The Culture and Music of American-Jewish Summer Camp

By

Benjamin Max Kramarz

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Committee in Charge
Professor Benjamin Brinner, Chair
Professor Stanley Brandes
Professor Ann Swidler

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בסייעתא דשמיא
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הכל שלו "והכל נתון בערבון" (אבות ג:יט). בטרם אבאר כל הענינים והסברות בחיבור זה, אני צריך לתת הודאות רבות להק"ב, ברוך שאמר והיה העולם. חייב אני להכיר שכל שאני יודע מה' יתברך ואי אפשר לברוא רעיונות חדשות. אבל ממסורה של חכמה ובינה, אפשר לקשור ענין זה לסברה זאת או "חידוש" זה לרעיון זאת ולחבר ספרים חדשים. בחיבור זה השתדלתי לטוות קשרים נאים לפרש קצת מן תעלומות העלום, אבל הכל נסמך על החכמים לפני. אם ראיתי יותר רחוק, רק מעמידה על כתפי גדולים (יצחק נוטון) וגדול מן הגדולים הוא ה' יתברך.

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Introduction: From Texts to Bodies

Adonai Echad!
God is **One**!

- Deuteronomy 6:4

Vayivra Elohim et ha'adam b'tzalmo, B'tzelem Elohim bara oto.
God created the human in his image, **B'tzelem Elohim** [In the image of God] he created him.

- Genesis 1:27

"When I reach out to you and you to me, we become **B'tzelem Elohim** [In the image of God]."

- Dan Nichols

"**Achadut** [oneness] is a reality!"

- Alex Jefferson, Rosh Eidah at Camp Ramah in California

The braided *havdallah* candle has many wicks, but when lit it burns as one flame. Song ignites human bodies toward unity at Camp Alonim in Brandeis, California, where five hundred staff and campers stand together in a circular garden forty feet in diameter to enact havdallah, the ritual that separates the sacred Sabbath from the working week, that recognizes the distinction between light and darkness, that asserts the uniqueness of the Jewish people, and that praises God as "HaMavdil bein kodesh l'chol" – "The One who distinguishes the holy from the ordinary." Ironically, it is in this formalized recognition of division that the fundamental unity inherent in creation is most viscerally realized. Just as the potential of six small candles braided together is actualized into unity by a single spark, so too is the potential of hundreds of bodies intertwined in tight circles with their arms upon each other's shoulders realized in the intermingling of their voices in unified, communal song.

The havdallah ritual is a microcosm of and a central metaphor for the experience of Jewish summer camp. Havdallah is a multi-sensory experience that creates an island in time and space; that removes all barriers and allows people to return to their natural state of intercorporeity. It is when, at Camp Newman in Santa Rosa, California, a fifteen-year-old boy could assert to his peers that they are "like the aspens," that, while each of them appears to be an individual they are, like the massive organism whose singular root system produces many trunks, in fact, truly a unified entity. And it is when, sitting in a dark room in three tight concentric circles linked with their arms around each others' shoulders, that Alex Jefferson, the director of the oldest age cohort at Camp Ramah in Ojai, California, could proclaim to his teenage campers that while everything else may be questioned, "*Achadut* [oneness] is a reality!"

"We share a world," Katharine Young proudly proclaims. "Intercorporeity returns us to sociality, rather than subjectivity or objectivity, as the grounds of social science" (Young 2011:81). Intercorporeity, a term which Young has attributed to Maurice Merleau-Ponty and which she has suggested be the project of folklorists means, quite simply, **we are all connected**. Preferable to the term "intersubjectivity" in that it posits

pre-reflective bodies rather than empirical, subjective minds as intrinsically connected, intercorporeity means that we all *affect* one another.

* * *

Twenty three-year-old Alex Jefferson sat in the middle of the "Beit Kehillah Ramah" (BKR), a round building that serves as Camp Ramah's primary indoor prayer space, surrounded by forty or fifty teenage campers and another fifteen or so staff members just a few years older, evenly spread around the benches between them. The room was completely dark and the teenagers sat closely with their arms around each other, savoring the last few moments of Shabbat as the sun descended behind the Ojai mountains and day transitioned to night. In those waning moments of daylight, the teenagers sang songs in Hebrew, many of whose words they did not understand. They began with "Hinei Mah Tov," a song taken from the book of Psalms whose text simply reads, "How good and pleasant it is to sit as brothers together" (Ps. 133). This was followed by a slow, intentional rendition of the 23rd Psalm, coupled with a melody of "Yedid Nefesh"[1] traditionally used to mark the end of Shabbat. As the teenagers dwelt in each other's copresence, the literal meaning of the songs receded into irrelevancy as a much deeper connection emerged. The teenagers used the term "slo-ach" to describe the connective energy that flowed between them and coalesced in the soulful harmonies of minor key songs. A combination of the words "slow" and "*ruach*" (spirit) — the latter term usually used to characterize the kind of singing that involves yelling, jumping, dancing, and generally letting loose — slo-ach, by contrast, is a channeling of that same energy toward slow, intentional, and most importantly, unified singing. In this moment of intense slo-ach, words become merely sounds and distance melts into non-distance through a "bodily expression of connection and bond" (Gurevitch 1990:188) in which no person is left out of the chain of physical connection. As the singing intensified, even I, sitting with Alex's family on a bench several feet away from the circles of teenagers in the middle, was drawn into the intercorporeal moment when Alex's father, a man who I had never met or talked to, put his arm around my shoulder, and I immediately reciprocated. It was in this moment of physical and spiritual singularity that Alex Jefferson proclaimed the central tenet of his/my thesis: "Achadut is a reality!" We are one. Alex demonstrated this truth with a simple story:

> Before Shabbat, you are walking on the hill behind the Dining Hall and you smile at another person. Because you smiled at them, they feel good going into dinner. Because they feel good going into dinner, they talk to the person next to them. Because they talked to the person next to them, they initiate a friendship. Because they initiated a friendship, they become close over the course of the summer. Because they became close over the summer, their friendship continues for several years. Because their friendship continued for several years, they decide to live together in college. Because they lived together in college, they bring other friends

[1] "Friend of the soul." This *piyut* (liturgical poem) is traditionally used by many communities as the first song in the Friday night service. It is sung to a different melody during *Seudah Shlishit*, the third meal of Shabbat day.

> over. Because they brought other friends over, one of them meets a great girl. Because he met a great girl, they begin to date and eventually get married. Because they got married, they have child. Because they had a child, that child goes to summer camp and smiles at somebody on the hill before Shabbat.

And so the story goes… "Bodies can catch feelings as easily as catch fire" (Gibbs 2001:1). Every body affects and is affected by other bodies. Whereas language and culture allow us to reflect upon the phenomenon of intercorporeity, affect precedes language and culture; it is the fundamental force that "marks a body's *belonging* to a world of encounters" (Seigworth and Gregg 2010:2, emphasis in original). Affect "allows us to begin to argue that experience is not singular, that it is, following Henri Bergson, a multiplicity of intersecting planes" (Brown and Tucker 2010:232, referencing Bergson 1988).

Over the last several years, scholars have begun to rethink the structuralist/post-structuralist philosophies that posit language as the center of interaction, in favor of a move toward analyses that consider pre-reflective, embodied interaction, that theorize not language or culture, but affect as "what sticks, or what sustains or preserves the connection between ideas, values, and objects" (Ahmed 2010:29). Quoting Keith Pearson (1999), Patricia Clough proposes "the organism must be rethought as an open system that places it 'within the wider field of forces, intensities and duration that give rise to it'" (Clough 2010:216). Affect theory asks us to look beyond culture and language toward the pre-logical, pre-symbolic, and pre-reflective forces that flow and accumulate between entities, to explain the points of connection or disconnection between bodies not in terms of shared culture but in terms of the innate potential present in everything. It asks that we consider affect to be the connective tissue between ourselves and others, between ourselves and cultural objects, and between ourselves and what we are constantly becoming as we interact with the world around us. Recognizing the primacy of affect "has come to promise much to cultural theory: offering ways of understanding the genesis and maintenance of the relations that make up the cultural" (Anderson 2010:161).

The move toward affect theory in cultural studies was preceded by a centuries' long debate regarding the nature of culture, people, and the relationship between the two. The early students of folklore sought out cultural objects, initially referred to as "popular antiquities," (Bauman and Briggs 2003:72) from what they perceived as a bygone time when people lived more simply, subsiding on a traditional diet of fairy tales, proverbs, myths, and legends to describe their world and forge social bonds. Imagining pastoral scenes of families sitting around the fireplace of their small cottages in the snowy woods telling stories while smoke piped out of the chimney, these early collectors, who viewed themselves as modern subjects divorced from their objects of inquiry, believed that folklore was a link to their past, to a way of life and a body of traditional knowledge that was dying as structured, empirical, and secular science came to define modernity. For them, folklore lived a bleak—yet romantic—existence on the brink of extinction among uneducated peasants living in rural areas and it was the job of scholars to rescue it before it completely vanished. As these academics travelled the countryside to reconnect with

their "roots," musicians, artists, and other amateur collectors joined them to seek inspiration from what they also perceived as ancient cultural artifacts of a more pure cultural heritage.

Although not a collector himself, J.G. Herder was among the first to recognize the power of folklore to inspire nationalism. He wrote, "the most natural state is...*one* nation, an extended family with one national character" (Herder 1969:324). Herder recognized that culture and people were implicated with each other and suggested that by homogenizing a national culture, political leaders could build a sense of unity among their subjects. Taking this theme further, he suggested that a nation "retains for ages and develops most naturally if the leaders come from the people and are wholly dedicated to it" (1969:324). Not only did a nation need a homogenized culture to maintain stability, it needed leaders who had deep, life-long connections to the lore of their people.

Applying Herder's philosophical position to practical scholarship, the Grimm Brothers, perhaps the most famous folklorists in history, travelled the German countryside, dwelling with the "folk" and collecting their fairy tales and legends. By finding and documenting the cultural objects of these people, which they perceived as ancient and deeply seated in the ethos of German society, the Grimms believed they could establish a corpus of lore strong enough to fuel nationalism and unite German speaking people under a common banner of shared tradition. In the foreword to their 1816 collection of German legends they wrote:

> We recommend our book to devotees of German poesie, history, and language and hope that it will be welcome to all as purely German fare. For it is our firm belief that nothing is as edifying or as likely to bring more joy than the products of the Fatherland (Grimm and Grimm 1981[1816]:11).

Despite the Grimms' assertion that folklore was about people and nationhood, their writing spent little time considering the sociological context of folklore and the complexities of its performance. Rather, the brothers published large volumes of legends and tales, mostly devoid of analysis, whose texts they distilled from the various retellings they encountered in their travels. These texts, they hoped, would reconnect their peers, the subjects of modernity, to their ancient heritage, creating a resonance that would vibrate inward toward nostalgic memories of childhood, and outward toward a sense of national pride. In doing so, they designated the text, rather than the context of its emergence, as the central object of study in the burgeoning field of folkloristics.[2] So it was literary analysis that emerged as the preferred mode of study among 19th century scholars of oral tradition.

Drawing on philology and narrative analysis, Max Müller compared the collected tales of the Grimms with the Sanskrit Rig Veda and classical Greek mythology in an attempt to demonstrate that all folklore stemmed from the same source, namely the movement of the sun across the sky. In Müller's conception, cognate words in related languages—specifically the words "Dyaus," the Vedic sky god, and "Zeus," the Greek

[2] The use of this term is anachronistic as the English term "folklore" was not used until 1846, when it was coined by William Thoms (Dundes 1965). For the sake of simplicity I have used it here to describe all activities related to the collection and analysis of text-based cultural objects.

sky god—demonstrated that symbolic interpretations of natural phenomena were the same in linguistically-related cultures; while the story arcs of folktales, legends, and creation myths could, through a careful examination of their narratives, be boiled down to essential metaphors for the daily and yearly cycles of the sun (Dorson 1955). Andrew Lang held that folklore emerged "from the animistic stage of culture, which personalized the elements and accepted metamorphosis" (Dorson 1955:67). Similar to, yet not as reductive in theme as Müller, Lang's theories emerged from a place of cultural elitism in which he posited that "the history of mankind followed a uniform development from savagery to civilization, and that the relics of primitive belief and custom survived still among the rural peasantry, and among contemporary savages" (Dorson 1955:66). Lang, like Müller, used literary analysis of recently collected folklore torn away from its cultural context along with ancient myths to build a case for his cultural evolutionary standpoint.

Throughout the 19th century, enthusiastic collection of cultural objects continued across Europe. In the 1880s and 1890s, Francis James Child published what he considered to be the definitive collection of English ballads. Like the Grimms, his voluminous publications prominently featured the transcription of texts while leaving the commentary to others. However, in contrast to the Grimms, whose work was centered around the whittling of variants into singular narratives for popularization, Child presented his ballad texts more or less intact, preserving their variation. The groundbreaking feature of his work, which would reverberate through the field of folkloristics for the next seventy years, was to compare the ballad texts thematically and linguistically so as to determine which ballads were closely related or belonged to a single type. He then numbered the ballads, gave each a general title and printed all the variations he found under that title and number. His efforts inspired folklorists to perform similar work with other genres and over the next several decades, thematic indices including Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index of Folk Literature* (1932), Sean O'Suilleabhain's *Handbook of Irish Folk-lore,* R.T. Christiansen's *The Migratory Legends* (1958), and Ernest W. Baughman's *Type and Motif Index of the Folktales of England and North America* (1966) were published.

Armed with massive collections and detailed indices, folklorists of the 20th century set out to further analyze and organize the texts so that they could better define folklore and understand the people to whom it belonged. The first attempts to define folklore continued to be object-oriented, enumerating what is folklore and what is not:

> Folklore, to the anthropologist, is a part of culture but not the whole of culture. It includes myths, legends, tales, proverbs, riddles, the texts of ballads and other songs, and other forms of lesser importance, but not folk art, folk dance, folk music, folk costume, folk medicine, folk custom, or folk belief (Bascom 1953).

> Folklore is the material that is handed on by tradition, either by word of mouth or by custom and practice. It may be folksongs, folktales, riddles, proverbs, or other materials preserved in words. It may be traditional tools and physical objects like fences or knots, hot cross buns, or Easter eggs…All of these are folklore (Taylor 1948).

Orality was deemed of central importance to the early definitions of folklore and scholars into the 1960s and 1970s continued to write about the importance of separating legitimate folklore, passed down through the ages by traditional channels, from "fakelore," recent literary inventions that happened to enter the oral realm (Dorson 1976).

By the time Alan Dundes entered the scene in the 1960s, the folklore texts of old had been thoroughly and repeatedly analyzed by William Bascom, Archer Taylor, Vladimir Propp and others who had created complex analytical frames and organizational systems to deconstruct any piece of culture that came their way without ever having to leave their book-filled studies. Dundes' revolution was to re-imagine who the folk were and from where folklore could emerge. In 1965, he changed the face of the discipline by proclaiming

> The term 'folk' can refer to *any group of people whatsoever* who share at least one common factor. It does not matter what the linking factor is—it could be a common occupation, language or religion—but what is important is that a group formed for whatever reason will have some traditions which it calls its own (Dundes 1965:2, emphasis in original).

In doing so, he opened up the field of folkloristics to new material, and more importantly to new ways of thinking about the relationship between people and culture. Dundes welcomed advances in communication technology as fertile soil for emergent forms of folklore and stressed the consideration of texture and context as central to successful analysis. He was interested in the way that folklore provided a "socially sanctioned" outlet for the expression of cultural anxieties and how folklore acted as a vehicle for the expression of ethos (Dundes 1965). However, like his predecessors Dundes remained focused on the power of shared cultural capital to reinforce group cohesion rather than the divisiveness of cultural difference.

While early 20th century folklorists devised new methods of literary exegesis, a more urgent scholarly project emerged in another part of the academy. Toward the end of the 19th century, the philosophies of Herder, the Grimms, and Andrew Lang began to inspire troubling theories about the nature of humanity. The romantic nationalism which drew inspiration from the work of these thinkers had devolved into notions of biological hierarchy that placed human beings on a spectrum from savage to civilized and proposed that Europeans were genetically predisposed to complex thought while those of other races were doomed to remain simplistic in their worldview. Recognizing the danger in this line of thinking, Franz Boas set out to prove the inanity of this perspective. His first step was to perform fieldwork, to take his own body to the corners of the world and connect with people vastly different than himself. For him, the first step to a successful encounter was to put one's own epistemology aside:

> In order to understand [the activities of the mind] clearly, the student must endeavor to divest himself entirely of opinions and emotions based upon the peculiar social environment into which he is born. He must adapt his own mind, so far as feasible, to that of the people whom he is studying. The more successful he is in freeing himself from the bias based on the group of ideas that constitute the civilization in which he lives, the more

> successful he will be in interpreting the beliefs and actions of man (Boas 1901:281).

Instead of viewing folklore as the product of simpler minds, Boas suggested that folklore was in fact, a complex and well-developed system for explaining the world. His experiences in the field convinced him that the intrinsic potential of human beings was universal, and concluded that "We are not inclined to consider the mental organization of different races of man as differing in fundamental points" (1901: 285). Boas's groundbreaking proclamation about the nature of humanity changed the character of Western scholarship forever. It opened the doors for Bronislaw Malinowski, Margaret Mead, Gregory Bateson, Edmund Leach, E.E. Evans-Pritchard and many others to enter the field looking not to prove why their culture was superior to that of other people, but to discover ways to connect and better understand non-Western worldviews. Culture went from being a specimen under the microscope to a dynamic mode of discovery and even friendship.

As the field of anthropology expanded, its dynamic nature became a central concern. The work of J.L. Austin and Dell Hymes inspired anthropologist to reflect deeply on the context and emergence of cultural performances and speech acts. The trend spread to folklorists as well. Richard Bauman wrote that

> Focus on the doing of folklore, that is, on folklore performance, is the key to the real integration between people and lore on the empirical level. This is to conceptualize the social base of folklore in terms of the actual place of the lore in social relationships and its use in communicative interaction (1971:33).

Bauman recognized that the performance of folklore could create borders between people of diverse backgrounds based on their differential relationship to an emergent item, and, in contrast to Dundes, went on to suggest that

> Folklore may be an expression of differential as well as shared identity, relationships of conflict as well as group unity, social diversity as well as homogeneity (Bauman 1992:36).

Observing that inclusivity and exclusivity were not pre-established but constantly being redefined throughout social events, fieldworkers found themselves reflecting upon the impact of their presence on particular interactions and the effect of these encounters on their bodies. This reflexivity, which gained steam throughout the 1990s and solidified as an integral part of the ethnographic process at the turn of the 21st century, asked scholars to consider and record their own relationship to the dynamic unfolding of cultural contact. Fieldworkers became more and more aware of their bodily presence in the field and the ways in which they were implicated in social encounters. To have a body meant to be present, to affect and be affected by interaction with other people, to feel the affective tension that "*accumulates* across both relatedness and interruptions in relatedness" (Seigworth and Gregg 2010:2, emphasis in original). It was an increased awareness of affective tension, manifested in feelings of belonging and non-belonging between oneself and others during ethnographic encounters that opened the door to affect

theory. Following Bauman, albeit not directly, in its most fundamental aspect affect theory recognizes that we are connected by something deeper than sociality and that culture only unites once it has divided. We see this in young children and animals who are able to communicate and bond with each other through non-linguistic, embodied modes of interaction such as running around in circles in the park.

From birth through childhood, human bodies are remarkably open to both affective and symbolic modes of communication. For the first several months of life, a child's needs are expressed almost entirely through non-symbolic, affective communicative channels, yet as Margaret Mead demonstrated, culturally defined modes of child rearing begin to shape an individual's relational capabilities shortly thereafter and continue to mold the child toward socially constructed norms of interaction throughout the first several years of life (Mead 1988[1935]). First, child and caregivers develop a pre-linguistic yet culturally mediated system for communicating the basic need for food, personal hygiene, and sleep. This is followed by enculturation into a family-orientated social sphere, and ultimately toward a larger group affiliation. What begins as a neutral "affect valence" when we are born, is transformed through what Ben Highmore has termed a "deep pedagogy," into a culturally specific "affect horizon" as we are socialized to a particular language and society (2010:136).

Imagine an invisible force that emanates from our bodies in every direction, intermingling with the valences of others and coalescing into relational capacities based upon shared experience. All bodies have innate affect valences that define their potential to "be affected, meaning 'effectuated,' moved, put into motion by other entities, humans or nonhumans" (Seigworth and Gregg 2010:11, quoting Latour 2004:205). Affect horizons, by contrast, *develop* as these valences are colored by language, culture, folklore and the other socializing elements that provide us with a common vocabulary of experience. A shared affect horizon enables us to quickly establish rapport with our co-culturists based upon a mutual understanding of particular cultural objects and the way they mediate interaction. As we grow older, however, our minds and bodies slow in their development and we settle into behavior patterns. Consequently, we become accustomed to particular communicative standards and the search for common ground with cultural and linguistic others becomes more difficult. Consider, for example, the challenge of adult language acquisition compared to the relative ease with which children can learn new languages. Despite the challenges of adult socialization, universal autonomic responses to the affects of others, such as facial expressions (Ekman) and emotion contagion (Gibbs), confirm the continued presence of a pre-logical affect valence hovering just below the surface of the socially informed affect horizon:

> Of particular interest is facial expression's activation of a mimetic impulse in response to the facial expression of observers, tending then to elicit the same affect in them (Gibbs 2010:191).

Clearly, the ability to connect cross-culturally with others may diminish as we get older, but the potential for affective communication remains in the form of facial expressions and other innately corporeal forms of communication. Unfortunately, socially constructed solipsism and xenophobia often prevents these important cross-cultural affective exchanges from happening. In order to overcome cultural barriers, we must

open our minds to the validity of these communicative channels and their power to elicit empathy, a la Boas. In contrast to highly socialized adults, children can remain corporeally open to affective modes of interaction long into their pre-adolescent and adolescent years, absorbing the pre-logical affects of others, especially their peers. The openness of developing bodies is key to the success of Jewish summer camp in fostering a sense of connectedness.

In this vein, my thesis will examine the conditions of Jewish summer camp that make embodied intercorporeity a reality. My work here will be to demonstrate that by creating a unified, temporally and spatially bound culture within an affectively charged natural setting, summer camp removes the barriers of the particular environments into which children are socialized, returning them to a fundamental sense of unity solidified by communal singing and fully embodied interaction.

My thesis is about the experience of children at summer camp, and particularly about the impact of music on the lives of young people. Like Bruno Nettl, I believe in the power of music "to support the integrity of individual social groups" and to "control humanity's relationship to the supernatural" (2005:253). Following Nettl and the school of ethnomusicology, I do not hold that music functions in a vacuum. Rather, music serves to reinforce the social bonds that have been forged between people through the sharing of affective states. Insofar as every surface of our bodies affectively communicates with every surface of other bodies on some level (Thrift 2010:296), my thesis will look at the various ways that camp strategically creates opportunities for children to engage in activities and interactions that develop pre-reflective affective connections with others. I will begin with an exploration of the social structure and culture of summer camp. This will be followed by an in-depth analysis of the musical activities of camp, and finally an examination of Shabbat, the climactic intercorporeal moment of the camp experience. In this progression, I will explore the power of affect to draw individual bodies toward unrealized potential, and ultimately, toward each other. The true beauty of summer camp is a child's embodied realization that affect "stretches across real and imaginary social fields and sediments, linking some kind of everything" (Stewart 2010:340). Continuing in the trajectory of cultural studies over the past century, my thesis will explore the power of cultural objects to mediate interaction, but more than this, it will probe the depths of the universal human soul to reveal that, in spite of the barriers that temporarily divide us, we truly are all connected.

Chapter 1: Social Structure and Culture

Mid-morning during the fourth day of In Service training, Becca Meyer, the Associate Director of Camp Tawonga, assembled the entirety of the summer staff on the boy's-side field, a large grassy area between the boys' cabins and the dining hall. Once the staff had gathered and sat down, Becca asked for examples of "ripples," positively charged actions that, in the highly communal context of summer camp, would quickly be felt by other people and lead to more positive actions. Several staff raised their hands and offered the examples of setting tables, folding other people's laundry, and bringing treats for wilderness staff after a trip. She then asked for examples of "dominoes," negatively charged actions that, instead of spreading good feelings, would instead throw off the rhythms of camp. Just as quickly as they had given examples of ripples, staff members identified leaving mugs around, peeing on the toilet seat, and being late as prime examples of little things which can have massive negative impacts at camp. To further demonstrate the degree to which the camp community is interconnected, Becca instructed all of the staff to form groups according to Zodiac sign and to sit together in these groups on the boy's-side field. Once we had sorted ourselves out, each cluster was given a string and instructed to hold the string tight, every group member having a hand on it to form a sort of web. Since we were divided by a factor that had nothing to do with our roles at camp, each group featured a cross-section of camp staff: counselors, unit heads, kitchen staff, maintenance, art specialists, etc. With the string now standing as a physical representation of the connectedness we had just examined in the "ripples and dominoes" conversation, Becca instructed all of the specialists to remove their hands from the web. Naturally, when they withdrew themselves, the string fell slack. Next she had the counselors drop the string and the slack increased further. We continued to repeat the exercise, noting that no matter what segment of the camp staff let go of the string, it would go slack.

The activity described here is known as the "Web of Life" and is a long-standing, central component of Camp Tawonga's staff training. Its message is clear: all of our roles are important in making camp function and everything we do affects the rest of the camp community. From a holistic, religious, or spiritual perspective one might say that everything we do has some impact on the world in potentially long-reaching and unforeseeable ways. However, for the present anthropological study it should be noted that Camp Tawonga self-identifies as an "intentional community." Campers and staff have chosen to enter the Tawonga environment and in doing so, tacitly accept and frequently embrace its particular ethos and intimacy. Though the term "intentional community" was not used at all of the camps that I visited in my fieldwork, each one of them embodied this notion of intentionality in its own way and functioned under many of the same basic social principles. In doing so, each camp created a safe environment for children to grow in relation to their peers, their elders, the natural world, and Jewish tradition. This chapter will deconstruct the social structure and culture of camp to demonstrate how intentional community is created and how it fosters a sense of intercorporeity.

Borders of Community: The Liminal Space

My fieldwork for this thesis involved visiting six residential Jewish summer camps in California over the course of two summers. As the son of Camp Tawonga's executive director, Ken Kramarz, I began my research in the place with which I was most intimately familiar, having spent the first sixteen summers of my life singing, playing, and growing among Tawonga's hills, rivers, and rocks. By the time I had outgrown my status as a camper (around age 16), I broke away from the camp community, foregoing the typical transition from counselor to camper and instead relishing the opportunity to explore different summer experiences. I would often visit camp for a few days during the summer as a young adult, but always felt out of place without a defined role and responsibility in the community. Over the course of several years away from camp, I developed a niche skill set as a Jewish music specialist and was eventually hired by Tawonga's director, Jamie Simon, to provide additional songleading support on weekends the summer before beginning my formal fieldwork. My experience as a liminal member of the Tawonga staff set the stage for my subsequent return in 2012 as a formal researcher and unique community member.

Fieldworkers always straddle the line between active participants and critical observers. We often engage our bodies fully in cultural events, yet, with an eye toward reporting and academic analysis, part of our being must lie outside the temporal and spatial boundaries of the particular situation we are investigating. For me, performing fieldwork at Camp Tawonga was, in essence, working at home. Nonetheless, I recorded and photographed commonplace events from my childhood as if I had never experienced them before, supporting Deborah Wong's observation that "Even when we work at home, we tend to respond and to write as if we were outsiders" (2008:83). While my familiarity with the particulars of Camp Tawonga enabled me to seamlessly navigate between my dual role as a Tawongan and a scholar, my ulterior academic motive for this particular visit was rarely far from my mind and undoubtedly impacted the interactions I had with others at camp. As I moved away from my home environment of Camp Tawonga and began to investigate five other summer camps in California, I discovered that this "Insider-Outsider" boundary could become more pronounced the deeper I delved into the intricacies of each camp's culture.

My fieldwork began with identifying the camps I would visit. Based on my research budget and the scale of my project, I decided to limit my study to camps within California. My interest in movement-affiliated camps[1] led me to identify Camp Newman in Santa Rosa and Camp Ramah in Ojai as definite candidates for research. These camps are affiliated with Reform and Conservative Judaism respectively and are each part of a larger network of camps across North America. Next, I chose Camp JCA in Malibu due to its genealogical connection to Camp Tawonga. Both my father and the previous director of Tawonga had grown up at JCA so I suspected that I would find many cultural

[1] For approximately the last century, American Judaism has been divided into "movements" based upon overarching philosophical principles regarding the relationship between Jewish tradition and modernity. The two most prominent of these movements are "Reform," which began in 19th century Germany as a way to integrate Jews more fully into German society and "Conservative," an early 20th century outgrowth of the Reform movement that sought to return to a more traditional practice straddling the gap between Reform and Orthodoxy. For an in-depth discussion of American-Jewish history see Sarna 2005.

similarities between the two. Furthermore, both camps had once been run by local JCCs and both were now independent agencies. The final two camps I visited, Camp Alonim in Simi Valley and Camp Hess Kramer in Malibu, did not emerge as candidates until I began my research at Tawonga. Early on in my fieldwork, Camp Hess Kramer was mentioned several times by an experienced songleader at Tawonga as an important place in her musical development. Upon uncovering the significance of this particular camp in her personal history, I decided that it would be worthwhile to pay Hess Kramer a visit. Finally, the director of Camp Tawonga, Jamie Simon, along with my father extolled the music and dance culture of Camp Alonim and encouraged me to include it in my fieldwork. An email introduction to director Josh Levine by Jamie quickly added Alonim to my fieldwork cohort. By visiting each of these camps, I hoped to gain a sense of the similarities and differences between them and the manner in which Jewish culture travels across geographical space and institutional affiliation.

Each of the camps I visited could be thought of as liminal communities in the sense that "Conceptually, socially, and physically, they are set apart from normal society with its structured statuses and roles" (Kamau 2002:20). While it is certainly the case that social structure exists within the camp community and is, in fact, the foundation upon which camp is built, each of the Jewish residential summer camps I visited was populated by people in transition: pre-teens, teenagers, and college-aged "emerging adults" (Saxe and Sales 2004:15, Arnett 2001) whose embodied liminality mirrored the liminality of the camp space and time. Although varying in their degree of physical separation from the urban and suburban environments that most of the camp population calls home during the school year, each of the camps was located away from buildings, malls, highways, and other industrialized landscapes that separate people from the natural world. For most of the campers and staff, the increased interaction with nature fostered by the physical environment is one of the first steps in establishing camp as a liminal space. Along with this, the summer is a time of transition when children have finished one grade and are preparing to enter the next. For many, camp marks the end of middle school and the beginning of high school, the end of childhood and the beginning of the teenage years. Matthew Renfro-Sargent observes that "Old identities dissolve and new identities are formed in the borderlands, and this process of identity change can be sought after or forced upon those who enter the liminal state" (2002:91). As conscientious agents of socialization, Jewish summer camps embrace these three elements of liminality (time, age, and place) and construct a social order that maximizes the opportunities for children to be affectively pulled toward positive self-growth.

The Journey to Camp: Tawonga

For the majority of campers, the journey to Camp Tawonga begins at a parking lot in San Francisco where, after bidding their parents goodbye, children aged 8-16 are divided by gender and age to board several buses and embark on the four hour journey up to the mountains. Although they have not yet been assigned cabin groups, this immediate division by gender and age eases the social anxiety of transition and enables some of the children to begin meeting one another over the course of the journey out of the city, through the suburbs, into California's flat central valley with its distinctive orchards whose perfectly aligned rows of trees extend as far as the eye can see, and finally up the

windy Highway 120 into the Sierra Mountains. After passing the small Gold Rush era town of Groveland, the buses travel thirty more minutes up a densely forested mountain highway until they finally reach the turnoff onto a dirt road with a small arrow indicating the address. The buses bump up and down the gravel road and then onto a one lane paved road descending upon a panoramic view of camp (Figure 1.1). As the buses make their way through the entry gate and into central camp, the children begin to cheer. Mere moments later, the counselors—who have been anxiously awaiting this moment and receiving updates from the directors about when the buses will be arriving—run out to line the road and sing a welcome song:

> We welcome you to Camp Tawonga
> Mighty glad you're here!
> We'll send the air reverberating
> With a mighty cheer!
> We'll sing you in, We'll sing you out
> We will raise a mighty shout!
> Hail, Hail the gang's all here
> Camp Tawonga welcomes you!

Figure 1.1: Coming into Camp Tawonga

As soon as the campers get off the bus, the girls are directed to the stage and the boys are directed to the "Big Oak Tree," where they will soon be divided into cabin groups of 10-12 campers and 2 counselors. Once all of the boys have arrived and are a seated on the grass in front of the tree, assistant director Andy Grossman comes up full of spirit and announces that the campers will soon meet their counselors, "but before that…!" to

which all of the counselors throw their hands in the air and yell "aaaaah" while the campers remain silent. This being the first and shortest session of the summer specifically designed to be a "Taste of Camp", most of the campers are new to the particular folklore of Camp Tawonga and do not yet know that anytime a person says "but before that," the entire crowd should throw their hand in the air and yell "aaaaah." In a rare moment of meta-discursive interruption from the natural flow of camp culture, Andy briefly steps away from the heightened space of folkloric performance (Bauman) to explain the proper execution of this interaction. Following this brief interlude, Andy has the children rehearse the ritualistic crowd response and then proceeds to call up the first set of counselors – B-1. Thus begins the camp experience…but before that…

For an entire week before the campers arrived, the staff of Camp Tawonga were together at camp learning to embody the Tawonga ethos and developing bonds with one another. Although my status as the executive director's son and a good friend of the Tawonga community enabled me to participate and observe most of this In Service training week, as a non-staff member, I was asked not to come until the third day of staff training. My father had informed me that the first two days of In Service were a time of intense bonding and that it would be inappropriate for a non-staff member to attend. Although I had spoken to Jamie about helping with music over the summer and did so on multiple occasions, my position just outside the normatively defined roles of the Tawonga summer community prevented me from the full cultural access enjoyed by current staff members.

The challenges of negotiating the unusual positionality of a researcher investigating a culture in which he was raised emerged throughout the process of arranging camp visits and participating in camp activities. Two of the six camps I visited were excited by the description of my project but when pressed about arranging dates were unresponsive. Although I stressed my proficiency as a Jewish music educator who could bring a strong skill set to their camps at no cost to them, my unusual request often backlogged my emails in the inboxes of directors and other gate-keepers whose approval I needed to perform my fieldwork. Even for the camps that were responsive by email, my arrival and role during my stay were often in a state of flux and uncertainty. Ironically, my status as a twenty-seven year old college graduate pursuing a masters' degree positioned *me* as a liminal participant among the humans-in-transition who occupied well-defined social roles in the liminal space of summer camp!

Entering the Place: JCA

My brother Jake and I departed his home in Marina Del Rey in the early afternoon, drove west to Highway 1 and then up the coast to Malibu. Over the course of the forty-five minute drive, I was shocked by how quickly the urban landscape of western Los Angeles gave way to the quiet beachfront of Malibu. After a mere thirty minutes, we turned right onto Mulholland Highway and were almost immediately in what felt like desolate mountains. Although we had travelled a relatively short distance from civilization, the journey through the winding brown hills made it feel as though we were leaving one world and entering another. After what seemed like hours of ascending deeper and deeper into uncharted wilderness we turned into a road marked "Shalom Institute" and then through an open gate—which surprised both of us—down a road past

a garden area with horses and various other animals and into what we could only assume was the center of Camp JCA. We parked just outside a medium-sized white house and walked in. Being accustomed to the locked gate and vigilant oversight of visitors entering Camp Tawonga, our surprise at the open gate was intensified when we discovered that the front office was empty. After poking our head around a bit, we found a woman in her mid-thirties in one of the corner offices who turned out to be the associate director. We introduced ourselves and I said I had been in contact with camp director Joel Charnick about visiting. She did not seem aware that I was coming but was totally cool and called Joel on the radio. Jake and I waited in the office for about ten minutes until he arrived. While we were waiting Jake used the bathroom in the office. When he came out he told me that there was a sign that said you couldn't poop in there. Overhearing us, the associate director explained that the sign was there so that people (boys in particular) did not stink up the whole office. As she was explaining this, Joel arrived. I introduced my brother and myself and we chatted for a few minutes in the office (about, among other things, the pooping situation in the office) before he invited us on a tour of a camp.

Over the course of the summer, I came to observe that the way I was received by each camp upon entering the space was often reflective of that camp's ethos, which Ben Highmore, quoting Gregory Bateson, defines as "the dense weave of aesthetic propensities that might be shared (at some level) by a group" (2010:135). The casual, down-to-earth vibe of JCA was highlighted by relative ease of entry and conversation about bodily functions. My entrance to Camp Newman, on the other hand, was much more formalized and marked by an official greeter who led me to a room that had been specially prepared for me (Figure 1.2). As part of my arrangement with Camp Newman, I had agreed to be part of the "faculty," a group of rabbis, Jewish educators, and other specialists who volunteered part of their summer to help with the Jewish education program at camp. While JCA allowed me to be a free-floating observer, Camp Newman preferred to put me in a pre-defined position at camp and welcomed me to the community as such.

Figure 1.2: My door at Camp Newman

Though my positionality remained liminal throughout the summer, my role traversed the limits between fly-on-the-wall observer, music leader, and many things in between. Coming in as a researcher/camp alumnus/Jewish educator at different parts of the summer meant that I had to negotiate both a cultural and physical position for myself throughout each of my visits.

The Physical Space

"Just as nature finds its way to the core of my personal life and becomes inextricably linked with it, so behavior patterns settle into that nature, being deposited in the form of a cultural world" (Merleau-Ponty 1962:405).

The construction of the cultural world of camp begins with a consideration of the physical place. I have already pointed out that the spatial and temporal liminality of summer camp sets the stage for its social structure to emerge. Now I will turn to a discussion of the way in which each camp's physical layout reflects—to a certain degree—it's particular ethos.

At Camp Tawonga, behavior patterns of campers and staff reflect the intentionally rustic atmosphere of the place. When I was growing up at Camp Tawonga, most of the boys' cabins were old rectangular structures with translucent plastic roofs, flimsy walls, no electricity, and no bathrooms. Since that time, nearly all of them have been torn down and rebuilt with shingled roofs and sturdy walls. However, by choice, the new cabins were built without electricity and plumbing so as to preserve the desired aesthetic of camp. According to my father, being at Camp Tawonga should feel like camping. Without electricity in the cabins and ambient light in the communal areas, the daily cycle begins to wane when the sun goes down and bedtime for most campers is not long after dark. Nighttime activities take on a special character as heightened affective moments in which the borders between people literally fade into darkness. Communal bathrooms transform mundane, normally individual activities such as teeth brushing and showering into group events that further the bonding between children of the same gender. As one can imagine, this particular observation is not based upon my research as an adult graduate student as much as upon reflections from my upbringing at camp. Although my accommodations ranged from a room in the infirmary at JCA (with which, incidentally, I was completely satisfied), to my own private suite at Camp Alonim, in all cases my accommodations had electricity and a private bathroom, and were geographically separate from camper housing areas. While this arrangement allowed me to step in and out of camp activities as needed to record and reflect upon my observations, it created a physical barrier between my body and the rest of the camp community that, once again, positioned me in a liminal space.

With its camper cabins devoid of electricity and bathrooms, Camp Tawonga was certainly the most rustic of the six camps in my cohort. Aside from JCA, whose camper cabins feature electricity but no bathrooms, and Ramah, whose older campers live in tents, the other camps have cabins with electricity and bathrooms. In these camps, bathroom activities take place within a single cabin group while lights allow programs to continue beyond nightfall. At all of the camps aside from Tawonga, there is enough ambient electric light to allow people to navigate the grounds at night without flashlights, significantly changing the daily programmatic schedule, particularly for older campers used to staying up later in the evening. Whereas at Tawonga nearly all camper programming ends at nightfall, at JCA and Newman teenagers often have activities scheduled until 11:00 pm or midnight.

One feature shared by all the camps was a single dining hall for meals. At JCA, Tawonga, Alonim, and Hess Kramer the entire camp population eats breakfast, lunch, and dinner together in a large hall located in the center of camp. Ramah and Newman

also feature large central halls for meals, but due to their large camper populations must divide certain meals so as to accommodate everybody. At Camp Ramah, all of camp eats lunch and dinner together while breakfast is done in shifts. Newman, with its 500+ camper population and undersized dining hall has two shifts for every meal, the earlier shift for younger campers and the later shift for older campers. However, included in their thirty million dollar building campaign is a plan to redesign the dining hall so as to accommodate all of camp at once.

Another feature common to all six camps were separate boys' and girls' living areas. Camp Tawonga (Figure 1:3) and Camp JCA's (Figure 1:4) girls' and boys' areas have several cabins clustered together roughly separated by the dining hall.

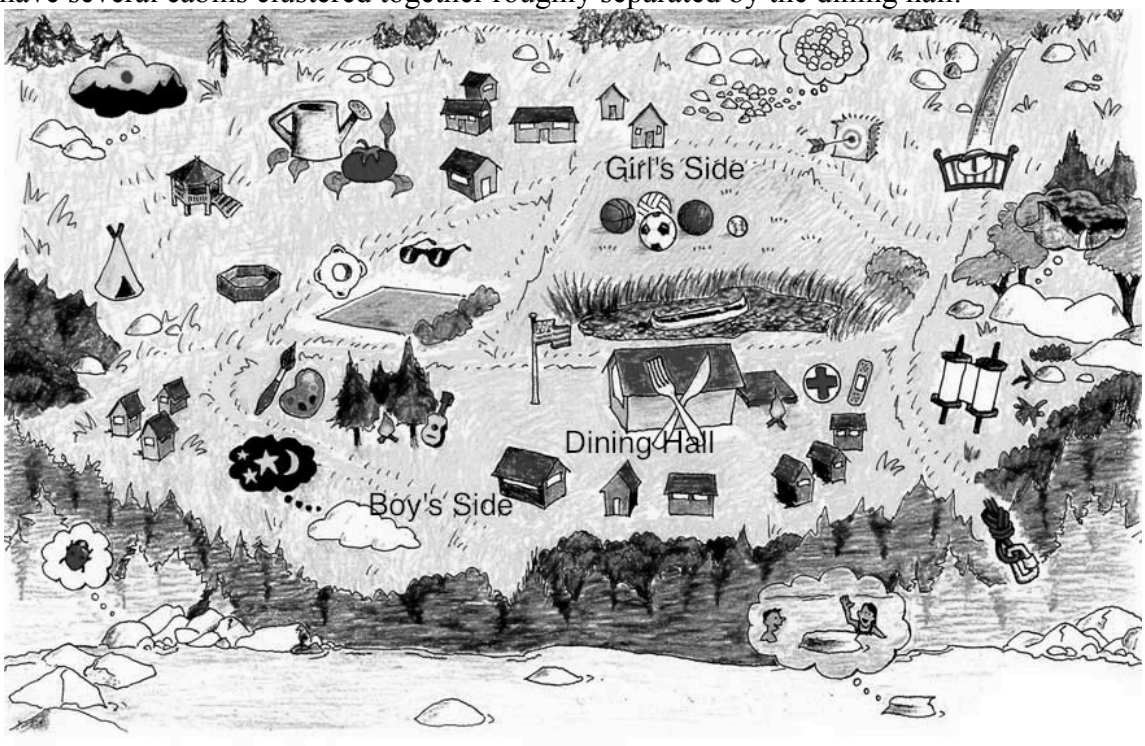

Figure 1.3: Camp Tawonga

At Hess Kramer and Alonim, the camper residence areas are also divided by gender but slightly removed from most programmatic areas. Camp Newman (Figure 1.5) and Ramah (Figure 1.6) have slightly more complex housing arrangements based in part upon the challenges of fitting such a large camper population into a relatively small area.

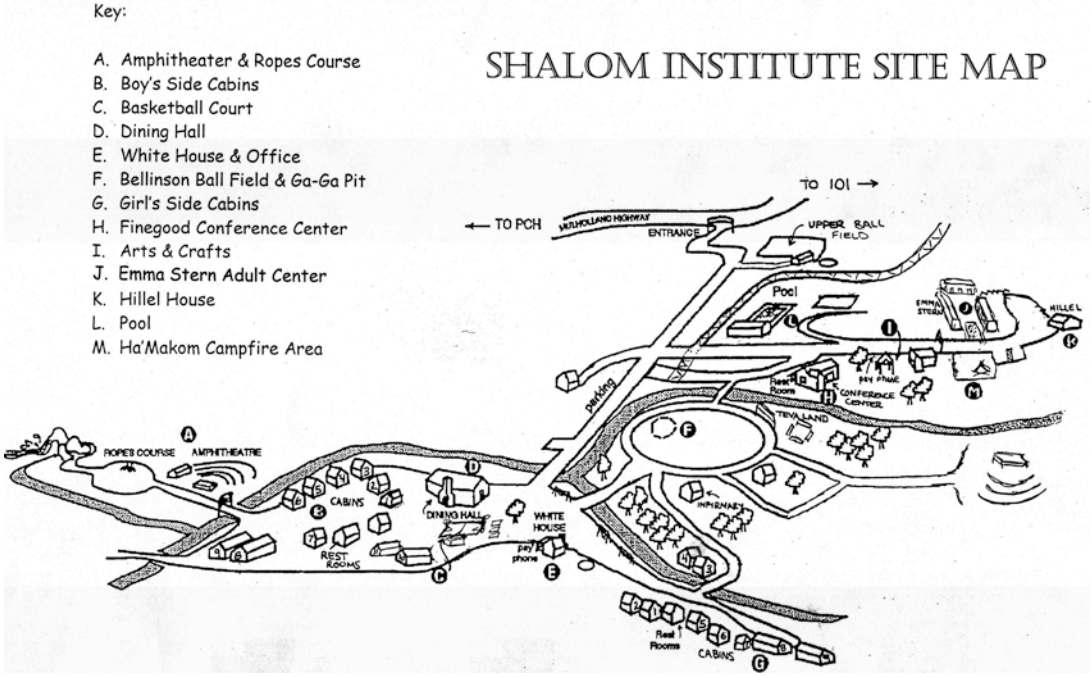

Figure 1.4: Camp JCA

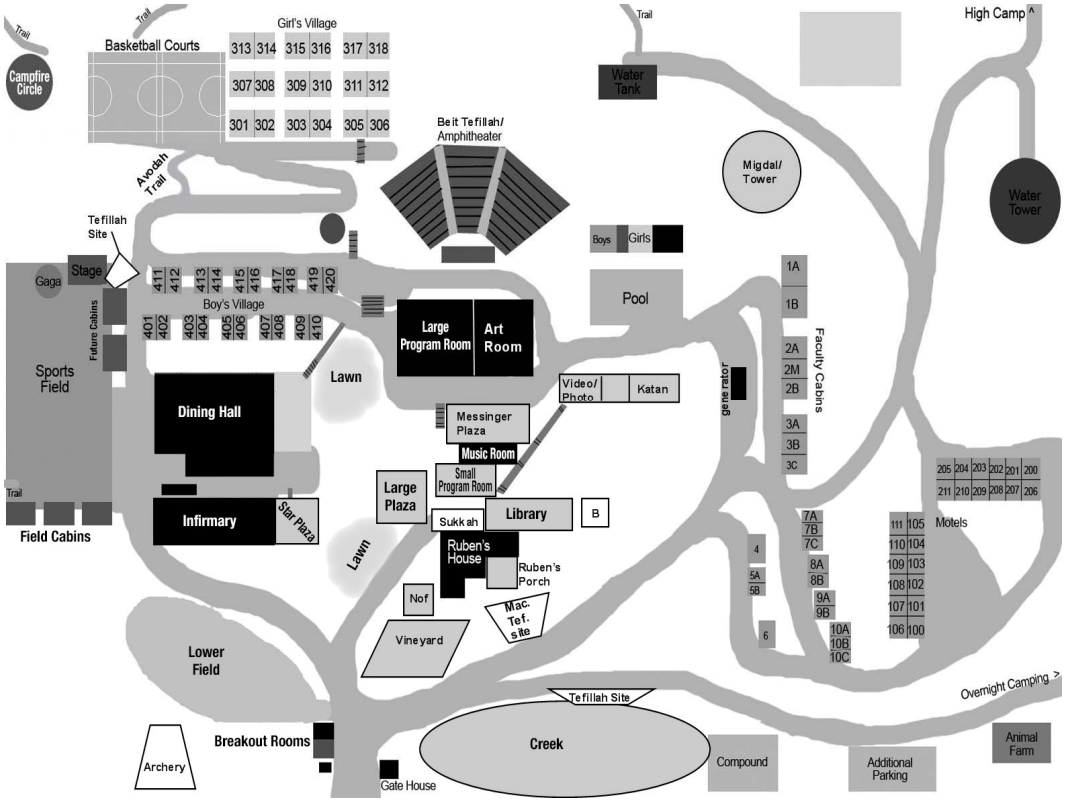

Figure 1.5: Camp Newman

At Camp Ramah (Figure 1.6), for instance, older campers are divided into the boys and girls tent *shetach* (lit. "area"), which are completely gender separate, while younger campers live in single-gender cabins in a mixed gender cabin cluster.

One notable exception to the tendency for separate boys' and girls' living areas is the Counselors-in-Training. While these older teenagers always have gender separate cabins, they frequently have their own tent or cabin clusters away from the rest of the campers.

Figure 1.6: Camp Ramah

At summer camp, the three basic human needs of shelter, food, and personal hygiene become, through the physical arrangement of the space, shared activities that contribute to a sense of communitas. All of the summer camps I visited have swimming pools, sports facilities, arts and crafts buildings, performance areas and other facilities designed for camp activities, but the effectiveness of camp as a socializing force begins with the unique opportunity it creates to make the mundane communal. It is the opportunity for children to spend their days from waking up to going to bed *together* that makes residential summer camp such a powerful bonding experience.

Social Structure: Camper Life

Assistant director Andy Grossman called up the first set of boys' counselors to the Big Oak tree, and two college-aged men came to the front and high fived each other. Andy then proceeded to call out the names of the campers who would be in B-1 (Boys cabin number 1), the youngest boys' bunk at camp. Once all the children had been called, the campers followed their two counselors to a nearby location to meet one

another. Over the course of the next four days, this group of boys would eat, sleep, bathe, and play together, and hopefully develop a strong sense of brotherhood through co-participation in this wide range of activities. After the boys left, Andy called up the counselors for B-2, B-3, B-4…all the way to B-10, the oldest set of campers.

At Camp Tawonga, the cabin group is the smallest and most important division of campers. The pre-assignment of similarly-aged children of the same gender to cabin groups reflects the camp administration's acknowledgment that "there is a material arrangement or relations between bodies that allows for certain potentials to act" (Brown and Tucker 2010:236). Across its literature, Camp Tawonga is highly transparent about it's educational outcomes, and the social organization is intentionally designed to facilitate their success:

1) Fostering positive self-image and self-esteem
2) Creating a cooperative community
3) Tikkun Olam – A partnership with nature
4) Spirituality and positive Jewish identity
(http://tawonga.org/about/mission-and-philosophy/)

The visual representation of these outcomes roughly mirrors the social organization of camp:

At the center, "positive self-image & self-esteem" begins with the cabin group insofar as "The establishment of one's self-understanding is inextricably dependent on recognition or affirmation on the part of others" (Watkins 2010:275, quoting Kojeve 1969:11). It seems that people tend to be drawn to those of their own age and gender without conscious reflection or premeditation. This being the case, the cabin group maximizes the potential for embodied individual growth by removing the social barriers of gender and age to create a manageable "bloom-space." Recognizing that different aspects of a person emerge through the social, Seigworth and Gregg posit that "affect is integral to a body's perpetual *becoming*" (2010:3) while "[Edward] Reed explains, 'Becoming a self is something one cannot do on one's own; it is an intensely social process'" (Watkins 2010:284, quoting Reed 1995:431). "Bloom-space" is the term used to describe the potential for change within a particular body in a particular social situation. At Camp Tawonga, the terms "comfort zone" and "outside of comfort zone" roughly parallel this academic terminology. Only by venturing outside of one's comfort zone (or being pulled into a bloom-space) can a person grow. As Merleau-Ponty points out, "Our relationship to the social is, like our relationship to the world, deeper than any express perception or

any judgment" (Merleau-Ponty 1962:421). Since embodied socialization occurs at the phenomenal level rather than the intellectual level it is extremely important to recognize that **camp programming is effective because the social structure creates constant opportunities for embodied, intercorporeal interaction leading to personal growth**.

The concentric circle "creating a cooperative community" is reflected in the next step of camper social organization: the multi-gender "unit" (JCA and Tawonga), "division" (Alonim), "*eidah*" (Ramah), or "session" (Newman), which consists of anywhere from 40-60 children, approximately 4-6 cabin groups. A significantly larger social set than the cabin, the division of campers into multi-gender, similar-age groups introduces a social dynamic that allows for children to grow in relation to peers of the opposite gender.[2] Following this, the next circle, "Tikkun Olam—A Partnership With Nature," considers children's relationship to the outdoors, which, I would argue is also pre-logical in many cases. Although Camp Tawonga does some intentional nature education, much of the time, the natural world acts as a wondrous background upon which the social is painted. Trees, rocks, and hills conform both to the contours of individual bodies and to the contours of the group as, for example, children settle themselves onto large granite slabs to gaze at the stars and dwell in each other's presence. Finally, "Spirituality and Positive Jewish Identification"—often the least embodied of the four outcomes—is perhaps most effectively and affectively achieved through music, a topic that will be explored in great detail in the following chapters.

At all six summer camps, programming happens at the individual, cabin, division/unit, and all-camp level. Depending upon the organizational model of the camp, these program structures occupy different percentages of the daily schedule. Both Camp Tawonga and Camp JCA are structured primarily around "cabin-based" programming in which most of the daily activities are done with one's same-age, same-gender cabin group of 10-12 children. At Newman and Ramah, on the other hand, children spend much of the day with their larger, multi-gender age cohort. Hess Kramer and Alonim fall somewhere in between. The decisions regarding program structure are due in part to the philosophy of each camp and in part to practical considerations. Ramah and Newman, for instance, are both too large to coordinate many all-camp activities and therefore, each unit/division acts almost as a camp-within-a-camp. While much of the daily program is group-based, individual electives—*chugim* at most camps—allow for children to participate in their choice of activities with a more heterogeneous group of campers linked not necessarily as much by their age as by their desire to explore a particular type of activity—music, dance, sports, art, etc. At Camp Alonim and Camp Newman, whose education philosophies both include a strong emphasis on the arts, children are presented with elective choices on the very first day of camp. Camp Tawonga, which is centered on cabin-based programming, has children in the same bunk discuss potential activities with their counselors, who then fill out a one- to two-week schedule on the first night of the session. On this night, called "clearing house", program staff set up tables throughout the dining hall and then one counselor from each cabin goes to sign up their bunk with specialists from the activity areas in which the group has expressed interest. According to director Joel Charnick, JCA once used a similar system to build their schedules but

[2] Although alternate-gender cases did emerge from time to time during my fieldwork, gender roles at most of the camps I visited were fairly binary and hetero-normative, special cases being considered and addressed only as needed.

now has Program Director Marshall Saxe determine the schedules for each bunk before the session begins. At both Tawonga and JCA the bunk schedules that the counselors or Marshall fill out are not completely empty but include pre-set times for individual electives, unit activities, all-camp programs and special days such as the challenge course and camping trip.

Throughout the range of daily activities, campers experience both direct, educational programming geared toward certain cultural outcomes as well as corporeal bonding experiences with groups of different sizes. Although camp culture constantly shifts between embodied, affective experience and intellectual, pre-meditated, structural enculturation, the power of the affective at camp is what differentiates it from most other education models. The grouping of children by age and gender creates a horizontal bloom-space that draws children toward each other and encourages personal growth, but equally important is the vertical bloom-space that emerges when children are separated from their parents and given the opportunity to live with young adults just a few years older then themselves.

The Inverted Pyramid: Staff

At Camp Tawonga, staff are taught to visualize the organizational structure as an inverted pyramid with the campers at the top and the board of directors at the bottom (Figure 1.7). While I have joked with my dad that the metaphor of an inverted pyramid doesn't imply the most stable structure, the truth is that this particular representation demonstrates both the primacy of the camper experience and the intentional creation of an intercorporeal bloom-space primed to pull children toward adulthood and young adults toward maturity. Each level of the pyramid roughly represents a cohort of age and responsibility that supports the level above it.

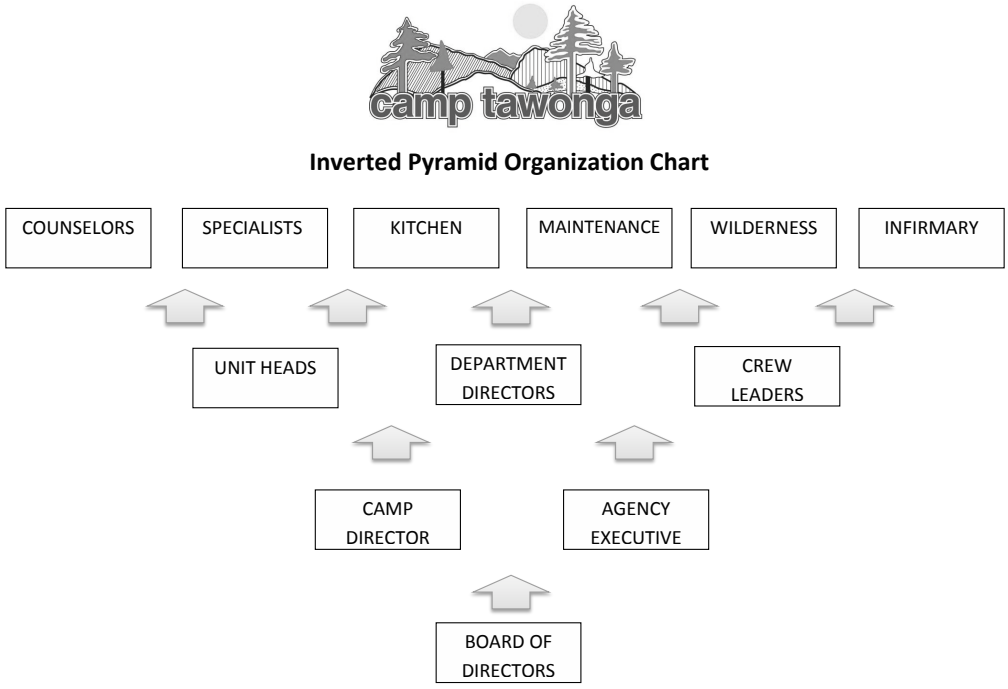

Figure 1.7: Inverted Pyramid

Just under the top level of the pyramid, which represents clientele, is the level that includes counselors, who are the primary supervisors and mentors of the children. According to the Camp Tawonga counselor handbook,

> The Camp Tawonga counselors are the people who determine the quality of the experience that our children have. Through their sympathetic understanding of the campers' problems, their commitment to developing programs for the campers rather than for themselves, and their helpful attitude, the counselors make it possible for each camper to have a successful camp experience (2012:2).

All six camps that I visited have counselors who live with the campers in their cabins. Usually these counselors are between 17 and 20 years old and many of them were campers and CITs (Counselors-in-Training) before they became full-fledged staff. Though counselors' roles vary at the different camps I visited, there are some important common features. They lead the children in day-to-day activities and at some camps, such as Alonim, are responsible for designing programs. Due to their physical and developmental proximity to the children, counselors are also the primary transmitters of the camp ethos. Whereas parents are always a generation removed from their children and often have to force their children into uncomfortable situations to facilitate the child's development, counselors provide a physical and social role model whose affective presence in the children's lives encourages them to push the boundaries of their comfort zones, often without realizing they are doing so. Megan Watkins asserts that "affects…are the corporeal instantiation of recognition" (2010:273). Through a range of

interactions with these slightly more developed bodies, children are affectively pulled toward a more mature, but still manageable bloom-space. With little or no conscious reflection, campers are drawn to embody the ethos that their counselors live and espouse.

The next level of the inverted pyramid includes the staff that supervise the counselors and oversee the units/divisions. Tawonga, JCA, and Hess Kremer refer to these supervisors as "Unit Heads," while Ramah, Newman, and Alonim[3] use the Hebrew term *Rosh* (head). (For the sake of clarity, I will use the term "Unit Head" to refer to this general category of staff.) Just as the counselors provide mentorship to campers, unit heads act as role models for the counselors. However, there are several key differences between the camper-counselor relationship and the counselor-unit head relationship. First, in most cases the unit head is the counselor's boss. While they usually do not have the authority to hire and fire counselors, they are responsible for assessing the counselors' performance and advising them as to how to best perform their work. Second, counselors and unit heads are both staff members, and usually adults. Whereas campers experience an affective pull toward maturity through their interaction with counselors, the relationship between counselors and unit-heads is much more explicitly stated and mediated primarily through linguistic modes of interaction: meetings, conversations, etc. Nonetheless, the role of the unit head is one to which many counselors aspire and often represents an even greater embrace of the camp ethos. In cases where unit heads did not grow up at their employer camp but rather developed their supervision and leadership skills elsewhere, counselors and campers might help the unit head gain insight into the particulars of camp culture while the unit head brings a greater level of inter-personal skills to the interaction. For the most part, unit heads tend to be a few years older than counselors, often recent college graduates. Even if they come into the camp community as adults, they are people who understand the sort of communal, supportive environment that camps strive to create and are instrumental in helping counselors to succeed. While unit heads do have direct interaction with the campers during programs, they usually have separate housing and do not share with campers in daily activities such as sleeping and eating to the extent that the counselors do. Frequently, the unit-head will be the first line of support for camper issues that are beyond the counselors. These might include extreme homesickness, trouble with other children, or a violation of camp rules. In cases when parents must be called, the responsibility to communicate with the parent is usually that of the unit head.

Just below unit heads are directors. Since my childhood, the directorial staff of Camp Tawonga has grown immensely due to an expanding camper population and greater diversification of programs. When I was growing up, two directors oversaw all of the other supervisory staff. Now, two or more directors might supervise unit heads while another director could supervise wilderness specialists, another art and music staff, and yet another teenage programs. It used to be the case that directors were always year-round staff. Over the last several years, Camp Tawonga has augmented their year-round directors by hiring experienced staff members (usually in their late 20s or 30s) to provide additional directorial support over the summer. Depending on the personnel, different

[3] Although each division at Camp Alonim has a *rosh*, the social organization is a bit different. Whereas at the other camps the head of the camper unit/division supervises the counselors, at Camp Alonim all of the counselors are supervised by two head counselors. The *rashim* (plural) act more as programmers than as supervisors. This being said, it seems that this position is in a transitional stage at Alonim.

directors oversee different segments of the staff both between summers and over the course of a single summer. Though their roles vary, directors are extremely experienced staff members who act both as all-camp leaders and as highly trained supervisors. At Camp Newman, which uses a tree metaphor to symbolize their staff structure, this segment of the staff is called *shoresh* (root) analogous to the bottom-up support structure represented by Tawonga's inverted pyramid. Above shoresh is *geza* (trunk), which included unit heads and other non-director supervisory staff. As independent agencies, both Tawonga and JCA have executive directors who oversee the highest-level operations of the organization. However, in both cases, the executive is mostly removed from the day-to-day operations of the summer camp. At all of the camps I visited, 1-2 directors acted as the ultimate overseers of all camp activities during the summer.

In addition to counselors and unit heads, who work directly with the kids in all aspects of camp life, all six camps I visited employ a large number of program area specialists. These might include music staff, sports staff, drama specialists, wilderness leaders, nature educators, and arts and crafts specialists. Most of these staff have their own housing separate from the campers and primarily interact with them during program times. Many specialists are slightly older than counselors and, often having entered the camp community as adults and developed their skills elsewhere, will contribute a different perspective to the dominant camp ethos.

Aside from counselors, unit heads, directors, and program area specialists, many of the camps I visited employ a variety of staff to support campers' emotional well-being. Camp Tawonga and Camp Hess Kramer both have professional therapists while Newman employs a *nefesh* (spirit) team of staff to provide emotional counseling to campers and staff. The summer I visited, JCA had a "camp mom" who acted as an older adult presence for campers. Similarly, Camp Ramah employs a group of *yoatzim* (advisors), adult staff who both provide support to campers and act as liaisons between parents and children as needed. The final categories of staff that work directly with the children are Jewish educators and songleaders. Aside from counselors these staff perhaps do the most to transmit the ethos and values of camp. The roles and responsibilities of these staff members will be discussed in greater detail throughout this thesis.

Beyond the staff that work directly with children are the many people each camp employs to cook the food, maintain the grounds, and take care of the other behind-the-scenes aspects of running a small village for a summer. At most of the camps I visited, I did not have much interaction with this segment of the staff as these staff members were often socially positioned outside of the primary camp circles. One notable exception is Camp Tawonga. At Tawonga, all of the staff including kitchen and maintenance take part in staff training activities and in non-camper social events throughout the summer. Furthermore, it is not uncommon for former Tawonga campers to go on to be kitchen or maintenance staff. The incorporation of this segment of the staff into the social life of camp is one of the ways that Tawonga distinguishes itself as an intentional community.

Putting it all Together: Teenagers

On Saturday July 6th, 2013, several young adults made the journey up to Santa Rosa to reunite with friends from their teenage years at Camp Newman. The occasion for this trip was "Avodah Countdown," a special Shabbat afternoon event in which anybody

who had every participated in Camp Newman's Avodah program got to put on their Avodah T-Shirt, come up to the stage of the large amphitheater (the Beit Tefillah), and perform their Avodah song with anybody else from their Avodah year in attendance. The Hebrew word *avodah* literally means "work," but is often used to refer to service of a religious nature, traditionally to the various ritual responsibilities of the priests in Temple times: animal sacrifice, incense, sprinkling blood, etc. In the post-Temple period, the term *avodah* came to signify the prayer services instituted as the central religious communion with God, replacing the Temple Cult. For 21st century Reform Judaism, which strongly emphasizes community service and charity as central expressions of Jewish practice, the usage of the term *avodah* to refer to a teen program dedicated to serving the camp community fits squarely within the value system of the movement. According to the Newman website, the Avodah program for entering 11th graders is

> a multifaceted, service based program where campers become an integral component of camp's day to day operations. Beyond their daily activities, campers work diligently on a significant improvement project for camp and participate in the yearly AIDS Walk San Francisco (http://newman.urjcamps.org/about/programs/).

In addition to beginning the transition from client to employee, Avodah also represents the first time that Newman participants spend the entire summer at camp. As Victor Turner famously explored in his groundbreaking 1966 publication, *The Ritual Process*, there is an undeniably powerful connection between liminality and communitas. It is no surprise then, that the liminal space of summer camp is centered around those who embody liminality the most, those who straddle the space between childhood and adulthood. Over the course of their 11th grade summer, the Avodah teens develop connections with each other and with Camp Newman powerful enough to draw them back as CITs, staff, and visiting Alumni. Witnessing young adults who were now counselors, unit heads, and even directors take the stage at "Avodah Countdown" to relive a moment of their time as teenagers by singing their Avodah song confirmed the lasting enculturative and bonding power of this immersive, transformative experience.

Most of the camps I visited feature a two-year transition program from camper to staff. Below is a table outlining the programs at each of the camps:

	Tawonga	JCA	Newman	Alonim	Ramah	Hess Kramer
10th Grade	Camper	TASC	Camper	JCIT	Camper	Camper
11th Grade	TSL/SCIT	TASC	Avodah	CIT	Seminar	CIT
12th Grade	TSL/SCIT	CIT	CIT	Gesher	Mador	No Program

In most cases, the first year is dedicated to community service, while the second year is a Counselor/Staff in Training year. The TASC—"Teen-Age Service Camp"—program at JCA is nearly equivalent to the Avodah program at Newman except that TASCers do not spend the entire summer at camp. While the Avodah program always features fundraising for HIV/AIDS research, the TASC program is highlighted by a building project on the camp property. There is a running joke among JCA staff that one should be careful when using facilities built by TASC because they are often poorly constructed.

However, one of the powerful connective moments in my fieldwork was seeing the Ga Ga pit[4] my father built when he supervised a TASC group in the early 1970s still standing and being used. In contrast to the programs at Newman and JCA, Tawonga and Ramah's equivalent programs both involve travel abroad. Ramah Seminar is a summer-long Israel trip with other Ramah camps from around North America and Tawonga's TSL (Teen Service Learning) program is a trip to either Israel or Latin America in which teenagers get the opportunity to meet and work with peers from very different socio-economic backgrounds than themselves. In addition, every camp I visited has a Counselor-in-Training Program (or in the case of Tawonga, "Staff and Counselor-in-Training," SCIT) featuring both group activities for teens and opportunities for individual teens to work with groups of campers and develop leadership skills. At all camps aside from Hess Kramer and Alonim, the CIT program occurs the year prior to staff eligibility. Alonim's *Gesher* (bridge) program for entering 12th graders gives teens the opportunity to work as counselors for the Alonim day camp while participating in evening and weekend activities with the rest of the Alonim community. By design, Hess Kramer does not offer a program for entering 12th graders after they have participated in the CIT program the prior year. Director Doug Lynn believes that it is important for these young adults to have an alternative summer experience before becoming staff so that the choice to work at camp is made out of a true to desire to give back to the community rather than the default summer option.

At all six camps, the CIT or pre-CIT years appeared to be the nexus of the camp experience. Akin to representing one's graduating year of high school, it was common at many camps for young staff to remember and identify with the year they participated in the camp's marquee teen program. This would frequently be expressed in spontaneous dining hall cheers or shout-outs during particular songs: e.g. "CIT 2-0-1-3" at JCA. Due to their unique embodied position, CITs often act as the physical glue that holds together cultural performances at camp.

Camp Programs

One of the primary tenets of affect theory posits that social interactions are far more than simply symbolically-mediated communicative events. When people interact with one another, a whole range of autonomic responses occurs. Facial expression, body position, breathing pattern, and heartbeat may all be affected by an encounter with another individual before one is able to even realize that they have been affected. Furthermore, the other body may interpret these reactions without even realizing it is doing so, passing a sort of pre-conscious judgment over the other person. As Nigel Thrift simply states, "every surface communicates" (2010:296). The development of what Camp Newman Advancement Director Ari Vared calls "immersive educational experiences" at summer camp is based upon the reality that effective socialization and education must consider the entire body as its subject, not just the mind.

[4] Ga Ga is a popular game at Jewish summer camps that is played in a walled-in octagonal pit ranging from 20-40 feet across. The game is played with a rubber ball and the object of the game is to get people out by striking the ball and hitting them on or below the knees. The game is won by being the last one remaining in the pit once everyone else has gotten out.

Earlier in this chapter, I examined the impact of sharing "mundane" activities such as hygiene, eating, and sleeping with peers of one's same age and gender on the development of communitas. While I do believe that these activities are of crucial importance to the success of residential summer camp, I would be remiss not to include a brief description of the day-to-day activities that attract children to camp in the first place and make camp "fun." Though each camp has different programmatic emphases and offers slightly different programs, all six camps have art, swimming, dancing, sports, gardens, and of course, music. Typically, the camp day will include a short wake-up program before breakfast, breakfast, 2-3 morning activities blocks, lunch, rest hour, 1-2 afternoon activity blocks, free time, dinner, and 1-2 evening program blocks before bedtime. Frequently, the morning and afternoon activity blocks include sports, art electives, or garden programs. The evening blocks might be activities focused more directly around group building within a unit/division. Over the course of the day, children interact with one another in a range of physical social settings that engage their whole bodies, not just their minds. In doing so, they are able to experience an embodied enculturative paradigm significantly different than the primarily noetic engagement most of them experience at school. In addition to these daily activities, many of the camps feature an overnight program away from the camp grounds. At Camp Tawonga, every bunk goes on a backpacking trip in or around Yosemite. In many ways, the entire Tawonga experience is centered around this trip and around the power of travelling from the liminal space of camp to the even more liminal space of backpacking in the woods as a means of creating group unity.

Priming the Audience

In this chapter I demonstrated the way that the physical space, social organization, culture, and programs of summer camp serve to immerse children in a particular ethos. By placing children in a liminal space in nature with slightly older peers as role models, summer camp creates powerful bloom-spaces for children to explore. Only after having primed the camp population through this social arrangement is the music of camp able to have the powerful impact that it does. In the next chapter I will discuss the musical culture of camp to demonstrate the function of music in cementing the bonds forged by the unique opportunity for shared life that camp creates.

Chapter 2: Music at Camp

Camp is music. We're singing all the time. There's birkat, motzi…that's six times a day right there. In addition, every morning what's the first thing we do? We go to mifkad and we sing Modeh Ani. We have shira, which is something that we do every day. We have tefillah, we sing in that every day…and then we have session songs and there's a lot of music right there – parody songs. I can still remember my session song. When you think about it, probably not a whole lot of educational value in that…but, I mean it's fun. I think it's fun, especially for the staff, for the songleaders it's fun…When we think about Avodah and CIT reunions, when our alumni come back what do they do? They get up there and they sing their session songs. That's one tangible thing they can sort of hold onto, remember and use as a milestone (Ethan Black, Camp Newman Songleader, Summer 2013).

We'll sing you in, we'll sing you out, we will raise a mighty shout! (Camp Tawonga and Camp JCA welcome song).

Nearly all aspects of summer camp culture are infused with folklore and music. From the moment children (or staff) enter the camp space to the time they leave, music accompanies them. Between morning rituals, blessings before and after meals, unit music rotations, song sessions after meals, evening rituals, campfires, and special events, communal singing is a central component of camp's educational model. Even more important perhaps than these intentionally structured musical activities, however, are the moments of spontaneous singing that happen over the course of the camp experience. It is in the moments when children and staff are literally pulled into the space of communal joy that the embodied socializing forces of camp take effect in a lasting way that brings them back year after year and cements a special place for camp in their hearts. As Patricia Shehan Campbell puts it, children "follow a musical pathway made for them by the experiences and instruction they have had in their childhoods" (Campbell 1998:165). This chapter will look broadly at the musical programs and culture of camp to demonstrate how music functions both as a logical enculturative methodology and an affective socializing force.

Structure of Music Programs, Place of Music at Camp

As the children from Giborei Yisrael, the *eidah* (unit) of rising sixth graders at Camp Ramah, entered the BKR (Beit Knesset Ramah), the central indoor music space at camp, music director Alan Alpert strummed the chords to Debbie Friedman's "Im Tirtzu" while three young women came to the front and sang the words. Once the majority of the children had entered, many of them—particularly girls—joined in singing with the three women at the front:

Im tirtzu, im tirtzu,
Ein zo agadah, ein zo agadah
Lihiyhot am chofshi b'artzeinu
Eretz Tzion Virushalayim

If you desire it, it is no dream: to be a free people in our land, the land of Zion and Jerusalem.

While this quote from Theodore Herzl, to which Jewish musical legend Debbie Friedman (of blessed memory) put a melody several decades ago, represents a Zionist ideology with which Camp Ramah certainly identifies, it is not so much the meaning of the words as their musical expression and the excitement of the women up front that draws in the children to join. Through the strategic placement of bodies and the conscious selection of appropriate music, walk-in songs, wake-up rituals, and other musically-marked transitional moments can transform the liminal into the communal.

Just as the major components of summer camp—time, space, and participants—exist in a state of liminality, so to do the everyday activities flow in and out of one another in rapid transitions. In many ways, official moments of communal singing live in these spaces of transition, a temporal position that significantly contributes to their power to strengthen intercorporeal connections. The first major transitional moment, of course, is the entrance to the camp space. Although I did not witness the beginning of sessions at every camp I visited, I was lucky enough to experience this event at Camp Tawonga, Camp Newman, Camp Alonim, and to a lesser extent, Camp Ramah and Camp JCA.[1] Modes of transportation to camp varied significantly—children came to Camp Newman on buses from locations throughout the Bay Area, including the airport; nearly all Alonim attendees were dropped off by their parents in personal cars; and of course, the Tawonga campers made the four hour journey to camp with peers of their same gender, as I described in Chapter 1. In all cases, however, counselors and other staff lined the roads to sing children into camp. Additionally, in most cases the welcome song was sung again at the opening campfire or rally.

Bruno Nettl encourages students of ethnomusicology "to inquire what music does, what it contributes to the complex whole of culture" (2005:224). The first step in this inquiry must be to consider when music, primarily but not exclusively communal singing, occurs in the particular society of Jewish summer camp. Campbell notes that "in many cultures people typically sing, play, and dance before, during, or following their meals" (1998:35). At Camp Tawonga, a 20-25 minute all-camp song session[2] happens every day following breakfast and dinner. Camp Newman has a song session of similar length after dinner, while Camp JCA's after-dinner song session is closer to 45 minutes. Alonim, Ramah, and Hess Kramer do not have song sessions after every meal but instead have music rotations by unit/division during the day. However, as Nettl astutely observes, "if there is anything really stable in the musics of the world, it is the constant existence of change" (2005:275). Most of the camps I spoke with both before visiting and during the course of my visit described to me their aspirations for revamping their music programs. While many considered the training of songleaders, the usage of space, and the choice of music to be central concerns in this matter, some camps did experiment

[1] Both of these camps feature shorter sessions for younger children embedded within longer sessions (ie. a two-week session within a four-week session). At both camps, I experienced certain welcome rituals for the younger children who came to camp mid-session.

[2] The term "song session" is used at Tawonga and JCA to refer to official post-meal communal singing time. Newman and Ramah use the Hebrew term *shira* (song). For the sake of clarity, I will use the term "song session" to refer to this general category of communal singing time.

with changes in schedule structure. At Camp Alonim, for example, music director Jared Stein described to me his attempt to add song sessions after certain meals. When I first arrived at camp and asked about post-meal song sessions, a counselor commented that perhaps people don't like to sing in a place where they have just eaten. While this comment seemed to imply that the experiment with post-meal song sessions had not been successful, the one lunch song session I observed, which was primarily structured around teaching songs, did have good participation and energy. Camp Ramah also had a few post-meal song sessions during my visit, but due to the size of the camp population, the physical layout of the dining hall, and perhaps, a culture unaccustomed to singing in this manner, these song sessions were not effective in achieving their desired outcome of creating a participatory, enlivening communal singing experience. In terms of participation, volume, and movement, Camp Tawonga and Camp JCA had the most effective post-meal song sessions of the camps I visited that incorporated post-meal communal singing into their regularly scheduled programs.

Among the camps that do not feature daily song sessions after meals, time is always allotted during the week for communal singing with the camp songleaders. At both Ramah and Alonim, there is a fixed daily time for music and dance by unit/division. In theory, each unit should alternate daily between music and dance at the time allotted on their schedule, resulting in three days of dance and three days of music (at every camp, Shabbat has a completely different schedule). However, I found that in practice—particularly at Ramah—this did not always work out as planned. At every camp, the "regular" schedule is always "interrupted" by special events like Israel day, talent shows, all-camp theater productions, etc., which, in the context of a 2-4 week session that already has one day a week set aside for special programming (Shabbat), can have a major impact on the amount of official singing time during the week. Even at Camp Newman and JCA, which have post-meal song sessions every day, there were enough special events superseding song session that I only witnessed a handful at each camp. Nonetheless, music and singing are used at so many other times during the camp day that the cancellation of specific music times often goes unnoticed.

Alonim, Ramah, and Hess Kramer all have daily elective times in which children get to participate in programs of their choice without the accompaniment of their entire bunk or unit. Camp Alonim has two daily elective choices: *Omanut* (art) and *Chug* (lit. circle, but also used for activity, as in after-school activity). "Omanut" refers to an artistic program choice such as dance, music, writing, or theater while "chug" refers to a more active program choice such as sports, archery, or horseback riding. For omanut, campers always have the option of doing music with the songleaders. Depending on the age of the children and their interests, this omanut time could be dedicated to anything from communal singing to forming a band and rehearsing rock songs with electric guitars and drums. These campers have music once a day on the days that their division does not have music rotation and twice when their division does. Similarly to Alonim, Camp Ramah has chug for younger campers and *etgar* (challenge) for older campers. During my visit, I did not see a music chug but I did see a music etgar in which teenagers were playing rock songs with guitars and drums. Hess Kramer uses the term "chug" exclusively to refer to elective activities, but has two chugim (plural) a day. Over the course of my visit, I saw a songleading chug in which teenage campers worked on their guitar playing and music leadership skills with one of the songleaders; and an

"appreciating music" chug led by the other two songleaders in which campers listened to and discussed music. Since campers get to choose new chugim once or twice during the session, I actually witnessed most of this particular chug over the course of my weeklong visit. The first few times, each of the campers chose a song for the group to listen to and then explained why they wanted the group to hear that song. After this, the camp rabbi helped the group choose a Jewish text to put to music. The rest of the chug was dedicated to constructing the melody and arranging the words to this original song. During the chug time, I made some musical suggestions that the group appreciated and incorporated into the song.

Of all the camps that I visited, Camp Newman certainly had the largest music staff and the widest variety of music programs. Aside from daily song sessions, Camp Newman offers guitar chugim for younger campers to learn the basics of guitar playing and a music *Shvil* (trail) for pre-teen and teenage campers. This latter program is part of a short series of electives for older campers involving three days of intensive exploration of a particular activity. I was able to observe one day of the music shvil led by songleader Toby Pechner and an Israeli staff member. Over the course of two hours, the campers experimented with table percussion, improvisation, listening to the sounds of nature, leading each other in tunes on the kazoo, and a music game that involved correctly identifying two halves of pop song lines. At one point during my visit, I asked director Ruben Arquilevich about the differences he perceived between Camp Tawonga and Camp Newman, the two Northern California Jewish summer camps that share a friendly territorial rivalry. He was quick to point out that both camps offer excellent programs that foster positive growth in children, but suggested that Tawonga was more focused on the outdoors and connection to nature while Newman was more centered on the arts. Having been at Newman for a good period of time and observed many of their programs, I agreed with Ruben's assessment. The number and variety of music programs that Newman offers is only one small part of a much large arts curriculum that includes visual arts, performance, and dance.

Prior to the programmatic shift toward leadership and community around which the Avodah and CIT programs are centered, Newman's art curriculum culminates in the *Hagigah* (celebration or festival) program for rising 10th graders.[3] Over the course of four weeks, campers participate in a major track, *Yitzirah* (formation), for two hours a day, and a minor track, *Hizdamnut* (opportunity), for an hour. As would be suggested by the name of the program (lit. celebration), the four week session concludes with an evening festival/performance where the teenagers present their visual and performance arts to the camp community and their parents, many of whom come up to camp for this festival. According to Newman's website, the Hagigah program has been running for over fifty years. One of the major components of my visit to Newman was observing the Songleading yitzirah track and talking to the campers and staff involved in this program. Of all the camps that I visited, Camp Newman had clearly invested the most time, energy, and money toward the development of their music program and it's leaders. Although Newman has excellent intentions and a community excited about music and singing, their

[3] Camp Newman offers the Hagigah arts program for the first four weeks of the summer and the *Hevrah* (friendship) social action program the second four weeks. During my time at Newman I was able to observe the Hagigah program. As the focus of my thesis is primarily on music, I will only discuss Hagigah.

post-meal song sessions are, ironically, perhaps the weakest component of their music program. Whereas campers appeared fully engaged in and excited by programs like music shvil, guitar Chug, and songleading yitzirah, participation in post-meal song sessions was often well under fifty percent with many campers electing to socialize with friends rather than participate in communal singing and dancing. Furthermore, frequent experimentation with format changes and repeated conversations about the challenges of song-sessions indicated that music leaders were not satisfied with the current state of the program.

Camp Newman, Camp Ramah, and Camp Hess Kramer all have mandatory daily *tefillah* (prayer) as part of their programmatic schedule. At Newman and Ramah, tefillah is done by unit while at Hess Kramer the whole camp prays together. As movement camps, both Newman and Ramah have a curricular obligation to teach tefillah according to the aesthetic of their particular movement. While a certain degree of stylistic choice lies with the prayer leader, a much larger influence emanates from the institutional voices, often represented by visiting faculty rabbis at Camp Newman, Conservative-trained rabbis-as-camp-directors at Ramah, and movement affiliated rabbinic students at both camps. At Newman, the Reform Camp, this means less Hebrew, more singing, and guitar accompaniment, an aesthetic trend that began at summer camps in the 1970s, entering urban and suburban synagogues over the next few decades and, ultimately solidifying this style of worship as central to the identity of Reform Judaism in North America (Schachet-Briskin 1996). While Ramah also abbreviates certain portions of their services, tefillah is done entirely in Hebrew and mostly chanted without instrumental accompaniment, in line with the aesthetic of the Conservative Movement.[4] Both Newman and Ramah employ a rabbinic student to oversee the tefillah education programs. The summer I visited, Camp Newman was experimenting with a new position, "*Rosh* [Head of] Music and Tefillah," in an effort to streamline their music and tefillah education programs. This position was occupied by Dan Utley, a thirty-year-old rabbinic student with whom I had many conversations about the state of music and tefillah at camp. One of the expressly stated goals he made clear to me at the beginning of my visit was the development of young songleaders as *shlichei tzibbur* (prayer leaders). Whereas at Camp Ramah counselors and unit heads lead tefillah, at Camp Newman it is the job of the songleaders to lead groups in prayer. Frequently, a member of the faculty accompanies the songleader to give short teachings between prayers, but it is the responsibility of the songleader to lead the actual performance of the prayers. Unlike Ramah and Newman, which are affiliated directly with their respective movements, Camp Hess Kramer is owned by the Wilshire Boulevard Temple, a large synagogue in Los Angeles. Recently, the congregation discontinued their formal relationship with the Union for Reform Judaism. However, the camp continues to pray in a style very similar to that of Camp Newman, employing shortened prayers, Hebrew, and instrumentation. At Camp Ramah each unit prays in the morning while at Camp Hess Kramer, all-camp tefillah is done just before dinner. Prayer times vary by unit at Camp Newman and depending on the time of day that the unit prays, the particular prayers vary. Every camp

[4] The philosophical and aesthetic propensities of Reform and Conservative Judaism deserve a much large discussion than I can provide in this thesis. While I am generalizing about the way each performs prayer, in fact, these stylistic divides are rapidly breaking down as the Jewish world continues to change in the 21st century.

I visited conducts at least two prayer services on Shabbat. In general, prayer at camp is not nearly as popular with campers and staff as song sessions and other musical programs. The reason for this, I would posit, is the overwhelming influence of institutional voices surrounding prayer that have far less interest in directing the content of general music programs. Particularly in movement camps where part of the curricular goal is to strengthen connections not just with camp but also with synagogue and movement philosophy, prayer is seen as a bridge between camp and home community. However, as camps are bastions of vernacular expression, it is hardly surprising to see children, through their minimal participation in prayer, express their embodied distaste for elders telling them how they should commune with the divine.

The final formal musical program that I will mention here is the end-of-day ritual, called *Siyum* (conclusion) at Newman, Ramah, and Hess Kramer. Whereas the closing rituals at JCA and Tawonga are bunk rituals primarily led by counselors that involve conscientious reflections on the day, siyum at Newman, Ramah, and Hess Kramer is an affectively heightened, intercorporeal moment characterized by body-linking and communal singing. Like tefillah, this is an all-camp event at Hess Kramer and a unit event at Ramah and Newman. At both Hess Kramer and Newman everybody puts their arms around each others shoulders and then sings a musical version of the shema followed by an adaptation of the "Hashkiveinu" prayer written by the contemporary Jewish music group, Mah Tovu. Instead of putting arms around shoulders, Ramah campers cross their arms in front of themselves and hold hands with those next to them. I do not know how this particular tradition developed but it is markedly different from the other instances of body linking at Ramah, which usually involve arms around shoulders or normal hand-holding. Despite the differences in practices, campers and staff at every camp commented that siyum is the most important moment in the camp day, the time when the "camp feeling" is most viscerally realized. Below is a chart outlining the basic elements of the music programs of the six camps I visited, as described over the course of the last several pages:

	Tawonga	JCA	Newman	Alonim	Ramah	Hess Kramer
Daily Song Session	After breakfast and After Dinner	After Dinner	After Dinner	Occasional	Some nights a week	None
Unit/ Division music times	None	None	None	Approx. 3x/Week	Approx. 2x/Week	Approx. 2x/Week
Other music programs	Livnot, Chugim	None	Chugim, Yitzirah, Music Shvil, Music Lab	Omanut	Chugim, Etgar, Tarbut	Chugim
Tefillah	Shabbat	Shabbat	Daily	Shabbat	Daily	Daily
Closing ritual/Siyum	None or by bunk	None or by bunk	Unit/ Division	Canteen	Unit/ Division	All-camp

Intentional Enculturation

"Enculturation is the primary means by which young children receive information and remains an important source for their acquisition of knowledge and values even as they mature" (Campbell 1998:179).

Throughout this thesis I have mentioned logical, symbolic communication and affective, embodied communication as two forces that work together in the constitution of the social. The former has been the concern of folklorists for the last two centuries while study of the latter is gaining momentum as phenomenology, reflexivity, and affect theory are increasingly incorporated into anthropological analysis. In Chapter 1 I demonstrated that the social arrangement of bodies creates opportunities for affective enculturation to occur at a pre-reflective level. Before discussing how this applies to music at camp, I will discuss the modes by which songleaders reflect upon and intentionally construct music programs.

At Camp Newman, I spent much of my time hanging out in the songleading office, a room in the center of camp with several guitars hanging on the walls, a variety of songbooks on the shelf, and initials of past song leaders painted on the eastern wall (Figure 2.1). At the root of both ethnomusicology and folklore[5] is an acknowledgement of the enculturative power of oral genres. Early anthropologists including Malinowski, Boas, and Evans-Pritchard recognized that for many societies, folklore served as the epistemic base upon which a person's understanding of natural and human phenomena were founded. To effectively analyze the place of folklore in a society, the researcher had to not only collect cultural objects in situ, but also attempt to elicit a meta-commentary on that folklore from native informants. It was in the songleading office pictured above that I attempted to carry out this work at Camp Newman.

Figure 2.1 Songleading Office

[5] Two closely related disciplines that actually occupy one department at Indiana University, one of the few universities in the United States that offers a Ph.D. in folklore.

Planning Song Sessions

Throughout my research, songleaders, musically-inclined staff, and non-music people told me over and over again that communal singing at camp is central to their experience and perhaps the most important activity at camp. Barre Toelken writes that "Singing involves a personal, bodily involvement with a text which—because of the demands of tune, range, melody, and harmony—requires more from us than conveying lexical meaning. In addition, the tune itself may have an emotional charge to it…" (168). When songleaders prepare music activities, they begin with a discussion of which songs to sing and/or teach that takes into account text, melody, range, and bodily involvement. Often, however, before they can begin to put together a set list for a song session, songleaders must reflect upon the camp community to identify songs that the population might know and which songs might need to be taught. When I interviewed songleaders, one of the first questions I asked was how they decide which songs to play. Isaac Zones, a long time songleader at Camp Tawonga and good friend of mine, commented that to facilitate a "successful" musical experience, he has to anticipate a group's musical "vocabulary." He strives to pick songs that he thinks "people won't be resistant to" and commented that at Tawonga "they might be resistant to a song that has too many words in Hebrew, whereas at Beth Sholom [a Conservative synagogue in San Francisco] they might be resistant to a song that has too much English." In planning a song session, Isaac must reflect upon the current repertoire of camp—which he calls the community's "musical vocabulary"—and either select songs from that catalog or introduce songs that fit with the Tawonga aesthetic. Fortunately for Isaac, Camp Tawonga has an extensive songbook that, in addition to providing the words to hundreds of songs acts, to a certain degree, as a de facto canon of music for the Tawonga community.

In contrast to this, one of the constant challenges at Camp Newman, which does not have a similar physical repository of repertoire, is determining which songs campers might know and which would work well for the community. Early on in my time at Newman, I shared this observation with Music and Tefillah Director Dan Utley. He recounted the following story of his experience entering the Newman community:

> When I came here last year—they do this top ten or top five countdown of songs on Saturday night in front of all of camp, which usually turns into top three because they run out of time—and last summer the top three songs every week were the same: "Adamah V'shamayim," "Not By Might," and the "Na Na Song"…and no one was voting for these things to begin with, it was just the same songs every week. To me, it seemed like they were just singing the same music all the time. I guess it wasn't as narrow of a repertoire as I thought it was, there was just no cohesiveness to it. There was no focus like, we're building toward Shabbat or we're trying to learn these songs for this purpose, it was just sort of whatever the song they felt like, they just sort of did. They [the songleaders] all operated independently with their sessions [units].

Scholars have noted the difference between an "active" command of repertoire as the ability to produce or lead songs and a "passive" repertoire as the ability to sing, play along with, or respond to a musical leader (Brinner 1995). One of the constant challenges of any summer camp is the rapid turnover of camp population. Although I did not collect statistical data, I would estimate that a *devoted* staff member spends 3-4 years on staff while a typical staff member probably spends 1-2 years on staff. Individuals who spend 5 or more years on staff are rare and this often applies to songleaders as well. While it is almost certainly the case that passive musical knowledge lies with directors, campers, and the broader camp community, transmitting active command of repertoire from songleader to songleader is a constant challenge. It is no surprise that, given the rapid turnover of songleaders, Dan Utley would perceive songleaders as singing "whatever song they felt like." A summer camp community that is together for a few months and then apart for three quarters of the year must either have dedicated staff who can act as active depositories of repertoire or other devices by which to track the musical vocabulary of the camp if they want to avoid having to build their catalogue of known musical material from scratch every summer. While Camp Tawonga tracks repertoire with a songbook, Newman assistant Director Erin Mason hired Dan Utley to address the "broader goal…to sing more and grow [the] repertoire of Camp Newman." When I asked Newman songleader Toby Pechner how he chooses which songs to play, he immediately replied, "I am really bad at that." Based upon our previous conversations and the song-session planning meetings I had observed, his quick response to this question indicated to me that the challenge of choosing songs to teach and play was at the top of his mind. I assured him that, having just turned twenty years old, he did not need to be an expert songleader. He noted that there were many factors to consider when building a set list and that he was very engaged in the process of figuring out how to navigate them. Although Toby admittedly struggled to choose songs, his upbringing at Camp Newman positioned him differently than Dan Utley both in relation to the music of camp and to the camp community. Similar to the relationship between a unit head and a counselor, Dan provided an outside professional viewpoint to the working partnership while Toby brought an embodied intimacy enculturated in the particular culture of Camp Newman which, as Campbell notes, continues to inform his values as he matures (1998:179). While the hiring of Dan represented an effort on the part of the institutional leaders to address the challenges of previous years, streamline music curriculum, and grow repertoire, Toby's relationship to Newman's vernacular cultural vocabulary was of central importance to his success as a songleader.

Every summer, new campers come to camp and it is a certainty that many campers will not know any of the camp repertoire when they first arrive. When songleaders discuss whether to teach a song by breaking it down line by line or to simply just sing it with a group, their primary concern is whether enough children will know the song. The philosophy on whether to teach or not varies greatly between camps and between individuals. On several occasions during my fieldwork, songleaders taught songs that it appeared most people already knew yet proceeded to break them down line by line anyway. The question of whether to teach a song or simply to just sing it was discussed at every camp that I visited, but was particularly pronounced at Camp Ramah. The entire music staff was new to camp the summer I visited Ramah. Many of them lamented that they had not had any communication with former music leaders and had

virtually no idea which songs were popular at camp when they first arrived. On top of this, there seemed to be significant confusion over the roles and responsibilities of the different music staff members. Scheduling difficulties led to certain eidot (units, pl.) having several music rotations a week while others had none. The result of all of these challenges was that songleaders struggled immensely with the question of whether to teach a song or to simply sing it. To add a greater degree of difficulty to the planning of music programs, as part of their education curriculum, Camp Ramah only sings songs in Hebrew. Between teaching the proper pronunciation, translating the words, and demonstrating the melody of a song, the teaching of one song could take upwards of thirty minutes! One long-time counselor and part-time songleader noted that taking the time to learn a song well is an investment that pays off in powerful moments of communal singing like Shabbat and Havdallah that derive their affective power from a shared, intimate knowledge of the music. Echoing this sentiment, Isaac Zones commented, "I think some songs you need to teach them and then you need to come back and have that moment later."

In contrast to this position, there is also the notion of creating an immediate musical moment by choosing easy songs or songs that children already know and of which they already have ownership. A major component of summer camp is the immediacy of experience. Whereas children are often told in school that skills like math and science will be useful to them as adults, summer camp is, in many ways, intended to be the place where the rewards of learning are felt in the moment. As Isaac Zones pointed out when I first asked him how he chooses songs, he selects songs that will help people connect to one another through the acts of singing, dancing, or otherwise engaging with the music. Having been a songleader myself for over a decade, I have developed my own repertoire of what nationally known, contemporary Jewish songleader Dan Nichols has referred to as "pocket songs," songs that many people will either likely know already or pick up easily and enjoy right away. At camp, as in general life, the community must find ways to balance engagement in the present with a consideration of the future. Fortunately, the brevity of summer camp generations allows young people to experience the rewards of early enculturation within a few short years.

Learning Repertoire, Comparing Versions

Since Mantle Hood published his short but highly influential article on "The Challenge of Bi-musicality" in 1960, music scholars have eagerly sought out modes of active musical interaction with informants in the field. Many, including myself, have been inspired to perform fieldwork not just for the sake of scholarly inquiry but also for the opportunity to jam with different musicians and expand personal repertoire. Throughout my summers of fieldwork, I spent a great deal of time playing guitar and singing with other songleaders; comparing versions and sharing songs with one another. Often this sharing happened in the context of planning song sessions, which I had the opportunity to co-facilitate many times during my fieldwork. Songs that are introduced to camp communities come from a variety of sources. Many have been sung at camp as long as anyone can remember.

When the Brandeis-Bardin Institute,[6] the larger institution of which Camp Alonim is a part, was first established in the 1950s, visionary founder Shlomo Bardin believed that participants should have equal cultural footing in relation to the place. To ameliorate inequalities that emerged from participants' varying levels of previous Jewish involvement, Bardin hired songwriter Max Helfman to compose a set of melodies for the prayers and ritual of the institute. Many of the melodies Helfman composed for commonly used blessings and prayers musically allude to more widely known versions, however, they remain unique to Brandeis-Bardin. Of particular note are the Motzi (prayer before meals), Birkat Hamazon (prayer after meals), Havdallah (ritual for marking the end of Shabbat), and Shabbat Kiddush (blessing over wine and sanctification of Shabbat). Helfman also wrote the song "This is the Day," which is sung to welcome children to camp at the beginning of a session and to bid them farewell at the end. Continued usage of Max Helfman tunes serves to link children to the history of Camp Alonim, further their cultural removal from the non-camp world, and heighten their connection to the camp world.

Ramah and Newman also have songs that are unique to each camp, however, as part of a larger movement and network of camps, much of their repertoire is shared throughout the institutional system with which they are affiliated. About twenty years ago, nationally renowned contemporary Jewish musicians Jeff Klepper and Debbie Friedman began a songleader training program called "Hava Nashira" (lit. "Come, let us sing") run out of the Olin Sang Ruby Union Institute (OSRUI),[7] a large Reform summer camp in Oconomowoc, Wisconsin. Since its inception, the program has grown from thirty participants to well over two hundred and the size of faculty has increased accordingly. For three and half days around the end of May/beginning of June, songleaders, cantors, and others involved in Jewish music descend upon Oconomowoc to sing, share repertoire, and learn technique from a group of accomplished Jewish musicians selected to be on the faculty.[8] As part of their preparation for the summer, many songleaders from Reform—and recently Conservative—summer camps attend Hava Nashira to learn new songs and leadership techniques. This conference, along with others, serves to standardize repertoire across much of American Jewish institutions. In addition to my upbringing at Camp Tawonga, my attendance at several Hava Nashira conferences prepared me to enter most of the camps I visited with a well-developed musical vocabulary of contemporary American-Jewish repertoire. Nonetheless, at every camp I visited, I encountered songs I did not know, different ways of performing songs with which I was familiar, and a variety of camp-specific vernacular expressions

[6] In 2007, the Brandeis-Bardin institute merged with University of Judaism in Los Angeles. The university is now called the "American Jewish University" and the Brandeis-Bardin Institute is referred to as the "Brandeis-Bardin Campus of the American Jewish University." While the merger has impacted some of the institutional structures of camp Alonim and the Brandeis Collegiate Institute, the culture of camp Alonim appears to be mostly unaffected.

[7] OSRUI serves primarily the Chicago area and was the first summer camp established by the Reform Jewish movement. For a detailed history of the rise of Jewish camping in America, see Lorge and Zola 2006.

[8] I do not know the criteria used to select faculty now, however, founders Debbie Friedman and Jeff Klepper had attained national fame as composers of contemporary Jewish music well before they created Hava Nashira and were likely able to popularize the program based on their reputation. For a greater discussion of musical authority within contemporary the American Jewish community see Cohen 2009.

embedded within the performance of these songs. Once, when I was preparing a song session with Marsha Attie at Camp Tawonga, we were playing through the song "Gesher Tzar Meod" and discovered that we played different chords and sang a slightly different melody for the song. When I asked Marsha where she had learned to play the song that way, she recounted learning it at Hilltop Camp[9] in the early 1990s.

Students of the early 20th century historical-geographic method of folklore study recognized that oral culture travels and, like historical linguists, attempted to track the changes in folklore as it moved across time and space (Brunvand 1998). While this variation may be troubling to leaders of national institutions, who hope to maintain cultural consistency across their movements, I found that most songleaders I met did not express much interest in homogeneity or standardization and were not terribly concerned with playing the "right" chords or singing a song the "right" way. Robert Glenn Howard analyzes the dynamic the tension between institutional voices and vernacular expression through the example of political campaign websites (Howard 2008). In Howard's example, the webmasters employed by the campaign represented the institutional voices and the comments sections of blogs allowed for vernacular expression from anybody visiting the site. Howard demonstrated the ways that institutional voices can exercise power by removing comments viewed by the campaign office as detrimental to their cause, while vernacular voices could exercise power by calling out the political institutions through other web venues. These institutional-vernacular forces are constantly in play at summer camp as children challenge the authority of adults and cultural expressions spontaneously emerge out of collective group energy. While some of these subversive vernaculars, such as yelling "ruach" in the middle of the chorus to Debbie Friedman's "Not by Might" or shouting different things between lines of the Birkat Hamazon (the lengthy blessing after meals), have become widespread to the point of almost being institutional, I witnessed other vernacular expressions emerge in the moment to directly challenge the institutional authority of camp leaders. During one post-meal song session at Camp Ramah, the teenage campers in Machon, the oldest eidah at camp, continued to sing a particular melody over and over again in the *chadar ochel* (dining hall) despite the efforts of staff leaders to stop them and move forward with the meal. On the institutional side, Dan Utley told me several times that they are trying to phase out songs like "Not by Might" and "The Na Na Song" at Camp Newman because the "shtick" has become too much and detracts from the music. At Camp JCA, the shtick added on after the birkat hamazon has continued to expand year after year and, instead of trying to quell the growing body of vernacular additions, the camp leadership has embraced it and often, the director himself will sing the added parts into the microphone. This tension between the leadership and the rest of the camp community plays out differently based upon the affiliation and ethos of each individual camp, however its presence is always felt and represents an important component of children's growth: the constant challenging of the boundaries set by their elders.

[9] Hilltop is the sister camp of Hess Kramer, both of which are owned by the Wilshire Boulevard Temple. The two camps occupy neighboring properties and share much of the same culture. Although I did visit Hilltop and observe some of their music programming, most of my time was spent at Hess Kramer.

Usage of Texts

Symbolic and linguistic issues of authority emerge as particularly central concerns in the status and usage of texts. One of the first things I noticed about song session at Camp JCA was that while all of the children and staff were dancing, they were holding songbooks. Even when they clapped their hands, they would take the songbooks and tuck them under their arms. In contrast to this, at Camp Tawonga songbooks are passed out at the beginning of song session but are usually forsaken as the community gets up to dance. As a result, songleaders often sing the verses of songs solo and are joined by the community on the choruses. Judah Cohen, one of the only other scholars to have examined music at Jewish summer camp, similarly noted that at Kutz Camp in New York, songbooks were "disseminated but often unused" during song sessions and "the repertoire itself was practiced overwhelmingly as an orally transmitted genre, with melodies and words acquired through group learning sessions and repetition" (2006:197). It is important to note that the program Cohen observed was a songleader training course designed to endow teenagers with an active command of repertoire. For the majority of the camp participants, repertoire remains passive. Without the aid of texts, most non-songleaders are only able to join in on the chorus. There is nothing inherently wrong with a communal singing paradigm that alternates between solo verses and communal choruses, but since the focus of summer camp is on socialization and participation, music specialists use a variety of textual techniques to facilitate consistent singing. Both Camp Tawonga and JCA use songbooks that are passed out at the beginning of song sessions. Camp JCA's songbook was compiled by songleader Robbo and contains lyrics to nearly every song performed at camp. In both my interviews with Robbo and in his musical interactions with the group, he repeatedly stressed that reading words from the book is the best way to learn a song. Additionally, from a standpoint of inclusivity, the camp directors view the songbook holding requirement to be a cultural equalizer. Whether one is new to camp or has been attending for twenty years, everybody has a songbook in front of him or her when they sing. This policy applies to texts used for the Birkat Hamazon as well.

Tawonga songleader Isaac Zones also strongly encouraged children and staff to use the songbooks during song session on several occasions, but did not have a rigid requirement that they hold onto the songbook when they got up to dance. In contrast to the JCA songbook, which features words but no guitar chords, the Tawonga songbook has chords for every song printed in the songbook along with a chord chart in the back. Many children and staff (including myself when I was a camper) spend hours sitting with the songbook, using the chord chart to learn the guitar while they figure out how to play their favorite camp songs.

Although songbooks provide easy access to the words for song session participants, they also can act as a barrier to the embodied interaction between leaders and participants that communal singing so effectively fosters. In addition to restricting body movement, the usage of songbooks forces community members to look down at their hands instead of at each other or at the songleader. To ameliorate this particular challenge, the other four camps that I visited use digital projectors to display song lyrics at the front of the room. Camp Newman and Camp Ramah employed this tactic regularly while Alonim and Hess Kramer used projectors on a more limited basis. Having the

words at the front of the room addresses some of the issues of using individual songbooks but has its downsides as well. First of all, the introduction of more technology means potentially more technical difficulties. On several occasions throughout the summer, songleaders struggled to get the equipment working properly or could not locate song lyrics to songs they wanted to teach. Secondly, at Camp Ramah, the religious restrictions forbid the usage of this electronic media on Shabbat. Thirdly, and perhaps most importantly, the lack of a physical songbook translates to the loss of a physical repository of camp repertoire. At Camp Newman, songleaders could easily locate lyrics to new songs and create electronic projector slides but did not have physical records of songs sung in previous summers. Over the course of my conversations with camp directors and songleaders at Newman, the potential creation of a Newman songbook was mentioned several times as a way to address this challenge.

Songleader Stories

Another issue that emerges from the usage of texts is that of musical authority. As Ben Brinner puts it, "The issue of authority arises here in two overlapping conflicts: notation against aural memory and one musician against others" (Brinner 1995:19). When I was a teenager, I spent hours sitting in the corner of the Camp Tawonga dining hall with the Tawonga songbook learning chords from the chart in the back and using these chords to play songs that I had sung at camp since I was a young child. At first, I considered the songbook to be the ultimate authority on the proper way to play these songs but as I became more proficient at the guitar and developed a discerning ear, I came to disagree with many of the chords printed in the book. Seeking to fix this problem, I suggested to my father that the songbook needed to be updated and proceeded to undertake the creation of a new edition of the book. In 2001, after countless hours spent playing through the songbook with my guitar and editing it with Adobe Pagemaker in the Camp Tawonga office, a new edition of the Camp Tawonga songbook was published. For the next eight years, the songbook was used at Camp Tawonga and, through a variety of channels, began to be distributed nationally. However, after a short amount of time, I once again became dissatisfied with the book. Since its publication, many of the songs in the book had become obsolete and many other songs had been introduced to the Tawonga community that were not in the book. Furthermore, I still felt that many of the chords and lyrics were wrong. Over the course of a three-week trip to Israel after finishing college in 2007, I began to envision a new songbook that would more accurately reflect the current repertoire of Camp Tawonga, provide suggestions for potential future repertoire, and correct the lingering lyrical and musical mistakes. After a discussion with then director Adam Weisberg, I was commissioned to create this new edition of the songbook. This time, I really hoped to get it right. I would make sure that every song had the perfect chords, that all the songs I thought were great for communal singing would be included, and that obsolete songs would be removed. Motivated by this desire to create the "perfect" songbook, I compiled my "ultimate" list of songs, which I excitedly sent to the Tawonga office for approval. To my dismay, many of the songs I suggested for inclusion were rejected! Though I disagreed with the administration's decisions regarding certain songs, I had no choice but to proceed based on their decisions. As I went through the old edition of the book to "correct" lyrical "mistakes" and put in

the "right" chords, I began to realize that notions of "correct" or "right" were not simple black and white answers, but representations of the dynamic tension between oral tradition and text, between institutional authority and vernacular expression. I could not simply go online and find the "right" lyrics to the songs, I had to consider the traditional ways these songs were performed at Camp Tawonga. Needless to say, I did not "solve" this issue or discover an easy resolution. It was, in fact, the unanswered question of oral traditions that led me to undertake my research and compose this thesis.

When I interviewed songleaders, I elicited their personal stories. As Amy Shuman puts it, "[s]torytelling offers as one of its greatest promises the possibility of empathy, of understanding others" (Shuman 2005:5). Drawing from my own story, I engaged them on questions that I had asked myself over the years: *How do I know if I'm playing a song the right way? Where did I learn my repertoire? What does music mean to me? What does music mean at Camp? What do I do when I encounter a musician who plays a song differently than I do? What is my relationship with the texts that I use? What is my relationship with Judaism? How do I choose songs to teach a group of children?* While their answers to these questions varied greatly, nearly every songleader I spoke to had an immense amount to say about these topics. Whether they had reflected on them in the past or not, I gave songleaders the opportunity to connect with somebody who really understood the challenges they faced and who, based on his own personal experience, knew how to ask the right questions. Though some might accuse me of taking reflexivity beyond the limits of acceptable social-scientific inquiry, I believe that empathy is the most powerful tool we have as social scientists and is the tool I employed most effectively in my research.

In general, when accompanying a songleader (which I did on multiple occasions at nearly every camp I visited) I would defer to their version of a song. My proficiency on the guitar and familiarity with many of the chord patterns employed within the stylistic tendencies of Jewish summer camp music enabled me to follow other songleaders either by watching them or by reviewing the chords together before a song session. However, since most of the songleaders I spoke with over the course of my fieldwork had learned to play songs through a combination of books, interactions with other musicians, and picking out chords by ear, each had his or her own interpretation of how to play camp songs. Even within one camp, songleaders often played the same song with a different chord pattern! For instance, while Dan Utley told me he felt that songleaders should play songs the way the original composer wrote them, often represented by transcriptions in the *Shireinu* (Eglash 2001), an extensive chorded songbook published by the Union for Reform Judaism, other songleaders at camp asserted that as long as it sounded right, it didn't matter what chords you played. Once again, this is a case of institutional authority (transcriptions from *Shireinu*) versus vernacular expression (a songleader's aesthetic preference acquired from oral tradition or otherwise). From a practical standpoint, the level of din produced by several hundred people singing in a large hall usually eclipsed any dissonances emerging from one songleader playing an F chord while another played a Dm.

The musical backgrounds of songleaders ranged from those who studied or were studying music in college and could easily sight-sing from sheet music to those who had never had any formal training and couldn't read a note of Western notation. One of the most interesting stories I encountered was that of Benny Lipson, a fourth-year songleader

at Camp Hess Kramer. Benny began playing piano when he was around six years old and over the course of the next decade, developed a strong grounding in music theory and proficiency as a musician. When his high school band needed a bass player, Benny took it upon himself to apply his knowledge of bass clef to the upright bass so as to fill a need in this musical community. Encouraged by mentor Ari Kaplan, the songleader at Hess Kramer when Benny was a teenager (and the songleader for Hilltop when I visited Hess Kramer), Benny started accompanying Ari on the bass at camp. The following summer, despite the difficulty entailed in learning a new instrument, Benny began to teach himself guitar and to help out with songleading at Hess Kramer. Aware of his mediocrity on the guitar, during the school year Benny led services at the Hillel center in college to force himself to improve. By the time I encountered Benny, it was clear that he had overcome his initial challenges and was an adept guitar player. However, the most interesting aspect of Benny's story was the method by which he learned camp songs. Benny told me that he learned everything by ear and was not terribly concerned whether he played songs the same way as other songleaders or not. On several occasions, Benny even played the same song in different ways. While some songleaders were deeply concerned about the proper transmission of camp (and Jewish) culture, others wanted to create an enjoyable moment for the campers in front of them and were not bothered by issues of Jewish continuity or educating children with some sort of universal Jewish musical vocabulary. Over the course of my years as a Jewish music educator I have found myself becoming less concerned with musical indoctrination and more interested in creating moments of musical joy, shifting my enculturative strategy from education in a particular repertoire to an active demonstration and facilitation of powerful communal singing experiences.

Reflections on Activities

During In Service training week at Camp Tawonga, I attended a session with the Teen Service Learning staff facilitated by former director Deborah Newbrun, who was visiting Tawonga as a guest educator for a few days. Toward the end of the activity, Deborah introduced the phrase "Flagging the Moment" to describe the practice of stopping a program to reflect upon how it felt. Since the goal of summer camp is to encourage positive growth in the developing bodies of both staff and campers, time is almost always set aside for staff to discuss how a program went and how it could be improved in the future. The tone of post song session discussions between songleaders emerged from feelings engendered by their experience of the song session. Following one of the first song sessions I observed at Camp Newman, wherein it was clear that most campers were not participating and the songleaders were visibly struggling to encourage engagement, the songleaders were so upset afterward that they didn't want to talk. In contrast to this, after a lively song session, songleader Toby Pechner was glowing with positivity, which he spread to those around him (including myself) for the rest of the evening. Most of the time, a song session that I perceived as successful was perceived in the same way by songleaders and participants, who actively reflected together afterward. On some occasions, particularly at Tawonga, the director supervising the songleaders took notes on a song session or prayer service and then gave both positive and critical feedback in a post-program discussion. In these instances, sometimes the supervisor would pick up and comment upon things that the songleader could not have noticed at the

front. However, one of the challenges of the supervisory structure at Camp Tawonga as it stands is that the director who supervises the songleaders is often not a songleader, does not have the background to train songleaders, and lacks the experience to critically analyze a songleader's performance of his or her job in a detailed, empathetic manner. Nonetheless, these directors do have an intimate understanding of the camp ethos and can direct the songleaders on whether or not their method addresses the greater educational goals of camp. Of all the camps that I visited, the only one that had a musically trained director supervising the songleaders was Camp Newman. Even in this case, Dan Utley's entrance to the Camp Newman community as a relative outsider caused some friction between himself and the songleaders who had grown up at Newman.

Over the course of the last several pages, I have tried to demonstrate the amount of thought, planning, and reflection that goes into all aspects of music programming at camp. Music and communal singing does not simply *happen.* Songleaders spend a great deal of time developing their skills, learning repertoire, attending workshops, and discussing the work they do with one another. Every songleader has a slightly different story and a unique view on his or her place at camp and the role of music in the camp experience. While much of the musical programming can be discussed, analyzed, and planned out, the power of communal singing at camp derives from affective forces that cannot be easily expressed in words or planned out. In the next section, I will try to describe both theories about affect and the way that affective exchanges between bodies during musical programs elevate them as powerful moments of connectedness.

Affective Enculturation

It was the first dinner of Session 1 at Camp Tawonga. Campers had arrived just a few short hours ago and were getting accustomed to being out in nature, away from their parents with young adult counselors acting as their mentors and custodians. For many of these children, this would be the first occasion they had spent any significant amount of time away from home. While these children were adjusting to this transition, a group of a few dozen Counselors-in-Training were getting excited about their first opportunity to taste the other side of the camp community, to begin the transition from mentees to mentors. As dinner progressed, the affective tension generated by hundreds of bodies-in-transition became palpable. Finally after dinner, songleader Isaac Zones went up to the front of the dining hall, told bunks to get songbooks, then held up the songbooks and announced "page 36," indicating that people should turn to page 36 in the songbook, a Camp Tawonga adaptation of John Denver's "Take Me Home Country Roads" featuring the following chorus:

> Country Roads, Take me home
> To the place I belong
> Camp Tawonga, California
> Take me home, Country Roads

Over the last few decades, this song has emerged as the central expression of the Camp Tawonga experience, encapsulating the Tawonga ethos in its lyrics and upbeat music. As Patricia Campbell so keenly observes, "Rock music is urban folk music, valued by

children and adults as much for its message and its social significance as for its musical content" (Campbell 1998:122). As soon as Isaac began the song, every CIT in the dining hall went to the front of the room and began to dance, quickly moving their bodies into a tight circle facing each other. While the CITs reflexively reacted to the music, many of the children did not know what to do and remained in their seats timidly glancing down at the songbooks in front of them. Noticing the disconnect in the room, Isaac asked the CITs to open their circle, turn around, and face the community. No sooner had the CITs opened their collective body to the camp community did a large portion of the camper population stand up to join the CITs in dancing. Keeping the energy at a high level, Isaac transitioned from Country Roads to the immensely popular "Ken Y'hi Ratzon," (May it be [God's] will)[10] which had been introduced to camp about a decade previously:

> Ken Y'hi Ratzon, for the love you've shown
> From the mountain high to the valley low
> We keep alive the flame giving glory to your name
> It's written on the stone, Ken Y'hi Ratzon

For this song, the CITs at the front of the room and staff spread throughout the dining hall performed a specific set of hand motions that many campers quickly picked up and mimicked. Anna Gibbs defines mimicry as "a response to the other, a borrowing of form that might be productively thought of as communication" (Gibbs 2010:193). Building upon Merleau-Ponty's philosophy, which posits sensory experience as both autonomic and synesthetic, I would suggest that much of the embodied interaction that happens in camp song sessions occurs at a pre-reflective, affectively mediated level. Children do not dance because they have been logically "convinced" that they should, they dance because they are pulled into a bloom space created by the slightly older bodies that surround them with a positively charged energy toward the camp ethos. In fact, older children who have developed a greater degree of self-consciousness demonstrate the most reticence to dancing. Through the very ability to self-reflect upon their bodies in relation to others, these children psychologically construct walls of solipsism between themselves and those around them. As residents of the United States, a society that places a cultural premium on individual accomplishment, it could be that these psychological constructions are tacitly encouraged by the ethos that surrounds them in their everyday life. While camp is designed to break down these walls and return people to a state of intercorporeity, the lingering effects of American individualism become apparent when these older children demonstrate reticence to blurring the boundaries between themselves and others through participation in communal song and dance.

Quoting Bruno Latour, Seigworth and Gregg introduce their definitive collection of essays on affect theory by stating that "to have a body is to learn to be affected, meaning 'effectuated,' moved, put into motion by other entities, humans or nonhumans" (Seigworth and Gregg 2010:11, Latour 2004:205). I demonstrated in Chapter 1 that the camp community is socially constructed to maximize the opportunities for manageable bloom spaces, opportunities to push the boundaries of one's social and physical body.

[10] The phrase "Ken Y'hi Ratzon" is a formalized statement of agreement in prayer similar to the word "amen," and is most commonly used following the recitation of the priestly benediction (Numbers 6:24-26) in the repetition of the Amidah. The chorus of this song is loosely based upon the priestly benediction.

These opportunities that camp provides for bodies to unselfconsciously copy other bodies in ways that lead to personal growth reach their pinnacle in moments of communal singing and dancing. Throughout my fieldwork, I would observe song sessions, participating at times and stepping out at others. As I walked around dining halls, I would note what people were doing: who was dancing, who was sitting, what percentage of people were participating, how people were positioned around the room, etc. Due to both my positionality as an outsider coming in midway through the summer and the age disparity between much of the camp community and myself, I often sensed the connectedness of others through my own feelings of disconnection from the community. I frequently felt acutely self-conscious about dancing with teenagers who I did not know and for this reason, often refrained from fully immersing myself as a participant. In contrast, when songleading or playing guitar with other songleaders I felt much more a part of the musical interaction as someone who shared a common musical vocabulary and comfortable mode of interaction. However, there were a few memorable moments in the summer when I was literally "pulled in" to a communal moment of singing and dancing.

Being Pulled In

My interview with Isaac Zones began with a narrative of his entrance into the Tawonga community as a young adult counselor. Toward the beginning of the story, he vividly recounted how powerful the first Shabbat *Freylach* (extended Friday night song session) at camp was for him. Specifically he recalled that his "memory had nothing to do with the songleaders, it was just the experience of…doing 'Od Yishama' and kind of getting pulled into this group of experienced male staff members in this particular circle." He described how the "optimistic" and "hopeful" ethos of camp "all culminated on that Friday with the first freylach." Isaac's story beautifully illustrates many of the points that I have raised over the course of this thesis. First, Isaac perceived that the ethos of camp was directly tied to the community's musical expression. Second, the arrangement of male bodies of similar age created a safe bloom space for Isaac to transition from insider to outsider within a musical moment. Finally, the vernacular expression of spontaneous dancing was a much more vivid memory for Isaac than the particular people who were leading the song session. As Campbell puts it, "Music has drive and energy that links the ear and mind to the bodily self and that can provide a more encompassing sensation than the purely mental or controlled emotional" (Campbell 1998:90). During Shabbat song session at Camp JCA, I had a very similar experience to Isaac's first Shabbat at Tawonga. Robbo was leading the community in "Hava Nagilah" and nearly everybody was singing and dancing. As the dancing progressed, children and teenagers divided into tight, gendered circles and I was initially left on the outside. Robbo asked the community to include me and his teenage son, who was participating in the TASC program, took my arm and brought me into the circle of teenage boys who, although younger than me, were of a similar size to myself. Like Isaac, I was pulled into a circle of experienced male bodies to share in the effervescent joy of dancing. Of central importance to these moments as well as the overall success of camp is the practice of linking bodies.

Linking Bodies

Megan Watkins writes: "Intercorporeality, skin acting on skin, the sense of touch, and the affective realm allows one to know one's body. A similar perspective is evident in Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology of the body: understanding our somatic selves through engagement with the world" (Watkins 2010:276, Merleau-Ponty 1999). As the course of my fieldwork progressed at Camp Tawonga and the initial interests with which I had entered the field made way for the relevant experiences that I encountered as an active ethnographer, I began to notice how often I was writing the phrase "arms on shoulders" in my descriptions of various camp programs, particularly those involving communal singing. It seemed as though campers and staff—particularly teenage campers—put their arms around each other with even the slightest social sanctioning. While end-of-day rituals like siyum prominently featured this sort of body linking, other instances, like the tradition for teenagers in the Leadership unit at Camp Hess Kramer to put their arms around each other's shoulders during the recitation of the "Veahavta," indicated that the desire to link bodies actually superseded its social sanctioning. Once I realized this, I began to pay close attention to exactly when the camp community engaged in body linking. What I came to see was that people put their arms around each other's shoulders not as a *reaction* to a musical moment but in *anticipation* of that moment. These young people were not moved by the music to the point that they wanted to link with each other, the desire to link actually was *primary* and *preparatory*! Granted, even given this intense desire to connect with one another, many communities hesitated to do so in the absence of proper social sanctioning. Even within the context of siyum at Hess Kramer, during the non-singing portions of the program, the entire community would take their arms off of each other's shoulders and then return them in anticipation of the resumption of singing. While I submit that perhaps an element of the need to disconnect emerges from the physical discomfort of keeping one's arm around two other people for a long period of time, the primary motivating factor to determine whether linking occurs or not is social sanctioning, usually in the form of communal singing at certain points in the day to certain songs. Once, in the middle of the day at Camp Hess Kramer, I was walking around with Benny Lipson's songleading chug playing bits of songs for other chugim in different parts of camp. One of the chugim we visited was working in the *Teatron*, the large amphitheater that is the normal venue for all-camp siyum. When we got there, the teenagers, Benny, and I played the Shema-Hashkiveinu medley (Shemashkiveinu) that serves as the musical centerpiece of siyum. As soon as we began playing, nearly all of the people in the chug put their arms around each other's shoulders. Even at a different time of day with a different group of people, the performance of this song in this place provided enough of a social sanction (and perhaps triggered a pre-reflective reaction) for children to put their arms on each other's shoulders. For some children, the camp environment provided enough social safety for them to put arms around each other while simply walking down the road.

Another phenomenon I noticed with regard to the topic of body linking was that teenagers, particularly CITs, linked bodies more often than any other age cohort at camp. While I could not say for certain why this is, my theory is that as children grow and develop a greater sense of self, they also develop a greater sense of personal boundaries and individualism. Young children and toddlers who cannot yet speak tend to run around

and play with any other children their age. The interpersonal boundaries that are centrally important to adults' perception of their own individuality are not yet part of young children's social reality. I would contend that teenagers at camp relish the opportunity to break the culturally constructed insularity that is becoming an ever-increasing reality for them and for this reason, constantly desire to link with each other.

Logical Strategies to Maximize the Affective Power of Music Programs

As a jazz musician, Hess Kramer songleader Benny Lipson likes to improvise and take things as they come. One day, I asked Benny if I could observe his songleading chug. He replied that he wouldn't just want me to observe, he'd like me to teach something as well. When I asked him what I should teach, he told me to teach whatever I wanted. By this point in my research and personal experience, it had been become exceedingly clear to me that the success of a musical moment depended more on the way people were arranged in the room than on the particular music that was chosen to be performed. As songleaders-in-training, I felt that this was the most important lesson I could offer these teenagers and that the most effective way to teach this would be by simply showing them. I asked one of the teenagers to offer a bodily arrangement that we could try out with the folk song "Hinei Mah Tov". He suggested that everybody go to their own bench and sing the song from there. We spread ourselves out around the small outdoor theater where the chug was taking place and sang the song. After singing for perhaps thirty seconds, I queued the group to stop and had another camper offer a body arrangement. This one suggested that we all come to the front bench and sing the song from there. After singing the song in this position, it was my turn to offer an arrangement. I had all the teenagers stand up, put their arms around each other's shoulders and sing the song in a tight circle. After we finished singing, we kept our arms on each other's shoulders and discussed how it felt. As expected, the campers reflected that the singing felt much stronger and more unified when we were in a tight circle and weaker when we were spread apart. While their response may have been affected by my position as the older teacher, their answer correlated with patterns I observed in numerous other situations.

Arrangement of Bodies

Brown and Tucker's statement, **"There is a material arrangement or relations between bodies that allows for certain potentials to act"** (2010:236) essentially sums up my thesis and, for this reason, I have chosen to repeat it here. Affective exchanges between bodies are a given. Logical, symbolically mediated communication is the way that educated humans explain the world and communicate complex ideas with one another. Musical programs at camp (and camp in general) are so effective because they use logical means to harness affective power. This begins with a consideration of which spaces to use and how to arrange bodies in those spaces to maximize the connective power of communal singing.

When I first began to speak with people about the music program at Camp Ramah, I was told that they used to have "Shira b'Eidah" (song session by camp unit) in a prayer space in the middle of camp. As an experienced songleader, this was shocking

to me for several reasons: 1) Distractions are a major hindrance to communal singing. How can you expect to be successful in a place surrounded by distractions?! 2) Singing outdoors is always more of a challenge because the sound gets lost. Why would you choose to sing outdoors when there are so many good indoor spaces?! 3) The space in which they were singing has fixed benches that cannot be rearranged. If you can't rearrange the space, how can you maximize connective potential?! Fortunately, a professional consultant had already pointed these things out to the leadership of Camp Ramah, so by the time of my visit, they had a moved Shira b'Eidah to the Beit K'nesset Ramah (BKR, the camp's primary indoor prayer venue), a suitably sized indoor space with moveable benches. While other challenges still existed in the music program, this first step made an enormous difference. Ironically, Camp Tawonga had tried to address the challenges of singing in a too large space (the dining hall) by moving song session outdoors to the fire circle. Though the intentions behind the change came from a thoughtful place, singing outdoors proved to be challenging for the reasons enumerated above. Currently, the Camp Tawonga leadership is discussing the construction of a new structure designed specifically for communal singing. Considerations for this project include size (not too big but not too small), sound system (to evenly distribute the music throughout the building), shape (round so that everybody can see one another), material (for good acoustics), aesthetics (a pleasing visual environment that fits with the aesthetics of Tawonga) and placement (so that it is practical for programmatic use).

Camp Newman, whose physical layout features a far greater variety of indoor program spaces than Camp Tawonga, struggled with many of the same issues regarding space. Over the course of my visit, the songleaders experimented with several different indoor and outdoor spaces for post-dinner song sessions. Assuming a suitable space was located, the next step toward ensuring a successful communal experience was physically arranging bodies in the room. Since humans have freewill and (relative) control over their bodies, a songleader cannot simply pick people up and move them into a position that will be good for communal singing. Rather, songleaders must use creative strategies to encourage bodies into a suitable formation. In one song session at Camp Newman, the songleaders had everybody stay in the dining hall but rearranged the tables so as to "encourage" everybody to be close together in the middle of the room. At Camp JCA, which has a relatively small dining hall, the staff fold up all the tables and move them aside to create an open space in the middle of the dining hall suitable for dancing. However, sometimes songleader Robbo would instruct everybody to sit down on the floor in the middle of the dining hall so as to prep their bodies for more focused, intentional singing rather than dancing.

Of all the camps I visited, Alonim had the most detailed process of arranging bodies in the room for song session. First, the CITs would quickly move the chairs in the dining hall into several tight concentric circles. Then, they would have the youngest divisions sit in the front and go up by age until the last row. Behind the oldest division, the CITs would make a large arms-on-shoulders semicircle that surrounded all of camp. The songleaders would stand at the front of the first semicircle and lead from there. In addition to priming bodies for communal singing, the arrangement used at Alonim also restricted dancing. While this might seem counterintuitive, dancing at Alonim is considered to be a separate program from singing and the usage of chairs for singing reinforces this division so as to highlight song session as a time for singing rather than

dancing. Nonetheless, to facilitate full-bodied participation campers are encouraged to stand up, do hand motions, and dance in place in the middle of the song session.

Staff as Co-Songleaders

During In Service training week at Camp Tawonga, songleader Marsha Attie followed a rousing version of the popular Israeli dance "Niggun Atik" by explaining to the staff that in order to make song session great for the campers, they must all be co-songleaders. The next summer, I found myself standing behind morning Mercaz—Camp JCA's all-camp CIT and/or counselor-led morning song session featuring mostly repeat-after-me chants with copious hand motions—with director Joel Charnick observing the position of people in the clump. Joel pointed out that the best counselors are the ones who stand with the group facing the front and really get into the singing and hand motions while the okay counselors stand at the front facing the group. The counselors who are not really feeling it stand in the back not participating that much. As slightly older role models, counselors and CITs are the bodies to which campers primarily look up. In general, a counselor's active participation in song session translates to sanctioning for the campers to participate as well. For younger children in particular, this is an affective interaction that happens at the pre-conscious level. Children are drawn into participation when their counselors and CITs demonstrate with their bodies that singing is fun. However, as young adults who have developed a greater degree of self-consciousness, participation in song session often requires immense self-motivation from counselors. Through the intentional usage of their bodies, counselors can harness the power of the affective for their campers.

Power of Melodies

Another affective phenomenon that I mentioned at the very beginning of this thesis and to which I shall return presently is the power of melodies to draw people into communal experience. Along with the challenge of creating an environment that helps people overcome social barriers toward communal singing is the complexity of texts, exemplified by Hebrew songs and songs with many verses. One solution to this challenge is to provide people with printed versions of these texts. However, as I described several pages previously, these physical repositories of words can themselves act as a physical barrier between people. A popular solution to this is the removal of words altogether, as is the case with songs such as Simon and Garfunkel's "The Boxer" and Van Morrison's "Brown Eyed Girl." Both of these songs have distinctive choruses of "yai lai lais" and "sha la las" respectively. Though used more sparingly throughout the song structure by the original recording artist, many camp songleaders have restructured these songs with additional word-free choruses to create more opportunities for easy entry. The barrier of text is completely absent from the traditional Jewish "niggun,"[11] or wordless song, which provides the same musical format for a purely oral experience that does not require the usage of a songbook.

[11] Although niggunim are commonly thought of as wordless melodies in many segments of the Jewish community, the designation can also refer to certain types of songs with words, particular among Chasidic circles.

Developing Songleaders

Perhaps the most important affective-logical process in camp music programs is the development of new songleaders. When I asked songleaders about the personal history that led them to become music specialists nearly all of them mentioned being surrounded by music as children or some sort of experience of being "moved" or "pulled in" by a musical experience at a formative age. Having been affected in such a powerful way at an early age, songleaders implicitly understand that music speaks louder than words and has the power to connect people with one another. What most songleaders must learn along the way is how to effectively arrange bodies and use music efficiently to create connective experiences. To help songleaders understand these concepts is a conscientious and intentional educational process involving extensive discussion of many of the concepts discussed above. Of all the camps I visited, only Camp Newman had an extensive songleader training program as part of their curriculum, the Songleading Yitzirah I mentioned earlier in this chapter. Nearly all of the songleaders on staff the summer I visited had done the Songleading Yitzirah when they were in the Hagigah program and several cited this as an important component of their leadership development. All the songleaders also recounted experiences before camp, as campers, and outside of camp as contributing forces to their education as musical leaders. These included learning to play the guitar, interacting with a variety of texts, attending workshops, developing relationships with musical mentors, and playing songs with dorm-mates in college. The central theme to the development of camp songleaders is that it happens in a decentralized, vernacular manner. While songleader training programs do exist in the form of weekend seminars and four-week camp programs, young people cannot go to university to become songleaders, they must acquire and refine their skills through non-institutional means. Perhaps it is the vernacular, community-minded enculturation of songleaders that makes communal singing such an important carrier of camp ethos. The fact that songleaders can develop nearly anywhere also means that many camps import their songleaders from other places. While Camp Hess Kramer and Camp Newman had songleaders who had grown up at camp, most of the other camps' songleaders came from outside that camp community. Although many of these songleaders could effectively teach music and become part of the camp community, directors often spoke to me about their desire to create songleader training program designed to develop songleaders from within camp, to transform talented staff members from passive to active bearers of the camp tradition. As Alan Merriam puts it,

> Thus it is through education, enculturation, cultural learning, that culture gains its stability and is perpetuated, but it is through the same process of cultural learning that change takes place and culture derives its dynamic quality. What is true for culture as a whole is also true for music; the learning process in music is at the core of our understanding of the sounds men produce (Merriam 1964:163).

Camp directors understand that it is never good enough to simply have a great moment, we must always be think about cultivating the next generation of both musical and non-musical leaders.

Putting it All Together

While it is easy to say that music has the power to move people, we must acknowledge that music does not function without the structures of culture. Bruno Nettl wisely reminds us that

> Perhaps music has somewhat of this enculturative function everywhere, but if we have recognized its importance in the learning of culture, we have not paid much attention to the way in which people actually learn music, and surely not to the ways in which the elements and values of culture affect the learning of music (Nettl 2005:389).

It has been my intention in this chapter to demonstrate that music's enculturative potential only functions when a society is ready to accept music's power. Directors and songleaders at Jewish-American summer camps understand that many of their young clientele have little experience singing with others before they come to camp. Their job is to transmit an ethos of love and caring that that will spread throughout the camp community to establish a safe environment for communal singing. As open bodies eager to experience new cultural expressions, the small token of endorsement that these children's older peers give them by demonstrating that singing and dancing are fun is enough for many of them to leave behind any lingering resistance that might have been generated by their upbringing in the individualistic American ethos and get them singing and dancing with each other. I believe that music is a unique culturally expression because it resonates with the affective bonds that inherently exist between people. Through careful selection of music, arrangement of people, and the harnessing of ethos, camp songleaders create an environment with the maximum potential to connect people through communal singing.

Chapter 3: Shabbat

Late Friday afternoon at Camp Alonim I left my room to enter a sea of white. In preparation for Shabbat, I put on the white dress shirt I recently purchased and went outside to share in the transition from the day-to-day liminality of summer camp to the liminality of liminality that is Shabbat at Jewish summer camp. Though I had grown up at Camp Tawonga and had already visited two other Jewish camps earlier in the summer, I was unprepared for the embodied communitas of Camp Alonim rendered visible by total immersion in white. Everywhere I looked, staff and campers were wearing white shirts, white pants, white shorts, white skirts, and white dresses. Having entered the communal space with khaki shorts, I looked around seeking at least one other person dressed like myself with whom I could share camaraderie. I found none. In this moment of intense disconnectedness, the connectedness between others became palpable.

Shabbat is the cessation of creation. It is an opportunity for human beings to take a pause from many of the creative acts that separate us from the rest of life on Earth and be in harmony with each other and with nature. At Jewish summer camp, the primary creative act in which people are engaged is communal enculturation. All week long campers are immersed in the culture of camp, actively and passively absorbing its ethos, engaged in activities designed to help them grow as individuals and as a group. Just as God rested from his labors and enjoyed their fruits on the seventh day of creation, so too do children at summer camp enjoy the fruits of their labor on Shabbat.

All week long, campers, staff, and CITs at Camp Hess Kramer told me how amazing Shabbat would be. Over and over again the sentiment was the same: you can't understand camp until you experience Shabbat here. Recognizing the centrality of Shabbat to the Jewish summer camp experience, I made sure to include Shabbat in every one of my camp visits despite the difficulties often entailed in arranging such stays (several of the camps I visited invited alumni and parents up for Shabbat, thus filling much more of camp's accommodations than usual). In this chapter, I will weave together the Shabbat experiences I encountered at the six camps I visited to create a detailed narrative demonstrating the centrality of Shabbat as the ultimate connective experience.

Strolling into Shabbat

Smells of freshly washed hair and perfume mix with a bouquet of manzanita and pine in an intoxicating aroma as young people dressed in their finest summer dresses, short-sleeved collared white shirts, and linen shorts gather on the greenest lawns to bask in the last few hours of sunlight on Friday afternoon. As the children mingle with each other and share in the anticipation of Shabbat, sounds of music begin to fill their ears: "Lecha dodi kikrat kallah," "Bring me a rose in the wintertime," "Shabbat Shalom," "Bim Bam." Songleaders, senior staff, and others welcome campers and counselors to Shabbat with song as they stroll through camp assembling the entire community to bring in Shabbat together. At Hess Kramer and Tawonga, the Torah is carried by a staff member to lead the stroll along with the songleaders. Like a snowball that starts from a small intentionally formed ball which then picks up more snow and grows as it moves through the world, the songleaders, senior staff, and Jewish educators of Hess Kramer and Tawonga get together before the stroll begins to tune their guitars and set their

intentions for Shabbat. From this small, dedicated band of communal leaders, the Shabbat feeling spreads to the rest of camp as the community gathers each bunk to form one grand procession that enters Shabbat together.

At Camp Alonim, all of the boys gather in one large circle and all of the girls gather in another to hear stories from their respective head counselors. The stories that the head counselors tell illustrate a camp ethic and prepare the community to enter Shabbat together by gender. After the story is finished, the youngest boys and the youngest girls are invited to move from the camper residence area to the dance pavilion for Kabbalat Shabbat services. Each gender forms a line holding hands and walks together first past Jared Stein and the songleaders singing "Lecha Dodi," then past the program staff holding up white canopies similar to *chuppot* used at Jewish weddings, and finally past the CITs who form an intercorporeal passageway of arms-around-shoulders to sing the campers into Shabbat. Each of the other divisions follows suit by age until the dance pavilion is full. Campers and staff are then joined in the dance pavilion by many visitors and others who have come to taste the joy of being in this entirely white-clad camp Shabbat community. A similar entrance into Shabbat happens at Camp Ramah as campers coalesce by eidah to sing songs and hear a story from their rosh eidah. After songs and stories, the oldest eidah, Machon, forms two lines of arms-around-shoulders through which the rest of the camp community passes on their way into the large outdoor prayer space used for Kabbalat Shabbat services. All week long, the teenagers have been preparing for the opportunity to be leaders in the community. On Shabbat, they embody leadership by literally becoming the passageway from the ordinary to the holy, from individuality to communitas, from individuality to intercorporeity. Such is also the arrangement of bodies at JCA as the community moves from services to Shabbat dinner. Despite the difference in details, the entrance to Shabbat at all six camps was marked by music, movement, cleanliness, and special clothing.

Kabbalat Shabbat

At every camp besides Tawonga, the procession into Shabbat leads directly into Friday night Kabbalat Shabbat services.[1] Each of the five camps performed the Friday night service together as a full camp instead of by unit, which is the weekday practice at Ramah and Newman. Rather than describe these services in detail, I will draw out some particularly memorable moments that highlight Kabbalat Shabbat as the transition into a heightened sense of togetherness, which is the theme of this final chapter.

Camp JCA has excellent musical participation throughout the week, led nearly exclusively by songleader Robbo helped by staff and CITs who use their bodies to engage the camp community from within. While this dynamic continued for much of the Kabbalat Shabbat service in the amphitheater, for the song "Veshamru,"[2] Robbo had the entire camp staff come up on stage and put their arms around each other to lead a rousing

[1] Kabbalat Shabbat (lit. Welcoming Shabbat) is a service comprised of several psalms and the liturgical poem, "Lecha Dodi," composed by R. Shlomo Alkabetz in the 16th century. The service immediately precedes the Shabbat Ma'ariv service, a slight variation on the normal weekday evening service. In this thesis, I use the term "Kabbalat Shabbat" to refer to the entire Friday evening prayer ritual, which varies greatly in style from camp to camp.

[2] This song is traditionally sung during the Friday night ma'ariv service. The text is Exodus 31:16-17.

rendition. The connectedness established by linking bodies was augmented by a choreographed communal bow on the words "b'rit olam" (an eternal covenant), which the staff pronounced "Burrito" (b'rit o-), a word play that mirrored the overall lighthearted ethos of Camp JCA and implicitly demonstrated a sense of camaraderie between staff and campers. Ironically, during the somber recitation of *Kaddish* later in the service, some campers expressed a similarly lighthearted sentiment, which was deemed inappropriate by camp leadership and led to a private conversation between these campers and their unit head. At Camp Newman the tradition for many years has been for counselors to spread *tallitot* (prayer shawls) over their campers during a special medley of the "Hashkiveinu" prayer referred to by songleaders as "HHV" – "Hashkiveinu," "HaPoreis," "Veshamru." Comprised of the Mah Tovu "Hashkiveinu" used during siyum, a melodic version of the final line "Baruch ata adonai, HaPoreis sukkat shalom aleinu v'al kol amo yisrael, v'al yerushalayim"[3] composed by Jeff Klepper, and a version of "Veshamru" whose authorship is unknown to me, this medley serves as the centerpiece of the Kabbalat Shabbat service, the moment several campers reflected upon as the most powerful of the week. Linking of bodies, spreading over a literal shelter of the prayer shawl, and the designation of counselors as those blessing and campers as those being blessed establish this moment as a microcosm of the camp experience wherein physical connection is realized, mentorship becomes physically manifest, and all senses are engaged in a synesthetic bath of affect. In an analogous moment at Camp Tawonga, counselors put their arms around their campers' shoulders and the community recites the traditional blessing of children together, once again creating a microcosmic, embodied representation of camp society.

Kabbalat Shabbat services at Camp Ramah began with the singing of "Yedid Nefesh," a liturgical poem describing God as a loving soul mate. As is frequently the case at Camp Ramah, many of the younger campers struggled with the Hebrew throughout the song. However, once the singing of the Hebrew words was finished, the community burst into collective effervescence as they transitioned into a driving wordless niggun. As the service continued, other occasions of wordless singing provided more opportunities for the energy to grow and bring the community together. The lack of words, simplicity of melodies and overall affective energy surrounding Shabbat created what some might describe as a "magical" feeling.

Shabbat Song Session

"Shabbat Shira," "Freylach," "Oneg," "Shabbat Song Session" – all of these words are used in an attempt to label an experience of such affective intensity that it cannot be reduced to mere words. In order to understand the power of this experience, I ask the reader to reflect upon the nature of the society I have described over the past few chapters. Jewish summer camp is a society specially engineered to break the culturally constructed solipsisms that divide people from one another. Summer camp itself is not "magical," rather, it releases the inherent "magic" that exists between people, the prelogical chemistry that draws us to one another. The communal singing and dancing

[3] Blessed are you, God, who spreads a shelter of peace over us, his people Israel, and Jerusalem.

that followed Shabbat dinner at every camp I visited was the release and realization of affective intercorporeity.

The three songleaders at Camp Hess Kramer stood on the stage of Baruh hall wearing funny costumes. Behind them, a giant screen projected the words to popular camp songs decorated with images of sports stars. As campers and staff began to enter the room, the songleaders vamped on the opening theme to a newish version of "Ufaratzta" written by Rabbi Noam Katz that had become popular over the last few years: "Anana, anana, anana, anana." After playing through this several times, allowing the anticipation in the room to grow, the dam broke. In an instant, the songleaders opened into the chorus of the song as dozens of teenagers wearing basketball jerseys poured into the room to form a giant mosh pit in the middle of the hall. Without any prodding from counselors or parents, the children got as close to each other as possible and jumped up and down, singing at the top of their lungs and dancing their hearts out. Immediately apparent to me was the campers' focus on each other. Unlike a rock concert where the audience's attention is directed toward the band on stage, these campers at Hess Kramer were directed inward toward one another, not toward the songleaders at the front. This moment was the realization of pure human connectedness rather than shared orientation toward a particular cultural object. While the songs did act as mediating objects to spark the interaction, by the end of the song session the campers were able to form a giant, unified circle without even singing. Indeed, the scene of Shabbat Song Session at Hess Kramer was the pinnacle of the post-Shabbat meal song session in my experience. However, each of the camps I visited was able to reach this point over the course of Shabbat.

Dancing

Following Shabbat Song Session, all of the camps I visited aside from Tawonga and Ramah had choreographed Israeli dance featuring recording music and guidance from dance specialists. Camp Alonim, whose culture is exemplified by communal dance, perhaps reached their pinnacle of connectedness in the multiple-hour dance session that culminated in the "staff oneg," a celebration of dance lasting until 2 am wherein staff members had the opportunity to dance nearly every dance they know—hundreds for some. Similarly, at Camp Newman teenagers danced with each other long after the younger children were excused to go to bed, cherishing the opportunity to let go of self-consciousness and embrace a culminating moment of camp ethos. Having come in the middle of the summer lacking the necessary knowledge of popular Israeli dances to fully engage with this particular cultural expression, I usually had to watch these dance sessions from a distance. The distance created by my cultural illiteracy further demonstrated the way that camp creates bounded, shared culture that strives to equalize participants and prepare them for these pre-reflective moments of connectedness. These campers and staff had the luxury of learning these dances over the week and developing an embodied proficiency from doing them year after year. I will say, though, that many campers—particular younger campers—had not attained the level of embodied proficiency necessary to simply "melt" into the moment. Some will continue to embrace the camp ethos and develop their dance skills by coming back year after year. Some will leave the camp community altogether.

Shabbat Day

Every camp I visited had some sort of Saturday morning service with Torah reading. More often than not, these services proved to be far less affectively charged than other Shabbat activities. For many camps, the Shabbat morning service felt more like an obligation of being a "Jewish" camp than a reflection of camp ethos. At Camp JCA and Camp Tawonga, for instance, many of the people most entrenched in camp culture were neither culturally literate in the Torah service nor particularly connected to the ritual. At both these camps, conversations I had with camp leaders indicated that making this ritual meaningful within the context of their camp was a recurring challenge. Even at Camp Ramah, whose ethos conforms much more closely to what might be considered "traditional" Jewish practice, the Saturday morning service was not looked upon as a highlight of the Shabbat experience. Almost undoubtedly, time of day is a factor. Overall, I found that the most "moving" moments tended to occur either in the late afternoon or the evening. It should hardly be surprising then, that Shabbat *mincha*, the afternoon service, at Camp Ramah was considered to be an extremely special time of the week marked by anticipation and excitement.

Every camp had extended free time during Shabbat afternoon. Unlike weekdays, which have perhaps an hour or two of un-programmed time in the afternoon for kids to either just hang out or take part in the activities of their choice, Shabbat afternoon allows for children to simply just be at camp. During this time, it felt like the sun was shining the brightest and the positive affect in the air was palpable. Children swam, played music informally with one another, played sports, or just hung out outside. Often, this relaxing period transitioned into a special outdoor dinner like pizza at Camp Newman or barbeque at Camp Tawonga.

Shabbat Evening and Havdallah

Following dinner, many of the camps I visited had a talent show or campfire as the Shabbat day ended. At Camp Tawonga, during the sessions that have two Shabbats the first Saturday night is the campfire, comprised primarily of traditional skits performed by counselors, and the second is the camper talent show where any camper has the opportunity to perform for the camp community. Camp Alonim does a "Melave Malka"[4] similar in content to the Camp Tawonga campfire. Like Friday night services, these events are done with the full camp in attendance and begin the transition from Shabbat back to the week. Occurring at a liminal, transitional time, these end-of-Shabbat programs provide the optimal time to pass forward such camp traditions as the "Music Master" at Camp Tawonga and the singing of "Right Field" at Camp Alonim. At several camps, Shabbat also marks the end of the session, so the end-of-Shabbat rituals also contain end-of-camp rituals, doubling the power of liminality to build communitas.

From the Shabbat evening activity, we come back to the beginning, and by extension the end of this work: Havdallah. Just as they had entered Shabbat holding

[4] Lit. "Accompanying the Bride." Traditionally, a Melave Malka is done following Havdallah as a way to end Shabbat. Shabbat is often compared to a bride in Jewish tradition and "Lecha Dodi," the liturgical poem used to welcome Shabbat, was written as an ode to the Shabbat bride. The act of accompanying Shabbat out with a Melave Malka mirrors welcoming Shabbat with the singing of "Lecha Dodi."

hands and passing through tunnels of love, campers at Alonim join with each other and pass through the white canopies and singing CITs to depart from Shabbat. Campers, staff, and anybody else who happens to be at Ramah, Newman, Hess Kramer, Tawonga, JCA, and Alonim put their arms around each other in the physical realization of unity as the last rays of sunlight fade and stars begin to appear in the sky. All week long, waking up, playing, singing, eating, and being together has braided the camp community into a metaphorical Havdallah candle.[5] In this final moment of togetherness, human bodies are ignited toward unity, burning together in song just as the Havdallah candle burns as one bright flame before their eyes.

[5] See introduction to this thesis. The Havdallah candle is composed of many small candles braided together. When lit, the wicks burn as one flame.

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