scale is generally based on family gross income, making allowances for the size of the family, taking into account what average families in different income levels should legitimately set aside in their annual "recreation" budget, and then base the fee on the assumption that a family would spend at least one-third of that category for a summer's camp experience. Where there was actually a family budget deficit, a minimum fee would be expected equivalent to at least the food expenditures for the week. While some Center camps also apply a sliding scale rate for fees, most Center camps charge flat fees. Obviously, camps that base their fees on factors other than actual operating costs can exist only by being heavily subsidized, or running sub-standard camps.
In addition to reflecting actual operating costs, fees may be related to other factors as well. For example, many of the Zionist camps rely on camp income to cover some of their organizational expenses during the entire year. The Philadelphia Hai Commission, responsible for Habonim activities in the city throughout the year, depends on income from Camp Galil. The fees at Galil must, therefore, encompass these expenses.

Many camps depend on camper fees for capital improvement programs as well as for on-going maintenance and operational costs. One Center camp spent $32,396 for capital improvements and new equipment in 1968 from camp income. Mortgage payments and interest on mortgages are also met from camp income, as are the costs of full-time, year-round personnel, city offices and clerical help, recruitment expenses, camp literature, etc.

Organizationally sponsored camps charge lower fees to members than to non-members, as much as a 15 per cent differential. This technique is used to encourage membership and stimulate year-round participation in the program of the sponsoring organization. Joining the "Y" or the Zionist youth group saves the family some money and promotes membership.

A fee differential is made in some camps if more than one child from a family attends the camp. A few camps, to encourage the annual return of campers, allow for lower
rates for each successive year of attendance. A Canadian camp charged $350 for the first year and only $200 for the second. In one case, a camp gave a free summer to a child who had attended the camp for six consecutive years.

Camps also vary in the manner in which they deal with fees for children of staff members. If the children are of camper age and are placed in tents or cabins thus displacing full-fee-paying campers, some fee adjustment is made. In some camps, staff children attend seemingly free of charge; however, an adjustment in the parent's camp salary is generally made. Some camps charge these children only food costs. Many camps have no set policy and, depending on the law of supply and demand for staff, make yearly arrangements. In recent years, with the critical shortage of good staff, camps tend to be most generous in making such arrangements and try to attract good personnel by offering liberal accommodations for children as an added incentive for employment.

One Center camp follows a formula which includes charging staff parents $400 against a $595 fee for children who are full participants in the camp program, live in bunks, etc.; $300 if the child sleeps with the parents but is assigned to a bunk group during the day; $200 if the child sleeps with the parents and is part of the day-camp; no charge for children under four who live with parents; no charge for baby sitters who are brought to camp to care for
young children while the parents work in program—the parent pays the baby sitter; no charge for spouses who visit on weekends or come to camp for their vacation and have free use of all camp facilities—they are called "drones." Top supervisory staff are charged half of these fees. Full-time employees of camp may have their children at camp at no charge at all.

The data collected in this study were gathered over a period of several summers and while this is relatively unimportant for many aspects of the study since little notable changes took place during these years in most areas, fees did change from year to year. Between 1955 and 1960 camper fees increased an average of 7 per cent per annum in camps affiliated with the National Jewish Welfare Board. 15 A sampling of fees charged by camps in our study between 1963 and 1969 shows increases of between 11.7 per cent and 41.3 per cent with an average of 25.7 per cent. Since data from the summer of 1963 is available for seventy of our one hundred camps, the following statistics are based on these figures. In addition, because the length of the camp season varies and campers may attend and pay for two, three, four, six, or eight week periods, all fees were adjusted and calculated on a per week basis.

TABLE 6
WEEKLY FEES CHARGED BY CATEGORIES OF CAMPS DURING THE 1963 SEASON

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number of Camps</th>
<th>Range of Fees</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Minimum</td>
<td>Maximum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>$65.62</td>
<td>$87.50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Federation</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>63.84</td>
<td>65.71</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Center</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>44.08</td>
<td>46.88</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>66.67</td>
<td>71.29</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yiddish</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>66.69</td>
<td>69.38</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zionist</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>46.01</td>
<td>52.65</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philanthropic</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>53.43</td>
<td>59.20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denominational</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>39.63</td>
<td>43.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conservative</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>72.61</td>
<td>77.29</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reform</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>62.46</td>
<td>65.58</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Camps charging the lowest fees in 1963 were the Denominational/Traditional with a minimum of $39.63 and a maximum of $43.00 per camper per week. Center camps were second lowest, with charges ranging from a minimum of $44.08 to a maximum of $46.88. Zionist sponsored camps, charging from $46.01 to $52.65 follow. The highest weekly charges to campers were the Private camps where the maximum fee reached $87.50. (For the record, only one Private camp charged $87.50 per week.) However, it should be noted that
### TABLE 7

A SAMPLING OF FEE INCREASES (BY SEASON OR LESSER TIME PERIOD) OF CAMPS BETWEEN 1963 AND 1969

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Camp</th>
<th>Fee 1963</th>
<th>Fee 1969</th>
<th>Per Cent Increase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B'nai B'rith, Oregon</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>41.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mikao-Recro</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>40.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wise</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>38.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bauercrest</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pinemere</td>
<td>454</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>32.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avodah (Sura)</td>
<td>425</td>
<td>550</td>
<td>29.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shomria</td>
<td>370</td>
<td>475</td>
<td>28.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boiberik</td>
<td>515</td>
<td>660</td>
<td>28.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ramah, Pocono</td>
<td>575</td>
<td>735</td>
<td>27.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seneca Lake</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>26.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Galil</td>
<td>395</td>
<td>495</td>
<td>25.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph</td>
<td>440</td>
<td>550</td>
<td>25.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Horner</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>25.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Betar</td>
<td>425</td>
<td>525</td>
<td>23.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yavneh</td>
<td>595</td>
<td>730</td>
<td>22.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawthorn</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>22.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hatikvah</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>21.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arthur</td>
<td>495</td>
<td>595</td>
<td>20.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tel Yehuda</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>540</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cejwin</td>
<td>580</td>
<td>695</td>
<td>19.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Jersey &quot;Y&quot;</td>
<td>563</td>
<td>655</td>
<td>16.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kinderwelt</td>
<td>510</td>
<td>570</td>
<td>11.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B'nai B'rith, Pa.</td>
<td>497</td>
<td>555</td>
<td>11.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Average Increase: 25.7
the $65.62 minimum fee in Private camps was below the minimum fees in Educational, Yiddish, and Denominational/Conservative camps. Actually, the range for the Denominational/Conservative camps of $72.61 to $77.29 was the highest among all camps.

Evidently children attending Private, Educational, Yiddish, and Denominational/Conservative and Denominational/Reform camps come from middle-middle or upper-middle class homes, or, and this is particularly the case in the Denominational/Conservative camps, are recipients of considerable scholarship assistance.

The income level of families of children attending most Federation, some Center, and some Philanthropic camps is considerably lower. Since fees at Federation camps are based on one's ability to pay, the New York Federation, through its camping consultant, gathers detailed annual fiscal statistics from its affiliated camps. In recent years, Federation has been trying to determine the income levels of their campers by studying the reported income, often confirmed by investigation, in relation to the size of the family. Figures for 1967 showed terribly low levels of family income. For example, Federation camps served 1,060 campers coming from a family of two—one parent and one child. Only 53 of the 1,060 campers came from families with an income of $6,000 or more; 697 of these children came from a household with an annual income of less than $2,999. In
the case of families of three—two parents and one child—61 per cent of these children came from homes with incomes of less than $6,000 per annum. The so-called average family of four—two parents and two children—which constitutes the largest single block of campers at Federation camps, with one-third of all campers in this category, showed a decrease in those registered with incomes in the $3,000-$7,499 range, and an increase in the $7,500-$9,999 category. This is the family group for whom a Federal government department estimated that $9,200 per annum was required to live with a limited degree of comfort in the greater New York area. In his report, Mr. Berger noted that there was also an increase of camper services to families with incomes of $7,500 and over.

While we are obviously not serving exclusively a poor population, I do not believe that the spread is one for concern. The Jewish community, while still in great need for subsidized camping, (italics mine) also gives increasing evidence of being able to pay for the largest share of the camping bill. Philosophically, I like the economic as well as the social mix. It not only provides rich social and cultural contacts, but it also reflects a better level of behavior, a stimulant for emulation that we so desperately seek in other school and neighborhood environments.16

A number of Federation camps, especially those which are better developed and more closely comparable to good Private camps, have recognized that an ever-increasing

16Graenum Berger, op. cit., p. 44.
number of their campers are coming from the middle income groups. These campers come from families who either cannot afford good Private camps, or, what seems even more prevalent, prefer a camp with a mixed population that offers a shorter camping season of three weeks or not more than six weeks. Private camps are all eight week camps and the costs become prohibitive when several children are involved in one family. Such families may send their children to these Federation camps but must pay higher fees, graded up to $210 for three weeks, which is considerably above the operational cost. This enables the camp to meet part of its obligations to lower income families. However, the general practice seems to be the limiting of campers from this economic group to, at most, one-third of the entire camp population, so as to assure camper beds for children from lower income families who would otherwise have no opportunity for a camping experience.

The fees of camps are closely correlated with the socio-economic and affiliation patterns of the American Jewish community. The fee structure among the Denominational camps points this out very clearly. The only pattern seemingly incongruous is the switch in position between the Conservative and Reform fees. However, this is easily explained in the program and staff costs of these camps, and is not necessarily a reflection of economic differences between Conservative and Reformed Jews per se. Because of the
lower economic status of the Traditional group, it is understandable that three of the four Denominational/Traditional camps in our study are affiliated with and subsidized by the New York Federation. Center camps, which serve orthodox campers, such as Camp Sternberg, sponsored by the Williamsburg YM-YWHA, and serve only Hassidic and ultra-orthodox girls, in 1965 received an allocation of $25,322 from Federation toward a total budget of $75,025.

There are a number of "hidden" costs in camp fees. In addition to the camp "tuition" fee, parents find that they may be charged separately for insurance, laundry, transportation to and from camp, travel costs for trips while in camp, baggage handling, and sundry other items. One must be careful to consider the total costs in calculating the actual fee for the camping period. One Educational camp, in its literature, advertises a camp fee of $696--one must look closely to note additional charges of $35, bringing the total cost to $730. Another camp quotes a charge of $660, plus $35. However, in most cases, the camp incorporates the "extras" into a single camp fee and makes a point of informing the parent that the fee includes insurance, laundry, etc.

Still another cost to the parent, impossible to calculate statistically, are the canteen charges to campers. Most camps have some form of camp store or canteen, usually operated by the camp, sometimes by a concessionnaire. The
Canteen may be a simple stand stocking such items as soap, tooth paste, combs, etc., and candies and ice cream, or the camp store may be a rather elaborate enterprise. In most camps, the use of actual money by campers is restricted and an elaborate system of coupon booklets used. In any event, considerable sums of money are spent by campers in these canteens, adding to the cost of camp to parents, and providing income for the camp budget as well. The educational implications of the canteen will be discussed later in our study.

Special camp clothing adds to costs in a number of camps. While most camps frown on "camp uniforms" and children may wear ordinary summer clothing, there are some camps which require special camp clothing with the camp name and insignia, inform the parents where such clothing may be purchased, and, of course, profit from this extravagance. However, even camps which have no special requirement usually have camp "T" shirts, jackets, sweatshirts, etc. which campers generally purchase, adding to parents' cost and to camp income.

Special camp programming may also result in "extra" costs. During the two summers when Expo was open in Montreal, a number of camps arranged bus trips and visits. Costs were kept to a minimum by housing campers in hostels and even in nearby camps, but parents found themselves taxed for costs over and above normal camp fees. Such added costs were more
prevalent among Teen camps than camps with young children.

The three Habonim camps in the East initiated an inter-Camp Maccabia in which two camps travelled to the third. All three pooled expenses and initially taxed the parents for this added cost. Eventually, these costs were integrated into the budget and reflected in increased camp fees.

Since income from fees accounts for only between 70 per cent and 80 per cent of costs of operating budgets, the remaining 20 per cent to 30 per cent must come to various camps in varying ways.

2. Scholarships

Scholarships or "camperships" are available to campers in 92.5 per cent of the camps in our study, exclusive of the Private camps. Of the two Yiddish camps included in this statistic, one did not award any scholarships. In addition, 29 per cent of the Zionist camps and 20 per cent of the Denominational/Reform camps did not provide for scholarship assistance to campers. Of the 41 camps reporting a scholarship program for their campers, 6,882 campers benefited during the summer of 1963 to the extent of $705,104, as indicated in Table 8.

While these figures are impressive, they are also misleading. Even among these 41 camps, there were many more children in receipt of scholarship assistance, adding
TABLE 8
RESPONSES OF CAMPS BY CATEGORIES THAT REPORTED SCHOLARSHIPS FOR CAMPERS IN 1963

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Camps</th>
<th>Number of Scholarships</th>
<th>Amount of Scholarships</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Federation</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1,530</td>
<td>$122,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Center</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2,180</td>
<td>180,796</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>29,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yiddish</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zionist</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>13,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philanthropic</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1,441</td>
<td>137,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denominational</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>20,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conservative</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>341</td>
<td>84,503</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reform</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>498</td>
<td>62,905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hebrew</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>50,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>6882</td>
<td>$705,104</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

considerable value to the $705,104 reported, than the figures indicate. This is so because our statistics include mainly those scholarships given by the camps themselves, and do not include all the scholarships given to children by other agencies, synagogues, Hebrew Camp Scholarship Funds, foundations, Rabbis Funds, organizations, and the like.

Camps charge fees, and if the campers pay the full amount, the camp often has no knowledge of any assistance
the camper may have received. Having received full tuition from the parent, even if the camp is aware of the help, there may be no record kept of the scholarship, unless the granting agency sends the scholarship directly to the camp and the parents pay the difference. In Philadelphia, the Division of Community Services of Gratz College has sponsored a Hebrew Camp Scholarship Fund and raised thousands of dollars over the years and helped tens of children to attend camps offering Hebraic programming. To be certain that the camps recognize the interest and participation of the College in their camp program, the stipends are sent directly to the camps to be credited to the accounts of the children involved. The Buffalo Bureau of Jewish Education has followed the same practice for many years as well, as do many other Central Agencies for Jewish Education.17

Most Conservative congregations heavily subsidize the attendance of their children at the various camps Ramah. Camp Ramah in the Poconos reported that 147 of their children received scholarship assistance valued at $29,953 and underlined the fact that these scholarships were not by the camp. Camp Ramah in California did not provide any figures at all, simply noting that many of its campers did attend on scholarships which were not offered by the camp itself.

Most scholarships are provided on the basis of economic need, although social, educational, and emotional needs are sometimes offered as criteria. In most cases, applicants are requested to supply proof of financial need. Camp Carola provides scholarships to children who are on Aid to Dependent Children or other Department Welfare; Camp Henry Horner accepts "charity referrals" and gives help only to "low income categories"; Camp Sussex gives all campers full scholarships and limits enrollment to "underprivileged children." In addition to "need," some camps add other qualifications. "Membership in the Organization and financial need" is the criteria of Camp Shomria in Canada; Camp Willoway gives scholarships only to residents of Mt. Vernon; Cejwin Camps take into consideration "recommendations by Hebrew Schools through the J.E.C."; "Suitability to camp" as well as financial need is the practice at Camp Ein Harod. "Leadership potential, scholarship and need" are the three tests for aid at Camp Hess Kramer. As one might expect, a social-work oriented Center camp like Camp Tall Trees reports a "need for camping but unable to pay."

Many of the Zionist camps reward their active members and encourage potential leaders by offering scholarships. At one Zionist camp, twenty camper weeks are set aside at the discretion of the local Habonim leadership for scholarship purposes. In these cases, financial need is
oftimes not considered at all, but rather service to the Movement, or the potential leadership qualities of the recipient.

Merit scholarships are also offered by Hebrew Schools, Bureaus, rabbis, and the like, to children who have excelled in their Jewish studies. Frequently the scholarship may be quite nominal, almost a token award, but it serves as an important impetus in encouraging the child to attend an educational camp. Even $100 toward a fee of $735 is helpful. Most of the scholarships being offered are partial in nature.

Camps open to a special group of children only set their own criteria for admission and scholarships. Camp Oakhurst, for example, is sponsored by the New York Service for the Orthopedically Handicapped so that scholarships are obviously limited to children who otherwise qualify for admission. Camp Yavneh limits its scholarships to "needy families from Boston and vicinity." Children must first meet the Hebrew admission requirements of Camp Massad before a scholarship may be requested.

Camps receiving direct subsidies from Federations or Welfare Funds, are, in effect, offering partial scholarships to all their campers. The same applies to all camps whose fees are based on a sliding scale, where the ability of the family to pay is the basis for the charge. Any child in a camp paying less than his full subsistence cost is technically attending on a scholarship.
Scholarships, if provided by non-camp sources, do not add to the camp's operational income. Scholarships are really camper fees. Where this fee originates or who pays it is immaterial to the camp. Scholarships may increase the camp income if the capacity of the camp has not been filled and the offering of scholarships will bring in additional campers to occupy unused space. In this case, the overall per capita costs of camp would be reduced by the added campers and their income. On the other hand, scholarships that are offered by the camp itself, increases the per capita cost by reducing the aggregate income for the total number of campers and are a drain on the camp budget.

We must look to sources other than scholarships to account for the 20 per cent to 30 per cent camps need to operate beyond income from fees.

3. Communal Support

Sixty-one per cent of the camps reported that they received communal subsidies in the form of either direct allocations from federations and welfare funds or from contributions by individuals, organizations, or institutions. These funds were used for operational expenses as well as for the improvement of camp facilities.

In responding to the question, "Does your camp receive communal support?" there seems to have been some con-
fusion in the interpretation of the term "communal." A few camps interpreted this term to mean support from central communal funds such as direct subsidies from Federations only. Camp Ramah in the Berkshires, for example, stated that it received no communal funds and at the same time reported scholarship assistance from conservative congregations. Most of the camps, however, did interpret the term "communal" quite broadly as we shall see from the variety of sources they list for such support.

One hundred per cent of the Federation camps received direct support from central communal funds—29 per cent of total budget. A number of Center and Philanthropic camps are also subsidized in like manner. Camp Henry Horner, a Philanthropic camp, receives an allocation from the Community Fund of Chicago; the Rochester Community Chest contributes to Camp Seneca Lake, a Center camp; Camp Wise, a Center camp, receives support from the Jewish Welfare Fund of Cleveland, Ohio; the Jewish Appeal of Montreal, Canada, provides some 80 per cent of the budget of Camp Wooden Acres; Camp Livingston receives money from both the Community Chest and the Jewish Welfare Fund. These are but a few examples of camps receiving allocations from central Jewish communal funds.

Among the other categories of camps, 67 per cent of the Denominational/Conservative, 62 per cent of the Zionist, and 60 per cent of the Denominational/Reform claim to be
completely self-supporting and receive no communal support. Among other camps in these categories, however, support does come from such sources as Hadassah for Camp Biluim in Canada, the Labor Zionist Organization and Pioneer Women for Camp Gilboa in California; "our member congregations and the U.A.H.C." from the Union Camp Institute in Indiana, or from Camp Harlam, that reports support from Reform Synagogues; Camp Ramah in California reports that "funds are raised from membership of local synagogues"—from Ramah in Wisconsin we are informed that "this camp is in no way subsidized, however, from time to time contributions are received for additions to the camp facilities."

Three of the four Denominational/Traditional camps receive grants from the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of New York. In addition, Camp Emunah raises money by making radio appeals and from the proceeds of luncheons.

Among the Educational camps, Camp Yavneh of the Boston Hebrew College reported that it "occasionally receives money from the Combined Jewish Philanthropies of Boston" and further noted having received a "lump sum for revitalizing the camp." Camp Avodah (Sura) reported that it receives funds through the budget of the Board of Jewish Education which is subsidized by the Jewish Welfare Fund of Chicago. In addition, monies are raised for camp purposes by the Womens Division of the Board and the College of Jewish Studies, by the P.T.A. of the High School of Jewish
Studies, and by various synagogues and Temples in the Chicago area.

The Yiddish camps disclaim any communal support. Several receive some help from their own constituent organizations.

A number of the camps have developed "alumni" groups like in Surprise Lake Camp which also has a Women's League of the Eddie Cantor Camp Committee which raises funds for camp purposes. "Friends of Saratoga" was organized around that camp in California. A Parents Association functions at Camp Ella Fohs which also has its own indigenous Endowment Fund. The Louisville Jewish Community Center underwrites any loss or deficit of Camp Tall Trees, but is rarely called upon since the camp "usually breaks even." The Golden Slipper Square Club in Philadelphia carries out year-round fund raising activities on behalf of its camp.

Very few camps have developed accumulated reserves or endowment funds which are invested and which bring significant interest income to the budget. Among the eighteen camps affiliated with the Federation of New York, only $699 was reported as investment income in 1967.18

These same Federation camps also reported that public sources provided only $12,566 in 1967, despite the widely advertised antipoverty program (now in its decline)

and the much publicized President Johnson message that camping is an indispensable item in relieving the problems of children and "long hot summers." Camping is not likely to be a beneficiary of substantial public funds for many years to come.

Camping is still a concern of the voluntary philanthropic community and both the raising of standards and more widespread scholarships are dependent entirely on such support. If more children from broken homes, adolescents without jobs, the aged, and those from lower income large families are to be provided for, larger grants from Federation will be essential.19

4. Other Sources of Support

Other types of income that a camp may have include profit from the camp store or canteen, the rental of facilities during the off season, overnight or extended accommodations for visiting parents or guests, including room and board, profit from various services such as laundry or transportation, special food and drink sales during visiting days, extra rates for special services such as horseback-riding or tutoring, and the like.

There are some camps where none of these practices exist. Other camps have varying samplings of all or some of these practices.

Every camp has some form of canteen. Among the Zionist camps, those which are Kibbutz oriented, operate a system of Kupah through which campers and staff contribute

19 Ibid.
to a central fund, in accordance with one's ability to contribute, and all of the sundry needs and treats are purchased by the Kupah. The fund is administered by a committee of campers and staff, items are bought and distributed with no profit involved. All other camps operate camp stores, the profit from which become part of the camp budget. In a few cases the camp store may be run by a concessionnaire, who pays a flat fee to the camp for this privilege. In several Yiddish camps which are immediately adjacent to adult resorts, the children use the adult facilities. The "casino" at Unser Camp servicing Kinderwelt is a prime example of this type arrangement. The profit from this "casino" is credited to Unser Camp but also benefits Kinderwelt since the two camps, children's and adults, operate from a single budget. Some camps also permit vending machines on the premises, a percentage of this income being profit. The presence of such vending machines is educationally questionable, necessitating the use of money by campers, a practice generally frowned upon by knowledgeable camp people.

Since the normal children's camp season is usually of eight or nine week duration, and pre-camp orientation for staff takes a portion of the week prior to opening, and good camping weather can extend from May through September for approximately eighteen or twenty weeks, camps are generally left with eight or ten weeks during which they can
use or rent their facilities. A number of camps have found this a good source of additional income.

Many Center camps, which service the entire age range of the Jewish community, arrange encampments for "golden agers," "family-camping," special interest groups during these weeks. The Zionist camps have special seminars, conventions, and the like, post season. The Denominational/Conservative camps open their facilities to the youth groups affiliated with the Movement, U.S.Y., or L.T.F., for encampments. The Denominational/Reform camps encourage their affiliated Temples to bring their religious school children for extended week-ends. In most of these cases, since the use of camp is by affiliated groups, the costs are kept to a minimum, nevertheless, the overall budget is frequently supplemented by such activity.

More and more camps are winterizing their facilities to assure year-round use. Among our 100 camps we have been able to identify fourteen which have such facilities. Even greater opportunities become available to rent the camp facilities. One camp in the Philadelphia area is serving schools during the winter. The camp was assisted in winterizing part of its facilities through a Federal grant for this innovative educational school-camping project. Aside from providing vital new services to the general community, an income is provided.

Several camps have guest house facilities on the
premises and charge hotel and resort rates. Among the camps that offer such accommodations are Camp Massad, several of the Camps Ramah, three of the five Yiddish camps, and some of the Private camps. Income from this business is quite meaningful to budget.

We have already noted the variations in camp fees wherein laundry, insurance, and transportation may or may not be included in the general fee. If these charges are not included, chances are that the camp benefits from a small margin of profit for these services. Even among camps that include these charges, great care is taken to keep these costs down, usually by providing lesser services. One camp, for example, integrated laundry costs into the general fee, but provided only flat wash, as opposed to ironed clothing which was provided previously.

According to a legal definition stated in the Congressional Record, the term 'youth camp' means:

Any parcel or parcels of land having the general characteristics and features of a camp as the term is generally understood, used wholly or in part for recreational or educational purposes and accommodating for profit or under philanthropic or charitable auspices (italics mine) five or more children under eighteen years of age, living apart from their relatives, parents or legal guardians for a period of, or portions of, five days or more, and includes a site that is operated as a day camp or as a resident camp; . . . 20

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Camps operated under philanthropic or charitable auspices are considered non-profit camps for tax purposes. With the exception of the Private camps which are clearly operated for profit by individuals, all of the other camps in our study qualify as non-profit camps in terms of their sponsorship. A non-profit camp may make a profit in its operation, as long as the profit benefits the institution or the sponsoring organization.

All non-profit camps are eligible for government surplus food. Over the years, such food included butter, cheese, corn meal, milk allowances, turkeys, and the like. This free surplus food generally appears in camp budgets under "contributions" and adds up to a considerable sum. At one Center Camp, for example, out of an expenditure of $83,609 for food during the summer of 1968, surplus foods were valued at $6,136.7 per cent of the food budget. The camps that are kosher must, of course, limit the foods they may accept and their food saving is less.

Aside from individual contributions to the camp, which are usually ear-marked for specific projects such as a library fund or pieces of equipment for arts and crafts or the like, camps have few other sources of support and, as we have seen, must depend primarily on income from camper fees. If meaningful Jewish camping is to grow, the community will have to begin to budget for this service.
CHAPTER V
THE CAMPER - A PROFILE

1. Requirements for Admission

In a broad sense, all camps have admission requirements. Ordinarily a child is expected to be healthy, "normal," fall within the age and sex range served by the camp and be able to pay for the experience, one way or another. Fifty-eight of the 100 camps in our study generally limit their admission requirements to these basic factors. The other forty-two camps include these considerations (except for those camps that serve emotionally disturbed children or the physically handicapped) and add a variety of additional qualifications for their campers.

One common denominator of our camps is that they all serve Jewish children; but not all serve Jewish children exclusively. In tabulating the special requirements for admission, no particular notice was taken of those camps which specifically stated that they admit Jewish children only, since either by name or sponsoring agency, overtly or inherently, the nature of all the camps and their campers are known as being "Jewish"; the statistics do, however, reflect the special in-group Jewish requirements of campers--
e.g., "only Hassidic girls" or "only members of Reform Temples," etc. The serious problem of the sectarian Jewish camp serving non-sectarian campers and the effects of this phenomenon on the Jewish component of the program will be discussed later.

Table 9 indicates the number and percentage of camps in each category that have special admission requirements for campers.

Private camps, motivated primarily by the quest for profit, understandably place as few restrictions as possible in the selection of their campers. Popular private camps that are in demand and have limited space will give preference to returning campers, or to children of a particular age or sex group to assure balance, but, as a rule, they do not have special admission requirements.

Of the eight Federation camps, five list special admission requirements. Camp Oakhurst is for the physically handicapped and requires an intake interview to assure careful selection. Camps Rainbow and Ramapo Anchorage serve emotionally disturbed children and accept only those children who are referred to them by a bona fide case-work agency or by a recognized therapist. Camp Wildwood limits its campers to children under age 8 and Surprise Lake Camp will accept children only from the metropolitan New York area.

Thirteen of the twenty-five (52.0 per cent) Center camps have special requirements for admission. Most of
TABLE 9
NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF CAMPS BY CATEGORY
WITH SPECIAL REQUIREMENTS FOR THE
ADMISSION OF CAMPERS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category of Camp</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Has Special Requirements</th>
<th>Per cent of Camps With Special Requirements</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Private</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Federation</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>62.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Center</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>52.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>28.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yiddish</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zionist</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>30.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philanthropic</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>50.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denominational</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>25.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conservative</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>83.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reform</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>85.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hebrew</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>42.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

these requirements are related to the campers or their families having to hold membership in the Center that sponsors the camp or in some cases membership in Centers affiliated with the camp. Camp Edward Isaacs accepts only "Y" members; Camp Tikvah in Minnesota accepts only members of the JCC of the Twin Cities, unless the campers live more than fifty
miles away—in which case membership is waived. Some camps note that "members are preferred." Since camps are generally filled by members, few non-members have an opportunity to attend. Camp Wooden Acres in Canada limits campers to those from families of incomes of less than $8,000 per year. Camp Cummings has a special program for retarded children. Camps Mogen Avraham and Sternberg are restricted to hasidic and ultra-orthodox boys or girls.

Among Educational camps only two list special requirements for admission of campers. In both instances these are camps operated by Hebrew Teacher Colleges having extensive formal educational programs during the camp session requiring prior Hebrew study. Both Camp Yavneh of Boston and Avodah (Sura) of Chicago take only campers who have had at least two years of Hebrew studies. While Camp HiLi has a similar educational program, it is evidently prepared to work with children with no previous Hebrew background.

None of the Yiddish camps have special requirements for admission. Even though four of the five camps are either sponsored or affiliated with large organizations, there is not even a policy of giving preference to children of members. In fact, most of the children attending these camps come from non-member homes.

Of the thirteen Zionist camps, only four insist on special admission requirements. In the case of two, Camp Biliuim and Camp Kadima in Canada, only members of Young
Judea are accepted. In addition, Camp Kadima requires that the family of the camper be a participant in the United Israel Appeal, the only camp in our entire study to do so. Camp Bonim, the leadership camp for Habonim, understandably limits attendance to potential leaders from the ranks of the national youth movement. Camp Moshava of the B'nei Akiva movement does not insist that the camper be a member of its own youth movement, but does require all campers to have a "Hebrew-Orthodox background." The other nine Zionist camps are open to all children in the community.

The Philanthropic camps are evenly divided in their approach to admission procedures. Five of the ten camps surveyed are open to all children—of the other five, three limit their campers to children from "low income" families or to "deserving children" without fully defining the terms. Camp Carola is for the orthopedically handicapped and Camp Kunatah serves Jewish Boy Scouts.

While only one of the four Denominational/Traditional camps lists a specific admission requirement—Camp Morasha requires the camper to be a student in a Hebrew Religious School—and the other three list no special admission requirements, this is clearly a case of a category of camp that does not have to list a requirement in order for a tacit requirement to exist. Camp Agudah and Camp Enos are affiliated with the Agudath Israel of America Movement, a fundamentalist orthodox group. The camps are operated in accord-
ance with the strictest interpretation of *halachah*, and are known as such. Therefore, it is evidently not necessary to restrict admission to children willing to participate in such a program; only such children normally apply. The same observation applies to Camp Emunah, which also, technically, is non-restrictive in admission policies.

The Denominational/Conservative and Reform camps practice the largest proportion of "exclusiveness" of any category of camping, with the exception of the one Hebrew camp, which understandably has certain minimum linguistic admission requirements. Five of the six Conservative camps, 83.3 per cent, accept only children who are affiliated with the United Synagogue; six of the seven Reform camps, 85.7 per cent, admit only children from families affiliated with the Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

The Camps Ramah have further admission requirements, since a limitation of space and camper beds have necessitated even finer selectivity. These refined requirements differ among the various Camps Ramah, depending primarily upon the numbers from which the final selection of campers may be drawn. Ramah in Wisconsin asks for the completion of a "minimum of three years of Hebrew School," while Ramah in California is satisfied with only two years. The Connecticut Ramah required the camper to be "in top 50% of his class, motivated Jewishly, recommended by Rabbi and Educational Director." Camp Ramah in the Berkshires notes the
following requirements for admission:

At least 9 years old. Must be currently pursuing a Hebrew Study program at an accredited Hebrew school (italics mine) or its equivalent. The camper should be in the top quarter of his class. In addition, High school age applicants (14-16) are subject to the following: Attendance in a Hebrew High School as well as high level of achievement and a written examination administered by camp.

Camp Ramah in the Poconos is evidently satisfied with campers being simply "good students in their Hebrew class, pass an examination in Hebrew, be recommended by their Hebrew (religious) Schools."

Recommendation by the Rabbi or Educational Director is not to be taken lightly, since many camps Ramah operate through a quota system. A specific number of campers is assigned to a congregation and the parents apply for a place at camp through the congregation, not the camp office. Or, if they apply through the camp office, the child is not accepted unless he is first cleared with the home congregation. The congregation is able to hold the upper hand because in many instances it provides considerable scholarship assistance to the children to enable them to attend the camp.

The situation among camps of the Reform movement is not substantially different. All of the camps which are UAHC sponsored, six of the seven camps in this category, restrict camper admission to members of Reform congregations. The one camp that does not, Camp Hess Kramer, is sponsored by a single Reform Temple and is open to any child receiving
a Jewish education, regardless of affiliation. The problem of camper beds is even more acute among the Reform Camps. The Conservative camps (except for California) all have eight-week seasons and children must attend for the full period; all the Reform camps have three or four week sessions or variations, thus enabling larger numbers of children to benefit from the camp program. In any case, the child from the Reform congregation, as the child from the conservative synagogue, attending either camp, lives exclusively with his in-group and is denied the opportunity to socialize, study, discuss, or play with Jewish children from other ideological or non-ideological groupings.

The significance and concern implicit in the statistic that forty-two of the 100 camps studied have limiting admission requirements for campers lies in the fact that the fragmentation that is so detrimental to the general adult Jewish community is infringing upon the child's camping community. Aside from the camps that service children with very special kinds of problems, physical or psychological, the other camps provide programs which could be beneficial to all children, regardless of affiliation. Even camps with particular language or study programs could accommodate children from broad vistas of the community. Instead of strengthening narrow institutional chauvenism, the camps could be utilized to encourage a deeper understanding of Klal Yisrael and of Jewish peoplehood. It is
disappointing enough to find this provincialism among the
denominational camps, partly understandable since they repre-
sent ideological positions; it is even more disappointing to
find admission restrictions in 52 per cent of the Center
camps, which consider themselves fully communal institutions,
with no particular ideological axes to grind.

On the other hand, one can sympathize with a camp
that is sponsored by a particular agency and feels obligated
to accommodate its own affiliates, and does not even have the
space at camp to accomplish this end, let alone open admiss-
sion to the general public.

There is no question but that many more camps are
needed, particularly camps which will be open to all Jewish
children.

2. Admission Procedures

The problem of selection, of "intake" of campers,
is at best not simple. When dealing with campers who are
not paying full fees, the process of "intake" becomes even
more complicated. It is a dual process—enabling the camp
to choose the camper, and the camper and his parents to
choose the camp. The intake process is frequently the only
opportunity the parent will have for direct communication
with the camp, particularly if the camp does not have parent
visiting days, or is the case with camps that offer three
weeks or less of camping and transport the campers from
city to camp and back without parental involvement.
Theoretically, "the selection of campers should be made on the basis of the ability (of the camp) to meet the particular needs of the individual children."¹ A camp cannot be all things to all children. Unintelligent or haphazard selection, by either parent or camp representative, will merely create a difficult or impossible program situation during the camp season.

All of us beat our gums; curse the parent; and would like to hammer the intake worker when—lo and behold!—campers arrive and camper problems emerge from the shadows. Often these problems spread and affect sub-groups, whole cabin groups and we find a disproportionate amount of supervisory staff time spent with the troubled camper. The pressure on the young counselor can be so trying that secretly we say (to ourselves) 'Vey es mir! I don't think I could take a group, or a kid like that either!'²

Campers with special physical or psychological needs should not ordinarily attend camps where these needs cannot be properly met. We have already noted that many camps have been organized to care for just such children, and these are the camps to which most of these campers should be referred. There has been some movement in the direction of trying to integrate selected handicapped and retarded children with


normal children in camp to help both groups learn to live within the reality of a life situation. This can be successful with very well prepared staff and sensitive children, and if limited to children without severe emotional disabilities. However, it is rather amazing that children with many psychological, emotional, and social problems end up attending all our camps, because, in too many instances, the intake procedures are minimal or non-existent. A large proportion of our camps accept children through mail applications and very few of them conduct personal intake interviews with either prospective campers or their parents!

The process of selection is difficult enough, even when dealing with "normal" children. Determining whether or not a child has that degree of maturity necessary for readiness for the camping experience away from parents and home cannot always be easily ascertained, even during a personal interview—but certainly can never be discovered with no interview at all! Economic, educational, social, and overall cultural differences must be taken into consideration. How different from the group can the child be? Is the family in specific or general agreement with the goals and objectives of the camp? Each applicant should be considered on the basis of whether or not the particular camp is best suited for the child and vice versa.

The intake procedure for campers on scholarship, or not paying full fees, is further aggravated by the tensions
which may be generated in a discussion of family income, for there are certainly feelings and emotions aroused by a family asking for assistance. If a camp is guided by a clearly defined graduated sliding-fee scale, some of these tensions may be minimized, since the scale provides a framework within which the interviewer and the family may come to terms. Such interviews must be conducted by skilled and sensitive people, who should also be familiar with the program of the camp to which the applicant is applying. A large number of the Federation, Center, and Philanthropic camps which operate on sliding scales, depend on a central social service agency to conduct these interviews and finalize financial arrangements. The weakness of this procedure lies in the fact that the applicant has no direct communication with the camp itself and the interview is most inadequate in that it usually does not include a discussion of the specific camp program. The agency establishes a fee for the camper, who is then referred to any one of a number of camps serviced by this agency. In some communities the initial contact is with the particular camp, and the parent is then referred to the agency for the intake interview.

In Philadelphia the intake procedure for Camp Council and S.G.F. is handled by the Vacation Bureau. Since one camp serves girls and the other boys, this has proven a rather adequate means. The procedure for the Golden Slipper camp is somewhat different.
Registration for the Golden Slipper Camp (Philanthropic) is done by members of the fraternal organization. Applications are sent to the 1,500 members in order that they may sponsor a child, with some referrals from other sources as well. Following this, Slipper members (non-professional laymen) interview campers to determine their "deservedness". While the Director of the camp made a point of informing us that only deserving children were taken, no definition of "deserving", apart from economic means was forthcoming. The Director could not specify what information, in addition to financial income, registrars might look for . . . with no graduated fee scale and specific determinants for acceptance, inequities among families and youngsters would occur. As a matter of fact, the feeling was expressed at the camp, by youngsters and staff, that "pull" was required to gain acceptance.\(^3\)

Assuming that a particular camp places greater emphasis on one aspect of its program over others, how does the camp get this message across to the prospective camper and his family? Satisfied campers from previous seasons by word of mouth to others, camp brochures, house organs, perhaps some advertisements in newspapers or magazines are the usual devices employed to attract campers. However, much of this information is either quite general, or, in some cases even misleading. To cite but one example, the National Jewish Welfare Board publishes a Directory of Resident Summer Camps which are under the auspices of Jewish communal organizations. The information contained in this Directory is based upon responses submitted by the 115 camps included in the listing. This, technically, absolves the JWB from accuracy; since there are a number of significant errors in this Directory. In one case Cejwin camps are listed as co-ed,\(^3\)

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which is not accurate; in another, the New Jersey "Y" camps are listed as "dietary laws observed" and this is true in only two of the five camps operated by this camp. Parents who depend on information about camps from secondary sources, and do not have an opportunity to speak with a representative of camp in an intake interview, do not have a realistic and accurate picture of the camp program, its goals and objectives, nor do they have the opportunity to ask the many questions which concern them about their child and his future camp experience, particularly if the camp experience is to be the first for the child.

This is especially important if the camp purports to have Jewish programming or is sponsored by a Jewish communal agency, and therefore the parent assumes a Jewish camp environment and program.

The nature of the intake process can have a significant effect on the readiness of the camper for Jewish experiences. The way in which he sees the camp and the discussions he will have at home with his parents before he goes to camp will have a bearing on his readiness for the total camping experience. This can be influenced and clarified at the time of intake. 4

Some of the matters which might be explored during the intake interview could include such questions as: Why does the family want to send their child to a Jewish communal

---

camp, or Zionist camp, or Educational camp, etc. rather than to another type camp? What kind of Jewish experiences has the camper had previously? What does the camper expect to gain from the camp? The informed interviewer, who is fully aware of the camp's program, is also provided with the opportunity during the interview, to pursue with the family such matters as: Why is our camp concerned about providing Jewish experiences? What are some of the Jewish experiences that the camper will be engaged in? Why is it necessary for this particular child of this particular family to be concerned about himself as a Jew?5

The intake interview also provides the opportunity for other significant information to be recorded for use at the camp which will help the camp staff design appropriate programming in light of the objective findings of the interviewer with regard to the "mix" of Jewish and general backgrounds of the group which is to be at camp. Most camps do send some type of questionnaire to parents in which they elicit information about the prospective camper. This same information, gathered in a personal interview is undoubtedly of greater value and accuracy.

Jerry Witkovsky, Director of Camp Chi in Wisconsin, which services the Jewish community centers of Chicago, conducted a study of intake material used by seventeen camps.

Witkovsky was concerned with discovering how much information camps were gathering about their prospective campers which would assist the camp in planning their program. He identified six skill areas as being central to any interpretation of the function of the camp. These were: socializing skills, team participation skills, creative arts and performing skills, enrichment skills, citizenship and social action skills, and Jewish living skills. His findings are of interest, and I am listing the responses of the seventeen camps to some twenty-four items, indicating the percentage of camps responding to each item. Table 10 is based on Witkovsky's data.

Witkovsky comments: "It would seem that the statistical analysis would indicate that the intake process we currently practice is not seen as a resource to help us achieve the goals toward which we strive."6

For the purpose of the present study, it is particularly significant and disturbing that here is an apparent lack of concern with regard to Jewish information sought from parents. Note that all seventeen camps sought medical information but that only one camp was interested in finding out "what, in the Jewish camp does the parent want," and only four camps even inquired about the "Jewish education of its campers." This is a particular negative reflection on

6Jerry Witkovsky, op. cit., pp. 31-32.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Information on Camper Requested by Camps</th>
<th>Number of Camps Requesting</th>
<th>Percentage of Camps Requesting</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Medical information</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camper interests</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>52.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Previous camp experience</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>52.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group experience</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>47.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friendships</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>41.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Has child received prof. guidance</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>41.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family relationships</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>35.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asked specifics about prev. Day Camp</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>35.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School adjustment</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>29.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homoeickness</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>29.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asked specifics about prev. Country Camp</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>29.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewish Education of camper (italics mine)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>23.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends camper wants to be with at camp</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>23.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Any fears</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>17.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asked general questions of prev. camp. exp.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>17.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did he like prev. camp exp.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>17.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congregation Affiliation (italics mine)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How does he get along with authority figures other than parents</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents describe an emotional problem</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Does child have swim skills</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What in a Jewish camp does parent want</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewish Education of parents</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leadership skills</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How does he/she get along with opp. sex</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Does child do chores at home</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
the administration of the camps, a conclusion which will be further borne out as our study progresses.

There is no adequate substitute for the personal interview as part of the intake process. This was one of the conclusions of the workshop on "intake" conducted at the Conference of Full-Time Executives of Jewish Communal Camps in January of 1967. At that time Jerry Witkovsky projected the use of three intake forms which should be completed either during the interview or sent to the camp office shortly after the interview. A form to be completed by the prospective camper in which he provides his own answers to questions posed by the camp; a form to be completed by the parents; and a form to be completed by the interviewer. The consensus of the workshop included agreement that all three forms must then be carefully read and analyzed by the camp director or his delegate, in order to clarify and classify the information provided by the three forms so as to help provide a better understanding of the camper, plan and design camp groupings based on this information, plan appropriate ways of meeting the individual and the group needs, particularly in the early stages of group formation at camp. Some of this information, at the discretion of the camp director, must be passed on to the Division Head and in some cases to the bunk counselor so that they may have the information necessary to help them deal with the camper. More important, the decision as to whether or not
the child should be accepted to the camp at all will then be based on objective facts from the forms and the subjective opinions of the interviewer. This procedure should assure a much better selection of campers and will better assure each one who is accepted a more meaningful experience at the camp.7 Too few of the camps in our study follow such procedures. Aside from the Private camps, where competition is keen and the owner is anxious to meet each prospect, many other camps are slipshod with regard to their admission procedures.

Federation camps generally accept children upon referral of a social welfare agency or from a community center, or take unaffiliated children, many of whom are then processed by a central agency. In 1969, the referral sources for the camps affiliated with the New York Federation of Jewish Philanthropies included 10.6 per cent of the campers who came through social welfare agencies; 37.7 per cent from Jewish community centers; 55.4 per cent were unaffiliated, and 1.1 per cent were referred by the Association of Jewish Sponsored Camps of New York, which merely provided information on the availability of camping services to Jewish sponsored Federation and non-Federation camps and did not participate in any phase of the registration process.

Center camps, as we have seen in 52 per cent of the surveyed camps, accept only members of their affiliated centers or "Y's." A membership card is usually sufficient entry to camp. Unaffiliated children are infrequently interviewed and generally accepted by phone or mail application.

Educational camps are more apt to interview as part of their intake process since these camps have more particularized goals and objectives.

Yiddish camps follow a very informal intake procedure and most children are not interviewed.

Zionist camps accept members of their youth movements without question. Non-members may be interviewed to determine "suitability" as in the case of Dror. The Habonim camps accept applicants by mail, assuming interest by parents in the camp program.

Philanthropic camps vary in their procedures as do the Denominational camps. Two of the three Denominational/Traditional camps are sponsored by the Williamsburg "Y" and follow the Center procedure regarding membership. The other two try to interview each applicant. In the case of the Denominational/Conservative, all children are interviewed and tested. The Reform camps depend on referrals from their affiliated temples and recommendations from the camper's rabbis.

The Hebrew camp Massad also depends a great deal
on school recommendations, does some interviewing, but no testing.

3. **Attendance**

   (a) **Age and sex distribution of campers**

   The age and sex composition of campers in any given camp is of prime importance in determining program and leadership planning. As we have already discovered, the organization of the physical plant, the size and complexity of housing, the proportion of staff to campers, menus and the cost of food services—these and many other considerations revolve around the age of the camping population.

   In the last major census of organized camping in the United States conducted by the American Camping Association in 1951, it was noted that

   although the lure of camp life is not limited to one age or group, the largest number of camps served the seven to eighteen year-olds, the peak group of all camping services was between nine and fourteen . . . The largest group of campers among the boys' camps was between eleven and fourteen, while the highest number of girls in any age group was between nine and twelve.8

   The National Jewish Welfare Board in its statistical analysis of twenty-eight resident camp experiences in 1964 prepared a table, comparing the age composition of campers in 1954, 1960, and 1964 which is reproduced as Table 10.

---

TABLE II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age of Campers (Years)</th>
<th>Per cent of Campers in Given Age Group In 1964</th>
<th>Per cent of Campers in Given Age Group In 1960</th>
<th>Per cent of Campers in Given Age Group In 1954</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 6</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 - 8</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>14.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 - 11</td>
<td>43.8</td>
<td>45.6</td>
<td>46.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 - 15</td>
<td>47.0</td>
<td>42.4</td>
<td>37.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 - 17</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Average Age</strong></td>
<td><strong>11 yrs. 7 mos.</strong></td>
<td><strong>11 yrs. 3 mos.</strong></td>
<td><strong>10 yrs. 10 mos.</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table clearly highlights the fact that since 1954 the proportion of campers under age nine has dropped from nearly 15 per cent of the total camp population to just over 6 per cent while the proportion of campers age 12 to 15 has increased from 37 per cent to 47 per cent.

Of the children between the ages of 6-8 (6.3 per cent), 57 per cent of the total number of campers were 8 years old and none were 6. This is in keeping with the growth of the Day Camp movement and the fact that parents are evidently more reluctant to send their very young children off to camp, but would rather introduce them to camping gradually through the medium of the day camp, which, in
the case of Centers, is frequently operated by the same agency that operates the Country resident camp.

In the 9-11 age grouping, there is a progression of attendance by age; 9 year-olds make up 11.0 per cent of the total camp population, 10 year-olds, 15.1 per cent, and 11 year-olds 17.7 per cent. According to the JWB study, the 11 year-olds made up the largest single group of campers at camp. Twelve year-olds accounted for 16.6 per cent; 13 year-olds for 13.9 per cent; 14 year-olds for 10.8 per cent; 15 year-olds for 5.7 per cent, and the 16-17 year-olds constituted only 3.0 per cent of the camp age range.

The overall size of the camp was also related to the age distribution of campers. The very large camps attracted older campers. In the 12-15 year-old range, the average proportion of attendance of this age group in all twenty-eight camps of the study was 47 per cent—in the large camp the figure rose to 51 per cent. The opposite was also true. In large camps the proportion of total campers of age 8 and under was 4.9 per cent, while for the total twenty-eight camps, this figure was 6.3 per cent. By contrast, small camps had fewer older children; the bulk of their campers, 48.6 per cent, was in the 9-11 age group.

The ages of the campers being served by the 100 camps in our survey will be seen in the series of tables that follow. A tabulation was made of the age range of each camp by sex, arranged by categories of camps and then summarized in a table that encompassed the information from all 100
camps. An analysis of these findings will follow the tables.

Fifty of the 100 camps in our survey serve boys and girls between the ages of 8 and 16; 70 per cent of our camps serve boys and girls primarily between the ages of 9 and 15. The age group served by 80 per cent of the camps consist of children between the ages of 10 and 15, with the 13 year-olds constituting the largest single age grouping among camps serving girls (87 per cent) and 11, 12, and 13 year-olds (87 per cent) among the camps serving boys. (See Tables 12 and 13)

These figures are comparable, but somewhat different from those of the national ACA census. The age range in at least 50 per cent of all camps in the American Camping Association statistics served children ages 7 to 18; by contrast, the age range served by 50 per cent or more of the camps in our survey was 8 to 16. The largest age grouping served by all camps in the national survey was between 9 and 14; in our survey the 10 to 15 age group was the largest group served.

A study of camps and campers in the Los Angeles area conducted in 1950 revealed that 12 year-old boys made up the largest single group of campers.9 Our study corroborates this finding but somewhat broadens the range of

9Camps and Campers in the Los Angeles Area, Research Department, Welfare Council of Metropolitan Los Angeles, Report No. 9, June, 1950.
### Table 12

**Age Distribution of Boy Campers in 100 Summer Camps in 1969**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age of Camper</th>
<th>Number of Camps Accepting This Age</th>
<th>Percentage of Total 100 Camps</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>/*</td>
<td>5.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>///</td>
<td>15.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>//////</td>
<td>24.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>//////////</td>
<td>41.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>/////////</td>
<td>56.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>////////////</td>
<td>76.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>/////////////</td>
<td>86.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>////////////////</td>
<td>87.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>////////////////</td>
<td>87.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>////////////////</td>
<td>87.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>////////////////</td>
<td>83.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>////////////////</td>
<td>80.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>///////////// ///</td>
<td>62.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>//////////</td>
<td>23.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>///</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Each / represents 5 camps or a portion thereof.*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age of Camper</th>
<th>Number of Camps Accepting This Age</th>
<th>Percentage of Total 100 Camps</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>/*</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>/////</td>
<td>15.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>/////</td>
<td>24.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>//////////</td>
<td>34.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>////////////////</td>
<td>61.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>///////////////</td>
<td>74.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>////////////////</td>
<td>84.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>////////////////</td>
<td>85.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>////////////////</td>
<td>86.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>////////////////</td>
<td>87.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>////////////////</td>
<td>83.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>////////////////</td>
<td>80.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>////////////////</td>
<td>61.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>/////</td>
<td>23.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>//</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Each / represents 5 camps or a portion thereof.
TABLE 14

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF BOYS AND GIRLS IN 14 PRIVATE CAMPS IN 1969

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age of Campers</th>
<th>Boys Number of Camps Accepting This Age</th>
<th>% of Total 14 Camps</th>
<th>Girls Number of Camps Accepting This Age</th>
<th>% of Total 14 Camps</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>/*</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
<td>/*</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>///////////</td>
<td>71.4</td>
<td>///////////</td>
<td>64.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>///////////</td>
<td>78.6</td>
<td>///////////</td>
<td>71.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>///////////</td>
<td>78.6</td>
<td>///////////</td>
<td>71.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>///////////</td>
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<td>///////////</td>
<td>71.4</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>///////////</td>
<td>78.6</td>
<td>///////////</td>
<td>71.4</td>
</tr>
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<td>///////////</td>
<td>78.6</td>
<td>///////////</td>
<td>71.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>///////////</td>
<td>78.6</td>
<td>///////////</td>
<td>71.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>///////////</td>
<td>92.9</td>
<td>///////////</td>
<td>85.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>///////////</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>///////////</td>
<td>92.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>///////////</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>///////////</td>
<td>92.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>///////////</td>
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<td>///////////</td>
<td>85.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>///////////</td>
<td>64.3</td>
<td>///////////</td>
<td>64.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>///</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>///</td>
<td>28.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>//</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>//</td>
<td>14.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Each / represents one camp.
| Age of Campers | Boys | | | Girls | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Number of Camps Accepting This Age | % of Total 8 Camps | | Number of Camps Accepting This Age | % of Total 8 Camps | |
| 4 | /* | 12.5% | / | 12.5% | |
| 5 | / | 12.5 | / | 12.5 | |
| 6 | /// | 37.5 | /// | 37.5 | |
| 7 | ///// | 50.0 | ///// | 50.0 | |
| 8 | ///// | 87.5 | ///// | 87.5 | |
| 9 | ///// | 75.0 | ///// | 75.0 | |
| 10 | ///// | 75.0 | ///// | 75.0 | |
| 11 | ///// | 75.0 | ///// | 75.0 | |
| 12 | ///// | 62.5 | ///// | 62.5 | |
| 13 | ///// | 62.5 | ///// | 62.5 | |
| 14 | /// | 50.0 | /// | 50.0 | |
| 15 | /// | 50.0 | /// | 50.0 | |
| 16 | /// | 37.5 | / | 12.5 | |
| 17 | / | 12.5 | / | 12.5 | |
| 18 | - | -- | - | -- | |

*Each / represents one camp.*
### TABLE 16

**AGE DISTRIBUTION OF BOY AND GIRL CAMPERs IN 25 CENTER CAMPS IN 1969**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ages of Campers</th>
<th>Boys Number of Camps Accepting This Age</th>
<th>% of Total 25 Camps</th>
<th>Girls Number of Camps Accepting This Age</th>
<th>% of Total 25 Camps</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>/*</td>
<td>4.0%</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
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<td>4.0</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
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<td>8.0</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>//////////</td>
<td>24.0</td>
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<td>24.0</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>/////////////</td>
<td>92.0</td>
<td>//////////</td>
<td>88.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>/////////////</td>
<td>92.0</td>
<td>//////////</td>
<td>92.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>/////////////</td>
<td>88.0</td>
<td>//////////</td>
<td>88.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>/////////////</td>
<td>84.0</td>
<td>//////////</td>
<td>88.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>/////////////76.0</td>
<td>76.0</td>
<td>//////////</td>
<td>80.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>/////////////68.0</td>
<td>68.0</td>
<td>//////////</td>
<td>72.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>////////////48.0</td>
<td>48.0</td>
<td>//////////</td>
<td>48.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>///</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>///</td>
<td>12.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>//</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>//</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Each / represents one camp.*
## TABLE 17

**AGE DISTRIBUTION OF BOY AND GIRL CAMPERS IN 7 EDUCATIONAL CAMPS IN 1969**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ages of Campers</th>
<th>Boys Number of Camps Accepting This Age</th>
<th>% of Total 7 Camps</th>
<th>Girls Number of Camps Accepting This Age</th>
<th>% of Total 7 Camps</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>*/</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
<td></td>
<td>14.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>//</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>/////////////</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
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<td>//////////</td>
<td>85.7</td>
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<td>14.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Each / represents one camp.*
### TABLE 18

**AGE DISTRIBUTION OF BOY AND GIRL CAMPERS IN 5 YIDDISH CAMPS IN 1969**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ages of Campers</th>
<th>Number of Camps Accepting This Age (Boys and Girls**)</th>
<th>Percentage of Total 5 Camps</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>--</td>
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<td>20%</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>//////////</td>
<td>100</td>
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<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>//////////</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>//////////</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>//////////</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>//////////</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>//////////</td>
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<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>//////////</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>//////////</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>//////////</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Each / represents one camp.

**A separate table for boys and girls was not necessary since the figures are identical for both.*
### TABLE 19

**Age Distribution of Boy and Girl Campers in 13 Zionist Camps in 1969**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ages of Campers</th>
<th>Number of Camps Accepting This Age (Boys and Girls***</th>
<th>Percentage of 13 Camps</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>--</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
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<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>/*</td>
<td>7.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>/////</td>
<td>46.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Each / represents one camp.*

**A separate table for boys and girls was not necessary since the figures are identical for both.*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ages of Campers</th>
<th>Boys Number of Camps Accepting This Age</th>
<th>% of Total 10 Camps</th>
<th>Girls Number of Camps Accepting This Age</th>
<th>% of Total 10 Camps</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
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<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>//////////</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>//</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Each / represents one camp.*
TABLE 21

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF BOY AND GIRL CAMPERS IN 4 DENOMINATIONAL/TRADITIONAL CAMPS IN 1969

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ages of Campers</th>
<th>Boys Number of Camps Accepting This Age</th>
<th>% of Total 4 Camps</th>
<th>Girls Number of Camps Accepting This Age</th>
<th>% of Total 4 Camps</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
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<td>//</td>
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<td>///</td>
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<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>25</td>
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<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Each / represents one camp.
## TABLE 22

**AGE DISTRIBUTION OF BOY AND GIRL CAMPERS IN 6 DENOMINATIONAL/CONSERVATIVE CAMPS IN 1969**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ages of Campers</th>
<th>Number of Camps Accepting This Age (Boys and Girls**)</th>
<th>Percentage of Total 6 Camps</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
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<td>--</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>/*</td>
<td>16.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>///</td>
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<tr>
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<td>//////////</td>
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<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>//////////</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>//////////</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>//////////</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>//////////</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>//</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Each / represents one camp.

**A separate table for boys and girls was not necessary since the figures are identical for both.*
### TABLE 23

**AGE DISTRIBUTION OF BOY AND GIRL CAMPERS IN 7 DENOMINATIONAL/REFORM CAMPS IN 1969**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ages of Campers</th>
<th>Number of Camps Accepting This Age (Boys and Girls**)</th>
<th>Percentage of Total 7 Camps</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<td>--</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>/*</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>//////////</td>
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<td>85.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>//////////</td>
<td>71.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>//</td>
<td>28.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Each / represents one camp.*

**A separate table for boys and girls was not necessary since the figures are identical for both.*
the largest boys group to include 11 and 13 year-olds as well. In 1950, the 11 year-old girl represented the largest age grouping of that sex; our findings sets this age at 13.

Conditions of camping have certainly changed since 1950. Among the most obvious changes is the rise in the minimum age of campers and the narrowing of the age range served by most resident camps. It is significant that only 5 per cent of our camps accept 4 year-old children; 15 per cent take 5 year-olds; 24 per cent serve 6 year-olds, and 34 per cent have 7 year-olds. While 61 per cent of the camps serving girls accept 8 year-olds, as do 56 per cent of camps for boys, it seems clear that the age for first-year campers is now 9 or 10 since three-quarters of the camps in the survey take in campers for the first time at these ages. Most camps are not prepared to cope with the additional problems that immaturity and lack of camp readiness bring to already inadequate staff and supervisory deficiencies.

Just as the lower age limits for resident camps have risen, so have the upper limits fallen. Relatively few 17 and 18 year-olds are to be found in camps except in some instances as junior counsellors or counsellors-in-training or camper-waiters. Increasing emphasis on teen-age camping with, in certain instances, separate facilities for this age group, probably accounts for the still significant figures of camper attendance in the 15 and 16 year-old age
The overall difference in age range between boys and girls served by camps seems negligible. However, according to the Jewish Welfare Board more boys than girls attend camps. The difference of one per cent between the number of camps serving 16 year-old boys and girls may be partially explained by the policy followed in a few camps where, recognizing the different maturity levels of boys and girls at this age, the camps accept 16 year-old boys but take only 15 year-old girls as their oldest campers. This makes the social mixing more manageable, since 16 year-old boys and 16 year-old girls, while chronologically on the same level, frequently differ considerably in the puberty process.

Camps deal primarily with children who are in the fifth to tenth grade in public school. This fact, of course, has great bearing on the very nature of the camp program, as we shall see.

Among the Private camps the age ranges of their campers varies somewhat from the overall pattern (see Table 13). These camps have larger proportion of younger campers than do the other categories of camps. Two of the private camps take 4-year-olds and 78 per cent of Private camps for boys take 6 to 11 year-olds. The 13 and 14 year-olds represent the largest age grouping, with 12s and 15s only a short few percentage points below.

The age range in Federation camps is also lower than
the overall pattern (see Table 15). Here, too, very young campers are accepted. This can be explained by the fact, in part, that several of the Federation camps serve specialized groups and that several have family arrangements, whereby young adults may bring their children to camp for what is termed "family camping." The majority of boy campers in Federation camps are between the ages of 8 and 11; only 62 per cent are ages 12 and 13, and only 50 per cent ages 14 and 15. The age range among girls is somewhat higher—the largest single group, 87 per cent, are age 8, but 75 per cent of the camps serving girls serve the age range between 9 and 13.

Center camps are serving fewer and fewer children below the age of seven (see Table 16). Seventy-six per cent of these camps serve 8 year-olds but the largest age grouping among boys is in the 9 to 11 range. Eleven year-old girls represent the largest single grouping in this distribution.

All of the Educational camps serve children ages 8 through 15 (see Table 17). Sixteen year-olds are served by 85 per cent of the camps and 7 year-olds by 32 per cent. One camp does have a nursery program and serves 4, 5, and 6s, and two camps serve 5s and 6s but no 4s. As is the case with all co-educational camps, the age ranges for boys and girls are identical.

The Yiddish camps serve children between the ages of 8 and 15 (see Table 18). Four of them serve 7 and 16 year-
olds as well and only one accepts campers age 6.

Only 23 per cent of the Zionist camps take children age 9; 15 per cent accept children age 8 and only one of the 13 camps serves 6 or 7 year-olds (see Table 19). Seventy-six per cent of these camps begin their program for children from the age of 10, when the child has reached a modicum of self-sufficiency, at least to the extent of being more or less able to care for himself, make his own bed, and attend to his own physical needs. Among the Zionist camps the largest age range of campers is above age 10, with most campers in the 14, 15, and 16 year-old grouping. The largest single group consists of 15 year-olds, as contrasted to the fact that age 13, represents the largest single group for all 100 camps.

The ten Philanthropic camps in our study generally follow the overall distribution pattern for both boys and girls with some minor exceptions (see Table 20). Seventy per cent or more of their campers are between the ages of 8 and 14, with only 60 per cent in the 15 year-old group and only 10 per cent age 16. The largest grouping of boys is in the 11 through 13 age group. Among girls, the largest age grouping extends from age 9 through age 13.

The Denominational/Traditional camps have 50 per cent or more of their campers between the ages of 8 and 16 (see Table 21). One boys' camp accepts 6 year-olds; one girls' camp takes 5 year-olds.
The pattern of the Denominational/Conservative closely resembles that of the Zionist camps in that only one camp accepts 8 year-olds and only three camps 9 year-olds (see Table 22). All of these camps take both boys and girls from ages 10 through 16. Evidently, Camps Ramah have discovered that their program is best suited for this age group. The development of separate camps for older teen-agers, not included in this study, may account for the fact that relatively few of these camps report the presence of 17 and 18 year-olds.

All seven of the Denominational/Reform camps serve children ages 9 through 15 (see Table 23). Only one camp accepts 8 year-olds and none of the camps take children under 8. Sixteen year-olds are served by 8 per cent of the camps and 17 year-olds by 5 per cent. Two of the camps also provide programs for 18 year-olds. The presence of an older age group in these camps may stem from the fact that no special long term camps have been developed for teen-agers; each camp serves the entire age span. The one camp which does specialize in serving older teen-agers, Camp Warwick, is not a part of this study. However, this camp is not typical since most of its programs are of short duration and it specializes in seminars, weekends, and the like, on a full year basis.

The one Hebrew camp in our study provides for children from the age of 6 through 16 and has a special leader-
ship training camp within the camp for older teen-agers.

In a study of the sex and age of campers in 18 camps under the auspices of the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of New York, for 1967, including camps which in our study are classified as Federation, Center, Philanthropic, and Educational, of 9,265 campers served in an age range of under 6 to age 24, one per cent were in the under-six range. Thirty-seven and five-tenths per cent of the children were in the range between 6 and 11, and 34.7 per cent were in the 12 to 15 grouping, while only 2.3 per cent were in the age 16 to 24 year group. (This adds up to 75.5 per cent—the remaining 24.5 per cent consist of adults ages 25 and older who are served by some of these camps.) Males outnumber females only in the under-six and 6 to 11 categories. In all other age categories there were more girl campers than boy campers, which is not the pattern nationally, for more boys go to camp than girls, according to the ACA. The larger proportion of girls in these camps may be partially explained by the emphasis most of these camps have placed on co-educational camping during the past fifteen to twenty years, which no doubt made the idea of camping more attractive to girls and probably encouraged the camps to do more active recruiting from among this sex group. This did correct a former imbalance where boys were in preponderance over girl campers. To return to a more balanced age-sex distribution it may become advisable to
renew the stress on the masculine component of camping.

(b) Number of campers

National statistics for attendance figures of campers in all Jewish-sponsored camps are non-existent. At best these are intelligent estimates based on relatively small samplings; at worst these are inaccurate projections. We do not really know how many children attend camps of all types—we certainly do not know how many Jewish children attend camps or how many Jewish children attend Jewish camps. In 1964 the National Jewish Welfare Board, in a study of 115 camps under Jewish communal and organizational auspices indicated that more than 54,000 children attended them during some part of that summer. The American Association for Jewish Education study of 1963 reported figures for fifty-five camps which indicated that a total of 20,139 boys and girls attended these camps.

Each camp in the AAJE study was asked to indicate the capacity of the camp at any given time for boys and girls, and then to report on actual enrollment figures during the course of the summer. A camp, for example, that has three 3-week sessions, with a bed capacity of 150, may theoretically serve a total of 450 children during the summer.

The total number of beds reported for boys by the fifty-five camps was 7,498; and for girls, 7,352. The total
number of individual campers actually served included 10,451 boys and 9,688 girls. These figures are certainly accurate for the fifty-five camps they represent and one can draw some conclusions from these figures. For example, the fact that there were more boys than girls enrolled, seems to follow the national ACA census figures of 1950. Among these camps, the average number of places available for boys amounted to 141 beds and for girls, 139 beds. This gives us a general idea of the average size of the camps in the study. This, too, is in keeping with the findings of the national census which reported:

The 5,997 camps reporting ranged in size from eight to 2,500 campers. The largest group of camps, 2,427, could accommodate between 51 and 100 campers. Some camp leaders have stated that there is an optimum size to camps. Most organizational camps below the capacity of 70 campers experience financial strain, except where an unusual amount of volunteer help is available. They also stated that camps above the 150-200 camper capacity may not be able to provide a real camping experience for the individual.\(^{10}\)

Of the 100 camps in our study, we were able to gather figures of camp bed capacity, but not of actual camp enrollment in all cases. In addition, despite the fact that camps were asked to provide breakdown figures by age and sex, a number did not provide such data. The chart following indicates the bed capacity of camps in each category.

### TABLE 24
CAMPER BED CAPACITY OF 100 SUMMER CAMPS, BY CATEGORY OF CAMP, FOR 1963

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category by Camp</th>
<th>Number of Camper Beds</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Private</td>
<td>2,201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Federation</td>
<td>1,636</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Center</td>
<td>6,817</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational</td>
<td>2,660</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yiddish</td>
<td>1,360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zionist</td>
<td>2,518</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philanthropic</td>
<td>2,163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denominational/Traditional</td>
<td>1,176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conservative</td>
<td>2,075</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reform</td>
<td>2,559</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hebrew</td>
<td>1,350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>26,515</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Considering the fact that many of the camps offer several sessions per summer and beds are occupied, two, three, or even four times, the 54,000 figure of the Jewish Welfare Board seems reasonably accurate. However, the larger question of how many Jewish children attend Jewish summer camps still lies unanswered. The national census estimated that there were at least four million organized campers in 1951 and that they probably constituted less than 12 per cent of school-age children who were theoretically eligible for attendance at some 12,600 organized camps in
the United States.\textsuperscript{11} Since the Jewish group is generally in a higher socio-economic level than the average general American, it would seem valid to assume that at least 12 per cent of Jewish children attend summer camps and probably an even higher percentage. How many attend non-sectarian camps is as unknown a figure as how many attend Jewish camps. Clearly, some national statistical gathering service is indicated.

On the basis of the above statistics, it certainly seems safe to estimate that at least 75 per cent to 80 per cent of Jewish children of camp age do not attend any camps.

Furthermore, camps that were organized to serve the membership of particular organizations, centers, religious groups or agencies, are not able to fulfill this purpose. For example, the camp which serves the Conservative movement in the Philadelphia area accommodates 400 campers, ages 10 through 16, out of a potential source of 8,283 children that are attending United Synagogue schools.\textsuperscript{12} This camp serves only 4 per cent of potential campers, and actually less, since the camp serves communities in addition to Philadelphia.

In 1964, nine camps belonging to the Habonim camping

\textsuperscript{11}Ibid., pp. 17, 20.

\textsuperscript{12}Report on Jewish Religious School Attendance in Philadelphia in 1967, Division of Community Services, Gratz College.
The Habad organization served a total of 1,274 individual campers. National membership figures of Habonim for that year approximated some 3,500 members. Even accepting the fact that many non-members attended the camps, the fact remains that, at best, only about 35 per cent of the membership attended camp.

In the case of both examples offered it should be noted that many children attending United Synagogue schools undoubtedly attended camps other than the one sponsored by their own movement, as was probably the case with some members of Habonim. We simply do not know, nor can we accurately project such attendance figures, beyond the broadest generalizations suggested. We can only conclude that camping is still reaching only a very small minority of the Jewish child population on the basis of the above statistics.

(c) Length of stay

Of the 100 camps in our study, 34 register children for a full 8-week season, or, in the case of 3 of these camps, the full season consists of 7 weeks. Thirty-one of the camps accept children for 4-week periods and permit children registered for 4 weeks to extend their stay to 8 weeks if space permits. Twenty-five per cent of the camps

13 Cumulative Report, 1964 Season, Habonim Camping Association, p. 17. (Mimeographed.)
divide the summer into three 3-week sessions and in some cases permit a child to extend his stay to 6 weeks. A relatively small 10 per cent of our camps accept children for 2-week "trips."

The chart on the following page provides a breakdown of the practice in each category of our camps and offers a summary of the total pattern.

All Private camps provide only full 8-week seasons. This is but another manifestation of the role of the private camp as a private enterprise with a profit motive for the owner being central to its purpose. These camps obviously cater to the economic group which can best afford an 8-week experience, and the camps do not wish to be bothered with shorter sessions and more complicated programming. These camps are not at all concerned with providing opportunities for larger numbers of children to participate in a camping experience, and once they fill their own quota of campers, registration is closed.

Only one Federation camp offers an 8-week season and this camp serves emotionally disturbed children plus a number of normal children, who come from homes where other members of the family, usually the mother, is under care of a mental hygiene service and where it has been determined that 8 weeks is necessary to carry out programs and help the children. Two of the 8 Federation camps have two 4-week sessions, while 5 offer a 3-week trip.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category of Camp</th>
<th>Number of Camps</th>
<th>8 weeks</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>4 weeks</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>3 weeks</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>2 weeks</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Private</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Federation</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>25.0%</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>62.5%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Center</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>32.0%</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>56.0%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6**</td>
<td>85.7%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yiddish</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>20.0%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>80.0%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zionist</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3**</td>
<td>23.1%</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>61.5%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15.4%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philanthropic</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3**</td>
<td>30.0%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10.0%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>30.0%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>30.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denominational/Traditional</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>75.0%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>25.0%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conservative</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>83.3%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16.7%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reform</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>42.7%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>57.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hebrew</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total 100**

34 | 31 | 25 | 10

**Includes one 7-week camp.**  *Includes data from the last season of several camps no longer in existence.*
Few of the Center camps permit an initial registration for 8 weeks; however, among the 32 per cent of these camps that have 4-week sessions, children are sometimes permitted to remain for an extra month, if a bed is available. The majority of Center camps, 14 (56 per cent), follow a pattern of three 3-week trips during a 9-week season. Three of the 25 camps in this category, 12 per cent, have 2-week trips as well (two 3-week trips and one 2-week trip).

While the largest number of campers in both the Fenération and Center camps fall in the 3-week category, these figures are on a decline, according to Graenum Berger, and will probably continue to decline at the expense of 6-week camping. Camps affiliated with the New York Federation of Jewish Philanthropies reported a 10.9 per cent increase in the number of children staying at camp for six weeks. Historically, a 6-week camping was once used as a device only for filling empty beds or for special situations and most camps were reluctant to allow 3-week campers to extend their stay. They rarely permitted initial enrollment for more than three weeks in order to allow the camp to service the largest possible number of deserving children. The pattern has been changing, both on the part of camps

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and of parents. No camp wants to keep its beds empty and the ever larger number of campers coming from broken homes or where there are working parents would by itself justify the evolving practice of fulfilling the need for longer camp service. On the other hand, parents, even those in the lower middle income groups, are becoming acculturated to the pattern of higher income groups who send their children away for the summer to a private 8-week camp. Aside from the desire for this longer educational and recreational exposure for their children, they also wish to plan their own summer experience differently. According to Graenum Berger, consultant for camping to the New York Federation, "I think it is time we recognized this need, because these parents cannot find private camps at fees they can afford. Six weeks also seems to be about as much as they can pay for even at our rates."

The trend then, even among camps which allow for 3-week camping, is toward a longer stay. Aside from the economics involved—most parents wanting their children to stay for six weeks probably can afford to pay for this additional time—there are educational considerations. Three weeks is really not sufficient time for a child to fully adjust to camp, become oriented to the programmatic environment, and be educationally affected by the experience. This is particularly true if the camp offers a meaningful Jewish program. If the objective of the camp is limited to recreational purposes, perhaps three weeks is

\[15\text{Ibid.}\]
enough. But even such programs require time for socialization. These facts seem to be recognized by the camps in our study, since 65 per cent of them require children to attend the camp for four weeks or longer.

The camps in our study which place particular emphasis on Jewish programming, study programs, language arts, etc., do indeed insist on extended camp attendance. Six out of seven Educational camps and five out of six Denominational/Conservative camps call for eight weeks. The others, primarily to encourage broader attendance, allow for 4-week sessions, and among the Denominational/Reform four camps are forced into 2-week sessions so as to accommodate the large numbers of children in Reform congregations who request camping opportunities. Only by building additional camps or, where possible, adding additional beds to existing facilities, can these camps increase the minimum length of stay of campers at camp.

Eight out of thirteen Zionist camps (61.5 per cent) have 4-week sessions. The three camps that have 7 or 8-week seasons are primarily involved in a program of leadership training which requires a curriculum of more time. Some of the Zionist camps that limit their enrollment to older teen-agers also face the problem of competitive activities during the summer. Many young people in this age category attend summer school classes, or feel obligated to work for at least part of the summer to help with expenses, or are
at the age when family vacations are planned. A 4-week camp session leaves sufficient time for all of these other activities and families can plan accordingly. In the Philadelphia area, the dates of camp sessions are frequently related to the public summer school session. The local Hebrew Teachers College, Gratz College, offers a summer session for Hebrew High School students and starts it the last week in June, so that it may end in time for the students to attend the second 4-week session of local summer camps.

(d) Camper turnover

Unquestionably, a single summer at camp, or, as is the case with thousands of children attending camps included in our study, several weeks of camping during the summer, is most certainly insufficient time for the camp to make an educational impact on the camper. For the program of a camp to affect the child and significantly change his life, a much more extensive camping experience is necessary. Perhaps the ideal would be to have a child attend camp from the age of 9 through 15, then attend a leadership training camp, and when he graduates high school and enters college be able to begin himself to serve the camp which had contributed so much to his own development. Graenum Berger suggests that at least 67 per cent of campers should return to the same camp, on the assumption that it takes about three years for a camp to achieve a substantial impact on the camper. 16

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16 Ibid., p. 7.
While this theory may not apply to children attending specialized camps, such as those for emotionally disturbed, or a leadership camp aimed at a single age group, Berger's contention is plausible, particularly for camps which are more educationally and Jewishly oriented.

The retention figures for the eighteen camps affiliated with the New York Federation of Jewish Philanthropies during the 1967 season averaged 53 per cent. The 53 per cent represented the number of "old campers" from 1966 who returned to the same camp in 1967 in relationship to "new campers." While the sampling is not very large and one hesitates to draw general conclusions, it is interesting to note which of these eighteen camps have retention records above and below the 53 per cent mark.

It is understandable that camps serving physically handicapped children have high retention rates. One such camp reports a return of 73.4 per cent of all campers. Clearly, this camp provides a very special service, and the child who benefits and whose condition does not appreciably change over the years, tries to return to the camp for a renewed pleasant experience.

The retention rate in teen-age camps seems higher than in camps serving younger children. At one very large Center camp the retention rate for the regular boys' camp was 36 per cent, for the regular girls' camp 35 per cent, but in the tech-age camp the retention of boys was at the
rate of 74 per cent and of girls at 78 per cent. This phenomenon was also found in one of the Denominational/Traditional camps. The retention rate for the regular camp was 50.2 per cent and for the teen-age unit 64.2 per cent.

One other encouraging example in analyzing the retention rate among the eighteen Federation camps was that at least one of the camps with a high retention rate (64.3 per cent) and a lower turnover rate was one of the few camps that observed kashrut and offered extensive Jewish programming, while at least one of the camps with the lowest retention rate (47.8 per cent) and the highest rate of turnover of campers was non-kosher with no Jewish programming. While one such case does not project a trend, it is my contention that, given a more meaningful and relevant program, children will tend to return to the same camp.

The problem of retaining campers from year to year goes beyond the factor of satisfying the child alone during the summer, although this is undoubtedly a prime consideration of the camper in determining whether or not he will return to the same camp the following summer. To assure a high retention rate camps must arrange for follow-up meetings with parents as well as campers during the year, arrange camp reunions, issue information bulletins and other communications. These are the usual means utilized by most camps in promoting greater camper continuity. Some camps
offer financial incentives, as we have seen in our discussion of scholarships. Unfortunately, there are some camps which incorrectly disclaim a concern for continuity, arguing that it is more important for the camping experience to be distributed among a larger group of campers than to have a smaller group repeat. Most camps, however, properly regard their rate of continuity as a mark of camp success. Among the camps for which figures are available, the retention rate runs a wide gamut of between a low of 26.5 per cent and a high of 73.4 per cent.

4. General Background of Campers
   (a) Family background

   The family background of the children who occupied the 26,515 beds in the 100 camps in our survey during the summer of 1963 were as broad and varied as is imaginable. As we have seen, some children attending our camps came from terribly low income families living in ghetto conditions in large urban centers, particularly New York City, where total annual income was below $1,000 a year. On the other hand, many of the children came from upper middle class families where the camp fee alone per child was close to $1,000 for the summer. As we have seen from the fee schedules in our camps, most campers must come from at least middle-class income families unless their stay at camp is heavily subsidized by either the community or scholarships.
Most of the children attending our camps are at least third-generation American children with fourth generation children beginning to be noticeable. There are exceptions to this pattern which were found particularly in such camps as Hemshech and some of the Denominational/Traditional camps which serve children of recent Jewish immigrants to America who are survivors of the European Holocaust. The family experiences in these cases explain in large measure the reason why Hemshech is the only camp among the Yiddish camps where the Yiddish language plays any role and why the extreme orthodoxy that emerged from the concentration camps is reflected in the program of the developing hasidic and other Denominational/Traditional camps.

As we have seen in the Witkovsky study of information requested by seventeen camps from parents of prospective campers (see Table 10, p. 279), only one of the seventeen camps asked for information about the parents. No such data was requested in the American Association for Jewish Education inquiry on communal camping either, nor did my questionnaire delve into the statistics of family background. It can only be reported that most camps do not collect sufficient data about their children and their backgrounds.

(b) Religious affiliation

The only camps which provide clear information as to the religious affiliation of their campers are the Denomina-
tional camps. We have already noted that in the requirements for admission to these camps five of the six Conservative camps accept only children who are affiliated with the United Synagogue movement; six of the seven UAHC camps accept only children whose families are members of Reform congregations, and while only one of the four Denominational/Traditional camps specifies that the camper must be, in this case "Orthodox," as we have already noted, these camps are known in the community as Traditional institutions and only observant children apply.

No affiliation figures are available for Private camps. During my visits to several of these camps, I gained the impression that there was a correlation between many of the children in attendance at a particular camp and the religious and/or institutional affiliation of the director/owner. In one particular camp the director was the part-time principal of a large Reform religious school and, through his school connections and the confidence that parents had in him as an administrator and educator, a very large percentage of the children at his camp came from the membership of his Reform congregation. As a matter of fact the Friday evening service he conducted was basically a Reform service. Other camp directors who also served as principals of Conservative schools numbered many of their students among their campers.

I am unaware of any statistical data from Center
camps which list the Denominational affiliation of its Jewish campers. Records are kept, however, by those camps which are non-sectarian as to the number of Jewish and non-Jewish children served. On the basis of the fact that not all of the Center camps observe kashrut, it is doubtful that these camps serve Traditional Jewish families and, therefore, their campers come from either unaffiliated, Conservative, or Reform homes.

Among the camps affiliated with the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of New York, statistics are available with reference to the number of Jewish and non-Jewish campers. In the summer of 1967, of 10,783 campers served, 933 (8.0 per cent) were non-Jewish. The problem of the non-sectarian camp sponsored by a purportedly Jewish agency is a matter of serious concern. Among the eighteen camps affiliated with the New York Federation, six of them reported ten or more per cent of their campers in the non-Jewish group. In one camp as many as 70 per cent of the children were non-Jewish. Several of these camps have expressed a desire to extend their services to more people in the areas in which they operate their settlement programs, in these cases the lower East Side of the flatlands of New York City. These are Jewish institutions still remaining in changing neighborhoods. Encouragement of the extension of such services would turn these camps into predominantly, if not

exclusively, non-Jewish institutions. Interestingly, one of these six camps is kosher and two of them include some Jewish programming.

Charles Miller, associate director of the Federation of Jewish Agencies of Greater Philadelphia, is a strong advocate of the belief that "it is sound and appropriate for Jewish agencies, including camps, to limit their services to Jewish clients."¹⁸

The rationale for Jewish agencies limiting their service to Jews is based upon the premise that in the first place the organized Jewish community is basically concerned with the survival of the Jewish people; their culture, institutions and values, and that the support of such services is a major expression of this fundamental concern. They offer concrete affirmations of the will of the Jewish community to maintain its sectarian identity, to develop as well as to survive. The American principle of cultural pluralism also makes valid the right for any sectarian group to limit its services to co-religionists.¹⁹

However, once this point of view is espoused, one need not negate the responsibility of individual Jews or of the organized Jewish community to cooperate in helping solve


¹⁹ Ibid.
broader overall community problems. Since Jewish-sponsored camps should be geared to specific Jewish educational, religious and cultural programming, and since existing camps cannot accommodate all prospective Jewish campers and including non-Jewish campers must be done at the expense of Jewish campers and usually at the expense of Jewish programming since one must be sensitive to the concerns of the non-Jewish child, it is highly questionable as to whether or not any Jewish camps, particularly those sponsored by Jewish communal organizations, have a right to be non-sectarian.

It may well be that any given Jewish community might establish and fund a non-sectarian interracial camp as part of the community's contribution to improve community relations. This camp must then, in fact, be fully non-sectarian and interracial and would unquestionably attract a quota of campers from within the Jewish community. However, since our study is concerned with Jewish education and camping, it seems clear that the non-sectarian camp has no role to play in this endeavor.

Among the Educational camps, there is again no record of Denominational affiliation of campers available, except for Cejwin for 1965. There are, however, certain logical assumptions which might be projected. For example, Camp Lown is affiliated with the National Ramah Commission of United Synagogue and one can assume that the overwhelming majority
of its campers come from the Conservative movement. On the other hand, Camp HiLi is affiliated with the Hebrew Institute of Long Island, a Traditional school. It seems valid to assume that its campers come mainly from Traditional homes. Camp Yavneh and Camp Avodah (Sura) are both affiliated with Hebrew Teachers Colleges, Boston and Chicago respectively. Since both camps require campers to attend Hebrew schools and both camps require their counsellors to speak Hebrew fluently, it is again valid to assume that most of their campers undoubtedly come from Conservative or Traditional backgrounds. On the other hand, Cejwin camps and Camp B'hai B'rith in Pennsylvania, which have no Hebraic requirements for admission and are open to the total community theoretically should include campers from all affiliations or with no affiliation. B'hai B'rith as an organizational camp probably has a good proportion of religiously non-affiliated children. Cejwin, on the other hand, the oldest Educational camp in the country, has established a tradition of Tradition, and attracts most of its campers from among the Conservative or liberal Traditional elements. In 1965, the ideological affiliations of campers according to parents' questionnaires indicated that 21.1 per cent were orthodox; 52.1 per cent were from Conservative homes; 7.6 per cent Reform, 2.0 per cent Miscellaneous (a conglomeration of Yiddish-traditional, Orthodox-conservative, Israeli, etc.), and 19 per cent unaffiliated. Among
the Yiddish camps, generalizations are even more difficult to make. In the early days of these camps, it would have been quite valid to assume that most campers were unaffiliated since they came from either Bundist, Workmens Circle or Labor Zionist homes where synagogue affiliation was minimal. Today, this assumption is no longer valid, and in addition, a very large percentage of the campers at these camps have no relationship to the sponsoring movements.

I conducted an evaluation of Camp Kinderwelt during the summer of 1964. Among the findings was the fact that in 1964, 68 per cent of the campers at Kinderwelt were members of congregations of whom 21 per cent belong to Orthodox congregations, 43 per cent to Conservative, and 4 per cent to Reform. Thirty-two per cent of the children were unaffiliated.

The Zionist camps are most notorious in their lack of record keeping and no statistics are available in this area as well. Again one must resort to a certain amount of deductive reasoning. For example, one Zionist camp is affiliated with B'nai Akiba, which is a "Traditional" Zionist youth organization, where membership in the organization is a qualification for attendance at camp. The camp is strictly kosher, the Sabbath is observed stringently, as are all of the mitswoth. Clearly, this camp serves Traditional young people. Diametrically opposed to this ideological camp are
the camps sponsored by Hashomer Hatzair, which are Marxist-Zionist in orientation and, if not completely anti-religious, are certainly areligious. Logically, one should assume that most of the campers in these camps are unaffiliated. No generalizations can be made with regard to the Young Judea or Habonim camps. In the case of Camp Galil, a Habonim camp, large numbers of the campers receive scholarships from Conservative congregations and are obviously affiliated mainly with the Conservative movement. The same is undoubtedly true with Young Judea camps.

Camp Massad, the one Hebrew camp among our 100 camps, while theoretically non-Denominational and open to any Jewish child with Hebraic interests, is, in practice, an Orthodox institution. Most of the campers come from the Yeshivot Ketanot of New York, and many counsellors are from Yeshiva University, so that the life pattern at camp follows strict Orthodox tradition.

(c) Educational background

In the main, the educational background of the camper parallels his religious affiliational background. Campers affiliated with the Conservative movement attend 3-day a week schools for six hours a week of instruction. Campers affiliated with Reform temples receive at least a one day a week Jewish education and in more and more cases a 2 or sometimes 3-day a week exposure. These students with
Traditional backgrounds may come from Orthodox day schools, particularly in the New York area where close to 24 per cent of Jewish children attend such schools as we say in Chapter I. It is difficult to generalize about the unaffiliated. Some of them may be products of communal schools, but chances are that the unaffiliated child is also the Jewishly uneducated child.

The children attending our camps may be categorized into five different but overlapping growth stages, each with a unique nature of its own. The 5 through 7 year-olds are pre-school and first graders. The 7 through 10 year-olds are first and second through fourth graders. The 10 through 12 year-olds are fourth and fifth through seventh graders, and the 12 through 15-year olds are seventh through ninth graders, and the 15 through 17-year olds are ninth through twelfth graders.

Perhaps, one might comment on the fact that the general intellectual maturity levels of our children has been constantly on the rise over the past years. Many of our children coming from suburban residential areas and attending good progressive schools are significantly ahead of their peer groups of yesteryear, and, in many cases are more advanced in their studies than their contemporaries coming from more crowded city schools. The new sophistication now possible in science and nature programs at camp for young children attests to this general educational advancement and
offers even greater challenges to the educators and social workers who must deal with these children in a camp setting.

(d) Involvement by camper in choosing his camp

It is rather difficult to assess the involvement of the child in the family discussion which leads to the selection of a particular camp. Reference to this phenomenon has been made in our discussion of goals and objectives, as viewed by campers in Chapter III.

No one knows, not even the camper himself, all the conscious and unconscious drives, needs, wishes, and dreams that bring him to camp. The director attempts to learn about these objectives by means of correspondence and interviews with the camper, through observation during the first few days of camp, from application blanks, from teachers and social workers and from parents.20

We have already noted on several occasions the sparsity of information about the camper and his background which most camp directors had because of inadequate procedures. We have also commented upon the fact that in too many cases there are no personal interviews with either campers or parents to pursue some of these essential questions. It becomes almost a matter of chance when the objectives of the camp, the camper, and the parents coincide to a substantial degree. The child's major reason for going to camp may be that he wants to get away from dominating parents, only to find himself in a camp with dominating

20Harvie J. Boorman, op. cit., p. 124.
counsellors. The parent may hope that the child will learn obedience at camp, whereas the philosophy of the camp emphasizes the encouragement of independent thinking and personal initiative. In the final analysis, it is probably the child who plays the central role in choosing a camp, and he probably picks the camp because it has been recommended by friends who will themselves attend or by a group worker in a center whom he admires, or by the Rabbi of his congregation or its educational director or, perhaps, even a Hebrew teacher whom he respects or because attendance at that particular camp is the "in-thing," and the status and image of the child will be enhanced by attending. Camps Ramah utilize this latter factor quite extensively. In some instances camp is an economic status symbol for the family as well, and is a measure of ostentatious consumption. More and more, second- and third-generation campers are beginning to attend our camps. That is, children are now attending camps that have been attended by their parents and in some cases even grandparents, so that a family tradition has developed with regard to a particular camp.

In the case of children who are fully dependent on subsidies or scholarships, choice is either limited or nonexistent. In the Philadelphia area, for example, a Jewish child from a very low income family has only two camps to choose from and admittance to both camps is very selective because of limitations of space.
Children who are members of youth movements, particularly Zionist youth movements, are camp-oriented throughout the year. The entire focus of their organizational activities during the long winter months is concentrated on camp. These youngsters visit camp periodically during the year, participate in building improvement projects, and their attendance at the camp is an accepted fact by the parent long before the season opens.

This same loyalty and devotion to camp finds expression in the youth activities in Conservative and Reform congregations. Every USY or NAFTY meeting is almost a partial camp reunion.

Camps which are projections of Center programming also depend upon the esprit de corps the campers develop at camp to carry them through the winter and into the next camping season. Invariably it is the child himself who makes the final choice.

5. Camper Participation

(a) Areas of Camper Responsibility and Involvement

(1) Self

While groups are central to the camp situation, it is the individual who is the starting point of the program. However, in acknowledging the importance of the individual, we must at the same time note that the individual cannot fully function unless he belongs to a group in which he acts
and reacts. Those who deal with a child in a camp setting, must respect him as an individual but must do so in relationship to other campers, counselors, and staff. Group workers tell us that it is group opinion, group praise, and group recognition that the individual desires. Individualization and socialization are but two aspects of the same process.

This seeming conflict becomes resolved in the recognition that what is important is the individual in the group. The individual exists as a social being. He cannot be sympathetic, or honest, or antagonistic unless he is sympathetic to another, honest with his friend, antagonistic to his enemy. A hermit cannot be loyal, because there is no group to which to be loyal. Behavior is socially conditioned. To the extent in which an individual acts and reacts in a group, to that extent does he have the opportunity to practice the so-called character traits. 21

Once this is understood, even those very personal areas of individual living must be seen in the context of the smallest group in camp—the cabin group. It is this group which generally carry on together the activities that are ordinarily carried on in the family group or by the individual in the privacy of his home. A major characteristic of camp is the almost complete lack of personal privacy, even in the carrying out of bodily functions. Eating, sleeping, dressing, and undressing, personal hygiene, and housekeeping duties are a part of the life of every cabin

group, and take place in concert. Caring for oneself physically, a sign of home training and maturity, in camp, becomes a matter of group suasion and control. I have visited camps where bunkmates have physically taken a fellow camper into the shower house and forceably washed him, when his personal hygiene habits did not conform to group standards. Making the bed, sweeping the floor, cleaning the washroom, performing whatever menial tasks are necessary within the framework of camp life, require some skills and dexterity, but primarily require that the camper be ready to assume these tasks, under the guidance of a competent counselor and in company of a peer group in a similar state of readiness. This explains, in large measure, why so many of the camps in our study prefer to accept children only from the age of nine or older.

Behavioral psychologists have sensitized us to the physiological and social needs of children and to the rather typical behavior patterns of their different growth stages. Accordingly, we note that children ages seven through ten are beginning to play together, are developing strong identifications with their own sex and age group and seem to want everyone to obey stated rules and regulations. It is at the end of this period when a strong desire for live-away

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experience seems to manifest itself and, as they move into the ten-to-twelve-year period, sometimes called the "group stage," children seem to want to be together in groups, teams, and clubs and form cliques and friendships with their own sex and age group. They are beginning to move from the extreme egocentrism of early childhood to greater appreciation and understanding of cooperation with others and the concepts of sharing. The outward role of "self" in camp is meaningless except within the context of the fact that camp is made up of individuals in a group and is, at the same time, a group of individuals. Camping theory holds that the group is the essential entity that can bring about the growth and development of the individual.

This emphasis on group living must, however, also recognize that there are inward parts of the "self" that are not expressed in the functioning of groups. There is great value and need for the camper moving away from the group at times to be by himself, and a camp program that does not provide for such opportunities is remiss in its responsibility to both the individual and the group.

A competent counselor and staff will also allow and provide for individual differences that take on meaning in a group. "Any program to be educative and satisfying must be highly flexible to meet these individual differences, while, at the same time, conserving group cohesion."23

23Louis H. Blumenthal, op. cit., p. 95.
The individual camper also retains primary responsibility for his private property and the orderliness of his immediate living area, and his own body. Keeping a neat trunk, closet, depositing dirty clothes in a laundry bag and handling his laundry, hanging up his possessions, keeping track of his camera, radio, personal sports equipment, clothing, writing letters, managing the coupons or money for the canteen, hanging up the wet bathing suit and towel, shining shoes for Shabbat, and the like, are still essentially responsibilities of "self." Group standards will have a great deal to do with setting the tone. A counselor's cubby that is filthy, will hardly serve as a good example for his campers. A lackadaisical attitude by the group toward general decorum, weakens each individual's attitude, and only good leadership and guidance can help the group rethink its own concerns.

There are still camps that hold daily inspections of cabins, give points and offer prizes at the end of the week for the cleanest cabin. There are still camps that deprive campers of privileges for the infraction of camp rules. These camps are throwbacks to the early days of camping, when regimentation, authoritarianism, and the individual approach characterized the camping movement. Most camps today are group-oriented and rely on the creative combination of all of the forces at camp, the leader, the camper, the group, the social process, the camp environment
and the program of activity to assist the individual toward physical, mental, emotional, and social maturation.\textsuperscript{24}

To avoid redundancy, the further implications of the relationship of the individual camper to the group and to the program will be discussed in the section of the study devoted to the program itself.

(2) Group

The opportunities for socialization in camps are unlimited. Practically all of the activities in which campers participate are in the areas of social experiences. The size and complexity of the many groups and sub-groups through which the individual functions varies from camp to camp, dependent upon the overall camp structure and the nature of the programming. Camp becomes the synthesis of all of these groups—the cabin group, the division or unit or village, the single sex or coed group, the activity group, the work group, the project groups, the camper-leader groups. There are also smaller groups, sometimes created spontaneously by campers themselves to satisfy special interests and needs not necessarily structured by the camp itself. In addition to scheduled group activities of all types, campers may participate in pairs or threes, "veteran" campers tend to form their own sub-groups as do campers from the same city, neighborhood, school, city-group or even

\textsuperscript{24}Ibid., p. 4.
family. The individual camper moves from one group to another and encounters a variety of inter and intra-group relationships. The camper must learn to make various adjustments to his varying groups of fellow campers throughout the day. In a camp where the democratic process is encouraged and fostered, this group interaction, properly supervised, is of inestimable importance in advancing the social development of the individual.

To try to achieve all of the stated objectives of the camp, the parents and the campers, the camp administration must structure certain activities along prescribed groupings. For example, to teach swimming, boating, Hebrew or Bible, it is necessary to conduct these activities in organized class-groups which are by definition more formal than group projects. These activities require regular attendance and considerably less flexibility than interest groups. I was frequently amused at the illogic of camp administrators who resisted introducing "formal" Jewish programming aspects into their camp program because camp was no place for "formalism" and yet, saw no contradiction in the fact that their nature programs were replete with the very same type of "formal" teaching groups in areas of their own primary concern.

A camp is obligated to organize special interest groups if they are needed and desired by campers. Even a few campers who have brought their cameras to camp should be
able to follow their hobby together, informally, if need be. The organization of sub-groups rising from interests brought to camp or interests developed in camp are of paramount importance to a group centered approach. The greatest difficulty usually encountered by camps in this regard is the lack of qualified staff, coupled with the fact, as we have seen, that camps are infrequently aware of the interests of the campers prior to their arrival, so that they cannot plan ahead and employ appropriate staff.

We have already noted the fact that in camp, the small living group or cabin group is the most important program group. However, some camp activities are better programmed in larger units. The division, which we agreed should number approximately forty campers, becomes an ideal size group for various sport activities, evening programs, is a bus-load for trips, and so on. On the other hand, certain aspects of camp life are best experienced by all the members of the total camp community. Camp carnivals, movie night, athletic and aquatic activities, and the like, might serve as examples. Other activities will require varied size groups, depending not only upon the activity itself, but upon the facilities available at camp. Inter-divisional coed socialization projects like dramatic shows, or listening to a guest lecturer, or a joint Friday evening service may involve eighty youngsters, while an overnight canoe trip might be arranged between two cabin groups with a total of
The camper must learn to adapt to different size groups on different relationship levels.

He can be dominant in one situation, submissive in another; intimate in one and less so in another; enthusiastic in one group and less enthusiastic in another. The transitions from primary to secondary relationships do not disturb him. Such flexible adjustment to the social milieu enables him to mix freely and easily without the painful consciousness of the changes his status undergoes. With every group he can have a different personality without the inner confusion characterizing the individual who is ill at ease. It is a good sign that the camper is growing up when he can so accommodate himself to groups. 25

Unfortunately the sophistication and flexibility required to guide and move individual campers or small groups or sub-groups to a variety of activities in varied sized groups are skills that are lacking in some of our camps. The Center camps, with a core of trained group workers on staff, are better equipped to provide opportunities for individual development through group orientation. But even in these camps, the size of the camp, the facilities available, the limited skills of staff, precludes free movement of campers into varied groups, and restricts group activities to the vicissitudes of schedule, structure, and over-all program. Daily considerations of what a group would like to do can no longer be taken into account, to the extent it once was, particularly in a primitive camping situation. However, many opportunities for social development

through the application of varied groups in play and work relationships still exist, and too many of our camps do not take full advantage of this phenomenon.

(3) Programming

In camps which are purportedly dedicated to the democratic ideal it would seem axiomatic that the participants in the total life of the camp, campers included, should have a voice in making decisions which affect them in group experiences. In practice, however, this principle is far from being either universally accepted or followed.

The pattern of camper participation in camp programming planning varies among our nine categories of camps and within them. The greatest participation of campers, on all levels of program, is to be found in the Zionist camps, where the philosophy of "youth leading youth" is practiced. In these camps, the campers are elected by their peers to committees which function on a total camp basis, a division basis or a cabin level, that are involved in all aspects of programming, except for those areas requiring a special expertise, such as Hebrew classes or Zionist and Jewish Discussion groups. Among the camper-counselor committees in Habonim camps are: Va'ad Avodah, which allocates the regular maintenance work on a rotating basis among all the campers and staff, each work crew composed of campers of varying ages, depending upon the difficulty of the work including kitchen, cooks' helpers,
garbage detail, wash house-clean-up, infirmary, library, recreation halls, garden and grounds. This committee also discusses and determines special work projects such as building a patio, clearing a path, emptying and cleaning the pool, and the like; Va'ad Tochnit Ereiy, which plans and arranges all evening programs on a full camp basis. Divisional sub-committees plan for their own divisions when evenings are designated for such purposes. This committee reviews, for example, movie catalogues, and chooses the films to be shown; Va'ad Kuppak, supervises and manages the purchases and distribution of supplies needed by the campers and staff. Determines the nature of items which are to be included (soap, yes--water goggles, no); Va'ad Shabbat, plans all Shabbat activities, from the Kabbalat Shabbat to Havdalah, including the assignment of responsibilities such as the making of signs, decorating the dining hall, readers and participants in the services and so on; Va'ad Hevrah, a sort of "supreme court of camp" or at least a "court of peers" where campers or staff may be asked to appear for infractions of rules made by the total group.

In each case, campers are full participants in these committees and consequently have a strong voice in making decisions which affect their daily life at camp.

In addition, most of the Zionist camps allow campers free program choices in several areas of scheduling. These choices are dependent upon four primary factors; the camp
budget, program equipment and program staff. It is one thing to say that during an "activity hour" campers have a free choice, and may participate in arts and crafts, modern dance, Israeli dance, photography, swim instruction, nature study, sewing, etc., and it is quite another thing to discover that 70 per cent of the campers choose to go to arts and crafts and the facility cannot accommodate them, nor are there a sufficient number of staff people able to lead such a "hug." Choice must then be structured and limited. Each camper lists three choices in order of preference and may be picked by lottery--each camper may remain in a particular "hug" for only a week, so that others may have a chance. Accommodations must be made, but, where the camper is part of the process and participates in the decision-making, even unpleasant decisions become educationally meaningful.

There are camps among our 100 where the camper has no choices at all and does not participate in any aspect of program planning, or if he does, it is on a very nominal minimal level. I have interviewed camp directors who, in January, are able to tell exactly what will take place every hour on July 20th. Democracy is a facade and the camps are really autocratic institutions, perhaps benevolent autocracies, since the presumed welfare of the child is central to the planning, but nevertheless, the program and atmosphere of the camp runs contrary to accepted educational
coping practices.

Most of the camps fall between the rather full participation of campers in the Zionist camps and the non or little participation of campers in program planning in other categories.

Some highly structured camps allow time slots for "free bunk activities" where campers are involved in planning. Evening programs are another area for camper involvement. In camps, where children attend for rather brief periods of time and orientation and adjustment is prolonged, campers are often less involved with programming. A good argument for the eight-week camp is that after the needed time for initial adjustment, there is still sufficient time left for the camper to assert himself and become more involved in planning.

There are principles and methods in programming which are derived from educational psychology and can be applied to the camp situation.26

1. The camp program should be planned around what is known about campers' interests in general and what can be learned about the interests of the particular campers in the camp.

It is a truism that children learn most easily and enthusiastically those things which interest them most and to which they are ready to give their attention. The wise

26 Harvie J. Boorman, op. cit., pp. 128-130.
teacher, or counselor or leader tries to ascertain these interests and plan accordingly. We have already seen how few camps gather meaningful pre-camp information about their campers and we shall soon see how inadequate staff disallows following-up on broad camper interests. The best most camps can do, is try to organize activities around general interests of a particular age group, narrowing the diversity and scope of interest activities for the campers and programming for conformity rather than for meeting individual or small group differences.

2. Help must be given in the development of desirable interests.

Children do not arrive at camp with predetermined overall camping interests. First time campers especially must become interested in camping skills before they can be persuaded to learn them. To the extent that children are themselves involved in planning activities, the chances for him to develop interest is that much enhanced. Demonstrations, exhibits, suggestions by respected counselors are all means which can be used to help the camper develop new interests or broaden old ones. As we shall see, the failure of the Jewish programming in so many camps lies, in great measure, in the fact that not only do children arrive at camp without Jewish interests, but that the camp has few resources to help the camper develop Jewish interests.
3. Campers should share fully in camp life, even in some of the organizational and administrative phases, provided the principle of interest is followed.

The theory here is that campers should share in every phase of camp life that is within the range of their interests and their degree of maturity. However, there is probably even less involvement of campers in administration and organization than in programming. The notion that campers could learn about business by participating in the management of camp is no doubt valid, but the complexities of the modern camp establishment are such that it is rare to find such involvement. The only camps where some of this involvement may be found are the Zionist camps. As noted, campers also have the opportunity to participate in some camp "business" through the Kuppah-. In practice this principle would also be realized by having the campers participate in helping to plan meals, help prepare the food, perhaps cook from time to time--at least on hikes and trips--serve, and clean-up. Unfortunately, fewer and fewer camps provide work opportunities for campers and these experiences are usually denied them. Many camps even take along the chef for cookouts!

4. The program should be cooperatively developed.

Good camping practice in a democratic setting recognizes that even though the entire, or even the greatest
share of program responsibility cannot be turned over to immature campers, nevertheless campers should participate to the extent of their abilities. Camps with teen programs have discovered that only by involving the camper can the program be successful. The same lesson is yet to be learned for the younger campers, but is no less a valid principle.

5. Camp program should be flexible.

The modern camp requires a great deal of pre-planning. Many decisions must be made in advance of the season if activities and projects are to be carried out successfully. Arranging a schedule of visitors and guests, trips out of camp, and the like, must be cleared long before the campers arrive. Even some movies must be ordered weeks in advance. However, camp life must be so flexible that no schedule or pre-arranged program becomes unchangeable or sacred. There are always new considerations, new factors which enter the picture—particularly, the factor of the camper and his involvement. With all the best intentions, the most professional of camp directors may not be able to anticipate the human factors in the vastness of the planning. I recall a situation one summer when a scheduled Israeli counselor was unable to come and was replaced at the last moment before camp opened with another Israeli who turned out to be a phenomenal expert in Tsofiut, scouting, having been an officer in the Pal'lah. Despite carefully laid plans, based on
the original person, changes were made, budgets were revised so as to take advantage of the new, unanticipated reality. Another example that comes to mind took place in a Center camp which had long been in need of a communications system throughout the vast camp area but somehow was never able to budget it. One summer, the director, by chance, discovered that one of his counselors was a radio ham with much electronic experience. The most fascinating project of that camp for the summer was a large work project of older campers, directed by the talented counselor, which installed a sophisticated communications system in the camp. The willingness of the director to be flexible, regroup his resources, allow new plans to replace pre-plans, marked a successful camp. Rigidity in programming is unwise.

(4) Camper councils

To create an effective social environment within the context of American-Jewish life it is desirable that this be developed through democratic processes and practices. The organized summer camp is probably the only environment in our society where children can be given equal consideration with adults. The camper is truly a citizen of his camp community, and should be afforded every opportunity to comprehend the nature of this phenomena and participate in a meaningful way in a functional experience.

As we have already seen, the very nature of the group-
oriented environment, provides each individual camper with both the right and the opportunity to express himself—his ideas, his wishes, his thinking about how his small group should function. However, it is also important that a means be provided him to progressively identify with larger groups and with the camp as a total entity. An opportunity to be elected, appointed or to volunteer to participate in discussions which will affect his life, must be provided. A camp council can serve such a purpose.

Where such councils function, and few of them do, they serve to coordinate the activities of the total camp community. The council usually consists of representatives of each cabin group and of the adult population as well. Sometimes, in very large camps, cabin representatives meet by divisions and the division elects representatives to the camp council. In small camps, particularly the Zionist camps, the camp council consists of the entire camp which meets at an asefah klalit, general meeting, much like the old New England Town Hall meeting, for a general open ended discussion of any subject affecting camp, and functions through elected committees, or cabin representatives.

The camper councils vary from highly structured organizations, with duly elected representatives, officers, regular meetings, minutes, and end-of-the-summer-dinner with awards, etc., to councils limited to the older divisions,
which meet "when necessary" and have limited agendas. Information with regard to this area of camp life was quite sparse and would make a very fine research project in itself.
CHAPTER VI

THE CAMP STAFF

1. Tables of Organization

The organized resident summer camp is a total community and, as such, carries on within its own structured environment almost all the functions of any dynamic community. The camp, by virtue of its program, undertakes to provide the services ordinarily offered by various societal agencies during the non-camp year, such as the family and the home, municipal, state and federal agencies, educational and religious institutions and the like. Camps must make provision for food and shelter, for health services, for its "public utilities," provide goods and services, operate economically and function properly, see that security is assured, government established and that a sense of community and community responsibility is developed and shared and mutual aid furthered. To carry out these functions and responsibilities camps must be organized, as must all other communities, with clearly delineated chains-of-command and authority. It is also essential that the role and function of every member of the camp community be defined and described, including the interrelationships between all
levels of supervision, guidance and direction.

a. Structure of the Camp Staff

The Table of Organization of any camp depends on a number of factors, including the size of the camp, which is of paramount importance, as well as the philosophy of the camp as related to such issues as decentralization, co-ed programming, participatory democracy, the relationship of the lay Board of Directors or Camp Committee to the professional staff, and the like. Most important of all is the quality of the leadership. Many of the camps in our study have, over the years, evolved a pattern of organizational structure, and recruit personnel to fit this pattern, while other camps must revise their Table of Organization almost yearly to accommodate the personnel available to the camp. Let us briefly examine several examples of rather typical Tables of Organization representative of camps in our study.

Table 26 is rather typical of the small and medium size camps in our study. As is the case in almost all camps, the director is the chief-of-staff, the prime administrative officer held directly responsible by the owner, in the case of the Private camp, or by the lay Board of Directors or Camp Committee, in the case of the organizational camp. The director may delegate authority to an assistant. However, the director carries the overall responsibility, even if some are delegated to others. In
A medium sized camp of up to 150 campers, the camp director often retains the direct responsibility for at least one of the phases of the camp operation—usually the phase related to program direction, and employs others to supervise business and health matters. Naturally the director's choice as to which aspect of the operation he will directly supervise depends upon his own interests, abilities, and the qualifications of his associates at camp. These
choices vary from camp to camp. In one camp we visited, the
director, a rather mature individual, was mainly involved
in administration, and invariably sought a younger graduate
social worker to handle program. In the very small camps,
the director frequently must personally supervise all
functions of the camp—business, program and health.

Most of the small and medium size camps cannot
afford both camp director and three sub-executives and
ofttimes employ two people to fill the four positions. In
the Private camps the owner usually serves as the business
manager and health director and his camp director or head
counselor is usually the program director.

Part-time directors are also the norm for small and
medium sized camps which cannot afford to employ full-time
personnel for the entire year. These camps may, however,
employ a director or business manager on a part-time
basis for the entire year, since it soon becomes clear to
anyone involved with camps that camping is a year-round
activity which requires year-round attention.

The Table of Organization also implies a chain-of-
command. In Table 26, the Health Director, the Program
Director and the Business Manager are directly accountable
and responsible to the Camp Director. Each sub-director
in turn, has his own staff in descending "echelons"
who are accountable to him. Thus the kitchen helpers are
usually responsible to the cooks, who receive their orders from the dietician or food service director, who reports directly to the Business Manager. Maintenance of the grounds and the physical plant is the responsibility of the caretaker, who employs assistants for this purpose, and receives direction from, and reports to, the Business Manager. The day to day work in the camp office, keeping records, collecting fees, paying bills, etc., may be done personally by the Business Manager in a small camp, or delegated to bookkeepers and/or secretaries in larger operations who are supervised by and work directly for the Business Manager. The smaller the camp the less formal the procedures and the camp director is usually personally involved in most activities, even if the details are left to subordinates.

Table 27 represents a Table of Organization typical of a number of Zionist camps, primarily those belonging to the eight camps of the Habonim Camping Association. Several of these camps operate under a dual control system which has evolved pragmatically over the years. Since these camps are essentially operated by and for a youth movement which successfully educates toward aliyah thus limiting the number of staff over age twenty three to a minimum number, it became necessary to develop a pattern of camp leadership which would provide mature guidance in the practical matters of business and
Table 27

**TABLE OF ORGANIZATION OF CAMPS AFFILIATED WITH THE HABONIM CAMPING ASSOCIATION (ZIONIST)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>National Habonim Camping Association</th>
<th>Local Camp Committee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Educational Director</strong></td>
<td><strong>Business Manager</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Program Directors</td>
<td>Business services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Program Specialists</td>
<td>Maintenance services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cabin Counselors</td>
<td>Office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physicians</td>
<td>Cooks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nurses</td>
<td>Caretakers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kitchen helpers</td>
<td>Assistants</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Offer continuity of camp management to parents and campers, while at the same time allowing for youth movement leadership in the area of program. The Table of Organization provides for both of these considerations by employing both an Educational Director and a Business Manager. Both individuals must be mutually acceptable to a joint personnel committee consisting of representatives of the youth movement and the adult sponsoring Labor Zionist organizations, each person being responsible directly to the Camp Committee. Each is provided with a detailed job description with built in provisions for joint decisions. The Educa-
tional Director employs all educational and program staff who must be recruited from the youth movement and follows a program that is prepared nationally for all eight participating camps in the Habonimim Camping Association. The Business Manager employs all technical personnel and is responsible for their supervision. Areas of conflict invariably arise, since, as we shall discuss more fully later, "everything that happens at camp is program,"¹ and absolutely delineating the area of responsibility of an educational director and of a business manager, without either being the "chief-of-staff," is really quite impossible. It is only due to the great spirit of dedication to the ideals of these camps that cooperation is usually forthcoming and conflicts kept to a minimum.

Table 28, with variations, is quite typical of most of the large camps in our study, in all categories. Under this Table of Organization the camp director becomes an executive director and is a high-salaried, full time, year-round executive. The camp director sometimes has a full time, assistant director, usually responsible for specific areas, but accountable to the director. Some of these large camps have previously been described as "camps within camps," such as Cejwin, New Jersey "Y" Camps, JYC Camps of Philadelphia, and Massad. With camper populations

TABLE 28

TABLE OF ORGANIZATION OF A TYPICAL LARGE CAMP

CAMP COMMITTEE
  CAMP DIRECTOR
    ASS'T DIRECTOR AND
      BUSINESS MANAGER
        MAINTENANCE
          HEAD
            CARETAKER
              ASSISTANTS
                TEEN CAMP
                  DINING RM
                    SUPER
                      COOKS
                        HELPERS
                          PROGRAM
                            TEEN CAMP
                              DIRECTOR
                                DIVISION
                                  SUPERVISORS
                                    SPECIALISTS
                                      COUNSELORS
                                        TEEN CAMP
                                          DIRECTOR
                                            DIVISION
                                              SUPERVISORS
                                                SPECIALISTS
                                                  COUNSELORS
                                                    BOYS CAMP
                                                      DIRECTOR
                                                        DIVISION
                                                          SUPERVISORS
                                                            SPECIALISTS
                                                              COUNSELORS
                                                                GIRLS CAMP
                                                                  DIRECTOR
                                                                    DIVISION
                                                                      SUPERVISORS
                                                                        SPECIALISTS
                                                                          COUNSELORS
                                                                                      HEALTH SERVICES
                                                                                             DIRECTOR
                                                                                               CENTRAL INFIRMARY
                                                                                                  PHYSICIANS
                                                                                                    NURSES
                                                                                                        TEEN CAMP
                                                                                                          SECRETARY
                                                                                                            BOYS CAMP
                                                                                                              SECRETARY
                                                                                                                GIRLS CAMP
                                                                                                                    SECRETARY
                                                                                                                            TEEN CAMP
                                                                                                                              AID STATION
                                                                                                                                BOYS CAMP
                                                                                                                                  AID STATION
                                                                                                                                    GIRLS CAMP
                                                                                                                                        AID STATION
                                                                                                                                                OFFICE
                                                                                                                                                    CENTRAL
                                                                                                                                                                      MANAGER
                                                                                                            FOOD SERVICES
                                                                                                              MANAGER
                                                                                                                        DICTICIAN
                                                                                                                    OFFICE
                                                                                                                      CENTRAL
                                                                                                                        MANAGER
                                                                                                                            HEALTH SERVICES
                                                                                                                                DIRECTOR
                                                                                                                                    CENTRAL INFIRMARY
                                                                                                                                        PHYSICIANS
                                                                                                                                            NURSES
                                                                                                                                                TEEN CAMP
                                                                                                                                                    AID STATION
                                                                                                                                                BOYS CAMP
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of between 400 and 1600 they must be carefully and efficiently organized, and, since all are accredited members of the American Camping Association, must be able to positively answer the question, "Is this camp organized into manageable supervisory and living divisions, units, areas or sections?"² The interpretation offered for the term "manageable" relates to the camp structuring a group small enough to feel a relationship between camper living groups within the division, small enough for close supervision and small enough so that a mature adult supervises no more than thirty or forty campers and the counselors related to them. Helping the campers relate to ever-widening groups as a step in the growth process is also a concern of the American Camping Association.

Another question asked in the accreditation of camps is, "Does the camping program provide for individual activity, small group activity and activities involving the whole camp?"³ These questions will be discussed in greater depth when we become involved with the entire area of program, but are of concern here because a camp's answer lies, in part, in the manner in which it organizes itself.

The terminology of the Tables of Organization vary. In the very large camps, the sub-camps, which are organized either by sex, or by age groupings, or by both, have either directors or head counselors. Each sub-camp is then divided

²Ibid., p. 12. ³Ibid., p. 9.
into divisions and each has a division head. Each division has tents and/or cabins with a senior counselor and counselors and possibly junior counselors or counselors-in-training. Specialists may be assigned to an entire sub-camp or may be assigned directly to a division. The number of specialists depends on the scope of program and budget allowance but usually includes at least someone for waterfront, arts and crafts, pioneering and sports. In the large camp the specialists work exclusively in their areas of expertise; in the smaller camps some of the cabin counselors also serve as program specialists.

The chain-of-command is clearly defined in the Tables of Organization. In program, it moves from the counselor to the senior counselor to the Division Head to the Head counselor to the Assistant Director or to the Director. Specialists usually relate to Division Heads or to Head counselors. In some very large camps there may be Head-specialists. For example, one person may be the Director of the waterfront and all waterfront personnel will then relate to both the Division Head to whom they are assigned and to the overall Director of waterfront. Camps with several art centers may appoint one person to coordinate and supervise all such specialists and activities.

The Director of Food services supervises all such facilities at camp and is responsible to the Camp Director.
Each dining room, however, has its own supervisor who must relate both to the Head counselor of his camp, as well as to the Director of Food Services. All menus, food purchasing, employment of personnel is coordinated by the Director of Food Services.

The camp office provides office services to the central operation and is generally supervised by an office manager. Each sub-camp may have its own small office with needed personnel. Such staff usually relate directly to the sub-camp Head counselor but also has a relationship with the central office.

The central infirmary is usually the hub of camp health services and the physician or nurse in charge is responsible to the Camp Director. Aid Stations in sub-camps relate to the central infirmary.

As noted, the number of specialists and the manner in which they are utilized and consequently their place in a Table of Organization varies. For example, a camp librarian and her assistants will be responsible to the Camp Director but also have to relate to the Head counselors and Division Heads for scheduling. Music personnel, not easily available at best, when employed by a camp, are generally directly accountable to the Head counselor in a sub-camp situation or the Program Director in a smaller camp.

Program specialists usually function on three
different levels and must relate to the supervisor of each level. On the top level, they work with the Program Director in programs that involve the entire camp and in the development of plans for the activities in which they are specialists. On the intermediate level they work with program on the sub-camp or divisional level, and on the third level they may be called on by cabin counselors in connection with cabin projects, or divisional projects. An arts and crafts specialist may therefore be involved in the camp show with scenery and costumes, with the "normal" activities of the craft shop for interest groups by cabin or division, and may work with a cabin in preparation for an Oneg Shabbat or an evening program requiring his skills.

The Table of Organization for the Denominational camps might differ slightly in the inclusion of additional categories, such as, teaching personnel, ritual directors, a kitchen mashgiah, and the like. Some of the camps employ camp psychologists, consultants in various areas of competency, camp "rabbis" (see below), all of whom relate directly to the camp director.

The questions posed above by the American Camping Association are, in the main, answered affirmatively by the Tables of Organization, where provisions are made to deal with children in ever-widening groups. The organizational structure projected by most of the camps in our study is structurally sound. The weaknesses are to be
found in those camps where the quality of leadership is ineffective, where camp personnel is not carefully recruited and selected, placed, trained and supervised. A chain-of-command is only as strong as its weakest link. I have found that in some camps the Table of Organization was unknown to all the members of the staff, and that job descriptions were verbal and informal and that inter-personal frictions arose unnecessarily, which hampered the proper functioning of the camp, because areas of responsibility were not clearly defined and members of the staff not specifically oriented to their tasks and their relationships with other staff members. A plan is essential: proper implementation a sine qua non for success.

However, it must also be noted, that a summer camp is not an army camp and that the Table of Organization and the chain-of-command is not intended as a measure of rank and authoritarianism. The human and democratic aspects of organization must take precedence over the mechanics of structure. A camp that tries to operate "by the book" and does not promote a spirit of cooperation, fellowship or group feeling among those within the chain-of-command and those who are merely "foot soldiers" will fail in its fundamental task. The structure must be viewed and considered and operate as but a means to meeting the needs of the members of the total camp community, and not as an end in itself. The welfare of the individual is really
the primary consideration of the efficient structure. A camp which fosters participatory democracy will, first of all, involve the various members of the camp community in developing the Table of Organization and help evolve an interpretation of the relationships, responsibilities and delegation of authority implied by the design of the structure. This is an excellent way for all members of the staff to learn about organizational problems, methods, goals and purposes of the camp and the nature of leadership. At the same time everyone will learn the functions for which various individuals and groups are responsible and the definite procedures the camp provides for relating these individuals and groups to each other. How the staff will function within the proscribed structure is in large measure the major responsibility of the camp director. We shall investigate this phenomenon later in the chapter.

b. Job Descriptions and Qualifications Required by Camps

The kind of personnel that will be needed in a camp will be determined to a large extent by the aims and objectives of that camp. The quality and the number of personnel are simply a means of moving toward these aims and objectives. The camp director (and in agency camps, the camp committee) should have clearly in mind the general aim of the camp and what the camp is attempting to accomplish with the campers. Once the general aims have been formulated, the specific objectives for its accomplishment should be formulated. Until these factors are clearly stated, it is well nigh impossible to build an intelligent personnel policy, because the type of personnel to be
recruited will depend upon these aims and objectives.4

Personnel policies and practices have evolved in varying ways and involved a variety of persons and groups in the camps in our study. In the Private camps the personnel policy is usually developed by the owner who is assisted by his Camp Director. Some of the camps sponsored by organizations assign this task to a sub-committee on personnel of the camp committee. This committee generally includes the Camp Director and, in a few cases, Program Directors if they have a record of continued employment at the camp. Democratically operated camps involve the leadership staff in evaluating the personnel practices of the previous season and encourage recommendations for needed changes or improvements. A full personnel policy ordinarily includes statements related to qualifications and standards, compensation and peripheral benefits, conditions of work, methods of evaluation and appraisal and provides job descriptions and specifications.

The Standards of the American Camping Association are quite explicit in requiring that the camp have written personnel policies.

This is a prepared and written statement which provides the staff with information and policies on remuneration, time off, absence from work—because of sickness, medical examinations, insurance provided or required, cause for dismissal, job description, evaluations, personal conduct, conditions of service. This material is prepared without reference to a specific person and is provided to each staff before terms of service are agreed upon. Information found in general correspondence is not considered to be written personnel policies and practice.5

As we see, job descriptions are an integral part of the camp's personnel policies. Basically, they are simply descriptions of the jobs in the camp structure which are best developed by analyzing each position in light of the realities of life in the particular camp as experienced by the staff members themselves. Job descriptions take many forms. Some camp directors feel that informal, verbal interpretations of tasks to be done are best. They are concerned lest a formal written description limit and narrow a position too concisely and are worried about the many additional needs that invariably arise beyond the specifics of the agreement. They prefer to deal in general descriptive verbal terms than in specific written formulations. On the other hand, the American Camping Association requires camps desirous of accreditation to have carefully prepared written job descriptions for each position which is used in selecting and supervising staff.6

5 Standards, p. 16. 6 Ibid., p. 15.
Some of the reasons which motivated the American Camping Association to insist on this requirement include factors which are important to both the camp and to the employee.

For example:

1. Written descriptions, shared by all staff members, bring unity of understanding and definiteness of purpose.
2. Verbal descriptions lead to misunderstandings, confusion, and overlapping of effort.
3. Written descriptions give status to the position, and build pride in the worker toward his job.
4. Written descriptions provide supervisors (often the director himself) with a readily-available reminder of the ground to be covered by each worker.
5. Written descriptions provide the director with a blueprint for planning around each year's staff.
6. Written descriptions are the surest way of assuring prospective staff people that the camp is efficiently administered, and that concern for its personnel is uppermost in its thinking. It serves as an aid in recruitment of staff.
7. Job descriptions for each position provide the director with an excellent manual for interpreting the whole personnel picture to lay people, interested parents and others.
8. Written job descriptions serve as an objective basis for staff appraisal.
9. Written descriptions help staff plan. For example, they need to know from the beginning that reports are expected periodically and at the close of camp.
10. Each member of staff wants to understand clearly what his job entails; where to turn for help and guidance; how he fits into the overall picture; to whom he is responsible; with whom
he works, their jobs in relation to his, and how they interrelate.7

As noted on several occasions, this study is not intended to serve as a manual for the Jewish summer camp. It is therefore not my intention to project a job description for all positions in the camp. Such information is readily available for those who desire it. However, in order to properly discuss the minimum general and Jewish educational qualifications of program staff, as viewed and reported in my questionnaires, in which approximately sixty of the 100 camps responded, it will be necessary to briefly summarize rather typical job descriptions of the camp director, assistant director, head counselor, program director, specialists (varied), counselors and counselors-in-training. After each job description I shall indicate the qualification requirements noted by the responses within the various categories of camps, with my comments.

First, it should be noted that the responses to the questionnaires were completed, in almost every case, by the Director of the camp. The qualification requirements were consequently tinged with subjective, personal criteria. The tendency seemed to be to describe the qualifications

7Camp Administrative Forms and Suggested Procedures in the Area of Personnel (Martinsville, Ind.: American Camping Association, 1956), p. 6 and Camp Staff--Job Descriptions (Martinsville, Ind.: American Camping Association, no date), p. 3 (mimeographed).
required for the job in terms of one's personal qualifications. For example, if a director had five years' experience, this became a qualification; if he had fifteen years of experience, this was listed as a requirement. In the case of the other job descriptions, in my opinion, most of them were descriptive of the persons who were currently filling the jobs, and not of the jobs themselves. This is contrary to the principle advocated by the American Camping Association which points out that the job description is "written material that describes the responsibilities and duties of each camp position without reference to a specific individual"\(^8\) (italics mine). However, for the purposes of this study, the procedure actually followed by the Camp Directors is even more illuminating, since it gives us a more accurate picture of what is, rather than what should theoretically be.

Before finally turning to the specific individual job descriptions it is necessary to comment on the fact that there are general qualifications and areas of responsibility that affect all camp staff positions, regardless of the particular job. These factors must be assumed to be present in all the job descriptions which are to follow, and include:

1. Good moral character, integrity and self-discipline.

\(^8\)Standards, p. 15.
2. Good physical health and vigor.

3. Emotional maturity and mental health including self-acceptance as a Jew.

4. Love for children and the proper judgment to place the individual and group camper needs and the needs of the camp before personal desires.

5. Enjoyment of outdoor living.

6. Interest in contributing to the achievement of the goals and objectives of the camp, general and Jewish.

7. Ability to work as a member of a group.

8. Understanding and acceptance of the philosophy of the camp and particularly its Jewish purposes.

9. Willingness to participate actively in staff conferences and meetings.

10. Ability to develop criteria for one's own job performance.

11. Preparedness to keep all necessary records and render reports.

12. Assumption of responsibility to maintain all equipment and property of camp in safe operating condition.

13. Readiness to enforce all camp rules and regulations.9

This list is by no means exhaustive and merely highlights the personality characteristics and the type of job performance expected from all camp personnel.

Specific job descriptions may be formulated in many

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9This listing was adapted from a formulation of "General Items Affecting All Staff Positions" in Camp Staff-Job Descriptions, op. cit., p. 2.
ways but generally contain the following information:

1. Title of the position
2. To whom responsible
3. General responsibilities
   a. Degree of responsibility and performance expected
4. Specific duties
5. Qualifications
   a. Prior training and experience
   b. Skills and interests desired
6. The relationship of the position to other positions in the camp, as well as to the camp's total program.10

As already noted in our discussion of the camp Table of Organization, the position of highest authority and ultimate responsibility is that of the Camp Director.

In an agency camp, for example, a camp sponsored by a Center or a "Y," the Camp Director may be responsible to the executive director of the agency or to an independent Board of Directors of the camp that has been established by the agency. In the case of organization camps, such as those operated by the other camps in our study, except for the Private camps, the Camp Director may be responsible to a national or local camp committee or commission of a national organization with local affiliates as is the case with a

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10Camp Administrative Forms, op. cit., p. 5.
number of Zionist camps, or to a Board of Directors or Board of a Foundation which sponsors the camp, as happens with the Philanthropic camps. In some instances, the Camp Director may be held responsible to more than one body and may even be employed by joint personnel committees. Technically the Denominational/Conservative camps are operated through a National Commission with a national director of all camps, but local camp committees have prerogatives as well. In Private camps the Camp Director is responsible to the owner.

In 1962, the New York Metropolitan section of the National Jewish Welfare Board prepared a job analysis for resident camp directors which was to serve as a guide for "trained social workers hired as directors of agency-sponsored resident camps..."\(^{11}\) The job descriptions included the following items:

1. Working with the Executive Director and the Board Committee of the Agency in the overall budgeting, planning and organization of camp.

2. Hiring of all staff, program, kitchen and maintenance, in consultation with the Executive Director of the Agency and Program Director of the camp.

3. Supervising the maintenance staff in general upkeep and repairs of camp facilities and grounds, and in the readying and closing of the camp facilities and grounds.

4. Responsible for purchases necessary to open, maintain, and close the camp facilities, equipment and grounds.

5. Responsible for preparation, purchase, smooth operation and proper closing of the kitchen equipment, supplies and food; and for maintaining adequate sanitary and health standards.

6. Works with public authorities in maintaining adequate health standards for kitchen, infirmary and general housekeeping.

7. Responsible for the supervision of the general health and welfare of campers and staff.

8. Responsible for the camp budget preparation and follow through in consultation with the Executive Director and Camp Committee.

9. Responsibility for publicity to "Y" members and other prospective campers.

10. Registration of campers and/or supervision of camp Registrar.

11. Responsible for the planning and moving of staff, campers and baggage to and from the "Y" and the camp site.

12. Responsible for the over-all planning and operation of the total camp administration including channels of communication with the sponsoring agency; the fiscal operation of camp, staff scheduling, camp office policies and procedures, etc., in consultation with the Executive Director.

13. Prepares an annual report for the Executive Director and camp committee which includes the administration, organization and operation of the over-all program, the total staff, maintenance of kitchen and infirmary inventories, budget, camper statistics, and recommendations for the following year.
14. Hires all program staff in consultation with the Executive Director and supervises the program director when this is delegated.

15. Responsible for carrying out the sponsoring agency's policies and goals in the program at camp with campers and staff.

16. Responsible for the over-all in-service training of camp staff.

17. Responsible for the over-all evaluations of the camp operation and staff; and, in particular, for evaluations of the Program Director, the camp office staff, the kitchen and maintenance staff, and the camp nurse or physician.

The American Camping Association, in a much more succinct yet perceptive listing of the general broad responsibilities of the camp director suggests the following:

1. Recruit, select, train and assign the entire camp staff.

2. Direct the supervision of the Assistant Director (Head Counselor or Program Director) and certain other key staff as determined by the camp director.

3. Develop and carry out position relationships with campers, staff and parents.

4. Plan and carry out the budget and business operation.

5. Lead in the determination of camp objectives and policies.

6. Participate in camp activities to the extent necessary for proper awareness and supervisory functioning.

7. Develop procedures, routines and practices for the camp operation.

8. Write camp reports and evaluations based on observation, discussion by campers and staff, and conferences.

9. Maintain ACA (and other) Standards at the
site.

10. Provide for effective staff and camper organization to carry out the program.

The above description requires much more initiative, imagination, ability to involve others and exhibit leadership capabilities than the first description. However, both make it sufficiently clear that the position of Camp Director is a demanding, high level job which requires unusual educational leadership qualifications and attributes of character and personality which will enable the individual to function with children and adults, the mature and immature, the qualified and trained and the untrained, the professional and the layman, the skilled and the unskilled, the committed and the uncommitted. In a camp purportedly dedicated to Jewish ideals and with some degree of Jewish programming, camps sponsored by Jewish communal agencies supported by Jewish communal funds, the role of the Camp Director in "... carrying out the sponsoring agency's policies and goals in the program at camp with campers and staff," as expressed in the Jewish Welfare Board's job description (see p. 370 above) or in "5" of the American Camping Association description, is central and crucial. One should be logically assume that included among the many qualifications needed by a person seeking the position of Camp Director would be Jewish education, background,
identification, previous job experiences in a Jewish agency and skills and interests in Jewish programmatic activities. As we shall see, this is not necessarily the case in a large number of our one hundred camps.

In addition to the Jewish qualifications of Camp Directors, which I believe are essential if the stated Jewish purposes of the camps are to be realized, the American Camping Association has established other minimal qualifications for this position. These include a requirement that the Camp Director be twenty-five years of age or older, have had an education or training related to camping within three years previous to his appointment, hold a degree in a related field from a college or university, had at least sixteen weeks of prior administrative and/or supervisory experience in an organized camp and have had direct responsibilities, as an adult, for continuous leadership of at least one organized sustained group of any type.\textsuperscript{12}

Listed below are some of the typical responses by camps in the various categories of our study when asked to indicate the minimum general and Jewish educational qualifications, if any, they required for the position of Camp Director.

Of five Federation camps responding, three listed no special qualifications at all; two required the director

\textsuperscript{12}Standards, p. 18.
to hold an M.S.W. degree. Of the eight Federation camps in the study I can attest to the above-average Jewish educational qualifications of only one director.

Eighteen of the twenty-five Center camps responded. Of these, five listed no particular qualifications. Of the remaining thirteen, six required an M.S.W. and experience; one simply stated, "mature, with experience"; another required a B.S. in Social Work; still another listed "social worker or teacher"; one called for "experience and education," without describing either; one noted that the Camp Director had to be a member of the full time Center staff; yet another stated "in our service fifteen years now"—no indication of qualifications at all; and, finally, one camp among the eighteen that responds "Masters degree—Soc. Admin.—Hebrew School, High School plus." In deciphering this notation and determining that it was descriptive of the Camp Director employed, it should read Master's degree in School Administration. Graduated a Hebrew High School and attended classes on a collegiate level of Judaic study.

One of the three Educational camps that responded, included were statements that the Camp Director must be "a Jewish educator by profession" or "have an intensive Jewish education and administrative experience in camping." Among the four camps that did not respond one was connected
with a Hebrew Institute and employed staff personnel, a second employed a rabbi as director, a third was privately owned and directed by a professional Jewish educator, and the fourth was conducted by a national Jewish organization.

None of the Yiddish camps responded to this question. Having visited four of the five camps, I can attest to the fact that during varied summers of my visits, the directors of three of these camps knew not a word of Yiddish, or very little at most. In the case of one camp, the director was a Yiddish educator.

Among the Zionist camps the qualifications for Camp Director are quite varied. Several of the camps indicate a Master's Degree in some allied field and Jewish background. Jewish background is not defined. However, since almost all Zionist camps require that the director be either a member of the youth movement sponsoring the camp, a graduate of that youth movement, preferably one who has gone on aliya and is recruited for camp service, or is a shaliah from Israel to the youth movement, it is assumed that, as products of the youth movement education itself, a Jewish background is present. The ideological commitment is assumed. In addition, several of the camps add such requirements as, "complete knowledge of camping," "much experience, mature, multi-skilled," "Hebrew College training or its equivalent," "A.C.A. Standards," "Jewish
education by profession."

Among the Denominational camps of all suasions, the one most explicit about requirements and qualifications for the position of camp director was from a Ramah camp, which noted the following:

Intensive Judaic background, speak Hebrew fluently, familiarity with and acceptance of the Conservative Movement and its ideology, committed to Jewish values and observances, theoretical orientation in education or related fields, practical experience working with children, character references, and at least one year's experience at Ramah is preferred.

Other Denominational/Conservative camps were not as specific. In two other cases they simply noted that the candidate's qualifications are to be either determined or approved by the "National office" or the "Jewish Theological Seminary." College graduates and "highly skilled professional" were noted. The major field of study, or what the professional skill was to consist of, was not defined.

The Denominational/Traditional did not take time to reply. In all cases, the director of the camp is a rabbi, undoubtedly traditionally educated, perhaps even a talmudic scholar. What his qualifications are to direct a children's summer resident camp are yet to be determined.

Five of the seven Denominational/Reform camps responded. Interestingly enough, only one listed Jewish
studies among the requirements. One called for a minimum age of thirty-five years above the recommended minimum of the A.C.A.; one asked for college training but did not indicate the field; another required at least five years in administration.

Two explanations may be offered to account for the fact that Jewish background is not required as a qualification for this position in these camps. On the one hand, those who answered the questionnaire may have assumed the Jewish background to be self-evident since it was a Denominational camp. In the second place, the Camp Directors in these camps then function primarily in administrative capacities, and the educational programming is in the hands of a program director, who is invariably a Reform rabbi.

Attention should also be drawn to the fact that while the Denominational camps that responded addressed themselves to the Jewish qualifications of their camp director, they were either silent or quite brief in their description of the general qualifications required. This is a complete reversal of the data we found among the Federation, Philanthropic and Center Camps, where the major emphasis was on the general with little attention given the Jewish qualifications. This simple statistic carries the essence of the basic and fundamental differences between the categories of camps.
The Hebrew camp requires that all key personnel be "graduates of a Hebrew college as well as a college of general studies, have a religious background, fluency in Hebrew speech and camping experience."

The qualifications for the position of Assistant Director in a camp are generally quite similar to those of the director. Essentially he must be the kind of person and have the ability to take responsibility for the operation of the camp in the absence of the director. He is ordinarily responsible to the director, serves as his right arm, and assumes direct responsibility for those areas of administration or program as assigned by the director. He may be called upon to act as a supervisor of specified staff, to coordinate all or parts of the program, give guidance and aid to staff on all levels.

The responses of the camps in our study to the general and Jewish qualifications required for this position follow an almost identical pattern with those requirements noted for the position of director, with some interesting exceptions.

In the case of one Center camp, for example, where no mention of Jewish background was made for the position of director, the Assistant Director is expected to have "positive Jewish background." As a matter of fact, a "teacher with previous camping experience" is
listed as preferred. This probably reflects the condition at camp which required the director to be part of the year-round Center staff. To balance the director, an experienced group worker and an am ha'aretz, his assistant, was to be a Jewishly educated educator.

A large proportion of the camps in the study do not have Assistant Directors. None of the Private camps do; neither did any of the Educational camps. In the other categories, the practice varied, depending upon structure and Table of Organization. Some of the very large Federation and Center camps have Assistant Directors and several of them on a full-time, year-round basis. Among the Zionist camps, the Israel shaliah oftentimes serves in this capacity.

A job analysis or description has recently been prepared by the Jewish Community Camps of Montreal. This description has been circularized around the country in an attempt to recruit staff. I offer this description below, for the position of Head Counselor, for I believe it illustrates one of the central and basic problems facing Jewish camping in America.

**Head Counselor**

1. Supervised by the Camp Director
2. Supervisory Responsibilities
   (a) Responsibility for camp of approximately 150 to 200 children and counselor staff, section staff and specialists and other assigned resource staff.
(b) To interpret and execute rules and regulations of the Camp Administration.

3. Areas of Responsibility

(a) Stimulation, guidance and supervision of respective section program and cabin counselors.

(b) Proper functioning of administrative and camp routines affecting campers and staff in the sections, e.g., laundry, canteen, curfew, time-off, etc.

(c) Preparation and handling of over-all pre-camp and in-service training programs. Review with section heads plans for section in-service program.

(d) Prepare for bunking of campers and camper arrival and departure in consultation with the Camp Director.

(e) Plan for formal supervisory conferences and records.

(f) Determine, in consultation with the Camp Director, desirable handling of individual camper problems.

(g) Prepare or review program reports, staff evaluations and summaries on each camper.

(h) Preparation of program material, resource lists, attendance at in-city conferences as well as participation in post-camp evaluations.

(i) Concern with and participation in planning for maintenance of general and camp staff morale.

(j) Supervise the purchase and maintenance of all Arts and Crafts and Hiking supplies and equipment. Maintain adequate standards of care of arts and crafts shop and hiking storeroom. Supply inventory for arts and crafts shop and hiking equipment at the end of the season.
4. Requirements

Graduate of School of Social Work, education or allied fields.

Minimum age of twenty five years.

Extensive previous supervising experience in a camp setting.

It should be noted that to all intents and purposes the Head Counselor in a large camp is tantamount to a director of a small camp. The Jewish Community Camps are a constituent member of the Allied Jewish Community Services and beneficiaries of the Combined Jewish Appeal. In its statement of program objectives, listed and lost as point number four are "experiences which would help campers feel a sense of belonging to the Jewish people through satisfying experience in the cultural areas of Jewish life." A review of the job description and of the requirements listed for the job, in no way indicate that the Head Counselor will be employed by a Jewish camp with Jewish purposes, that his responsibilities include carrying out such responsibilities in a knowledgeable, forthright manner which requires that he be qualified to do so. There is not a word in the requirements for the job about Jewish qualifications necessary to carry out the responsibilities of the position!

If anything, the requirement standards in both general and Jewish educational qualification for this position are lower than for either Director or Assistant
Director.

The position of Program Director is variously described, depending upon how the individual camp is structured. In some camps this position and that of Head Counselor are basically the same. In large camps this may be a Specialist position with the person serving as a program consultant to all echelons of camp. In the Denominational/Reform camps this position designates the actual Educational Director of the camp. In many of the Zionist camps the Program Director, whatever his name equivalent may be, is primarily responsible for the more formal aspects of the camp educational program—classes, discussion groups, Sabbath programming and the like. The American Camping Association lowers the minimum acceptable age for this position to twenty-one, calls for two years leadership experience in organized camping, a knowledge of group process and its relationship to program implementation and skill in a variety of camp activities. Responsible to the Camp Director, his specific responsibilities would include consulting with the Camp Director relative to suggestions for improvement of activities and general camp experiences; coordinate program of various units; supervise the work of unit leaders and/or specialists when delegated this responsibility; help counselors understand the group process in program planning; plan with campers and/or staff representatives for all
camp programs and surprises; be available for camper and counselor consultation.

The most explicit description of qualifications and requirements sought after by one of the camps in our study for this position is the following:

Previous experience in camping (administrative and supervisory level), Master's in either social work or education--graduate of a College of Jewish Studies or its equivalent, acceptance of camp philosophy and Jewish educational objectives, camping and other programming skills--ability to introduce Jewish programming into camp activities, ability to get along well with people and handle problems and situations, and sense of humor and good health.

The above description was offered by an Educational camp and is noteworthy in that it is one of the exceptions which proves the more general rule. Aside from a few similar, if briefer, statements by other Educational and Denominational/Conservative and Reform camps, the overwhelming majority of the other camps are completely silent about requirements for Jewish qualifications for their program staff. There are some exceptions, of course. Among the Center camps, two camps, which made no mention of a Jewish requirement for the other positions, described for Program Director, "Basic Hebrew or Religious school," and "Basic Judaic knowledge of history etc."

As indicated before, the number and scope of Specialty Counselors in any given camp varies with the programmatic objectives, the size of the camp, fees charged
and over-all budget. Many camps, for example, have no sports specialists at all, and depend on regular counselors to carry out the sports program. Other camps do have one sports specialist, to organize and coordinate the over-all sports program. Many of the Private camps, and some camps in other categories, have sports specialists for almost every sport played in camp. There are, however, a few areas of specialization which most camps recognize and consequently employ specialists for these positions.

Every camp has a waterfront specialist. Many camps have been finding it more and more difficult to find Jewish waterfront specialists, and, if the camp does employ non-Jewish personnel, chances are that the non-Jew will be found at the waterfront. The requirements for this position are generally very assiduously followed. The specialist must have a Red Cross instructor's certificate, have previous experience as a waterfront instructor with extensive camp experience and be a minimum of twenty-one years of age. Some of the smaller camps, particularly among the Zionist camps, may settle for a Senior lifesaver to head their swim program. It can be argued that this is a position clearly in the area of health and safety and that no Jewish qualifications need be required. However, where the waterfront specialist, having all the general qualifications, is also Jewishly educated, even the waterfront can
be utilized for informal Jewish programming. A single example may suffice to illustrate this fact. Many camps use the "buddy system" for added control and safety of swimmers. Children are paired and held responsible for each other in the water and therefore no single child can either wander off or slip beneath the surface unnoticed. To assure control, the lifeguard numbers each pair of "buddies" and blows his whistle from time to time, at which time the two youngsters must be within arm's reach of each other and, in consecutive order, call out their number for identification. I have visited camps where children have learned to count in Hebrew because the lifeguard assigned Hebrew numbers to each pair of "buddies," and the twice a day repetition, for four or eight weeks, reinforced the learning of the Hebrew numbers.

Almost all camps have arts and crafts specialists. They are generally supervised by the Head counselor and are responsible for facilities, equipment, purchasing, inventories, and pre- and post-camp work, under the direction of the Camp Director. Among the areas of responsibility in which they function are included the following:

Serve as resource in arts and crafts to Division Heads, Senior counselors and counselors as required by the Head Counselor in the assigned units.

Provide technical and advanced skill in crafts to the general staff and camper groups as assigned by the Camp Director.
Assume responsibility for training and organizing the arts and crafts counselors to share in the responsibilities. This includes pre-camp and in-service training programs.

Here, too, the qualifications and requirements listed for this position, rarely mention the Jewish component. Some of the camps, recognizing the key role these specialists play in programming, go to great lengths and much trouble and spend considerable money to find such specialists who are Jewishly oriented. The Ramah camps, for example, in recruiting Israeli staff, concentrate on employing only specialists. The Hebrew camp also takes special pains in this area. The educational camps are consistent in their qualification requirements for all staff positions. The Zionist camps generally cannot afford top-rate specialists, but do make an effort to secure members of their youth movement who are art or music students and who, in addition to their regular duties as madrikhim, can enrich the arts programs.

Other specialists more frequently found in camps include music personnel, campcraft authorities, nature specialists. However, it is of interest to note that twenty-five different categories of specialists were listed by the sixty camps responding to the questionnaire. These included:
Arts
Athletics
Boating, sailing or canoeing
Campcraft
Crafts
Dancing
Dramatics
Folk dancing
Hebrew and Culture
Hebrew teacher
Horseback riding
Israeli dance and song
Jewish culture
Jewish education program
Music
Nature craft
Pioneering
Photography
Singing
Sports
Special Activity counselors
Swimming instructor
Tripping or Hiking
Waterfront
Wrangler
Codifying and categorizing the responses with regard to the minimum qualifications and requirements in both general and Jewish educational background proved no different among the specialists as compared to the other already described positions. The previous trends, with minor variations, persisted. In arts and crafts, camps generally looked for college graduates or students majoring in the area. The few camps that required "Graduate of Art school—Experience in Hebrew art" or "Jewish arts and crafts" or "Hebrew background, religious commitment in consonance with camp, have art education training," were the same camps that require Jewish qualifications from their other staff. The lack of reference to Jewish qualifications by the other camps applied to almost all of their other staff positions.

In the area of waterfront, only one camp added a Jewish qualification to the general requirements.

The Educational, Denominational/Conservative and Reform, the Zionist camps, the Hebrew camp, invariably included in their description of the qualifications of the dance specialist, a person who had experience in Israeli dance and choreography and "Jewish dance." This qualification appeared less frequently or not at all in the other categories of camps.

The music specialist, where used, followed the pattern I have been describing. The same is true of the
dramatics specialist.

Some of the specialists that specifically carry titles which are explicitly Jewish program oriented, such as Hebrew teacher, or Hebrew and Culture, come, in the main, from the same camps that have Jewish qualifications for the rest of their staff, with some exceptions. Several Center, Federation and Philanthropic camps have a specialist for "Jewish culture" who serves as the "camp rabbi." He need not be an ordained rabbi, and, as a matter of fact, usually is not. In some of the camps I visited the person fulfilling this function was either a pre-rabbinical student on an undergraduate level, a student at a Hebrew Teachers College and in some cases was the rabbi on staff at the Center.

The cabin counselor, while at the bottom of the Table of Organization, nevertheless holds a most important job, since he is the member of the staff working most directly with the campers. In the final analysis, it is the relationship, the rapport, the communication established between the counselor and the camper, that most affects the educational and socialization process in camp.

The counselor is basically responsible to his senior counselor and/or his Division head. He has the prime responsibility for the health, safety and custodial care of the campers including the planning and implementation
of bunk programs with his campers as well as special events, division-wide programs, etc. as assigned. The counselor usually works directly with a specific cabin group or groups, approximately six to eight campers, either being solely in charge or sharing this responsibility with other counselors. He is expected to participate in the pre-season training program at camp and in in-service training programs while camp is in session. Counselors are also responsible to a specific number of supervisory staff and must participate in and prepare for regular supervisory conferences. In addition, the counselor must prepare individual and group records and abide by all the rules and regulations of the camp administration such as days off procedure, curfew regulations, free time, etc. 13

The American Camping Association requires counselors to have two years of college or equivalence in experience significant for camping. 14 Some camps express this requirement by calling for a minimum age of nineteen and four semesters of college. This may be waived for students who are eighteen, who have completed two full semesters and have had acceptable work experience with children.

13 Adapted from the "Job Analysis for Cabin Counselors," prepared by Wel Met Camps of New York (mimeographed).

14 Standards, p. 18.
Many camps waive the two year college ruling if the candidate is a product of the camp and particularly of its counselor-in-training program.

In terms of the general minimum educational requirements, most camps adhere to the American Camping Association standards with variations. The majority of the camps simply list age and number of years in college; a perceptive minority note that students who are majoring in a pre-social work curriculum, in education, psychology or the social sciences will be given preference. Interestingly enough, relatively few require previous camp experience, on any level. One Federation camp seeks "mentshen"; one Philanthropic camp seems interested in the counselor being only "a good athlete."

When it comes to Jewish qualifications, we face the same redundant pattern. Among the Center camps, only two make reference to Jewish background. One prefers the counselor having had "religious or Hebrew school training" and the other asks for "Jewish orientation." The silence among all the others is thunderous.

The Zionist camps have the youngest counselors and, perhaps unexpectedly, are not at all explicit about the Jewish educational requirements of their personnel. This is generally true for almost all staff positions below the very top echelon. Membership in the organization is usually
an absolute requirement. But membership in a Zionist youth movement, aside from ideological empathy, not even ideological understanding, has little or no relationship to Jewish educational background and knowledge. The national leadership training camps of several of these youth movements serve students entering their senior year in high school and employ them as counselors when they graduate from high school at age eighteen or even younger. This follows a philosophy of "youth leading youth" which can be rationalized, if there is good and sufficient supervision at camp for these young counselors. In most instances this is not the case.

The position of counselor-in-training is related to this aspect of our study only to the extent that these young people carry out staff responsibilities. As we shall see, most C.I.T. programs were designed by camps to better attract the teen age camper to attend camp. The programs variously evolved into leadership training enterprises with practical experience as concomitants of the program, particularly in the last year of the program when the campers were seniors in high school or sixteen or seventeen years of age.

In those instances where these young people are somehow attached to staff, they serve as assistants to counselors. They may sleep in the cabin with the campers, assist in housekeeping chores, and participate in selected
aspects of the daily program. Usually, a block of time is set aside for their own training program and they are removed from the cabin group during these periods. During one summer of the Mador program at Ramah in the Poconos, several madorniks were assigned to a cabin, all sleeping with the campers, but each operated under a different schedule. On a weekly or bi-weekly rotation schedule, a madornik would be assigned full-time to the training program or full-time to the cabin activities. Campers found it rather difficult to relate, and this particular schedule was dropped the following summer. In some camps the C.I.T. is used as a "relief counselor," allowing the regular counselor time off during the day or filling in on days off. Many of these young people are assets to the camp and, perhaps owing to their natural enthusiasm, or the fact that they are closest in age to the camper and seem to be able to relate more easily to them, prove useful in program, under good supervision and guidance. Most of them are themselves paying campers and sometimes feel they are being exploited by the administration, and rightly so. They are generally young people who have been attending the camp for at least three years or are members of the youth movement.

In some instances, camps include a staff position usually called "Junior Counselor." This person is generally a high school graduate, too young to be a full-
fledged counselor, too old to be a camper, usually a product of the C.I.T. program, whose duties are similar to those described above, except that a small remuneration is provided.

The general and Jewish educational qualifications of this position are also quite similar to those described under the category of counselor and also follow the persistent trend so often alluded to throughout this discussion.

2. Recruitment of Staff

The major problem facing the resident Jewish sponsored camp today is the recruitment and selection of personnel capable of implementing the programmatic goals of the camps.

The chronic shortages of every type of personnel was again evidenced last summer and is not likely to improve this year. It affects directors, nurses, supervisors, specialists, counselors, cooks, kitchen men and porters. Several camps had to replace cooks, caretakers, supervisors and counselors during the summer due to sheer incompetency, and in the instance of three camps, the use of narcotics. Several camps opened with shortages and never had a full complement of help. . . . male supervisors, specialists and counselors are of course the most difficult group to find.15

The "chronic shortages" and the struggles camps have in the recruitment process are due to a number of factors.

We are told, on the one hand, that

... the labor force available from 1965 to 1970 will also experience a change in that there will be fewer men to choose from. From 1965 to 1970 there will be a gross increase in the number of men and women in the labor force but the percentage change of the number of men under 25 years of age will drop considerably.\textsuperscript{16}

and on the other hand, that

... the number of new college graduates will rise sharply in the coming decade and the number of persons with Masters and Ph.D. degrees will double. A substantial increase in the number of persons reaching 18 years of age occurred in 1965 and this level will continue until 1970. This will result in a 67% increase in college students between 1965 and 1975. This increase will provide a greater pool of potential workers who can be recruited by camps providing the job content, interest and salary are attractive.\textsuperscript{17}

The Federation (New York) Employment and Guidance Service Camp Counselor Placement Unit for 1967 in its report on activities describes a survey it conducted among counselors placed during the 1966 season who did not accept work as counselors and asked their reasons for not accepting such employment. Fifty-five per cent of those recommended for camp placement did not accept camp jobs. Most of these young people took a variety of summer jobs in the city, all of which seemingly paid more than the camp job under consideration. Twenty


\textsuperscript{17}Ibid.
decided to attend summer school, several decided to travel and have a vacation of their own, a few were called to military service, two got married, and several did not respond. The primary reason given for not taking the camp job was that they wanted a "better job" or "the salary was too low."¹⁸

Military service, full employment even during the summer, and high salary demands are a difficult trio of factors to counteract. In addition, it is suggested, "that the continued expansion of day-camping, with its lesser hours and freer evenings and week-ends, plus higher salaries prevents the camps from exploiting (year-round personnel employed by the sponsoring agency) even further."¹⁹

Any optimism based upon the statistics of increased college enrollment and the greater potential source of staff this implies, must be tempered by realistically facing the phenomenon of the "new" world for vast numbers of these youth. Their revolt against the "establishment" and its values frequently includes the camp and its organizational structure. Many of these young people will not even apply for positions in an organized camp since they refuse to


¹⁹Berger, p. 45.
function in a structured society. Camp directors are discovering that those who are marginal and still willing to come to camp must be carefully guided and supervised, since they are proving to be potential sources of anti-establishment behavior. Overly permissive attitudes toward sex and drugs, authority and conformity are such that careful screening and in-take procedures for staff must be followed even more assiduously than in the past.

Still another deterrent to recruitment is the fact that young people are marrying at a younger age and beginning to raise families during their college years. They may be willing to consider camp jobs if their families are able to accompany them to camp. Adequate staff housing and the willingness of camp administrators to re-evaluate and re-structure the role of staff in relation to housing with campers is becoming a matter for greater consideration by some camps. A number of camps are providing more facilities for married couples, assigning them to regular camp duties, and using Junior counselors to sleep-in with campers. Some camps have organized small day-camps just for staff children, to allow their parents the freedom of staff responsibilities during the day. Adequate housing for non-married staff is also a matter of increasing importance.

An overriding principle which permeates the
thinking in more and more camps is the concept that the
camp, as a total community must offer a humanized environ-
ment for all the inhabitants, employees as well as campers.
Camp Directors are recognizing the fact that staff are
also service clients and an essential part of the total
growth process which is ongoing throughout the camp
environment. While the child-camper is still the primary
focus, the social, educational (general and Jewish) and
recreational needs of staff are being given greater
attention. This is being done, hopefully, because it
represents a sound approach; pragmatically, because
attending to these needs may attract staff.

We have already noted the special recreational
halls, canteens and lodges camps are building exclusively
for staff use during time-off periods. Aside from the
facilities, prospective candidates for staff positions
are much concerned about time-on and time-off schedules.
Some camps employ a full-time staff person whose sole
responsibility lies in programming for staff, arranging
transportation for days-off, coordinating staff projects
and social events and the like.

Indeed, maybe we have to decide whether camp
ought to bring in a three-piece combo to provide
Saturday night dance music for staff or implement
plans to offer a salient course for college credit
in cooperation with a neighboring college.20

20 Al Maxman, "Staff Recruiting—Internal Sources."
A paper presented at the Conference of Full-Time Executives
The quality of the training opportunities and the supervision available at camp helps attract the more serious minded, vocationally oriented young men and women. College students will travel across the continent to work in a camp with a reputation for excellence. The better the camp, the more varied and "richer" the program, the more easily it can recruit staff.

A glimmer of the enormity of the staff recruitment problem may be better understood by the following listing of the total number of staff employed by just twenty-one camps during the 1969 season.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Camp</th>
<th>Staff</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wel-Met</td>
<td>700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Jersey &quot;Y&quot;</td>
<td>548</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philadelphia &quot;Y&quot;</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamarack</td>
<td>290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surprise Lake</td>
<td>252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chai</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. C. A.</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bronx House</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montreal &quot;Y&quot;</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barney Medentz</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wooden Acres</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lakeland</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wise</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kingswood</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morasha</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ramah, Pa.</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swig, UAHC</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harlam, UAHC</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Galil</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pinemere</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>3,822</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The American Camping Association census of organized camping in the United States noted that the approximate 12,600 organized camps in the United States of Jewish Communal Camps, January, 1968, p. 1 (mimeographed). Mr. Maxman is a Branch Director of Wel-Met Camps, New York.
in 1951 were served by 168,251 staff members. If anything, the trend has been upward since 1951. The study noted in 1953 that "For the past few years, securing competent camp personnel has proven to be one of the most difficult problems facing camp executives." If anything, the problem has worsened. If recruiting competent staff for all camps is critical, the problem of recruiting competent Jewish staff for Jewish programmed camps is even more severe.

a. Procedures for Recruitment

Preliminary to beginning the process of assembling candidates for the various staff positions in camp is, as we have seen, the formulation of job descriptions which clearly reflect the aims and objectives of the camp as well as the specific requirements for the particular position. The various jobs and the numbers of individuals needed for each position must also be charted on a Table of Organization, which serves as a work-board during the recruitment period. The Camp Director should be able to visualize his staff needs on a daily basis, as "slots" are filled and positions remain open.

The entire process of recruitment generally begins

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months before the opening of camp, at least in those camps with full-time directors, or even part-time directors on a year-round contract. Most of the 100 camps in our study are actively involved in the recruitment work by December, with the exception of the Zionist camps. Among them, the Young Judea camps are the exception; the others, not really operating with professional Camp Directors, rarely assemble their staff until the last critical days before the camps open, with obvious results.

The most professionally run camps, and these are to be found in all categories, actually begin preliminary negotiations for the following season while the present season is in operation. They view recruitment as a continuous process which must be ongoing and have an integrated total approach throughout the year on all levels and on all occasions.

Sources for recruitment are twofold—internal and external. The primary sources for internal recruitment include current and previous staff members, campers and parents.

Parents may be utilized as sources for staff in several ways. In some instances the parent himself may be a potential candidate for a staff position. Several camps I have visited used parents as medical personnel, for example. These are difficult positions to fill, and
by dividing the summer into two, three or four week periods to accommodate the vacation schedule of physicians, they agreed to serve on staff. Parents are of limited help as direct candidates, The satisfied parent, who understands and appreciates the camp program and can relate to the camp by virtue of its affect on his own children, may be able to assist in referring young people who meet specified minimum standards and who, in their opinion, would be the kind of person they believe they would want to work with their children. Hundreds of parents thus become scouts for personnel.

Campers are sources for staff in several ways. First, there are those campers who have participated in the camp's own counselor-in-training program. Secondly, there are old camper lists. Camps also have alumni; some camps are even trying to formalize the organization of such groups. Young adults, who themselves lived at the camp, may be amenable to return as a member of staff. Third, a number of camps provide intermediary jobs for youngsters in the age group between camper and staff, to keep contact open. They may be hired as clerks, kitchen aids, office workers, waiters, and the like, in the hope that when they reach counselor age they will give their first camp job consideration to the camp that carried them during their older adolescent years. Unfortunately, data are not available with regard
to the number of "old" campers who return to become members of staff. Such information would provide interesting insight into the "success" of the camp. The one camp for which I have such information indicated that only 10 per cent of the staff consisted of "old campers." This figure seems quite low. However, until additional research is conducted and comparative percentages are available, no meaningful comments can be made.

 Recruiting previous staff members who proved their méttle is a primary source of staff. The retention and long-term continuity of veteran staff is unquestionably a mark of professionalism and a measure of a successful camp.

 The "secret weapon" of the New Jersey "Y" Camps is undoubtedly the substantial continuity of quality staff. Even in this highly unstable personnel market, the statistics reveal a significant return of seasoned, selected people, ready to carry on the camp's tradition of service. Although the program staff of all camps was increased almost 45%, the percentage of such staff who were returned was 38%. This would have been the equivalent of 54% of the 1968 staff.23

 A retention rate of 54 per cent is unusual. Another Center camp reports a retention rate of 72 per cent, with "some returning for as much as their tenth year with us as staff members."24 This is quite extraordinary


and quite atypical. The highest retention rate among staff is to be found on the supervisory and specialist level. Counselors may return for two or three seasons and in some cases, progress from job to job. This depends upon their final vocational choice which may free them during the summer for camping. This is characteristic of teachers, some social workers, and some students who continue on the graduate level throughout their twenties. The older, well established, successful camps generally have higher retention rates. The Zionist camps have the lowest retention rates, since one of their primary objectives, aliyah, is self-destructive from the point of view of American camping. One Habonim camp which had a program staff of forty in 1969 saw twenty-three members of the staff go on aliyah. It also follows, of course, that the poorly operated camps, which offer little in the way of programming or facilities, do not re-attract staff.

Recruiting previous staff members cannot, however, be taken for granted, even under the best of camping conditions. Each person must be spoken to individually to discuss, in depth, a possible job offer with increased job responsibilities, or, if the job is to be essentially the same, increased benefits. Since few young people are either willing or able to commit themselves a full year in advance, while preliminary discussions can be carried
out at the end of the camp season, communication must continue throughout the year, or at least until the candidate makes his decision one way or the other. Many camps prepare newsletters specifically for staff; hold reunions for staff; offer winter camping opportunities to keep contact. Previous staff is also utilized, sometimes on a paid basis, to search for likely candidates.

The external sources for staff recruitment are quite varied and sometimes even imaginative. Camps may use their own resources, combine with other camps or associations of camps or make use of community employment services, including Federal, State, and Municipal agencies, and agencies sponsored by the Jewish community.

The Federation Employment and Guidance Service (FEGS) Camp Counselor Placement Unit is financed, in part, by a grant from the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of New York. It is concerned with the recruitment, selection and placement of general camp counselors, primarily in Federation sponsored camps, but also in non-Federation camps affiliated with the Association of Jewish Sponsored Camps. It also serves, on a limited basis, other Jewish camps. A review of the recruitment techniques of FEGS will serve to illustrate the most commonly utilized procedures employed by most camps.

Advertising: Advertisements were placed in the daily newspapers and college newspapers on a regular and
continuing basis. Neighborhood papers were also used. Subway ads and television spot commercials are being utilized.

On-Campus Interviews: Colleges with large percentages of Jewish students in the New York area were visited. Some of the colleges give space on the campus itself and large signs announce the presence of interviewers.

Promotional literature: Material is sent to colleges, universities, libraries, community centers, synagogues, fraternal organizations, Jewish youth groups, and to other groups.

Press releases: The services offered by FEGS are described and disseminated to the entire media.

Radio and TV: Several New York stations, as a public service, make announcements on behalf of the program.

Special Ads: Additional individualized advertising was placed for camps offering specialized services or having particularly difficult recruitment problems.

Contacts: College and university placement offices and college psychology and sociology departments were individually contacted. Direct lines of communication were established with faculty. Many out-of-town schools were also reached.

Teachers Colleges: Special efforts were made to reach these institutions in five neighboring states.

Liaison: Close contact was kept with the National Jewish Welfare Board (which recruits primarily for supervisory positions) and the New York State Employment Service. In addition, liaison was established with organizations sponsoring foreign students, many of whom were interested in summer jobs as counselors.

Follow-up: Because of the shortage, particularly of qualified male applicants, a number of follow-up letters were sent to all qualified male applicants in previous season's files whose employment status was not known.

Individual camps, even those making use of FEGS, supplement their quest for personnel by broadening some of the activities described above. Many eastern camps travel
to the mid-west and south in search of counselors. College students prefer taking jobs which will require travelling, particularly if travel costs will be paid. College mobility is such that camps sometimes recruit "hometown" talent in distant places. Recruiting from all over the country raises procedural problems—interviews can rarely be arranged, for example. However, Graenum Berger reports that

... to fill the gap, counselors are being hired from all over the country by mail, without interview, and this has met with some success. Some directors believe these counselors are as good as those they select by personal interview, but most are still fearful of introducing this practice.25

Most of the large camps prepare promotional literature, usually attractive brochures, to inform the candidate clearly about the kind of camp it is and the kind of camp program offered. "Summer with us in the Poconos" is the heading on one such brochure and it goes on to describe the facilities, the group living dynamics, the presence of highly trained supervisory staff, the excellent working conditions, the location and the attractions for college youth.

Over the years, each camp, especially well established institutions, develop relationships with particular sources for staff. We have, on several occasions

25Berger, op. cit., p. 46.
noted the fact that the Zionist camps recruit from within their own membership. The Denominational/Conservative camps utilize Seminary students and students in their own Teachers Institutes as well as graduates of their own counselor-in-training programs. The Denominational/Reform also use students from Hebrew Union College or the Jewish Institute of Religion as well as products of their own Temple youth groups. A good proportion of the students in the Isaac Mayer Wise Department of Gratz College in Philadelphia are closely connected by the UAHC camp nearby. The Hebrew camp must recruit from limited sources, since all staff must be fluent in Hebrew. A large portion of the staff at Massad comes from Yeshiva University as well as from among the graduates of its own leadership training program and previous campers. Among the other categories of camps no hardfast generalizations can be made. Some camps seem to attract students from specific schools, who return to school and send back their friends or underclassmen.

Despite all the efforts expended by FEGS, and a considerable budget outlay, the results seem negligible. Of 1339 applicants, only 179 counselors were placed in Federation camps during the summer of 1967.26 FEGS

26 Ibid.
placement in all camps, Federation and non-Federation, resident and day camps, totalled only 379. The dilemma faced by the camps serviced by FEGS is that, on the one hand, there is a feeling that FEGS cannot do the job, or at least cannot do the job alone, and on the other hand, abandoning the service will certainly not produce any more counselors. We will investigate other sources of counselors shortly.

b. Selection and Employment Practices

It is a fundamental principle in staff selection that there can be no selection unless there are many more candidates than there are jobs available. We have already noted the struggle being waged by most camps to assemble candidates, and the difficulties being encountered, particularly in the area of male personnel. Some camps, in desperation, are abandoning traditional camp selection and employment practices and hiring counselors sight unseen, references unchecked, interviews waived, and with the candidate having little understanding of either the purposes and goals of the camp or of the full nature of his job.

To better understand the selection and employment process I assumed a pseudonym and sent a letter, applying

27 Report on Activities of Camp Unit, p. 4.
28 E. DeAlton Partridge, op. cit., p. 89.
for a camp position to thirty-eight camps advertised in the *New York Times*. I selected camps where the owners' names seemed to be Jewish, where the food was advertised as being either kosher or some facsimile thereof and where some mention of Jewish programming was included in the advertisement. I presented myself as a nineteen year old college sophomore with no previous camping experience and awaited the returns.

To my amazement all thirty-eight camps responded. Several offered me a job, contract enclosed. The remainder followed one of two procedures.

All of the camps enclosed application forms and most of the camps enclosed a variety of literature. Included in the literature were camp brochures designed for parents, describing the camp and its facilities and program for children. Several enclosed either a special brochure for staff or a letter describing staff opportunities at the camp. None of the camps mentioned specific salaries; some indicated salary ranges. All advised that salary arrangements would be made at the interview (except for the few that offered immediate contracts). In several instances a camp manual was included which described in rather full detail the operation of the camp and included a job description of the counselor. I was asked to complete the application form and return it, usually with a recent
picture, and told that I would then be invited to appear for an interview.

A number of the camps, while asking for an application form, provided a telephone number, and requested that I call, collect, to arrange an immediate interview. In either case, the impression was given that the job was mine for the asking.

One of my primary objectives in applying for the camp job was to gather a broad sampling of staff application forms. I was particularly interested in ascertaining whether or not these forms made any reference to the Jewish qualifications of the applicant or indicated Jewish educational requirements for the jobs. This also accounts for the type of camp I selected for my mailing.

The staff application form tells a great deal about the camp or tells very little. It tells a great deal if it is an individualized form and the camp asked for selected specific information in particular areas. A camp that pointedly asks if the applicant has "color war experience," (during which the camp is divided into two groups, a "Blue Team" and a "White Team"--and actively compete against each other, usually mainly in the area of sports), the only one of the thirty-eight to do so, tells something significant about the kind of competitive camp program one would undoubtedly find there. A camp that asks
the applicant to comment about his experience in "child
guidance" in contradistinction to the form inquiring about
"experience with children," offers a nuance which a
perceptive applicant might ponder.

Most camps use standardized forms, prepared either
by the American Camping Association or by the Association
of Private Camps; the former being the more perceptive.
For example, both forms call for vital statistics--the
ACA form asks "Must family accompany you to camp?" Both
forms reproduce a listing of camp activities--the ACA form
asks the applicant to put a numeral "1" before those
activities he can organize and teach as an expert; "2"
for those activities in which he can assist in teaching;
and "3" for those in which he himself is interested. The
Association of Private Camps form does not include "3"
apparently it is not concerned with the interests of
staff; only with their abilities vis-a-vis the campers.
Applicants would be well guided to the ACA camp.

Most of the Center camps and many of the Federation
and Philanthropic camps use a form devised by the National
Jewish Welfare Board. Variations of the forms are edited
for individual camp use. The Camp Staff Application form
of the ACA provides space for the individual camp to insert
its own name and address. Other forms are evidently
printed for camps by commercial enterprises as accommodations.
I have one camp form which advertises Macy's camp department on the back.

Most of the forms, individual or standardized, ask for approximately the same type of information about the background, experiences and particular qualities of the candidate. Generally included are such items as age, educational background, camping experience, experience with children, age group in which the candidate is interested, health, and special abilities. Some forms ask about the candidate's personal philosophy of camping, and a statement as to why the candidate is interested in a position in this particular camp as well as a projection of what he feels he may be able to contribute to the camp. References are also requested.

A number of the Private camps include the following type of question: "Are you in a position to enroll campers? If so, how many?" "How many summers do you have available for camp work?"—this last question is being asked less and less. Salary expectations are also solicited.

Of the thirty-eight camps responding to my letter of inquiry, only five sent application forms which specifically asked about my Jewish education or background. Of the five, three were Educational camps and two were Private camps. Two other camps, while not asking about Jewish background specifically in their listing of camp activities,
include "religious instruction" and "Hebrew songs and dances."

Herein lies the major failing and the central issue facing the Jewish resident summer camp. Statements of Jewish purposes notwithstanding, if camps do not actively and conscientiously seek and recruit knowledgeable and committed Jews for their staffs, no Jewish programming, on any level, will be forthcoming.

Even among those camps that pro forma include a single question about the candidate's Jewish education, the response rarely determines employment. The only full exceptions to this practice is in the Denominational/Conservative camps, the Hebrew camp, and most of the Zionist camps. Active recruitment for Jewishly oriented staff does take place among the Educational camps and is a major desideratum in employment practices among the other Denominational camps and some camps in the other categories. Little search is made for staff with Jewish background in Private camps, most Federation and Philanthropic camps, many Center camps, and four out of five of the Yiddish camps.

When camp directors were asked in questionnaires, "What are some of the major problems which you are facing in implementing the Jewish educational aims of your camp?", the overwhelming response related to "finding a Jewish staff." Discounting the camps whose answers to this
question were phrased, with variations, as follows:
"Since our aims are not primarily towards a Jewish education, our problems do not run along these lines"; most of the camps that expressed concern over the lack of "staff who are oriented and positive about their Jewishness" do not translate their concern into serious recruitment campaigns for such personnel!

In an interview I conducted with the professional workers of FEGS, it was clearly indicated that when camps applied to FEGS for counselors, they did not request counselors with Jewish backgrounds. Camps were so desperate for counselors, males in particular, that the standing joke was to send "living bodies." The recruitment procedures followed by FEGS, described previously, hardly, if ever, highlight the need for counselors who are able to contribute to Jewish programming. Obviously, if camps do not recruit such staff, or make known their need for such personnel, there will be no applicants. There are hundreds of young people, scattered among tens of camps, who do possess the Jewish education and commitment which, with proper guidance, could benefit a camp genuinely concerned with Jewish programming. These young people frequently end up in non-Jewish camps, or camps serving Jewish children with no Jewish programming, and their abilities are wasted. I visited a Private camp, completely devoid of any Jewish
content, that had eleven Hebrew Teacher College students on staff. Not one was properly utilized. No Jewish programmed camp had in any way sought their services—they were not even aware of the fact that such camps existed. These young people did not want to go to a Hebrew camp, but would have considered a Center camp with Jewish concerns. These are the kind of college students who must be sought out and directed to those camps that are in some way committed to a Jewish program.

b. (1) References

Most application forms require the candidate to list personal and work experience references from several persons not of his immediate family. In addition, certain standard references are embodied on the form, such as the college or university of the applicant.

The Camp Director should follow up all the references listed by the candidate. With the "law of supply and demand" operating as it does today in obtaining staff, many camp directors are not as conscientious about references as they have been in the past. Generally, camps send the reference a form that follows one of two patterns. The more common form used requests the reference to rate the candidate. The American Camping Association's recommended form, for example, reads as follows:

I shall appreciate a statement of your estimate of the applicant's leadership ability, character,
personality and other qualifications you think are important. A careful analysis of the applicant's ability either in teaching, in personnel guidance, or in administration, will be helpful. It is advantageous to know whether the applicant has the ability to adapt readily to camp life.29

The second type of form used is in the nature of a rating sheet. The camp lists a number of areas of concern, such as personal appearance, physical health, emotional health, intelligence, etc., and asks the reference to either comment, or in some cases, check numbers on a descending scale, indicating 5 Superior; 4 Excellent; 3 Good; 2 Fair; 1 Poor.

As with the application forms, the reference forms rarely, except as noted with the others, request information regarding the Jewish qualifications of the applicants.

b. (2) Interviews

A personal interview with a candidate is really an imperative, if the employment process is to have meaning. One need not belabor the opportunities and advantages that accrue to both the camp and the candidate as a result of a good interview. The factors, already noted, with regard to interviews with parents, apply here as well. Aside from enabling the director and the candidate to become acquainted, the interview will permit an interchange of ideas which will provide the candidate with an understanding of the

29Camp Administrative Forms, p. 28.
goals and objectives of the camp; an accurate and objective description of what his job will entail with all its ramifications, what salary he will be paid, and the other conditions of employment the candidate will be expected to conform to if hired.

There are still camp directors who will not hire anyone unless they have been interviewed. There are others, particularly those who recruit their staff from a wide geographical area, who dispense with the interview, but utilize other controls. They may require the candidate to be interviewed by a colleague in a distant city. They will accept candidates if they are recommended by previous staff in whom they have confidence. They will follow up references more assiduously.

No objective records are available with regard to what actually takes place during the interview. However, there is no reason to believe that Jewish concerns are discussed to any greater degrees than evident in the other recruitment procedures. Those camps seeking Jewish oriented staff initiate discussions probing the Jewish sensitivity of the candidates and their possible assistance in program. On the other hand, the candidate is certainly aware of the fact that he is applying for a position in a Jewish camp, however defined. The applicant may initiate questions about the "Jewishness" of the camp to determine whether or not he wants to take the job. In many cases,
it is the applicant who interviews the Camp Director.

As we shall see, resistance to Jewish programming frequently comes from staff and particularly from the young counselors. A number of camps report that "evidence of self-hatred around Jewishness is quite common" or "some staff feel quite uncomfortable about anything Jewish. . . ." These opinions were expressed by staff employed by camps. Clearly, the recruitment process—neither the application form, nor the references provided, nor the personal interviews—was successful in transmitting these negativisms about Jewishness to the director. Would a director of a Jewish camp consciously hire a counselor to work with Jewish children, on any level, with such negative Jewish feelings? Did the directors even pursue such avenues of discussion?

Camps do reject candidates. Despite the grave shortages, it should not be thought that any and all candidates are accepted. The reasons for rejection are quite varied. It is, however, doubtful that many or any candidates are rejected because of either lack of Jewish background or resistance to Jewish concerns. The proof lies in the nature of the staff actually employed by many camps.

c. Foreign Counselors

A number of the camps in our study, particularly
Center camps, employ foreign counselors. Among the countries represented are England, Denmark, Belgium, Sweden, Holland, Greece, France and West Germany. Despite the fact that many of these camps include Israeli counselors among this category, I shall deal with the Israeli staff separately. The fact that camps view Israeli's as "foreigners" and deal with them on a par with, say, West Germans, is disconcerting, to say the least.

The international counselors do much to add color and interest to the camp. Both campers and staff benefit from the association which adds one more dimension to personal experience and understanding of 'difference.' An important factor in the success of this program is the specific delegation of key staff time and effort for proper orientation, supervision and guidance of this group.30

Most of these counselors are recruited through the International Counselor Exchange Program sponsored by the Association for World Travel Exchange. The purposes motivating this program include providing American camp directors with a means of bringing valuable international emphasis into many aspects of the program and to provide an opportunity for qualified students, young teachers and social workers from abroad to learn about American camping and educational methods and at the same time become acquainted with American family and community life.

The selection of the counselors is the responsibility of the Association's representatives in the country of

30 Matthew Elson, op. cit., p. 5.
origin. Requirements include:

Training and experience in working with children.

Ability to speak the English language well enough to be an effective leader with children.

Special skills which could be used in a camp program.31

A dossier is prepared, containing the candidate's application form, a picture and a report of the interviewer. This material is available to the Camp Director in America, who makes his choice.

Once selected and admitted to the program the candidate benefits from special agreements between the Association and the Department of Immigration and Naturalization. Although visitors to the United States are normally not permitted to work, visiting counselors are, and may receive approximately $10 per week from the camp for spending money. Camps pay anywhere from a minimum of $300 to $400 for each counselor selected by them to the ICEF fund, depending upon the individual's skills and qualifications. In a number of instances, camps have asked some of their foreign counselors to return for two or more seasons. After deducting the $90 given directly to the counselor, the camp pays the difference to the ICEF fund, which is responsible for providing the counselor with the other benefits, including full transportation, expenses

31 Brochure of the International Counselor Exchange Program in the United States.
for reception in New York, costs of two-day orientation conference, a hospitality tour, etc.

The overwhelming majority of the foreign counselors are non-Jewish. Generally they have been well oriented to the fact that they will be working in a Jewish camp. They are frequently amazed at the un-Jewishness of the camp and, in conversations I have had with many of them, are also disappointed. Usually they choose to work in a Jewish camp in order to broaden their own understanding of Judaism and of the Jewish people. In camps having Jewish programming I found them to be more cooperative with camp administration than many Jewish counselors. They attend services, although they are given an option not to attend; they participate, with gusto, in singing and dancing sessions, are sensitive to blessings before and after meals and to Sabbath restrictions, if there are any. Despite all the "color" they bring to camp, they also bring problems.

The issue, of course, is not whether or not they are "foreign." The issue is the place of non-Jewish staff in a Jewish sectarian camp and the effect their presence has on program. Some camp directors argue that having non-Jews on staff heightens the Jewish sensitivities of the Jewish staff. Perhaps. Parents frequently react negatively to the presence of non-Jewish staff, particularly if they
are parents of older teen-agers or of counselors themselves. The natural openness and frequently over-permissiveness of the camp setting invites closer socialization and dating. Reported incidents of inter-dating leading to emotional involvements are not infrequent. The threat of inter-marriage is always present. However, of greater import is the fact that the attractive young non-Jewish foreigners cannot contribute to the Jewish purposes of the camp or serve as Jewish models for their campers. The saving factor lies in the very small percentage of total staff they constitute in any given camp: 12 out of 245 in one camp, 52 out of 548 in another, for example.

In 1966, the National Jewish Welfare Board, conscious of this problem, concluded arrangements with the International Counselor Exchange Program to interview, refer and handle travel and visa requirements for Jewish young men and women from England and West Europe who were interested in positions as counselors in summer resident camps under Jewish communal auspices in the United States. In England, the Association for Jewish Youth would serve as the agent of recruitment; in West Europe, the Conference of European Jewish Community Services. In this way it was hoped that foreign counselor programs would continue, since they did add a dimension to the overall program, but that more of these counselors would be Jewish. Introducing international Jewish counselors, from countries in
addition to Israel, would give even greater meaning and understanding to the feeling of being part of K'hal Yisrael on the part of campers and staff. It is too soon to evaluate the effects of this effort.

d. Israeli Staff

Israeli staff is not a new phenomenon in American Jewish camps. From their first days, the Zionist camps had shelihm to the Zionist youth movements in their camps. What is new is the bringing of Israeli staff just for the summer camp season.

The increased use of Israelis on camp staffs is probably the result of several concurrent forces. First and foremost is the reality of the State of Israel and its impact on the American Jewish community. The excitement of Israel and its impact on the American Jewish community. The excitement of Israel, the "bridge" between Israel and America, had somehow to find expression in the camps themselves. Secondly, especially for those camps conscious of Jewish staff needs, the shortage of qualified personnel locally, directed attention to the possibilities inherent in Israel. A third factor had to do with practical considerations. It becomes clear that, under certain conditions and with certain subsidies and Jewish Agency help, the cost of bringing staff from Israel was not exorbitant. As a matter of fact, depending upon the qualifications and
level of skill, the cost was almost commensurate with local costs. Some camps which never considered employing Israelis were ready to consider the possibilities.

The Denominational/Conservative camps have been employing Israelis as specialists in their camps for a number of years with marked success. After attempting to use Israelis on a counselor level and deciding against this practice, the Ramah camps send their own recruiters to Israel to interview and hire specialist staff. I visited one Ramah camp where a Kibbutz carpenter was working with children in the crafts shop with remarkable results. Music personnel, singers, instrumentalists, dramatic experts, physical education experts from the Wingate Institute, teachers in all subject areas are employed. The adjustment for these individuals is somewhat easier than at other camps since language is not a barrier—they are required to speak Hebrew and their knowledge of English is not a factor of employment. Some of them do have problems adjusting to the religious and ritual requirements at camp, but are sufficiently oriented before they arrive so that they know what to expect. Unquestionably, the Israeli staff at the Ramah camps have added immeasurably to the program and filled a personnel void which would otherwise cause very serious problems to the camp administration; all of this in addition to bringing Israel to the children first hand.
The Center camps began initiating a program to recruit candidates in Israel in 1966. However, the program received its real impetus as a result of the first JWB-Israel Seminar for Camp Staff conducted in Israel during the latter part of October, 1967. Twelve full-time camp professionals of Center camps participated and, upon their return, most of them were ready to bring Israeli staff to their camps.

The National Jewish Welfare Board, in cooperation with the Camp Shlichim Department of the American Zionist Youth Foundation, recruits, processes and screens candidates in Israel. Asher Melzer of Surprise Lake camp and part-time camping consultant for the American Association for Jewish Education represents the JWB in Israel and conducts the interviews. His colleagues, having full confidence in his recommendations, generally accept the candidates he proposes.

During the summer of 1968, approximately 160 Israeli shlichim served in American camps; in 1969 the figure rose to 200; by 1970 more than 230 are expected.

During the first year of the program, camps experimented with the placement of the Israelis, with varying and inconsistent results. Generalizations cannot be made or trends discerned because of the differences among the individuals in the mishlahat. Some knew insufficient
English and were unable to communicate properly. Many were not properly oriented in Israel and arrived at their American camps with little understanding of what to expect, the nature of the camp, and the nature of the American Jewish child. For those who ended up in a Hebrew or Zionist camp, one kind of world faced them; those who were assigned to camps with almost no Jewish programming, where they were treated like any other "foreign" counselor, faced yet another situation. A number came with a "missionary" zeal, and their spirits were dampened by their assignments. Whereas specialists seemed to be working well for Ramah, they faced considerable difficulties in Center camps. Some of the Israelis felt that their talents and raison d'être were discounted when they were assigned to a cabin and worked with only eight children. In one camp, the Israelis were simply lost in a large staff. Concerted efforts had to be made to provide hospitality for them on days off. Many were lonely and tended to keep to each other; this was incorrectly interpreted as snobbishness by others and they were resented. A few were terribly disturbed at what they considered the shallowness of American youth, including the college age youth. Israelis were frequently a little older than their counterparts. Most had completed military duty and had matured beyond their years. The unsophisticated concerns of teen-agers, the constant hair-setting, the rock music to the exclusion
of all else, first amused and then disturbed them. The "final straw" was the lack of real Jewish knowledge or interest about Israel and its struggle for survival beyond the superficialities of the daily newspaper reports of skirmishes. Perhaps more than the campers learned from the Israelis, the Israelis learned from their camp experience, and not to the credit of the American Jewish community.

Some of the Center camps are somewhat disenchanted with Israeli staff, but are evidently willing to continue to bring them because the benefits might yet outweigh the disadvantages. Some of the camps that have had difficulties are planning to concentrate the Israelis in one sub-camp, probably the teen camp, where they can work together and have an impact. More careful screening of candidates has been promised and a more extensive orientation program in Israel, conducted preferably by American camping experts, is to be provided new candidates. It is conceivable that eventually 2000 Israeli counselors will be brought to serve in American camps.

The number of camps employing Israeli staff is still quite limited. Some camps have shown no interest in the program at all, even on the foreign counselor level. On the other hand, the Zionist camps, which were the pioneers in using this resource, have begun bringing in summer shelihim to reinforce full-year shelihim and to fill
their desperate need for staff. In many cases the Zionist youth movements bring back American settlers in Israel for the summer. This has worked out very well, since these individuals need no special orientation to either camping or the psychology of the American child, and can move right in and begin playing an immediate key role at camp. Caution must be exercised in bringing back Americans who have been away from the States for a long time. I visited one camp where the crafts specialist had left America in the 1940's and the gap between her and the other members of the staff was almost insurmountable.

Many Israelis serve in camps who are not brought from Israel especially for this purpose. These Israelis are of two types: one, students; the other, yordim. The student is a great asset. He has lived in the country, is usually conversant in the language, has probably taught in a Hebrew school so he also knows the children. The yored, the Israeli who has emigrated from Israel, is usually not an asset. He is oftentimes full of guilt feelings about leaving Israel, or at worst, is negative about aspects of life in Israel necessary for him to rationalize his leaving. He is best left at home.

Israeli staff will begin playing a more and more significant role in American Jewish camping but will, by no stretch of the imagination, begin to solve the staff shortage problem. As with all other aspects of Jewish
life, leadership, teachers, social workers, camp personnel, will have to be developed indigenously by the American Jewish community. We will either develop and train our own personnel or our institutions will wither away.

3. Salary Scales and Personnel Practices

As we have seen, salaries paid camp personnel are major factors in the recruitment of qualified candidates. Finding the right person for the job is meaningless unless the camp is willing to pay him a salary commensurate with his abilities and skills. This is a truism which need not be belabored.

Salaries for staff must be examined within the framework of four general categories of employment: full-time camp directors, executives and sub-executives; part-time directors and supervisory staff, including specialists; counselling staff; and technical staff.

The most recent data available with regard to the salaries being paid to full-time Camp Directors of Jewish communally sponsored camps was gathered in connection with the Second Annual National Conference on Jewish Camping held in January, 1970. Seventy camps were sent questionnaires—twenty-two responded. The seventy camps represented the broad spectrum of camps invited to the conference, including all of the categories of this study with the exception of Private camps. The twenty-two that responded were headed
by full-time directors; almost all of the remaining camps were headed by part-time personnel. This response is itself a significant commentary on the professional status of Jewish camping personnel and the functioning of Camp Directors who are employed year-round and those who are part-time. The raw data were assembled by Joseph Schwartz, Associate Director of the New Jersey "Y" Camps and made available to me.

The response from two of the camps was incomplete so that the following table offers information about twenty camps. Fourteen of the camps are Center camps; 2 are Federation; 2 are Denominational/Reform; 1, Denominational/Traditional; 1, Denominational/Conservative.

**TABLE 29**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Camper Beds</th>
<th>Total Campers Served</th>
<th>Number of Staff</th>
<th>Operating Budget</th>
<th>Executive Salary</th>
<th>Sub-Executive Salary</th>
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<tr>
<td>170</td>
<td>510</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>99,000</td>
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<td></td>
<td>12,000</td>
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</table>
There does not seem to be an absolute direct correlation between the director's salary and the size of the camp as reflected in the number of camper beds, or total number of children served, or size of staff or operating budget. For example, the director of the camp with an operating budget of $99,000 received a salary of $15,050 while the director of a camp with an operating budget of $172,000 received $13,000. Other hidden factors seem to affect the salary scale, including the length of service of the director in the particular camp.

In 1967, Ramon F. Berger, Executive Director of the New York Association of Jewish Sponsored Camps, conducted a similar salary study. Although the salaries were understandably somewhat lower at that time, he suggested certain salary trends. Reproduced below is Berger's analysis of executive salaries as of January, 1967.

**Executive Salaries Related to Length of Service**

- **Up to five years**—9 directors
  - Range $9,700 to 15,000
  - Average $12,666

- **Six to ten years**—7 directors
  - Range $9,000 to 21,500
  - Average $13,928

- **Eleven to seventeen years**—3 directors
  - Range $16,000 to 20,700
  - Average $18,070
Executive Salaries Related to Number of Camper Beds—Budget Range Noted

100 to 299 camper beds ($86,000 to $225,000)—6 camps
  Range $9,000 to 13,100  Average $10,900

300 to 499 camper beds ($126,000 to 221,000)—7 camps
  Range $12,800 to 15,000  Average $13,450

500 to 1400 camper beds ($285,000 to $700,000)—6 camps
  Range $15,500 to 21,500  Average $17,700

Executive Salaries Related to Operating Budget

Up to $149,999—6 camps
  Range $9,000 to 13,000  Average $10,850

$150,000 to $249,999—7 camps
  Range $12,500 to 15,000  Average $13,470

$250,000 to $700,000—6 camps
  Range $15,000 to 21,500  Average $17,700

In the 1967 study there seems to be a relationship between the director's salary, his length of service, the size of his camp and his operating budget.

Another most interesting fact brought out in the Berger study was that of the four Camp Directors who had participated in a similar study in 1961, they had each received an aggregate 25 per cent increase in salary in the intervening years.

Full-time Camp Directors, fully qualified to head Jewish sponsored and programmed camps are very difficult to find. In addition to a salary range between $13,000 and $30,000, camps are also offering other benefits to attract and keep their full-time directors.
TABLE 30

BENEFITS REPORTED BY TWENTY JEWISH CAMPS IN 1969

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Benefit</th>
<th>Number of Camps Providing the Benefit</th>
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A number of Camp Directors, particularly those heading camps affiliated with communal agencies and Federations, benefit from plans which affect all Jewish communal workers. Camps which are self-supporting and have no direct affiliations with agencies are slower in providing peripheral benefits to their staff. Full-time directors of Center, Federation and Philanthropic camps who are graduate social workers or members of the National Association of Jewish Center Workers are guided in their negotiations for salaries and other personnel practices by the published Standards and Guidelines for Personnel Practices for Staff and Family Security and the Standard Personnel Code of the NAJCW.
One of the most practical and immediately beneficial aspects of the National Conference on Jewish Camping, as was the case when the Full-Time Executives met independently during prior years, was the sharing of information about salaries and benefits, which Camp Directors were then able to use in their own negotiations with their boards. A number of Camp Directors have publicly acknowledged their debt to the Conference in helping to raise their economic standards.

Accurate data on salaries for part-time camp directors are not available. In the first place, such information is difficult to obtain, as noted above in the 1970 study. Secondly, my information for 1964 does not differentiate between part-time directors who work a three-month year and part-time directors who work part-time all year. In addition, inflation, cost of living increments and salary adjustments during these past six years have made the 1964 figures obsolete. However, the range from a sampling of twenty-five camps at that time was between a ridiculous low of $500 to a high of $7300, an average of $3010.

The low salaries were predominantly found in the Zionist camps where the directors were idealistic young people whose salary really reflected expenses more than remuneration. The higher salaries were paid to part-time directors who had some camp responsibilities throughout the
year. If we estimated an average 5 per cent increase each year since 1964, increments would have added $1020.15 to the average salary and the present average salary for part-time directors would be approximately $5000. A spot check of several camps reveals that this projected figure is not too far from the practice.

Full-time Assistant Directors receive salaries ranging from $9200 to $15,100 as reported in the 1970 study. They generally receive the same peripheral benefits as do the full-time directors.

Part-time Assistant Directors, 1964, received salaries ranging from $350 to $2000. The average salary, from the fifteen camp sample, was $950. A spot check in 1969 revealed that the salaries are now between $1000 and $3200. No peripheral benefits are provided for part-time personnel beyond the benefits camp provides during the summer, which may be considerable.

Aside from salary, it must be remembered that most other living expenses are absorbed by the camp during the time of staff residence. Room and board is universally provided for the staff member as well as his immediate family. We have already noted the various formulae used by camps in computing costs when staff have children of camp age. Children below this age stay with parents at camp expense. Quality of staff housing varies, but families in camp save hundreds of dollars in ordinary
living expenses by working in resident camp. Of course house rent or mortgage payments continue, but utility costs, food costs, entertainment and vacation costs during ten weeks of the summer are considerable to families living in the hot city. Many camps also provide laundry service at no cost, full use of medical services, health and accident insurance for the time in camp, and various other benefits which save the member of staff out-of-pocket expenditures.

A most cogent argument used by Camp Directors in recruiting staff emphasizes these savings. What may initially appear to be a low salary, in comparison to other city jobs, becomes more attractive to the candidate when he is made to realize that, at the end of the summer, he will end up with more money from his camp job than from the city job. The salary may be higher in the city, but city living expenses usually consume the bulk of the earnings.

Salaries for Head Counselors vary, generally in accordance with the size of the sub-camp they supervise and their years of service. Large camps average between $1600 and $3200 and medium size camps between $900 and $2000.

Program directors are presently receiving between $1000 and $2000. In the case of the higher figure, I am personally aware of the fact that the responsibilities are actually broader than the normal job description prescribes.

Most specialty counselors receive salaries ranging
from a low of $300 to a high of $1000, with many individualized variations. For example, in one camp a "song leader" receives between $300 and $450. In this particular camp he is also a cabin counselor whose responsibilities in music are limited to leading singing in the dining hall, at Divisional meetings and at campfires. The same camp has a Music Director whose salary range has been pegged between $700 and $1000. An arts and crafts specialist who also serves as the supervisor for arts and crafts counselors can receive between $700 and $1000--the crafts counselor with cabin duties receives $350. A director of waterfront is also a highly paid specialist, frequently receiving the highest specialist salary at the camp. Lifeguards are paid between $300 and $500.

Camps that emphasize special programming will offer even higher salaries for unusual talents. One sports-centered camp brings professional "name" athletes to camp as specialists and pays accordingly. A camp that has added a psychologist to its staff pays $1200 for his summer services. Ramah camps, to encourage their staff to serve for more than one summer and to spend their junior college year in Israel, has instituted several interesting innovations. If an accepted candidate agrees to a contract of more than one year, he receives salary benefits above his normal scale. If a student serves on a Ramah staff during the summer before he goes to Israel for a year of study,
and then returns to camp after his year in Israel, he will receive $300 over and above his normal salary scale level. The teaching staff in a number of the Educational and Denominational camps may be paid between $400 and $1000 for only a few hours work a day. Scholars are encouraged to come to some of the camps where, after doing their teaching, they can pursue their own research or writing interests in offices provided by the camp.

Counselor salaries are varied, flexible and range from $150 to an unusual high of $1000. In most instances camps differentiate between counselors who are high school graduates (and really should not be counselors at all)—they receive $100 to $125; students who have completed one year of college and are usually nineteen years of age—they receive from $150 and up. Some Center camps start the nineteen year old at $250. A UAHC camp starts first year counselors, age nineteen with no experience at $200—counselors with one year's experience in any camp, start at $250. Ramah camps pay graduates of their own counselor training program who have completed one year of college $250 to begin, and then add to the base salary considerations for age, education and experience, usually at the rate of an additional $100 a year. Automatic increments are a part of most salary scales and vary between $75 and $100 for each year of camp service.

Camps having Junior counselors generally pay the
seventeen year old between $75 and $100 and the eighteen year old between $100 and $150. Graduates of the camp's C.I.T. program may receive an added $25.

4. Contracts

Most camps, as the final step in the recruitment process, require the prospective member of staff to sign an agreement or contract, which a duly authorized representative of camp countersigns. In most instances, if the prospective staff member is under twenty-one years of age, a signature is also required of the parent or guardian of the applicant.

Most camp contracts are relatively simple documents and usually follow the suggestions offered for such an agreement developed by the American Camping Association.\(^{32}\) This form generally states the position, the dates of agreed employment, the salary to be paid and any benefits in addition to the salary. The staff applicant agrees to abide by the Personnel Policies and Practices Code of the camp, which is usually a separate attached document, and to any special conditions not listed in the Code.

This form assumes the existence of a written camp Code and can be used only by such camps. Where written Codes exist they invariably include specific information with regard to payment of salary and method of payment, e.g.,

\(^{32}\)Camp Administrative Forms, p. 12.
"salaries will be paid at the end of the camping season and may be drawn against during the season"; other remuneration, in cash or services provided by camp, such as transportation, laundry, special uniforms, etc., e.g., "camp will provide a flat transportation subsidy of $25 for staff having to travel more than 350 miles"; tips and gratuities and the policy of camp regarding this practice; promotions during the summer either to fill vacancies or because of merit; termination of agreement procedures including causes for dismissal and resignation; sick leave and emergency leave; health and medical provisions; insurance benefits; conduct and deportment required; time-off and time-on schedules; staff use of camp equipment for personal purposes and various other miscellaneous provisions as they apply to a particular camp situation.

Camps which do not have written Codes of Practice frequently have Staff Manuals which contain similar information. In either case, it is important that the applicant know, in advance, exactly what will be required of him and have some idea of the rules and regulations that govern the operation of the camp. Signing the contract legally and morally binds him to these conditions of employment.

Some camps incorporate what they consider to be the most important conditions into the contract itself. For example:
The staff member represents that he is in sympathy with the philosophy and aims of Camp and desires to join whole-heartedly in furthering these aims. He represents that he understands the responsibilities of staff members serving as counselors and/or specialists. He accepts the following terms of his employment.

The contract then goes on to explicitly enumerate the terms. Evidently, this particular camp must have had problems with regard misrepresentations, because it includes a clause which states:

The staff member warrants that the age stated below is true. Any misrepresentation shall give the camp the right to cancel this agreement.

These examples come from a contract form used by one of the Yiddish camps, but is typical of many others.

Many camps regard the contracts as mere pro-forma, having more psychological value than legal validity.

... job jumping is so frequent among all types of counselors once they have a contract (italics mine), that no director really knows who he can really count on until a few days before camp opens.  

I have never heard of a camp suing for breach of contract when the signee does not appear for the job. Camps do make full use of their contracts to justify, if necessary, dismissal of staff. Staff also feel much more secure with a written contract in hand.

5. The Education, Training and Preparation of Camp Staff

If camping is indeed to play a more and more

Berger, op. cit., p. 45.
significant role in the overall pattern of American education and particularly in serving as a medium of Jewish education in furthering the efforts of the American Jewish community in imbuing its youth with creative Jewish values, the camp staff, charged with this responsibility, must be properly educated, trained and prepared to carry out its formidable and challenging tasks. Efforts must also be accelerated to professionalize the field and develop an increasingly larger core of full-time Jewish educators or Jewishly educated social workers, who will devote their full-time professional career to camping.

A distinction must be made at the outset of this discussion between supervisory and specialist staff and counseling staff, although certain aspects of camp education apply to both groups. In the first instance, camps are dealing with college graduates who have specialized in particular areas, are mature and are vocationally usually committed. The counselors are usually college students, in the process of maturation, and frequently uncommitted with regard to vocational choice.

Since camp leadership, on all levels is dependent upon the total personality of the staff member, any training program must encompass concern for the growth and development of this total personality. If a basic purpose of such a training program is the eventual enrichment of the total camp program, then it must include provisions for personality
growth and social adjustment, for the broadening of social interests, attitudes and outlooks, and, perhaps most important, provide knowledge, insights and the skills required directly for camp leadership.\textsuperscript{34}

Camps have variously struggled with the problems of staff education in four general ways: year-round programs, pre-camp orientation and preparation, on-the-job training and through counselor-in-training programs.

\textbf{a. Year-round Programs}

It can be rather categorically stated that there are no planned, conscious programs for camping in existence in any school of social work on either an undergraduate or graduate level or in any school of education in the country leading to a degree or even offering a "major" in this field. The profession of camping is not an institutionally sanctioned activity.

The number of courses in (italics mine), or contributory to, camping being offered by camping associations, colleges and universities, and agencies conducting camps is increasing constantly. Many, if not most, of the courses conducted ... are in reality orientation courses that give a brief glimpse of the history, philosophy, and program of the modern camp. ...\textsuperscript{35}

To my knowledge, among accredited institutions

\textsuperscript{34} Adapted from Hedley S. Dimock, "Staff Organization, Training and Supervision" in Administration of the Modern Camp, Hedley S. Dimock, ed. (New York: Association Press, 1950), pp. 99-100.

\textsuperscript{35} Ibid., p. 105.
of higher Jewish learning, there is only one, Gratz College in Philadelphia, which offers a course in its Department of Education entitled, "Group Dynamics" which is intended for students of this Hebrew Teachers College who plan to be youth leaders or counselors in Jewish summer camps.

There are, of course, many courses in the curricula of a college or university which are germane to camping—a course in the "Psychology of Child Development" is but one example of hundreds which can be found offered in departments of psychology, education, sociology, business administration, physical education, etc.

The fact that such courses are offered, in no way reflects an articulation between the camp and the college, except on a very informal and haphazard level. Most camps do not conscientiously demand or even recommend, although this may happen in individual cases, that staff members attend these courses. Most camps do not pay the cost of attendance, nor do they recognize the growth and development which may affect the staff member who took such courses by offering a salary increment or a bonus for such attendance. A counselor who will take a Water Safety Instructor course during the winter will gain camp recognition—if he took a child development course, it goes unnoticed. Let me hasten to state that there are some camps that do encourage members of their staff to pursue studies during the school year which will help them better serve their campers; but
such camps are few and merely prove to be the exceptions to the rule.

Aside from courses in general studies, which many counselors may be taking in any case since almost all of them are college students and some may even be majoring in education or sociology or psychology, what about courses in Judaica and Hebraica? Our study has already alluded to the general abysmal Jewish ignorance most of these young people possess, and, as we evaluate the Jewish programming at camp, this lack of fundamental knowledge and resistance to Jewish concerns will be even further documented. Camp Directors, who complain bitterly about the inability of their staff to deal with Jewish programming in most camps, make absolutely no effort to direct their staff to take courses in Jewish subjects, or to reward those that do.

In many instances, camps with staff who are Jewishly knowledgeable are lacking in general psychological and educational know-how. They must be guided and directed along certain educational lines. It may be necessary for camps, in concert, to organize special courses for these people. The other side of the coin involves those whose general knowledge may be adequate, although this too needs up-grading, but with these staff people the emphasis must be placed on their Jewish educational needs. Camp Directors can begin to effect change by giving personal
direction and guidance and offering monetary and positional incentives. The overall problem will never be resolved until an agency of the Jewish community, with proper funding, turns its attention to the task of training staff for camps on a year-round basis.

This education must be seen as reaching beyond formal courses, classes and credits. Workshops for specialists should be arranged, particularly for those with skills in technique but unable to relate to Jewish thematic material. The New York Association of Jewish Sponsored Camps in cooperation with the Jewish Education Committee tried to organize a workshop for arts and crafts specialists which did not materialize. They will try again.

Some Camp Directors, recognizing a special talent of a counselor to work with children, may recommend or influence the young counselor, who would ordinarily not work with children during the year, to undertake some leadership responsibility, even on a voluntary basis, in some youth agency. The director may even try to place the counselor with an agency and hope that, as a result of continued work with children under supervision during the year, the counselor will be of greater value to the camp and may even decide on a social work career.

The Zionist camps have a year-round relationship with their staff. The majority of them serve as youth leaders during the year and usually participate in leader-
ship training programs in the city. In addition, the staff continues to work with the campers throughout the year, since the campers are mainly members of the youth movement. Because of the nature of the youth movement and the fact that one of its primary goals is aliyah almost all of the leadership usually attend the local Hebrew Teachers College or the equivalent in addition to attending secular colleges.

While the relationship between the camps of the Denominational/Conservative and Reform and the youth organizations of the parent movement are not as direct as with the Zionist camps, many of the members of the camp staffs serve as the youth leaders for either L.T.F. or U.S.Y. of the Conservative movement and NAFTY of the Reform movement.

b. Pre-camp Orientation and Preparation

Despite the fact that a pre-camp training period in camp taking place immediately before the season has proven its value and has become an indispensable part of staff preparation, there are still camps which do not schedule such sessions. I have visited several camps where the counselors arrive at camp with the campers and are generally as confused as the children in making the first essential adjustments. The excuse given by the camp administration is primarily the cost factor—although
some camps point to the fact that a large proportion of their staff are returnees and that all the new staff have been provided with detailed manuals and each had an interview in depth with the Camp Director. These reasons are unacceptable because the purposes and the values of the pre-camp orientation are relevant to every camp, regardless of new or old staff, the nature of the manual or the length and depth of any interview.

The American Camping Association requires that the training period be a minimum of five days in length on the camp site. As the ACA interprets the program, "it is specifically a training course which provides an opportunity for staff members to get acquainted with one another, with camp site, with facilities, to learn objectives and program, their specific jobs, and to become a working team."\[36

The objectives of this pre-camp orientation are more broadly developed by various camps. Aside from the broad socialization goals intended to help the total staff move toward becoming an organic unit that will set the tone for "the camp spirit," or help the new counselors in particular to become secure enough to be able to help his new campers who will be arriving in a few days, these sessions also are utilized to help each member of staff get to know his "supervisor" and how to use their help, 

\[36\text{Standards, p. 22.}\]
to learn about camp routines, and to learn and practice certain basic skills which can then be built upon during the summer.

The schedule and agenda for the five day orientation—sometimes more, sometimes less, depending on other factors—is frequently prepared by the top supervisory staff which has been meeting during the winter. Some camps have instituted a special orientation program for supervisory level staff at camp, during the Memorial Day week-end. At that time the director, his assistants, head counselors and their assistants, division heads and their assistants and supervisory specialists meet for their own purposes but also to plan for full staff orientation.

Some camps, particularly the Zionist camps, must utilize the staff for the final physical preparation of the camp. Tents must be unpacked and set-up, beds and mattresses distributed, cabins and facilities thoroughly cleaned, etc. These are camps which generally cannot afford to hire caretakers, or in principle refuse to hire them, since the physical organization of the camp is a part of the camp's educational purposes. These camps need more than five days and usually divide the days between work and orientation sessions. It should be noted that even in those camps not requiring the staff to "assemble" the camp, staff does have some housekeeping chores to perform.

An analysis of a number of pre-camp orientation
seminars revealed that most of the camps followed a fairly typical format, and that the schedules and agendas, in one way or another, involved six basic areas of camping.

1. **Camp policies**: including sessions consisting of lectures and discussions led by the director and various members of the supervisory staff in such areas as organization and structure, regulations and routines, traditions of the camp.

2. **Program objectives**: including discussions and demonstration of resources such as manuals, library, environment, specialists, other staff members, outside facilities and consultants, films and filmstrips, recordings, counselor card files. Also first day and first week procedures, rainy day programs. Also a Game-o-rama—an evening program in which staff are actively introduced to the various games that can be employed at various times at camp.

3. **The campers**: age level behavior, child growth and development orientation; probable needs and problems; discipline; the unhappy child; available information about the camper, distribution of camper folders and bunk assignments. Reports and evaluations and conference procedures.

4. **Health and safety**: specific camp rules and regulations regarding these conditions and the staff responsibilities in relation to them. Medical procedures, accidents, cleanliness, waterfront, etc.

5. **Camping skills**: Practical workshops including instruction, demonstration and practice in such areas as nature, arts and crafts, waterfront—every staff member must take a swim and boating test, campcraft including such items as axmanship, blanketrolls, bed making and use of sleeping bags, food carrying and protection of campsite, fire making and fire safety, choosing, clearing and preparing a campsite, pitching tents, making stakes and trenching and conservation. Most of the camps also take the entire staff on an overnight hike.

6. **The Jewish component**: a full discussion of this phase follows.

In response to the question, "Does your camp provide
pre-season orientation in Jewish programming for your
staff?", 80.4 per cent of the 56 camps that answered indica-
ted that they did; 19.6 per cent of the camps did not.

As with most questions which ask for simple yes or
no responses, the answers are misleading. On the one hand,
I have no doubt but that these forty-five camps that
reported they provided orientation in Jewish programming did
indeed include such an item in the agenda of their pre-camp
seminar. The extent and scope of such Jewish orientation
is another matter, and simply reflect the Jewish programming
of the summer. Camps were then asked to describe their
pre-camp Jewish orientation and a sampling of the comments
follow.

Among the Federation camps two of the responses are
rather typical. "Planning Friday night services, Oneg
Shabbats and Havdella (spelling unchanged)" and "Discussion--
meaning of Oneg Shabbat, Jewish tradition as a culture
source, planning, practice performance and evaluation of
an Oneg Shabbat program, graces." A third Federation camp
provides a broader agenda and includes, "Oneg Shabbat,
Tisha B'Av, Services, discussions, songs and dances."

The responses from Center camps are quite varied:
from a simple, "non-mandatory services" to "Discussion of
significance and importance of Jewish programming. Pre-
sentations and participation in actual examples of how
Jewish programming will be integrated into the program."
Other comments include: "talk about Oneg Shabbat programs and Services and about being a Jew"; "general orientation including Jewish culture programs"; "Seminars on topics such as: Services, Israeli dances, problems of Jewish youth, Judaism in camp and in nature and how to incorporate Jewish content into programming. When possible "experts" come in; "music, dramatics, songs, dances"; "Total orientation includes philosophy, Israeli singing and dancing, services, games with Jewish content"; "As part of our general pre-camp counselor orientation (one week). Jewish programming occupies a major part (about eight hours for each individual)."

Only three Educational camps responded to this question. One begs the question by responding, "Limited to individual and group conferences. This needs fuller explanation. Cannot do this in two lines." The second writes, "General orientation to Jewish educational programming in a camp setting, training in skills in music, dramatics, dance, arts and crafts, story telling, etc.-- carefully planned with program and special activity staff under supervision of the Camp Director, also training in effective counseling and group leadership." The third camp notes that, "... the staff is briefed on the philosophy and program of the camp. The topic of the season is explained and various materials are given to the staff."
The two Yiddish camps that responded did not have pre-camp orientation seminars at camp. One ran a series of eight Sunday courses and the other also offered a course, perhaps the same one, of eight weeks duration at the Jewish Teachers Seminary. Neither reported on the content of the course.

Interestingly enough, although most of the Zionist camps have pre-camp orientations and work programs, none of them reported on the content of their seminars. One camp notes for example, with no lack of chutzpah, "two week seminar to prepare program. All staff members are ... with adequate background."

Of the ten Philanthropic camps in our study, only two responded. One noted, "... including Jewish motifs in program"; the second wrote, "services, blessings before and after meals, Israeli dancing and singing, Hebrew games, discussions on basic concept of Judaism and why do all this at camp--are integral part of pre-camp orientation session."

The Denominational/Conservative and Reform all responded. The Denominational/Traditional did not, and they do not, have pre-camp orientation, except for one camp which did not receive a questionnaire.

The responses were almost all very general. Typical was the following, "we have a week of pre-camp orientation, working quite specifically with Jewish program content for all staff," or "orientation covers all areas of camp program."
The Hebrew camp reported that it conducted "a three day seminar before camp opening--deals primarily with the cultural program of the season."

The paucity or fullness of the Jewish aspects of the pre-camp orientation will again be reflected in the discussion of actual camp program which will follow in the next chapter.

Before we leave the pre-camp orientation and preparation discussion a comment is in order with regard to the Staff Manual. This manual, called by some a "Staff Guide" or a "Counselors' Guide" is in fact the equivalent of a basic text or curriculum guide for the particular camp. It serves as the authoritative compendium of information about the camp which becomes the handbook for most of the staff. Some of the manuals are prepared in looseleaf form, so that during staff meetings and during the summer, it can be added to and modified. Some manuals, in addition to specific information about the camp itself, reprint articles from the literature of camping, social work, education, Jewish education and psychology, which might prove helpful to staff. In most instances the manual is the work of many people, mainly previous key staff personnel and is usually edited by the Camp Director.

To comprehend the scope of a typical manual, I am reproducing a Table of Contents from the Staff Manual of the New Jersey "Y" Camps.
Programming Policy for the New Jersey "Y" Camps

The Counselor and His Job

Job Description
Duties of a Bunk Counselor
Duties of a Relief Counselor
How a Counselor is Helped to do his Job

Understanding the Camper

What are Children Like at Different Age Levels
Function of the Guidance Counselor
Discipline
Hazing
Health

The Camp Day

Sample Daily Time Schedule
First Day
Flag-raising and Lowering
Divisional Elective Period
Rest Period
Letter Writing
Milk Call
Showers
Canteen
Taps—Bed Time
O.D.—Night Patrol Procedures

Important Routines and Instructions

Materials and Supplies
Cabin Routines
Clean Up
Laundry Procedures
Lost and Found
Telephone Calls
Fire Regulations and Drills

Your Campers and their Eating Habits

Program Section

The Camper and his Jewish Heritage
Co-Ed Activities
The Bunk Program
Rainy Days
Special Interest Activities

Songs and Singing
Arts and Crafts
Dramatics
Waterfront

Campcraft and Hiking Manual

Most camp manuals read beautifully. They are articulate expositions of the finest descriptions of good camping theory and recommended practices. When one reads the sections on the camp's commitment to its Jewish purposes one tingles with excitement in having found at least one path toward Jewish creative survival. However, one learns that the manual, well meaning as it may be, represents an ideal at best, and that the reality of life at camp does not always reflect the programming policy and objectives so nobly stated in the manual. The practical elements in the manual are used daily—on "laundry day" the laundry procedures are followed to the letter. If only the camp's stated Jewish objectives were as carefully realized!

c. On-the-Job Training

The third aspect in the process of educating, training and preparing staff for their proper functioning in the camp setting takes place during the camping season itself. For better or for worse, the member of the staff has now completed whatever courses he took during the winter months and has already participated in the pre-camp
orientation seminar. Hopefully, by the time camp opened and the children arrived, he has begun developing a sense of emotional security, a feeling of esprit de corps and sense of being at ease with other staff members. He has also met and begun developing a sense of rapport with his supervisors. This last factor is of great importance since the in-service training he will receive during the summer, if indeed he receives any such training, will emanate from supervisory personnel. Also, by this time, the staff member will have discovered whether or not he is working in a camp which is basically autocratically run, "director-centered," or if the camp atmosphere is a cooperative one and the staff member feels that he can wholeheartedly share in the leadership process. In addition, if the new staff member has begun to establish friendly relations with his co-workers he will find that they can be of great assistance to him in alerting him to his responsibilities should he falter.

The level and quality of supervision in a camp really marks the educational calibre of that particular institution. A number of camps have developed national reputations over the years because of the professional qualities of their supervisory staff. This has been recognized by a number of colleges, Penn State and Temple University, for example, who may allow academic credit to students in courses in the area of Education or Child
Psychology for their field experience at these camps. One large camp is actually accredited by several colleges and has established a working relationship with those institutions in supervising their students during the summer at camp.

On-the-job training usually begins with supervisor observation. The observation of the group leader with his group or the teacher in his class by a qualified social worker or educator has long been recognized as one of the most valuable of all supervisor techniques. The camp setting is particularly conducive to this kind of observation. In a well-operated camp, one can assume that the counselor is observed by his Division Head who is in turn observed by the Head Counselor or the Program Director who is himself observed by the Camp Director or one of his assistants. This chain-of-observation need not be quite so exact—it is conceivable that the Camp Director may observe a counselor as well. The essential element of these observations is that they will result in a follow-up conference and bring some action that will accrue to the benefit of the member of the staff that has been observed. From the point of view of in-service training, these observations should discover the counselor's situation, his needs, and problems as they really are, and enable the Supervisor to provide the specific help needed to the Counselor. When the Supervisor meets with the counselor
he should be able to help with concrete suggestions or material or recommend resources to assist the counselor to help himself.

Obviously, under conditions of "life at camp," full programs of study or training are impossible to carry out. A proper screening and selection process should have assured the camp that the counselor employed had the basic background needed for his particular job in that particular camp. On-the-job training programs are supplementary at best. They can only fill a void or a vacuum which was either unknown before the staff member was hired or because a skill proved to be less than anticipated. For example, a counselor with a Water Safety Instructor Certificate who passed all of the requirements of the American Red Cross related to waterfront activity—maybe unable to transmit or teach the information he himself acquired to another with ease. A good Supervisor can assist such a person by giving him hints and suggestions, providing books on methodology or offering demonstrations in techniques, to help improve the teaching performance of the waterfront counselor.

The supervisory conference usually focuses on the specific needs and problems that a specific member of the staff is having with his specific group or area of responsibility. Despite the pre-camp training of Divisional meetings or other group meetings that are held, the individualization of the training experience really requires
an individual supervisory conference. This takes a great deal of time and is unfortunately not carried out in too many of the camps in our study. A major problem in giving help to the counselor is the fact that he may feel that he is being overly criticized and undermined as the leader of his bunk; and it becomes all the more necessary to have Supervisors who are sensitive to the feeling and emotions of the staff members. Some of the problems that Supervisors discuss with counselors are prosaic and relatively simple to solve, and some are more complex and not always completely solvable. For example:

1. A counselor has run out of games for a rainy day, and he still has a half-hour of bunk period to go. His Division Head must somehow step into the breach and either suggest additional games to the counselor or lead them himself. In the conference which should follow, the Supervisor should prepare a compendium of material on games so that the counselor can study them and be prepared for the next time.

2. A counselor is having difficulty organizing a group to get an activity started. The Head Counselor observes this phenomenon and will have to deal with it at his next conference.

3. A counselor is having difficulty handling a problem child and is losing control. In this case, the Specialty Supervisor observes this occurrence. He is
expected to share his observation with the counselor's immediate supervisor so that a way is found to help the counselor understand more clearly the question of how to handle problems of discipline. Perhaps, an appointment will be made between the counselor and the camp psychologist who can better give the counselor understanding and insight into the factors which make the child behave as he does, and thus help the counselor deal with the situation more intelligently.

4. The counselor is obviously ignoring his bunk group while chatting with another counselor. He is observed by the Camp Director who quietly calls the counselor aside and privately and in a few succinct sentences reminds the counselor of his prime responsibilities to his group.37

Camp practitioners who have studied group work methods generally make every effort to provide for supervisory conferences. Consequently, such conferences are more frequently found in a Center, Federation, some Philanthropic and some Educational camps. The Zionist camps, with one or two exceptions, rarely structure supervisory conferences, primarily because they lack supervisory personnel who are able to handle the role of the supervisor, but also because they are not attuned to the process. The Yiddish camps are also remiss in on-the-job supervision. The Denominational camps vary and no generalizations can be made.

37 Examples adapted from the Division Head Manual, New Jersey "Y" Camps, p. 14 (mimeographed).
Those camps which offer educational programs for children, including discussion periods or informal or formal classes, frequently must conduct in-service programs for staff at the same time. I recall spending endless hours as a Director of a Zionist camp meeting with counselors and lecturing to them and preparing them for the discussions they were to carry out with their campers during the following days. Of course, those camps which have a staff of professional teachers do not require such on-the-job training.

Reference libraries are an essential element for any on-the-job training program. Unfortunately, the quality of such libraries in most camps is quite poor. Despite the fact that forty-eight camps, 87 per cent of the camps responding, indicated that they had staff reference libraries, my personal visit to fifty-eight camps belies the quality of these so-called reference libraries. In most instances, they consisted of relatively few selected books assembled on a shelf in either the Director's, Program Director's or Head Counselor's office, or a few reserved shelves in the Camp Library, if there was a separate Camp Library building. In many cases, a conscientious Supervisor who recommended that a counselor read a particular book, either loaned him his own personal copy or borrowed a copy from a city library on either his or the counselor's day off. The fact that 13 per cent of
the camps had no reference libraries for staff at all is yet another commentary on the serious lack of educational values that persist in many of our camps.

Staff meetings can also serve as a means of staff improvement and may be considered as a part of in-service training. In the first place, the agenda of staff meetings may provide for a discussion of a problem faced by many individuals, thereby obviating the need for each individual to discuss his problem separately with his Supervisor. Secondly, once a question is raised, assuming that the staff meeting is conducted democratically, an opportunity is provided for cooperative and creative participation of many staff members in dealing with the question. The very process of participating in an interchange of ideas is in itself educational.

All too frequently, the agenda of staff meetings consist of announcements of camp activities, and little time is spent in what should be the primary purpose of the meeting, which is to stimulate the growth of staff members in educational insights and skills. Information can be disseminated among staff by way of mimeographed memoranda. Staff meeting time should be designed to achieve definite and important objectives in staff growth. As a matter of fact, the agenda should be planned democratically by either a Staff Council, if it exists, or at least by the top advisory staff and not be the sole responsibility of
the Camp Director. In this way the content of the meeting will probably reflect the common interest of the entire staff. Staff members should be required to prepare for the meeting by assembling reports, gathering data and holding pre-meeting "buzz" sessions with smaller groups of co-workers.

Many camps utilize Divisional meetings as training sessions as the occasion warrants, depending on Divisional needs that arise. The Division Head may discover, for example, that his Division groups are not singing because the counselors simply do not know the songs or that the counselors have not acquired the ability of either leading or teaching singing; or that counselors are in need of bunk projects in Arts and Crafts that they can use on short notice. When these situations face the Division Head, he frequently plans a rest hour meeting devoted to the particular subject that arises, with the purpose of actually teaching the counselors in his Division the specific skills involved. He may arrange to either have one of the counselors take the responsibility for specific parts of the session, e.g., a counselor who can teach a song demonstrating his ability to the others; or he may call in a Camp Music specialist to assist, or make use of any other skilled person in camp who can make a contribution toward the solution of the particular problem.

This training session differs from the Divisional
meeting in that the session is devoted primarily to teaching a skill. The Divisional meeting is devoted primarily to helping guide the Division in a particular program direction through cooperative planning.

The test of whether or not the staff meeting or the in-service program, whatever it may be, is successful depends on the way the member of the staff then functions in fulfilling his responsibilities or performing his duties more skillfully than he did at the outset of the summer.

Moreover, camps are making use of consultants and visiting lecturers to intensify the impact of in-service educational programs. Camps which either cannot afford to employ such personnel or are unable to recruit such people for the full summer, invite specialists in such areas as group dynamics, Jewish education, the arts, music, drama, etc. In some instances, performing artists are invited who entertain either the entire camp or some portion of it, or just staff, and then remain for a period of time to instruct in their area of proficiency. For example, I have been invited by several camps to serve as Consultant on Jewish programming, have usually delivered the Friday evening and Saturday morning sermons, but then spend the remainder of a full week-end conferring with supervisory staff and counselors with regard to the specific implementation of some aspect of Jewish programming being undertaken by either a bunk or a Division or the entire camp. The camp
specialists, whose schedule frequently allows them more leisure time than other staff, are more and more utilized for instructional purposes with staff during their free hours. In many instances, special sessions are held for staff members in the evenings after the campers are in bed.

We have been discussing the educational programming for staff from the point of view of helping staff relate to their camper responsibilities. A very significant consideration has to do with the responsibility of the camp for the education of the members of staff, qua staff, for their own needs and purposes. It is becoming increasingly evident to the more perceptive Camp Directors that staff constitutes a "service client" group, if not to the same extent then at least to some extent as the camper group. This means that the education and growth of the staff member should be a concern to the camp administration just as is the growth and development of the child. From the point of view of the Jewish community, this phenomenon is of great importance since these college students represent that group in Jewish life which is most alienated from the Jewish Establishment. A Jewish camp with a staff of 548 college students offers a formidable challenge both intellectually and emotionally with regard to their commitment and identification to Jewish life. The Denominational and Zionist camps and a few of the Educational camps are well aware of their educational opportunities with staff,
since they include their staff in their formal and informal programming. For example, at the Ramah camps during class hours, every member of the community, staff as well as children, must study. The teaching staff takes over and the program staff become students. They have their own classes on their own levels and become a part of the all-pervading atmosphere of dedication to study.

This same approach applies to the Zionist camps where during the hours that campers study Hebrew, all staff members must also study. Over and above the participation of staff in this type of educational programming, staff committees or staff councils in these camps also arrange evening cultural and educational activities which may consist of lectures, films, discussion groups and the like.

The need to provide staff with meaningful activities during their free time has been discussed elsewhere. Generally, these hours have been filled with recreational and social activities, although we have already noted that some camps, recognizing intellectual cravings of at least part of their staff, try to provide for some broad cultural programs as well. One camp is negotiating with a neighboring college to actually offer a credit course during the eight-week season so that counselors may earn needed college credits and at the same time be able to take a summer job. We have already seen that some of our better college students do not even apply for camp jobs because
they attend summer school.

A number of Center, Federation and some Philanthropic camps have organized seminar groups on "Careers in Social Work." These programs were instituted in 1963 at the suggestion of the National Jewish Welfare Board to help in the recruitment of personnel for Jewish communal service. Camps generally work in cooperation with a graduate School of Social Work and establish a continuing seminar in camp for a selected group of counselors who seem to be potential candidates for Jewish communal service. The seminar includes lecturers with such topics as "Social Work Values," "Group Work Services in the Jewish Community Center," "What is the Place of Authority in Your Work with Campers?" "Case Work and Counseling Services," "Where Do We Go from Here? Professional Opportunities and Professional Education."

Students meet at least one a week for a two-hour session, are required to read and write papers, and frequently are taken on field trips to nearby large Jewish communities where they visit a sampling of Jewish communal agencies. To encourage attendance and participation in this program, the staff members are generally given an extra stipend.

It will be interesting to see whether the Jewish Educational programs for staff in these camps will develop as the need increases. A concerted effort will have to be made to plan, program and staff such endeavors if they are to succeed.
6. **Counselor-In-Training Program**

Forty of the 100 camps in our study offered counselor-in-training programs for older teenagers. These programs evolved because of two needs of camps. On the one hand, Camp Directors were looking for means of attracting teenagers to camp. They had discovered that beyond the age of fourteen or fifteen, camping had lost its appeal to youngsters, and secondly, in order to train counselors for their own camp operation. These programs may be of two or three-year duration. Some typical descriptions would include the following:

A counselor-in-training program limited to 10 boys, ages 17 or 18 who are high school seniors or graduates and 10 girls, ages 16 and 17, going into their senior year of high school. This is a leadership training program, supervised by professional staff. Seminars and individual conferences are Child Development and Group Procedures. Counselors-in-training assist in children's groups and specialty areas. Extensive trips are made to cultural and historical places of interest, colleges, concerts and summer theatre. They also visit other camps to observe and evaluate their programs.

In July of 1951, Massad in cooperation with the Department of Education and Culture of the Jewish Agency, established the Institute of Jewish Leadership at Camp Massad in Tannersville, Pennsylvania. In 1960, a second branch of the Institute was established at Dingman's Ferry, Pennsylvania. The Machon is conducted at both Massad camps during the months of July and August under the guidance staff of Massad. The camp, with its excellent cultural and recreational program and its sports facilities, provides an ideal laboratory for the young trainees. Here, the theoretical is easily transformed into the practical by virtue of the close proximity of both. The aims of the Machon are to train counselors for Hebrew summer camps; to enrich the Hebrew, cultural background of Jewish youth and to imbue them with
the ideals of Jewish renaissance, and to train leaders for Zionist Youth Movements as well as for other activities of the American Jewish community.

The program introduces the CIT's to the Jewish educational, cultural and religious program of our camps, and thus helps them to prepare to function effectively in the Jewish cultural program at Cejwin and as an interested and informed Jewish leader in the Jewish community later on.

Most camps limit the size of the CIT group and are somewhat selective in choosing candidates. In almost every case the candidate must have been a camper of that particular camp or a member of the youth movement sponsoring the camp. Cejwin camps, for example, requires the candidate to be sixteen years old, have completed two years of high school, attended as a camper at Cejwin for at least three full seasons, have a good record as a camper, and be recommended by his Head counselor. In addition, the applicant is expected to have a "basic" Jewish education and an interest in Cejwin's Jewish, educational, and cultural programs. Maturity, a sense of responsibility and a capacity for growth and development into a good counselor are also required. How this latter requirement is measured would be interesting to discover.

Other camps accept ex-campers, and there are even a few who will accept youngsters of the proper age without previous camping experience, if the group is under-registered.
The Denominational camps, particularly the Denominational Conservative, have elevated acceptance into their leadership training program, called "Mador," to a very high status level for this age youngster. The candidates are chosen very carefully and must have unusual Hebrew background and personal religious commitment in consonance with the philosophy of the camp, and must be attending a Hebrew high school program.

**TABLE 31**

CAMPS WITH COUNSELOR-IN-TRAINING PROGRAMS AMONG THE 100 CAMPS IN THE STUDY BY CATEGORY OF CAMP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category of Camp</th>
<th>Total Number of Camps</th>
<th>Number of Camps that Have C.I.T. Program</th>
<th>Percentage of Camps That Have C.I.T. Program</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Private</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Federation</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>25.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Center Camps</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>48.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>71.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yiddish</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>40.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zionist Camps</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>53.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philanthropic</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denominational Traditional</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>25.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conservative</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>66.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reform</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>57.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hebrew</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>40.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It is an astonishing fact that camps which yearly face the problem of serious shortages of proper personnel have not developed counselor-in-training programs so that they might, in some measure, help train their own indigenous staff. We have quoted Graenum Berger, Consultant on Jewish Camping for the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of New York City, several times with regard to the "chronic shortages in every type of personnel . . . evidenced last summer and . . . not likely to improve this year," and yet only two of the eight Federation camps have a CIT program and none of the ten Philanthropic camps have such a program. Among Center camps, which generally have the finest resources for operating such a program, only twelve of twenty-five camps conduct a specific CIT program. Several other Center camps have teenage programs whose intent and purpose, however, is not the same as a counselor-in-training enterprise.

The fact that only seven of the thirteen Zionist camps have a CIT program can be explained by the fact that the largest Zionist groupings of camps, Habonim and Young Judaea, have set aside special leadership training camps to which candidates are sent from throughout the country. The individual camps in these associations consequently do not operate their own CIT programs. Only two of the Yiddish camps have a CIT program and only two of fourteen private camps deal with teenage children.
Among the Denominational camps, only one of the
Traditional camps has a program. Four of the six Con­
servative camps do. However, this pattern may change
since the Conservative Movement also has a national
leadership training camp in Nyack. However, as indicated
elsewhere, the Madorniks also serve as staff aides and
have become an integral part of the overall staff picture.
Among the Reform camps, four are involved in some form of
leadership training activity. Not all of these camps
operate typical CIT programs of eight weeks duration; some
of them run leadership training seminars for shorter periods
of time.

The quality of the programs varies. Some of the
camps assign their finest personnel to work with these
young people, and the results are unusual. A number of
camps combined the CIT program with a work program and a
travel program so that unusual educational opportunities
are presented to the participants. In one camp I visited,
an outstanding professor of Group Dynamics at a local
University served on staff, and the Director of the teen
camp which included the leadership training program was
an outstanding Jewish educator. In other camps I have
observed campers in these programs being "used" by camp.
In some cases, they are waiters or are responsible for
other menial tasks around the camp. In other instances,
camps begin using these young people as relief counselors
or "fill-ins" long before they are ready for such responsibility.

There is no question but that a properly organized and supervised CIT program can be of great benefit to young people between the ages of sixteen and eighteen who are in great need of a group camping experience which is both challenging and intellectually stimulating, as well as to the camps themselves which are searching for qualified staff.

7. **Staff Responsibilities**

   a. **Relating to Campers**

   In our discussion of the camper in Chapter V, it was pointed out camps were group centered, but at the same time, if they were to provide educational and satisfying experiences to each camper, the camps had to accommodate to the individual differences of the children, without destroying the cohesion of the group.

   The primary need of the human personality is affection. Second in importance is the need for ego-gratification. To be accepted is one of the basic needs of the growing child—a need that a good family and a good group education (italics mine) must aim to supply.\(^{39}\)

   The key figure in this entire process in the camp is the cabin counselor—who, as the group leader, is the most influential of all the factors operating in the

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camp setting. It is the counselor who must "have the
ability to understand and respond to the needs and desires
of this group; have the capacity to help his group express
these desires constructively and progressively; and the
ability to focus the attention of his group on oneself."40

Leadership is required in every group. However,
it need not always come from the counselor or the super-
visor. Members of the group itself, campers in a cabin
group, counselors in a large staff group, may rise up to
stimulate others to worthwhile activity.

We have already described the effect of group
pressure and suasion as a principle for influencing in-
dividual behavior. Within the context of staff respon-
sibilities, it must be understood that:

The counselor on-the-job directs this pressure
and restrains it when the effects threaten to become
destructive. It becomes apparent that the counselor,
or his influence through camper-leaders, needs to be
present whenever the group is together, if continuous
functioning of his leadership is to be felt by his
group. His group's morale will be weakened if his
influence is withdrawn.41

Among the camps in our study, the relationship
between the campers and staff generally follows the
principles set forth above, that is, that counselors are
with their groups continuously and Division Heads circulate
among the divisional groups. In most camps counselors live
with their cabin group and move with them from activity

40 Elmer F. Ott, So You Want to be a Camp Counselor
41 Ibid.
to activity. The cabin counselor sits at the same table and, aside from some time-off, is with the group twenty-four hours a day.

Other camps, particularly the smaller and medium sized and especially the Zionist camps, while recognizing the central role of staff leadership with the cabin group, allow for greater flexibility in scheduling so that a cabin counselor is not necessarily with his own group all the time. These arrangements have evolved because of practical considerations, e.g., cabin counselors double as specialists, or because of principle. The principle calls for members of a small camp community to individually learn to relate to the total community. A cabin counselor will, therefore, sleep with his group and be with them until breakfast, but need not sit with them in the dining hall. As a matter of fact, no seats are assigned and the campers are also free to sit where they please, the only control being that a counselor must be seated at each table in the dining hall. The campers move from activity to activity, meeting different staff personnel at each activity, sometimes their own cabin counselor. The cabin counselor usually spends the rest hour with his group and rejoins them just before flag-lowering and then usually remains with them for the balance of the camp activity day.

The camps which are more traditional from the point of view of group work method keep the cabin counselor
with his group all the time, as we have noted, and he assists the other staff personnel who must deal with the group. The only exceptions to this procedure relates to those times during the day when campers may be allowed "free choice" and the cabin group breaks-up for individualized activities.

Many camps have become so involved with reports and forms and other aspects of "administrivia" that all too frequently supervisory staff become chair- or office-bound, do not circulate around the camp and have the opportunity to observe, first hand, the operation of the program or the performance of the staff. This is unfortunate and is being recognized as such by many Camp Directors who are employing administrative assistants to handle the desk work so as to leave them free to relate more directly to campers and staff.

b. Relating to Administration

The wise camp administration recognizes that the success or failure of the total camp program rests on a good camp staff with a high morale, a clear understanding of camping, and committed to the goals and objectives of that particular camp.

The camp staff should be viewed as a functioning organism within the larger camp community, rather than as a combination of individuals filling various positions. The camp staff possesses—or should possess—a collective personality, conceived not as
Aside from setting the tone of the camp and generating the atmosphere, the staff serves as the "value center" of the camp in operation. The extent of its maturity, the number of members who return from year to year, and the leadership qualities of the group really determine the educational value of the entire enterprise.

Good staff relations, open, candid and wholesome, interplay between staff members on all levels, a feeling of truly participating democratically in the decision-making at camp, will lead to a satisfied staff, or, if the reverse is true, to a frustrated and bitter group which will affect the morale of the total camp.

Good staff relations obviously start long before the camp season, and we have already discussed the various factors related to recruitment and selection of staff, which help determine the pattern of good working relations. Conditions at camp which add to the development of good relations between the administration and the staff and vice-versa include a variety of items also alluded to in other sections of our study, such as working schedules and time-on and time-off; living quarters and housing; opportunities and facilities for meeting the social, educational and recreational needs; the fact that staff

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42 Dimock, op. cit., p. 93.
relations must be governed by the democratic ideal and method; and the like.

Those aspects of staff relations which can be improved by practical measures, usually the expenditure of money, are being carried out by most camps in proportion to their fiscal abilities. Most camps now recognize the need, for example, of adequate staff housing. The real struggles which are taking place in the camps in the area of staff relations have to do with ideas, concepts and their implementation.

The lack of democratic processes I found among the fifty-eight camps is profoundly disturbing. It is only from visits and first hand impressions that opinions can be formed; simply reading camp literature could convince anyone that democracy was flourishing in every camp.

Too many camps are still autocratically run. As a group, the Private camps sin most in this direction. Staff are employees and subject to the direction of the owner or his designate. There are, of course, variations and colorations within autocracy. Semblances of staff involvement may be discerned even in these camps. It is, however, rare to find the staff in these camps having a sense of proprietorship in the camp. It is not theirs in any sense.

Camps whose key staff have had group work training are more sensitive to the democratic spirit and try more
consciously to involve more staff members in the overall "process" of the camp. Meetings are more frequently scheduled and individuals encouraged to participate in decision-making. Decisions are made on echelon levels, but there is a feeling of staff representation in most discussions which affect camp life.

The Denominational and Hebrew camps, particularly the Traditional and Conservative, are sometimes hampered in the process of participatory democracy of the staff because they are bound by certain "traditions" which cannot be democratically resolved and are often not even opened to discussion. Staff in a Center camp may be deeply involved and concerned about the entire problem of Sabbath observance in the camp. In a Traditional or Conservative camp, staff may be equally concerned, but the pattern of Sabbath observance has been pre-determined and is not really subject to discussion for change. Some discussions may take place at a Ramah camp, for example, in connection with collectively establishing a policy with regard to permitting campers or staff the right to flip electric switches on the Sabbath. However, within the Conservative camps, it is the right-wing position which is almost invariably followed and "liberal" conservatives are denied their own democratic rights within their own movement to institute meaningful change. The fact that many of these camps have a number of rabbis on
staff, usually in key positions, also serves as a deterrent for democratic use of the group process among staff members. The authority-image of the rabbi must first be dispelled and it must be noted that, in a number of the Denominational camps, some success has been achieved along these lines and there is a move toward a more permissive and cooperative attitude on the part of the camp directors and others in administrative or supervisory positions toward the lower echelons of staff.

Democratic practices are probably more prevalent among the Zionist camps than any others. Most decisions in Zionist camps are made, after prolonged discussion and rhetoric, by the total staff. The hanhalah, or top supervisory staff representing the more mature element in camp, are limited in the types of decisions left to them. There are, however, dangers from an excess of democracy despite the fact that this seems to be a contradiction in terms. Every democratic society has found it prudent and necessary to place certain limitations on members of the society with regard to qualifications for participation in making decisions which will affect the total community. The United States requires that a voter be a minimum of twenty-one years of age, for example. Since camp is a total community and serious decisions frequently must be made, one may question certain forms of over-permissiveness at times found in some of the Zionist camps.
"Personality cults" have also arisen in a number of camps. Despite claims of democratic administration and staff participation, it is quite clear to any perceptive visitor who really makes the decisions. In many cases these decisions may be perfectly proper and in the best interest of the total camp community. The effect of such a personality on staff generally has two opposite and conflicting influences. It may alienate and embitter the staff and most will not return to the camp for the following summer, or the charismatic aura of the director has a tremendous personal influence on the staff member and he becomes as a "hasid" to a "rebbe."

As already noted elsewhere, the nature of the counseling staff, the college student, is also radically changing the whole area of staff relations to administration, supervisors and inter-staff relations. Some members of camp counseling staffs are the same college students who are demonstrating on campus and show complete disdain for normal democratic process, structure or respect for authority. The social upheaval and the rapidly changing values of these campus youth are finding their way into the camp setting and will have to be dealt with realistically and honestly.

8. Evaluation of Staff

The systematic appraisal of staff is a very in-
fluential factor in raising the standards of a camp. An evaluation of each member of the staff, both during the summer and at the end of the season, will help the camp administration reach vital decisions about each person that can benefit the camp and the individual as well. Promotions, transfers within camp, recommendations for dismissal or re-employment may result from such an evaluation. Each camp should develop its own appraisal plan and it should be the outgrowth of cooperative staff involvement. Standardized rating scales are available as models from the American Camping Association and from the Camping Department of the National Jewish Welfare Board.

A "check list for evaluation" was prepared by JWB for all aspects of the camp program including staff evaluation. However,

The ultimate measure of the effectiveness of a staff member can be determined only in the light of what happens to the campers, whether his contact with them is direct or indirect, casual or continuous, relatively superficial or intensive. One can observe a counselor, record one's observations, rate his performance in a scale prepared for that purpose, submit him to situational tests devised for the purpose of trying him out in areas where weakness or limitations are suspected, engage him in group discussions, interview him, test him in other ways. All of these procedures are relevant and useful. The "payoff" however comes only when one establishes the relationship between his behavior as a person and his performance as a leader and the behavior of the campers affected by him.43

One of the principles of appraisal or evaluation is based upon the concept of accountability. Just as each member of the camp community is structurally and supervisorily related to another or others in the hierarchy of the Table of Organization, so is he responsible for the performance of his responsibilities as delineated in the job descriptions and accountable for evaluation. The appraisal by a supervisor of a subordinate is intended to serve several purposes. First and foremost, it is a method used for improving practice and performance or production. The individual conferences and guidance which are part of the evaluation process are intended to reduce the gap between the camp's stated standards or goals and objectives and the actual practices taking place. Secondly, the evaluation includes recommendations for immediate action—a suggested transfer to another Division with different age children, for example, or possibly dismissal—or recommendations for future employment and added responsibility. The appraisals may form the basis for the agenda of staff meetings on various levels, if similar problems keep recurring among a number of counselors within a particular Division. Thus, staff training is also a direct outgrowth of the evaluation process.

The manner in which camps structure their evaluation procedures varies. In most camps, it is the immediate
supervisor who bears the greatest responsibility. Supplementary evaluations may be added to the staff member's dossier, including reports from specialists or any other supervisory personnel with whom the counselor directly relates. Supervisory staff is also evaluated, usually by other supervisors on higher echelons. The "master evaluator" is, of course, the Camp Director.

Members of staff, on all levels are generally aware that they are being evaluated continuously. Counselors are usually informed that just as they are expected to keep cumulative records on campers, similar records are being kept on them. How this affects the staff member's performance on the job with "big brother" watching depends completely on the total atmosphere in the camp and the rapport and relationships that exist between members of the staff on all levels. It also depends on the techniques and methods used for appraisal.

A democratically and educationally oriented camp will understand that "fundamental to all appraisal is a genuine disposition and capacity to questions, invite criticism, welcome new ideas, undertake deliberate departure, make experiment. Appraisal flourishes in a social climate of this sort.\textsuperscript{44} In such a camp, the evaluation process includes an opportunity for each member of the staff to prepare a written report covering his own work,

\textsuperscript{44}Hendry, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 233.
with comments and suggestions for the future. These "self-appraisals" should be collected and read and edited by a staff elected committee, which would prepare an "operations-analysis" and summarize the various individual reports. External appraisals are also in order even to the extent of bringing in a consultant for the purpose.

The forms most commonly used for evaluating staff members are either a check-list type form or one which requires narrative summaries under topic headings. Examples from both, as suggested by the American Camping Association.45

While this discussion has been basically limited to the evaluation of staff, it should be noted even parenthetically, that appraisal, to be at all effective, must include the entire camp operation and should include the participation of all the partners involved in the camp. Parents and campers, all of camp staff, educational and non-educational, contributors such as Federations or other Welfare agencies or Foundations, camp committees and Boards, neighbors, suppliers, concerned educators, public health officials, to name some, all have a share in the camp and, in accordance with the principle of accountability, should both participate in the process and be informed of the results of the appraisal when it

Most agency and organizational camps require the Camp Director to submit a written report at the end of the season. Such reports should be required of all directors of all camps and should be made a matter of public knowledge.

It is really impossible to judge the success of staff in the camps in our study in any objective way. There are, of course, many indicators. The extent to which children return to the same camp year after year is undoubtedly a reflection of the effectiveness of the staff. Camps which have educational or ideological goals realized by large numbers of both campers and staff allow for a value judgment: The percentage of returning staff to a camp is also a measure of success. However, the subtle effects of the staff member on the growth and development patterns in the life of the child may not be directly or consciously discernible for years. One thing is clear: the essence of a positive Jewish educational camp experience undoubtedly emanates from a qualified staff.
CHAPTER VII

PROGRAM

This chapter will concern itself with the ways and means whereby the camps in our study implement their stated goals and objectives through activity programs in their daily schedules in both the general and Jewish areas, with an emphasis on the Jewish aspects of programming.

We have already established the fact that "program" includes the entire environment of the child or the member of staff in the camp. Program comprises every experience each person will have in his relationship with the camp. Included are planned and unplanned activities, the inter­relationships between all members of the camp community, camper to camper, camper with counselor, staff with staff, staff with campers, as well as the methodology of the process.

Program is conceived in this manner because it is the means used to exploit the innate advantages of the camp setting. Because one is dealing with a "voluntary" community for the most part and there is a learning "readiness," because there is control over the immediate environment and this environment is comparatively small
and relatively simple where the tempo and pressure of life can be regulated; because the natural camp environment is itself bursting with opportunities for activities that children enjoy and finally, because the ratio of adult leadership to campers is greater than this ratio in any other educational setting—a minimum of one to eight—and each child can receive a high degree of individual attention, the planning and implementation of camp programming is the central concern of the camp administration.

If we conceive of program as a process through which the camper can express his creative drives as well as find fulfillment of his basic needs, counselors must inevitably accept each camper action, scheduled or unscheduled, as an integral part of the total camp program. The counselor must fully appreciate that in the camp setting there is constantly present an atmosphere which stimulates camper activity with or without previous planning, and the utilization of the atmosphere for camper activities motivated by the counselor constitutes the camp program.¹

Program policies in camps having good educational leadership generally include a primary concern for the growth and development of the individual rather than in merely keeping campers occupied by means of activity programs. This results in having all activities at camp constantly relate to the individual camper. However, it then follows that all these camp activities must be related to the overall objectives of camping and to the

specific aims of the particular camp. Since the "total personality" of the individual is also involved, another concern relates to sensible balance and variety in programming. Activities should be cooperatively and democratically planned so as to provide opportunities for such behavioral diversities as: quiet creative expression through the arts and muscular action through games; noisy action and quiet relaxation; group activities and individual exploits; competitive activities and non-competitive; co-ed socializing and separate boy or girl programming, to illustrate striking examples.

Programming policies of camps usually reflect realistically the kind of camper, the kind of physical plant, the kind of staff, and the kind of concerns the camps have about the way human beings grow and their understanding of the kind of world they live in, especially their relationship to the Jewish community.

A typical partial listing of the factors involved in the program approach of Center camps is offered below. It is part of the official statement of the Program Policy of the New Jersey "Y" Camps as adopted by the Board of Managers of the Camps after intensive study of the purposes and program of the organization. It should be noted that this camp serves sixteen Jewish communities in the state of New Jersey.

1. We seek to make the child happy. We think the best way of doing so is by learning the wishes
and needs of each camper and setting up ways and means of best reaching them. Happiness is achieved through fulfillment of basic needs.

2. "Decentralization" is one of the best means of assuring attention to individuals. Small groups can usually plan their activities around their own living needs—and program can be adapted to the child, avoiding the compulsion to make the child conform to program planning which is inevitable in the "scheduled activity camp."

The basic unit of program must be the bunk-group, small enough to permit the close-knit atmosphere of group or family life, where each child can be recognized as a distinct personality whose needs can be actively considered by fellow-campers and counselors. The dynamics of group living are present—ready to be used. This does not exclude use of program, based on "special activity interest" also, nor of carefully planned "mass activities," since these can serve the experience needs of children not provided in the "bunk-centered" program.

3. An adult counselor, trained and supervised as best as we can arrange to do so, relates to a camper and his group in a continuing fashion, definitely fixed with the responsibility of understanding and helping each child in his "family" group, move towards the camp objectives.

4. Democracy is lived and experienced at camp as fully as possible, in situations which permit individual and group self-expressions, while guarding respect for the needs and rights of others. This means participation of campers and staff in "decision-making" on all possible levels, as feasible within the camp framework.

The camp program must also relate the child and staff to the total American democracy and society of which we are an integral part, and to the goals of a free and peaceful world.

5. Motivation for (activities) doing things must come from self satisfaction, interest, group approval and positive adult guidance. Abandoned is the reliance on competitiveness and awards as motivating techniques which (a) cause children to miss the real values in an experience; (b) do little for basic personality growth since they might further discourage the
"have nots," while further unbalancing the "haves" in their social relationships; (c) leads to the kind of individual and group antagonisms which violate the basic camp objectives; (d) releases the counselor from his basic responsibility, by substituting cheap and momentary excitement as a tool for stimulating, rather than the understanding which he should use.

This does not mean the abandonment of games or sports which are important and not possible without competition. We are again speaking of "competition" as a motivating technique by staff when unrelated to the perceived needs of children.

6. Full use of all facilities and activities possible at camp is desirable. Each child should gain as wide a personal experience as possible. Nature and the outdoor life are particularly important.

7. The camp should make available the kind of individual guidance which helps to meet special needs of campers.

8. The program activities and methods must be geared to the specific needs of children at their own age level.

9. The camp must maintain the kinds of records on campers and activities which enable the parent, community and camp administration to best evaluate and continue the growth of each individual child.

1. General Camping Activities

Program is indeed the sum total of every experience that takes place in the camp. Our study has already dealt with a large variety of these programming aspects. Goals and objectives as viewed by all participants in the camping enterprise, the physical plant and its relationship to program, budget and finance and how they determine the scope and intensity of the effort, the recruitment and selection of campers and the effect of the nature
and background of the camper on the development of program, the overriding problem of staff who play the central leadership role in programming on all levels, have been discussed. What remains to investigate are the camp schedules and the organized activities, both structured and unstructured, which make up the camper's and staff's daily life.

Despite the protestations that "camp program" is not merely a matter of a schedule of activities, and notwithstanding a deep-felt agreement with the concept of a "total approach," nevertheless, a significant measure of a successful camp is whether or not its activity program is in consonance with its goals, how well it is planned and directed, and how satisfying and meaningful the activities are or become to the campers and staff.

a. **Daily Time Schedules**

Let us first turn our attention to a few sample Daily Time Schedules of representative camps. These schedules will illustrate how various camps apportion blocks of time for various activities. The amounts of time allotted are generally indicative of the value placed on the particular activity by the camp. An explanation of the possible variety of specific activities within a particular time slot will follow.
TABLE 32
SAMPLE DAILY SCHEDULE
PRIVATE CAMP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8:00</td>
<td>Reveille--wash and dress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8:45 - 9:00</td>
<td>Flag raising</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:00 - 9:45</td>
<td>Breakfast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:45 - 10:30</td>
<td>Clean-up and Inspection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:30 - 11:30</td>
<td>First period</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:30 - 12:30</td>
<td>Second period</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:30 - 1:00</td>
<td>Recall--letter writing, dress, relax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:00 - 2:00</td>
<td>Lunch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:00 - 3:00</td>
<td>Rest period on beds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:00 - 3:50</td>
<td>Third period</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:50 - 4:00</td>
<td>Milk squad--prepare for next activity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:00 - 5:00</td>
<td>Fourth period</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:00 - 6:00</td>
<td>Fifth period</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6:00 - 6:20</td>
<td>Wash or shower, dress and relax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6:20 - 6:30</td>
<td>Flag lowering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6:30 - 7:15</td>
<td>Dinner</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

JUNIOR CAMP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7:15 - 7:45</td>
<td>Supervised free play</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7:45 - 8:00</td>
<td>Prepare for evening activity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8:00 - 8:30</td>
<td>Evening activity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>Taps</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

INTERMEDIATE CAMP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7:15 - 7:45</td>
<td>Supervised free play</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8:15 - 8:30</td>
<td>Prepare for evening activity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8:30 - 9:30</td>
<td>Evening activity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:00</td>
<td>Taps</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SENIOR CAMP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7:15 - 8:15</td>
<td>Supervised free play</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8:15 - 8:30</td>
<td>Prepare for evening activity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8:30 - 10:00</td>
<td>Evening activity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:30</td>
<td>Taps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERIODS</td>
<td>MONDAY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BUNKS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>swim.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>instrc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>swim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>instr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>swim.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>instr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>boat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ski</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>arts &amp;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>crafts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>volley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ball</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This is but a partial schedule but is sufficient to clearly indicate that these camps are primarily sports centered with a minimum of what might be called cultural activities. The number of activity periods may vary in the Private camps, most of them actually having five periods. This usually allows for two swim sessions a day, morning and afternoon, and three other sports, crafts or pioneering opportunities. Time at the lake-front may be divided between swimming, boating, sailing, and the like, depending upon the facilities available. The variety of different sport activities to be found at these camps is quite imaginative, however, the basic games campers most seem to enjoy are baseball, basketball and water sports. It should be noted that in the particular Private camp serving as the model for this schedule, the daily schedule includes the Saturday schedule as well. Some private camps do have a separate schedule of activities on the Sabbath, but most do not.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7:10</td>
<td>Reveille</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7:30</td>
<td>Line-up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7:40</td>
<td>Flag raising</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8:00</td>
<td>Breakfast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8:45</td>
<td>Clean-up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:20</td>
<td>Inspection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:40</td>
<td>Sick-call</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:45</td>
<td>Period 1 (50 min.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:45</td>
<td>Period 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:15</td>
<td>Wash-up - youngest division</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:30</td>
<td>Lunch - youngest division</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:55</td>
<td>Wash-up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:15</td>
<td>Lunch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:00</td>
<td>Rest hour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:10</td>
<td>Period 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:10</td>
<td>Milk period</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:30</td>
<td>Period 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:40</td>
<td>Period 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:15</td>
<td>Wash-up, youngest division</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:30</td>
<td>Supper, youngest division</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:30</td>
<td>Wash-up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6:00</td>
<td>Line-up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6:05</td>
<td>Flag lowering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6:15</td>
<td>Supper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7:00</td>
<td>Sick call</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7:30</td>
<td>Evening activity</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7:30</td>
<td>Reveille</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8:00</td>
<td>Line-up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8:15</td>
<td>Flag raising</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8:30</td>
<td>Breakfast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:30</td>
<td>Sick call</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:05</td>
<td>Clean-up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:10</td>
<td>Inspection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:45</td>
<td>Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:00</td>
<td>Lunch - entire camp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:15</td>
<td>Period 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:10</td>
<td>Milk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:45</td>
<td>Period 2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TAPS - ENTIRE CAMP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Division</th>
<th>Time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Youngest Division</td>
<td>8:00 p.m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junior Division</td>
<td>8:30 p.m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intermediate Division</td>
<td>9:00 p.m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior</td>
<td>9:30 p.m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday</td>
<td>10:30 p.m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturday</td>
<td>10:00 p.m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.I.T.</td>
<td>10:00 p.m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday</td>
<td>11:00 p.m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturday</td>
<td>10:30 p.m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waiters</td>
<td>Same as C.I.T.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Staff</td>
<td>11:30 p.m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday</td>
<td>12:30 p.m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturday</td>
<td>12:00 p.m.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SAMPLE ACTIVITY SCHEDULE FOR DAILY PERIODS

SENIOR BOYS DIVISION - YIDDISH CAMP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERIOD</th>
<th>SUNDAY</th>
<th>MONDAY</th>
<th>TUESDAY</th>
<th>WEDNESDAY</th>
<th>THURSDAY</th>
<th>FRIDAY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Swim</td>
<td>Sihah</td>
<td>Swim</td>
<td>Hebrew</td>
<td>Athletics</td>
<td>Dance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>instr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Boat-</td>
<td>Swim</td>
<td>Sihah</td>
<td>Music</td>
<td>Athletics</td>
<td>Swim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ing</td>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td></td>
<td>co-ed</td>
<td></td>
<td>Instr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Dance</td>
<td>Arts &amp;</td>
<td>Music</td>
<td>Athls.</td>
<td>Arts &amp;</td>
<td>Music</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Nature</td>
<td></td>
<td>Crafts</td>
<td>Crafts</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B</td>
<td>B</td>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>B</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Athls.</td>
<td>Athls.</td>
<td>Swim</td>
<td>Swim</td>
<td>Swim</td>
<td>Dress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(The Saturday schedule calls for compulsory attendance at Services in the morning and free swim or free athletics during the day.)

Of the 30 periods during the normal 6 day week, excluding the Sabbath, 16 are allotted to athletics or swimming; 3 to music; 2 to sihah (discussion groups); 2 to arts and crafts; 2 to dance; 2 to nature; 1 for
Hebrew instruction; and 2 periods are given over to prepare for the Sabbath.

**TABLE 35**

**SAMPLE DAILY TIME SCHEDULE**

**CENTER CAMP**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7:30</td>
<td>Reveille</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7:30 - 8:15</td>
<td>Clean-up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8:20</td>
<td>Flag raising</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8:30</td>
<td>Breakfast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:00 - 10:00</td>
<td>Divisional Elective Period</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:15 - 11:15</td>
<td>Period 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:25 - 12:45</td>
<td>Period 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:45 - 1:00</td>
<td>Wash-up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:00</td>
<td>Lunch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:30 - 2:30</td>
<td>Rest period</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:30 - 3:45</td>
<td>Period 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:45</td>
<td>Milk call</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:00 - 5:15</td>
<td>Elective Play</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6:30</td>
<td>Supper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7:30</td>
<td>Evening program</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>TAPS</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8:30</td>
<td>Division 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8:50</td>
<td>Division 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>Division 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:10</td>
<td>Division 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:20</td>
<td>Division 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:30</td>
<td>Division 6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The activities scheduled during the three structured periods are generally those that require advance scheduling and the use of specific camp facilities such as arts and crafts, some aspects of nature study, waterfront instruction, use of the library and the like. The Divisional Elective Period was included in the camp program schedule to provide extra time for staff training, for bunk programming, when and if specific counselors and bunks are ready to use the time, to provide time when, by prior arrangement with the individuals involved,
counselors can see specialists, get supplies, etc. This morning hour can also be used to plan rainy day activities for that very day since the normal schedule will be disrupted, or for some future rainy day. In addition, it is an added period for campers to have other kinds of desired programs of their own planning and choice as well as just plain free time. All counselors are on duty during this period and are assigned to their cabin groups.

An additional unstructured hour and fifteen minutes is provided in the afternoon between 4:00 and 5:15 p.m. for "elective play." This time may be used by the cabin group to pursue any sport they desire if the facility is available. To be sure that playing fields or equipment is prepared for the group, it is necessary that the group pre-plan and organize its own activity.

The daily time schedules of the Educational camps are somewhat dissimilar. During the summer I visited Camp B'nai B'rith in Starlight, Pa., for example, the weekly program plan evolved from the daily and weekly program plans submitted by each staff member to his supervisor, the unit leader. The unit leader was then required to submit a plan for his entire unit to the head counselor who, in turn, had to hand in a detailed program plan for his entire camp to the Program Director based on the aforementioned forms. The specialists were
also required to submit a weekly program plan to their supervisor, the Program Assistant. Since the camp program was on a Sunday to Saturday schedule, plans had to be worked on and turned in at the unit staff meeting held on Saturday nights. The coordination needed to implement such planning was awesome. Program was based on a six period activity schedule and, unlike the program described in the Center camp schedule, this daily schedule was open-ended for some of the six periods.

Four of the other Educational camps include formal class instruction during the course of the day. The daily time schedule of Camp Yavneh is rather typical.

TABLE 36
DAILY TIME SCHEDULE:
CAMP YAVNEH

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6:45</td>
<td>Reveille</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7:00 - 7:15</td>
<td>Exercises and flag raising</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7:15 - 8:00</td>
<td>Morning Service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8:00 - 8:45</td>
<td>Breakfast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8:45 - 9:45</td>
<td>Clean-up of bunks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:45 - 10:00</td>
<td>Inspection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:00 - 10:45</td>
<td>Period 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:50 - 11:45</td>
<td>Period 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:50 - 12:40</td>
<td>Period 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:00 - 2:00</td>
<td>Lunch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:00 - 3:00</td>
<td>Rest hour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:00 - 3:45</td>
<td>Period 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:45 - 4:00</td>
<td>Milk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:00 - 4:45</td>
<td>Period 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:45 - 5:30</td>
<td>Period 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:30 - 6:15</td>
<td>Showers &amp; preparation for dinner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6:15 - 6:30</td>
<td>Lowering of flag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6:30 - 7:30</td>
<td>Dinner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7:30 - 8:30</td>
<td>Evening programs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### SCHEDULE FOR FRIDAY AFTERNOON

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4:00</td>
<td>All activities end</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:00 - 5:30</td>
<td>Strict inspection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:30 - 5:45</td>
<td>Flag lowering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6:00 - 7:00</td>
<td>Evening service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7:00 - 8:15</td>
<td>A festive dinner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8:15</td>
<td>Dancing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### DAILY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Division</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8:45</td>
<td>Youngest division</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>Intermediate division</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:30</td>
<td>Senior divisions</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### FRIDAYS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Division</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>Youngest divisions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:30</td>
<td>Intermediate divisions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:00</td>
<td>Senior divisions</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### SABBATH SCHEDULE

**CAMP YAVNEH**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7:30</td>
<td>Reveille</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8:00 - 9:00</td>
<td>Morning Service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8:30 - 9:00</td>
<td>Reveille for girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:00 - 9:45</td>
<td>Breakfast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:00 - 10:45</td>
<td>But cabins in order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:45 - 11:15</td>
<td>Inspection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:15 - 11:30</td>
<td>Flag raising</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:30 - 12:45</td>
<td>Musaf Service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:00 - 2:00</td>
<td>Sabbath lunch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:00 - 3:30</td>
<td>Rest hour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:30 - 4:15</td>
<td>Free swim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:15 - 4:30</td>
<td>Juice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:30 - 5:45</td>
<td>Discussion and walk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:45 - 6:15</td>
<td>Wash-up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6:15 - 6:30</td>
<td>Flag lowering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6:30 - 7:30</td>
<td>Dinner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8:00 - 9:00</td>
<td>Oneg Shabbat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The activities included in the six scheduled periods per day consist of arts and crafts, tennis, baseball, football or soccer, swimming, studies, library, volleyball, **mahanayim** (an Israeli form of dodgeball),
archery, and basketball. Of the 36 periods scheduled during the normal 6 day week at this camp, formal studies and classes account for 10 periods; use of library, 2 periods; arts and crafts, 4 periods; swimming, 1 period a day for a total of 6 periods; 12 sports periods; and 2 periods set aside for the preparation of the Sabbath.

The schedule at the Hebrew camp Massad is quite similar yet different in some important aspects. The general daily and Sabbath schedules are almost identical. However, of the six activity periods at Massad, two of them are devoted to instructional swimming or general swimming or other waterfront activities. Four periods are therefore left for the other activities. Massad has no formal studies or classes. It does, however, schedule discussion sessions.

Of the 24 periods available for activity scheduling, 2 are devoted to discussion; 2 to arts and crafts; 16 to sports including mahanayim, tennis, volleyball, baseball, punchball, soccer, dodgeball, basketball, boxing, track and field and newcomb; 2 periods are set aside for a free choice of selected activities which include art, choir, dance, scouting and instruction in reading from the Torah; and 2 periods are reserved to prepare for the Sabbath. These activities are descriptive of a cabin group in the eleven to twelve age grouping in camp.
Daily schedules in Zionist camps vary and change from year to year, depending mainly upon staff factors. The schedule at Camp Galil, a member of the Habonim Camping Association, for example, each summer depended upon the number of Hebrew teachers available, as well as how many counselors there were who could lead tsofiyut, scouting or pioneering and how many had work skills and could organize and lead real work projects. The following schedule is therefore a composite sample of a Galil schedule of several years.

**TABLE 37**

**DAILY TIME SCHEDULE**

**CAMP GALIL**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7:15</td>
<td>Reveille</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7:25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7:30 - 8:00</td>
<td>Calisthenics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8:00 - 8:10</td>
<td>Raising of flags</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8:10 - 8:40</td>
<td>Breakfast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8:45 - 9:45</td>
<td>Work projects and/or tsofiyut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:50 - 11:00</td>
<td>Hebrew or Sports</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:00 - 12:00</td>
<td>Hebrew or Sports</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:00 - 12:20</td>
<td>Singing--entire camp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:30 - 1:00</td>
<td>Lunch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:00 - 2:00</td>
<td>Rest hour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:00 - 3:00</td>
<td>Interest groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:00 - 4:00</td>
<td>Sports and swimming</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:00 - 4:15</td>
<td>Milk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:15 - 5:15</td>
<td>Sports and swimming</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:15 - 6:00</td>
<td>Free time &amp; wash-up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6:00 - 6:10</td>
<td>Lowering of flags</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6:10 - 6:50</td>
<td>Supper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7:00 - 8:00</td>
<td>Discussion groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8:00 - 8:30</td>
<td>Free time or preparation for evening program</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:45</td>
<td>Lights out--10 to 12's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:00</td>
<td>Lights out--remainder of camp</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
During the summers when there were a sufficient number of Hebrew teachers, the entire camp studied Hebrew at the same time. Usually this does not happen and the camp must be divided, with half the group studying and the other half engaged in some other activity. The same applies to the avodah, work period, and tsophiyut, pioneering program. Maintenance work around the camp generally can make use of only half the campers and staff who are assigned on a rotation basis according to a work committee. If there are counselors who can lead work projects the remaining half of camp will also work at these projects. If not, tsophiyut is substituted. The pattern is reversed each day. The class and sports pattern extends for a week.

During the sports period, campers are generally free to democratically decide on which games to play. The camp is relatively small, about 180 campers, and facilities varied enough so that a number of sports can be played at the same time, including baseball, basketball, mahanayim, soccer, volleyball, football, track and field, archery and instructional swim offered only in the morning. Between 2:00 and 3:00 p.m. when the interest groups meet, each camper is given the opportunity to make a first, second and third choice, and is then assigned, by lot, in accordance to space to either arts and crafts, Israeli dance, modern dance and choreography, photography,
sewing, orchestra, carpentry, nature and junior lifesaving. These hugim vary each year, depending on the interests of the campers and the capabilities of the staff.

The daily schedule of the Denominational/Conservative camps are very similar to the sample schedule of the Educational camp, with certain minor variations. Camp Ramah in the Poconos, for example, schedules seven activity periods during the day in contrast to the six scheduled by Camp Yavneh. During the morning hours, by contracting the clean-up time and delaying lunch, Ramah manages to schedule four periods, divided into units of two. The entire camp, campers and staff, including the director and supervisors, are divided into two groups, and each group studies for two of the four morning periods. The other two periods are devoted to sports. During the three afternoon activity periods campers are involved in a specialty program, a waterfront activity or a land sport. The camp also operates on a five day schedule and some periods are arranged to meet three days a week and some two days a week. In this way the camper has a broad variety of experiences. He chooses his activities after hearing the specialist describe what he has to offer by way of skills and program in the areas of the arts, nature, photography, pioneering, etc., and the number of campers he will accept in any
given group. The campers make written first, second and third choices and are assigned in accordance to their first choice, if possible, or if not, their second or third. Since Wednesday has been set aside as the day-off for all teachers and specialists, no specialty groups meet on this day, and it becomes a day for Divisional activities. Hikes are usually scheduled for Wednesdays. A skeleton staff is assigned to waterfront so that there is always a lifeguard on duty.

The daily time schedule for Camp Harlam of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, a Denominational/Reform camp in our study, follows the general pattern of Center camps, but offers innovations which are of interest.

TABLE 38
DAILY TIME SCHEDULE
CAMP HARLAM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7:30</td>
<td>Radio Wake-up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7:45 - 8:00</td>
<td>Flag raising &amp; brief Service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8:00 - 8:30</td>
<td>Breakfast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8:30 - 9:00</td>
<td>Clean-up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:00 - 9:40</td>
<td>Period 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:00-10:45</td>
<td>Period 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:00-11:45</td>
<td>Period 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:45-12:00</td>
<td>Relax--prepare for lunch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:15-1:30</td>
<td>Lunch and general singing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:30 - 2:30</td>
<td>Rest hour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:45 - 3:30</td>
<td>Period 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:45 - 4:30</td>
<td>Period 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:45 - 5:30</td>
<td>Period 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:30 - 6:15</td>
<td>Free play</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6:15 - 6:30</td>
<td>Flag lowering &amp; brief Service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6:30 - 7:15</td>
<td>Supper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7:30 - 9:00</td>
<td>Evening program by unit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The radio club at camp installed a communications hook-up into all living quarters and has taken over the responsibility of waking the camp, announcements and music. After the flag is raised each cabin group with its counselor, or sometimes slightly larger units will move off to a quiet spot for a short original service. At flag lowering, the entire camp is involved in a sermonette by one of the rabbis on a thought for the day.

The entire camp is organized into three units so that during the three periods in the morning and the three periods in the afternoon each unit is engaged, as a whole, in some activity. Two of the six periods of the day are devoted to educational pursuits. The study of Hebrew, content subjects, discussions, activity projects in connection with the camp theme are some of the concerns of these two periods. Of the remaining four, two are devoted to the waterfront. Every camper must have a period of instructional swim and a period of general swim. The last two periods are athletics or clubs.

There is no question but that these daily schedules serve as indicators of the values the camps place on the various aspects of their program. However, caution must be exercised in passing full judgment on the overall program of a camp and particularly its Jewish component by solely evaluating the daily schedule. There are too many other factors which play a role that must
be considered, even in the area of programming. The most obvious factor of course is not the quantitative use of time but its qualitative benefits. The value judgments projected by this study have consistently reflected the universal and Jewish goals and objectives of Jewish camping proposed by the writer in Chapter I. A recapitulation of the universal goals is in order at this point since the content of the daily schedules will first be commented upon in light of these stated goals.

Universal and General Goals of Camping

1. To develop the skills and capacities that make for competent citizenship in a democratic society.

2. To cultivate independence, interdependence, self-confidence and become self-responsible, cooperative, and socially well oriented human beings.

3. To acquire the physical skills and habits needed for efficient, healthful living.

4. To develop the character traits that make for good personal adjustments in life—the achieving of constructive social attitudes.

5. To develop critical-mindedness as a basis for judging and evaluation.

6. To develop cultural appreciations and advance aesthetic experiences.

7. To gain a knowledge of the physical world and man's relationship to it.

8. To develop a capacity for the wholesome use of leisure time.

9. To explore vocational interests.
The following comments on the general camping activities of the daily schedule will be limited to those areas which have not been dealt with at any length in other portions of this study or which need some further elucidation. For example, we have already discussed the dining hall and mealtime in the sections on physical plant, kitchen personnel, campers and staff.

(1) Reveille.—Modern electronics have reached most of the camps. Public address systems are used not only to wake the camp, but for interminable announcements throughout the day. Depending on the closeness of neighbors and the acoustics of the location, the loudspeaker may be used for the playing of music, bugle calls or even news broadcasts. Martial music is sometimes used to wake the camp; in Jewishly oriented camps, Israeli records are played. Being awakened to the traditional bugle calls seems to be becoming less and less of a practice.

Reveille on the Sabbath in most Private, Federation, Center, and Philanthropic camps is no different than for the other days of the week, except for a later rising time, in some instances. One Center camp reports, "Reveille an hour later--without using the blast of the P.A. system. Selected campers walked from tent to tent, and from cabin to cabin, saying 'Shabbat Shalom, everybody up,' a real personal touch."² Camps guided by

² Ben Saxe, "Programs and Practices to Achieve the Purposes and Objectives of the Jewish Communal
tradition do not use the loud-speakers on principle on the Sabbath, and wake up the campers individually. Habonim camps do not have reveille at all on the Sabbath—campers arise individually and proceed to the dining hall to take their own breakfast up to 9:30 a.m.

(2) Calisthenics.--A number of camps, Yavneh and Galil among the examples, give the campers ten minutes to get out of bed, dress quickly, and then have them leave the cabin and assemble usually in Divisions, for morning exercises. Simple light gymnastics or running around the field serves to fully awaken the camper, and may over a prolonged period actually add to his muscular growth. Most camps that utilize this practice instituted it as a technique to speed the getting-up process. The daily camp program offers sufficient opportunity for exercise.

(3) Line-up.--This phrase appeared in the schedule of the Yiddish camp and is still employed in a small number of camps. In this particular camp, campers must group themselves in front of their cabin, form a line and, accompanied by their counselor, proceed to the scheduled activity. This formalism is frowned on by most camps where groups move to activities as groups, but in an informal non-structured manner.

(4) Flag raising—lowering.--To the best of my knowledge all of the camps have flagpoles and exhibit
the American flag. A very small percentage of the camps fly the Jewish or Israeli flag as well. Many do not have such a flag at the camp, and view it as the flag of a "foreign" country. Even accepting such a designation of a flag which was the symbol of the Jewish people long before the establishment of the state of Israel, the United States government code of practice with regard to the display of flags and banners permits for the appearance of both the American flag and a Jewish flag, if desired by the camp. On a single flag pole, the American flag must be on the top; when flags are displayed side by side, the American flag is on the right, as one faces the flagpole.

Except for the Zionist camps which display both flags, although one Zionist camp reports it flies the Jewish flag only on the Sabbath, the vast majority of camps in the other categories generally do not fly this flag. Two of the Yiddish camps report that they do; the Hebrew camp does, several of the Educational camps do, the Denominational/Conservative usually do, the Conservative/Reform usually do not. Some camps report that they fly the Jewish flag on Jewish holidays or if the camp is visited by Israelis. Many camps report that the flag is permanently displayed in either the dining hall or the recreation hall.

When this question was posed in the interviews,
it was one of the few that elicited strong emotional responses. Hidden resentments and insecurities came to the surface. Evidence of the fact that a number of the directors had not yet made peace with the reality of Israel in their lives arose from the question, "Does the camp fly a Jewish flag?"

Not all camps that fly flags have flag raising and lowering ceremonies. For example, no such ceremony appears in the daily schedule of Camp Ramah which flies both flags. Someone simply raises and lowers the flag unobtrusively. In most other camps, this ceremony takes place every morning before breakfast and every evening before supper. It may be an elaborate, precise, military-like procedure. In large camps, this is usually conducted along Divisional lines; in small and medium sized camps, the entire camp participates. Groups of campers and their counselors are assigned pre-determined positions, assemble in straight lines, come to attention, may salute, or stand in silence listening to the bugle call, or sing the anthem as the flag goes up or down. Most camps impress upon all the participants the fact that slouching, yelling or horseplay is disrespectful to the flag, and demand and usually receive compliance. Cabins are chosen on a rotation schedule to take charge and pick the individuals who will personally handle the flags. Raising or lowering the flag is treated as a
task of honor in some camps, and campers vie for the privilege.

Some camps have reported some serious problems in connection with the flag, additional evidence of the incursion of campus radicalism in some of the camps. Flags have been burnt or defaced, and camp administration has had to deal with these occurrences and the effects of impressionable young minds. The role of symbols and symbolism in the life of a nation and its citizenry is most certainly subject for study and discussion. The one instance of flag defacement the writer encountered at a camp was in connection with an anti-Viet Nam demonstration, and was very poorly handled by the staff, some of whom were quite sympathetic to the act, most of whom were too immature to comprehend the ramifications of this act of defiance in the minds of the campers.

A number of camps in addition to raising the American flag will also raise a camp flag or a Divisional banner.

(5) Clean-up of bunks and general camp cleanliness.--Cleanliness and good housekeeping are paramount for the health, appearance and morale of a camp. Standards should be set, taught, and implemented on the basis of expected performance related to a standard of living.

Some camps schedule daily inspections of cabins
as do the Private, Yiddish and Educational camps among our sample daily schedule examples. Other camps, particularly those guided by group work method, take another approach.

Campers feel our concern as we struggle to set acceptable standards. The message we try to bring is neither that clean-up is fun nor that it will be rewarded by gold stars or points, but rather that there are jobs which have to be done if we are to live with certain standards. Intrinsic rather than extrinsic motivation is a fundamental value in education, and the camps that educate toward cleanliness without resorting to either rewards or punishment, except the self-satisfying feeling of accomplishment, are performing a more credible educational job.

In most camps the cabin group organizes itself for housekeeping purposes. While each camper makes his own bed and sweeps under it and around his own little area, some type of rotation system is used for the final sweeping of the entire bunk, the emptying of waste baskets, the policing of grounds, etc. Some cabin groups, with proper leadership, undertake bunk improvement projects like making curtains, additional shelves, planting flowers around the bunk, making a sign with the bunk name, making a bunk bulletin board, etc. It becomes redundant to always note that it is the counselor who

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must lead the way. If he pitches in, works with the group and guides the suggestions along acceptable lines—if he serves as an example of cleanliness by the way he keeps his own bed, shelves and cubby, by his always picking up papers as he walks across the fields and depositing them in waste baskets—his campers will follow suit.

Most of the camps use maintenance and caretaking staff for general camp clean-up. The Zionist camps, many of whom follow the principle of avodah atsmit, self-labor, believe that involving the campers as well as staff in caring for the total community is essential, if the member of the community is to really appreciate the functioning of a society and the role of each individual in it. Learning the importance of the most menial tasks is a lesson worth experiencing and even the dirtiest jobs must be approached responsibly. Under this system, the camper gains an insight and appreciation of the contributions hundreds of thousands of human beings are making to general society, working on a social strata far removed from the smug middle-class existence of most of the children who attend all the camps. The level of cleanliness may not be as high in these camps as in the camps where professional cleaners do the jobs, but the morale and esprit de corps is generally higher.

A large number of the camps take special pains in preparing for the Sabbath and in personal and camp
cleanliness as part of the process. As we have seen, the daily schedules of the Yiddish, Educational, Denominational and Hebrew camp set aside activity periods on Friday afternoon for special clean-up. The same is true of the Zionist camps and for selected camps in the other categories.

At Camp Galil, beds are taken out of the bunks on Friday morning, the only day of the week this happens, to be aired and to permit the cabins to be thoroughly swept and washed. Laundry is returned to camp late Thursday and distributed on Friday so that bed sheets will be changed for the Sabbath. After breakfast, the dining room crew of campers removes all the tables and benches from the room, lunch is served picnic style out-of-doors, and during the afternoon avodah periods, the dining hall is scrubbed and shined. The entire afternoon after rest hour is devoted to cleaning the entire camp, every public building, every cabin, and finally, every person. The entire camp community is mobilized for this effort and each person is assigned a task by the camper-staff Work Committee.

A camper can become very dirty at the end of a normal day at camp. No amount of swimming can substitute for soapy showers. Most camps establish a shower schedule to assure each camper at least one shower a day. Supervision is very necessary during this time, especially
for younger campers. Camps with central shower facilities are somewhat more successful in luring recalcitrant boys to the terrors of hot water and soap. The shower house is a socialization point. There is usually less difficulty with girls, but they too require supervision and the teaching of good grooming habits. Girls in most camps put away their make-up kits, except for special occasions. Hair curlers and hair washing is another matter. Some camps forbid the use of cosmetics.

(6) Rest hour and free time.—All camps schedule a rest hour immediately following lunch. This is a time for unwinding, relaxing and even napping. Some camps require the campers to lie prone on their beds for the hour; others restrict the campers to their cabins but permit the playing of quiet games, letter writing, story telling, listening to quiet music or holding discussions. Still other camps permit campers to rest outside of the cabins, usually under shade trees in the area. One camp allows the camper to visit the library during this time, or participate in camper committee meetings. No camp permits active pursuits.

In any case, campers and staff are taught consideration for the resting needs of their peers and bunk-mates.

Free time is variously interpreted by camps. In some camps it simply refers to unscheduled time with no
specific assignment rostered for a cabin group. It is expected that the cabin group will remain together as an entity during this period, but may choose to do as it pleases within certain strictures under supervision.

In other camps, free time is more loosely viewed and is individualized. The camper has the free choice, not merely the cabin group. The individual is free to do what he likes without direct supervision, except as he chooses activities which have their own supervisory personnel. The camper may read, write a letter, take a walk around a prescribed area, have a catch with a friend, go to the crafts shop to work on his project, practice his instrument, etc. It is a time for informal socialization and co-ed activities.

Free time is oftentimes used for staff meetings or staff training, since less staff is required to circulate during times of unscheduled activities. Various camp committees also use this time for planning.

(7) Sick call and health care.--All camps are concerned with the health of every camper and member of staff. Each camp tries to provide the best health and medical services. Most succeed very well; some have varying difficulties. We have alluded to some of the considerations when we discussed the infirmary building in the chapter about the physical facilities of the camps.
The American Camping Association does not require camps to employ a physician. It does require either "a licensed physician and/or a Registered Nurse accredited to practice in the state in which the camp is located." However, in the absence of a resident physician, camps must make arrangements in writing with a nearby licensed doctor to be on call.

The large camps generally have full medical staffs. Doctors receive approximately $1000 and Nurses about $550. As noted elsewhere, doctors are scarce, are usually young men who have just completed their residence and have not yet set up a practice, or are parents of campers who are willing to take their vacation at camp.

According to Graenum Berger, consultant on camping to the Federation camps of New York City,

Nurses are almost impossible to obtain and camps are now resorting to older women, occasionally married women with accommodations for their entire family, part-time nurses obtained for the day from neighboring communities and finally several different nurses or occasionally doctors to fill out the season.

Whatever the medical facility, it is the counselor who is first held responsible for observing the health of his campers. In Private camps, and some Organizational camps as well, elaborate forms must be

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completed by the counselor attesting to the normal bodily functions of the campers in his charge. The writer has seen a form which requires the counselor to list every bowel movement. Most camps are not so meticulous about health record keeping and merely alert the counselor to scan each camper at rising, breakfast, clean-up, etc., for signs of ailment or injury. If signs are found, or if the camper complains, he is to be accompanied to the infirmary during scheduled sick calls, or taken to the infirmary at any other time if the condition seems to warrant immediate action.

Most camps provide the staff, usually in the manual, with information about the most common symptoms and procedures to follow. For example, counselors are admonished never to administer medicine to a camper and to remove all medications found in the cabin to the infirmary, well labelled; or to report any first-aid given to the infirmary; or to look for enuresis during the first week at camp by casually but carefully examining the sheets. This information is usually passed on to the night patrol, who then "taps" the offender and assists him in going to the lavatory.

Another camp reports,

We have a resident physician on call and a staff of three Registered Nurses. Regular sick call is scheduled after breakfast and after dinner at each camp clinic. A Camp Nurse is in
residence at each camp; the Resident Physician is on call throughout the day and night in emergencies, but attends one sick call a day in each Camp. If he decides a camper should be isolated or needs infirmary treatment on an in-patient basis, the counselor will be asked to get him to the Infirmary. The Division supervisor will facilitate this transfer. The counselor must be sure to take along the bed-clothes, robe, slippers, towel and toilet articles, etc. of the camper. It is part of the consideration all decent human beings feel to want to visit those close to us when they are ill and away from the group. Campers can't, but counselors can and should.5

(8) Milk call.—Almost all camps set aside a fifteen minute period during the afternoon to distribute milk and cookies to the campers and staff. It is usually a pleasant, restful interlude. Since most camps and usually all camps observing Kashrut serve dairy lunches, milk is served every day except on the Sabbath when juices are substituted, since the lunch is frequently a meat meal.

(9) Mail call and letter writing.—Helping the camper to develop a sense of responsibility in communicating regularly with their family and friends while they are away from home is yet another aspect of the growth process. A letter is the primary tie to home for the homesick camper or for the worried parent. Here, too, it is the counselor who must supervise the letter writing, seeing to it that each camper writes home at least three times a week. Counselors are usually instructed to

assist campers, especially the younger ones, in composing interesting and informative letters.

Some camps require that charts be kept with a record of out-going and in-coming mail to each camper. Other camps make the posting of a letter mandatory before entering the dining hall on "letter days." Some campers send letters but not to parents, and counselors must then check all mail for correct and legible addresses.

Camps that print their own picture-post cards frequently supply each camper with the first card to send home on the day of arrival to report that all is well.

There are some camps that encourage counselors to write to parents of campers. However, in a number of instances I found that the counselor is asked to discuss the contents with his supervisor. All camps deny any censorship of mail, but some camp directors make it a practice to read out-going post-cards to get a feel of camper sentiment. In no case do I know of a card being withheld.

In-coming mail is generally distributed during rest hour unless it arrives at camp too late for such distribution.

(10) "Taps" and Curfew.--Children of different ages require different amounts of sleep, but all campers need a sufficient amount of good, undisturbed rest.
Most camps endeavor to make the bedtime period one which is quieting and restful for both campers and staff.

There are certain mitigating factors which affect this endeavor, primarily the nature of the just-completed evening program. In many instances, camps schedule evening programs which include a great deal of physical activity on the peculiar theory that this activity will finally exhaust the child and assure him a good night's rest. Frequently, the reverse occurs and a considerable amount of time is required for the camper to unwind and relax after such stimulation. Story-telling is another technique often used, but camps have discovered the need for supervising and controlling even this simple activity, since all too frequently immature counselors tend to further excite their charges with exciting ghost or horror stories. Parenthetically, it might be noted that this story-telling period offers an excellent opportunity for the telling or the reading of interesting stories with Jewish content.

Calmness and firmness is the key to the bedtime procedures when campers must be prodded to perform needed cleaning up and prepare for bed.

Most large camps, where the Divisions are physically separated from each other, are able to stagger more easily the bedtime of the camper according to age
status. This is more difficult to accomplish in the smaller camps where the noise of the intermediate and senior campers reaches the youngest campers and the whole camp rarely settles down until the oldest are actually asleep.

Every boy or girl at all ages needs a personal good-night, no matter how he behaved during the day. The moments before sleep are lonely ones for many children when homesickness becomes more of a factor. It is imperative, therefore, that the counselor of each cabin be present with his group until the youngsters begin dozing and, in fact, until all the children are asleep.

Most camps also set definite bedtimes and curfews for staff as well, and generally provide a system of check-in and bed-check to be sure that these rules are complied with. Eleven p.m. to midnight is the general practice; 1 a.m. for Friday and Saturday evenings. Most camps also permit counselors not on night patrol duty to leave the camp premises. Many members of staff bring their cars with them to camp. These cars generally must be registered with the central office and parked in a specified location. Any counselors leaving the camp must also report this fact to his proper supervisor and also report the names of other members of staff accompanying him in his car.
As already described, staff canteens, lounges and lodges are provided in most camps and staff is encouraged to remain in camp to participate in any staff programs which may have been planned.

(11) Night Patrol Procedures and Camp Security.— Most camps provide for some kind of night patrol procedure. The primary purpose of the night patrol is to maintain quiet in the Divisions and to assure the health and safety of every camper. In decentralized camps, the patrol generally consists of one or two counselors from each Division on a rotating schedule drawn up by the Division Heads who act as Divisional "Officers of the Day" (note the Army terms). The Head Counselors, the Division Heads and the Specialists usually take turns in serving as the chief O.D. A partial list of duties of the Divisional O.D.'s will be helpful in understanding the nature of this responsibility.

1. Counselors are to remain in cabins until personally relieved by the O.D., it being understood that no counselor may leave his bunk until all the campers are quiet.

2. Divisional O.D.'s must make rounds of every bunk or tent in the Division at least once every twenty minutes.

3. All beds must be checked to ascertain that campers are properly protected from falling out of bed and have adequate covering. Second blankets are to be placed on the camper if the weather turns cold. Windows and/or shutters are to be closed if it begins raining.
4. Children with enuresis are to be assisted in going to the lavatory.

5. Any illness or unaccounted absence must be immediately reported to the chief O.D.

6. The Divisional O.D. is not relieved of duty until every counselor in the Division has returned and gone to bed.

7. When all the bunks are covered, the Divisional O.D. should report this fact to the chief O.D. and return to his own quarters.

The chief O.D. then has the responsibility to make whatever judgments are necessary in the case of emergencies or irregularities and either communicate with the final authority, the Camp Director, or handle the matter himself. In some camps, once the night patrol of staff is completed, members of the caretaking staff go on duty to continue patrolling the entire camp for the remainder of the night. Elaborate security systems have been installed in a number of camps, including night watchman stations with time clocks where the men on patrol must check in at pre-determined locations in accordance with a regular schedule. Camps fortunate enough to have a single entrance road or at most a few entrance roads generally fence them, and these are locked after curfew. 6

6 While visiting one camp, I was unfortunately not aware of this phenomenon and when I arose at 6 a.m., intending to leave the camp to visit a neighboring institution, I found myself unable to go through the gate and had to wait until 7:30 before the gates were unlocked.
In some of the Zionist camps, more so in earlier years than at present, a system of shemirah was a vital part of the overall educational program. Since these camps try to simulate Israeli settlements in as much detail as possible, included were the night patrols necessary particularly along the border settlements. The entire night was usually divided into three "watches" and members of the leadership training group and staff were assigned this duty. However, in addition to frequent periodic patrols of the entire camp area, each "watch" was given specific tasks to do which could be more easily performed during the night. For example, one "watch washed the kitchen floor, another set the tables for breakfast, etc.

Security is becoming more and more of a concern to camps, and all staff is usually alerted to be sensitive to the presence of strangers and to report any unusual persons or happenings immediately to the Camp Director. Most camps make it a point to establish good relations and a system of communication between the camp and local police and fire departments. I have visited camps where the local Chief of Police or Volunteer Fire Department was invited to camp to lecture to staff and campers about security and fire prevention techniques.

Internal security is also a problem in some camps where incidents of petty thievery occur. If they involve
hired non-educational staff, the employee is generally summarily dismissed. If the incidents involve children or staff, they become matters for a group work process.

b. Miscellaneous Activities and Additional Rules and Regulations

(1) Inter-camp activities.--On the one hand, many camps, particularly the sports-centered Private camps, have established relationships with each other designed primarily for inter-camp sports competitions. A rather complex schedule of "at-home" and "away" games are scheduled with all the attendant excitement, including camp cheers and songs and signs and audience. On the other hand, one of the amazing factors that was revealed at the first Annual Conference on Camping held in January, 1969 was the utter lack of knowledge and communication camps had about each other, even when they were physically located short miles apart. There are areas around Tannersville, Pennsylvania or Liberty, New York or Rhinebeck, New York where literally tens of camps are located, few of whom are aware of the existence of the others. A concerted effort to initiate a program of inter-camp visitations is one of the objectives of the Annual Conference on Camping and during the past two years, some efforts have been made in this direction.

Communication between some camps in our study and especially between camps in a particular category
are more frequent when distance permits. The Zionist camps in the New York area have, for example, instituted an annual Maccabiah usually held at the Young Judaea Camp in Barryville, New York which has the best facilities. Ten or twelve camps representing the various Zionist Youth Movements meet for a day of combined sports competition and cultural interchange. Among the three Habonim camps on the Eastern Seaboard, a three-day Maccabiah has been taking place for the past twelve to fifteen years. The Camp at Annapolis and the camp in New York State send their youngest and intermediate age campers to Galil in Pennsylvania and all three camps combine their Senior Division campers who participate in a concurrent three-day combination Hike and Jamboree. These Maccabiot began with a greater emphasis on sports and have evolved to programming which includes a requirement that each camp present a play in Hebrew and a program of song and dance. It is one of the cultural highlights of the season in all three camps.

More important than having similar camps relate to each other during the summer is the need for the different varieties of Jewish camps to meet and understand each other more fully. Nothing better explains the ideology or theory of either a Youth Movement or an organization than observing the tangible manifestation of their theory in action in a camp setting. The
Center and Federation camps which are located almost within walking distance from the Hebrew camp or the Denominational/Conservative camp which is within walking distance of one of the largest Center camps would learn a great deal from each other and about each other by visiting their respective camps.

(2) Out-of-Camp Activities.—A major criticism that can be leveled against a large number of the camps in our study relates to the fact that they resort to too many out of camp activities. Children are "bussed," they do not even walk, to a large variety of "city activities." Camps take the children bowling, roller-skating, to movies in villages, or drive-in theatres, for ice cream treats at roadside stands, and the like. These camps have evidently lost the knack of making full use of the natural camp environment and traditional camp program to satisfactorily occupy the interest and attention of their campers. It is also a commentary about the location of some of our camps which are too close to civilization and too tempted to make use of these superficial recreational opportunities.

This is not to suggest for a moment that out-of-camp activities are completely taboo. On the contrary, certain types of activities should be a part and parcel of every good camp program, including overnight hikes, boating and canoeing trips, planning visits to places
of historical or cultural interest in the immediate vicinity of the camp, and inter-camp activities of a positive character.

Some camps have established arrangements with State Parks in the area to make use of their natural environment and facilities for good camping purposes. This is being done particularly by those camps which do not have sufficient acreage to allow for adequate pioneering programs within their own property. On the other hand, I visited one camp where the children never leave the camp grounds; even over-night camping is done on the premises with campers leaving the cabin area before dinner on one day and returning to their activities after breakfast the following day. This occurs in a camp which is in the middle of one of the most magnificent physical settings in Northern Pennsylvania!

To accommodate themselves to this out-of-camp programming, many camps have had to invest in elaborate systems of bus and truck transportation. In most instances, buses are hired but in more and more cases, camps are purchasing their own vehicles. In some instances, they are improperly and illegally using trucks to transport children and staff, and during the summer of 1969, for example, an accident occurred to a group of children in a Zionist camp who were being
transported to an out-of-camp activity by a truck which overturned and seriously injured many of the occupants.

Much of the out-of-camp activity is yet another manifestation of the inadequacy of staff, since planning and implementing evening programs is a major responsibility of proper leadership. By taking children out of camp, the Director is really taking the "easy" way out.

(3) Hazing, Raids and Discipline.--Hazing and raids at one time were standard traditions at most camps, just as they were at colleges; but camps, sensitive to the feelings and emotions of their children, discovered that "frenching" beds and similar types of activities usually end up by humiliating or belittling and in some psychological way hurting a human being.

While this type of activity is in general disappearing from most of the better camps, it can still be found in those camps where staff is not understanding enough or mature enough to recognize the disadvantages of such activities as opposed to the momentary hilarity it brings to the perpetrators. In many camps such activities are completely rejected and avoided. These camps have discovered that far more creative and friendly things can be done with normal youthful spirit, and that childish energy can usually be channeled into good fun and sportsmanship.
While "raids" may also fall into the same category in that children can sometimes be physically as well as emotionally affected and their property physically tampered with or even destroyed, camps have been more lenient and permissive in this area. Conditions are usually made which in effect frequently remove some of the "fun" from the activity. A raid traditionally took place in the middle of the night when a group of campers or an entire cabin group quietly and surreptitiously "visited" another cabin and in some way played a "trick." The "trick" may have been quite innocent, like removing all shoes from the cabin, thus causing wild commotion the following morning. Sometimes the sleeping campers' faces were marked with paint which frequently rubbed off on sheets and bedclothing. To avoid raids which were in any way destructive and yet try to keep the "spirit of adventure" and middle-of-the-night excitement they engender, the campers are usually required to seek permission for a raid and describe exactly what they intend to do. Once permission is granted, the raids are then coordinated. The writer recalls one wild night at camp when every cabin group received separate permission to raid without any group knowing about any other, and all of them meeting in the middle of the field at exactly the same time at 3 a.m.

The problem of discipline in camp is much more
serious and, of course, pervades every activity and program. The theory of discipline depends upon a basic understanding and appreciation of human psychology and of the value of each human being. The goal is self-limitation or self-discipline rather than discipline by authority.

The counselor, for example, is not only a substitute father and mother to the camper but becomes his ideal and is frequently placed on a pedestal by the camper. This places a heavy responsibility on a young and relatively immature individual of nineteen years of age. He must learn not to play favorites, to have special "pets" or to vent his spleen on the child who does not respond to his every wish or direction. "Keeping one's cool" is a watchword, and remembering at all times that one cannot expect adult behavior from children is essential. Most camps make it very clear, either in the actual contract or in the staff manual, that "a staff member is never to hit a child no matter what the provocation." "Failure to comply to this rule can lead to immediate dismissal." 7

Other limitations are placed upon so-called disciplinary actions available to the counselor. For example, counselors may not "dock" children from food, ---

including desserts. This was a vile practice in previous years and some vestiges of it are still to be found where a camper is denied a food treat as a means of punishment. Docking of waterfront privileges are also beyond the scope of the counselor and only waterfront personnel may remove the child from the water for an infraction of water safety rules. In some camps, campers may be denied canteen privileges but only if the discipline problem is in connection with canteen violations.

To really understand the campers and appreciate their individual differences and understand the reason for the camper's behavior, the counselor must establish a close rapport with the child in order to help him help himself. Humiliating the child or encouraging others to do so only damages the ego of this human being who has already shown he needs help by his anti-social behavior. Protecting the self-respect of every individual is essential and therefore one should not discipline or embarrass a child in the presence of his peer group. It takes a great deal of patience and time and effort to really communicate with a child and to convince him that you disapprove of his actions but still like him as a person.

I have found that camps which are operated autocratically from the top are generally authoritarian
in matters of discipline all along the line. A democ-
cratically operated camp creates an environment and milieu
which affects the behavioral patterns of every member
of the community and naturally affects the more human
treatment of behavioral problems and discipline.

The complexities of discipline are still another
example of the great need for mature leadership in
camp and for supervisors who have the time and ability
to guide young counselors.

(4) Rules and Regulations.-- Strictly Forbidden:
In all camps to the best of my knowledge, there are
certain practices strictly forbidden to both campers
and staff which the camp will not tolerate and which
may lead to a recommendation of dismissal on the part
of staff or sending a child home, in the case of a
camper, for the infraction of these rules. Included
are such items as alcoholic beverages on camp property
including beer, drunkenness, fire works, firearms or
weapons of any kind, gambling, necking in divisional
areas, co-ed bunk visitation by camper or staff,
curfew violations and disturbing the camp after "taps"
and during campers' sleeping hours.

This list is by no means exhaustive and other
restrictions may be added. In recent years, the use
of drugs and L.S.D. has become more widespread and it
is now a "strictly forbidden" regulation of all camps.
Whereas camps generally list gambling as a restriction some camps do permit card playing. Other camps do not even permit card playing on the theory that leisure time can be put to better use. "Hitting a camper" has already been noted as a strictly forbidden act.

**Smoking.**—In general, most camps permit smoking by members of staff, but restrict the practice to the out-of-doors. This is generally presented as a part of fire regulations, rather than as a value judgment on smoking itself, or its effect on the campers. Since most buildings in a camp are of wooden or canvass construction, they are potential fire hazards unless great care is exercised. Even in the out-of-doors, smokers are admonished to extinguish matches and cigarettes carefully and to field strip the remains. A dry spell makes every open field a potential fire hazard as well.

In some camps, senior campers in the teenage camp or C.I.T. programs usually aged sixteen or over may be permitted to smoke if written permission is provided by the parents. Most camps try to discourage smoking even when permission is granted and in any case absolutely forbid it for junior campers. I was present at a camp when three teenage girls, ages fourteen and fifteen, were sent home because they were found smoking by a Supervisor.
Phone Calls.--Most camps insist that campers communicate with their families by mail and generally discourage the use of the telephone which interferes with program. This makes a great deal of sense since all it usually takes to further complicate the problems of a homesick child is to hear the parent's voice and appeal through a barrage of tears for whatever is being requested. Many children who are homesick and exaggerate the simplest problems they encounter at camp yearn to get at the telephone. Consequently most camps prohibited calls to and from campers except in the case of a real emergency, and even then the camper calls must be made through a top Supervisor intermediary--in many instances, the Camp Director himself. Incoming calls for campers are always handled by the office switchboard where a message is taken, to be delivered to the Camp Director. In no case is a camper excused from an activity to receive a telephone call. The Camp Director determines whether or not the child should be permitted to return the call under supervision, or may decide to call the parent himself to personally follow up the problem. The basic principle almost universally followed is to keep a buffer between any vocal communication between parent and child.

Counselors may make calls on time off only, and must usually use the public telephones that are available
at camp. Most camps will not call counselors to the 'phone during regular programming, but will take messages and forward them to the individual involved.

Gratuities and Tips.--There is much more variety in this area than in most of the others we have just discussed.

There are a number of camps which prohibit staff from accepting gratuities or tips of any sort and make this rule a condition of contract. Some camps permit gratuities but do not permit staff members to accept them directly from parents. The Camp B'nai B'rith contract, for example, has the following clause:

In connection with our Gratuity Policy: we ask you not to accept gratuities directly from parents. A Gratuity Fund is established, to which parents contribute. This money is then equitably divided among the camp staff by the Camp Director. Counselors accepting tips directly from parents of children will be subject to immediate discharge.

One of the Yiddish camps includes under the heading "General Information" in its manual the following paragraph--"Never speak to campers about 'tips' for yourself or others. This rightly aggravates parents so much that they lose confidence in the counselor and it creates a hostile attitude toward the camp."

In my questionnaire, this camp indicated that members of staff as individuals were permitted to
accept gratuities.

In some of the Private camps where tips are permitted, the "Kitty" is usually restricted to the cabin staff, sometimes including the junior counselor or the C.I.T. assigned to the bunk.

Among the Zionist camps and the Denominational/Conservative camps, gratuities are absolutely forbidden. In some instances, parents who wish to express their satisfaction are sometimes guided toward contributing to a special camp fund in honor of the member of the staff they wish to acknowledge. For example, at Camp Galil the Library Fund is used for this purpose.

As I indicated in our discussion of the division of the summer into camping "trips," there are a number of camps in our study where parents never meet the staff. When children are sent to camp for two or three week periods, the parent generally delivers the child to a depot in the city and picks him up three weeks later at the same depot. Consequently, there is really no opportunity for the passing of a direct gift. Also, these are usually the very camps serving low income families where gratuities of any sort would be rare because of the economics of the family income.

The question of gratuities sometimes plays a role in the minds of staff in their selection of a camp in which to work. High priced camps involved with
children from upper middle class, well-to-do families in addition to salary can provide $100 to $200 to a counselor through tips. Camp Massad views tips for camper-waiters (Toranim) as rebates toward the fees they are required to pay the camp. The camp that forbids gratuities does so not because it wishes to deprive the staff member of "just remuneration," but, on the contrary, because the camp wishes to protect the dignity and self-image of the individual by not subjecting him to degradation implied by a monetary gratuity for either having done a job over and beyond the norm, or not—or having a parent place a value judgment on his value to the child in the tokenism of the gift. Aside from equitable salary and proper benefits, a well-oriented and motivated member of staff should find his greatest remuneration in the satisfaction he gets in having touched the lives of children.

c. Activity Periods and Evening Programs

In the discussion related to Specialists in Chapter VI, it was noted that camps reported more than twenty-five different categories of Specialists. Activity periods were further described and commented upon in various other sections of the study, including the early part of this Chapter when the study dealt with the daily time schedules.
It is not my intent, nor is it a purpose of this study, to review each activity and judge the qualitative aspects of each activity in every camp. However, there are several major areas of activity programming found in almost all camps which do require some additional comment, as well as some areas which have not as yet been discussed at all.

Basic activity programming in camps has probably changed very little since the first camps were organized in the early part of the twentieth century. Waterfront activities were at that time the most popular and remains the number one activity to this day. Sports activities follow closely behind in popularity and, in most camps, is still the activity second in popularity. In Private camps, these two activities make up the bulk of programming.

Nature Study or Pioneering activities or some form thereof were historically one of the major motivating reasons for establishing camps and exposing city children to country living. The out-of-doors can be an exciting aspect of camp programming. Children enjoy exploration and generally respond to nature programs which include hiking and the observation of the flora, fauna, animal and birdlife of the environment. Collecting specimens of all types such as leaves, flowers, insects, rocks for personal pleasure or as
contributions to a camp Nature Museum, taking pictures or making sketches of natural phenomena and the like are activities frequently included in a nature program. A few of the camps in each category have well equipped nature study buildings; some have collections of animals, both wild and domesticated. However, very few, primarily because of the difficulty of obtaining qualified personnel, have introduced more intensive science programs such as Zoology or Botany or Geology. As a matter of fact, of all the activity programs, the Nature program has probably diminished in importance and scope over the years, with some notable exceptions.

Overnight hiking is perhaps more frequently off-camp grounds than in the past, and many camps have elaborate facilities for such trips. This is particularly the case with camps relatively close to rivers or very large lakes, where canoe trips have become an important pattern of a pioneering program. Interestingly however, the amount of walking has diminished considerably—there is less hiking on foot and more transportation by vehicles to over-night camping sites. Some camps provide the campers with all of the required paraphernalia for these outings, including canteens, messkits, pup tents, and the like. The blanket roll has been pre-empted by the sleeping bag.
Generally speaking, the Private, Federation, Center and Philanthropic camps place greater emphasis on this aspect of programming than the camps in the other categories, with the possible exception of the Zionist camps who do make an effort to include Tsofiyut. This is not to say that the Educational or Denominational camps are not at all involved in a Pioneering program, but only that it does not occupy the same amount of time and effort as in the other camps.

Arts and Crafts is one of the most important activities at most camps. The program is generally based on the assumption that every human being is born with a creative instinct and that with proper guidance every child becomes an artist in the things he creates. These creations, upon which there is no need to place critical evaluation, lead to a sense of pride in self-creativity and develop self-confidence.

Temima Gezari writing in "Brush and Color" (Fall 1968), a publication of the Department of Art Education of the Jewish Education Committee of New York City, was very critical of art programs she observed in several children's camps. Mrs. Gezari said that she came away with impressions that strengthened my original conviction that the creative approach is the only one that brings out the best in our children, helps them grow and develop, and gives them feelings of integrity and self-worth. All other approaches are merely an indication of teachers' short-comings.
Mrs. Gezari accounted for the weaknesses in the Arts and Crafts programs by the presence of improper preparation; poor motivation and lack of faith in self and others; a lack of knowledge and people's capabilities; and a lack of knowledge of materials and media.8

In too many camps, the Arts and Crafts Program is largely the assembly of pre-cut or pre-fabricated items and a great deal of time is spent in decorations for camp events, such as carnivals, dramatic productions, etc. On the other hand, those camps which make the effort to find outstanding creative teachers provide art programs which vary from simple projects to experimentation in the Fine Arts and Sculpture. Such programs include opportunities for campers to learn and artistically create in ceramics, woodwork, leatherwork, metalwork, pottery, weaving, etc.

The Arts, of course, go beyond Arts and Crafts, and include such areas as Dance, Music, Drama, and Photography, and the like.

Dancing, for example, has developed in many camps far beyond the early years of camping. Creative Dance or Folk Dancing or even Social Dancing were almost totally ignored in the past by the boys; today, this is no longer the case. Dancing is not only taught, it is

also frequently joined with Dramatics in providing facsimiles of Broadway productions in camping settings. In many camps the Co-ed "Social" is still a highlight of evening programs. A number of the camps located near Dance, Music, or Drama Festivals, have been involving the campers in these cultural events.

One of the concomitants of the Dance is Music. A number of camps encourage campers and staff to bring their musical instruments to camp and organize bands, orchestras or dance combos. Music appreciation opportunities are available in some camps. Singing is also a camp activity, but only rarely programmed during an activity period.

In the American Association for Jewish Education questionnaire under the general heading "Camp Activities," a listing of a series of Camp Activities was provided, and the participating camps were requested to check "those activities which are part of your camping programs." Two columns were provided to be checked, one for "General" activities and the other for "Jewish" activities. The results of the listing for "Jewish" activities will be discussed under the section related to Jewish Programming.

The writer has already indicated the great weakness of a check-list which requires only a simple "Yes" or "No" answer. The inadequacy of statistics based on
such a list are patently obvious in this particular area. For example, camps were requested to indicate whether or not they include the "teaching of songs" as part of the program, and 82 per cent of the camps responding indicated that they did indeed teach singing; 74 per cent of the camps noted that they taught dancing; 84 per cent of the camps noted that "Dramatic Presentations" were a part of their camp's programming. One could get the impression that we are dealing with a highly cultured and sophisticated group of institutions. Unfortunately, the level of involvement of each camp in each of these three areas is so varied in both quality and intensity that generalities are quite impossible to make.

The writer visited one camp where the excitement and activity surrounding a Broadway production consumed the time and the energy of staff and campers beyond any level of balance. The time spent for rehearsals, the construction of scenery, the making of costumes, etc., and preparing to present this extravaganza to parents on Visiting Day must be understood in juxtaposition to another camp where Creative Dramatics was a part of group process and the results of these dramatic creations were hardly every publicly exhibited. Both of these camps checked the fact that they had "Dramatic Presentations" in the questionnaire. Similar examples could be
shown for all other areas so that the statistic is really quite meaningless.

**Evening Programs** generally followed camp "traditions." For example Friday night is the Oneg Shabbat, Saturday night in many camps is "Camp Fire Night" or "Social Dancing Night." One other night of the week is "Movie Night" and still another is the night the group is out of camp for an over-night hike. This usually leaves three or possibly four evenings open for a variety of programming. In a number of camps I visited, evening programs are basically divided among bunk programs, Divisionals, Hobby Evenings, and Special Events which could include various combinations, e.g., Interdivisional, co-ed activities, or several bunk groups combining for an evening of boating on the Lake, or games which require more than eight people to play. From time to time, a free night is allowed so that campers can catch up on rest, letter-writing or use the evening for the planning of future activities.

Evening activities are sometimes physical, including such camp games as "Capture the Flag." At other times, the activities, determined by the bunk or the Division, may be simple and quiet.

As we have seen from the Daily Time Schedules, the time allotment for evening programs is generally rather limited. In many camps, a half hour may be

**Special Days**

During the course of the summer the normal Daily Schedule is interrupted by special activities which may take up part of the day or in some instances the entire day.

**The First Day.**—Camps have discovered that the first few days and particularly the first day often set the tone for the entire summer. Because of its importance, a significant portion of the pre-camp orientation session is generally devoted to the special concerns of these days and a review of the procedures staff should follow to help the camper adjust naturally and readily into the camp environment. In preparation, for example, counselors are urged to learn the names of all of their campers, even before they arrive. Many camps prepare name tags which are placed on beds assigned to the
Most camps limit the length of the visit to approximately three hours, during which time parents may visit with children informally. The camper is encouraged to escort his visitor around the camp, introduce him to friends and counselors and show him the results of some of his activity programs such as his creations from Arts and Crafts, the Indian Village he helped to build, etc. In some camps, some activities are scheduled during visiting hours, primarily swimming, to enable the doting parents to observe their children in the water. Other camps actually prepare a formal or informal program for the visitors in which children exhibit the results of what has been learned in a dance group or a choir or from dramatics.

Camps establish rules regarding visiting procedures which generally prohibit the bringing of animals into the camp and sometimes younger children, under the theory that the camp as a self-contained child-community and should be kept free from outside contamination. When polio was a factor, no children were permitted; today these rules are somewhat more relaxed.

There are camps which combine Visiting Day with Carnival Day, especially if one of the purposes of the Carnival is to raise money for a "good cause" and the presence of visitors and parents could "swell the
coffers." This is not a general practice. However, camps which are located at considerable distances from large cities provide expanded canteen services to the visitors offering food as well as snacks and candy.

The after-effects of the Visiting Day sometimes linger and a number of the problems encountered on the "First Day" of camping are repeated. Homesickness may again become a factor and staff generally must be extra sensitive to the emotional well-being of the child after the parents leave. In many camps, the meal served after Visiting Day is better than usual and the evening program is also special so as to reduce the negative emotional reactions of the day.

**Carnivals.**—Many camps sponsor carnivals which are frequently the culmination of considerable planning and preparation. The carnivals usually revolve around a "Theme" such as "A Day in Israel," "Brotherhood" and the like. Bunks cooperate with each other or Divisions prepare booths which usually sponsor a game of some sort and must be decorated and manned during the course of the Carnival. Tickets are sold for the games, and prizes are offered and the proceeds generally go for some charitable purpose, sometimes connected with the camp itself and sometimes not. In a number of camps, the Campers' Council determines the allocation of the proceeds.
National Holidays.—Most camps are open for the Fourth of July and usually take cognizance of it in a variety of ways. In some camps, a patriotic, historical pageant is presented, although there is little time to prepare for this since July 4th generally falls but a few days after the opening of the season. Some camps arrange for a legal display of fireworks with local police supervision. In other camps, the theme "Independence" is broadened beyond American Independence to include the strivings of many peoples for freedom.

There are some camps that scarcely pay any attention to this day and these are generally the camps that are also remiss in relating the camp to American events as well.

During the summers of 1960–64–68 when the Party Conventions took place to select candidates for the highest offices in the land, the writer found it most discouraging to discover how few camps programmed their campers to audit these political Conventions. We had expected to find television sets or at least radios tuned to the Conventions, and opportunities scheduled for campers to observe democracy in action. Of the camps personally visited during those three summers, the writer found only four that scheduled such programming. Television sets were available mainly in staff lounges and members of staff during time-off
viewed the proceedings. But in the main, it was not an integral part of program planning in most camps.

Many staff and children receive personal daily newspapers in camp, but very few camps provide daily papers in the libraries, if libraries exist, or have bulletin boards for news-clippings. Some camps have ham radio stations or other means of intercommunication, and may include brief news broadcasts as a part of their radio programming. However, for the large majority of children and staff, the summer becomes a great wasteland for current events and exposure to news of the world. Too many camps become self-contained communities oblivious to the world about them and completely irresponsible to the dissemination of basic information. This general charge must be tempered with the observation that a number of camps are very political-minded, and make every effort to involve the camper in what are considered "relevant" issues of the day and consequently provide various means of keeping campers and staff informed of daily events. In addition to daily broadcasts, some camps have a daily newspaper and subscribe to news services whose clippings are posted where they can be easily read. Most of these activities are more usually found in other camps and in the Educational, Zionist and Denominational Camps.

Rainy Days.--A rainy day can be a blessing or
a curse to a camp program. A single rainy day can be a relief and help slow the pace of a very active schedule. It can be as interesting, exciting and enjoyable as any other day even though the weather dictates that the program be somewhat different. Obviously, certain kinds of activities cannot be carried out in the rain, although a large number of normal camp activities can. Some activities even on sunny days are often conducted under cover, such as Arts and Crafts, Dramatics, Music, Library, use of the Nature Museum, rehearsals for dramatic presentations, etc., and are in no way changed on a rainy day. However, even outdoor activities need not come to a complete halt. Depending upon the severity of the rain, with appropriate dress there are opportunities for campers to become more familiar with the effect of weather on nature; and many campers even enjoy the challenge and excitement of conquering the elements.

However, no matter how a rainy day is rationalized, particularly if there is a period of rainy days, greater patience is necessary from staff and more creative planning required. These are the days when planning for a hike or rehearsing a skit or writing a scene can take place. Many indoor games are available, both for the bunk and for the Recreation Hall; and many camps keep a reserve of movies especially for a rainy day. The
manner in which most camps cope with the problems posed by the weather, and the way in which programming is employed depends on the ingenuity of staff. Rainy day programming need not be the deterrent one might expect.

2. **Jewish Living**

In the discussion of the goals and objectives of the Jewish summer camp it was pointed out that, whereas the Private, Center, Federation and Philanthropic camps generally stress the social and physical growth of the camper, the Denominational, Zionist and Educational Camps give more emphasis to his cultural and religious development.

We have also noted on a number of occasions that among the first group named, there are a number of camps, particularly Center camps, which express deep concern for their Jewish responsibilities in camping. Many Center camps view their institutions as extensions of the Jewish community center which they serve, and their policy is to further the objectives of the Centers in providing the campers and the staff with opportunities to both know and appreciate the cultural and ethical values of American Jewish life.

The New Jersey "Y" Camp, for example, as point #10 in its official statement of program policy, states the following:
The camp program must find ways and means of relating the camper to the healthiest kind of identification with his Jewish community and its ideals. This we seek to do through the same kind of noncompulsive but directed kind of leadership and experience that should be associated with all program at camp.

Other examples of stated Jewish Goals and Objectives may be found in Chapter III of this study. Our concern at this point is to investigate the extent to which the various camps in our study implement these articulated goals by the actions they take in the day-to-day programming activities of the camps.

A recapitulation of the Jewish educational goals of camping as developed in Chapter I may be helpful in the discussion which is to follow:

Jewish Educational Goals of Camp

1. to develop a sense of healthy self-acceptance as a Jew and clear and positive feelings of belongingness to the Jewish people.

2. to develop a positive attitude toward and a familiarity with the sources of Jewish cultural and religious literature and artistic self-expression.

3. to develop an appreciation for and the adoption of Jewish ethical and religious conduct.

4. to progress in the study and/or use of the Hebrew and/or Yiddish language.

5. to develop habits and skills of participation in Jewish ritual, ceremonial and holiday practices.

6. to promote the acquisition of such distinctive Jewish ideals as "love of learning" and
Tsedakah (as distinct from charity), "Tsâ'ar Baale Hayyim" (protection of animals, prophetic ideals of social justice, and human brotherhood and the like.

7. to develop an active identification with Israel.

a. Kashrut

The following chart lists the camps that observe Kashrut among the 100 camps in the study, by category of camps. These statistics reflect our findings as of the 1969 Camp Season and are based on data culled from the National Jewish Welfare Board Directory of Resident Summer Camps, from "Jewish Camps for All Ages," a Directory prepared by the Association of Jewish Sponsored Camps, Inc., of New York, camp brochures, and in the case of camps which are no longer operating, e.g., Camp Tel Hai, from the writer's own data collected during the last season of their operation.

The table indicates that only 57 per cent of the camps in our study are Kosher. As one would expect, among the Denominational camps, all of the Denominational/Traditional and Conservative camps observe Kashrut while none of the Reform camps do. All of the Educational camps are Kosher as are the camps which are part of Camp Massad. Among the Zionist camps, eleven of the thirteen camps (84.6 per cent) are Kosher,
**TABLE 39**

Camps that observe Kashrut among the 100 camps in the study by category

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number of Camps</th>
<th>Number of Camps Observing Kashrut</th>
<th>Percentage of Camps Observing Kashrut</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Private</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>35.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Federation</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Center</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>68.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yiddish</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zionist</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>84.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philanthropic</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>40.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denominational</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conservative</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reform</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hebrew</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
with only the camps of HaShomer Hatzair, non-observant.

The largest proportion of camps which are non-kosher are to be found among the Federation Camps where only one of the eight camps in our study observed Kashrut. Only 1 of the 5 Yiddish camps is Kosher; 5 of the 14 Private camps are Kosher; 4 of the 10 Philanthropic camps observe Kashrut. Among Center camps, 17 of 25 camps, or 68.0 per cent, observe Kashrut.

It is my contention that Kashrut and Sabbath observance, however defined, must be a sine qua non for any Jewish camp purporting to serve the total Jewish community. Ostensibly, this should eliminate those Jewish camps which very specifically and emphatically limit the nature of their campers and staff, such as for example, the camps affiliated with the Union of American Hebrew Congregations in which, as we have seen, six of the seven camps restrict attendance at camp to members of that Movement. Another exception might be the Yiddish camps which view themselves as "secularist" and which insists that they have the same right to be non-kosher within the overall framework of Jewish communal life as another camp has to be Kosher. They advertise themselves as non-kosher and are honest about their indifferent approach to the Dietary Laws. Private camps, as private enterprises,
are also free to observe or not observe Kashrut, since they are under no obligation to the Jewish community as such. Those Private camps that do observe Kashrut are either owned by observant Jews or by individuals who have discovered that it is good business practice to observe Kashrut and thereby attract registration from among a broader Jewish clientele.

The camps which I believe have no moral or ethical right to remain non-kosher are those camps which claim to serve the "total" Jewish community, and particularly those camps which receive Jewish communal funds for this purpose. The one Federation camp that observes Kashrut states its position very succinctly:

Surprise Lake Camp provides a Kosher food service in order to make it possible for those campers and counselors who are observant at home to come to camp. Whether or not you (the staff—my parenthesis) understand or appreciate fully the meaning of Kashrut, you must make every effort to cooperate in carrying out the Dietary Laws in the kitchens and dining rooms of Surprise Lake Camp.

The Camp Manual then proceeds to provide a guide for the observance of Kashrut but evidently limits this to the kitchen and dining room. At no point in the instructions are there any restrictions placed on the eating of food in other areas of the
camp, such as in bunks, packages from home, canteen, etc. A number of Federation camps serve children with special disabilities. The inference is clear. An orthopedically handicapped child or a child with emotional problems who comes from an observant home has no place in a Federation camp!

It is most praiseworthy of the Center camps that 17 of 25 observe Kashrut, but it is hoped that the 8 that still do not observe Kashrut will consider it their moral obligation to change their practice since the Center movement has long been on record as serving the entire Jewish community.

Despite the fact that Kashrut follows long-established Halachic rules and regulations, a number of camps have introduced their own peculiar variations. Camps list themselves in various directories as "Dietary Laws observed," "Kosher," "Strictly Kosher," "Glatt Kosher," or "Orthodox." In trying to determine the differences among these five categories, all of whom insist that they are "Kosher" and advertise themselves accordingly, I have discovered that if a mashgiah is present, the last three descriptive terms are usually used. If there is no mashgiah, then the simplest terms are used. I am certain that among certain traditional Jews no camp without an orthodox mashgiah would be accepted as bona fide Kosher.
If this indeed were so, then most of the Zionist camps and a number of the Center camps would have to be eliminated from the **Kosher** category.

Note should be taken of the fact that the camps listed as **Kosher** in the table, **mashgiah** or not, are conscientiously aware of the significance and importance of the concept of **Kashrut** to Jewish life and continuity, and to the meaning of Jewish participatory democracy. Even among a number of camps that are not **Kosher**, their literature and advertisements refer to dietary practices. For example, among the Federation camps, of the seven camps which are non-**kosher**, only two categorically state this fact. Of the other 5, 3 write "Kosher Style," and 2 indicate no mixing of meat and milk. Evidently they are conscious of public concern.

The same phenomenon can be found among the Center camps that are not **Kosher**. They either list themselves as "Kosher Style" or, in the case of one, "no pork products."

Among the Yiddish camps, three categorically state that they are non-observant. One states "Jewish-American cuisine." "Jewish Cooking" is the term used by Camps Shomria of the Zionist camps to describe their dietary procedures. Among the Philanthropic camps, one camp makes it a point to note that
only Kosher food is used in camp.

Among the Denominational/Reform camps, none of which are Kosher, one advertises "Kosher Style," a second, "Jewish Style," a third, "No Pork Products," and a fourth, "Separation of Milk and Meat." The others make no comment about their food service at all.

As indicated in the discussion of facilities and finance, the change from "Kosher Style" or "separation of milk and meat" or "all food purchased is Kosher" to a Kosher kitchen is the capital expenditure required to make the change. In light of these statistics, it is incumbent upon Federations and Welfare Funds to provide the necessary money to convert the kitchens so that community camps can be used by the entire community.

We have stated the case for Kashrut mainly in terms of the camps serving all Jewish children; we have not discussed the educational need or validity of Kashrut as part of Judaism's attempt to teach reverence for life. Maimonides, in his Guide (3:35) told us that the dietary laws are intended to train us to master our appetites, and that eating and drinking per se are not to be considered the end of man's existence. As one of the most concrete and tangible daily reminders, Kashrut has served as an important means of helping
individual Jews identify with their people.

The meaning and purpose of Kashrut is little understood or appreciated by many children, even in camps that technically observe these dietary laws. Aside from the Denominational camps where Kashrut is yet another mitzvah to be performed among the other 612, the other camps are derelict in their responsibility in explaining the concepts behind the act and consequently, contrary to what should occur, some children develop negative attitudes about the observance of Kashrut. Since most of the children come from non-observant homes (the rationale, by the way, which prevented the introduction of Kashrut in many camps for many years) the experience at camp is frequently their only contact with the practice and educational motivational process is needed. On the other hand, there are innumerable reports of children attending Educational and Denominational camps, who also come from non-observant homes, returning home after a season in camp and demanding that their homes begin to observe Kashrut. This phenomenon as well as developed interests in many other areas of Jewish concerns, is one of the most cogent arguments that can be used to place the summer camp in its proper educational perspective. The ability of camp to "touch" the life of the participant is its greatest contribution to education.

Because many of the non-traditional camps
observe Kashrut perfunctorily, many inconsistencies can be found. I have already mentioned the dichotomy between the practices of the dining hall and those of the rest of camp. Many camps freely interpret the regulations with regard to time lapses between the eating of meat and milk, the use of a single dish-washing machine, storage of meat and dairy products in the same refrigerators, and the like. I have often argued with my camping colleagues that Kashrut, like child-bearing, follows a certain logic. A kitchen cannot be "practically Kosher." There are moral obligations involved to self and to the community to whom one proclaims the fact that the camp is Kosher. Thus, despite the fact that I have just noted my sympathetic understanding for those camps which are even perfunctory in the observance, I do believe that they must come to more fully comprehend the deeper implications and educational and psychological over-tones of properly and consistently observing Kashrut throughout the entire camp operation.

b. The Sabbath

If there is any vestige of Jewish consciousness or Jewish programming at camp, it is Sabbath-oriented. Invariably, whenever I visited a Private, Federation, Center or Philanthropic camp and began asking about
the Jewish programming aspects, I was immediately
told about the Sabbath. No matter how it is observed,
it is the one universal Jewish element present in
every Jewish camp.

We have already discussed the preparations
for the Sabbath as reflected in the daily schedule
of Friday afternoons in the various camps. As one
might anticipate, there is a high correlation between
the intensity of preparation and the quality and
meaningfullness of the day.

In many camps, the preparation for the Sabbath
takes place throughout the week.

Throughout the week, all groups prepared
for the Friday night Oneg Shabbat program.
This consisted of a dramatic presentation
based on a Jewish theme, Hebrew songs, and
Israeli dance. Preparations were also made
for the beautiful outdoor Saturday evening
Havdalah service . . . during the music ses-
sions, the campers were taught both American
and Hebrew folk songs and special Shabbat
Z'mirot. These songs were also sung at meal-
times during the week in preparation for the
Sabbath programs.9

Decorating the dining hall with flowers and
signs welcoming the Sabbath, arranging the tables
differently and covering them with white cloths,
having the entire camp dress in white clothing,
preparing a special menu—all of these ways, and
more, manifest a camp’s approach to the Sabbath.

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9Ben Saxe, op. cit., p. 3.
In some few camps, only the food is different; in others, everything is done to enhance the joy of the coming of the Sabbath.

The **Kabbalat Shabbat**, the actual imminent greeting of the Sabbath, varies considerably in the many camps. The traditional camps have a formal service. During the Shabbat I spent at a Denominational/Reform camp I found the Friday evening service to be "traditional Reform" with the entire camp participating and using the Union Prayer Book. (This in contrast to the creative, informal services which took place on Saturday mornings on Divisional lines.) At some of the Zionist camps, the **Kabbalat Shabbat** is partly traditional and partly inventive. The camp **makhelah** (choir) which has prepared especially for this occasion, generally open with the singing of Bialik's **Ha-Hama Mei Rosh**, usually beside the pool or lake or on a rise in an open field, or near the garden or near a work-project which has been completed. Selections are read from the Bible, readings and songs in connection with a predetermined theme are heard, and a brief talk is usually given by the director who summarizes the accomplishments of the week in anticipation of the quiet and rest of the Sabbath.

At Cejwin Camps, just before the Sabbath, there is a brief ceremony at which time both campers
and staff contribute small sums of money to the Keren Ami fund in an endeavor to make the traditional concept of tzedakah not only a part of each participant's consciousness, but somehow related to the Sabbath as well.

A number of camps utilize the ceremony of the lowering of the flag or flags on Friday evening as part of the Kabbalat Shabbat. Sabbath songs may be sung and then continued as the entire camp walks to the dining hall.

Kindling the Sabbath candles and reciting or singing the Kiddush usually takes place in the dining hall. Many camps provide both candles and wine on each table. The writer was present at one Center camp where the candles were lit with a brief English prayer, and there was no Kiddush at all. Some of the variations in practice are most difficult to understand since they rarely follow any pattern of either logic or tradition, but rather reflect the attitudes of the camp director.

Sometimes, a camp may develop certain traditions of its own. Some of the Yiddish camps, for example, have developed an approach to the Sabbath which are folk-cultural. Leibush Lehrer describes the struggles to evolve an approach to the Sabbath at Camp Boiberik. In the early years of the camp the Sabbath began
with a solemn assembly at which was read the Honor Roll of the week, announcing the names of those who distinguished themselves in keeping their bunks clean, in helping others or the camp, thus emphasizing the loftier ideals and moral duties associated with the Biblical injunction of the observance of the Sabbath. This was followed by singing appropriate songs and story-telling in Yiddish. The stories were all taken from Jewish history, folklore and literature.  

Since then, the Yiddish story-telling was eliminated, Jewish traditional practices became more acceptable even within a framework of "secularism" and today the beginning of the Friday evening meal includes the reciting and singing of a poem written for the occasion by the poet Ephraim Auerbach, followed by lighting of candles and the reciting of the traditional blessings, the reciting of Kiddush, and the singing of songs and nigunim. Another poem, "Sholem Aleichem" by H. Leivick, also especially written for the camp, may be recited and the camp choir may even sing the Lekha Dodi.

One master dietician must plan the meals in all the camps for they are almost identical. A camp need not be Kosher for the Friday evening meal to consist of traditional Jewish foods. "Gastronomic Judaism" is still a force to be reckoned with.

The Oneg Shabbat has become the primary

symbol of Sabbath programming. However, it means many different things to the various camps. Again, our discussion must be primarily limited to the non-traditional camps not tied to a formalistic approach to halakhah. This is not to say that these camps do not have an Oneg Shabbat. The Denominational/Conservative most certainly do; the Denominational/Traditional, may. All the Reform camps have such Friday evening programming.

One of the major Sabbath problems that the group work oriented camps struggle with, and these include camps within several categories, revolves around the question of the "cumpulsory" nature of a "religious" experience. One Center camp has described its approach to such programming as "non-compulsive, but directive." Another camp, a Federation camp with excellent group work process, offers two kinds of services. For those who want and require a traditional service, these are held on Friday evening at 7:30 (and Saturday morning) in the camp synagogue. The campers and staff who do not attend these services participate in abbreviated ones in their Division areas. These are prepared and conducted by a group of campers and their counselor--each group taking a turn at the responsibility. Some camps schedule services of one form or another and an
alternate activity which has some relationship to the spirit of the Sabbath. At one Zionist camp, the alternative is a series of discussion groups on the portion of the week which attracts approximately 80 percent of the campers.

Most camps, however, require attendance at the services and the other Sabbath observances. As a scheduled activity of the camp it is mandatory for all members of the community to attend, willingly or not. The length of the program or the service is usually rather brief; a half-hour is the norm—an hour at the most (except for traditional services, of course!).

The Oneg Shabbat may consist of a dramatic presentation, normally on some Jewish theme, discussion formats—small groups, panels, visiting lecturers, debates, etc., music and dance. Israeli dancing has become more and more a vogue in an increasing number of camps as a Friday evening activity. As we have seen, curfew is later than for the rest of the week.

The Sabbath day itself is also structured differently in almost every camp, as we have seen in the sample Sabbath time schedules. It is generally a welcomed change of pace.

The Sabbath goal in most camps is to try to achieve a meaningful balance between a somewhat "restrictive religious" atmosphere and a relaxed sense
of reverence and well-being. There is a certain psychological feeling of a "tyranny of orthodoxy" in some of the traditional-minded camps. To avoid any criticism from the traditionalists, as though this were possible, some of the Denominational/Conservative camps tend to be restrictive, far beyond the liberal tenets of some of the intellectual leadership of the movement. Placing an eruv, a demarkation line beyond which no one is permitted to walk or carry on the Sabbath, is an unusual restriction for a child growing up in a Conservative synagogue in America, where riding to the synagogue is sanctioned. The right-wing conservative restrictive practices followed by some of these camps raise serious doubts in the minds of many thinking campers about the problems of ideological and practical articulation between the various arms of the same theological movement.

At the other end of the spectrum are the many camps that are so relaxed that they lose the meaning of the day. Or even worse, believe that their obligations to the Sabbath are more than fulfilled if there is an attempted service in the morning. After the service, a regular daily program operates.

Several of the Educational camps seem to have effected a good working balance between the two extremes. At Cejwin,
we observe the Sabbath, not in restrictive manner, but in positive, constructive and relaxing ways... the intercamp visiting, the afternoon parties (Oneg Shabbat), the closing Havdalah ceremony—all these create a spirit of serenity and beauty and leave a deep impression. No organized athletic games are conducted but children go for a dip in the lake and have opportunity for free play and quiet activity.

The search for creative forms and expression for the Sabbath is pursued by a number of camps. Aside from those that use particular prayer books, a number of camps have devised and printed prayer books of their own. For example, the Religious Director of the Philadelphia "Y" prepared a special prayer book for the "Y" camps, which includes a number of the traditional prayers but also has special reading and selections from the Bible and rabbinic sources on subjects that seem appropriate for the camp setting, including sections on nature, sunshine, rain, the 4th of July, Tisha be-Av, brotherhood and peace, and the like. Dr. Ira Eisenstein prepared a booklet entitled, "Supplementary Prayers and Readings for Services at Summer Camps" which was issued on behalf of the Committee of Camp Directors by the Jewish Education Committee of New York in 1947, and is still used in several camps. Completely in English, it is helpful to those camps where neither staff nor campers are comfortable with Hebrew. Camp Kinderwelt, a Yiddish camp, has a mimeographed Sabbath morning service which combines some prayer elements in Hebrew, responsive
readings in English, songs in Yiddish from the broad Sabbath liturgy. The service includes weekly portion readings from the Bible, but the camp does not have a Sefer Torah, a traditional scroll, and one does not feel himself to be in a synagogue setting.

The settings for the services vary with many camps making use of natural or constructed outdoor amphitheatres. A service facing the lake in the midst of the wonders of God's natural creations helps add still another dimension to the beauty of the service.

Many camps experiment with the form and nature of the service. One of the Zionist camps, long influenced by Reconstructionist thinking, encourages girls to actively participate by reading from the Torah and taking leading parts in conducting the service. Music in a variety of uses is employed. Guitars, present-day standard equipment at all musical gatherings, frequently provide the background for the service as well.

In one Private camp we visited where there was no Sabbath morning service at all, the Friday evening service combined the major elements of both services and the Torah was read during the service. Games are sometimes introduced, as heretical as this may appear.

One camp, for example, with younger children, sent the children out on a "treasure hunt"—as each child returned, he discovered that he had a word of either
a prayer or a saying from *Pirkei Avot*. When all the children brought in their "words" and they were assembled, the leader then used the phrase or sentence as a stimulus for discussion. Unorthodox as this sounds, the children were much more excited and interested in piecing the puzzle together and discovering its import than had the same "saying" been introduced as part of a sermon in a traditional manner. The writer had no doubt but that this ended as a true "religious" experience for the child.

*Havdalah* is less observed in camps than the other Sabbath rituals. In a number of the camps we visited, again the non-traditional, it is sometimes peculiarly observed. In one camp the writer found it performed *Havdalah* at 5:00 p.m. when the sun was still brightly shining. It was explained to me that it best fitted into program at this time! Usually perfunctorily read with no visual or aesthetic accompaniments, it makes little impression on the campers. On the other hand, one of the Zionist camps combines the *Havdalah* service with an additional aesthetic experience, listening to a brief selection of classical music, a brief lecture and viewing of art, etc.

Traditional Sabbath restrictions are also handled in varying ways. Some camps do not permit any smoking on the Sabbath at all; others restrict
smoking to non-group or non-facility activity. This is another manifestation of the "non-compulsive" obsession many camps have, particularly in any area which seems to involve personal conscience or "religious indoctrination."

Camps are quite imaginative in their program ideas for Sabbath afternoons. A variety of activities are offered. In some camps there is an attempt to conduct non-organized activities, but this is a rather moot point. Games may not be "scheduled" but equipment is available, supervision of sports fields provided, and in some cases, "traditional games" seem to organize themselves, e.g., camper-staff ball games. Among the various activities we have found are supervised walks, choir and drama rehearsals, formalized study groups in such areas as language, Bible, portion of the week, games, swimming, music appreciation, brother-sister visiting or just general visiting among campers and staff, free play, prolonged rest periods, library time, story-telling and readings, visiting lectures, etc.

The 1963 questionnaire responses indicated that 76 per cent of the camps (61 camps--no Private camps included) observed the Sabbath in some way; that 71 per cent of them conducted Sabbath services and that 81 per cent had Onegei Shabbat. For the categories
of camps today, I would estimate that the figures are possibly somewhat higher. Much more movement in the direction of Jewish consciousness has been taking place within the past five years than in previous periods. A great deal remains to be done, but a greater willingness to at least consider change is apparent.

c. Daily Prayer and Ritual

In 1963, only 32 per cent of the camps reported scheduling daily services. This figure has not increased, unless there is a redefinition of what constitutes such a service.

Daily services, in the traditional sense, are to be found in the Denominational, Educational, Hebrew and Religious-Zionist camps. None of the other categories of camps program such services. However, I found evidence that many of them will organize a morning minyan to assist a member of staff or a camper perform the daily mitzvah of reciting the Kaddish. Volunteers will be solicited in such cases. The writer recalls this happening in a non-religious Zionist camp, and the morning service numbered far more than the required ten persons. Sometimes, almost by accident, a few traditional boys will register in a non-traditional camp that is Kosher and, without the need for Kaddish, request a morning daily service.
No camp director would ever deny such a request.

A number of camps start the day usually at the flag-raising ceremony, with either a moment of "devotion" of a "thought for the day" or in some manner request the blessing or protection of God for the day which is to follow. If one is prepared to consider such an act a "daily service" the statistic would increase. Many of the so-called traditional minded camps provide a service which is either five or ten minutes in length, e.g., Cejwin Camps.

Grace at meals, on the other hand, is programmed by 80 per cent of the camps. This practice is usually limited to the Motsi, the blessing for bread, or a general prayer thanking God for the food to be provided. Many camps have developed lovely melodies for these prayers which frequently combine some Hebrew with English. The 80 per cent figure, however, does not include Bir'kaṭ ha-Mazon, the blessings after the meal. Again, except for the traditional camps, very few of the others take the time for this practice. In some instances, a shortened version is used that is sung. The full Bir'kaṭ ha-Mazon is left for the Sabbath meals.

In a number of Zionist camps, particularly those related to Labor Zionism, preceding the Motsi, the camp usually sings Bialik's Shir ha-Avodah, which
freely translated reads,

Who will save us from hunger and thirst?
Who will provide shelter and light?
Who will plant and build?
Whom shall we thank for the bounty that is ours?
Let us give thanks to labor and to toil.11

d. Holidays and Commemorative Days

Aside from Tish'a be-Av, the summer calendar does not include any other universally accepted Jewish commemoratives anniversaries or holidays.

The treatment of Tish'a be-Av in the camps varies from ignoring it completely or observing it in the traditional prayer-ritual manner. Sixty-five percent of the camps participating in the 1963 questionnaire reported some form of Tish'a be-Av observance.

The camp had an effective Tish'a be-Av program on the night of Tish'a be-Av and a brief service on Tish'a be-Av morning in lieu of the general swim period. The evening program included a dramatic reading leading to the recital of the Shema, an explanation of Tish'a be-Av, followed by reading from the Book of Lamentations. The room was lit solely by the use of candles. A miniature Temple (constructed in the arts and crafts shop) was placed on the stage of the social hall, and was illuminated by the beam of a flashlight. Previously taught traditional songs, Avinu Malkainu and Eli Zion served to create a special atmosphere for the night. A Tish'a be-Av play was presented by the counselors. Then the entire camp, humming Eli Zion, walked down to the lake to witness the burning of the Temple which was placed on a raft in the middle of the lake.12

12 Excerpts from Rabbi Menachem Meier's Final
The above description is rather typical of the types of programs taking place in a number of Center camps. "Burning the Temple" seems to be a favorite part of the ceremony.

Other camps, depending upon the Jewish background and sophistication of the staff in charge, generally recognize the fact that Tish'a be-Av commemorates not only the destruction of the two Temples in Jerusalem, but that this date has been associated through the centuries with tragedies perpetrated on the Jewish people, and in many camps Tish'a be-Av is made the occasion for memorializing the six million of our people destroyed in the Nazi holocaust.

An excerpt from a memorandum for staff at Camp B'nai B'rith in Pennsylvania illustrates another approach.

In preparation for Tish'a be-Av observance, may we be directed to reflect upon our peoples past and pray for its future security and welfare. May we be moved to compassion and dedication toward the people, Torah, and land of Israel.

Tish'a be-Av this year begins at sundown (7:30) on Monday and ends Tuesday evening at 7:45. Jeremiah's Book of Lamentations (Megiles Eicha) is read on Monday evening and Tuesday morning. Neither Talis nor Tefilin are worn at the morning services. They are worn at the Mincha service instead. Slippers or sneakers are worn in place of shoes by observant Jews ... It is customary for Jewish boys and girls under the age of thirteen to fast

Report of his activities as "Jewish Specialist" in Camp Edward Isaacs. Quoted in Ben Saxe, op. cit., p. 5.
on the night of Tish'a be-Av. Those older boys and girls who wish may fast the entire day or until lunch. There is no "requirement" that you fast or not. Campers (and staff too I imagine--my parenthesis) will be served in the dining hall at 7:45 p.m. A special Tish'a be-Av program will follow evening services. . . . Those campers who are fasting will spend the day in regular services and discussion with the Rabbi. For all others, regular activities will prevail.

These directions to staff again reflect the "non-compulsive" syndrome. The camp tries to be all things to all campers, a rather difficult and educationally questionable task at best: a divisive and confusing practice at worst. If the camp is trying to create an atmosphere and an environmental approach to Jewish values, how does one reconcile the "fasting" of some children and the "regular activities" of others. True, in the general world such variances occur—but a purpose of the camp is to create a world of its own. Must it be but a reflection of the confusion and diversity of the outside world? What of the individual's rights on the other hand? Does the camp have the moral or educational right to insist on a uniform policy based on the objective of either introducing children to new Jewish experiences (for them) or allowing a Jewish "elite" (purely psychological) to function in camp. There are no easy answers, and camps are struggling with these problems all the time.

Some camps arrive at compromises. Some of these camps, particularly among the Zionist group
(Tish'a be-Av is regarded by them as having more national than religious significance) fast for half a day and then make fasting optional. The money the camp "saves" on breakfast is contributed to the Jewish National Fund.

Tish'a be-Av at Camp Galil, a Zionist camp, combines many elements and adds still an additional dimension. The program begins on the evening of Tish'a be-Av when darkness falls. Each cabin group dressed in dark clothes lines up in front of its cabin. At the head of the line stands a torch bearer with an unlit torch. The camp director and supervisory staff begin a procession, lighting a torch and accompanied by the solitary beat of a drum. The camp is in complete silence and will remain silent until the very end of the program except for the participants. The procession winds its way from cabin to cabin, each torch being lighted in turn, each group joining, single file, the developing line of march. The slow movement from Beethoven's Eroica Symphony plays on the camp loudspeakers. The procession ends its march in a large field where each group lines up behind a memorial candle (yahrzeit lamp). A voice from out of the darkness recites the dates of the many tragedies which have been traditionally ascribed to Tish'a be-Av, and as each date is called
with the admonition—ZeKhor! Remember!—the candle is lit. A child in each line describes the event of that particular date, e.g., Tish'a be-Av, 1492, the expulsion of the Jews from Spain. When all the candles are lit, the procession moves on to the banks of a small stream which runs through the camp. They take places in silence. The setting has been prepared and candles have been placed on rocks and on the far side of the stream. Unseen voices then begin a series of readings from both the traditional Tish'a be-Av liturgy as well as from other literary sources. Singing adds to the mood, both by individuals and by a specially prepared choir and by the entire camp. This portion of the program ends dramatically with all of the torches being tossed into the stream and extinguished. The entire camp returns to their cabins, camper and all staff, and everyone goes to bed in complete silence. The effect is quite emotional.

The following morning, the entire camp gathers in the dining hall, tables are covered with black crepe paper, a memorial candle on each table, benches overturned, and the room generally dimmed. Prayers of consolation begin the program and the tone slowly changes: from remembrance and despair to confidence and hope in the Jewish future and in Israel. The morning becomes filled with the determination that the
events of the Tish'a be-Avs of the past will never be permitted to recur and that each person present must commit himself to the struggle for Jewish rights all over. The program ends on a festive note.

Depending upon the Jewish consciousness of the camp, many other days or programs may be set aside during the summer to commemorate birthdays of famous Jews, anniversaries of people or important events in Jewish history. The birthdays of Theodor Herzl and Hayyim Nahman Bialik fall out during the summer and more and more camps are taking cognizance of these two days and using them to highlight Israel or Jewish literature. The Yiddish camps commemorated the fiftieth yahrzeit of Isaac Leib Peretz as did others. During the summer that marked the 200th anniversary of the Baal Shem Tov, a number of camps utilized this yahrzeit for interesting programming on hasidism. Imaginative and informed program directors can find any number of persons or events for Jewish program purposes. Very few of the non-educational camps do.

In the absence of Jewish holidays during the summer, a number of camps utilize programs from the rest of the Jewish calendar year. "Jewish Hero" programs or "Holidays on Parade" have become almost standard evening programs in a number of camps. The writer always finds it rather disconcerting to sit through
the Hanukkah story in July—however, perhaps it is better than nothing.

e. Camp Terminology

Reference has been made on a number of occasions to the question of language or languages in the camps. We have stated that of all the camps visited and from the information available, Camp Massad is the only fully Hebrew-speaking camp in the country. The Denominational/Conservative camps also consider themselves Hebrew-speaking and in large measure they are. The differences relate to the preparation of the campers; those at Massad are largely products of day schools while campers at Ramah in the main come from supplementary Hebrew schools. We found that while casually strolling around Massad and overhearing groups of children frequently unsupervised at the moment, they invariably were speaking Hebrew. At Ramah under the same circumstances, the children were speaking English. However, in neither camp nor in the camps sponsored by the Hebrew Teacher Colleges is there a question of Hebrew terminology. The official language of the camp is Hebrew; all announcements and activities are conducted in that language.

There is also no need elaborating on the lack of Yiddish in the so-called Yiddish camps. We have already noted that only one camp still has a modicum of
Yiddish in its daily program. However, all of the Yiddish camps do use "Yiddishisms" and employ Yiddish camp expressions dating from earlier years when Yiddish was indeed in use. At one camp, the Divisions have Yiddish names—the "yingste," "mittleste," "eltste," and so on. Choir is "chor," the Sabbath is "Shabos," night patrol is "vach" and so on.

Most of the Zionist camps are Hebrew-centered. This usually means that Hebrew is employed to the greatest possible extent, varying in each camp with the Hebraic background of staff and campers. Announcements are made in Hebrew, sometimes with an English summary. Individuals who can speak are encouraged to speak so that an Hebraic atmosphere is felt by the campers. Most of all, hundreds of Hebrew expressions and Hebraisms are integrated into the English vocabulary. Every physical location, every activity, is referred to by its Hebrew name. In short hours, even the child arriving at camp with no prior knowledge of the language is immersed in Hebrew terms. It was estimated that more than 250 functional words are learned in this manner during a few short weeks of the summer.

It is rare to find the use of either Hebrew or Yiddish, even in fragmentary forms in almost any of the other camps.

The writer also referred to the degree of usage
of Indian names and terms for cabins and groups in many camps, particularly the non-educational. It is a continuing struggle to change long-held patterns and convince camp directors and staff to utilize Jewish names instead of others or in place of no names at all. Many camps simply number their cabins and identify Divisions by age category—Juniors, Intermedi-ates, Seniors, etc. This is true even in educational camps.

However, a number of camps evidently recognizing the value of establishing an environmental tone, do give meaningful Jewish names to either camp groups or facilities or both. One Center camp named all of its Boys' Divisions after the Tribes of Israel; they didn't quite get around to the girl Divisions which were named non-Jewishly. Some camps allow the campers in each cabin to choose the name of its own cabin within the framework of some Jewish theme. In the Yiddish camps, names of great Yiddish writers and poets are honored by naming paths or "vinklech" (literary areas for reading or lectures) after them. Some buildings are named after benefactors who also happen to be Jewish. This last example is hardly intended to illustrate the educational point, but is a reality of institutional life.
f. Formal Classes

The Denominational camps all have formal classes in varying degrees of intensity. This is also true for some of the Educational camps and Zionist camps as well. Formal classes refers to structured, regularly scheduled classes in which all campers, and in many instances, all staff must participate. These classes are devoted to Hebraic and Judaic studies on all levels.

Some Educational camps do not include formal classes in their camp programs. Generally speaking, these camps feel that the Jewish experiences of camp are complementary and supplementary to formal Jewish education. They believe that camping is primarily an emotional experience for children and that "textbook learning" is not a desideratum.

For Massad,

the core of its camping (program is Hebrew speech . . . Massad does not offer Hebrew on a formal study; rather as an atmosphere. This aim is achieved both through the variety of cultural activities and through the daily, familiar camp activities--without resort to formal study.\(^13\)

Camps which do offer formal classes are not uniform in their offerings or in the quality of the teaching staff. A few camps are in effect summer schools in a camp setting. Not only are formal classes

offered, but an established curriculum and a credit system are employed. Campers at Camp Yavneh can accumulate advanced credits at camp toward their studies at Boston Hebrew Teachers College or a Hebrew High School. Similar arrangements have been made between Gratz College in Philadelphia with Camp Ramah in the Poconos (a few other camps as well) with regard to students of the Gratz Hebrew High School Department in attendance at camp. Today the camp organizes special classes to meet the needs of these students who must either make-up work or wish to advance in grade. There is articulation between the principal of the High School and the camp, examinations are given, and a report on each student submitted to the school. The other campers study Torah li-shmah—study for the sake of study. Generally the camp tries not to duplicate the study programs of the city schools so as to avoid student placement difficulties. Certainly there is sufficient materials available in the tradition and its literature for unduplicated study, and new material especially created for camp use is added year by year. Some of the experimental editions of material prepared by the Melton Research Center have been tried in Ramah camps since the summer faculties are generally quite expert. We have already mentioned the double staff at Ramah—counseling and teaching.
The Denominational/Traditional camps also offer two hours a day of formal studies, while a number of the Zionist camps also schedule formal classes, with less expert faculty and usually limited to language study rather than to the very wide gamut of studies available in the above mentioned camps.

None of the Private (one exception—a camp that offered summer tutorial programs), Federation, Center, Yiddish or Philanthropic camps offer formal classes on a meaningful sustained basis.

Most camps, however, will accommodate individual campers with special learning problems. Cejwin Camp, for example, offers a tutorial service to parents at an additional standard fee rate, for campers in almost any area of instruction, general as well as Jewish. Camps, if they have the personnel, will work with Bar-Mitzvah preparation or at least supervise the boy in using his record or tape.

g. Discussion Groups

Camps that reject formal classes frequently include discussion sessions in their schedule. We refer to structured time slots and even a "course of study" not merely discussions which may be planned as part of an evening program or an Oneg Shabbat or the like.

One of the Yiddish camps which at one time had
daily formal classes now structures one period a week for discussion and one period for language. What can be accomplished in forty-five minutes in either area is questionable. In most Zionist camps there is a discussion period once a day, five days a week and these sichot form the basis for the educational program of the camp.

Ichud Habonim, the Labor Zionist Youth Movement which sponsors eight summer camps in the United States and Canada, gives considerable attention to the preparation of educational program material for these discussion groups. The programs generally operate on a three year cycle—Am Echad (Peoplehood), Social Justice and Israel. However, during the course of any summer, the siha program must somewhat reflect the following basic areas:

1. Jewish Peoplehood—Am Echad—pride in Jewish identification; the many aspects of being Jewish; the diversity and unity of world Jewry; the significance of Israel in Jewish civilization.

2. Galut—Exile—how living outside its home has affected Jewish life; the validity of the concept of Galut as applied to North American Jewry.

3. Zionism—a revolution in Jewish life; challenge to the physical, spiritual and psychological aspects of Galut; the meaning and role of Zionism today; pride in and identification with Habonim and Zionism.

4. Israel Today—pride and personal identification; the ideal, the reality, the challenges.
5. Israel and American Jewry—the ideal relationship, the reality, the challenges; Habonim's role.\textsuperscript{14}

One more example from a Zionist camp will illustrate the educational emphasis placed by these camps on the discussion technique: a leader and a group meeting informally in an outdoor setting with knowledge and commitment on the part of the leader, and a good degree of interest and motivation on the part of the camper.

In this instance we quote from the Introduction to the educational summer program of a camp affiliated with Bnei Akiva, a religious-Zionist youth movement.

Dear Madrich, Hashem \textit{Imcha}:

Here we present the tochnit for Moshevet Magshimim. This tochnit deals with a period of utmost importance, the period of the realization of the Zionist ideals starting from the famous aliyat Bilu until the establishment of the State. The material covers a variety of topics which are unknown to the chanichim; therefore if it will be delivered to the chanichim in the right manner, we can be assured of a successful Moshava.

In the following pages you will find 15 sichot which include the basic material so as to familiarize the madrich with the subject matter. Remember that in Moshava the sichot are only a part of the entire program. You have to emphasize the special daily projects, to prepare them well and to carry them out properly. Use your imagination in organizing projects such as \textit{Yom Tirat Tzvi} (building settlement), Illegal Immigration (the lake and boat can be very handy in carrying out this project), etc.

\textsuperscript{14}Manual for Madrichim, prepared by the Vaadat Chinuch of Ichud of Ichud Habonim (mimeographed).
Arts and crafts, scouting, nature walks around the Moshava, outside and inside games have to be used as an integral part of the tochnit.

Keep up with the daily schedule. Know the chanichim in your kvutza and take proper care of their material and spiritual needs.

Hatzlacha Raba
H'virkat Chaverim

Misrad Chinuch

Discussions on Jewish subjects are generally limited to the Oneg Shabbat programming in most of the other camps. Older campers, particularly in teen camps or in C.I.T. programs, may have more frequent discussion periods. The most important discussion on Jewish themes and topics undoubtedly take place in the individual cabins when the campers are "sitting around" and getting ready for bed. Perhaps a news item has caught someone's attention or something happened during the day which excited some children.

The unfulfilled role of the camp in meeting the challenges of Jewish programming is exemplified in part by the inability of staff to cope knowledgeably with such Jewish discussions on the cabin level is cause for great concern.

h. Integration of Jewish Material

The more progressive camps have long learned of the educational values of integrating or correlating various areas of the arts and their activity programs
into manageable entities, usually around a specific theme or project.

Many camps are integrating music, dance and dramatics with good results. If a production is involved, arts and crafts can be added.

The writer visited a Center camp that was doing an excellent job in the area of general camping. The staff used "themes" under which various camp activities could be integrated: the dramatic groups prepared a play; the scenery and costumes were made by arts and crafts and the sewing club; the music specialist taught the music; the dance specialist prepared the choreography and rehearsed the dance group. This, I believe, was good educational planning.

However, the themes for the summer were, "When Knight-hood was in Flower," "Greek Mythology," and "The American Indian." When I asked the camp director why no Jewish theme was used he replied that he had no one on staff with a sufficient Jewish background who had the requisite knowledge to carry out such a Jewish program.

The use of Jewish thematic material and subject matter in the arts themselves is woefully weak in most of the Private, Federation, Center and Philanthropic camps. I have noted the criticism Temima Gezari leveled against the camps in the area of arts and crafts. I omitted one observation in the discussion
of general programming which is appropriate at this time. Mrs. Gezari notes that in addition to the other teacher or specialist shortcomings, "They lack a knowledge of Jewish content."

In the 1963 questionnaire, 70 per cent of the camps indicated that they offered "Jewish" arts and crafts as part of their general program. I cannot imagine what this means in some camps, unless painting a "Welcome Sabbath Queen" sign and making a Star of David necklace qualified the camp in Jewish content.

In many camps, of course, great success is achieved in introducing Jewish content into all the activity programming. In one summer Cejwin Camps reported its dramatics programs including fourteen or fifteen plays with Jewish themes presented in six camp units. During another summer an Art Studio was set up for interested and talented campers and staff under the guidance of an Israeli professional artist—this in addition to the regular program. Camp B'nai B'rith will present special "Bezalel Jewish Art Awards" to campers who create the most interesting objects of art dealing with a Jewish theme. The rules for these awards indicate that objects can be Jewish by their very nature, e.g., ritual object, by possessing a Jewish symbol, by depicting a scene from the Bible or Jewish history, or by otherwise expressing Jewish
experience. A special award will be given to groups which do special projects such as decorating the chapel ark, building an outdoor chapel, etc.

Jewish themes form the basis for almost all programming in the Denominational, Educational, Hebrew and Zionist camps. Aside from language, which while a vehicle for communication is really much more than just that, the activities conducted in Hebrew are Jewishly motivated and designed. The subjects for the plays, the songs, the dances and dance themes are generally, but not exclusively, Jewish. Sometimes a musical will be translated into Hebrew as a creative effort by a group and performed with the participation of various cooperating activity groups. Music and dance are folk oriented, but Israeli singing dominates. Organized singing is one of the greatest unifying and humanizing activities in the entire program. Learning to sing together in unison or in harmony is an exciting and enjoyable experience and one of the most significant single differences between the educational minded camps and the non-educational. Most Zionist camps are singing camps; most Federation camps are not.

As with every other aspect of camping, the most essential ingredient necessary to carry out a reasonably good Jewish program is a Jewishly competent staff working with a willing administration. The second
essential element is program material and manuals which can easily guide a willing novice into Jewish pro-
gramming. Suggestions for evening programs and detailed descriptions of procedures to be followed, examples of model Oneg Shabbat programs, suggested topics for discussions and outlines with references for each topic, bibliographies of materials in all media which can be helpful, games with a Jewish twist, arts and crafts projects with meaningful Jewish content, sample plays with Jewish themes, Jewish music for the guitar, etc.—these and many more program aids are needed. In many cases camps have experienced successful programs in some or even all of these areas. It is necessary that a means of exchanging information and material between camps be established. Some camps are struggling for programs that are commonplace in other camps. Inter-
camp visitation, seeing other programs in action, is a most helpful experience.

The camps that have the "environment of Jewish group living" that Cejwin describes of itself may not need to consciously infuse Jewish motifs into every activity. On the contrary, it may be important at these camps that the more universal aspects of camping be given more attention. In one Hebrew-speaking camp an Israeli musician who conducted the orchestra spoke to the children in Hebrew. The children also spoke to
each other in this language. The music was being prepared for a camp concert and the conductor objected to the fact that he was being "guided" to play only Jewish music. Was this really necessary in such a camp environment? Could not these children play Bach, too? We believe that the answer is in the affirmative, for this camp. In most other camps it would be a struggle to introduce Jewish music to any perceptible degree. Appropos, we were both amused and chagrined by another statistic of the 1963 study. No less than 93 per cent of the camps reported that there was Jewish singing in their camps. Having personally visited a good number of them, it can be noted that while none of the camps misrepresented themselves, in some camps one could count the number of Jewish songs in the repertoire on the fingers of one hand if one excluded the Sabbath liturgy.

In camps where there is no "environment of Jewish group living" conscious efforts must be made and techniques developed to find appropriate ways and means of introducing or intensifying the Jewish component in every activity. At the outset, this may be patently artificial, but it is nonetheless an essential task.

The synthesis between the general activities and the Jewish has been achieved by a number of camps,
so that the thesis has been proven valid for those camps that still resist the effort.

In a camp such as ours, Jewish objectives and values play a major role. Utilizing the bunk group in a family-like fashion enables the counselor as a parents' substitute to transmit information and values about Judaism which are helpful to the camper throughout his life. Of course, this demands some understanding and positive Jewish identification for the counselor himself. When people live closely together as in a bunk group, the opportunity for questioning and exploration of philosophies of life tied together with a Jewish heritage frequently abound. To utilize this excellent atmosphere as a means of strengthening understanding and ties with Jewish values is a basic objective of our camp; the counselor can make a profound impact upon the camper by not limiting his alertness for Jewish programming to merely the Sabbath, but being prepared to incorporate it at every opportunity (italics mine).\textsuperscript{15}

\textbf{i. Library}

Every educational institution, camps included, needs a good, working library. As we have already pointed out, very few camps have such a facility or make full use of its potential when there is even a semblance of a book collection. This, despite the fact that 63 per cent of the camps reported that they had a children's library with a collection of Jewish books. Library facilities have been described in Chapter IV.

There are notable exceptions among camps in all categories to the general observation that libraries

play a small role in the cultural life of most camps. As would be expected, most of the functioning libraries with professional or semi-professional staff are to be found among the Educational, Denominational, and Hebrew camps.

Each camp unit also needs a small library building. We are beginning to provide such facilities using old reconstructed buildings for this purpose. We have an excellent film strip library containing the best film strips now available. Last summer . . . movie films with Jewish content were available for use in addition to the film strips . . . Each camp has its own film strip projector. In addition, our library contains many recordings.

The librarian distributes books and audio-visual aid materials and many children love to read the books made available, particularly during rainy weather and rest periods. The J.E.C., the U.A.H.C., and the Seminary have made available to us free of charge their children's publications which are used extensively.16

The above report indicates how a library can serve as a center for the distribution and dissemination of non-book materials as well. In other camps where special library buildings have been constructed, its purposes and effects can be even more widespread.

The library is available to both campers and staff alike. The camp maintains books of interest as well as records. The library will also serve as the place where information about vocations will be available (italics mine) in connection with the program being conducted by the Vocational Counselor. The library will also be available for quiet music or reading or writing in the evenings (italics mine).

Books and records may be checked out for programs or for personal use.\textsuperscript{17}

Whereas general book collections may be borrowed from Public Libraries for use by camps during the summer, no such service is available for books of Jewish interest, unless they can be found in Public Libraries and ordered in advance as part of the general collection. Jewish library materials must be purchased or assembled by the camps themselves. Camps closely affiliated with city institutions do borrow books and other materials from the Jewish collection of their libraries. The Division of Community Services of Gratz College in Philadelphia permits camps in the area to borrow books and audio-visual materials for extended summer use. Other Bureaus of Jewish Education cooperate with camps serving their communities in a like manner. However, each camp must develop its own collection.

The New Jersey "Y" Camps, a Center camp, has an excellent library facility, a full-time librarian and helpers, and an expanding collection of Judaica and of audio-visual materials. This library also has reserved shelves for staff reference, and the library becomes a center for a great deal of the planning for cultural activities.

A number of librarians serve as resource persons

\textsuperscript{17}Staff Manual, Camp B'nai B'rith, \textit{op. cit.}, p. B-12.
for all areas of the camp program. Materials for exhibits are made available and in a few camps the library itself offers an exhibit of books or other material on a particular theme. The conscientious librarian uses all the devices she would use in the city library to stimulate readership and use of the facility.

j. Role of Israel

In 1963, 70 per cent of the camps reported that Israel played some role in camp programming. As an advent of the Six Day War and the fact that Israel has been a concern of the daily press ever since June, 1967, and on the basis of revisits to camps during the past three summers that I had been to five years previously, I believe that the 70 per cent figure is even higher today. The quality, level and intensity of the Israel experiences in camps, of course, varies very considerably.

Clearly, the camps most actively involved with Israel are the thirteen Zionist camps where Israel is central to their philosophy of Judaism and to their programming at camp. The Hebrew camp and several of the Educational camps are almost as intensive in their programmational emphasis on Israel. One of the Yiddish camps is also affiliated with a Labor Zionist
Order and it, too, has a philosophic commitment, but is much weaker programmatically than the specifically identified Zionist camps. I have already alluded to the fact that the Denominational/Conservative camps do not consider themselves Zionist in orientation, but there is no question that Israel plays an important role in the total camp program. In these camps, religion is the central dominating force.

The centrality of religion, however defined, is also dominant in the other Denominational camps, with the messianic 'ideal' of Israel playing a more important role in the more traditional camps and the 'real' of Israel holding sway in the others.

The so-called secularists have long given up the deep-rooted bitterness against Zionism that characterized them prior to the establishment of the State. While many are still far from Zionism, they are all concerned with Israel, and some aspect of Israel is present in the programming in the Yiddish camps.

Concern for Israel is probably more manifest in the Private, Federation, Center and Philanthropic camps, with many exceptions, than general Jewish cultural concerns or these are identified as being synonymous.

The role of Israel in camps has been shown in almost every phase of this study. The expanding use of Israeli counselors, the use of Israeli music, dance
and motifs in the arts, discussions which often center around the problems of Israel, the study of Hebrew not merely as the language of the heritage but generally as the spoken language of modern Israel—all of these and others as well indicate the growing place of Israel in the life of the summer camps. As a matter of fact, particularly in the non-educational camps, it will be through the influence of the impact of Israel that expanded Jewish programming will be further introduced.

k. Cultural Visits and Visitors

Camps in larger and larger numbers are beginning to make greater use of broad community or national resources in expanding the scope of their educational and cultural programming, Jewish as well as general.

The Jewish National Fund Caravan, for example, which usually consists of several talented and personable young Israelis, travel from camp to camp and present an exciting program of Israeli song and dance for the campers and staff. After the performance they generally spend some time in teaching simple songs and dances to the group. This has been a very highly successful program, beginning slowly, and now so popular that camps must reserve dates months in advance. The Caravan is most effective in the camps which are unsophisticated in Israeli song and dance, although the knowledgeable camps also request their visits.
Another Jewish National Fund cultural service which has proven itself over the summers is an exhibit and lecture on Israel stamps which also travels around the camps. Since a large number of children are incipient stamp collectors, they are motivated to learn about Israel and Jewish history through stamps.

Israeli consuls and their staffs have wisely been making themselves available for camp visits. An "official" representative of the Israel government generally makes a lasting impression on the camp and the preparation for his visit enables the camp to expand its Jewish programming.

The educational camps, either through the Department of Education and Culture of the Jewish Agency or through institutions of higher learning, as they become aware of outstanding personalities and scholars either visiting the United States from Israel or visiting the area of the camp from other communities in America, try to arrange for these personages to come to camp. Jewish musicians and artists are also invited.

Such visits are more common in the Jewishly committed camps, but could take place readily in all camps if camp directors were made aware of the possibilities. True, some of the Jewish agencies send announcements to the camps, but generally the camps themselves must show the initiative. A lecture bureau
and cultural-program-visitiation service to camps would be innovative and could help camps in their quest for Jewish programming.

1. Fund Raising Activities for Jewish Causes

Very few camps are actively engaged in fund raising programs. We have already noted that some camps use the carnivals to raise small sums which are then contributed to various causes. The most elaborate program of fund raising is to be found at the Cejwin camps.

The Keren Ami (fund of my people) program at Cejwin is a major and regular on-going project. Cultural counselors are expected to pre-plan eight weekly Keren Ami programs in addition to special projects which must be planned at camp.

... is a significant function in the camp's program of Jewish group living, and aims to provide opportunities and experiences for campers to participate intelligently in American Jewish community life. The primary purpose of the Keren Ami program is to develop within the individual campers a sense of Jewish community consciousness and a feeling of personal identity with the Jewish people.18

The program is implemented on a continuous basis as an integrated activity during the entire camp season. These activities cover agencies dealing

18 Samuel H. Dinsky, "Cejwin's Keren Ami Program," prepared for the Department of Jewish Culture, Cejwin Camps (mimeographed).
with Jewish education, Religion, Israel and Philanthropy. Activities include discussion and study, viewing films and film-strips, relating arts and crafts activities, presenting a weekly dramatic skit each Friday evening immediately before evening services, campers offering the weekly Keren Ami contribution bunk by bunk after the dramatic presentation. The campers' carnival and bazaar are tied to this project and the culminating event is the Annual Keren Ami Breakfast, which is planned and executed with great detail. Each camper receives an "allocation ballot" and votes on the distribution of the money collected during the summer. Among the major allocations made over the years are included the United Jewish Appeal, other Israeli funds and the Neve Hadassah project. Agency beneficiaries vary from year to year but a brief listing of some of the recipients illustrates the breadth of the program: American Association for Jewish Education, Einstein Medical College, Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of New York, Jewish Publication Society, United Nations Children's Fund and Cejwin Camp Scholarships.

To the extent that funds are raised, the most frequent recipient of the funds is the United Jewish Appeal or, in recent years, the Israel Emergency Fund.
m. World, National and Local Jewish Current Events

If camps are remiss in providing adequate informational services to their campers and staff with regard to general current events as was indicated previously, they are even more negligent in matters concerning Jewish information. The correlation between the camps doing well or poorly in one area and the other is quite high.

During visits to camps just short weeks after the Six Day War, the general lack of information available in the camps about the conditions in the Middle East was appalling. Discussions with campers and staff revealed ignorance of basic facts which could easily have been provided by the camp via bulletin board displays, newspaper clippings, exhibits and the like. Maps of Israel were difficult to find in many camps. In one camp, suggestions for putting up a bulletin board outside the dining hall were met with lukewarm enthusiasm, but once it was up and clippings and interesting eye catching items exhibited, many on staff were surprised at the number of children who stopped to read and then casually discuss the display. Such a simple technique, so seldom employed.

Interest in Jewish current events comes first and foremost from staff concern. The adults in the camp community set the tone in this area as in so many
others. The camper who asks the adult with the newspaper, "who won the ball game?" should, of course, be answered, but attention then focused on news of a little greater import.

The key to any and all programming is the nature of the camp staff.
CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

1. **Summation**

In light of the many problems facing the American Jewish community in its struggle to assure creative continuity to Jewish life and Jewish values in the United States, this study illustrates the potentialities of the resident Jewish summer camp as an important instrument and effective ally to existing institutions of Jewish life in meeting the challenges to our youth of Jewish identification, knowledge and commitment.

In briefly analyzing the state of the present-day Jewish community, particular attention is focused on Jewish college youth, pointing out the serious problems of apathy, alienation and negativism toward Jewish life as well as the low levels of Jewish knowledge of many of these young people on campus who represent between 80 and 85 per cent of the college-age members of the Jewish community. This negativism exists despite the fact that most of these students received some form of Jewish education during their
childhood years. Our analysis of the Jewish educational establishment highlights the overwhelming problems affecting every aspect of its attempt to provide an adequate Jewish education to the young generation. We note serious shortcomings in the qualifications of many educators themselves, apathy, and lack of "Jewish living" of many homes and parents, the effects of the Bar Mitzvah syndrome, budgeting and fiscal problems, the school time factor including the rising encroachment of public education, the complexity and breadth of the school curriculum and the courses of study of the schools, which are all factors which mitigate against enabling the Jewish school, by itself, to fulfill the responsibilities placed upon it by the Jewish community, generally by default. As a result, even the best of these schools can provide only an elementary Jewish education and the large majority of Jewish children (90 per cent) gain but a childish understanding of themselves as Jews and of their culture and heritage.

It has been, therefore, a major purpose of this study to ascertain the role being played by resident Jewish summer camps in formal and informal Jewish education and, by investigating and evaluating the general and Jewish programs of such representative camps, to attempt to illustrate the important role that a good camp can play in creating a Jewish atmos-
phere, imparting knowledge, motivating commitment to a Jewish way of life and demonstrating the relevance of Judaism to all participants in the camp program, campers and staff alike.

The writer, to establish criteria for his evaluation of these camps, projected his own goals and objectives after a study of such goals in the writings of general and Jewish educational thinkers and based upon his own many years of experience as a director of summer camps and as a Jewish educator. In the process of establishing these "universal" and "Jewish" objectives, a series of questions have been raised, the answers to which are sought in the body of the study. While separate goals and objectives are projected for both aspects of Jewish camping, the writer remains sensitive to the distinctive similarities between the goals of general education and those of Jewish education and to the fact that the camp community deals with a "total child" in a "total camp setting." Attempts have been made throughout the study to illustrate those areas of camp life where a natural fusion and integration can be wrought between the "universal" elements which should be found in any good camp, and the "Jewish components" which should be peculiar to the Jewish summer camp.

Chapter II of the study concerns itself with a brief survey of the historical development of both
general and Jewish camping and places the organization of the camps within the perspective of a dynamic development of both the total American community of which Jews are an integral part and the Jewish community within the framework of the principle of cultural pluralism.

In Chapter III, the writer establishes his rationale for dividing the 100 camps which form the basis of the study into nine categories, assigned primarily according to institutional sponsorship, representing a stratified random sampling. These categories include Private, Federation, Center, Educational, Yiddish, Zionist, Philanthropic, Denominational (Traditional-Conservative-Reform) and Hebrew camps.

The goals and objectives of these various categories of camps are investigated as viewed by the owners, sponsors, camp directors, parents and campers. In the main, it may be concluded that Private, Federation, Center, Philanthropic and most Yiddish camps stress the social and physical growth of the camper whereas the Educational, Zionist, Denominational and Hebrew camps emphasize their Jewish cultural and religious development. Exceptions to this generalization may be found in each category. It is also noted that a number of camps could technically fit into two or more categories, e.g., some Center camps receive financial support from Federations, but the final criteria for the place-
ment of a camp in a particular category is dependent upon the specific sponsorship of the camp.

Chapter IV reveals that fifty-eight of the 100 camps are accredited members of the American Camping Association. The standards established by the Association are used as criteria for the adequacy of the camps in the areas of general camping, particularly with relation to health, safety, sanitation, site and facility, personnel, program, and administration. It is noted that forty-two of the camps either had not applied or believe they do not qualify for American Camping Association accreditation. Since this accreditation represents the fulfillment of at least minimal standards as established by the largest professional camping organization in the world, it is essential that those camps not yet accredited seek such recognition with due haste.

While it may not be completely valid to assume that a camp that is not accredited does not meet these standards, my conclusion is that more often than not, this assumption is correct. However, it is also pointed out that because of the large membership in the American Camping Association and infrequency of regular re-accreditation and because of the rapid changes in the camp environment, a number of the accredited camps have unfortunately permitted standards to deteriorate.
Of the nine camp categories in our study, those which least meet the minimum general standards of professional camping criteria are the Zionist, Yiddish, Denominational/Traditional and Federation sponsored camps.

The study found that 60 per cent of the camps are located in New York state and Pennsylvania and that another 14 per cent are in the northeastern section of the United States, 6 per cent in Canada and the remaining 20 per cent located throughout the country. Most campsites, while ranging in size from sixty-eight to 2,000 acres, do not all meet American Camping Association requirements, but are generally adequate in meeting camp needs. Facilities are substantially adequate, except in Zionist and Federation camps where sports facilities among others are below standard. While housing of campers, either in cabins or tents, is usually adequate, staff housing requires priority attention in a number of camps. Other camp facilities, buildings, recreational halls, etc., show imagination and creativity and building needs vary among camps in every category, with the Zionist and Federation camps requiring more capital building funds than most of the other categories of camps.

Seventy-four per cent of the camps are co-ed, and the tendency toward co-educational camping is
predominant and growing. This fact has implications both in regard to the physical organization of the camp site and programming. Decentralization is also an accepted principle of camp organization.

We have seen that camp fees increased by 25.7 per cent between 1963 and 1969 and are still on the uptrend. Aside from Federation and Philanthropic camps which seem to be intended primarily for children whose families cannot ordinarily pay any fees or pay token fees at best, the cost of camping is a considerable expense to the budget of a middle-class American Jewish family. Unless funds are found from a variety of sources to subsidize camps or provide scholarships for campers, the growth of camping may be hindered simply by the laws of economics. Our study indicates that in 1963, among forty-one camps that reported, some 6,882 scholarships valued at $705,104 were granted. The figures have undoubtedly increased over these past years, but are still far below the real need.

Communal support for camping from one source or another is evidenced in 61 per cent of the camps, either in the form of direct allocations and subsidies from Federation and Welfare Funds, e.g., all Federations camps in the study receive direct support from central communal funds to the average extent of 29 per cent of their total budget, or from contributions by individuals,
organizations or institutions.

Further additional community budgeting is required and Federation and Welfare Funds will have to recognize the validity of the educational values in camping and help provide the necessary capital funds for development and operating funds for programming.

In Chapter V, in the study of the camper, we found that forty-two camps have special requirements for admission. This fact was particularly distressing for Federation, Center and Philanthropic camps which, while mainly communally supported, are not open to all children of the Jewish community. This distress does not relate to camps organized to meet the special needs of children with special problems. We believe that while it is understandable that camps organized specifically to meet the needs of the sponsoring organizations, e.g., Conservative camps for children from the Conservative movement may have validity, community camps should be available to all children in the community. Two conclusions may be drawn. On the one hand, the fragmentation that characterizes the adult Jewish community is unfortunately present in camping as well, and on the other hand, that more camps are needed, particularly community oriented and sponsored camps. The study is also critical of the admission procedures followed by a significant number of camps.
in which the process of intake of campers is poorly handled.

Comparisons are offered between the statistics available in the general field of camping, and the data of this study with regard to the differences and changes in the age and sex distribution of the camping population. An analysis of our data reveals that among girls, the largest group of campers are in the thirteen year old age range and that among the boys, the largest group is between 11 and 13. In 1950, the eleven year old girls represented the largest age group. The age of campers is clearly rising. We observe that the vast majority of our camps deal with children between the fifth and tenth grade in public school. Our statistics also indicate an increased emphasis on teen-age camping and that the retention rates for this age group is much higher than for the younger campers. The writer believes that efforts with the teen-age group, particularly with regard to Jewish concerns, is much more educationally needed and productive and concludes that teen-age camping requires much more attention.

One of the most apparent limitations to any student or researcher of camping is the fact that no accurate data are available with regard to statistical information on Jewish camping and one of the major contributions of this study may well be the fact that
the data assembled here representing the largest sampling of camps in any published or unpublished study, provides figures which can be of significant use to practitioners in the field.

The study also indicates a trend toward longer periods for camping. Most of the educational camps which emphasize Jewish programming insist on an 8 week season and most of the other camps whose "trips" may be of 2, 3, 4, or 6 week duration tend to extend the stay in the direction of 6 weeks. This is further evidence of the need for additional camps since the major argument for short camping periods has been to enable larger numbers of children to make use of the same camp facility. If the "trip" is lengthened, fewer children are served. The retention rate of camps, that is, the number of "old campers" who return to the same camp the following season, varies with an average retention rate of approximately 53 per cent. An analysis of data available suggests to the writer that one may conclude that given a more meaningful and relevant program, children tend to return to such a camp for several years.

Most campers come from at least middle-class income families in the majority of the camps in our study. Aside from economic background, the socio-religious backgrounds of the parents vary and no trends are discernible except for those camps which
serve special interest groups. The only exception relates to those camps which do not observe Kashrut and therefore exclude children from traditional or observant homes from their camps.

All of the camps serve Jewish children but some of them do not serve Jewish children exclusively. The problem of the non-sectarian camp sponsored by a purportedly Jewish agency is a matter of serious concern and I have concluded that if the camp is indeed to fulfill its purpose as an agency for Jewish survival, a camp sponsored by the Jewish community and receiving Jewish communal support must serve Jewish children exclusively. This statement is in no way intended to detract from the educational validity within the general community of non-sectarian, inter-denominational and interracial camping. However, the responsibility for such camping must rest with agencies of the general community of which Jews are a part. The crisis within the Jewish community is of such a nature that the organized Jewish community must concentrate its full attention and resources on Jewish camping for Jewish children.

Among all the categories of camps, notwithstanding singular exceptions in each category, the Center camps with their core of trained group workers on staff were found to be better equipped to provide
creative opportunities for individual camper development through group orientation than any other camps.

The greatest participation of campers on all levels of programming is to be found in the Zionist camps where the philosophy of "youth leading youth" is practiced.

Most of the other camps fall somewhere between the rather full participation of campers in the Zionist camps and the non or little participation of campers in program-planning in other camps. Camps with teen programs have discovered that only by involving the camper can the program be successful. The same conclusion is yet to be reached for the young campers but is not less valid a principle. A mark of a successful camp included the willingness of the director to be flexible, to regroup his resources, allow new plans to replace pre-plans and to eliminate rigidity from the programs. The principle reflected in programming by camper councils that camp is the only environment in our society where children can be given equal consideration with adults is generally not apparent in significant numbers of the camps in our study. Too many camps despite their protestations to the contrary are still autocratically operated.

In Chapter VI we found that the quality, training, knowledge and preparation of staff is the
central measure of the success or failure of a camp program on any level. At every turn, whenever the study concerns itself with program, activities, leadership, counseling, guidance, etc., it is the quality of staff personnel that determines the success of the effort. The greatest single shortcoming in all the camps in this study, barring none, although the intensity of the problem varies from camp to camp, is the lack of qualified staff!

The study undertakes a careful analysis of the structure of the camp staff including tables of organization and job descriptions as well as the qualifications required by camps of staff for the performance of their stated duties.

It is noted that procedures for the recruitment and employment of staff, except for the educational camps, almost completely ignore any Jewish considerations. Obviously, camps that do not seek personnel who are Jewishly knowledgeable or vocational agencies which do not recruit or refer such personnel, cannot staff camps with the kind of persons who are able to carry out the mandates the camps theoretically set for themselves in their listing of goals and objectives.

There is a dichotomy between the job descriptions of many camps and their stated goals and objectives of which are basically contradictory. In many
instances the stated goals and objectives are not acted upon. In practice the camps make little or no effort to hire personnel to implement these aims. The most frequent offenders included Federation, Center, Philanthropic and Yiddish camps.

The study clearly concludes that the major problem facing the resident Jewish sponsored camp today is the recruitment and selection of personnel capable of implementing the stated programmatic goals of the camps.

Further evidence that the recruitment and selection process for staff is wanting is revealed in the study by the fact that camps report a number of staff who are negative about their Jewishness or show "evidence of self-hatred around Jewishness." Obviously these individuals were not properly screened at some point in the selection process and should never have been employed in a Jewish sponsored camp.

Some serious misgivings are voiced about the use of "foreign counselors" in Jewish sponsored camps. This reservation is made notwithstanding the fact that in many camps with proper supervision, these counselors add a cosmopolitan flavor to the program. The issue as the writer sees it is the fact that these "foreign counselors" are non-Jewish and bring unnecessary problems to the camp together with any positive
contributions. "Foreign counselors" who are Jewish should be employed from countries throughout the world so as to enhance the feeling of klal yisrael in the world.

Israeli counselors who may technically be categorized as "foreign," can be, with proper selection and supervision, important contributors to the program of camp. Israeli students in the United States should be recruited for camps but yordim should not be employed.

Israeli staff will begin playing a more and more significant role in American Jewish camping but by no stretch of the imagination will begin to solve the staff shortage problem. As with all other aspects of Jewish life, leadership, teachers, social workers, camp personnel, will have to be developed indigenously by the American Jewish community. We will either develop and train our own personnel or our institutions will wither away.

Because salaries paid to camp personnel are major factors in the recruitment of qualified candidates, efforts must be made to raise the salary scales, particularly for full-time camp employees. The shortage of qualified personnel is so acute that subsidies should be provided to camps specifically for staff salary purposes.
Camps must also provide their employees the benefits of a full code of practice including all the health and welfare considerations normally provided employees of educational institutions.

Unless the education, training and preparation of camp staff becomes a primary concern of camp boards and administration, the camps will fail in their Jewish purposes. Efforts must be accelerated to professionalize the field and develop an increasingly larger core of full-time Jewish educators or Jewishly educated social workers who will devote their professional career to Jewish camping.

The study shows that there is little or no year-round training for Jewish camps; that pre-camp training is limited to several days before the opening of camp and that there are still some camps which do not have even this minimal program. Further, even the best of the programs afford little time for anything but a general orientation to Jewish programming, insufficient to intelligently carry out a full summer's Jewish activities. In-service training is also generally haphazard or administrative-centered or crisis-centered with little time given to an organized ongoing program of study.

There are no planned programs for camping in existence in any school of social work on either an
undergraduate or graduate level or in any school of education or in any Hebrew Teachers College, individual courses being discounted.

Most camps neither encourage, subsidize nor provide bonuses for members of their staff who are conscientious enough to take courses in Judaica or for that matter psychology, etc., during the year which would benefit them in their work at camp. This, in juxtaposition to the camp's willingness to subsidize and increase the salaries for waterfront counselors who enroll in water safety instructor courses. Exceptions to this are the educational camps where such practices sometimes do exist. These Jewish camps are clearly much more concerned with general programming than with Jewish programming and in practice support efforts at Jewish programming in a tertiary manner.

One of my major conclusions, borne out by the study, and particularly by my visits to fifty-eight of the 100 camps is that the staff constitutes a "service client" and that therefore the education and growth of the staff member must be a concern of the camp administration. This is particularly important in regard to Jewish knowledge, identification and commitment. Until camps assume the responsibility for staff programming in matters of Jewish concern,
the camp cannot be considered as being serious about its "Jewish component."

The "Careers in Social Work" programs instituted in many Center camps operate with varying degrees of success. Such programs should continue and expand. The career programs should, however, be broadened to include careers in other areas of Jewish communal service including Jewish education.

We were surprised to find that camps which yearly face the problem of serious shortages of qualified personnel are among the camps that have not developed counselor-in-training programs so that they might in some measure help train their own indigenous staff. The study reveals that only 40 per cent of the camps offer such programs, but that camps that do have them almost all report their effectiveness in the training and recruitment of staff.

This study is not original in substantiating any number of principles long known and understood by knowledgeable camp people. General camp literature is replete with articles attesting, for example, to the fact that the key figure and most influential of all factors operating in the camp setting is the cabin counselor. If this is true generally, how much more important is the task of this individual in the Jewish camp where his influence by example is of
paramount importance. Staff deficiencies, serious enough on supervisory levels, are even more aggravated on the counselor level.

The lack of democratic processes relating to staff among the fifty-eight camps is pointed out. With a few notable exceptions which merely prove how important and successful staff participation in decision making can be, most camp staffs are regarded as employees who must follow directives from the administration. Too many camps are still autocratically run.

Democratic processes are probably more prevalent among the Zionist camps than any others, but one may question certain forms of democratic over-permissiveness at times found in some of these camps.

The social upheaval and the rapidly changing values of campus youth are finding their way into the camp setting and will have to be dealt with realistically and honestly.

The final concern in our study of camp staff relates to the appraisal and evaluation of the staff and its accountability to self, to the camp administration, to the sponsoring agency, and to the parent and camper and, in the final analysis, to the Jewish community. One thought is clear and recurring—the essence of a positive Jewish educational camp experience undoubtedly emanates from a qualified staff.
Chapter VII concerns itself with the manner in which the camps in our study implement their stated goals and objectives as well as the goals and objectives projected by the writer, through activity programs in the camps' daily schedules. A description and evaluation of these schedules is undertaken in both the general and Jewish areas of program, with an emphasis on the Jewish aspects.

The analysis of the daily schedules illustrates how the various camps apportion blocks of time for various activities and consequently indicate the value placed upon that activity by the camp by the allotment of time given the activity.

It is apparent that the Private camps are primarily sports-centered, giving a minimum of time to what might be called cultural activities. The Federation, Philanthropic and Center camps also tend to accentuate the sports program; however, there is a greater attempt at balance in the Center camps with regard to creative arts activities. The Yiddish camps in the apportionment of their time are similar to the Center camps, with a few adding token formal class time for discussion or language instruction. The daily schedule of these camps also reveals a greater relative emphasis on traditional camping activities, such as scouting, hiking, nature, than in the other
categories of camps.

The Educational camps vary in their schedules with several following the pattern of the Center camps, laying greater stress, however, on cultural activities, and others following the pattern of the Denominational/Conservative, Traditional and Reform in the inclusion of formal class periods within the daily schedule. The Zionist camps also include class time on a more limited basis than the others, but provide more time for informal discussion groups than do the others. The Hebrew camp, in general, follows the daily schedule pattern of the Center camps, has no formal classes, but allows time during the week for scheduled discussion periods.

The most effective and democratic use of scheduling is found in the Center camps where "elective periods" and unstructured time are more available to campers than in any other category of camp, although this procedure is not exclusive with the Center camps.

Inter-camp activities are reviewed and it is concluded that concerted efforts should be continued to broaden communication between the various camps and their camper and staff personnel.

A major criticism leveled against a large number of camps in the study in most categories relates to the fact that they resort to too many out-of-camp activities. This is yet another manifestation of
the inadequacy of staff in planning and implementing evening programs which should be indigenous to the camp environment.

The study also reviews the rules and regulations that govern programming, and then analyzes the activity periods and the evening programs. Essentially, camps have changed very little since they were organized. Activities which were popular to children fifty years ago still attract their interest today, with exceptions of course.

Relatively few camps fully capitalize on the natural environment and primarily because of the difficulty in obtaining qualified personnel, give insufficient attention to nature study and pioneering. While "tripping" is done in many camps, hiking is a lost art. Transporting campers to overnight camp sites instead of walking to them has become the norm.

Arts and crafts is probably the most universally scheduled activity, second only to sports. However, the level of creativity in this area is seriously wanting, and this program is largely devoted to the assembly of pre-cut or pre-fabricated items and free artistic expression and guidance is lacking in many camps.

Music, particularly organized singing, while carried out informally in many camps, does not receive
the attention it warrants as an educational activity.

Dramatics in too many camps is performance-centered, and creative dramatics is missing from most camps with the exception of those camps committed to imaginative group process.

Most camps are "islands unto themselves" and practically disassociate themselves from the world about them during the weeks of the summer. Very few camps actively concern themselves with news events, political conventions, bulletin boards and the like. In general, camps are quite weak in "developing the skills and capacities that make for competent citizenship in a democratic society." Exceptions to this observation are mainly to be found in the Zionist camps where political consciousness is on a high level, and in some selected camps in other categories.

The study describes and analyzes Jewish living in the camps. We have reserved reporting on one aspect of the study until now in the belief that these findings relate to the conclusions of the study.

When camp directors are asked "What are some of the major problems you are facing in implementing the Jewish educational aims of your camp?"--the answers are not only revealing, but in effect, illustrate and highlight some of the most serious shortcomings faced by the Jewish resident summer camp.
These problems have been discussed at various times during the course of this study. The fact that they are here articulated by the camp directors themselves adds even greater credence and further substantiates the conclusions arrived at by the writer.

Among the Federation camps, the following comments are noted:

For this special-purpose camp the Friday evening service seems appropriate.

Problem No. 1 is that we get very few children coming from homes where (Jewish) education is stressed.

This is a non-sectarian, interdenominational camp, although over 90 per cent of the campers are Jewish.

Family culture which (accompanies) children and staff is not basically Jewish. Therefore, a Judaic orientation is outside of their experience except in a negative situation.

Staff who are oriented and positive about their Jewishness.

Among Center camps, the responses are quite varied as evidenced by the following quotations:

The ambivalent motivation of counselors and campers. In addition, it is difficult to develop a curriculum which is specific enough and yet broad enough to include points of view.

Staff! Camper interest and good reference material in dramatics and for the Oneg.

Helping the staff to use Jewish content in a creative manner.

Finding a Jewish staff. This is most important. If we can locate such a staff, then our problem relates to the staff's background, knowledge and interest of things of Jewish interest.
Availability of personnel who have knowledge and personalities to transmit the important basic values of Judaism and who are themselves reasonably good examples of well-adjusted human beings.

Since our aims are not primarily towards a Jewish education, our problems do not run along these lines.

Evidence of self-hatred around Jewishness is quite common. Some staff consider any type of Jewish programming, music, dancing, Jewish story-telling, etc., as religious indoctrination. Some staff feel quite uncomfortable about anything Jewish whether it is in discussion, observance or language.

The major problem in implementing the Jewish educational goals of our camp is the resistance frequently encountered amongst our counselors who are themselves Jewish young adults, many of whom have not yet resolved their attitudes and feelings regarding their own Jewishness.

Resistance of staff and apathy and ignorance of others on staff.

Making Judaism a vital concern and interest of staff. Relating Judaism to non-curriculum centered camping program.

"What may please one sect" may not please another. Bringing services to the level of the campers.

Staff who are not Jewish-oriented.

Obtaining qualified Jewish counselors--particularly boys.

Among the Educational camps, the comments in some measure echo some of these set forth above. For example, "to induce the parents to enroll their children in a camp observing Jewish Dietary Laws and offering Jewish cultural influences."

This last statement was made by the only
Private camp included among the Educational camps because of the nature of its educational programming and the caliber of the owner who is an outstanding Jewish educator.

The statement attests to the fact that one of the difficulties this camp faced as a Private camp with Jewish cultural commitments was recruiting campers. In fact, this problem became so acute that for this reason as well as others the camp is no longer operating.

Staff qualified to handle the program materials suited for our program.

Clarification of what ought to constitute a meaningful, relevant, and inspiring education for living as an American Jew. Creative approach to Hebrew education in a camp environment. How to make basic Jewish values meaningful to American Jewish children so as to influence their attitudes.

Neither of the two Yiddish camps responded to this question.

Among the Zionist camps, the answers are of three types. In one case,

Financial difficulties curb our ability to enrich the program to the degree we would wish.

Another camp is concerned about the need for material, particularly

A good, fast Hebrew-teaching method--books--tapes--visual aids.

And finally, as further evidences of immaturity and lack of real comprehension of the needs of camping,
a Zionist camp notes:

No problem at all.

The answers among the Philanthropic camps parallel in large measure some of the answers we have already seen in the uncommitted Federation and Center camps--a few Philanthropic camps, however, do seem to be deeply concerned.

We have never stressed the Jewish education aims in our camp. We are not sponsored by the Federation or any of the Jewish organizations and have never thought along these lines. We were organized on a cultural level rather than on a religious and the camp has remained thus.

Some counselor opposition.

Our camp is non-sectarian.

Staff: Whenever we have enthusiastic, trained, capable, education people, we do very well. Also, indifference of counselors not trained in these areas who we must hire since there are not enough of the others.

The counselors' poor Jewish background.

How to add programs which are motivating and accepting to children as well as community.

Among the Denominational camps, the one response from a Traditional camp consists of a single word, "Money."

Among the Denominational/Conservative camps, the comments are generally similar. However, camps servicing geographical sections of the country accentuated particular regional problems. For example:

The poor preparation which many of the youngsters receive in their Hebrew schools,
especially those who come from areas outside the large metropolitan areas. The fact that many of the things that we teach at camp are foreign to the youngsters as well as their parents. Difficulty in finding staff, especially teachers and specialists, who are oriented toward our type of program.

Adequate facilities and poorly prepared staff.

The basic problems of Jewish education. How does one transmit a value system? How does one influence a child to live in accordance with Jewish observances, etc? We could use more personnel who understand our problem and are committed to our program.

Staff--Hebrew speaking camp--finding staff with proper background and ability.

The Denominational/Reform camps can be just as succinct as their Traditional brothers. One camp, for example, answers simply "Staff." Other Reform camps are somewhat more explicit in stating their needs.

Skilles, general and Specialty Counselors. A balance between (general) camping activities and the Jewish goals for which we exist.

Biggest problem is adequate staff with proper background, but our program structure seems to compensate for any inexperienced help.

The responses from the various camp directors generally reflect three levels of approach to the question of the implementation of the Jewish educational aims of the camps.

In the first place, there are clearly a number of camps which still refuse to accept any responsibility for Jewish concerns. They reject involvement by
blaming administration or absence of camp goals and objectives on the one hand, or by being very "realistic" about the nature of the staff they employ and conclude that under such staff conditions, it would be foolish for them to even attempt to introduce Jewish programming. Since in the main, most of these camps are recipients of Jewish communal funds, it becomes obvious that nothing will happen at the camp until clear directives are issued by the funding agencies making it explicitly understood that these camps do indeed have a responsibility to meet the needs of the Jewish community which supplies them with the wherewithal for their operations, and that Jewish programming must become part of the camp program.

Among the second group of camps there is a tacit understanding and agreement that the camp program should include a Jewish component, however narrowly or broadly defined, but these camps neither recruit nor attract staff that are Jewishly knowledgeable. In the case of such camps where there is no longer need to argue the principle of including Jewish programming, it is necessary to offer ways and means to the camp to secure at least a core of staff who will be able to cope with Jewish programming. These camps must also be supplied with simple, explicit, successfully-tried programs for easy implementation
assuming the presence of a minimal Jewishly oriented staff. The excuse of not having material must not be permitted to affect even the most minimal attempts at Jewish programming.

The third level of response include those from camps deeply committed to Jewish programming who also have needs on more sophisticated levels. These camps also need staff. However, these staff requirements are generally of a more special nature. Material is also needed by these camps on a somewhat higher level. These camps need professional guidance in the art of integrating the general and Jewish aspects of program, and in many cases these camps require specialists in the area of general camping even more than in the area of Jewish programming.

The study reveals the fact that only fifty-seventy of the 100 camps in the study observe Kashrut. The largest proportion of camps which are non-kosher are found among the Federation camps where only one of the 8 camps in the study comply with dietary regulations; among the Philanthropic camps where only 4 of the 10 observe Kashrut; among the Private camps where 5 of 14 are observant; among the Yiddish camps where 1 of 5 is Kosher; among the Reform camps where non are Kosher and among the Center camps where 8 of the 25 still do not observe Kashrut.
It is my belief that **Kashrut** and some meaningful form of Sabbath observance are the **sine qua non** for any camp purporting to serve the **total** Jewish community and receiving communal funds for this purpose. Camps serving special interest groups may follow their own prerogatives; communally supported camps may not! These camps must be open for enrollment to any child in the Jewish community who either needs the service or desires to attend the camp. Any other arrangement is contrary to the democratic and ethical ideals of Jewish communal organizational life.

The primary obstacle in converting most of the non-**kosher** camps to observant camps is the lack of the necessary capital funds required to reorganize the kitchen and employ a **mashgiah**. It is incumbent upon Federations and Welfare funds that subsidize these camps to provide the needed funds.

The study noted that if there is any vestige of Jewish consciousness or Jewish programming at a camp, it is primarily Sabbath oriented. The quality of the Sabbath programs, beginning with clean-up on Friday and extending through **Havdalah** on Saturday evening varies considerably, with the more traditional minded camps in all categories providing for richer programming and many of the others, for tokenism.
I offer no judgment regarding the content material of Sabbath programming; my concern is primarily directed to the atmosphere created and the attitudes engendered by the program on the camp population. I am convinced that the success or failure of a camp to achieve a "feeling" of the Sabbath is related to the Jewish sensitivity and knowledgeability of the staff.

The Educational camps seem to have effected the best working balance between a restrictive approach to the Sabbath and an attenuated approach, limited to a simple service. The most creative innovative Sabbath programs were found among the Zionist and Denominational/Reform camps.

Most of the anomalies found in camps related to Jewish practices, e.g., Havdalah in the bright sunshine of the afternoon, reflect gross ignorance of fundamental Jewish concepts on the part of staff—a redundant theme of the study.

As might be expected from the comments above, only 32 per cent of the camps report the scheduling of daily services which are limited to the Denominational, Educational, Hebrew and Religious-Zionist camps.

Grace at meals, on the other hand, is programmed by 80 per cent of the camps but is usually
limited to the blessings before the meal.

Sixty-five per cent of the camps report that Tish'a be-Av is somehow observed in their camps. The most elaborate programming is found in the Zionist camps.

The use of Judaic or Hebraic terminology in camps is primarily limited to the educationally minded camps with some use found in selected camps in other categories.

The study found that while a number of Educational, almost all Denominational/Conservative and several Zionist camps successfully promote a Hebrew-speaking environment in their camps, the one completely Hebrew speaking camp is Massad. Other Zionist camps provided a Hebrew-centered program.

With the exception of one camp, the study found that no appreciable amount of Yiddish is used in so-called Yiddish camps. Some Yiddish terminology is still employed.

Formal structured classes are to be found in all Denominational camps, to greater or lesser degrees, and in some of the Educational and Zionist camps as well. The Denominational/Conservative camps offer the most elaborate system of classes with the finest quality of teaching staff. Camps sponsored by the Hebrew Teacher Colleges offer similar opportunities.
An outstanding aspect of these programs is the insistence that attendance at classes be mandatory for staff as well as campers.

The Zionist camps offer the most elaborate system of organized discussions, sihot, of any camp. Discussions play a varying role in all camps, are structured during day time periods in a few, but are generally limited to the Oneg Shabbat or some other evening program in most.

The lessons of progressive education, with respect to the educational validity of integrating or correlating various areas of the arts or activity programs around specific themes or projects, have reached some of the camps, but are limited usually to the general camp program. Most camps have not yet discovered the technique of integrating or fusing the Jewish elements with the general. The major reason for this, the study concludes, is the lack of knowledge of Jewish content on the part of specialists and staff, particularly in the non-educationally minded camps.

The educational validity and the success integrated Jewish and general programming can produce is evident in many educationally oriented camps, and where attempted, in Center and Federation camps as well. Jewish thematic material forms the basis for
almost all programming in the Denominational, Educational, Hebrew and Zionist camps.

In reviewing the data on libraries, the writer cautions against attributing great significance to the fact that 83 percent of the camps report that they have a children's library with a collection of Jewish books. Visits to camps and close hand examination of these libraries indicates that qualitatively they are poor, with some notable exceptions.

The role of Israel in camps has been a recurring theme throughout the study. The expanding use of Israeli counselors, the use of Israeli music, dance and motifs in the arts, discussions which invariably center around the problems of Israel, the burgeoning study of Hebrew, not merely as a language of the heritage but as the spoken language of modern Israel—all of these activities reflect the growing role of Israel in the life of the summer camps. I believe that the influence of Israel, particularly in the non-educationally oriented camps, will influence the expansion of Jewish programming more than any other factor.

In camps where there is no "environment of Jewish group living" conscious efforts must be made and techniques developed, together with the key personnel of those camps, to find appropriate ways
and the means of either introducing or intensifying the Jewish component into every aspect of the camp program.

2. Recommendations

The recommendations offered below are not presented in any order of priority. It should also be noted that no inference of a cause and effect relationship are necessarily implied in the instances where some of these recommendations have been acted upon during the past few years. I have discussed a number of these recommendations at meetings of such organizations as the National Council of Federation and Welfare Funds, the American Association for Jewish Education, the Annual Conference on Jewish Camping, the Board of Overseers and Faculty of Gratz College, to name a few; and participated in a common effort which included many other like-minded individuals in initiating consideration for the implementation of these and other recommendations.

a. The Role of Bureaus of Education

1. Bureaus of Education where possible should establish community camps directly under their auspices. Community responsibility in Jewish education calls for the establishment of such summer educational institutions which could be molded along the lines of the
two camps initiated by Dr. Samson Benderly described in this study.

2. Provide the services of consultants and consultation to camps which serve children from the community served by the Bureau. These consultants during the winter should actively assist camps in planning programs and assembling the necessary materials and during the summer be available upon request by the camps to visit the camps and consult on all levels of programming in a manner similar to the service offered to schools during the academic year.

3. Adapt school materials for camp use and, where necessary and possible, prepare special materials to meet special needs of camps being served.

4. In small communities where no institutions of higher learning exist, conduct seminars, classes, workshops, etc. for camp personnel, particularly in the area of Jewish programming and the integration of Jewish thematic material in the general camp programming.

5. Assist in the recruitment of camp staff from the educational staff of Jewish schools in the community.

6. Assist in the recruitment of campers from Jewish schools for camps offering Jewish programming.

7. Raise and provide scholarship assistance for campers to all camps with Jewish programming.

8. Assist in the articulation and communica-
tion between the Jewish schools and the camps, with particular emphasis on studies both formal and informal, language goals, etc. Arrange for a system of credits and transfer of credits between bona fide camp study programs and schools.

9. Provide library loans of books and other materials of Jewish interest and other library services to camps.

10. Encourage and assist in the development of winter camping, particularly Jewish school camping and week-end seminars.

11. While the primary initial concern should be directed toward the camping needs of children and adolescents, the Bureaus should also be sensitive to the needs of adult education in camping and the use of camps for winter kinnusim.

b. Hebrew Teacher Colleges and Graduate Schools

1. Hebrew Teacher colleges should establish summer camps in cooperation with Bureaus of Jewish Education, where possible, following the successful pattern of both the Boston Hebrew Teachers College and the Chicago College of Jewish Studies. Consideration should be given to the possibility of providing a multi-educational camp program which could combine Hebrew summer school and camping and provide for
linguistically able and non-linguistic campers as well so as to accommodate the growing number of students in high schools of Jewish studies where both intensive and extensive studies are followed.

2. Where the establishment of a camp is not immediately feasible, the establishment of Hebrew Sections or Divisions in existing community camps should be investigated along the pattern successfully experimented with by the United Hebrew Schools in Detroit and the Community Camp.

3. Curricular innovations to include courses in group work method, camping orientation, educational workshops in music, the Arts, etc., aimed at the preparation of specialists for camps. Hebrew College faculties should be expanded to include Visiting Professors and specialists from Graduate Schools of Social Work.

4. Sponsor winter seminars and kinnusim for students in all departments, including adults.

5. Expand existing student guidance programs to include recruitment orientation for staffs of camps.

6. Encourage students to consider careers in Education as including opportunities in camping.

7. Establish in Graduate Schools of Education, such as the Division of Education at Dropsie University, a sub-department on Jewish Camping whose purpose would
include the preparation of personnel for supervisory, administrative and educational positions in Jewish summer camps. Close cooperation and articulation between Jewish Graduate Schools and Graduate Schools of Social Work should be instituted so as to enable students in both types of institutions to interchange studies and credits. Students in Graduate Schools of Social Work who require Jewish content background could register for such courses at an institution such as Dropsie University, or such courses should become a part of the Curriculum of the School of Social Work itself; students at Dropsie University could either take courses in group dynamics with visiting Professors from Schools of Social Work or take classes at Schools of Social Work which would be credited at Dropsie University.

8. Students on both the undergraduate but particularly the Graduate level should be encouraged to pursue research projects in the area of Jewish camping.

c. The Jewish Educator and Camping

1. The Jewish summer camp is indeed a major Jewish educational institution. Consequently, this institution requires the services and staff of qualified Jewish educators. Jewish education can no longer be viewed as a nine or ten-month profession, but must be
seen as a full-year job which includes teaching formal classes, leading youth groups during the school year, and serving on the staff of camps during the summer.

2. The Jewish educators, particularly the younger educators in the field, must be encouraged to prepare themselves for camping responsibilities by enrolling in necessary courses and workshops in general camping, and agreeing to serve periods of apprenticeship under supervision in summer camps in preparation for responsible camp positions.

3. It is particularly important that Jewish educators not limit their camping ambitions to the Educational and Denominational camps but seek positions in the other camps where their talents and resources are in greater need.

4. Professional teacher placement services should begin to recruit for summer camp positions as well as for school positions. A first step in this direction would be for the Placement Service to poll educators with reference to their camping experience and interest so as to build up a reservoir of potential personnel for camp placement.

5. Jewish camping has played a relatively minor role in educational literature. Focus should be given to this general area so as to further stimulate concern and interest.
6. National conferences of Jewish educational bodies should place Jewish Camping on their agendas and meetings of educators involved in camping should take place at these conferences.

d. The Jewish Communal Worker and Camping

1. A concerted effort must be made among Jewish communal workers, particularly those who work in camps, to understand and appreciate the role of Jewish programming in the overall program of the camp. To this end, it is necessary that

(a) communal workers be required to increase their Jewish knowledge by enrolling in courses in Judaica and Hebraica offered in Jewish institutions of higher learning, or by Bureaus or similar groups.

(b) to encourage attendance at these courses Agency and Camp directors must offer "released time" for this purpose and provide salary or bonus incentives to the worker. Tuition fees should also be subsidized by the Agency or the camp that employs the worker.

(c) communal workers who expect to serve in areas of specialization at camp should be required to register for workshops in their given specialty conducted by experts in the field who are also Jewishly knowledgeable. The same incentives referred to above
should apply in this instance as well.

2. Concerted efforts must be made to further encourage the process of articulation and communication between group workers and Jewish educators who are both in effect Jewish communal workers. The initiative can be taken by either the national organization or the local chapters of the professional organizations to which both practitioners belong; or agencies such as Bureaus of Education or Centers or "Y"'s can take the first steps. In any event, an understanding must be reached between the individuals in these two professions to make cooperative camp work possible. Educators should be invited to visit group work agencies and vice versa, so that both may come to understand how each is working with the Jewish child and helping to shape his destiny.

e. National Organizations and Camps

1. The American Association for Jewish Education.

(a) to expand its part-time camping department to a full-time department with a full-time director.

(b) close articulation and cooperation with the National Jewish Welfare Board including

1. the possibility of joint staff.

2. an equitable sharing and distribution
of responsibilities to Jewish sponsored and communal camps. The AAJE would concentrate its major efforts and concerns in servicing the Educational, Zionist, Yiddish, Hebrew and Denominational camps. The JWB would expand its present camping services to include in addition to the Center camps the Federation and Philanthropic camps as well. Joint efforts would be initiated in the following areas:

1) Prepare educational material

2) Gather, edit, collate and disseminate program materials from camps which could aid and strengthen the Jewish programming of all camps.

3) Provide educational and other consultation services to camps upon request.

4) Provide central staffing and personnel services, including recruitment guidance.

5) Serve as the center for the collection and processing of all statistical data relating to Jewish camps.

6) Initiate a program for the accreditation of Jewish sponsored and communal camps for Jewish educational programming, it being understood that the American Camping Association will continue to accredit the general camping aspects of the camping program.

7) Publish an Annual National Directory of Jewish Camps.
8) Initiate a public relations program to inform the American Jewish Community of the nature of Jewish camping and of its problems and challenges.

9) Publish a National Newsletter for Jewish camps which would keep all camps apprised of the latest developments in the field of camping particularly as applicable to the Jewish camps. This Newsletter would also keep camps informed of new and innovative ideas being considered or successfully attempted by camps throughout the country.

10) Serve as liaison with the American Zionist Youth Foundation in the selection and assignment of Israeli staff.

11) Serve as liaison with Jewish agencies overseas in the selection and assignment of Jewish "foreign counselors" from Western Europe.

12) Sponsor a National Association of Jewish Sponsored Camps whose organization and development could assist the AAJE and the JWB in the implementation of a number of the listed activities.

13) Finance, including assisting camps to secure capital funds and loans and initiating a national and local program of scholarships and fellowships for campers and the training of staff.

14) Coordinate efforts on behalf of camping by national organizations, local Bureaus of Education,
Centers and Welfare Funds and the like. Where necessary, the initiation of programs for camping on local or regional levels such as described under the recommendations for Bureaus.

2. The National Jewish Welfare Board
   a. Expand its part-time camping department to a full-time department with a full time director.
   b. Close articulation and cooperation with the American Association for Jewish Education including all of the items listed above.

3. Council of Federation and Welfare Funds
   a. Establish a sub-committee on Jewish Camping as an integral part of its standing committee on Jewish Education.
   b. Encourage and stimulate local Federations and Welfare Funds to accept Jewish camping as a priority item for inclusion in both capital and operational budgeting. Within the camping priority, first consideration should be given to convincing local Federations and Welfare Funds to provide the funds necessary to community sponsored camps to institute the practice of Kashrut.
   c. Initiate and coordinate the joint activities of the American Association for Jewish Education and the National Jewish Welfare Board, and help provide the budget necessary for both agencies
to carry out its assumed responsibilities in the field of Jewish camping.

d. While initial emphasis should be placed on the resident camps, community programs for Jewish camping should eventually include the day camp as well.

f. Expanding the Use of Camp Facilities

1. Concerted efforts on the part of camps, schools and Bureaus of Jewish education must be forthcoming in making greater use of camp facilities during the Spring and early Fall. Winter camping is also feasible, and capital funds must be obtained to winterize the camps or parts of camps for Hebrew school camping, seminars and winter encampments of all types.

2. While initial emphasis should be placed on expanding camping services to children and adolescents, attention should also be directed to the use of camp facilities for adult educational endeavors.

g. Articulation between Camps and the Jewish School

1. To assure a closer relationship between camps and other Jewish educational institutions it is necessary that national and local opportunities be organized for frequent periodic communication. Such opportunities could be initiated by the American Association for Jewish Education on a national scope, and by Bureaus on the local levels.
h. Articulation Between Camps

To assure a better understanding of the varieties of Jewish camp programs available and to observe the operation of a camp during the summer, inter-camp visiting must be organized. The arrangements and scheduling of such visits could be the responsibility of the National Association of Jewish Sponsored Camps or of the AAJE or JWB. Camps themselves should take the initiative and begin such visitation as soon as possible.

i. A National Association of Jewish Sponsored Camps

1. In order to promote the better understanding of the camping services and practices currently available to the American Jewish community among the camps themselves, to enable participating camps to examine and discuss areas of mutual concern in the field of Jewish camping, particularly in recommending ways of strengthening the Jewish identification and commitment of campers and staff, it is essential that a National Association of Jewish Sponsored Camps be formed.

2. The particulars of such an organization and its program should be determined by a founding conference to which all Jewish sponsored camps in the United States be invited.

3. While a primary task of this organization
should be the convening of an annual conference, depending upon its direction and the enthusiasm and interest of the membership, the organization on a volunteer basis could assume responsibility for some of the activities suggested above for the Departments of Camping of the AAJE and JWB.

j. **Recommendations for Additional Research in Camping**

This study was not intended as a study of all aspects of the Jewish summer camp. A number of areas of camping concerns are not treated at all, e.g., the non-educational staff. The listing below is by no means exhaustive; it is merely suggestive.

1. The History and Development of Jewish Camping.

2. The Philosophies of Jewish Camping as interpreted by the Sponsoring Movements or Organizations.


4. Goals, Objectives and Problems of Particular Jewish Camping (Categories of camps, Hebrew speaking, Hebrew-centered, Teen-camps, Camps for College age students, etc.).

5. Attitudinal Studies of Campers to the Jewish Camp, including camper responses to all aspects of programming.


8. Leadership Training Methods for Jewish Camp Counselors.

10. Jewish Camping in Relation to other Jewish Professional Fields.

11. The Place of Non-Sectarian Camping.

12. Integration of Various Phases of Camp Program with Jewish Elements.

13. The Role of Religion and Spiritual Values in Jewish Camping.


15. A Projection for the Jewish Accreditation of Camps.

16. Recent Trends in in Jewish Camping.

17. Articulation Between the Jewish Camp and the Jewish School.

18. The Role of Israel in the Jewish Summer Camp.


20. Jewish Summer Camps in America and Israel.

21. An Evaluation of Published Materials in the Field of Jewish Camping.

This study has in large measure indicated how the Jewish summer camp can be an effective instrument of the Jewish community in furthering the community's survivalist goals. The study has noted with regret the fact that many camps are not yet committed in practice to their own stated goals and objectives vis a vis the Jewish component of their program; these camps are even further away from achieving the
Jewish educational goals of the camp postulated by the writer. Many camps are deeply conscious of their responsibilities to the Jewish community and keenly aware of the limitations seemingly inherent in their particular camp situation. These camps need encouragement and support. No purpose is served by exaggerated criticism of intent.

This study has attempted to objectively ascertain the actual role being played by the summer camp. That some of the findings will be disturbing to many people is understandable. More important, however, is whether or not these findings will stimulate increased attention to the potential of the resident Jewish summer camp.
APPENDIX A

CAMPS INCLUDED IN THE STUDY BY CATEGORY

**Private Camps**

1. Camp Akiba
   Reeders, Pa.

2. Circle S. Ranch
   Nassau, N.Y.

3. Camp Derry
   Londonderry, Vt.

4. Camp Kewanee
   Neversink, N.Y.

5. Camp Kent
   Kent, Conn.

6. Camp Natchez
   West Copake, N.Y.

7. Camp Pinelake
   West Copake, N.Y.

8. Camp Shadybrook
   Moodus, Conn

9. Camp Shangri La
   Accord, N.Y.

10. Camp Star Lake
    Duane, N.Y.

11. Camp Shawnee
    Shawnee-on-Delaware, Pa.

12. Camp Tanglewood
    Mt. Washington, Mass

13. Camp Tanalo
    Tannersville, Pa.

14. Camp Eton
    Rhinebeck, N.Y.
Federation Camps

1. Camp Isabella Freedman
   Falls Village, Conn.

2. Camp Louemma
   Rd. 2, Sussex, N.J.

3. Bronx House--Emanuel Camps
   Copake, N.Y.

4. Camp Wildwood
   Central Valley, N.Y.

5. Camp Oakhurst
   Oakhurst, N.J.

6. Camp Rainbow
   Croton-on-Hudson, N.Y.

7. Camp Ramapo Anchorage
   Rhinebeck, N.Y.

8. Surprise Lake Camp
   Cold Spring, N.Y.

Center Camps

1. Camp Arthur
   Zieglersville, Pa.

2. Camp Reeta
   Zieglersville, Pa.

3. Camp Ella Fohs
   New Milford, Conn.

4. Camp Hatikvah
   Lake Cohasset, Bear Mountain, N.Y.

5. Camp Mikan-Recro
   Arden, N.Y.

6. Camp Poyntelle-Ray Hill
   Poyntelle, Pa.

7. Camp H.E.S.
   Southfields, N.Y.
8. Camp Mogen Avraham
   Central Valley, N.Y.
9. Camp Sternberg
   Mountaintdale, N.Y.
10. Camp Edward Isaacs (East N.Y.)
    Holmes, N.Y.
11. Camp Cummings
    Brewster, N.Y.
12. Camp Naomi & Camp Joseph
    Raymond, Me., & Harrison, Me.
13. Camp Seneca Lake
    Penn Yan, N.Y.
14. Camp Tall Trees
    Vine Grove, Ky.
15. Camp Wise
    Painesville, Ohio
16. Camp Hawthorn
    Kaisen, Mo.
17. Camp Sisel
    Mendon, N.Y.
18. Camp Wooden Acres
    St. Adolphe de Howard,
    Quebec, Canada
19. Camp J.C.A.
    Angelus-Oaks, Cal.
20. Camp Edalia
    Lake Tiorati, N.Y.
21. New Jersey "Y" Camps
    Milford, Pa. and Lake Como, Pa.
22. Camp Pinemere
    Stroudsburg, Pa.
23. J Bar Double C Ranch
    Elbert, Colo.
24. Camp B'nai B'rith
    Neotsu, Oregon
25. Camp Tikvah
    Aitkin, Minn.
Educational Camps

1. Camp B'nai B'rith
   Starlight, Pa.

2. Cejwin Camps
   Port Jervis, N.Y.

3. Camp Tel Hai
   Jamison, Pa.

4. Camp Lown
   Oakland, Me.

5. Camp Avodah (Sura)
   Clear Lake, Buchanan, Mich.

6. Camp Yavneh
   Northwood, N.H.

7. Camp Hi Li
   White Lake, N.Y.

Yiddish Camps

1. Camp Boiberik
   Rhinebeck, N.Y.

2. Camp Kinderwelt
   Highland Mills, N.Y.

3. Camp Kinderland
   Hopewell Junction, N.Y.

4. Camp Kinder-ring
   Hopewell Junction, N.Y.

5. Camp Hemshekh
   Hunter, N.Y.
Zionist Camps

1. Camp Betar
   Liberty, N.Y.

2. Camp Moshava (B'nei Akiva)
   Beach Lake, Honesdale, Pa.

3. Camp Tel Yehudah
   Barryville, N.Y.

4. Camp Shomria
   Perth, Ontario, Canada

5. Camp Biliuim
   Huntsville, Ontario, Canada

6. Camp Ein Harod
   Ellenville, N.Y.

7. Camp Galil
   Ottsville, Pa.

8. Camp Naaleh
   Red Hook, N.Y.

9. Camp Shomria
   Liberty, N.Y.

10. Camp Kadima
    Halifax, N.S. Canada

11. Camp Gilboa
    Big Bear Lake, Cal.

12. Camp Miriam
    Gabriola Is., B.C., Canada

13. Camp Bonim
    Hunter, N.Y.
Philanthropic Camps

1. Camp Eva
   Mountaindale, N.Y.

2. Camp Bauercrest
   Amesbury, Mass.

3. Camp Henry Horner
   Round Lake, Ill.

4. Camp Pembroke
   Pembroke, Mass.

5. Camp Kunatah
   Narrowsburg, N.Y.

6. Camp Carola
   Spring Valley, N.Y.

7. Camp Sussex
   Sussex, N.J.

8. Camp Livingston
   Bennington, Ind.

9. Golden Slipper Square Club Camp
   Bartonsville, Pa.

10. S.G.F. Vacation Camp
    Collegeville, Pa.

Denominational Camps

Traditional

1. Camp Agudah
   Ferndale, N.Y.

2. Camp Bnos
   Liberty, N.Y.

3. Camp Emunah
   Greenfield Park, N.Y.

4. Camp Morasha
   Lake Como, Pa.
Conservative

1. Camp Ramah--Poconos
   Lake Como, Pa.

2. Camp Ramah--Conn.
   East Hampton, Conn.

3. Camp Ramah--Canada
   Vitterson, Ont., Canada

4. Camp Ramah--California
   Ojai, California

5. Camp Ramah--Berkshires
   Wingdale, N.Y.

6. Camp Ramah--Wisconsin
   Conover, Wisc.

Reform

1. Camp Swig-Union Institute
   Saratoga, Cal.

2. Joseph Eisner Camp
   Great Barrington, Mass.

3. Camp Joseph and Betty Harlam
   Kunkletown, Pa.

4. Union Camp Institute
   Zionville, Ind.

5. Camp Coleman
   Cleveland, Ga.

6. Camp Hess Kramer
   Malibu, Cal.

7. Union Institute
   Oconomowoc, Wisconsin
1. Massad Camps

Camp Aleph
Tannersville, Pa.

Camp Beth
Dingman's Ferry, Pa.

Camp Gimel
Effort, Pa.
APPENDIX B

JEWISH CAMP QUESTIONNAIRE

Name of Camp: ________________________  Owned by: _______
Camp Address: __________ City Address: __________
Person answering questionnaire: __________ Position: ________
Date the camp was founded _______ Member American Camping Association_________
Original purposes and objectives of the camp: ____________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
Changes in objectives and purposes: ____________________________
________________________________________________________________________
Open to: Boys ___ Ages ___; Girls ___ Ages ___:
Season: Full, from ____ to ____; Half, from ____ to _______
Fees: Full ___ Half ___; Members, Full ___ Half ___
Any income other than from tuition: ___ Sources: ______
Scholarships: _______ Offered by _______________________
Approximate annual budget ______ Value of camp property ___________
Registered campers: Boys: Ages 5-7 ____; 8-9 ____;
10-11____; 12-13____; 14-15____;
Girls: Ages 5-7 ____; 8-9 ____;
10-11____; 12-13____; 14-15____;

Total Boys ____; Total Girls ____
Is the camp operating at full capacity? ______
If not, number short ______
Physical Facilities and Activities

Size of camp in acres:_________

Cabins: Total number ____; Camper capacity ____;
Washroom facilities ______

Tents: Total number ____; Camper capacity ____;

Central Washrooms: ____; Infirmary ____ Capacity ____
Doctor ____ R.N. ______

Pool: ____ Size ____; Lake ____ Size ____; Creek____

Recreation Hall ____ Size or capacity ____;
Counselor Social Hall ______

Chapel ____ Capacity ____; Used for other purposes ____

Library ____ Total volumes ____ General ____
Jewish content ______

Hebrew ____ Yiddish ____: Permanent Collection ____
Loaned ____ From ____;

Television ____ Scheduled ____; Radio ____: Movies ____
How often ______; Adult Guest Houses: Number _______

Baseball ____; Basketball ____; Soccer ____; Tennis ____
Badminton ____; Archery ____; Horseback riding ____,

Riflery ____; Volleyball ____; Boating ____; Swimming ____,
Canoeing, Hiking ____; Overnight camping ____; Scouting ____,
Nature lore ____; Choir ____; Dramatics ____; Arts and
Crafts ____; Band ____; Dancing: Modern ____; Folk ____,
Social ____; Israeli ____; Newspaper ____,

Other interest groups ____________________________

Staff:

Supervisory: Director ____; Ass't. Director ____;
Division Heads ____

Counselors: Boys: 18-19 ____; 20-21 ____; 22-23 ____;
24 - ____; Radio __________

Girls: 18-19 ____; 20-21 ____; 22-23 ____;
24 - ____; Ratio __________
Junior Counselors: Boys: 15 ___; 16 ___; 17 ___;
Ratio to campers
Girls: 15 ___; 16 ___; 17 ___;
Ratio to campers
Camper-Waiter: Boys: 15 ___; 16 ___; 17 ___;
Pay ___ Are Paid ___
Girls: 15 ___; 16 ___; 17 ___;
Pay ___ Are Paid ___
Specialists: Full time ___ Part time ___:(indicate F or P)
Arts and Crafts ___, Nature __, Scouting ___,
Waterfront ___, Sports __, Music __, Dramatics __,
Dance ___,
Teachers: General __, Hebrew __, Yiddish __,
Religious Director __, Others __________________________
Employment Practices and Requirements
Personal interviews ___: References required ________ ,
Followed up __________________
Objective tests administered: ___Personality ___,
Interest ___, Skills ___
General Education: Division Head ___ Counselor _____
Jr. ________
Jewish Education: Division Head ___ Counselor _____
Jr. ________
Do you actively seek staff competent in Jewish
programming ___: Sources of such personnel ________
Do you employ Israeli counselors ___ How many ___
Do you actively seek Israelis: ___ Why _____________
To qualify for employment must counselors be members
of any denominational group ___ Which _________
of any organization ___________ Which ___________
Salary scale:
Director: Range ____ to ____; Division Head: Range ____ to ____
Counselors: Range ____ to ____; Jr. Counselors: Pay ____
Specialists: Range ____ to ____
Scope of Responsibility:
Director: _______________________________________________________
_________________________________________________________________
_________________________________________________________________
Assistant Director: ________________________________________________
_________________________________________________________________
_________________________________________________________________
Division Head: ___________________________________________________
_________________________________________________________________
_________________________________________________________________
Counselor: _______________________________________________________
_________________________________________________________________
_________________________________________________________________
Junior Counselor: __________________________________________________
_________________________________________________________________
_________________________________________________________________
Staff Meetings:
Total Staff: ____ How often ____: Typical agenda ____
_________________________________________________________________
Division Staff: ____ How often ____ Typical agenda ____
_________________________________________________________________
Specialists: ____ How often ____ Typical agenda ____
Jr. Counselors: _____ How often _____ Typical agenda_____

Training Program for Jr. Counselors _____ Curriculum _____

Conferences with staff re: individual problems ________
   Conducted by ________________

Does staff have right to change program __________

Are democratic procedures used during meetings ______

Are counselors given planning responsibilities ______

Such as ___________________________________________

Regulations:

Curfew: Counselors _____ Time _____ Jr. Counselors _____
   Time __________

Days off: Division Head _____; Counselors __________
   Jr's. __________
   Specialists: __________
   Camper-Waiter __________

Tips: Individual _____ Kitty _____ Included in fee _________

Pre-Camp Orientation

The Cabin Unit: Size _____ # of Counselors ______
   Jr. Counselors ______

Responsibilities of camper for self:________________________

Responsibilities of camper to group: ______________________

Incentives _________________________________________

Punishment: ________________________________________

Activities on a cabin level: ____________________________
Is the same counselor assigned to a cabin for the summer: 

_________ How long _________

Does counselor stay with unit all day ____ Separate schedule _________

Does counselor sleep in same room as campers ________

Where ________________

Does each cabin have a name _____ How is it chosen ____

List several typical cabin names ____________________________

The Division Unit: Size _____ Age range ______

Activities on unit level: ________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

Does each division have separate facilities ____________

List them ___________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

Are there any inter-division activities ____________

List them ___________________________________________

Camper Responsibilities:

Is there a Camper Council ____ How often does it meet _____ A typical agenda includes _________________

Officers ____________________________________________

Camper Planning Committees ____ In what areas ________

________________________________________________________________________

Scope of planning: ________________________________

Does the camper have free choice in activities _______

In what areas ______________________________________

Which activities are compulsory ______________________
Does the camper participate in camp building or beautification projects _______ Examples ________

General Camp Programming:
Does camper participate in camp maintenance _______
Such as ____________________________

Were political conventions audited _______ Part of Program ________

Are there daily news bulletins ___ Organized opportunity to discuss world current events _______________________

Did you celebrate July 4th _____ How _______________________

Does camp fly the American flag ___ Formal ceremonies ___
Roll call ___ Bugle calls ___ Is there a camp uniform ___ When is it worn ___ Does camp have a Color War ___ Campers Day ___ Other special events__

How many visiting days ___ Is a program for parents prepared ______ Typical program ______________________

How many children to a table in the Dining Hall _____

Counselors _________

Food is served by individual platter _________
Family style _____ Milk in the afternoon _______
Snack at night _____ Is there a camp canteen _________
Operated by _________ Do campers handle own money _______
Credit accounts ________ Any limitations on personal spending _______ Types of evening programs ________
Jewish Camp Programming:

Does the camp fly a Jewish flag ______ Why _________

Is the camp Kosher ______ Are there daily services ___

When __________________ Are they compulsory _______

Are blessings recited at meals ______ Before _______

After _______ Daily _______ On Sabbath only ______

Sabbath Observances: Is there a special camp clean-

up _______ Special clothes ______ Special foods ___

Candles_______ Blessings over the candles _________

Kiddush _______ Zmirot ________ Special decora-

tions and signs ______________

Sabbath Observance:

Table flowers ______ Tablecloths ______ Formal

Services: Kabbalat Shabat ______ Program ________

Oneg Shabat ______ Program __________ Sabbath

Morning ________ Length of service _________

Led by ___________ Camper _____________

Sermon __________ Given by _____________

Topics __________ Prayer Book used __________

Published by __________ Sabbath Study Circles ______

Topics ______________ Havdalah ______ Does the
daily program on the Sabbath differ from the weekday,
aside from services _____ How _____________________

______

Are all religious activities compulsory _______

Alternative programs __________________________
Is smoking permitted _____ Where _____ Riding _____

Writing ______ Is Tisha B'Av commemorated _________

How _________________________________

Herzl's Anniversary _____ Bialik _______ Does the

J.N.F. Caravan visit ________ U.J.A. _________ Does

camp conduct any fund raising for Jewish communal

purposes _________ Which _________________ Approximate

amount raised ________ Hebrew classes ____________

Yiddish classes _______ Discussion groups _______

Topics _______________________________

Are Jewish themes integrated in Arts and Crafts _______

How ____________________________________________

in Dramatics ___ How ______________________________________________

in Music ___ How ______________________________________________

in Dance ___ How ______________________________________________

Other forms of integration ________________________________

Library books of Jewish interest on the campers level

______ List some title ______________________________

When children apply to camp is any information requested

as to Jewish background _______ Such as ________________

Are children given achievement tests in Hebrew _______

Yiddish ________ Do parents request Jewish programming

___________ Nature of requests __________________________

Is camp aware of the denominational affiliation of the

campers ______ If yes, how many are Orthodox ________
When returning the questionnaire would you kindly include:
Camp brochure ____ Camper application form ____
Staff application form ____ Medical form ____
Parent Bulletin ____ Clothes list ____ Daily
Program schedule ____ Sample camp programs (dramatic presentations, evening programs, holiday programs, etc.)
______ Class lists and Subjects studied ________ Any literature that has appeared in print in connection with your camp or its program, or a listing of such articles
If you operate separate camps, please fill out a separate form for each camp.

### A. Background Data

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Camp</th>
<th>Summer Address</th>
<th>Year Round Address</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Name of Sponsoring Organization | Address
|---------------------------------|----------------|

1. Is the camp owned?  __ rented?  __
2. Year camp was founded  __
3. Are campers admitted for less than full season?  Yes ___ No ___
4. If "Yes," please indicate what period  __
5. What is the capacity of the camp?
   - No. of Boys  ____ Age range  ____
   - No. of Girls  ____ Age range  ____
6. What was last year's enrollment?
   - No. of Goys  ____ No. of Girls  ____
7. Do your campers have to meet any special qualifications?  Yes ___ No ___
8. If "Yes," what are they?  ________________________________

### B. Finances

1. Fees: Full season $ ___ No. of weeks ___;
   - Part Season $ ___ No. of weeks ___;
2. Are scholarships awarded?  Yes ___ No ___
3. If "Yes," how many scholarships were awarded in 1963? 

4. What is the total cost of scholarships? 

5. What are your scholarship qualifications? 

6. Does your camp receive communal support? Yes
   No

7. If "Yes," from what sources? 

C. Staffing

Please indicate minimum general and Jewish educational qualifications, if any, which you require for each position listed below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title of position</th>
<th>Salary range</th>
<th>No. of staff</th>
<th>Qual.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Director</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Asst. Director</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Head counselor</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Program director</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. Special activity counselors:</td>
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<tr>
<td>specialty</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>6. Counselors</td>
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<tr>
<td>7. Counselors-in-training</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
8. Others:

9. Does your camp provide pre-season orientation in Jewish programming for your staff? Yes□ No □

10. If "Yes," please describe ____________________________

D. Aims of your camp

1. Please state the basic aims of your camp. ____________________________

E. Camp Activities

Listed below are a series of camp activities. Please check in column "A" (General) and column "B" (Jewish) those activities which are part of your camp programs. Space is also provided for you to add activities which are not already listed.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Activity</th>
<th>Column A (General)</th>
<th>Column B (Jewish)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Dramatic Presentations</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Film Presentations</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Listening to tapes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Teaching of songs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Teaching of dances</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Story telling</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Type of Activity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Column A (General)</th>
<th>Column B (Jewish)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7. Discussion of current events</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Group discussions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Arts and Crafts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Camp newspaper</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. State of Israel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Others</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Do you have a children's library?</td>
<td>Yes _ No_ Yes _ No_</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Do you have a staff reference library?</td>
<td>Yes _ No_ Yes _ No_</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Does your camp offer formal classroom instruction?</td>
<td>Yes _ No_</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. If &quot;Yes,&quot; please indicate below the subject-matter and approximate number of hours of instruction per week.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Subject Matter</strong></td>
<td><strong>No. of hours per week taught (approx).</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| | |
| | |
| | |
| | |
| | |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>18. Which of the following activities do you include? (Please check)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>_____ Daily Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>_____ Sabbath Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>_____ Special Sabbath program</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>_____ Oneg Shabbat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>_____ Tishe B'Av observance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>_____ Sichoth</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
19. Does your camp observe:

- dietary laws: Yes ___ No ___
- Sabbath regulations: Yes ___ No ___
- Saying of grace at meals: Yes ___ No ___

F. Comments

What are some of the major problems which you are facing in implementing the Jewish educational aims of your camp?

__________________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________________

Would you be good enough to attach a copy of the daily schedule, the program schedule, and program material used in your camp.

Signature _______________________

Position _______________________

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR JEWISH EDUCATION
101 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10003
BIBLIOGRAPHY

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. "Jewish Education in America." Jewish Exponent, January 17, 1908.


Berger, Ramon F. "Jewish Camps are as Diverse as Jewish Life Itself." National Jewish Monthly (February, 1967).


Melzer, Asher O. "United States Jewish Camping is 70 Years Old." National Jewish Monthly, February, 1968.


**Reports**


Mimeographed and Unpublished Material


Dinsky, Samuel H. Cejwin's Keren Ami Program. Prepared for the Department of Jewish Culture, Cejwin Camps (mimeographed).


Surprise Lake Camp. Staff Guide. 1968 (mimeographed).


Note: The listing includes manuals and other camp literature directly quoted in the study. In addition to these, the bibliography also includes similar reports, manuals, brochures, letters to parents, forms, etc., from almost every camp included in the study too similar in format to warrant individual listing.
Public Documents
