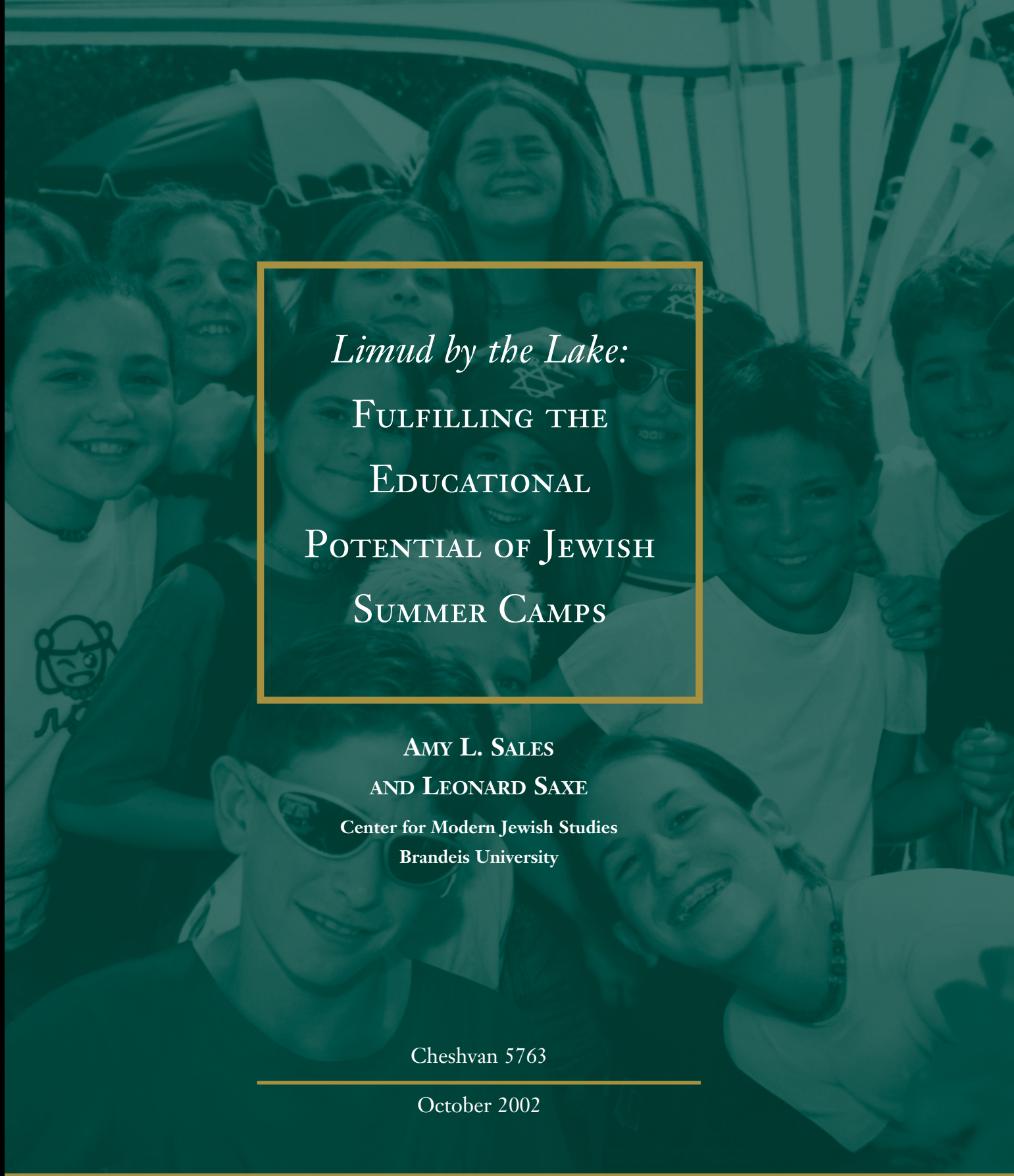

Limud by the Lake: Fulfilling the Educational Potential of Jewish Summer Camps

Amy L. Sales
and Leonard Saxe
Center for Modern Jewish Studies
Brandeis University

Cheshvan 5763

October 2002

AVI CHAI

CMJS

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Introduction

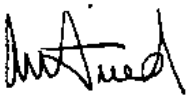
As AVI CHAI's Trustees and staff weighed an expansion of the Foundation's philanthropic agenda, they decided to consider summer camping as an area for potential investment.

Recognizing that neither our staff nor Trustees had expertise in the field of Jewish camping, we decided to commission a study to understand more fully community-sponsored and private camping, including an analysis of what has succeeded and failed.

We turned to Brandeis University's Amy Sales and Leonard Saxe, preeminent researchers of the Jewish community, who, as part of their research effort, visited a representative sample of 18 Jewish camps and two Christian camps in three regions of the country. Their research report for AVI CHAI is currently being prepared for publication as a book, to be released in Spring 2003 by the University Press of New England. This report is a summary of their findings.

We have learned the ways in which camps can provide an encompassing Jewish environment that powerfully promotes interest in, and passion for, Jewish literacy and living—especially for the vast majority of American Jewish youth who may never receive a formal Jewish day school education. Even day school students benefit from summer camps, as the informal educational components and joyous Jewish environment supplement the education they receive during the year.

I recommend this report, as well as the soon-to-be-published book, for your reading. Our purpose in making this research summary widely available is to demonstrate the philanthropic potential inherent in summer camps. The researchers' recommendations stimulated AVI CHAI to begin developing programmatic initiatives to address the needs and opportunities identified, and we hope that other funders will be similarly stimulated.



Arthur W. Fried
Chairman

Limud by the Lake: Fulfilling the Educational Potential of Jewish Summer Camps

"Judaism is natural here; minyan is what you do. You don't have to give up anything to do a Jewish life when you're at camp."

With these words, a counselor at one of the summer camps we studied in Summer 2000 gave us our first insight into camp's potency as a Jewish educational experience. Camps provide a safe environment for children during the summer, and they provide important developmental experiences with regard to independence, teamwork, and group living. But beyond these core functions, camps can also provide extraordinary Jewish experiences that help children and adolescents develop as members of the Jewish community. Residential camp is a youth society based on community and friendship. It is an intensive "24/7" environment that encourages participants to try out new behaviors and learn new skills. It is, above all, a place to have fun. Camps seem to work "magic"—captivating children's imaginations, building strong camp memories, and easily winning lifelong devotees. These same conditions make camp an ideal venue for informal Jewish education that gives children the experience of life in a Jewish community and teaches them about Judaism.

This study focuses on how camps educate Jewish children and how their potential to do so can be maximized. One of our goals was to map the landscape of Jewish residential camps and to understand the types of camp experiences available. A second goal was to understand how these camps, in addition to providing a full camp experience, also socialize young people as members of the Jewish community. Our surveys of staff and observations of camp life offer insight into how camps can powerfully affect the children, teens, and young adults who participate in them. In this report, we summarize findings from our research and, based on these data, offer seven recommendations for maximizing camp's influence on young Jews.

METHOD

The research is based on a multi-year study of Jewish summer camps (1999-2001). The study was based on field observations at 18 Jewish camps across the United States and two surveys. The first survey was a census of Jewish-identified camps in the U.S., including those run by the religious and Zionist movements, community agencies, foundations, and private owners. The second was a survey of over 1,000 Jewish counselors and 4,000 Jewish college students who were not employed as camp counselors.[1] In the aggregate, these data describe the educational components of the Jewish summer camp—where they fall short and where they fulfill their great promise.

[1] A copy of participant observation protocols and survey instruments are available upon request from the authors.

Table 1: Sponsorship/Ownership of Jewish Camps*

Type of Camp	Sponsorship	Number of Camps	Number of Beds	Number of Jewish Campers Served in Summer 2000
Denominational Movement	NCSY, Ramah, UAHC	18	7,015	12,388
Zionist Movement	Young Judaea, Habonim Dror, Hashomer Hatsair, B'nei Akiva	16	3,783	6,101
JCC/Federation		35	10,199	17,025
Agency/ Organization	Yeshivot, Chabad, congregations, Jewish education agencies and colleges, B'nai B'rith, Jewish Family Services	32	8,732	13,341
Foundation/ Independent Nonprofit		14	3,724	7,178
Non-Orthodox Private		64	20,711	22,535
Orthodox Private		12	3,600	4,410
Total		**191**	**57,764**	**82,978**

** Where camps failed to provide complete information, the average figure for the particular type of camp was used in calculating overall totals.*

THE LANDSCAPE

In order to establish the context of our research, we carried out a national census of mainstream Jewish residential camps. Working from a database created by the Foundation for Jewish Camping and using various methods—including directories, informants, advertisements, and public records—we identified 191 camps that meet the following criteria:

1. The camp has Jewish owners or is sponsored by a Jewish organization.
2. At least half of the campers are Jewish.
3. The camp identifies itself as a Jewish camp.

Criteria for inclusion in the census were liberal. Our intent was not to limit the study to the so-called educational camps, but rather to look at the full array of Jewish camp environments in which Jewish children spend their summers. Data were gathered from all 191 camps through a mail-in survey, telephone interviews, and/or perusal of camp Web sites and print materials.[2]

The census encompasses vast variety. There are non-denominational private camps and camps organized by the religious movements. There are East Coast camps and West Coast camps, old camps and camps newly built, camps that create small communities during the summer with 50 campers and those that create small cities with 500 campers. There are camps that cost $200 a week and camps that cost $1,000 a week. And, most importantly for our discussion, there are camps with minimal Jewish programming and those in which Jewish life and education pervade the entire day.

Capacity

Through our observational study, we learned that sponsorship influences every aspect of camp related to Jewish life and learning, from the camp's philosophy to its daily practices, activities, staffing, and clientele. We have thus divided the world of Jewish residential camps into six types based on ownership/sponsorship. As seen in Table 1, the

[2] The final sample under-represents traditional camps sponsored by various Orthodox groups or individuals. Some of these camps do not appear in public sources and could not be identified. Others chose not to respond to our inquiries.

Table 2: Jewish Staff by Camp Type Summer 2000*

	Jewish Bunk Counselors	Other Jewish Staff	Total Jewish Staff
Denominational Movement	1,254	1,404	2,658
Zionist Movement	829	655	1,484
JCC/Federation	2,094	1,530	3,624
Agency/Organization	2,190	1,441	3,631
Foundation/Independent Nonprofit	742	435	1,177
Non-Orthodox Private	2,518	1,508	4,026
Orthodox Private	829	691	1,520
Total	**10,456**	**7,664**	**18,120**

** Where camps failed to provide complete information, the average figure for the particular type of camp was used in calculating overall totals.*

largest category of camps is the private camps, both Orthodox and non-Orthodox, which account for 40% of the camps on the landscape.

Across the country, residential Jewish summer camps appear to be thriving. The 191 Jewish camps in the census served about 83,000 Jewish children in Summer 2000. Roughly 20,000 of these were first-time campers. On average, the camps are filled to 96% capacity, with about half of the camps actually at full capacity. Some even require parents to sign up on visiting day in August to insure a place for their child the following year.

In the final analysis, one out of every four Jewish children attending a Jewish summer camp is at a non- or trans-denominational private camp. Herein lies the greatest challenge to the Jewish community. These are the camps that reach the greatest number of children, but they are also the ones that least often engage in Jewish practices or provide Jewish education. Moreover, given their private ownership, they may be the most resistant to outside, non-market influences.

Staffing

Approximately 18,000 Jewish adults work at Jewish camps during the summer. The majority of these are young adults between the ages of 18 and 24. Over half are counselors; the others are directors, unit heads, educators, or support staff (Table 2). Included in these numbers are an increasing number of Israelis, many of whom come to work at camp on short-term assignments as *shlichim* (emissaries) through the Jewish Agency. In Summer 2000, this number totaled approximately 1,000. In Summer 2002 the number of Israeli *shlichim* at American summer camps was over 1,200.

The key relationship at camp is between the camper and the bunk counselor. Of interest, then, is the percentage of bunk counselors who are Jewish. These numbers vary from 100% at the Orthodox private camps and Zionist movement camps, to 98% at the denominational movement camps, to 96% at camps sponsored by Jewish agencies/organizations, to 80% at the foundation or independent nonprofit camps, to only 41% at the non-Orthodox private camps.

Cost

Cost is a factor for many families in deciding their children's summer activities. The average weekly tuition at a Jewish residential camp is about $625 per week or $2,500 for a month. As in all of the census data, there is a substantial range across camps. Two of the camps (a synagogue camp and

Table 3: Average Cost in Summer 2000 by Camp Type

	Average Weekly Tuition	Average Percent of Campers with Scholarship	Average Percent of Operating Budget Allocated to Scholarships
Denominational Movement	$594	31%	5%
Zionist Movement	$524	18%	4%
JCC/Federation	$514	25%	6%
Agency/Organization	$510	37%	21%
Foundation/Independent Nonprofit	$526	22%	9%
Non-Orthodox Private	$816	3%	1%
Orthodox Private	$453	25%	13%
Overall	**$626**	**19%**	**6%**

a Chabad camp) charge less than $200 a week while thirteen camps charge $1,000 or more per week.

Financially, the Jewish camping world appears to be a two-tier system. As seen in Table 3, the non-Orthodox private camps charge the highest fees, have the lowest percentage of campers with scholarships, and devote, on average, the least amount of their operating budgets to camper scholarships. The camps sponsored by agencies and organizations (including synagogues, Chabad, *yeshivot*, schools, etc.) not only charge the lowest tuition but also support a significant percentage of campers who otherwise might not be able to attend summer camp.

INGREDIENTS THAT CREATE CAMP MAGIC

Most of the camps we studied were a far cry from the idealized image of the rugged, pitch-in-and-do-it-yourself kind of camp. Yet, even with shoe bags filled with designer shoes, hair dryers and boom boxes in the bunks, camp is very different from home. From our observations, several qualities define summer camp and are responsible for what workers in the field often refer to as camp "magic."

1. **Camp is separate from home.** Camp isolates children from their normal environment and envelops them in an enclosed society. Separation from home is achieved not only through geographic distance, but also through the distinctive features of camp life and the barriers the camp erects against the outside world. For example, parents' access to the camp is controlled (generally restricted to visiting day), campers' use of the telephone is prohibited or limited, and campers' exposure to newspapers, radio, and television is minimized.

   Separated from the outside world, camps can create physically safe environments in which campers may roam widely and freely (something they may not be able to do in their home communities). Camps can also create emotionally safe environments that encourage campers to take risks and try new experiences. Camp, more than school, lets children discover and explore their interests and talents. Repeatedly during our site visits, we saw children who "could not sing" get up on stage and sing, children who "could not dance" dance, and children who "could not play" a particular sport join in the game.

2. **Camp is intense.** Time and space are compressed at camp; everyone lives in the

here-and-now. As a result, campers move almost immediately into camp mode when they arrive. A sense of community forms virtually overnight, participants quickly bond with one another, and everyone soon enters into the rhythm of camp life. Despite our expectations to the contrary, the intensity of camp erases obvious differences between camps with 2- to 3-week programs and those with programs of a longer duration.

3. **Camp is a community.** Camps create temporary communities that spring up phoenix-like each year in June and close down by the end of August. It is an intentional community, which means that attention is paid to fostering the relationships and spirit that make the camp a tightly-knit whole. Such intentionality is seen in camp tee shirts, all-camp songfests, inter-camp rivalries, and the exaltation of camp traditions. For all intents and purposes, camp is a uni-generational community—a world of children and college students, with just enough older adults to manage the system.

4. **Each camp is a society with its own culture.** Culture here is used in the anthropological sense. It includes language, norms, values, customs, traditions, history, mythology, and symbols. At camp, the loudspeaker becomes the "*taksheevu* machine"[5]; *solelim*, the group of counselor assistants, becomes a secret society with rumors of a hot tub in their special space; and the winners of color war become heroes. Camps tend to be strongly traditional institutions, passing on rituals and customs from one generation of campers to the next.

5. **Camp is fun.** Fun is the foundation of camp. It is what allows campers to take advantage of opportunities to take risks, experiment, make friends, and learn new skills. And it is what attracts campers back year after year. This return rate, in turn, leads to a strong camp community and increases the length of time camps have to influence a child's development.

The Match Between Camp and Judaism

The same ingredients that make camp work as a special place that furthers healthy development also make it work as an institution that motivates and educates Jewishly. The fun of camp makes campers open, available to Jewish practices that they might scorn at home. The intensity of camp creates intensity around Jewish life. The separation of camp from the outside world and the close-knit quality of the camp community make it possible to live Judaism at camp in a total, holistic fashion. Judaism is lived as a matter of course at camp and takes no extraordinary effort.

The near-perfect match between what camping offers and what is needed to create a compelling Jewish youth world is striking. Equally striking, however, are the jarring juxtapositions that can result from this match: A dining room full of campers begins the blessing after meals. It quickly becomes a spirited cheer replete with stomping, banging, and clapping. The whole camp gathers at the flagpole, showered and dressed for Shabbat. Voices rise in song—first "This Used to be Our Playground," the Madonna song, then "*Hatikvah*," the Israeli national anthem. After *Shabbat* morning services, campers congregate at the lakefront for a beach party with a disc jockey. This easy co-existence of the Jewish and the American, the sacred and the profane, is perhaps a more troubling outcome of the marriage of Jewish education and camping.

JEWISH EDUCATION AT CAMP

Campers go to camp to have fun. But once there, they also have a chance to encounter Judaism through *Shabbat* observance, simple matters of daily life, formal study sessions, and informal educational activities.

[5] Announcements over the loudspeaker begin "*Taksheevu*, *taksheevu*," which means "Attention, attention."

Table 4: Jewish Educational and Cultural Activities by Camp Type (All figures represent percentages)*

	Jewish Cultural Arts	Jewish Education	*Bar/Bat Mitzvah* Training	Jewish Values Incorporated into Activities
Denominational Movement (n=17)	100	100	88	100
Zionist Movement (n=15)	100	100	79	100
JCC/Federation (n=35)	97	77	80	91
Agency/Organization (n=21)	95	90	84	85
Foundation/Independent Nonprofit (n=13)	85	62	85	69
Non-Orthodox Private (n=58)	19	9	84	16
Orthodox Private (n=4)	100	100	100	100
Overall (n=163)	**65**	**58**	**84**	**64**

** Data in this table are based on the 163 camps in the national census that provided information about their Jewish programming and activities.*

We divided the national census of Jewish camps into two categories—camps that provide study sessions or Jewish educational activities and those that do not (Table 4). Such a dichotomy yields 117 camps (64%) with an explicit educational component and 67 (36%) with none. There is great variety among the former. Some of these camps have explicit Jewish education only one hour a week; others have daily *shiurim* (lessons). Some focus on religious texts and practices, others on Israel and Zionism, and still others on Jewish culture and values. These camps also differ with regard to their educational goals, the place of Jewish education in the camp program, and the degree to which responsibility for Jewish education is shared by staff.

Educational Goals

A camp's goals for Jewish education are shaped by the camp's sponsorship, leadership, population, and history. Not surprisingly, then, we found the goals (as articulated by the directors and educators) to be as diverse as the camps themselves. Ramah camps, which view themselves as "an educational institution, not just a recreational institution," are devoted to Conservative Judaism. JCC camps, whose priority is to make Judaism "fun," stress respect for differences in religious orientation and practice. Such differences pervade the field.

Place of Jewish Education in the Camp Program

Jewish education is sometimes relegated to specific compartments in the camp day and sometimes seamlessly woven into the very fabric of camp. Where Jewish education is compartmentalized, it is seen as an activity like any other, fit into the schedule along with swimming, rocketry, and arts and crafts. Where Jewish learning is infused into any and all activities, campers are as likely to encounter Jewish education on the high ropes course as they are in *limud* (learning sessions).

Compartmentalization can constrain the amount of time available for Jewish education by confining it to limited slots in the weekly schedule. Furthermore, it can cause jarring disjunctions such as the one we observed sitting in on a Holocaust education class one day. A group of children were listening to a presentation by a rabbi and a survivor when the session suddenly ended, and the children ran off to free swim.

Some of the camps are moving toward a more integrated approach to Jewish education "so that the block of time with the Jewish programmer isn't the only time we're doing something Jewish." When integration is pursued, Jewish learning has

the potential to be infused into many different activities. Children make Judaica in arts and crafts. In song sessions they seamlessly move from folk songs, to modern Israeli popular songs, to Hebrew songs—singing all with easy familiarity and enthusiasm. In the theater, they put on plays with Jewish themes or adapt secular plays by moving the action to a Jewish setting. On campouts they learn how to prepare kosher meals in the outdoors and they tell Jewish stories around the campfire at bedtime.

Responsibility for Jewish Education

Based on the national census of camps, we estimate that about 1,400 Jewish educators work at summer camps. One-fourth of the camps report no Jewish educators (defined as educators, rabbis, and/or *shlichim*) on staff. The other camps average ten educators each. A few of the camps say that they have several dozen educators on staff although there are probably a smaller number on the premises at any one time.

In some camps, Jewish education is centralized in the hands of these specialists. This design may be inevitable in places where counselors lack Judaic knowledge and are unprepared to take on any part of the educational mission. One camp, for instance, hired an educator to design programs and curricula to be implemented by counselors and specialists. The educator quickly discovered that the counselors' own Jewish learning was extremely limited. By necessity, she found herself taking over more and more of the direct teaching function at camp. By the time we arrived, the educator was widely seen, by both campers and counselors, as "the Jewish presence at camp."

In other places, responsibility for Jewish education is shared by specialists and bunk counselors. This design is possible in movement camps where counselors typically come up through the movement and assume their staff positions with some level of Judaic preparedness. Still, it requires continuing education for counselors, teacher-friendly materials, and a supportive environment.

Educational Methods

Instruction at camp takes place through formal and informal education as well as through teachable moments, role modeling, and encouraging campers to try on new behaviors.

Formal Jewish Education

Formal Jewish education essentially transports the model of Jewish education found in school to the camp setting. Hebrew, text, and *Torah* are studied with a seriousness of purpose, although learning takes place under a tree or by the lake instead of in a classroom. For example, the educational program at one of the movement camps we studied entails daily classes run by the director of the program, who is a credentialed teacher. Knowledgeable and dedicated, she runs the entire program herself except for the occasional involvement of visiting rabbis. The curriculum she has developed is extensive, detailed, formal and frontal. She believes that this is the correct approach because, for many children, one month at camp is their primary opportunity for religious education. From this perspective, not a minute can be wasted.

What can be accomplished in terms of formal Jewish education depends on the culture of the camp and the expectations of campers. At a camp that is trying to strengthen its Jewish identity, we find a rejection of formal *limud* by both campers and staff. According to the program director, "Kids hate when you take a part of their day out for Jewish education—it reminds them of school." At a teen leadership camp, in contrast, we were told, "if it weren't for the kids, this place would be just buildings and grounds. They push themselves and they push the faculty" to learn more.

Informal Jewish Education

Informal Jewish education is experiential education, based on the premise that meaningful learning results from direct, personal connection to the subject matter (Dewey, 1964). Such education is usually carried out in a small group that forms a supportive learning community. For example, we observed a Zionist educational activity in which campers took on the role of Israeli soccer fans. They donned tee shirts in their team's color, learned their team's special cheer in Hebrew, and heard about the political roots of Israeli soccer and the views represented by each team. They then cheered on their team in a mock soccer match, all the while eating cups of sunflower seeds and tossing the shells on the floor—exactly as is done in the stadiums in Israel.

Informal activities such as this one are experiential, sensory, group-based, and—when done well—interesting, involving, and fun. The informal learning may be explicitly expressed or implicitly absorbed through the experience itself. We saw 10-year-olds baking *challah* for *Shabbat* (a highly tactile, olfactory, and gustatory experience), learning about the tradition of removing a piece of dough from the loaf, and reciting the blessing for taking *challah*. We saw 12-year-olds engage in a lively group competition in which points, to be redeemed for candy, were earned through games that tested knowledge of Hebrew words, Jewish holidays, Jewish practice…and their counselors' lives. Such activities exemplify the principle of fun as the primary route into Jewish learning.

Teachable Moments

Teachable moments are serendipitous moments during the camp day when a child is suddenly, but briefly open to learning. Such moments can be encouraged, but unlike formal and informal educational activities, they cannot be planned. Staff training at one of the movement camps emphasizes that every interaction with a child has a potential Jewish-educational impact. "We tell them that if a kid has an epiphany about G-d while brushing his teeth, they need to be alert to that." Such moments often involve a question (e.g., why are there no arts and crafts on *Shabbat?*) or a behavior that opposes a Jewish value (e.g., gossip or disrespect for teachers). These succeed as educational interactions, however, only if the counselor is ready to teach at the moment the child is ready to learn.

Role Modeling

The power of the counselor as role model cannot be overestimated. Campers readily adopt their every behavior, from moves on the basketball court to behaviors at services. One of the male counselors at a ritually-observant camp, for example, told us that a number of 10- to 12-year-old boys had recently begun to imitate the counselors' practices of wearing *tefillin*, waving *tzitzit*, *shukling*, and standing for the mourner's *Kaddish*.[7] Such imitation produces learning with no formal instruction.

Trying On Behaviors

Camps, at their best, establish an environment where campers and staff can explore their Judaism, ask questions, and try on new practices and behaviors. Camp encourages campers to try out a new sport or audition for a play. It also supports campers in trying out *tefillin*, leading services, or reading the *Torah*. One counselor told us that he had an 11-year old "so curious that he wants to put on my *tefillin*. And he came up to me yesterday, begging me, just wanting the experience, wants to be able to feel what it's like." The environment at camp that supports such experimentation and learning may be more important to a child's development than any planned program.

Missed Opportunities

Although much of the Jewish educational programming at summer camps appears successful, the full

[7] *Tefillin* are phylacteries worn during daily morning prayer. *Tzitzit* are the fringes on the corners of a prayer shawl or other four-cornered garment. *Shukling* is a back and forth rocking motion made during prayer.

potential of the camps to educate has hardly been realized. To be sure, our notes are filled with positive examples, but they also contain descriptions of failed activities and poor teaching. Consistent with other research, we noted that the girls are more engaged than the boys; there are moments of joy in learning but also moments of boredom; there are those who attend as expected and required and those who skip class; there are activities that run well and others that are stopped due to disruptive behavior and lack of interest. Overall, we witnessed two types of missed opportunities at camp—failure to create opportunities for Jewish learning and failure to capitalize on such opportunities.

Camps often leave it up to the activity specialists to decide what they will do, including whether or not their area will have Jewish content. At one camp, the arts and crafts specialist tells us that he found some books at camp with ideas for Jewish crafts. He admits that had he not come across the books, it would not have occurred to him to add Jewish content to the arts and crafts program. The environmental education counselor at this camp tells a different story. In preparing her program, she chose not to incorporate Judaism because she "really doesn't know anything about it." If she were more comfortable with her Jewish knowledge, she says, she would tie Judaism into the environmental program. These two cases show how easy it is to ignore Jewish content unless camp leadership makes a concerted effort to maximize Jewish learning opportunities.

Learning opportunities are missed as a result of flawed program design, inadequate resources, and failure to make use of teachable moments. For example, we saw counselors in a *teva* (nature) program try to carry out a provocative exercise in which the group was to develop a ritual for recycling old prayer books. The 15 minutes allocated to the exercise left no time for the group to fully grapple with the concepts or to reach a conclusion to its discussion. We heard about a session on *tefillin* with no *tefillin* to try on. And we attended a Friday *challah*-making workshop with no explicit learning. Each of these exemplifies a failure to capitalize on a Jewish learning opportunity.

The field of Jewish camping is rife with opportunities to develop original curricula, to explore new ways of integrating Jewish education into everyday camp activities, and to refine the techniques of informal Jewish education. Programming, however, does not stand on its own but depends almost entirely on staff. Whether in leading activities, grasping a teachable moment, modeling Jewish values and behavior, or supporting children as they try on new behaviors, it is the staff members' knowledge, ability to relate to the campers, and facilitation and programming skills that are most critical to success.

Table 5: Ritual Practices by Camp Type (All figures represent percentages)*

	Friday Night Services	Saturday Morning Services	Kosher Meals	Daily Prayers	Blessings at Mealtimes
Denominational Movement (n=17)	100	100	59	100	100
Zionist Movement (n=15)	93	79	100	64	71
JCC/Federation (n=35)	94	97	97	29	94
Agency/Organization (n=21)	95	95	67	75	95
Foundation/Independent Nonprofit (n=13)	85	77	92	39	85
Non-Orthodox Private (n=58)	58	18	38	2	33
Orthodox Private (n=4)	100	100	100	100	100
Overall (n=163)	**81**	**66**	**68**	**38**	**70**

** Data in this table are based on the 163 camps in the national census that provided information about their Jewish programming and activities.*

JEWISH LIFE AT CAMP

Judaism is "in the air" at camp. It is found in everyday practices and on *Shabbat*.

Everyday Practices

Jewish camps, regardless of denomination or sponsorship, negotiate the level of their Jewishness (Table 5). At all of the camps, it is the director (and sometimes other senior staff) who sets the tone. The director, along with a myriad of duties for maintaining the camp's health, safety and financial viability, acts as a religious authority. Although influenced by lay boards and other interested parties, s/he ultimately makes decisions about *t'fillot* (prayers), *kashrut* (dietary laws), and the centrality (or not) of Jewish education.

T'fillot

At camps with daily *t'fillot* (whether a service in the chapel or morning prayers said in the dining hall), the campers act as if daily prayer were a natural part of their lives. Part of the power of prayer at camp is its consistency and repetition. Campers arriving at camp unable to read Hebrew or *daven* (chant prayers), readily learn Jewish rituals and the words and melodies to dozens of prayers and Hebrew songs.

Because camps are tradition-bound institutions, it is difficult to change their rituals and worship services. Often, the camp's particular way of conducting services has evolved over many years and is carried on by returning campers who socialize the next group of campers. In some settings, such transmission of camp tradition fosters religious engagement, but in other settings, where services have been perfunctory, it can obstruct efforts to increase the intensity of the Jewish experience.

At some camps, campers participate in services unenthusiastically or with obvious resistance. This attitude was most prevalent at camps whose Jewish mission was in transition and at camps where the leadership was ambivalent about the way the camp should express its Judaism. Adult role models were implicated in almost every instance of disrespect for *t'fillot*— sitting in the back of the chapel and talking, taking pictures for the camp Web site, or motoring around the field in their golf carts during services.

We attended services at other camps where the power of prayer and song was palpable, and the singing elevated and transformed the gathering. We were in the bunks for bedtime rituals filled with tenderness and spirituality. In these instances, youth, *ruach* (spirit), and the camp setting coalesced to create a worship experience that reverberated in our own minds even after we had left the camp.

Camps mold their worship services to suit the camp environment and the culture of the particular camp. The result includes a sexy dance at *Kabbalat Shabbat* services, a *parasha* (weekly *Torah* portion) skit in place of a *Torah* reading, recitation of original prayers, and the singing of *Adon Olam* to the tune of "Yellow Submarine," the "William Tell Overture," or "Barbie Girl." These prayer and *Torah* activities make sense in the camp setting and create a prayer experience that is at once highly involving and uniquely camp.[9]

Shirim (Song)

Song is everywhere at camp—in the dining room at mealtime, at *t'fillot*, at camp meetings, in the bunks, at activities. It is used for social control, community building, and spirituality. It brings groups together, it energizes, it creates mood. The song leaders are heroes at camp. Particular songs or melodies are part and parcel of the camp culture and tradition. Sharing those tunes unites members of the camp community—like a secret society—both at camp and back home. Several camps have recently produced compact discs with songs from camp.

Song succeeds where other activities may fail. We were at camps where the *davening* was lackluster but the hours-long *Shabbat* song session that followed was engaged with great enthusiasm. Campers, led by the song leaders, sang a wide range of Jewish songs that involved hand movements, stomping, parading, tango sequences, and other high-spirited, noisy activity. The vibrancy of these sessions often contrasted greatly with the more subdued worship service.

Kashrut

Directors set the standard for *kashrut* at their camps based on a combination of personal beliefs, the practical issues involved in serving a particular camper population, and directives from owners, national parent organizations, and lay boards. The result is a catalogue of idiosyncratic practices from strict supervision of *kashrut* at camp and on field trips to "symbolic" *kashrut* with few restrictions.

Mealtime and *Birkat Ha'mazon* (Grace After Meals)

Mealtime is an important moment in camp life. It is community time, a time for announcements, planning, joking, and singing. It is also a setting for Jewish ritual. We found *Birkat Ha'mazon* to be an accurate indicator of campers' and counselors' level of engagement in and respect for Jewish practices at camp. Thus, at one camp, campers easily quiet down for the blessing, which they sing respectfully, with multiple-part harmony. At another camp, the Jewish educators are like guards patrolling during a highly abbreviated version of the blessing. At a third camp, *Birkat Ha'mazon* is treated as a fun song with clapping and hand movements. At a fourth, the blessing has become a chant, with campers engaging in lots of pounding, hand motions, funny sounds, and silly, made-up lyrics.

As in all areas of Jewish ritual, counselors play a key role in how *Birkat Ha'mazon* is approached. Where counselors model respect, campers are more likely to show respect as well. The camp, too, has a role to play. At a couple of camps, there were campers who did not seem to know the blessing but there were no *benchers*[10] available. Even when sheets were distributed, they sometimes contained errors, which none of the education staff had bothered to point out or correct.

[9] It has been observed that the warm and informal tone of services at camp also causes campers re-entry problems. Campers may find it hard to return to a synagogue service that seems stilted, complacent and formal compared to their camp's service. (Fox, 1997)

[10] Booklets containing the *Birkat Ha'mazon* and accompanying songs and blessings.

Shabbat

Camp is ideally suited for *Shabbat* observance, and even the most secular Jewish camps in our study make *Shabbat* a special time. In fact, in these settings, *Shabbat* is when Jewish activity is most clearly seen. The days of the week at camp are an indistinguishable flow of time. Campers may not even know what day it is—except for *Shabbat*, the one day of the week that stands out from all the others.

Because of their isolation, camps have a unique opportunity to separate *Shabbat* from the rest of the week. They change the everyday schedule for *Shabbat* and suspend regular activities. Flowers are on the tables and special decorations are hung around the dining hall. There is special (and better) food. The pace is different. In many of the camps, there is no traffic in or out of camp on *Shabbat*. The place shuts down and even the most secular are drawn into the beauty of a peaceful day.

In addition to making *Shabbat* a special time, camps have created beautifully spiritual *Shabbat* worship services (particularly *Kabbalat Shabbat* and *Havdalah*) and wildly joyous songfests after Friday night dinner.

We saw only a few exceptions to this *Shabbat* spirit. At a couple of camps, there was little *Shabbat* enthusiasm, particularly among older campers. At one camp, the leadership regularly uses *Shabbat* as a day off, in effect turning over the camp to the Judaic specialists and junior staff. Treatment of *Shabbat* at these camps was indicative of wider issues regarding the camp's Jewish identity and educational mission.

JUDAISM IN THE ENVIRONMENT

Physical environment is often thought of as "passive Jewish education." It is, in fact, a powerful force that shapes behavior and sends out the message that this is a Jewish place.

Symbols abound at camp. At various camps, we observed a six-foot Star of David at the main entrance or on top of a mountain overlooking the camp, and Hebrew language and Israeli posters on the walls of dining halls and community halls. The *Aleph Bet* is carved on tiles around the swimming pool and inflatable Hebrew letters float in the pool. There are camp roads named for sites in Israel, JNF posters in the *teva* cabin showing different environments in Israel, and Israeli music pouring forth from loudspeakers in the dining hall.

Sacred Space

The location designated for services is emblematic of each camp's view of worship. At one camp, we attend services in a chapel comprised of rows of benches and a hand-carved ark. The chapel sits close by the dining room, overlooking the lake. This space is designated for services and is used for no other purpose. Worship services here clearly have a serene quality. By contrast, a camp that, until recently, has paid little attention to Jewish life, has no separate space for worship. Services take place either in an outdoor amphitheater or in the one-room conference center. Since both of these settings are used all week for other activities, the services lack any sense of being in sacred space.

Hebrew

Hebrew can be found in both the physical and social environment at camp. In most of the camps we studied, one could see it on the signs on the bunks and buildings, and hear it over the loudspeaker and in passing conversations among Israeli counselors. At a Zionist camp, the campers count off for an activity in Hebrew, "*achat*, *shtayim*, *shalosh*, *achat*, *shtayim*…" (one, two, three, one, two…). The entire camp gathers at the flag pole early in the morning, clapping hands and chanting "*boker tov*, *boker tov*" (good morning, good morning) as they begin their day. Even at a secular camp, campers and staff call out "*yasher koach*"[11] to acknowledge a job well done.

[11] Literally "may you have the strength [to do this again]."

Like *Birkat Ha'mazon*, the use of Hebrew—particularly in place names—is a reliable indicator of a camp's Jewishness. At one camp, bunks are named for cities in Israel. Each has its name spelled out in Hebrew letters on colorful ceramic tiles. Another camp that also has named its bunks after Israeli cities uses American forms (e.g., Tiberias) and spells them with the Roman alphabet. Commensurately, these two camps differ from each other with regard to the level of Hebrew used at camp, the quality of formal Jewish education, and their commitment to Jewish practices.

Some of the camps we visited are in the process of strengthening their Jewish identities and their Judaic programming. Toward these ends, they have tried to increase the use of Hebrew at camp. Such change does not come easily. One camp renamed bunks from English names, like the "Superstars," to Hebrew names, like "*Bonim*" (builders) or "*Chaverim*" (friends). The older campers were upset by this move and had serious difficulty accepting the new names. At another camp, the rabbi and Jewish educator introduce a few Hebrew words each year, hoping that some will stick. This year they tried to use *chadar ochel* (dining hall), but it did not catch on. They also want to name the units in Hebrew with Jewish cultural names, but that idea was rejected by senior staff as "too Jewish."

STAFF

Staff—from the director down to the bunk counselor—play the critical role at camp. They create the Jewish environment, design and implement both formal and informal Jewish educational activities, model and encourage everyday practices, and turn teachable moments into Jewish lessons. Unless staff are ready, willing and able to create Jewish life at camp, it will not happen.

Director

Despite their informality, camps are formal hierarchical organizations. The director serves as the "captain of the ship." The director sets the camp's course and holds ultimate responsibility for what transpires over the summer. He heads a management team that includes assistant directors and unit heads. Under this team are counselors (college-age and beyond), CITs (counselors in training who are generally seniors in high school) and, at some camps, counselor assistants (juniors in high school).

The director is, essentially, the manager of a small city overseeing everything from health and safety, to administration, personnel, communications, education, and recreation. The directors we observed handle a staggering number of details in any one day. They deal with the lake being closed by the health department, the chef leaving in the middle of the summer, a camper needing serious medical attention, staff misbehaving, and a spate of rainy days that require the schedule to be completely altered in a way that keeps 250 children dry and happy. In the midst of everything, parents who are considering the camp for their child for next summer show up for a tour.

Counselors

Counselors, who live in the bunks and direct activities, fulfill every adult role vis-à-vis the campers—from teacher to "cool" big brother or sister. It is easy for campers to relate to them because the counselors are young, often just a few years older than the campers themselves. In order to learn more about these counselors, a survey was administered in Summer 2001 to all staff at the camps that had been included in our observational study the previous year. All total, the survey was completed by over 1,000 Jewish counselors, activity specialists, directors, and others.

The survey provides insight into what motivates Jewish young adults to work at camp. First, we note that the vast majority of counselors (81%) had prior experience at an overnight camp—whether as camper, junior counselor or staff member. Camp is a part of their life experience.

Figure 1: Factors in the Decision to Work at Camp This Summer (All figures represent percentages)

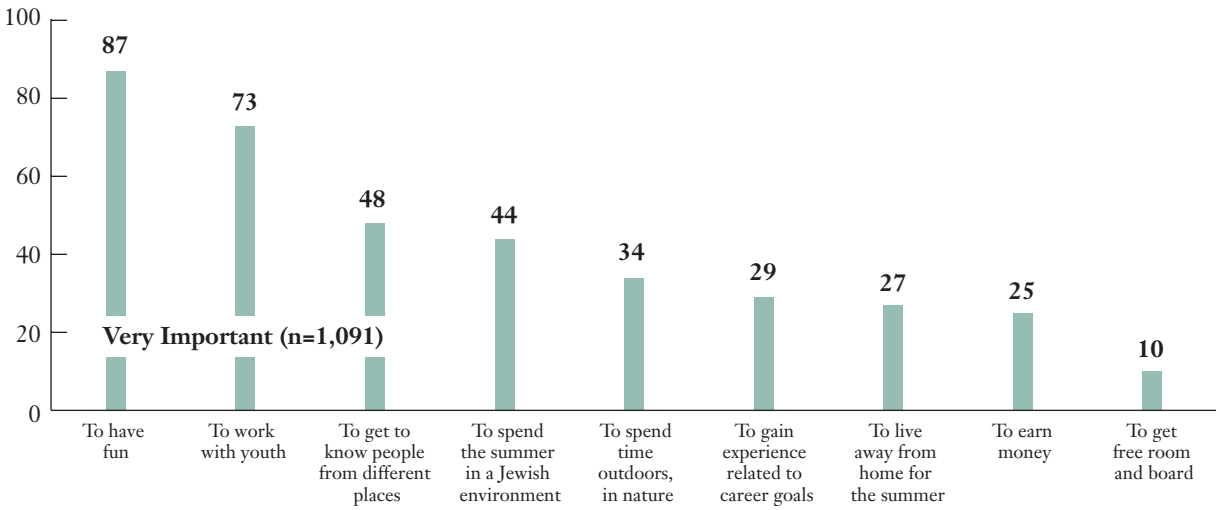
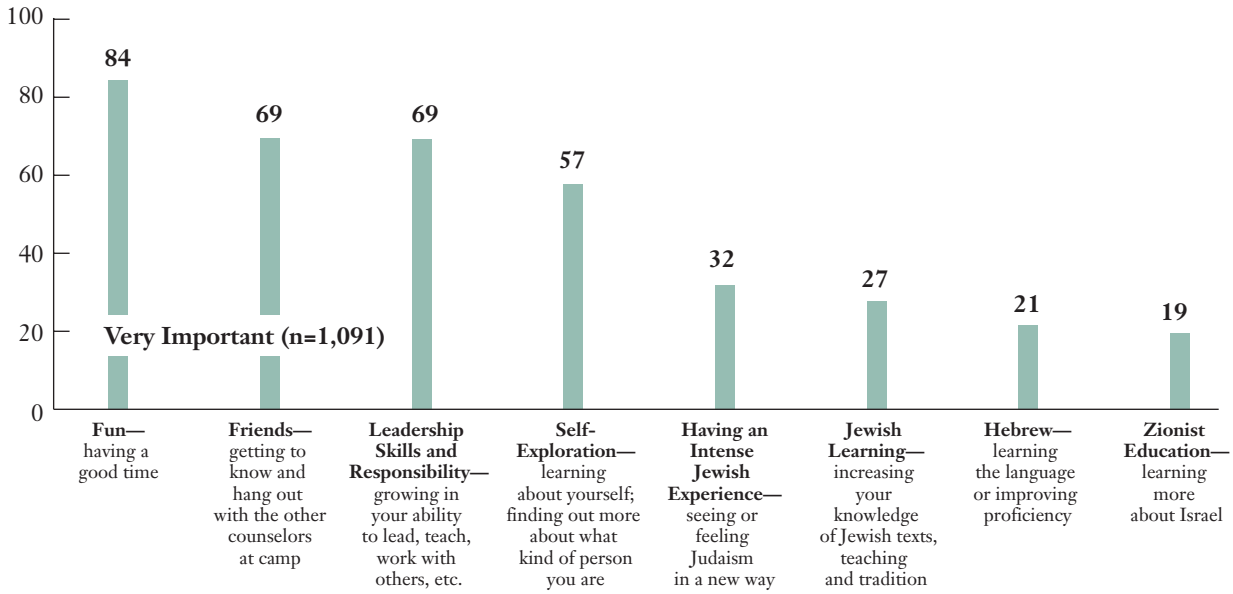


Figure 2: Camp Staff Summer Goals (All figures represent percentages)



Second, young adults are drawn to camp work primarily by the opportunity to have fun and to work with youth. Opportunities for Jewish experiences and Jewish learning are but secondary factors (Figure 1). Salary and other compensation (which are low compared to other summer job options) have the least bearing on the decision to work at a camp.

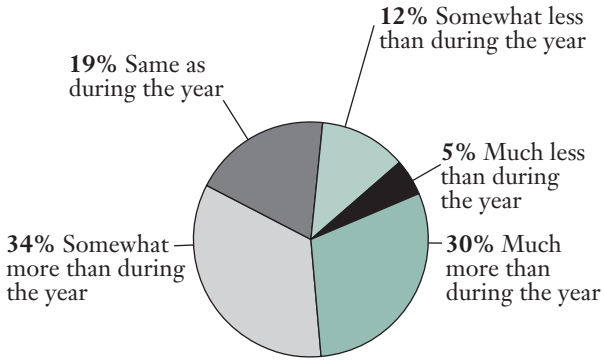
Counselors' disregard of salary, it should be noted, is not shared by other Jewish young adults. We asked 4,000 Jewish college students to rate various summer employment options (salesperson, intern, lifeguard, laborer, and counselor). Of these, they rated camp work as the lowest paying. They also believe camp work would be relatively easy and highly rewarding, but these positive qualities do not override financial realities.

Third, counselors' goals for the summer are more personal and less tied to Jewish education or Jewish experiences. At the top of the list (Figure 2) are fun, friends, leadership skills, and self-exploration. Jewish experiences and Jewish/Zionist education are at the bottom of the list. This pattern persists across camps, whether they are sponsored by religious

movements, Zionist organizations, agencies, foundations, or private owners.

Nonetheless, a majority of staff members see camp as their Jewish home away from home. About two-thirds maintain a higher level of observance at camp than they do during the year (Figure 3). Jewish experiences and Jewish learning are not the top factors that bring them to camp, but camp clearly has the potential to educate them and motivate them toward Jewish life.

Figure 3: Counselors' Level of Observance at Camp Compared With Home Practices



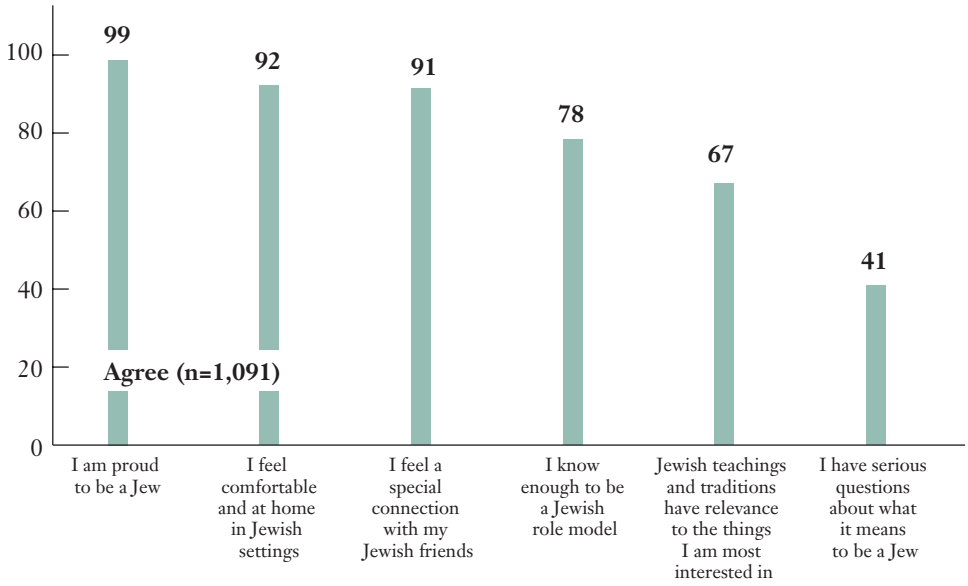
Level of Jewish Preparation

Of the Jewish staff, we might argue whether the glass of Jewish preparedness is partially full or partially empty. On the one hand, we found that the great majority have been active in Jewish youth groups, have attended or worked at a Jewish summer camp, and have traveled to Israel. More than three-fourths feel that they know enough to be Jewish role models for their campers. They are not just relying on what they learned in preparation for becoming *b'nai mitzvah:* Half of the Jewish staff at the summer camps in our study had taken a Judaics course during the past two years.

Moreover, camp staff differ from the general population of American Jewish college students in terms of their high levels of Jewish involvement and in the greater emphasis they place on every Jewish value across the board from social action, to spirituality and *Shabbat* observance, to support for Jewish organizations. They are suffused with Jewish pride. Almost everyone said that s/he is proud to be a Jew, and for virtually all of these respondents, this is a statement with which they "strongly" agree. The young adults staffing camps also, by and large, feel comfortable and at home in Jewish settings and recognize a special connection with their Jewish friends (Figure 4).

On the other hand, one-fourth of the Jewish staff at camp lack these backgrounds and commitments. One-fourth describe themselves in secular terms, as

Figure 4: Relationship to Judaism (All figures represent percentages)



cultural Jews or as "just Jewish." One-fourth admit that they do not know enough to be real Jewish role models. With the current configuration of hires, camps face the challenges of integrating diverse staff members into a coherent and vibrant Jewish community and of delivering a Jewish message that can be carried by only a proportion of the staff.

Hiring

The staff turnover rate at Jewish camps averages 45%—ranging from a community-sponsored camp with no returning staff to a foundation camp with a 99% return rate. Camps see turnover at all levels. Each year they face the task of recruitment, followed closely by that of socializing a new crop of counselors and molding them into a community.

In the current environment, there are few incentives for young adults to take on the job of counselor. If young people come up through a movement and have their own memories of summers at camp, the sale is easy. For these individuals, the tug of camp is great and they are eager to return each summer. These, however, are the "insiders," and their numbers are limited. For outside recruitment, the benefits that might entice are not there (e.g., money, recognition, college credit, access to future job opportunities).

Recruitment and hiring challenges have inevitably led to staffing shortages, in evidence in several of the camps we studied in Summer 2000. One of the camps was short-staffed by as many as fifteen counselors. Another permitted partial summer employment, taking counselors, unit heads, and specialists for whatever time period they were available. A third asked high school students in the CIT program to move into full counselor positions to fill in a shortage after the first two-week session. One camp was making recruitment calls while we were there in early August, trying to find counselors for the last session.

Staffing shortages have pernicious effects on camps. For one, they exacerbate the problem of staff stress and exhaustion. Camps that are under-staffed need to limit time off, with the result that counselors find that their free time is "barely enough just to clear your head." Shortages also make it difficult for a camp to fire counselors who perform poorly, break camp rules, or otherwise violate the terms of their contract. With regard to a camp's Jewish mission, shortages mean fewer role models of Jewishly engaged counselors on staff—a serious threat to one of camp's best means to socialize young children.

Responses to Staffing Shortages

In response to difficulties in attracting adequate numbers of appropriate staff, Jewish camps have increased their hiring of non-Jewish staff, younger counselors, and international staff. Some have avoided the staffing crunch by "growing" their own counselors through their movements and through counselor-in-training (CIT) programs.

Reliance on Non-Jewish Staff. Most camps that hire non-Jews do so out of necessity; a few claim it is a preference. Non-Jews are generally hired as activity specialists and less frequently serve as bunk counselors. At a community camp, for example, none of the bunk counselors are non-Jews, but about two-thirds of the specialists are. The practice of hiring non-Jewish staff is particularly evident in the non-Orthodox private camps where, on average, more than half of the bunk counselors are non-Jews. These numbers are important because the percentage of non-Jewish staff can affect the extent to which Jewish education infuses the camp.

Younger Hires. A second response to staffing shortages is the hiring of younger counselors. At some of the camps in our study, the counselors were often only one step removed from campers in maturity and had no concept of modeling appropriate behaviors. Counselors appeared too young and inexperienced to carry out sophisticated, well-crafted educational programs, which require expert facilitation skills. Because unit heads are often

young as well, counselor supervision is in the hands of people who are themselves relatively young and inexperienced. Results of the Counselor Survey show the average age of all staff is just over 20 years old. About 87% of the Jewish staff are 22 or younger. Another 10% are in their mid-to-late twenties. Only 3% are at least 30 years old.

Overseas Recruitment. A third result of staffing shortages is the increased hiring of international staff. Nationwide, Jewish camps bring in about 4,000 overseas workers for the summer, of whom about 1,000 are from Israel.

In general, international staff are not well integrated into the camp community. We looked particularly at the role of Israeli counselors at camp and their relationships with the campers and American colleagues. Israeli staff often find it difficult to bond with their American colleagues, especially at those camps where the American counselors have been on staff for many years and have formed tight, close friendship networks among themselves. The separation between the two groups is exacerbated by linguistic and cultural barriers and stylistic differences. The Americans often find the Israeli staff too strict with the campers. Although the Israelis argue that they have been in the army and therefore know a lot about leading, they also admit that they do not always know how to talk about problems in "a light and easy way."

In some places, Israeli staff, who bring special talents and a unique worldview to the camp, represent another missed opportunity for Jewish education at camp. These camps fail to take advantage of the knowledge the Israeli counselors bring to camp or to use their presence to teach the camp community the value of *k'lal Yisrael* (unity of the Jewish people). Most Israelis who come to the United States are selected by the Jewish Agency from a large pool of candidates and they take part in a week-long training in Israel. They think of themselves as *shlichim* with a special mission. Once here, however, they feel isolated and under-utilized. They would like to see the camp do more Israel education, and they would like to be more involved. As they struggle for attention and for opportunities to do the work they have trained to do, they wonder why the camp brought them over here.

These descriptions do not extend to the Zionist camps, where Israeli staff tend to have a positive experience. The clear Israel focus of these camps helps them fit in. They serve as specialists and are very involved in the life of the camp. They feel connected to the camp and are committed to its goals. Most of them are not fully prepared for the brand of American Judaism camp embodies, with its mix of religious observance and Zionism. However, they find the social environment of the camp welcoming and feel a part of the camp community.

Homegrown Staff. Most staff members, we learned from the Counselor Survey, have been at the same camp previously. Those who were campers (45%) attended an average of five years. Those who have been staff (37%) average almost three years experience working in this camp. As well, about one in five were CITs at the particular camp, suggesting that this intermediary step between camper and counselor is an important staff development program. Over one-fourth of all staff have been at the camp in more than one role—as campers, CITs, and/or as staff—and they thus know the camp scene from more than one perspective.

Camps that are able to hire counselors who grew up in the movement and/or at camp cite many advantages. Homegrown staff add to the camp's strong sense of continuity and consistently high-quality counselor pool. These counselors are committed to creating the same kind of community they enjoyed as campers. Particularly in the movement camps, homegrown staff are important role models for the campers, as they demonstrate commitment to the program and bring high status to long-term involvement.

Training

The challenge of staffing is not just about assuring adequate numbers of counselors to look after the children. It is, most critically, about having the right staff—people who are well trained, responsible, effective role models, teachers, and guides. Surveys repeatedly show that the quality and competency of staff are primary factors in parents' selection of camps for their children (Rose, 1998). For our purposes, the quality of counselors, specialists, and educators is the primary determinant of a camp's ability to fulfill its Jewish mission.

Staff at a Jewish camp need to know:

- the general field of camping
- specific information about the camp (from tradition, myths and songs to correct administrative and operating procedures)
- group work and counseling skills
- youth work (including how to discipline and set boundaries, and how to deal with issues of intimacy, emotional distress, homesickness, etc.)
- basics of programming
- Judaics

Judaics, as it appears here, is literally at the end of the list. Camps generally work on all the other aspects of a counselor's job before they get to those related to Jewish life and learning at camp. Staff training programs are generally limited to the staff orientation that takes place the week before camp begins.[12]

As we learned from our camp interviews, these programs face several realities. Due to academic schedules, late hiring, and other reasons, some counselors are not present for staff orientation. Those that do come need to cover a great deal of material—most of it dealing with health, safety, rules and regulations, and daily programming and operations. There is little time for Jewish education. At a few camps, so many counselors are so uneducated that orientation can do little to give them the Jewish skills they need to support their campers' Jewish explorations.

In some settings, it is difficult to make up during the season the shortcomings of orientation training. Counselors are loathe to give up their free time during the day for Jewish education, and at night they are too tired to engage in concentrated study.

Responses to Training Challenges

Despite these realities, our site visits offered glimpses of how in-service staff training and education could be managed.

Ongoing Education. One solution is to incorporate staff education into the routine of camp. Where the camp philosophy supports Jewish learning, we found learning at all levels—senior staff, counselors, and campers. One movement camp introduced *limud* for counselors and other staff into the camp day. These sessions, led by faculty members, are held by the pool so that campers can see the counselors learning. The themes (such as women in Judaism or Jewish values) are chosen to interest staff and not necessarily to relate to the campers' curriculum. Another movement camp has organized parallel learning for campers and staff. While campers are in Jewish study sessions, their counselors have their own sessions, based on the same material but at a higher level. By developing their own knowledge, counselors become stronger role models and resources for their campers. Yet another movement camp found time for counselor text study by holding sessions with the rabbi during mealtime. Each day a small group of counselors is excused from sitting with their bunks in order to eat and study in a separate, quiet space. The counselors not only have a chance to learn but also enjoy the perquisite of a quiet meal.

[12] The American Camping Association requires residential camps to provide staff orientation with at least six days of actual instruction time. None of the camps we visited exceed this minimum standard.

Mentors and Supervisors. A second solution is to set up structures that, throughout the summer, support counselors in their roles as Jewish educators and role models. A good example of this solution comes from a Conservative camp that has added a layer to its hierarchy—camp advisors. These advisors serve as liaisons between the camp and parents, and between staff and administration. They are a resource for campers and provide support to bunk counselors, specialists and unit heads. They help counselors and campers cope with emotional and psychological problems. They advise on staff issues (such as how to orient and integrate second-session-only staff). They augment the education staff and advise on ways to inject Judaica into programming. Most importantly, they serve as mentors for the staff and as role models, demonstrating by their very presence what it means to be a Jewish learner and to live a Jewish life.

DIRECTION OF CHANGE

The analysis presented in the preceding pages suggests the direction in which Jewish camps should be steered with regard to staffing, programming, approach, and content.

Staff: If Jewish camps are to maximize their potential as educational institutions, they must resolve their staffing issues. As seen in enrollment figures and waiting lists, the demand for Jewish camps is high. But the camps' ability to expand their capacity is limited by the shortage of qualified staff. So, too, is their ability to deepen their Jewish commitments. The camping field needs to support counselors in their Jewish exploration and growth and to bring honor to these young adults on whom so many Jewish children depend.

Programming: Our sense is that powerful experiences result from integrated programming that infuses Jewish education throughout the camp and its myriad activities. To do so, camps needs to upgrade the Judaic skills of bunk counselors, to create partnerships between these counselors and the Judaic experts at camp, and to spread responsibility for Jewish education among the entire staff.

Approach: The camp setting is an ideal place for realizing the full potential of informal Jewish education and for experimenting with programming that makes Judaism an organic part of everyday life. Informal education is not "sloppy" education. Rather it is serious pedagogy with philosophical and theoretical underpinnings and a treasure house of methods and techniques. People can be taught about informal Jewish education but it takes years to perfect the skills that are needed to develop curricula, design activities, and lead sessions effectively. A concerted effort is needed to develop informal Jewish education at camp.

Content: Care is needed to assure that changes or additions to Jewish practices at camp result in authentic Judaism and not "camp" Judaism. As camps move to enhance or expand their Jewish programming and to include more staff in its delivery, they must avoid communicating to campers sweeping generalizations or misinformation about Judaism. Whatever they do, it must be done well.

CAVEATS

Several constraints can impede efforts to bring change to the quality of Jewish life and education at Jewish camps. In order for positive changes to be accepted and institutionalized:

- The camp must feel a need to change.
- The particular change must be a good fit for the camp.
- The camp must overcome countervailing tradition.

- Camp leadership must embrace the change.
- Staff must be prepared to work with the change.

If any one of these ingredients is missing, change is unlikely to occur.

The Camp Must Feel a Need to Change

Camps are currently in boom times and, in strictly business terms, may have little motivation to change present practices. Some camps believe that their formula is the right one, that they have the correct blend of Jewish life and secular activities to suit the campers and their families. The directors of these camps have some trepidation about altering or intensifying the Jewish experience. Other directors have received few complaints about the level of Jewish practice at their camps and feel that they should not be afraid to add to their Jewish programming. In either case, camps will make no changes to their Jewish education and Jewish practices unless they find good reason to do so.

The Particular Change Must be a Good Fit for the Camp

When it comes to camp programs, one size does not fit all. Each of the camps in our study is a distinct entity—differing from others in geography, population, program, culture, history, tradition, and so on. Some of the camps have developed indigenous programs of which they are very proud. The directors do not believe that programs developed on the outside would meet their standards and/or fit with the particular values and orientation of their respective camps. In short, no single program proposed on the basis of this study would suit all of these camps.

The Camp Must Overcome Countervailing Tradition

Many forces at camp conspire to resist change. One is the strong culture and traditions that good camps establish. The second is the recalcitrance of counselors and other staff, and the third is the even more powerful resistance of the camp's long-time campers.

When we look at camps that have tried to enrich their Jewish identities, we find that change comes slowly. A secular camp that introduced some Jewish content three years ago, still has not established any Jewish learning traditions, although some are on the horizon. In several other camps, Jewish content is creeping in, limited by not having enough Jewishly able staff to implement the programs. Infusing camp with a sense of Jewish life probably takes a "camp generation"—that is, the length of time it takes today's youngest campers to become counselors.

The lesson learned from these camps is that change must be incremental, a series of small steps introduced over time. For example, one director has slowly been adding ritual richness to worship services as his campers become more comfortable and competent with them. Another has introduced the *Birkat Ha'mazon* at meals. In the first year, opposition arose from top staff who feared that the campers would find it "too Jewish" and not cooperate. In the end a compromise was struck—*Birkat Ha'mazon*, but first paragraph only. By the fourth summer, even non-Jewish, international staff were routinely singing *Birkat Ha'mazon*. The director is now ready to move toward the introduction of a fuller version of the prayer.

Camp Leadership Must Embrace the Change

The personal Jewish journeys of camp leadership appear to be a strong determinant of Jewish life and education at camp. At one camp the director is an unaffiliated, liberal Jew who says that his childhood formal religious education turned him off to Judaism. His goal is to make Judaism "sweet" so that children will later want to return to it. He thus believes that requiring campers to attend *limud* will make them resistant to learning about Judaism. It is not surprising that this camp was experiencing considerable tension between the Jewish educators and other staff. In contrast, a non-movement camp widely acknowledges that the Jewish agenda of the camp has intensified since the director began to study Judaism and Jewish education. The result is

seen in the creation of more Jewish ritual at camp and the introduction of a considerable amount of Jewish music into services, song sessions, and the *freilach* (joyful celebration) that occurs after dinner on Friday evenings.

These examples demonstrate how—for better or worse—the director's Jewish journey is intertwined with that of the camp. They also suggest that unless directors understand and value Jewish growth, they will not fully incorporate it into their camps' mission or program in a meaningful way.

Staff Must be Prepared to Work With the Change

As repeatedly noted in this report, staff are the key ingredient at camp, whether with regard to secular activities or Jewish life. Before change can be implemented, directors need to communicate the new vision to staff, to excite them about it, and to obtain their buy-in. If the director wants to increase Jewish life at camp but cannot convince staff of the value of this move, then change will not occur.

Change will also not occur if staff members lack the skills needed for its implementation. To create fuller Jewish life at camp, staff must have Jewish knowledge and comfort with their own Jewish identities. To implement enhanced Jewish programming, they must also be skilled in group facilitation and techniques of informal Jewish education. Simply learning the content does not assure that counselors will be skilled at transmitting that knowledge to the children and teens in their care. Changing staff training—to impart requisite knowledge and skills—will require time, educational resources, and a cadre of counselors who already know the basics and are ready for more advanced training.

Recommendations

This section presents seven recommendations, based on our observations and analysis, for helping camps deepen and broaden their Judaic impact. **1.** Expand the reach of Jewish camping. **2.** Make camp a model of Jewish education. **3.** Prepare directors to move toward greater Jewish life at camp. **4.** Focus on Jewish staff as a target group in their own right. **5.** Bring more Jewish counselors to camp. **6.** Provide the training and support counselors need to advance on their personal Jewish journeys and to flourish in their work as Jewish role models. **7.** Conduct research that will inform the field of Jewish camping and ground its future development in reliable information.

1. Expand the Reach of Jewish Camping

Jewish camping is a large and growing institution that touches the lives of tens of thousands of children, teens, and young adults every year. In the past ten years, a dozen new camps have opened and further expansion is on the horizon. The additional capacity may be welcome because, in fact, almost all of the camps in our study are operating at near capacity and many have been forced to put interested families on waiting lists.

Our study uncovered substantial evidence of the great potential of camps to influence the Jewish lives of campers. Many children who find their way to Jewish summer camp do not receive formal Jewish education during the school year or are turned off by the education they do receive. Jewish camps, particularly the secular ones, have access to children who are not otherwise well-served by the Jewish community. Yet, despite signs of healthy institutional size, we know that in any one summer only a fraction of the Jewish children in the United States attend a Jewish summer camp.

a. Expand Capacity

One step to maximize the influence of Jewish camps is to expand their capacity. Expansion could be accomplished by adding to existing facilities, opening satellite camps, converting secular settings into Jewish camps, or by creating "camp" in other settings (e.g., on a ship at sea or on a college campus). Expansion also means greater promotion of the Jewish camps in order to increase the likelihood that families will make Jewish choices for their children's summer program. Secular camps market aggressively to prospective families, carefully reaching out to each one with a series of contacts that include promotional materials, telephone calls, home visits, and so on. The Jewish community may need to do such outreach and direct it both to affiliated families and to those with only marginal involvement in Jewish life. The families least likely to choose a Jewish camp may be the most likely to gain from such a choice. Given the diverse offerings in the Jewish camping world, it should be possible for all children—whether their Judaism is defined by religion, ethnicity, community, Zionism, peoplehood, or Jewish values—to find the right camp to stimulate their Jewish development.

b. Extend Beyond the Calendar

Camps' influence can also be expanded by devising ways to extend camp beyond its summer boundaries. Because camp is such an intensive, time- and

space-bounded experience, most of the camps' efforts are devoted to optimizing what happens when the children are at camp and little thought or effort goes into the back-home experience. One movement camp has a system for linking campers to youth groups back home, and one of the private camps excels at sending out regular mailings "to keep the good feelings alive all year." We have no data on whether either of these efforts are successful or make a difference in the campers' lives. Nonetheless, it is worth experimenting with various ways of extending the boundaries of camp—programs and materials that help parents better understand what goes on at camp, that help campers bring home pieces of camp magic, and that help maintain the camp connection during the school year. Such experiments might include innovations in family camp, creative use of the Internet, or new designs for reunions that would meet emotional and social needs as well as provide a taste of camp's Jewish education in the middle of winter.

c. Increase Scholarships

Finally, more could be done to extend the attractiveness and feasibility of a summer at a Jewish camp. Jewish day schools and Israel trips have been heavily subsidized to attract those who might otherwise not attend. On average, however, the Jewish camps spend only a small fraction of their budgets on scholarships and support a limited number of campers. This track record compares poorly with a private Christian camp we visited where 10% of the budget is spent on scholarships and one-third of the children receive some form of support. This camp has created a tuition structure that generates scholarship monies. It also rents its facility off-season. The revenues produced during the winter cover capital expenditures and other costs of running the camp, and, importantly, free up tuition dollars for scholarships. A combination of such management strategies and revenue enhancement from private, foundation, and community funding would enable the Jewish camps to attract and serve a greater range of children. Admittedly, we were told that some of the private Jewish camps do not want to diversify economically. However, we believe that they, too, would benefit from increased scholarship money that might attract the unaffiliated into a Jewish environment for the summer.

2. Make Camp a Model of Jewish Education

American culture is founded on individualism (cf. Bellah et al., 1985) and young people today are under enormous pressures for individual achievement. From state-mandated testing programs in elementary school to the competitive college admissions process, our children learn early on that individual success is paramount. Formal Jewish educational programs have largely been designed in this mold, paying scant attention to the relationships that form among children, the value of teachers as role models, the school as a caring community, and the possibility of filling the air with Jewish song and spirit. Camps, with their expertise in creating intentional communities, can be an instructive model for schools to emulate. They can become such a model, however, only if they recognize themselves as educational settings, achieve consistent levels of excellence, and disseminate their accomplishments.

Many of the camps we studied are trying to develop their Jewish programming. Although camps need to create their own traditions, a great deal can be done to facilitate their work.

a. Use "Spark Plugs"

Jewish camps should be exposed to "spark plugs" in the field—expert teachers and performers who can provide a boost to the camp's own program. Outstanding educators, song leaders, actors in Jewish theater, Israeli dancers and so on can come to camps to work with staff during orientation or to run special programs for campers and counselors. The purpose of bringing in such experts is not to teach staff to replicate their work, but rather to add new energy and ideas to the camp's view of Jewish education.

One or two members of the staff, whose interest was sparked, might take part in follow-up training that

would teach them how to do this work, how to implement it at their camp, and how to train others to do it as well. The follow-up training might take the form of weeklong national institutes, run each year on different subjects with different faculty. Selected counselors from each camp would come to an institute during spring break for intensive work on biblio-drama, song, creative *midrash*, weaving, or whatever the topic. They could then bring these possibilities back to their camps and begin to play the role of change agent the following summer.

b. Develop Integrated Programming

A key to enhancing camp may be found in an increased emphasis on integrated programming. Such programming infuses everyday activities with Judaic content and leads to a more harmonious and fully involving experience of life in a Jewish community. Much of the integrated programming we observed during our site visits was in the arts or the nature program. Curriculum designers should be engaged to seek out new areas, techniques, and methods for creating integrated programming. As one director said, we need to "find places to put Jewish education where the campers would never expect to see it."

c. Disseminate Successful Models

Camps need to disseminate their successful educational strategies both within the camping field and throughout the wider arena of Jewish education.

Internally, there is some exchange among camps within movements, but there is virtually none between movements or between movement camps and the private camps. "Best practices" should be identified, assembled, and made widely available through videos, inter-camp peer consultations, published curricula, or other means. Although programming from one camp cannot simply be imposed on another, programming ideas from one camp can stimulate planning and creative thinking at another. "Best practices" can show what is possible at camp. The search for best practices should not be limited to the Jewish camps but might also include Christian and nondenominational camps where activities for spiritual growth and values education have been perfected.

Externally, the lessons from informal education at camp should be broadcast to the field of Jewish education so that they might inform the design of other programs whose mission is to educate and socialize Jewish children. Perhaps, children's dislike of religious school and the high post-*b'nai mitzvah* dropout rate could be reversed with a shift in focus from the individual to the collective, from the intellectual to the emotional, from passive learning to active engagement, from the teacher as instructor to the teacher as facilitator, role model, and friend.

3. Prepare Directors to Move Toward Greater Jewish Life at Camp

Directors do just as their title suggests—they set the direction for the camp. They are, therefore, the gatekeepers of any changes that might be introduced into their camps. Training can open their minds to new ideas for Jewish life at camp and can help them plan and implement changes in their camp's Jewish practices.

a. Motivate

Directors and owners need motivation to make changes in current practices. One way to inspire them is to provide a taste of extraordinary Jewish programs, an opportunity to work with the best informal Jewish educators in the community, and exposure to "spark plugs" in the field as noted above. These opportunities can be offered through existing venues (e.g., professional conferences), special meetings, or on-site visits. Directors might also be given opportunities to visit other camps to see model programs in action. Paid sabbaticals are one mechanism to make such learning possible. Or they might be provided with expert observers who would view their camps, with an eye not to accreditation standards, but to the vibrancy of their Jewish life. During our site visits, we were

frequently asked for feedback: What had we seen? What advice did we have for the camp? How could it improve in specific areas? As researchers, we were not in a position to respond. The directors' questions, however, indicate that they might welcome outside consultants who could provide expert feedback without pushing a particular agenda. The purpose of all of these suggestions is to motivate the directors, to give them a taste of what could be, and to inspire them to think differently about Judaism at camp.

b. Educate and Train

Before they can tackle Jewish life at camp, camp directors need to be strong on the job. As noted earlier, the director is required to be competent in a range of matters from liability issues and personnel management, to budgeting, marketing, programming, and a host of other areas of responsibility. Those who come up through the ranks learn these skills as they proceed through their camp careers. Others, however, are left to learn on the job and/or through professional associations like the American Camping Association. There is no training program for Jewish camp directors per se. Many directors would benefit from supplemental training in Jewish education (educational theory, techniques of informal education, educational resource materials, etc.); opportunities to work with others on the creation of Jewish life, practices, and rituals at camp; and support in expanding their own Jewish knowledge and comfort level.

c. Plan

The creation or expansion of programming should be done within the context of a more intentional approach toward Jewish and Israel education at camp. Above we discussed the extent to which Judaics is integrated into everyday programming, the degree to which responsibility for Jewish education is shared among staff, the usage of formal and informal educational techniques, the manifestations of Judaism in everyday practices at camp, and the manipulation of the physical environment to create Jewish space. This analysis suggests a planning model that could be developed to help camp leaders think strategically about their Jewish purposes.

The model would help camps examine their mission and how Judaism and Israel figure in it. It would help them analyze the Jewish experience they offer, set annual objectives for Jewish practices at camp, and so on. Assistance with planning would also include instruction on how to bring about change at camp. These lessons would be based on the caveats listed above, the experience of camps that have tried to implement change (both success stories and failures), and the vast repository of knowledge from the literature on organizational change.

A sophisticated, well-developed planning process can help camp leaders become more intentional about the camp's Jewish program and better prepared to discuss it with staff. The entire community may thus be strengthened by making the Jewish program explicit and purposeful.

4. Focus on Jewish Staff as a Target Group in Their Own Right

Jewish counselors, the vast majority of whom are 18 to 22 years old, are in a developmental stage called "emerging adulthood" (Arnett, 2000). This period is characterized by an exploration of life possibilities and profound change. Jewish summer camps have inadvertently created the perfect environment for carrying out the developmental tasks of this stage of life. Structured correctly, a summer work experience could have a profound impact on these emerging adults. Camp is an opportunity for them to live away from home, try out new things, make friends, build a community, take on responsibility for others, and acquire valuable skills. It is an ideal place for identity exploration. Importantly, it offers two months living in a Jewish environment as part of an intentional Jewish community—studying, teaching and learning from one another.

Managed properly, camp can also have a profound impact on the Israelis who work there and on the relationships between the Israelis and their American colleagues. Camp is an opportunity for Israeli counselors to grow into their roles as educators and *shlichim*. It is, as well, an ideal setting for young Israelis and Americans to establish close personal ties, to explore similarities and differences, and to live out the value of *k'lal Yisrael*.

In order for these many benefits to be realized, however, counselors must be treated as a target audience in their own right—a group for whom camp offers a potent Jewish experience. Such re-framing suggests that camp is as much about the counselors as it is about the campers. It requires camps to place new emphasis on counselor education and training, supervision and mentoring, opportunities for personal growth and for professional development. It calls for greater appreciation for the special talents and needs of Israeli counselors. And it calls for far more attention to the quality and intensity of Jewish experiences for all staff.

5. Bring More Jewish Counselors to Camp

As repeatedly noted, the key to a camp's ability to be an effective educational institution is its staff. With the current configuration of hires, however, many camps face the challenges of integrating diverse staff members into a coherent and vibrant Jewish community and of delivering a Jewish message that can be carried by only a proportion of the staff. In order to alter the profile of camp staff, there need to be more qualified Jewish candidates in the applicant pool.

a. Expand Recruitment

In order to increase the number and quality of staff at Jewish summer camps, camps need to expand their recruitment efforts. Survey findings suggest where connections might be made to open pipelines into camp jobs.

Camp work appears to be most appealing to those in the first two years of college. Linkages therefore need to be strengthened between Jewish summer camps and colleges, Hillels, campus programs and organizations, Judaic studies programs and birthright Israel.

Our data show that a remarkably high percentage of camp staff have been active in a Jewish youth group. Youth group, volunteer programs, and Israel trips may serve as "feeder programs" that bring in qualified staff who possess an experiential understanding of informal Jewish education and an appreciation of the *ruach* that makes Jewish life at camp so joyous and memorable. In order to serve as feeder programs, these experiences not only must be educationally rich and highly motivating, but they must also be linked to camps. More can be done to build bridges between a variety of teen programs and summer camps and to set up experiences and expectations that might yield fruit once these teens reach college age and beyond.

b. Raise Salaries

Whether we like it or not, status is associated with money, and a counselor's job is thus a low-status position for college students. The hours are long, the work is hard, personal time is limited and, perhaps most importantly, the pay is poor. Those who choose camp do so because they love camp and are motivated by the promise of fun and the chance to work with youth. Other college students, who would make fine counselors, may be enticed only with a salary that enables them to meet their financial obligations and signals the value of the position. Current pay for counselors is too low to attract many of the brightest and best prepared students.

Pay can be increased across the board or monetary bonuses can be offered to those who take part in one of the training programs described below. Bonuses can also be provided for travel to Israel, particular college courses, communal leadership, or other activities that increase a counselor's value to

the camp. Challenge grants and subsidies should be provided to camps to help them attract qualified staff and to retain counselors over time.

c. Promote Camp Work

Based on the results of our surveys, it is clear that the marketing of staff positions needs to emphasize the type of experiences one can have at camp, the skills that can be learned, the contribution the job can make to one's resume, and the opportunity to learn about oneself. The "sell" is not about Jewish life and learning although evidence is clear that these will happen…once someone is into the magic of camp.

6. Provide the Training and Support Counselors Need to Advance on Their Personal Jewish Journeys and to Flourish in Their Work as Jewish Role Models

A major obstacle to raising the number and quality of counselors in the field is the absence of programs (outside of the movements) to train Jewish staff to be counselors and educators at camp. Specialized training and accreditation are required to work in aquatics, adventure challenge (climbing, rappelling, ropes course), and horseback riding. Certification in these areas is based on a list of skills that a counselor must demonstrate in order to be deemed proficient in the activity and prepared to serve as teacher or supervisor. So, too, do the Jewish camps need a list of the essential skills and knowledge counselors should have in order to be Jewish educators; and they need innovative training programs that can impart these skills and knowledge.

a. Experiment with New Models of Pre-season Training

As noted above, staff orientation has serious limitations, particularly as a vehicle for preparing counselors to carry out the Jewish mission of the camp. To allow for more time and focus on this aspect of the job, other forms of training are needed.

For example, a university-based course could be developed to teach the skills that counselors need to work at any Jewish camp—the philosophy and techniques of informal Jewish education, childhood and adolescent development and identity formation, counseling skills, and so on. Participants in the course would learn to be reflective practitioners, good facilitators, program planners, and educators. The course would teach the generic skills that counselors need, while on-site orientation would continue to train staff in the traditions and procedures of the particular camp.

Work at a Jewish summer camp could serve as the field work or internship component to the course. While at camp, participants would work alongside expert educators who could serve as guides and mentors for the summer. An on-line network could be set up so that participants could be in regular contact with one another over the summer, to share issues encountered at their various camps, discuss solutions, and be peer mentors to their classmates. Participants in the course could be required to write a paper on their summer experience for credit. Such a requirement would further their ability as reflective practitioners and would help develop case studies for use in further training programs.

There are several benefits to a university-based program. For one, conducting the course on a college campus would create awareness among students of the possibilities for work at a Jewish summer camp. It might attract students to the program both because of its convenience and because of the college credit it could offer. Moreover, using the context of a college course would help legitimate a camp job as serious work—even a career—with a foundation in social work, psychology, education, and Jewish studies. As such, the program could bring people into the field who otherwise might not find their way into a Jewish camp. Finally, as a semester or even a full-year course, this program would allow for extensive and intensive work, covering topics that never appear in the one-week orientation on which camps currently rely for staff training.

b. Create In-Service Programs to Supplement Staff Training

There are different lacunae in staff backgrounds. Some counselors have excellent camp skills but lack Jewish knowledge and the skills to transmit that knowledge to young people. Some rabbis and Jewish educators are rich in Jewish knowledge but lack an understanding of informal Jewish education, and its creative possibilities in the unique setting of camp. Israeli staff are fluent in Hebrew and may be well versed in the techniques of informal education, but they may not understand how to manage and lead American children. To be maximally effective, camps need staff who know both content and process. To this end, in-service training is needed to raise the level of knowledge at camp and the level of counseling and teaching skills.

In-service programs should be designed to address the developmental needs of staff across the spectrum, from counselors-in-training to senior staff members. Learning needs should be identified at every level in the camp by asking two inter-related questions: What do staff members need to know in order to further the Jewish mission of the camp? What do they need to know in order to develop personally and professionally at camp? There is opportunity to work with camps on creative CIT programs that meld an Israel component, residential work, mentoring, networking, year-round communications, and so on. There is opportunity to work on programs to help counselors learn the supervisory, management, and planning skills they need to move into positions as unit heads. There is opportunity to work with Israeli and American staff on cross-cultural understanding and on techniques for infusing Israel education into the camp program. And there is opportunity to develop training modules to help unit heads and senior staff do their jobs better and prepare them to take on more responsibility.

c. Increase Staff Support

A few camps have added a layer to the camp hierarchy to good effect. Above we described the Camp Advisors who, among other capacities, serve as mentors and role models for staff. Camps that are short-handed do not have the luxury of such a position as they need every staff member to work directly with the campers. With outside support, they could add a layer of staff support that would help strengthen the work of the counseling staff, avert burnout and the "4th week slump," provide additional in-service education, and help assure that the camp provides its counselors with as profound a summer experience as possible.

Camps could benefit, as well, from a program to prepare select staff members to be trainers in informal Jewish education. The key here is that participants in the program would learn not only the material but also how to transmit it to others. Systems change comes only when there is trained staff who know how to do something and how to teach others how to do it as well. Training trainers can thus enrich the whole educational system at camp.

7. Conduct Research to Inform the Field of Jewish Camping and to Ground its Future Development in Reliable Information

The present study was designed to fill an important gap in the literature by providing a comparative analysis of camps and deconstructing the elements that make camps potentially powerful educational institutions. To the extent we have been successful, we have opened up thinking about how camps impart knowledge while building Jewish friendships, evoking Jewish feelings, and creating Jewish memories. Given their unique setting and structure, camps are ideal venues in which to build intentional communities, to devise integrated programming that suffuses the day with Jewish content, and to create opportunities for participants (including staff) to try on new behaviors and to learn more about themselves. The study raises the possibility that camp could become an instructive model for the wider world of Jewish education.

The study leaves us, however, with important

questions. For each of our observations, there is a potential program of research.

a. Feasibility Studies

Private and secular camps with minimal Jewish programming are obvious places to develop more extensive or elaborate Jewish learning. We do not know, however, whether or not such change is possible and what it would take to implement it. A feasibility study is thus recommended prior to investing in efforts to bring new Jewish life to these camps.

b. Outcomes Studies

The present study also suggests research questions about the effectiveness of camp over time: What types of families choose particular brands of Jewish summer camp? What influence does camp have on the Jewish lives of the children and their families? How does a camp experience affect different types of children (e.g., day school children, children from unaffiliated families, children of intermarriage)? Under what conditions is a camp most likely to have a positive effect? Research from the perspective of campers is needed to complete the picture of Jewish camping and to identify its unique contribution to the education of Jewish children.

c. Studies of Young Adults

The young adults who serve as counselors are critical to the camps' success. They are, however, a population about which the Jewish community knows little. More research is needed about Jewish young adults—their social networks, their connections to Judaism, their identity explorations, and their worldviews. Of particular interest is the influence of camp on the formation of each of these elements. Such research requires data collection from Jewish young adults who have worked at camp as well as those who have not. We need to understand the differences between these two groups and the possibilities for engaging more of the latter group in camp life.

d. Program Evaluation Research

Finally, innovation and experimentation need to be accompanied by action research that gathers information and provides feedback about changes. Evaluation research should measure not only the outcome of these initiatives (their impact on the camps, campers, and their families) but also their process. How do they effect change? Under what conditions are they most likely to succeed? What factors strengthen or weaken their impact? Such feedback is invaluable to a dynamic field, helping it to continuously learn from the important work that it does.

CONCLUSION

Camp is a unique educational setting poised to deliver powerful Jewish formative experiences to children, teens, and young adults. Camps appear to have been successful in this endeavor, and this report does not intend to suggest otherwise. The purpose of the recommendations is to extend this sense of educational excellence to camps that do not as yet have it, to intensify Jewish life at all of the camps, and to maximize the summer experience for everyone connected with the camp—from the director, to the counselors, to the campers.

At the foundation of our recommendations is the need to promote Jewish camping as a central institution in the community's educational system. Models and lessons from the camping field may have an impact on the wider world of Jewish education only when camping is recognized as a vital educational program, and not as a recreational activity concerned only peripherally with education. The magic of camp has unlimited potential to produce joyous and memorable learning. It is magic that needs to be spread from the sweet-smelling woods and fields of summer camp to the schools, synagogues, and community centers back home.

Appendix I

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Appendix II

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