



CONNECTION, NOT PROFICIENCY

SURVEY OF HEBREW AT NORTH AMERICAN
JEWISH SUMMER CAMPS

SARAH BUNIN BENOR
JONATHAN KRASNER
AND SHARON AVNI
WITH ASSISTANCE FROM
STEPHEN BRUMBAUGH

AUGUST 2016

JACK, JOSEPH AND MORTON
mandel
center FOR STUDIES
IN JEWISH
EDUCATION

About this Report

This report is part of a larger study, “Hebrew at North American Jewish Overnight Summer Camps,” including observation and interviews, the results of which will be published as a book (Rutgers University Press, expected publication 2017). The study is a project of the Jack, Joseph and Morton Mandel Center for Studies in Jewish Education at Brandeis University, with funding from the Consortium for Applied Studies in Jewish Education (CASJE) and additional support from the Wexner Foundation, Hebrew Union College, and City University of New York.

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About the Mandel Center

The Jack, Joseph and Morton Mandel Center for Studies in Jewish Education, a partnership between the Jack, Joseph and Morton Mandel Foundation and Brandeis University, develops and promotes scholarship on teaching and learning in Jewish education. Our work inspires Jewish educators and policy makers to think, talk, and act more effectively, in order to make a deep and lasting difference in the lives of learners and the vibrancy of the Jewish community.

FRONT COVER PHOTO:

Hebrew “We love you” sign
created as part of “values of the week”
program at Camp Young Judaea Texas
(photo credit: Rachel Kelemen)

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CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT:

Ramah Wisconsin:
Encouraging signs in
basketball tournament: "Good
luck, Sollelim" and "Sollelim
are the best" (photo credit:
Adam Goldfine)

Bulletin board at Habonim
Dror Camp Gilboa (photo
credit: Joshua Sugiyama)

Signpost at Camp Daisy and
Harry Stein (photo credit:
Brian Mitchell)



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Preface

Jewish camp experiences help Jewish youth to grow into spirited and engaged Jewish adults, laying the groundwork for strong Jewish communities. At the Foundation for Jewish Camp (FJC), we help make camps more effective at delivering experiences to their campers, staff, and communities in ways that align with each camp's unique Jewish mission.

In the midrash, we learn that the Israelites merited redemption from Egypt because they were distinct from the Egyptians in their clothing, food, names, and language.¹ By clinging to these elements of culture, we were identifiable as a separate nation. When we look at the enterprise of Jewish Camp in North America, we immediately think of our favorite camp T-shirts and grilled cheese and tomato soup. So we have the signature clothing and food, but what is the role of distinct language? This wonderful survey brings to light the role that Hebrew plays and could play in authentic Jewish expression at our camps.

Hebrew proficiency is a goal for a minority of camps. Here, we have our work cut out for us and hope to bring Areivim Hebrew Immersion (<http://www.jewishcamp.org/areivim-hebrew-immersion-camp>) to more camps. However, as this survey report demonstrates, the majority of camps use Hebrew words and songs to preserve camp tradition and provide the content and context of their camps' unique Jewish identities.

Through our various initiatives, FJC has helped camps be intentional about providing transformative Jewish summers. We appreciate how Jewish camps need to be competitive in the marketplace of summer activities, and how the use of Hebrew in North America is inherently countercultural. It is, therefore, exciting to see that camps are hungry for more Hebrew.

How can we continue to help camps evolve and grow to meet the changing needs of our communities? How can a camp actualize its unique Jewish mission with a more intentional use of Hebrew? This report shows us the lay of the land and will help camps think about their use of Hebrew in the larger context of the field. As the midrash and the survey teach us, Hebrew can play a critical role in helping us preserve our group identity in Diaspora.

Rabbi Avi Katz Orlow
Vice President, Program and Innovation
Foundation for Jewish Camp

Introduction

About a century after the first Jewish overnight summer camps were established in North America, Hebrew remains an important component of the camp experience. Some camps use very limited Hebrew, such as blessings and a few terms like *Shabbat shalom* and *tikkun olam*. Others incorporate Hebrew in activity names, announcements, and theatrical productions. To understand better how and why camps use Hebrew, the three of us—a sociolinguist, a historian of Jewish education, and an educational linguist—conducted this study.

Beginning with pilot research in 2012 and culminating in 2015, the study involved several components:

- OBSERVATION AT 36 CAMPS AROUND NORTH AMERICA
- INTERVIEWS AND FOCUS GROUPS WITH ABOUT 200 STAFF MEMBERS AND CAMPERS
- ARCHIVAL RESEARCH
- DOCUMENT REVIEW.

To complement this qualitative research, we conducted a survey of Hebrew use at camp, the results of which are reported here. 103 camps participated in the survey, a response rate of 64%. They represent approximately 45,000 campers at a diversity of camps according to region, religiosity, and orientation toward Israel. See Appendix A for details about the survey's methodology and sample. For results of the full study, we invite you to read our book, forthcoming in 2017.

Findings: Highlights

This section identifies the most significant findings from the survey. All are discussed in detail below.

A. HEBREW AT CAMP IS, FOR THE MOST PART, NOT ABOUT DEVELOPING PROFICIENCY IN SPOKEN HEBREW BUT IS A MEANS TO DEVELOP AFFECTIVE SENSIBILITIES.

Camp directors' goals regarding Hebrew proficiency rank much lower than goals regarding connection and exposure to Hebrew. This difference also plays out in Hebrew practices: Few camps report using Hebrew announcements or offering Hebrew classes or a Hebrew-speaking program, practices that encourage or assume Hebrew proficiency. However, most camps report singing or reciting Hebrew songs or prayers, dancing to Israeli songs, using Hebrew signage, providing bar/bat mitzvah tutoring, using Hebrew names for things at camp (activities, roles, divisions, and bunks), presenting skits that teach Hebrew words, and having Israeli staff use Hebrew informally with campers.

B. THERE IS GREAT DIVERSITY IN HEBREW PRACTICES AMONG CAMPS.

Hebrew is one of the many elements, including facilities, activities, and religious content, that give each camp its own character. Several factors are important in camps' use of Hebrew practices:

1. STAFF HEBREW ABILITY:

Camps at which staff members have stronger Hebrew conversational ability, especially the executive director and the typical (non-Judaic) specialist, have more Hebrew practices. However, many camps have skits to teach Hebrew words, transliterated signs, and bar/bat mitzvah tutoring with only a few Hebrew-speaking staff members.

2. CAMP NETWORK:

The camps with the most Hebrew practices come primarily from four networks: Ramah, Young Judaea, Bnei Akiva, and Habonim Dror. Other camps with many Hebrew practices include Massad Manitoba, Kachol-Lavan, Yavneh, Olin Sang Ruby Union Institute, URJ Kutz Camp, and Camp JRF. Camps affiliated with no network, with the Association of Independent Jewish Camps (AIJC), or with the JCC Association (JCCA), have fewer.

3. JEWISH EDUCATION:

Camps with more Jewish learning have more Hebrew practices, as do camps with more integrated (vs. compartmentalized) Jewish education.

4. ISRAEL CONNECTION:

Camps for which fostering connection to Israel is a primary goal have more Hebrew practices.

5. ISRAELI STAFF:

Camps with larger Israeli staff delegations have more Hebrew practices, but the ability to teach Hebrew is not a factor in hiring Israelis.

C: ISRAELI CAMPERS:

Most camps indicate that they have at least a few Israeli-American campers and at least a few Israeli campers.

D: CHANGE OVER TIME:

Most camps report that their Hebrew use has stayed the same or increased over the past 10 years and over the past 40 years, but here, too, we see variation by camp network.

E: POTENTIAL FUTURE CHANGES:

Most camps expressed interest in incorporating more Hebrew signs, words, and songs, and about half expressed interest in adding more Hebrew instruction and/or a Hebrew-speaking unit or program, if financial and institutional support were available.

The sections that follow offer more detail about these and other findings.



CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT:

Hebrew staff shirts at Camp Geshe׳ (photo credit: Xenia Leo)

Torah reading at Camp Bechol Lashon (photo credit: Diane Tobin)

Hebrew library sign at URJ Jacobs Camp (photo credit: Jonathan Krasner)



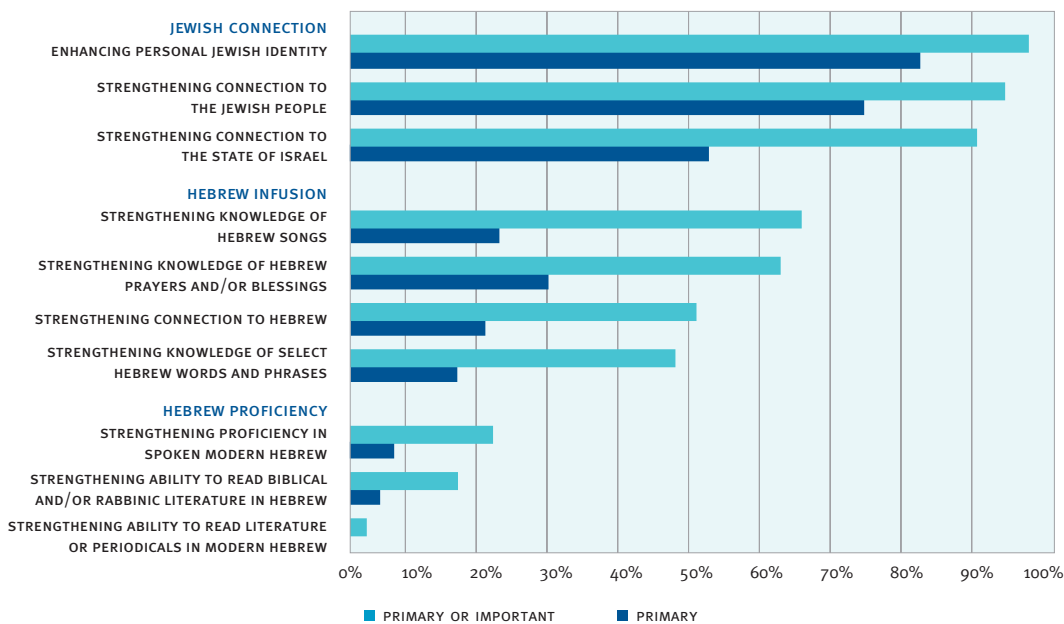
Findings

CAMP GOALS

We offer a metaphor to represent the more common uses of Hebrew: language infusion. Hebrew is infused into the English-speaking environment through words, songs, prayers, and signs—practices that do not require participants to be proficient in Hebrew. The primary goal of language infusion is connection to the language and/or the group, in contrast to immersion programs and other traditional language pedagogy, in which the primary goal is language proficiency.²

The survey asked about 15 educational goals that a Jewish camp might have, seven of which have to do with Hebrew. Camps could indicate that a particular goal was a primary, important, or minor goal; not a goal; or say they were not sure. Hebrew goals rank much lower in importance than goals such as enhancing personal Jewish identity and strengthening connection to the State of Israel. Among the Hebrew goals, those regarding connection and exposure (strengthening knowledge of Hebrew prayers/blessings, songs, and select words/phrases and strengthening connection to Hebrew) (Figure 1). Of the infusion goals, strengthening knowledge of Hebrew songs, prayers and/or blessings are the most important, indicating the centrality of song and ritual in Jewish communal life at camp.

FIGURE 1: PERCENTAGE OF ALL CAMPS THAT CONSIDER EACH GOAL PRIMARY OR IMPORTANT



When we look at what we are calling “infusion goals,” we find that about half of camps (46% to 64%, depending on the specific goal) report them as primary or important, compared to only 20% for spoken Hebrew proficiency, 15% for reading ancient Hebrew and 2% for reading Modern Hebrew. This suggests that camps are using Hebrew as a means to other goals of identification and connection rather than as an end in itself.

The 20% of camps that report spoken Hebrew proficiency as important or primary are mostly from a few networks: All Ramah camps report strengthening proficiency in spoken Modern Hebrew as a primary or important goal, and all Bnei Akiva, Habonim Dror, Young Judaea, and Hashomer Hatzair camps report it as at least a minor goal.

Among the 51 camps that are strongly Israel-centered (indicate “strengthening connection to Israel” as a primary goal), the Hebrew-related goals are more important than among other camps.³ Even so, these camps are much more likely to rate infusion goals as primary or important than proficiency goals: strengthening knowledge of Hebrew songs (78%), connection to Hebrew (63%), and knowledge of select Hebrew words and phrases (61%) vs. strengthening proficiency in spoken Modern Hebrew (31%). In short, many camps have Hebrew-related goals, but these goals relate more to connection and exposure than to proficiency.

HEBREW PRACTICES

How do these goals manifest in practice? The survey gave camp directors a list of Hebrew-related practices that we had observed at some camps and asked in each case whether their camp does it (Figure 2), and, for some practices, whether they do so “a lot” or “a bit” (Figure 3). A majority of responding camps report using most of the practices we asked about: singing or reciting Hebrew songs or prayers, dancing to Israeli songs, decorative plaques or signs for locations (some in Hebrew letters, some in transliteration), bar/bat mitzvah tutoring, Hebrew names for things at camp (activities, roles, divisions, and bunks), skits or presentations teaching a Hebrew word, and Israeli staff using Hebrew informally with campers. Fewer than half of camps report using Hebrew announcements and offering Hebrew classes, and very few report having a theatrical production in Hebrew or a Hebrew speaking program or camp.

Camps that named “strengthening connection to the State of Israel” as a primary goal were more likely to report having most of these practices. Practices that correlate particularly strongly with this goal are dancing to Israeli Hebrew music, Hebrew signs, Hebrew names for things around camp, and Israeli staff using Hebrew informally. For example, about three-quarters of camps that consider strengthening connection to Israel a primary goal use Hebrew names for roles of camp staff, compared to two-thirds of camps that consider it an important goal and no camps that consider it only a minor goal. Even

among strongly Israel-oriented camps, Hebrew classes, Hebrew-speaking programs, and theatrical productions are rare.

FIGURE 2: HEBREW PRACTICES: % OF CAMPS THAT REPORT HAVING THEM

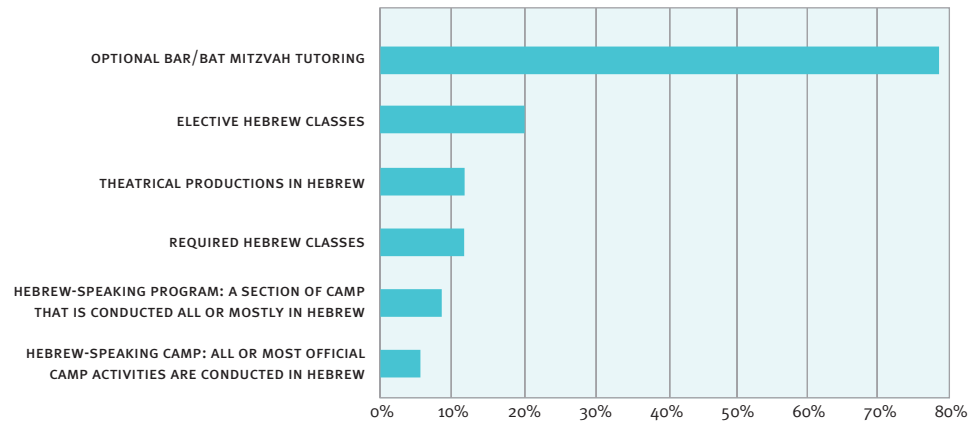
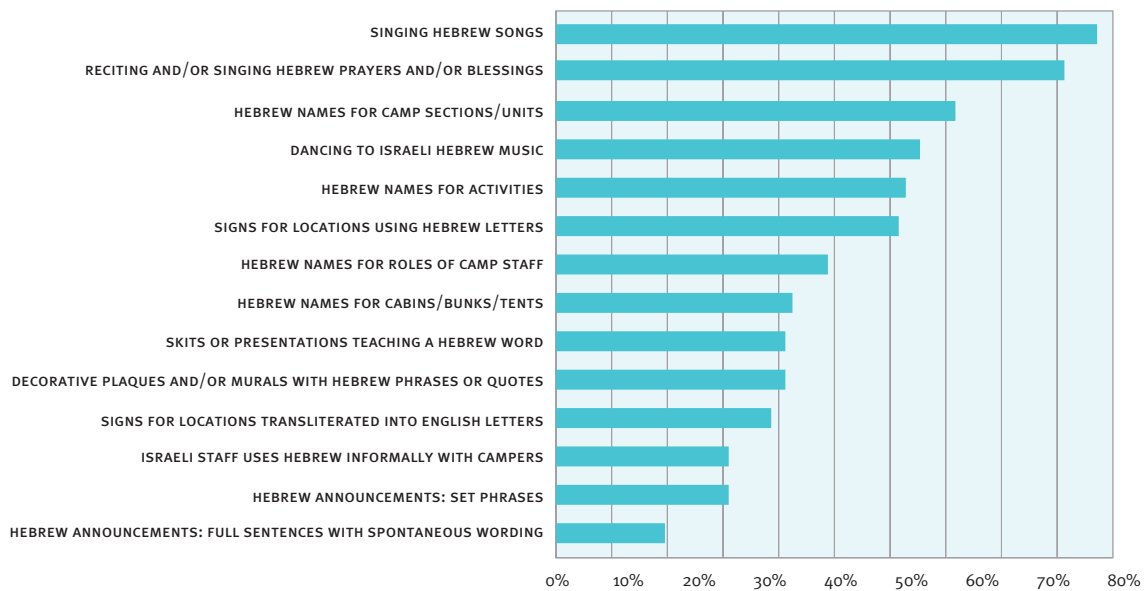


FIGURE 3: HEBREW PRACTICES: % OF CAMPS THAT REPORT DOING THEM "A LOT"

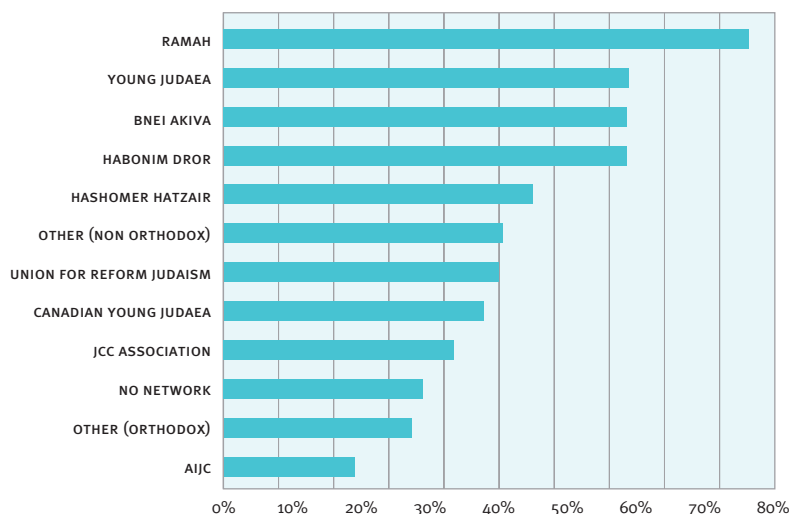


To find out which camps use more or fewer Hebrew practices, we created a *Hebrew Practices Index*. Camps received 2-12 points for each Hebrew practice they reported using. More points were given for practices that are less common or that demand more staff time. For example, having some decorative plaques in Hebrew received 2 points, having a lot of skits to teach Hebrew words received 6, and having theatrical productions in Hebrew received 8 (see Appendix B for index). The maximum number of points was 100.

CAMP NETWORK

One of the strongest indicators of Hebrew practices is a camp's network (Figure 4). Most of the camps in the top 20 on the Hebrew index list are in four networks: Ramah, Young Judaea, Bnei Akiva, and Habonim Dror. Others are the Hebrew-speaking Massad Manitoba and Kachol-Lavan (Israeli American Council), the historically Hebraist Yavneh, two Union for Reform Judaism (URJ) camps—Olin Sang Ruby Union Institute (which has a Hebrew immersion program) and Kutz Camp—and Camp JRF, the Reconstructionist camp. Other networks have high average scores: Hashomer Hatzair and Canadian Young Judaea. Camps affiliated with no network, with the AIJC, or with the JCCA have lower Hebrew index scores. For-profit camps (both Orthodox and not) have especially low scores.

FIGURE 4: AVERAGE HEBREW PRACTICES INDEX SCORE BY CAMP NETWORK



Within most networks, there is some variability. For example, although OSRUI and Kutz Camp have high index scores, some other URJ camps have mid-range scores, including 6 Points Sci-Tech, George, and Jacobs. Similarly, while all of the Ramah network camps scored within the top third, Ramah California and Ramah Rockies scored below the others.

RELIGIOSITY AND SPECIALTY GROUPS

Other than Bnei Akiva, camps that identify as Modern Orthodox, Orthodox, or Hasidic typically have very few Hebrew practices. They have Hebrew prayers, songs, and decorative plaques, but they are less likely than other camps to have dancing to Israeli Hebrew songs, skits, signs, and words for things around camp. However, a few Orthodox and

Hasidic camps offer Hebrew classes (which may focus more on text study than spoken Israeli Hebrew). Hasidic camps use Hebrew names for cabins, and Hasidic and some Modern Orthodox camps (but not Yeshivish camps) offer bar/bat mitzvah tutoring. This is in line with their goals: Strengthening connection to Israel and connection to Hebrew are less important for Yeshivish and Hasidic camps, but a majority of them consider strengthening knowledge of Hebrew prayers and/or blessings to be a primary or important goal.

Camps that are not URJ-affiliated but identify their religious orientation as Reform have far fewer Hebrew practices than URJ camps.

Most camps whose primary population is a specialty group (Sephardic-Americans, Jews of color, or Jews with a particular interest, like sports or arts) have fewer Hebrew practices than other camps. There are two exceptions to this: camps geared toward Israeli Americans and toward Russian Americans, both of which have relatively high Hebrew practice indices.

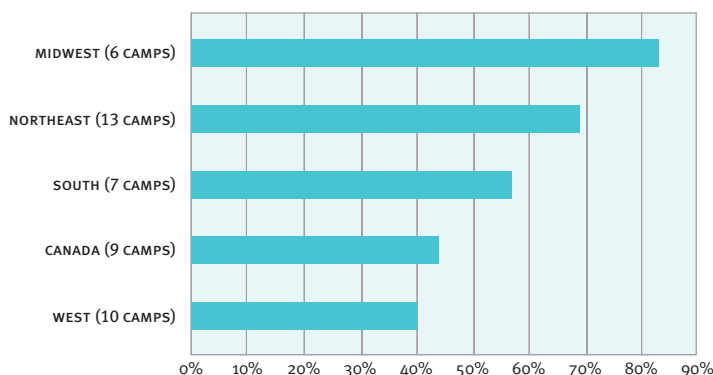
YEAR OF FOUNDING

Camps founded in the 1940s and 1950s have higher Hebrew practice indices than camps founded earlier or later, likely because those are the decades when many of the Zionist movement camps were founded. However, some camps founded in other decades also have high indices. Camps founded before the 1940s are more likely than other camps to report “a little” or “not at all” for several Hebrew practices, including Hebrew names for cabins and camp staff, prayers/blessings, songs, and Israeli dancing.

REGION

Based on anecdotal evidence, we expected to find fewer Hebrew practices in the South and West than in the Midwest, Northeast, and Canada. In the overall data, however, there were no significant regional correlations. In all regions with six or more camps, there are camps across the spectrum of Hebrew practices. But we do see regional trends when we aggregate Zionist camp networks,⁴ which mostly confirm our hypotheses (Figure 5): Camps in the Midwest have the most Hebrew practices, followed by the Northeast (New England, Northeast below New England), the South (Central Atlantic, Southeast, Texas), Canada (Eastern, Central, Western), and the West (US Rockies, Southwest, Southern California, Northern California, Pacific Northwest), in that order.

FIGURE 5: REGIONAL DIFFERENCES AMONG ZIONIST NETWORK CAMPS: % THAT HAVE HIGH HEBREW PRACTICE INDEX SCORES



Among camps that are not part of a Zionist network and are not Orthodox, camps in the Northeast and South have fewer Hebrew practices, and camps in the Midwest and West have mid-range Hebrew practices. The number of non-Zionist network Orthodox camps was too small to analyze trends among them.

JEWISH EDUCATION AT CAMP

One aspect that differentiates camps from each other is frequency of Jewish learning. We asked: “Aside from special events, how often do most campers participate in a session specifically designated for Jewish learning?” Camps at which such sessions are more frequent also have more Hebrew practices.

At many camps, Jewish learning is not limited to designated sessions. Previous research⁵ distinguishes between camps that compartmentalize their Jewish content and camps that integrate it into many activities. We asked camp directors:

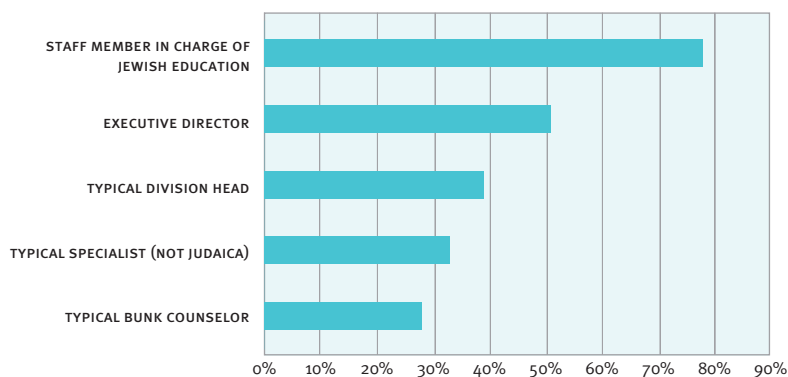
Some camps integrate Jewish cultural and educational offerings throughout some activities (e.g., Judaic objects created in art, Jewish values discussed in sports), and others compartmentalize them (only certain times of the day or week). Which would you say best describes your camp? (very integrated, somewhat integrated, somewhat compartmentalized, very compartmentalized, not sure)

Most respondents consider their camps very or somewhat integrated. As might be expected, camps that report having compartmentalized Jewish education are less likely than other camps to have several Hebrew practices, including Hebrew-lettered location signs, Hebrew names for roles of camp staff, and Hebrew names of activities. These Hebrew practices are some of the means by which camps integrate their Jewish education throughout camp life.

STAFF

Staff members play a crucial role in most of the Hebrew practices discussed here, as they do with camp activities more generally. They take the lead in initiating or continuing traditions of Hebrew singing, dancing, word use, signage, etc., and they direct plays, serve as bar/bat mitzvah tutors, and teach Hebrew classes. To facilitate these practices, at least some staff must have some Hebrew ability. To investigate how Hebrew ability is distributed, the survey asked: “To what extent are the following staff members at your camp capable of conducting a conversation in Modern Hebrew?” (Executive directors and other head staff members filled out the surveys.) As Figure 6 indicates, most camps have low staff Hebrew ability overall, and the people who interact most with campers—bunk counselors and specialists—speak the least Hebrew.

FIGURE 6: PERCENT OF CAMPS AT WHICH STAFF POSITIONS HAVE CONVERSATIONAL HEBREW ABILITY “TO A GREAT EXTENT” OR “SOMEWHAT”



In the Ramah, Bnei Akiva, and Hashomer Hatzair networks, all executive directors report having strong Hebrew conversational ability. In non-network camps and in some other networks (JCCA, AIJC, and URJ), executive directors tend to have little or no Hebrew ability.

In most camp networks, we found a hierarchy: The staff member in charge of Jewish education has more Hebrew ability than the executive director, who has more Hebrew ability than the typical division head. In some networks the typical bunk counselor ranks lowest in Hebrew ability, and in others the typical non-Judaica specialist ranks lowest.

FIGURE 7: REPORTED STAFF HEBREW CONVERSATIONAL ABILITY BY CAMP NETWORK

PERCENT OF CAMPS IN EACH NETWORK REPORTING THAT STAFF MEMBER HAS HEBREW CONVERSATIONAL ABILITY TO A GREAT EXTENT OR SOMEWHAT	STAFF MEMBER IN CHARGE OF JEWISH EDUCATION	EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR	TYPICAL DIVISION HEAD	TYPICAL SPECIALIST (NOT FOR JUDAICA)	TYPICAL BUNK COUNSELOR	MEAN STAFF HEBREW ABILITY INDEX SCORE ⁶
BNEI AKIVA	100%	100%	100%	100%	67%	12.3
HASHOMER HATZAIR	100%	100%	100%	50%	100%	11.5
OTHER	100%	100%	100%	71%	86%	11.4
CHABAD LUBAVITCH	100%	80%	100%	40%	100%	11.4
RAMAH	100%	100%	63%	63%	25%	10.4
HABONIM DROR	71%	67%	57%	50%	43%	8.1
YOUNG JUDAEA	75%	50%	25%	25%	50%	7.5
NO NETWORK	69%	37%	42%	41%	26%	6.3
CANADIAN YOUNG JUDAEA	25%	50%	0%	0%	0%	5.8
UNION FOR REFORM JUDAISM	82%	35%	12%	12%	0%	4.6
AIJC	60%	20%	0%	0%	0%	4.0
JCC ASSOCIATION	85%	23%	0%	0%	0%	3.7

Camps with higher staff Hebrew ability (determined using the staff Hebrew ability index) have more Hebrew practices (determined using the Hebrew practices index). The strongest staff correlations with Hebrew practices are Hebrew ability of the executive director and of the typical (non-Judaic) specialist. For camps that have Hebrew integrated throughout camp life, even specialists are likely to have Hebrew ability.

Staff Hebrew ability correlates with most Hebrew practices—with a few interesting exceptions: skits to teach Hebrew words, transliterated signs, and bar/bat mitzvah tutoring. Just having one staff member with Hebrew ability (sometimes an Israeli emissary) is enough for a camp to do these low-bar Hebrew practices. To put it another way: Hebrew infusion does not seem to depend on the presence of many infusers. If camps want to incorporate more Hebrew infusion, there is no need to change their staffing structure.

The practices that correlate most strongly with staff Hebrew ability are announcements with set phrases and Hebrew names for roles at camp. While Hebrew proficiency is not necessary for staff members to carry out these practices, perhaps those knowledgeable in Hebrew are more willing to do them, or perhaps camps that do them attract staff members with greater Hebrew knowledge.

Despite these correlations, some camps with low staff Hebrew ability do have many Hebrew practices. For example, one independent camp in the Midwest reports low staff Hebrew ability but offers Hebrew classes and uses many Hebrew words, like *nikayon*, *menucha*, and *chadar ochel*, around camp. This correlates with the camp's goals: Strengthening connection to Hebrew and knowledge of Hebrew songs are rated as primary goals, and strengthening knowledge of select Hebrew words and phrases and Hebrew prayers and/or blessings are rated as important goals. Where there's a will, there's a way, even when staff Hebrew ability is low. We go into detail about how this happens in our forthcoming book.

The percentage of camp staff that is Jewish is a factor, especially bunk staff and others who interact regularly with campers. Camps that have more non-Jews (domestic or international) as part of their staff have fewer Hebrew practices. This may be due to camp staffing trends: Camps at which Jewishness and Hebrew are less central recruit more non-Jewish staff members.

ISRAELI STAFF

One category of staff comes to camp fluent in Hebrew: *shlichim* (emissaries) from Israel. How many camps have an Israeli delegation, and how does the presence and size of a delegation correlate with Hebrew practices?

Eighty-seven percent of camps surveyed have at least one Israeli staff member. Most have fewer than ten. Nine have 30 or more Israeli staff members (a private Modern Orthodox camp and the rest in the URJ, Ramah, Bnei Akiva, and Young Judea networks), and one Bnei Akiva camp, Moshava (Indian Orchard), has over 100 Israeli staff members. Most camps that have Israeli staff members bring them to camp through the Jewish Agency for Israel, while others bring them through another program or independently. The vast majority of camps that indicate "Strengthening connection to Israel" is a primary goal have an Israeli delegation.

The presence of an Israeli delegation correlates with greater Hebrew use. Both the size of the Israeli delegation and the proportion of Israeli staff divided by the total number of staff (estimated based on the mean of the ranges we gave) correlate positively and significantly with the Hebrew practices index. The number of Israeli staff members correlates more strongly than the proportion. When we look at individual Hebrew practices, many correlate with the number of Israeli staff members; the strongest correlations are having Hebrew names for camp sections/units and, as we might expect, Israeli staff using Hebrew informally with campers.

We asked camps with Israeli staff members about the importance of various goals in their decision to bring Israeli staff members to camp (Figure 8) and the importance of various factors in their decisions to hire particular Israeli staff members (Figure 9).

FIGURE 8: IMPORTANCE OF GOALS IN DECISION TO BRING ISRAELI STAFF MEMBERS TO CAMP: PERCENT “VERY IMPORTANT”

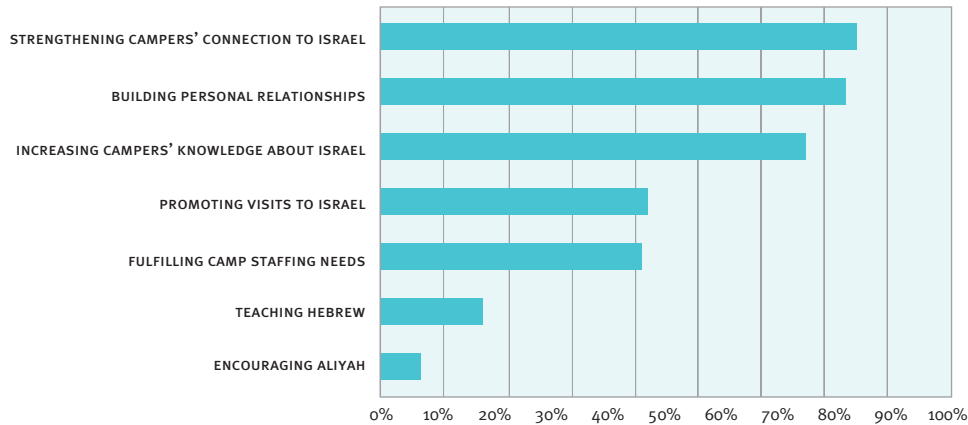
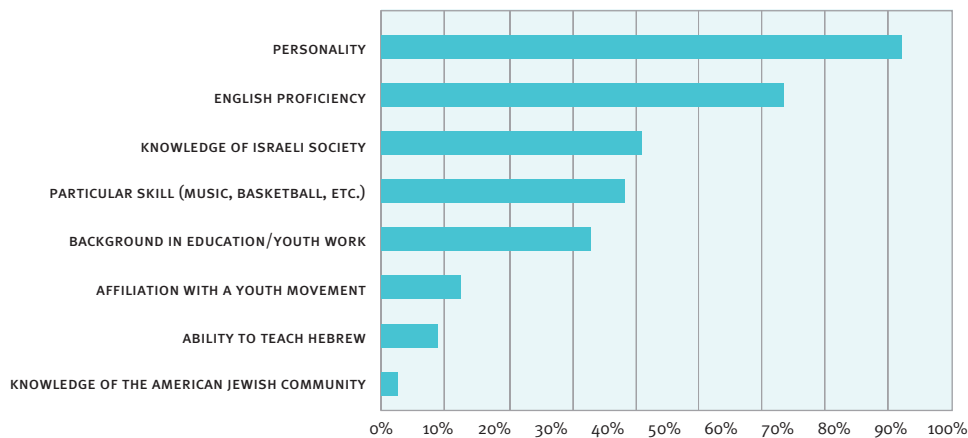


FIGURE 9: IMPORTANCE OF FACTORS IN DECISIONS TO HIRE PARTICULAR ISRAELI STAFF MEMBERS: PERCENT “VERY IMPORTANT”



The most important goals were building personal relationships, strengthening campers’ connections to Israel, and increasing campers’ knowledge about Israel. These goals seem to be in line with the idea of a *mifgash*, an encounter between Israeli and Diaspora Jews.⁷ The most important hiring factors were Israeli staff members’ personalities and English proficiency. Hebrew teaching ranked at the bottom of both lists, higher only than

encouraging *aliyah* and knowledge of the American Jewish community. Even so, more than half (54%) of camps report that teaching Hebrew is a very or somewhat important goal in their decision to bring Israeli staff to camp. However, this goal does not often factor into hiring decisions for particular Israeli staff members: Only 27% report that the ability to teach Hebrew is a very or somewhat important factor.

Goals and hiring decisions regarding Israeli staff and Hebrew correlate strongly with the overall camp goals: Camps that wish to strengthen proficiency in Modern Hebrew use Israeli *shlichim* to do so. At the same time, even camps with no interest in Hebrew proficiency have at least some *shlichim*. They may help with infusion activities, like creating Hebrew signs or presenting Hebrew word-of-the-day skits, and they may speak Hebrew informally to campers, but they are not there to advance Hebrew proficiency.

COMPOSITION OF CAMP POPULATION

It is not only staff members who have an effect on Hebrew practices; campers play a role, too. Based on our observations and interviews, we learned that several camps are seeing an influx of Israeli-American campers and that some are recruiting campers in Israel (sometimes subsidized, sometimes full-paying). We asked about these populations on the survey to see how widespread this phenomenon is and how it relates to Hebrew practices at camp. The vast majority of camps (94%) indicate that they have at least a few Israeli-American campers (defined on the survey as having at least one Israeli parent but living in North America), and most (80%) also indicate having at least a few Israeli campers (defined as campers who live in Israel).

Camps in all networks report having at least a few Israeli-American campers. IAC Kachol-Lavan (which was geared toward Israeli-American campers and, in 2015, had locations in Southern California and New York) reports that all campers are Israeli-American.

In addition to Israeli-Americans, camps in all networks report having at least a few campers from Israel. Shomria (New York) reports that a large percentage of its campers are Israeli, and 23 camps indicate having “some” (more than a few) Israeli campers, including several independent camps and camps from all movements except URJ.

How does the presence of Israeli-American and Israeli campers relate to Hebrew? It is certainly possible that many of the Israeli-American campers speak little or no Hebrew—or avoid Hebrew despite their proficiency. And some of the Israeli campers might speak fluent English because they have North American immigrant parents (perhaps camp alumni). However, during our camp visits, we observed a number of

instances of Israeli-American and Israeli campers speaking Hebrew with each other, with Israeli counselors, and with (non-Israeli) American campers. Although this type of Hebrew use is quite different from word-of-the-day skits and signage, it does expose camp participants to Hebrew. The presence of Israeli-American and, especially, Israeli campers, can be seen as a potential resource for Hebrew exposure.

The survey finds relatively weak but significant correlations between proportions of Israeli and Israeli-American campers and Hebrew practice index scores. Camps with some or a few Israeli campers have a Hebrew index almost double that of camps with no Israeli campers, and camps that report about half of their campers are Israeli-American have an average Hebrew index of 53.8, compared to 15.7 for those that report no Israeli-American campers. This relationship cannot be causal, as the camps have mostly been using Hebrew practices for decades, and the influx of Israeli-American and Israeli campers seems to be recent. We believe the correlation may stem from Israeli-American parents' selection of camps with more Israel-connected content, including more Hebrew practices. For example, a staff member at Camp Shomria indicated in an interview that many of their campers' parents are Israelis raising their children in the United States, and they select Shomria because it feels like an Israeli environment.

Based on our historical research, we expected camps with many campers who attend Jewish day schools during the year to have more Hebrew practices, especially announcements and theatrical productions in Hebrew. Our expectation was incorrect. Camps that indicate that all campers attend Jewish day schools have, on average, lower Hebrew practice indices, because those camps are Orthodox (Modern Orthodox, Orthodox, and Hasidic camps have few Hebrew practices beyond prayer and singing, except Bnei Akiva camps). Among non-Orthodox camps, the average Hebrew practice index score is medium to high with no correlation to proportion of day school campers.

RELATIVE EFFECTS OF FACTORS ON HEBREW PRACTICES

As the analysis above indicates, several factors correlate with Hebrew practices at North American Jewish summer camps, and many of these factors correlate with each other. To determine which have significant independent effects, and how strong those effects are, we conducted several regression analyses using various combinations of variables (see Appendix D). Our regression analyses consistently found the following factors to have the strongest effects:

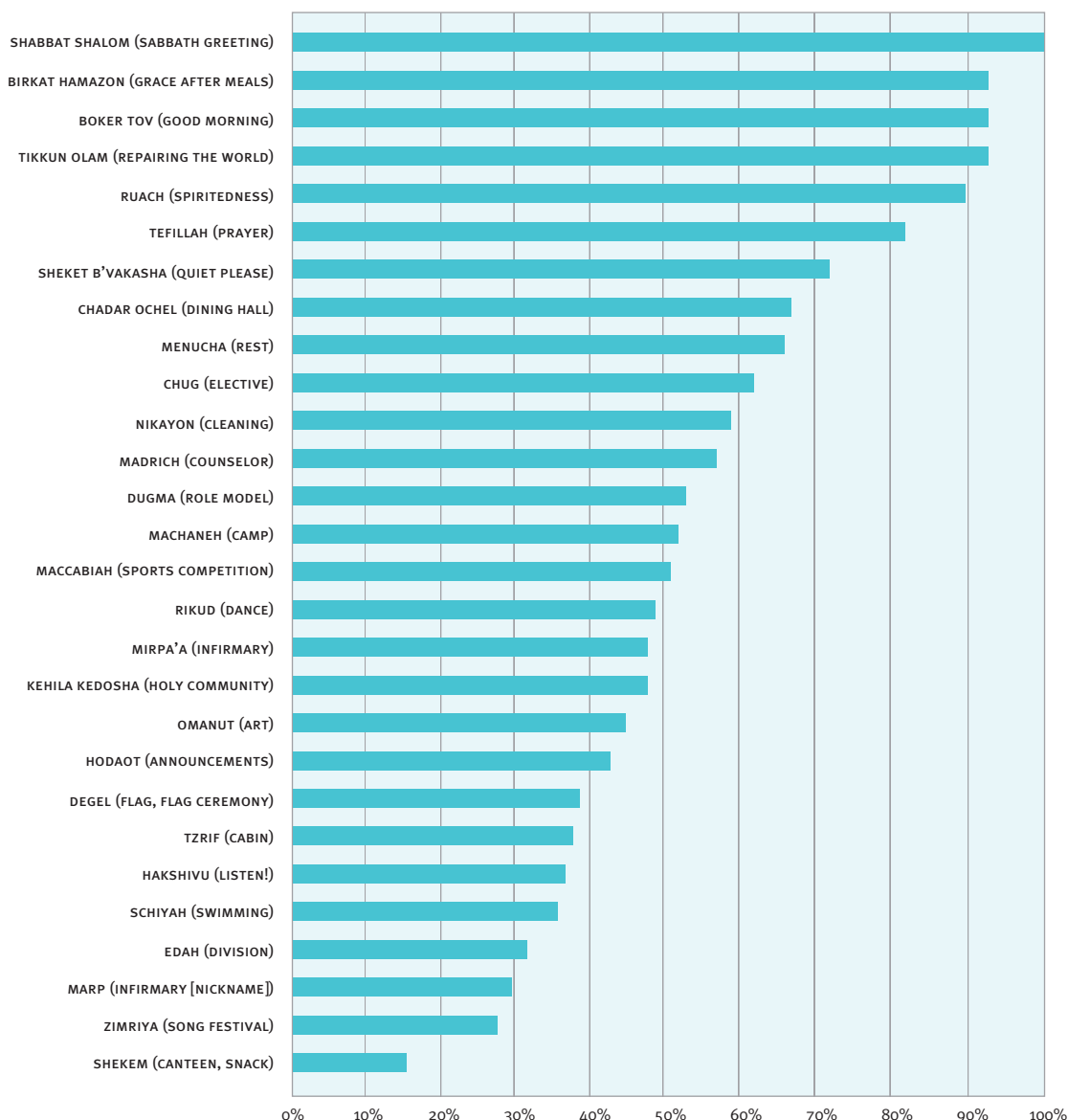
- Staff Hebrew ability (see Figures 6 and 7 above): If most types of staff members have strong (estimated) conversational Hebrew skills, the Hebrew practices index can rise 28 points.
- Network type: Zionist network camps have the most Hebrew, then non-Orthodox camps not in Zionist networks, then Orthodox camps not in Zionist networks.
- Amount of Jewish learning: Having only occasional Jewish learning has a significant negative effect on Hebrew practices.
- Importance of fostering connection to Israel as a camp goal: If this goal is not primary, there is a significant negative effect on Hebrew practices.

Proportion of Israeli staff members and Israeli and Israeli-American campers do not seem to have significant independent effects.

HEBREW WORDS USED AT JEWISH SUMMER CAMPS

So far, our analysis has dealt with the questions included in the Hebrew practices index. The survey also included specific Hebrew words and asked whether and how they are used at each camp: used frequently by campers, used frequently by staff, used in a few contexts, or rarely or never used (see exact wording in Appendix C). For this list we selected 27 words that we heard at camps—some at many camps and some that seemed to be specific to individual camps or movements. As can be seen in Figure 10, over half (15/28) of the words and phrases we asked about are used in at least some context in over half of the camps surveyed (see translations in Figure 10): *Shabbat shalom*, *Birkat Hamazon*, *boker tov*, *tikkun olam*, *ruach*, *tefillah*, *sheket b'vakasha*, *chadar ochel*, *menucha*, *chug*, *nikayon*, *madrish*, *dugma*, *machaneh*, and *maccabiah*. We might say that these words constitute a pan-camp Hebrew.

FIGURE 10: PERCENT OF CAMPS THAT REPORT ANY USE OF THE WORD



To analyze Hebrew word use in more depth, we coded words according to whether they refer to Jewish religious observance and values (see first column of Figure 11) and how frequently they are used in various English-speaking North American Jewish settings (see second column of Figure 11): Group A words are used frequently in Jewish communal life outside of camp, Group B words are used sometimes outside of camp, and Group C words are used solely or almost solely in summer camps. In the absence of quantitative evidence beyond camp, this coding was done impressionistically. Although Group B and Group C words pattern similarly, we keep them separate because words like *menucha* and *chug* are sometimes used in Jewish schools and homes.

FIGURE 11: HEBREW WORDS: PERCENTAGE OF CAMPS THAT REPORT USING EACH WORD IN EACH CONTEXT; CLASSIFICATIONS OF WORDS

	CODING		RESULTS			
	REFERS TO JEWISH RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCE OR VALUES (Y: YES, N: NO)	USED FREQUENTLY IN JEWISH COMMUNAL LIFE OUTSIDE CAMP (A), USED SOMETIMES OUTSIDE OF CAMP (B), OR USED ALMOST SOLELY IN CAMP (C)	USED FREQUENTLY BY CAMPERS	USED FREQUENTLY BY STAFF	USED IN A FEW CONTEXTS	RARELY OR NEVER USED
SHABBAT SHALOM	Y	A	94	2	4	0
BIRKAT HAMAZON	Y	A	78	2	12	8
BOKER TOV	N	A	67	10	15	9
TIKKUN OLAM	Y	A	51	14	27	9
RUACH	N	A	62	13	14	11
TEFILLAH	Y	A	50	9	22	20
SHEKET B'VAKASHA	N	A	39	9	23	30
CHADAR OCHEL	N	C	54	2	10	34
MENUCHA	N	B	53	4	8	35
CHUG	N	B	57	1	3	39
NIKAYON	N	C	46	6	6	42
MADRICH	N	B	37	6	13	44
DUGMA	N	B	29	14	9	48
MACHANEH	N	C	35	5	11	49
MACCABIAH	N	B	50			
RIKUD	N	B	38	5	4	53
MIRPA'A	N	C	36	6	6	53
KEHILA KEDOSHA	Y	B	23	3	21	54
OMANUT	N	C	31	4	9	56
HODAOT	N	C	28	3	11	59
DEGEL	N	B	17	3	18	63
TZRIF	N	C	28	0	8	64
HAKSHIVU	N	C	19	9	9	64
SCHYAH	N	C	17	3	15	66
EDAH	N	C	20	2	9	70
MARP	N	C	18	1	10	71
ZIMRIYA	N	C	15	1	11	74
SHEKEM	N	C	3	0	12	85

Among the words used by the most camps are Group A words (words common in Jewish communal life outside of camp) that refer to Jewish religious observance and values: *Shabbat shalom*, *Birkat Hamazon*, *tikkun olam*, *tefillah*, but also other Group A words: *boker tov*, *ruach*, *sheket b'vakasha*. Words in Group B (e.g., *degel*, *rikud*) and, especially, Group C (e.g., *hakshivu*, *tzrif*, *hodaot*), are less commonly used overall but are frequent in camps of certain networks: Ramah, Bnei Akiva, Habonim Dror, Young Judaea, and, for some words, URJ and Hashomer Hatzair. In fact, the networks use similar numbers of Jewish life words (Figure 12), but they vary significantly in the number of camp-specific words they use (Figure 13).

FIGURE 12: AVERAGE NUMBER OF JEWISH LIFE WORDS (GROUP A, OF 7 TOTAL) BY NETWORK

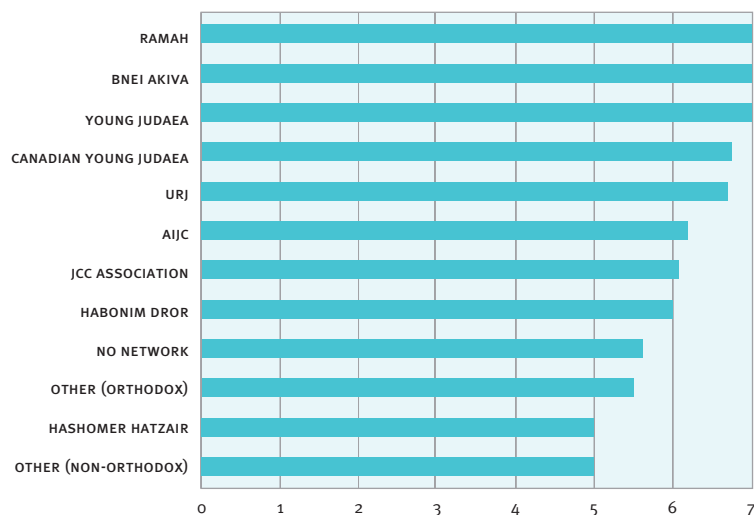
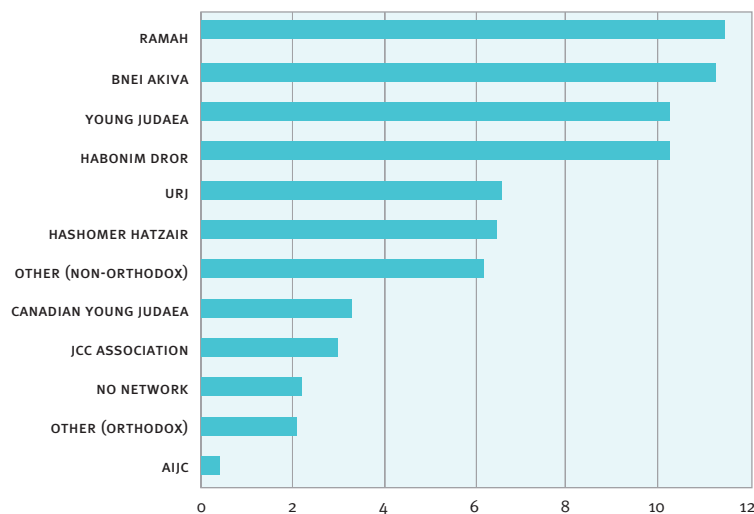
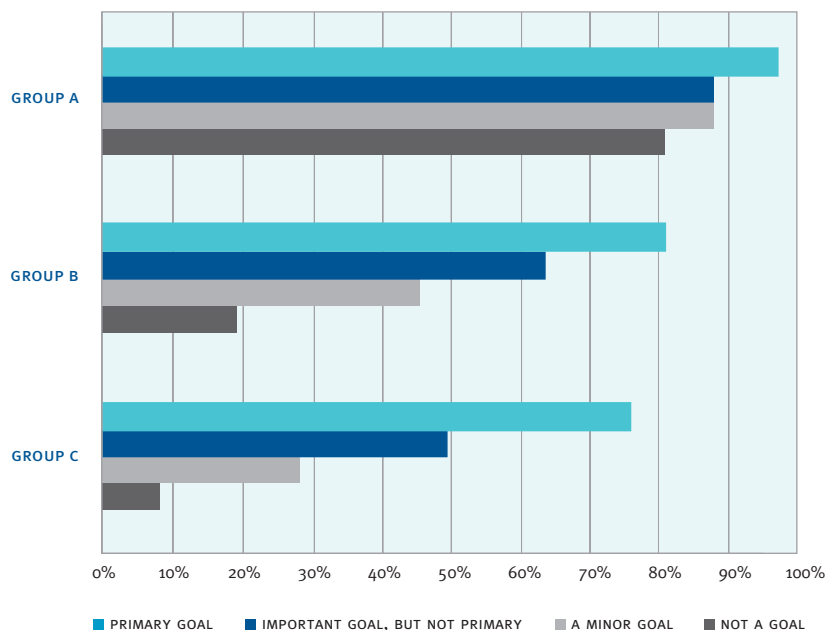


FIGURE 13: AVERAGE NUMBER OF CAMP WORDS (GROUP C, OF 13 TOTAL) BY NETWORK



We see a strong correlation between the use of words in Groups B and C and importance of the goal of strengthening connection to the State of Israel. Those that do not consider this a primary goal use several of the words in Group A but few in Groups B and C. We see a similar correlation for the goal of strengthening connection to Hebrew: Group A words are used at similar rates in camps regardless of importance of strengthening connection to Hebrew, but words in Groups B and C are used more frequently by camps that attach more importance to connection to Hebrew (Figure 14).

FIGURE 14: AVERAGE PERCENT OF WORDS PER GROUP BY IMPORTANCE OF “CONNECTION TO HEBREW” GOAL



We expected that some words would be used only by camps in certain movements. For example, we associate *shekem* (canteen, snack) with Bnei Akiva and *kehila kedosha* (holy community) with the Reform movement. This was the case with *shekem*: Only Bnei Akiva camps report that campers and staff use *shekem* frequently, and a few camps from other movements report using it in a few contexts. But surprisingly, *kehila kedosha* is reportedly used at almost half of all camps surveyed. We even found 12 camps not affiliated with the Reform movement that report campers and staff frequently using *kehila kedosha*, including Conservative and Orthodox camps. This may be an example of diffusion, where a phrase used at some camps finds its way to other camps, perhaps through staff who have worked at multiple camps.

THE “MACCABIAH” / “COLOR WAR” COMPETITION

For most of the words, we asked whether camps use it and how much. For one word, *maccabiah*, we inverted the question: “If your camp has a special day(s) of intra-camp competition, what do you call it?”

Maccabiah was by far the most popular answer (50%). *Color War* was also common (22%), then *Yom Sport* (10%), and *Field Day* (4%). *Bikkurim* is used at Camp Judaea and seems to stem from the association with Shavuot and competitions on kibbutzim. 9% of camps report using other or multiple names, including *12 Tribes*, *Olympics*, *Color Games*, and another Hebrew term, *Yom Meyuchad* (special day).

Maccabiah is especially common at JCCA camps, and *Yom Sport* is popular at Ramah camps. Surprisingly, the use of Hebrew versus English terms for this event shows no correlation with a camp’s interest in the Hebrew language. Sixteen of the 24 camps that stated that strengthening connection to Hebrew was a minor or non-existent goal use *Maccabiah*, whereas only 5 use *Color Wars*. This finding helps to explain JDate’s decision to build a video advertisement around a couple on a date bonding over the word *Maccabiah*, as used at both of their summer camps.⁸

RATIONALES FOR USING HEBREW

Why do camps use Hebrew in these ways? In our interviews we heard several rationales. The survey included five of these, asking camp directors how important they are in their camp (Figure 15). “Hebrew allows campers to connect to Israelis and the State of Israel” is the most important, and “Hebrew distinguishes camp from the outside world” is the least important, but all of the rationales we asked about are important or very important to at least 60% of camp directors.

FIGURE 15: RATIONALES FOR USING HEBREW: PERCENTAGE OF CAMPS BY IMPORTANCE

RATIONALE	VERY IMPORTANT	IMPORTANT	NOT VERY IMPORTANT	NOT AT ALL IMPORTANT
HEBREW ALLOWS CAMPERS TO CONNECT TO ISRAELIS AND THE STATE OF ISRAEL.	51%	32%	13%	5%
HEBREW ALLOWS CAMPERS TO CONNECT TO JEWS AROUND THE WORLD AND THROUGHOUT HISTORY.	47%	31%	173%	5%
IT'S CAMP TRADITION.	42%	33%	17%	8%
HEBREW ALLOWS CAMPERS ACCESS TO THE JEWISH RELIGION AND TEXTUAL TRADITION.	34%	37%	25%	4%
HEBREW DISTINGUISHES CAMP FROM THE OUTSIDE WORLD.	20%	42%	31%	7%

Some Zionist network camps (Bnei Akiva, Ramah, and Young Judaea) were very likely to indicate connection to Israel and Israelis as very important, while Chabad and Ramah were most likely to emphasize access to the religious and textual tradition. Camp tradition was most commonly selected as very important among Habonim Dror and Young Judaea. These rationales correlate with each other; in particular, camps that emphasized connecting to Israel and Israelis as very important were also likely to emphasize Jewish peoplehood (connecting to Jews around the world and throughout history) and camp tradition. Surprisingly, there is no correlation between the decade of a camp’s founding and whether they consider camp tradition to be an important rationale in Hebrew use. This suggests that it does not necessarily take long for camp practices to become camp traditions.

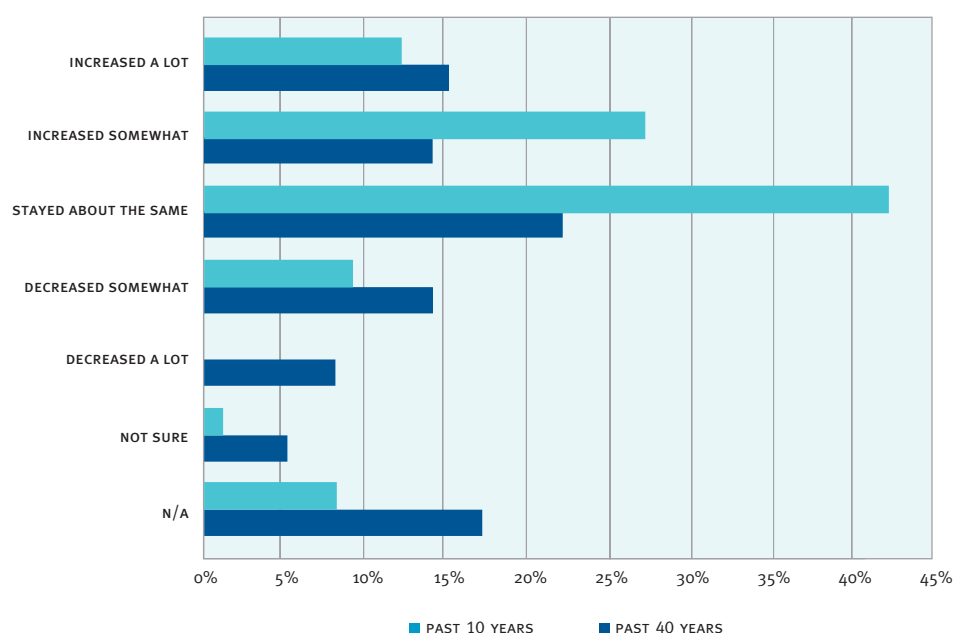
In this question, we left room for respondents to write in additional rationales, and nine camps did. Several responses focused on Jewish identity and community, but three focused on Hebrew as a goal in and of itself. One URJ camp and one Ramah camp emphasized the importance of Hebrew practices at camp making campers want to learn more Hebrew in other contexts, and Camp Massad Manitoba wrote: “Hebrew is why we exist.”

Although it is useful to get a general picture of the rationales for Hebrew use across the US and Canada, surveys are limited in their ability to answer “why” questions. On this topic, we found our interviews to be much more productive, and we look forward to sharing those results in our book.

USE OF HEBREW OVER TIME

Because we heard a number of camps talking about how much their Hebrew use has diminished, we included two questions about historical changes on the survey: “How would you say your camp has changed in the amount of Hebrew used (including songs, prayers, names for activities, announcements, etc.) over the past 10 years and over the past 40 years?” As Figure 16 shows, very few camps report declines; most camps report that their Hebrew use has stayed the same or increased over both of those periods, especially the past 10 years.

FIGURE 16: REPORTED CHANGE IN HEBREW USE

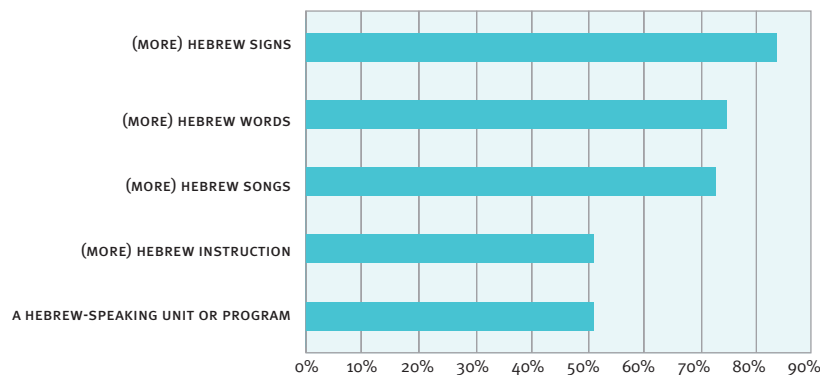


If this is the case, where is the discourse of Hebrew decline coming from? We find the answer when we look at historical Hebrew changes by camp network. In particular, networks that were historically identified as Hebrew-intensive have seen a decline. A large majority of camps in the Habonim Dror and Ramah networks and half of camps in Young Judea and Canadian Young Judea report a decrease in Hebrew use over the last 40 years. In contrast, a large majority of URJ and AIJC camps report an increase in their Hebrew use during that period. In addition, a majority of JCCA camps report increases in the past 10 years. These trends are in line with our historical research.

FUTURE GOALS FOR HEBREW USE

Given the changes in Hebrew use—in both directions—we wondered what changes camps are considering for the future. Knowing that funders have expressed some interest in increasing Hebrew use at camp (e.g., Avi Chai’s Daber Fellowship and the Areivim Hebrew at Camp Project), we asked: “If financial resources and institutional support were available, to what extent might your camp be interested in incorporating the following within the next five years? (Note: This is purely hypothetical.)” Most camps responded positively to all prompts (Figure 17).

FIGURE 17: OPTIONS FOR FUTURE HEBREW USE: PERCENTAGE OF ALL CAMPS THAT ARE “VERY INTERESTED” OR “SOMEWHAT INTERESTED” IN EACH OPTION



A large majority (75-85%) of respondents expressed interest in incorporating more Hebrew signs, words, and songs, and about half expressed interest in adding more Hebrew instruction and/or a Hebrew-speaking unit or program. As with our findings above, the results for infusion practices (signs, words, and songs) are higher than for proficiency practices (instruction and Hebrew-speaking program), but the latter are surprisingly high. This may be due to the social desirability effect (respondents knew we were interested in Hebrew at camp), but there is clearly some interest in increased Hebrew use at many camps.

When we look more closely at these results, we see that all five potential future Hebrew practices correlate with current Hebrew practices: Camps that already have many Hebrew practices are much more likely to report wanting more. There are some exceptions. Several camps that currently have few Hebrew practices, including a number of independent camps, express interest in using more Hebrew words (23 camps), a Hebrew-speaking unit or program (11), and Hebrew instruction (9). This finding suggests that Hebrew at camp has the potential to expand significantly given sufficient financial and institutional support.

NON-HEBREW LANGUAGES

Although Hebrew is by far the most common non-English language used at Jewish camps in North America, we found 14 camps that also use other languages. Five camps report using some Yiddish, including Hasidic and Orthodox camps and the historically Yiddishist Camp Kinder Ring. From our observations we know that Kinder Ring sings Yiddish songs and uses the Yiddish word *shtiler* [ovnt] (quiet evening) for its Friday-night rituals. Five camps report using some Russian, including Gesheя (which is geared toward Russian-American Jews), two Young Judaea camps, NJY Teen Camp, and Tizmoret Shoshana Summer Music and Arts Workshop (all of which attract some Russian-American campers). Some Spanish can be heard at four camps, including Camp Young Judaea-Texas, which has some staff and campers from Spanish-speaking homes in Texas and Mexico. Camp B'nai B'rith Montreal uses some French, due to its population of local Francophone campers, and Sephardic Adventure Camp (near Seattle) uses Ladino songs and word of the day, as part of its mission to foster Sephardic identity. In addition, one camp (Camp Be'chol Lashon) incorporates words and phrases from many languages as a way of promoting awareness of global Jewish communities. While Hebrew acts as a unifying language for diverse Jewish summer camps, additional languages enable camps to accomplish specialized socialization goals and better serve their unique populations.



CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT:

Israeli-style bunk sign at Camp JRF, created as part of the Goodman Initiative for Modern Israel Education (photo credit: Camp JRF)

Rock climbing with Hebrew logo on helmet at Ramah in the Rockies (photo credit: Ari Rosenthal)

Camp Judaea birkat habayit (blessing for the home) in omanut (art) (photo credit: Devi Knapp)



Conclusion

As this survey indicates, Hebrew serves as a common denominator in North American Jewish summer camps of all types: Zionist and non-Zionist, religious and secular, general and specialty. All of the camps we studied use at least some Hebrew, pointing to its place of privilege as Jews' holy tongue (*lashon kodesh*) and worldwide group language. Campers leave camp with a sense that Hebrew is a part of what it means to be Jewish in North America.

Even as Hebrew can be found in all camps, it also serves as a distinguishing force. Some camps use Hebrew only in songs or prayers and a few words and phrases, and other camps use dozens of Hebrew words to refer to things around camp and, in a few cases, use Hebrew for announcements and everyday interaction. These differences reflect and help to constitute how camps position themselves differently with regard to North American Jewishness, Zionism, and religiosity. Hebrew is one of the many factors—including facilities, activities, and religious content—that give each camp its own unique identity and culture.

Practices that encourage or require Hebrew proficiency, like classes, announcements, and immersion programs, are relatively rare. Camps that use those practices mostly belong to a few Zionist movements and maintain language proficiency as a goal. In most camps, however, we found Hebrew infusion—the incorporation of Hebrew words, songs, blessings, and signs throughout a primarily English-speaking camp environment—to be a central means by which camps try to foster connection to Jews and Israel. Such practices require less staff effort and Hebrew knowledge than practices whose goal is Hebrew proficiency.

Throughout our research, we often heard camp staff and alumni complain about how poor the Hebrew education is at their camp. If language proficiency was the goal, they might be right. But as this survey indicates, the goals of Hebrew practices are more commonly about connection. We know from previous research that Jewish overnight camps can be very successful in fostering connection to Jews and Israel.⁹ This report underscores how camp directors perceive the role of Hebrew in this project. By incorporating Hebrew words, songs, and signs throughout the camp experience, camps are sending a message that Hebrew is an important part of the camp community and the Jewish people.

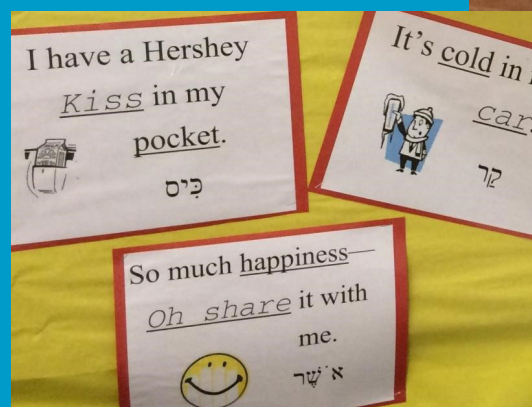


CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT:

Hebrew, Ladino, and English mechitzah at Sephardic Adventure Camp (photo credit: Sarah Benor)

Aliyapoly at Moshava Indian Orchard (photo credit: Sarah Benor)

Puns in Mercaz Ivrit at Olin Sang Ruby Union Institute (photo credit: Sarah Benor)



Appendices

APPENDIX A: METHODOLOGY

The survey was crafted based on findings from our interviews and observations and revised based on pilot testing and feedback from several former camp directors and staff members at camp umbrella organizations. We compiled a list of 176 camps, including those registered with the Foundation for Jewish Camp and several independent camps. In October 2015 we sent this survey invitation to the directors of these camps:¹⁰

Dear Camp Director,

Jewish overnight summer camps vary widely in their use of Hebrew. Some camps use Hebrew words to refer to certain places or activities, some use Hebrew only for prayers, and others have no Hebrew at all. Which camps follow which practices regarding Hebrew?

We are conducting the first-ever research throughout the United States and Canada on this topic. The study will help you and other camp leaders learn about this diversity and other aspects of camps' Jewish educational and cultural programs. We think you will find the process of filling out the survey thought provoking as you consider how your camp uses Hebrew, and your input will help your camp and other camps and Jewish educational organizations throughout North America.

The survey will take you about 15-20 minutes to complete. Your participation is voluntary. Several of the questions assume the knowledge of an executive administrator.

You can click or copy this link to take the survey: <https://www.surveymonkey.com/r/hebrewatcamp>. Please respond before October 29.

This survey is part of a broader study, "Hebrew at North American Jewish Overnight Summer Camps," a project of the Jack, Joseph and Morton Mandel Center for Studies in Jewish Education at Brandeis University, with additional funding from the Wexner Foundation, the Consortium for Applied Studies in Jewish Education, HUC-JIR, and CUNY. You can learn more about the study at <http://www.brandeis.edu/mandel/projects/hebrewatcamp.html>. We will distribute our results through the Jewish camp organizations and in other venues. In the meantime, should you have any comments or questions, please contact us at camphebrew@brandeis.edu.

Thank you for your participation.

Sincerely,

Prof. Sarah Bunin Benor, Hebrew Union College (sbenor@huc.edu)

Prof. Jonathan Krasner, Brandeis University (jkrasner@brandeis.edu)

Prof. Sharon Avni, CUNY (savni@bmcc.cuny.edu)

The list of camps was reduced to 161 when we learned that several camps were no longer in operation or that camps advertised online were actually programs of other camps. After much follow-up, we received responses from 103 of the 161 camps, a response rate of 64%. Responses were unevenly distributed: Some networks (Habonim Dror, Hashomer Hatzair, and Ramah) have all of their camps represented, while others (especially JCCA, AIJC, and camps with no network) are less represented (Figure 18). Surveys were completed by executive directors or their proxies (associate directors, camp directors, etc.).

FIGURE 18: SURVEY RESPONSE RATE BY CAMP NETWORK

	CAMPS INVITED	RESPONDED	RESPONSE RATE
HABONIM DROR	7	7	100%
HASHOMER HATZAIR	2	2	100%
RAMAH	8	8	100%
UNION FOR REFORM JUDAISM	16	15	94%
YOUNG JUDAEA	5	4	80%
CANADIAN YOUNG JUDAEA	6	4	67%
BNEI AKIVA	5	3	60%
NO NETWORK / INDEPENDENT / PRIVATE	69	41	59%
ASSOCIATION OF INDEPENDENT JEWISH CAMPS	11	6	55%
JCC ASSOCIATION	32	13	41%
TOTAL	161	103	64%

The Sample

The survey sample represents the great diversity of Jewish summer camps. We received responses from at least two camps in each region (Figure 19). Just as Jewish camps (and Jews) are concentrated in the Northeast, 38% of the camps in our sample are located in the Northeast (12% in New England and 26% in the Northeast below New England).

Camp size (in each camp's largest session) ranges from under 100 to over 1000 campers, with over half of responding camps reporting

FIGURE 19: NUMBER OF RESPONDING CAMPS IN EACH REGION

EASTERN CANADA	10
CENTRAL CANADA	2
WESTERN CANADA	2
US MIDWEST	14
NEW ENGLAND	12
NORTHEAST BELOW NEW ENGLAND	26
CENTRAL ATLANTIC	3
SOUTHEAST	8
TEXAS / DEEP SOUTH	2
SOUTHWEST	2
SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA	8
NORTHERN CALIFORNIA	3
PACIFIC NORTHWEST	5
US ROCKIES	5

100-299 campers. In total, our survey represents about 45,000 campers over the course of a given summer (a rough estimate based on ranges). The camps’ founding dates range from the 1910s to the 2010s, with about half founded in the 1940s through 1970s. Almost half of responding camps identify their religious orientation as pluralistic, with other orientations represented in smaller numbers (Figure 20).

Limitations

Surveys rely on individuals to answer carefully and accurately, and we believe that many respondents did so. However, we also believe that some respondents may have answered too quickly, misstated their camps’ use of Hebrew (indicating either more or less than they

actually have), or, in some cases, were not knowledgeable enough about their camps’ current language use to answer the survey accurately. A few camps indicated that they have no Hebrew prayers or blessings or do not use Hebrew words for camp divisions, but based on our in-person observations or analysis of their websites, we know they do have some prayers or use some Hebrew words. Conversely, a few camps that indicated using certain Hebrew practices showed no evidence of this when we visited. Some of the discrepancies might be based on divergent interpretations of questions (e.g., one Orthodox camp indicated that they use *schiyah*, which we intended to mean “swimming,” but when we asked them how they use it, they replied that they read it as *shkijah* [sundown]). Other discrepancies seem to be based on respondents’ hastiness to complete the survey. Despite these problems, most of the camps’ responses lined up with what we observed or gathered from their websites.

Another limitation is that we do not have many responses from (non-Modern) Orthodox camps, and the only Hasidic camps represented are affiliated with Chabad Lubavitch (in many cases, efforts to contact Hasidic camps were unsuccessful). In addition, few Jewish-owned secular private camps are represented. Because of these gaps and the lower response rate from JCCA camps and independent camps, which tend to be less Hebrew-oriented than the movement camps, we can assume that our results over-represent the overall numbers for Hebrew practices in North American Jewish camps. The survey data are not a perfect representation, but they offer a good general portrait of Jewish camps’ language use.

FIGURE 20: NUMBER OF RESPONSES BY JEWISH RELIGIOUS ORIENTATION

PLURALISTIC	42
REFORM	20
CONSERVATIVE	11
MODERN ORTHODOX	7
SECULAR	7
OTHER	6
ORTHODOX	5
CHASSIDISH (HASIDIC)	3
RECONSTRUCTIONIST	1

APPENDIX B: INDEX OF HEBREW PRACTICES

PRACTICE	POINTS FOR "A LOT" OR "YES"	POINTS FOR "SOME"
HEBREW-SPEAKING CAMP	12	N/A
HEBREW-SPEAKING PROGRAM	9	N/A
ANNOUNCEMENTS: FULL SENTENCES IN HEBREW	9	5
THEATRICAL PRODUCTIONS IN HEBREW	8	N/A
HEBREW CLASSES (REQUIRED OR ELECTIVE)	7	N/A
ANNOUNCEMENTS: SET PHRASES IN HEBREW	7	4
SKITS TEACHING HEBREW	6	4
HEBREW NAMES FOR CAMP STAFF	5	3
HEBREW NAMES FOR ACTIVITIES	5	3
RECITING HEBREW PRAYERS/BLESSINGS	4	3
SINGING HEBREW SONGS	4	3
HEBREW NAMES FOR CAMP SECTIONS	4	3
HEBREW NAMES FOR CABINS	4	3
ISRAELI STAFF SPEAKING HEBREW INFORMALLY	4	2
DANCING TO ISRAELI HEBREW MUSIC	3	2
DECORATIVE PLAQUES IN HEBREW	3	2
SIGNS FOR LOCATIONS (HEBREW LETTERS OR TRANSLITERATION)	3	2
BAR/BAT MITZVAH TUTORING	3	N/A
TOTAL POINTS POSSIBLE	100	

APPENDIX C: THE SURVEY¹¹

1. WHAT IS THE FULL NAME OF YOUR CAMP?

2. WITH WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING NETWORKS IS YOUR CAMP ASSOCIATED? (IF MORE THAN ONE, PLEASE CHOOSE ONE THAT IS MOST RELEVANT)

ANSWER OPTIONS	RESPONSE PERCENT	RESPONSE COUNT
BNEI AKIVA	2.80%	3
CANADIAN YOUNG JUDAEA	4.70%	5
CHABAD LUBAVITCH	4.70%	5
HABONIM DROR	6.50%	7
HASHOMER HATZAIR	1.90%	2
JCC ASSOCIATION	12.10%	13
JEWISH RECONSTRUCTIONIST FEDERATION	0.00%	0
RAMAH	7.50%	8
UNION FOR REFORM JUDAISM	15.90%	17
WORKMEN'S CIRCLE	0.90%	1
YOUNG JUDAEA	3.70%	4
ASSOCIATION OF INDEPENDENT JEWISH CAMPS	1.90%	2
NO NETWORK	25.20%	27
OTHER (PLEASE SPECIFY)	12.10%	13

3. WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING LABELS MOST CLOSELY DESCRIBES YOUR CAMP'S *RELIGIOUS* ORIENTATION?

ANSWER OPTIONS	RESPONSE PERCENT	RESPONSE COUNT
REFORM	19.60%	21
RECONSTRUCTIONIST	0.90%	1
CONSERVATIVE	10.30%	11
MODERN ORTHODOX	6.50%	7
ORTHODOX	5.60%	6
CHASSIDISH	2.80%	3
HAREDI	0.00%	0
SECULAR	5.60%	6
PLURALISTIC	40.20%	43
OTHER (PLEASE SPECIFY)	8.40%	9

4. IS YOUR WHOLE CAMP GEARED TOWARD A PARTICULAR GROUP OF JEWS (NOT INCLUDING MOVEMENTS OR DENOMINATIONS)?

ANSWER OPTIONS	RESPONSE PERCENT	RESPONSE COUNT
NO PARTICULAR GROUP	86.90%	93
RUSSIAN-AMERICAN	0.90%	1
SEPHARDIC-AMERICAN	0.90%	1
ISRAELI-AMERICAN	1.90%	2
SYRIAN-AMERICAN	0.00%	0
JEWS OF COLOR	0.90%	1
CAMPERS WITH DISABILITIES	0.90%	1
SPECIAL INTEREST OR OTHER (SPORTS, SCIENCE, THEATER, ENVIRONMENTALISM, ETC.) —PLEASE SPECIFY:	7.50%	8

5. WHAT POSITION DO YOU HOLD AT THE CAMP?

ANSWER OPTIONS	RESPONSE PERCENT	RESPONSE COUNT
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR	60.40%	64
ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR	12.30%	13
OTHER (PLEASE SPECIFY)	27.40%	29

6. YOUR NAME:

7. HOW WOULD YOU RATE EACH OF THE FOLLOWING AS EDUCATIONAL GOALS FOR YOUR CAMP?

ANSWER OPTIONS	A PRIMARY GOAL	AN IMPORTANT GOAL BUT NOT NOT PRIMARY	A MINOR GOAL	NOT A GOAL	NOT SURE	RESPONSE COUNT
ENHANCING PERSONAL JEWISH IDENTITY	85	15	2	3	0	105
STRENGTHENING CONNECTION TO THE STATE OF ISRAEL	53	38	9	4	1	105
STRENGTHENING CONNECTION TO THE JEWISH PEOPLE	77	20	5	3	0	105
STRENGTHENING AFFILIATION WITH A PARTICULAR JEWISH DENOMINATION, MOVEMENT, OR POPULATION	22	20	11	51	0	104
FOSTERING INDEPENDENCE AND PERSONAL GROWTH	93	11	1	0	0	105
STRENGTHENING SKILLS IN SPORTS, ARTS, ETC.	40	33	23	7	1	104
STRENGTHENING COMMITMENT TO RITUAL OBSERVANCE	19	29	29	27	0	104
STRENGTHENING COMMITMENT TO SOCIAL JUSTICE	30	49	21	3	1	104
STRENGTHENING CONNECTION TO HEBREW	19	31	36	19	0	105
STRENGTHENING PROFICIENCY IN SPOKEN MODERN HEBREW	6	14	34	49	1	104
STRENGTHENING KNOWLEDGE OF SELECT HEBREW WORDS AND PHRASES	15	33	33	21	2	104
STRENGTHENING KNOWLEDGE OF HEBREW PRAYERS AND/OR BLESSINGS	29	34	28	14	0	105

STRENGTHENING KNOWLEDGE OF HEBREW SONGS	22	45	27	10	1	105
STRENGTHENING ABILITY TO READ BIBLICAL AND/OR RABBINIC LITERATURE IN HEBREW	4	11	14	73	1	103
STRENGTHENING ABILITY TO READ LITERATURE OR PERIODICALS IN MODERN HEBREW	0	2	9	90	4	105

8. FOR EACH OF THE FOLLOWING USES OF HEBREW, PLEASE INDICATE WHETHER IT CAN BE FOUND AT YOUR CAMP:

ANSWER OPTIONS	YES, A LOT	YES, A BIT	NO	NOT SURE	RESPONSE COUNT
RECITING AND/OR SINGING HEBREW PRAYERS AND/OR BLESSINGS	74	29	2	0	105
SINGING HEBREW SONGS	79	24	2	0	105
DANCING TO ISRAELI HEBREW MUSIC	55	34	15	0	104
SKITS OR PRESENTATIONS TEACHING A HEBREW WORD (E.G., "HEBREW WORD OF THE DAY")	35	41	27	2	105
SIGNS FOR LOCATIONS USING HEBREW LETTERS (E.G., חדר אוכל, בית כנסת)	51	26	27	1	105
SIGNS FOR LOCATIONS TRANSLITERATED INTO ENGLISH LETTERS (E.G., CHADAR OCHEL, BET KNESSET)	32	32	40	1	105
DECORATIVE PLAQUES AND/OR MURALS WITH HEBREW PHRASES OR QUOTES	34	48	22	0	104
HEBREW NAMES FOR CAMP SECTIONS/UNITS	59	15	31	0	105
HEBREW NAMES FOR CABINS/BUNKS/TENTS	34	26	45	0	105
HEBREW NAMES FOR ROLES OF CAMP STAFF (E.G., MADRICH, ROSH MACHANEH)	39	15	51	0	105
HEBREW NAMES FOR ACTIVITIES (E.G., TEFILLAH, NIKAYON, ARUCHAT BOKER)	51	26	28	0	105
HEBREW ANNOUNCEMENTS: SET PHRASES (E.G., "AMUD ESER," "NA LASHEVET," "SAFSALIM AL HASHULCHANOT")	24	23	57	0	104
HEBREW ANNOUNCEMENTS: FULL SENTENCES WITH SPONTANEOUS WORDING (NOT MEMORIZED)	15	16	73	1	105
ISRAELI STAFF USES HEBREW INFORMALLY WITH CAMPERS	24	41	39	0	104

9. HERE ARE A FEW MORE:

ANSWER OPTIONS	YES	NO	NOT SURE	RESPONSE COUNT
OPTIONAL BAR/BAT MITZVAH TUTORING	82	21	2	105
THEATRICAL PRODUCTIONS IN HEBREW	12	92	1	105
REQUIRED HEBREW CLASSES	12	92	1	105
ELECTIVE HEBREW CLASSES	21	81	1	103
HEBREW-SPEAKING PROGRAM: A SECTION OF CAMP THAT IS CONDUCTED ALL OR MOSTLY IN HEBREW	8	95	2	105
HEBREW-SPEAKING CAMP: ALL OR MOST OFFICIAL CAMP ACTIVITIES ARE CONDUCTED IN HEBREW	5	98	1	104

10. BELOW IS A LIST OF TRANSLITERATED HEBREW WORDS AND PHRASES. FOR EACH ONE, WHICH DESCRIPTION WOULD YOU SAY MOST CLOSELY DESCRIBES HOW IT IS USED AT YOUR CAMP: IS IT USED FREQUENTLY BY BOTH STAFF AND CAMPER, USED FREQUENTLY BY SOME STAFF BUT NOT BY MOST CAMPERS, USED ONLY IN A FEW CONTEXTS (E.G., ON A SIGN OR SCHEDULE), OR RARELY OR NEVER USED?

ANSWER OPTIONS	FREQUENTLY BY STAFF AND CAMPERS	FREQUENTLY BY STAFF	IN A FEW CONTEXTS	RARELY OR NEVER USED	RESPONSE COUNT
SHABBAT SHALOM	98	2	4	0	104
RUACH	65	13	15	11	104
TIKKUN OLAM	53	15	27	9	104
BIRKAT HAMAZON	83	2	12	8	105
TEFILLAH	52	10	22	21	105
KEHILA KEDOSHA	24	3	21	57	105
BOKER TOV	70	10	16	9	105
CHADAR OCHEL	57	2	10	36	105
SHEKET B'VAKASHA	39	9	24	32	104
MADRICH	38	7	13	47	105
TZRIF	29	0	8	68	105
DEGEL	17	3	18	67	105
MACHANEH	36	5	11	53	105
NIKAYON	49	6	6	44	105
MENUCHA	56	5	8	36	105
DUGMA	31	14	10	50	105
RIKUD	40	6	4	55	105
OMANUT	32	5	9	59	105
ZIMRIYA	15	1	11	78	105
HODAOT	29	3	11	62	105
HAKSHIVU	20	9	9	67	105
EDAH	20	2	9	74	105
MARP	18	1	10	74	103
MIRPA'A	37	6	6	55	104
CHUG	61	1	3	40	105
SCHIAH	17	3	15	70	105
SHEKEM	3	0	12	90	105
OTHER HEBREW WORDS COMMONLY USED AT YOUR CAMP (OPTIONAL)	26				

11. IF YOUR CAMP HAS A SPECIAL DAY(S) OF INTRA-CAMP COMPETITION, WHAT DO YOU CALL IT?

ANSWER OPTIONS	RESPONSE PERCENT	RESPONSE COUNT
COLOR WAR(S)	21.00%	22
FIELD DAY	3.80%	4
YOM SPORT	9.50%	10
MACCABIAH	47.60%	50
BIKKURIM	1.00%	1
KACHOL/LAVAN	0.00%	0
N/A	8.60%	9
OTHER OR MULTIPLE NAMES (PLEASE EXPLAIN)	8.60%	9

12. CAMPS HAVE DIFFERENT RATIONALES FOR INCORPORATING HEBREW WORDS, SONGS, ETC. HOW IMPORTANT ARE THE FOLLOWING RATIONALES TO YOUR CAMP?

ANSWER OPTIONS	VERY IMPORTANT	IMPORTANT	NOT VERY IMPORTANT	NOT AT ALL IMPORTANT	RESPONSE COUNT
HEBREW DISTINGUISHES CAMP FROM THE OUTSIDE WORLD.	20	44	33	7	104
HEBREW ALLOWS CAMPERS TO CONNECT TO JEWS AROUND THE WORLD AND THROUGHOUT HISTORY.	49	33	17	5	104
HEBREW ALLOWS CAMPERS TO CONNECT TO ISRAELIS AND THE STATE OF ISRAEL.	54	33	13	5	105
HEBREW ALLOWS CAMPERS ACCESS TO THE JEWISH RELIGIOUS AND TEXTUAL TRADITION.	36	38	27	4	105
IT'S CAMP TRADITION.	45	34	17	8	104
IS THERE ANOTHER RATIONALE? IF SO, PLEASE ELABORATE:	11				

13. TO WHAT EXTENT ARE THE FOLLOWING STAFF MEMBERS AT YOUR CAMP CAPABLE OF CONDUCTING A CONVERSATION IN MODERN HEBREW?

ANSWER OPTIONS	TO A GREAT EXTENT	SOMEWHAT	A LITTLE	NOT AT ALL	NOT SURE	RESPONSE COUNT
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR	39	14	20	31	0	104
STAFF MEMBER IN CHARGE OF JEWISH EDUCATION	44	38	15	5	2	104
THE TYPICAL DIVISION HEAD	11	29	30	30	4	104
THE TYPICAL BUNK COUNSELOR	5	24	36	37	3	105
THE TYPICAL SPECIALIST (NOT FOR JUDAICA)	8	25	28	38	5	104

14. ARE ANY OTHER LANGUAGES BESIDES ENGLISH AND HEBREW USED AT YOUR CAMP PUBLICLY AND ON A REGULAR BASIS (E.G., YIDDISH, LADINO, RUSSIAN, ARABIC, FRENCH, FARSI...)?

ANSWER OPTIONS	RESPONSE PERCENT	RESPONSE COUNT
YES	13.50%	14
NO	86.50%	90
NOT SURE	0.00%	0
IF YES, PLEASE EXPLAIN WHICH LANGUAGE(S) AND HOW:	14	

15. TO THE BEST OF YOUR KNOWLEDGE IN WHICH DECADE WAS YOUR CAMP FOUNDED (REGARDLESS OF WHICH CAMPSITE IT CURRENTLY OCCUPIES)?

ANSWER OPTIONS	RESPONSE PERCENT	RESPONSE COUNT
2010s	11.80%	12
2000s	5.90%	6
1990s	4.90%	5
1980s	2.00%	2
1970s	10.80%	11
1960s	8.80%	9
1950s	21.60%	22
1940s	15.70%	16
1930v	7.80%	8
1920s	8.80%	9
1910s	2.00%	2
1900s	0.00%	0
BEFORE 1900	0.00%	0

16. HOW WOULD YOU SAY YOUR CAMP HAS CHANGED IN THE AMOUNT OF HEBREW USED (INCLUDING SONGS, PRAYERS, NAMES FOR ACTIVITIES, ANNOUNCEMENTS, ETC.)?

ANSWER OPTIONS	INCREASED A LOT	INCREASED SOMEWHAT	STAYED ABOUT THE SAME	DECREASED SOMEWHAT	DECREASED A LOT	NOT SURE	N/A	RESPONSE COUNT
OVER THE PAST 10 YEARS	12	28	44	9	0	2	8	103
OVER THE PAST 40 YEARS	15	14	23	14	8	7	17	98

17. IF FINANCIAL RESOURCES AND INSTITUTIONAL SUPPORT WERE AVAILABLE, TO WHAT EXTENT MIGHT YOUR CAMP BE INTERESTED IN INCORPORATING THE FOLLOWING WITHIN THE NEXT FIVE YEARS? (NOTE: THIS IS PURELY HYPOTHETICAL.)

ANSWER OPTIONS	VERY INTERESTED	SOMEWHAT INTERESTED	NOT SO INTERESTED	NOT AT ALL INTERESTED	NOT SURE	RESPONSE COUNT
(MORE) HEBREW WORDS	47	32	19	5	0	103
(MORE) HEBREW SONGS	60	30	9	4	0	103
(MORE) HEBREW SIGNS	57	23	13	7	3	103
(MORE) HEBREW INSTRUCTION	27	27	30	19	1	104
A HEBREW-SPEAKING UNIT OR PROGRAM	24	30	23	24	2	103

18. IS THERE ADDITIONAL INFORMATION YOU'D LIKE TO SHARE ABOUT CHANGES IN YOUR CAMP'S USE OF HEBREW—PAST, PRESENT, OR FUTURE? (OPTIONAL)

19. IN WHICH REGION IS YOUR CAMP SITE LOCATED?

ANSWER OPTIONS	RESPONSE PERCENT	RESPONSE COUNT
EASTERN CANADA	9.60%	10
CENTRAL CANADA	2.90%	3
WESTERN CANADA	1.90%	2
US MIDWEST	13.50%	14
NEW ENGLAND	12.50%	13
NORTHEAST (BELOW NEW ENGLAND)	24.00%	25
CENTRAL ATLANTIC	2.90%	3
SOUTHEAST	6.70%	7
TEXAS	1.00%	1
SOUTHWEST	1.90%	2
SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA	7.70%	8
NORTHERN CALIFORNIA	2.90%	3
PACIFIC NORTHWEST	4.80%	5
US ROCKIES	4.80%	5
OTHER (PLEASE SPECIFY)	2.90%	3

20. IS YOUR CAMP:

ANSWER OPTIONS	RESPONSE PERCENT	RESPONSE COUNT
FOR-PROFIT	5.80%	6
NOT-FOR-PROFIT (501(c)(3) ORGANIZATION OR AFFILIATE)	93.30%	97
IT'S COMPLICATED:	1.00%	1

21. APPROXIMATELY HOW LARGE WAS YOUR CAMP IN 2015? PLEASE ANSWER BOTH SECTIONS BELOW:

NUMBER OF CAMPER IN LARGEST SESSION

ANSWER OPTIONS	UNDER 100	100-199	200-299	300-399	400-499	500-599	600-699	700-799	800-899	900-999	1000+	RESPONSE COUNT
	13	28	28	14	9	6	3	1	1	0	1	104

TOTAL NUMBER OF UNIQUE CAMPERS FOR ALL SESSIONS

ANSWER OPTIONS	UNDER 100	100-199	200-299	300-399	400-499	500-599	600-699	700-799	800-899	900-999	1000-1099	1100-1199	1200-1299	1300-1399	1400-1499	1500+	RESPONSE COUNT
	12	15	13	9	16	12	5	2	3	10	1	1	1	1	1	0	102

22. ACCORDING TO A ROUGH ESTIMATE, ABOUT HOW MANY OF YOUR CAMPERS:

ANSWER OPTIONS	ALMOST			ABOUT		I CAN'T EVEN			RESPONSE
	ALL	ALL	MOST	HALF	SOME	A FEW	NONE	ESTIMATE	COUNT
ARE JEWISH?	57	42	4	0	0	0	0	1	104
ARE FROM INTERMARRIED HOMES?	0	0	2	10	59	19	9	5	104
ARE ISRAELI-AMERICAN (HAVE AT LEAST ONE ISRAELI PARENT, BUT LIVE IN NORTH AMERICA)?	1	1	0	5	48	43	3	3	104
ARE ISRAELI (LIVE IN ISRAEL)?	0	0	1	0	23	60	18	2	104
HAVE ATTENDED JEWISH DAY SCHOOLS?	5	9	4	21	50	12	1	1	103
HAVE ATTENDED SUPPLEMENTARY RELIGIOUS SCHOOL/HEBREW SCHOOL?	3	11	37	19	20	7	3	3	103
HAVE NOT PARTICIPATED IN ANY FORMAL JEWISH EDUCATION DURING THE YEAR?	1	3	8	6	36	30	15	5	104

23. ABOUT HOW MANY STAFF MEMBERS DID YOU HAVE IN 2015 (ONLY COUNTING THOSE WHO INTERACT WITH CAMPERS)?

ANSWER OPTIONS	RESPONSE PERCENT	RESPONSE COUNT
0-39	17.30%	18
40-79	26.00%	27
80-119	20.20%	21
120-159	12.50%	13
160-199	4.80%	5
200-239	4.80%	5
240-279	4.80%	5
280-319	5.80%	6
320-359	1.90%	2
360-399	0.00%	0
400+	1.90%	2

24. APPROXIMATELY HOW MANY OF YOUR 2015 BUNK STAFF WERE:

ANSWER OPTIONS	ALMOST			ABOUT		I CAN'T EVEN			RESPONSE
	ALL	ALL	MOST	HALF	SOME	A FEW	NONE	ESTIMATE	COUNT
JEWS FROM THE U.S., CANADA, OR ISRAEL	34	41	20	4	3	1	0	0	103
JEWS FROM OTHER COUNTRIES	0	0	0	1	25	35	37	1	99
NON-JEWS FROM THE U.S., CANADA, OR ISRAEL	0	0	1	0	12	23	58	3	97
NON-JEWS FROM OTHER COUNTRIES	0	0	1	2	16	11	64	3	97

25. APPROXIMATELY HOW MANY OF YOUR 2015 NON-BUNK STAFF (WHO INTERACT WITH CAMPERS) WERE:

ANSWER OPTIONS	ALMOST			ABOUT		I CAN'T EVEN			RESPONSE
	ALL	ALL	MOST	HALF	SOME	A FEW	NONE	ESTIMATE	COUNT
JEWS FROM THE U.S., CANADA, OR ISRAEL	23	41	16	5	11	4	4	0	104
JEWS FROM OTHER COUNTRIES	0	1	1	1	24	28	41	2	98
NON-JEWS FROM THE U.S., CANADA, OR ISRAEL	0	1	0	0	20	39	34	3	97
NON-JEWS FROM OTHER COUNTRIES	0	0	2	5	16	19	54	2	98

26. IN 2015, DID YOUR CAMP HAVE ANY ISRAELI STAFF MEMBERS?

ANSWER OPTIONS	RESPONSE PERCENT	RESPONSE COUNT
YES	87.50%	91
NO	12.50%	13
NOT SURE	0.00%	0

27. IN 2015, HOW MANY STAFF MEMBERS DID YOUR CAMP BRING IN FROM ISRAEL THROUGH THE JEWISH AGENCY FOR ISRAEL (JAFI) SUMMER SHLICHIM PROGRAM AND/OR THROUGH ANOTHER PROGRAM/INDEPENDENTLY? PLEASE ANSWER BOTH SECTIONS BELOW:

JAFI

ANSWER OPTIONS	0	1-2	3-9	10-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50+	RESPONSE COUNT
	14	13	33	7	9	6	1	0	83

OTHER PROGRAM OR INDEPENDENTLY

ANSWER OPTIONS	0	1-2	3-9	10-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50+	RESPONSE COUNT
	33	11	20	8	0	1	0	2	75

28. HOW IMPORTANT WERE THE FOLLOWING GOALS IN YOUR DECISION TO BRING ISRAELI STAFF MEMBERS TO CAMP?

ANSWER OPTIONS	VERY IMPORTANT	SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT	NOT VERY IMPORTANT	NOT AT ALL IMPORTANT	NOT SURE	RESPONSE COUNT
STRENGTHENING CAMPERS' CONNECTION WITH ISRAEL	76	9	1	3	1	90
INCREASING CAMPERS' KNOWLEDGE ABOUT ISRAEL	68	16	2	2	2	90
PROMOTING VISITS TO ISRAEL	42	29	12	6	1	90
ENCOURAGING ALIYAH	6	13	33	37	1	90
TEACHING HEBREW	16	33	29	10	2	90
BUILDING PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS	74	12	1	2	1	90
FULFILLING CAMP STAFFING NEEDS	41	30	11	7	1	90

29. HOW IMPORTANT WERE THE FOLLOWING FACTORS IN YOUR DECISIONS TO HIRE PARTICULAR ISRAELI STAFF MEMBERS?

ANSWER OPTIONS	VERY IMPORTANT	SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT	NOT VERY IMPORTANT	NOT AT ALL IMPORTANT	NOT SURE	RESPONSE COUNT
ENGLISH PROFICIENCY	64	24	1	0	0	89
ABILITY TO TEACH HEBREW	9	15	32	33	0	89
KNOWLEDGE OF ISRAELI SOCIETY	41	35	8	6	0	90
KNOWLEDGE OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMUNITY	3	32	45	10	0	90
AFFILIATION WITH A YOUTH MOVEMENT	12	18	32	27	1	90
BACKGROUND IN EDUCATION/YOUTH WORK	32	36	14	6	1	89
PARTICULAR SKILL (MUSIC, BASKETBALL, ETC.)	39	31	17	3	0	90
PERSONALITY	83	7	0	0	0	90

30. ON A TYPICAL WEEKDAY, HOW MANY TIMES DO MOST CAMPERS PARTICIPATE IN PRAYER SERVICES AT YOUR CAMP?

ANSWER OPTIONS	RESPONSE PERCENT	RESPONSE COUNT
3	13.60%	14
2	7.80%	8
1	28.20%	29
SOME BLESSINGS SURROUNDING MEALS, BUT NO PRAYER SERVICES	35.00%	36
NO PRAYERS OR BLESSINGS ON WEEKDAYS	9.70%	10
OTHER (PLEASE SPECIFY)	5.80%	6

31. ON A TYPICAL SHABBAT, HOW MANY TIMES ARE PRAYER SERVICES OFFERED AT YOUR CAMP (INCLUDING FRIDAY NIGHT, SATURDAY MORNING, SATURDAY AFTERNOON, AND HAVDALLAH)?

ANSWER OPTIONS	RESPONSE PERCENT	RESPONSE COUNT
4	23.30%	24
3	46.60%	48
2	12.60%	13
1	4.90%	5
A FEW BLESSINGS ON FRIDAY NIGHT OR FOR HAVDALLAH, BUT NO PRAYER SERVICES	8.70%	9
NO BLESSINGS OR PRAYERS ON SHABBAT	1.90%	2
OTHER (PLEASE SPECIFY)	1.90%	2

32. ASIDE FROM SPECIAL EVENTS, HOW OFTEN DO MOST CAMPERS PARTICIPATE IN A SESSION SPECIFICALLY DESIGNATED FOR JEWISH LEARNING?

ANSWER OPTIONS	RESPONSE PERCENT	RESPONSE COUNT
MULTIPLE TIMES A DAY	18.40%	19
MOST DAYS OR EVERY DAY	33.00%	34
ONE TO A FEW TIMES PER WEEK	25.20%	26
OCCASIONALLY	12.60%	13
NEVER	7.80%	8
OTHER (PLEASE SPECIFY)	2.90%	3

33. SOME CAMPS INTEGRATE JEWISH CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL OFFERINGS THROUGHOUT SOME ACTIVITIES (E.G., JUDAIC OBJECTS CREATED IN ART, JEWISH VALUES DISCUSSED IN SPORTS), AND OTHERS COMPARTMENTALIZE THEM (ONLY CERTAIN TIMES OF THE DAY OR WEEK). WHICH WOULD YOU SAY BEST DESCRIBES YOUR CAMP?

ANSWER OPTIONS	RESPONSE PERCENT	RESPONSE COUNT
VERY INTEGRATED	40.80%	42
SOMEWHAT INTEGRATED	40.80%	42
SOMEWHAT COMPARTMENTALIZED	9.70%	10
VERY COMPARTMENTALIZED	3.90%	4
NOT SURE	4.90%	5

34. WHAT ELSE CAN YOU SHARE WITH US THAT WILL HELP US UNDERSTAND HOW HEBREW IS USED AT YOUR CAMP?

35. MAY WE CONTACT YOU IN CASE WE HAVE FURTHER QUESTIONS?

ANSWER OPTIONS	RESPONSE PERCENT	RESPONSE COUNT
YES	91.20%	93
NO	8.80%	9
IF YES, PLEASE PROVIDE YOUR EMAIL ADDRESS	73	

APPENDIX D: REGRESSION ANALYSIS

We conducted several regression analyses (univariate, general linear model) with several combinations of variables, including those in Figure 21 plus aggregated region, aggregated region by network, and rough number of Israeli staffers. With a parsimonious model—network type, connection to Israel, amount of Jewish learning, and staff Hebrew index—we find a relatively good fit (adjusted R^2 : 0.625):

FIGURE 21: REGRESSION MODEL RESULTS (HEBREW PRACTICES INDEX)

	COEFFICIENT	STANDARD ERROR
NETWORK TYPE		
ZIONIST (BASE)		
NON-ZIONIST NON-ORTHODOX	-12.39***	2.935
NON-ZIONIST ORTHODOX	-25.616***	6.517
IMPORTANCE OF FOSTERING CONNECTION TO ISRAEL		
A PRIMARY GOAL (BASE)		
AN IMPORTANT GOAL, BUT NOT A PRIMARY GOAL	-10.254***	3.126
A MINOR GOAL	-19.798***	5.424
NOT A GOAL	-6.04	9.796
NOT SURE	-7.359	13.75
AMOUNT OF JEWISH LEARNING		
MULTIPLE TIMES A DAY (BASE)		
OTHER	-5.993	8.202
MOST DAYS OR EVERY DAY	-6.591	4.008
ONE TO A FEW TIMES PER WEEK	-8.862	4.579
OCCASIONALLY	-20.586***	5.235
NEVER	-11.255	6.177
STAFF HEBREW INDEX (SCALE: 0-15)	1.85***	0.4
CONSTANT	49.485***	
ADJUSTED R^2	0.625	
DEGREES OF FREEDOM	98	
*** $p < 0.001$		

Endnotes

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1 Minor Pesikta, Devarim (Ki Tavo) 41a.

2 See more about infusion in Benor, Sarah Bunin. 2016. “Hebrew Infusion at American Jewish Summer Camps.” *Learning About Learning (Mandel Center Blog)*. <http://blogs.brandeis.edu/mandeljewished/?p=1944>.

3 All correlations and differences discussed in this report are significant at the $p < .01$ level (statistical testing included Pearson correlation, chi-square, and t-tests).

4 For this analysis of Zionist camp networks, we group together camp networks that mention Israel in their promotional materials, because there are not enough camps in each network to test for regional differences.

5 Sales, Amy L. and Leonard Saxe. 2003. *How Goodly Are Thy Tents: Summer Camps as Jewish Socializing Experiences*. Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press/University Press of New England.

6 Staff Hebrew ability index: 1 point each for each staff position “a little,” 2 points each for each staff position “somewhat,” and 3 points each for each staff position “to a great extent,” for a total possible score of 15.

7 Stewart, Adam. “Mifgash: Creating the Authentic Relationship.” The Aleph-Bet of Israel Education. The iCenter. <http://www.theicenter.org/sites/default/files/alef-bets/10-mifgash.pdf>.

8 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wBvQ6S7NYwM>

9 Several studies have demonstrated the impact of Jewish overnight summer camp attendance on adult Jewish identity. For example, Steven M. Cohen, Ron Miller, Ira M. Sheskin, and Berna Torr, 2011, *Camp Works: The Long-Term Impact of Jewish Overnight Camp*, *Foundation for Jewish Camp* (<http://www.bjpa.org/Publications/details.cfm?PublicationID=8694>), uses logistic regression analysis to tease apart various factors and finds that camp attendance has an independent positive effect on several indicators, especially attachment to Israel and synagogue attendance. See Sales and Saxe 2003 for details on Jewish content at camps of diverse movements and orientations.

10 This invitation was tailored to individual camp directors based on the research team’s personal relationships with them. Emails to (non-Modern) Orthodox camps included alternative wording in the second sentence: “In addition to tefillah, some camps use only words from Lashon Kodesh, and others use some words from Ivrit.”

11 The overall results presented here include up to 107 responses, rather than 103, because two camps started the survey and declined to complete it, and two camps unintentionally filled out the survey twice.



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