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A STUDY OF INTERRACIAL FRIENDSHIP PATTERNS
AT WARD MANOR GIRLS' CAMP
RED HOOK, NEW YORK, 1948

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE ATLANTA UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF
SOCIAL WORK IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF SOCIAL WORK

BY
BIRDELL JACKSON

ATLANTA, GEORGIA
AUGUST, 1949
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Several months after Pearl Harbor, leaders of the American Camping Association formulated a statement on camping in war time in which they listed as a desirable objective "developing on understanding, acceptance, and appreciation of nationalities, races, economic groups, and religious faiths." The statement recommended that, in the composition of the camp, an attempt be made to secure a measure of international, interracial, interclass, and interfaith representation.

Three years later, in 1945, an American Camping Association Workshop described the "good educational experience" which has come out of well-conceived efforts to "establish racial goodwill through camping." A second workshop that same year stated:

It is the major responsibility of camping leadership to make the maximum use of its unique position to help the child become increasingly able to live effectively in a democratic society conceived to show respect for the dignity of human beings.

---

1 Harry Serotkin, "The Contribution of Camping to Social Equity and Social Harmony" (Boston, 1946), p. 1.

2 Ibid., p. 4.

3 Ibid., p. 5.

4 Ibid., p. 6.
There seem to be three aspects to the democratic concept of camping:

(1) The democratic ideal implies a social organization in which all of the available resources are devoted to the achievement of the good life for all.\(^1\)

(2) The democratic ideal implies a way or method of associative living in which all share in the responsibilities as well as the privileges of organized social life.\(^2\)

(3) The democratic ideal stresses the supreme worth of persons as the highest of all values.\(^3\)

In the ideal camp, all resources, both human and material, are geared to the development of all persons concerned, regardless of race or religion but, rather, on the basis of need. The functions of government, home, recreation, and religion are all embodied in the camp setting. Each camper is involved in these basic community functions as well as in continued face-to-face contact with the representatives of various races, nationalities, and faiths.

Natural and interest groups in the camp community are not unlike those of the larger community but tend to be better integrated, by virtue of the fact that all share cooperatively in the responsibilities as well as the privileges of organized social life. The ideal camp takes cognizance of the creative


\(^2\)Ibid., p. 34.

\(^3\)Ibid., p. 35.
ability of the individual and seeks not only to develop special
talent but also to insure its socialization.

The ideal camp, then, can be conceived of as an admirable
laboratory for practicing the democratic way of life. When
a child leaves camp for home and returns to the tensions,
hostilities, and prejudices of society, he takes with him
more than just a fond picture of the camp site. He retains
his deepened insight into what it means to live with other
people, to respect their rights, and to share in the pooled
obligations of government. The ideal camp, as a demonstration
of the democratic way of life, furthers the development of an
understanding of and loyalty to democratic principles as
applied to society as a whole.

Statement of Problem

This study was concerned with group processes encountered
in a camp which is interracial and intercultural in composition.
It attempted an analysis of friendship patterns characterizing
twelve girls, aged ten to twelve, enrolled at Ward Manor Camp,
Red Hook, New York, during the summer of 1948.

Purpose

It was especially intended to measure the value of
interracial group living in a camp setting as a technique for
coming to grips with the problems attendant on minority group
status.
Method of Procedure

Material for this study was secured by means of participant observation, sociometric testing, agency records, and interviews with the Director of the Special Service Division of the sponsoring agency, the Community Service Society of New York.
CHAPTER II

HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY OF WARD MANOR CAMP

Early Developments

The one-thousand acre estate comprising the Ward Manor Girls Camp is located near Red Hook, New York, on the east bank of the Hudson river. The property was donated in 1926 to the Association for Improving the Conditions of the Poor. This agency merged, in 1939, with the Community Organization Society and has since been known as the Community Service Society. The camp is currently owned and financed by C.S.S., whose policy has always been that of serving people without regard to race or religion.

The first camp session was held in 1926 and involved two camper groups, of forty girls each, aged fourteen to sixteen. Each group was in camp for a period of five weeks. A contribution from the Rockefeller Fund, in 1929, enabled the agency to provide a separate unit for girls aged nine to thirteen during the 1930 camp period. The A. H. Smith fund was used in 1935 in the interest of girls seven to ten. By 1936, the camp

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1 Ward Manor Report, June, 1926.

2 Interview with Mr. William T. Kirk (Director, Special Service Division, C.S.S., New York, August 29, 1948).

3 Ibid.

was providing for eighty girls between the ages of seven and sixteen. ¹

During these early periods of camping, the campers were selected interracially on a quota basis, and all counselors were selected from undergraduate colleges. ²

Present Trends

The 1948 camper capacity of Ward Manor was eighty-five. Each camper remained in camp four weeks, a period comparable to the twelve-week term of a teacher's contact with the child in school. The girls were referred by the district offices of Family Service and the Department of Educational Nursing of C.S.S. The campers were between the ages of eight and fourteen. ³

The caseworkers and nurses agreed upon the following general policies with regard to use of camp personnel:

(a) They shall serve children who are known to the agency and are receiving service directly in a supportive, treatment, or educational relationship, or directly through service to parents, and,

(b) Camp for these children shall be considered part of the total service given. ⁴

¹Ibid., 1930-1936.

²Letter from Jean Wren (Camp Director, Ward Manor Girls' Camp, May 9, 1949).

³Jean Wren, Staff Booklet, 1948, p. 2.

⁴Ibid.
Eligibility was determined on the basis of age, need, and ability to adjust in a group of from five to seven girls. The composition of the group was determined by the camp director and her assistant on the basis of the following criteria:

(1) age, (2) nationality and race, (3) content of summaries.

The latter is of particular importance in the selection of, hopefully, a harmonious group, with consideration of behavior syndromes, degrees of expected participation and withdrawal, prestige patterns, homogeneity of activity and personal interests, etc. Racial and nationality background is important to the extent that each unit is planned to have a heterogeneous racial and nationality composition.

The minimum age for staff members was nineteen. It was required that they have at least two years' college training. In 1948, over twenty-five per cent of the staff members had finished college and had some social work training.

Current Philosophy

Basic to the C.S.S. -conceived philosophy of group work in a camp setting would seem to be the thinking of men whose names are currently much to the fore in the area of intercultural relations. As viewed by R. M. McIver, people were originally a part of simple, closely knit societies with

1 Interview with Mr. William T. Kirk (Director, Special Services Division, C.S.S., New York, August 29, 1948).

2 Ibid.

3 Jean Wren, Staff Booklet, 1948, p. 2.
relatively unique customs, religions, and idealogies. Through rapid industrialization, the descendants of these early groups have been compelled to come together and learn a common language, while circumstances, traceable to these earliest differences in origin, have continued to keep them apart. Prejudices stemming from these differences have served to perpetuate tensions and frustrations. These prejudices are not inborn but are acquired and reinforced by the attitudinal climate in which the individual lives. Fashions, kinds of food, manners, and all the myriad things an individual likes and hates are the result of his environmental influences. Out of the cocoon of home, neighborhood, and school the child learns to imitate actions, feelings, and opinions.

While there are differences of opinion as to the processes by which human character and personality are formed, there is nevertheless substantial agreement that human behavior is the product of a continuous and dynamic interplay between human organism and its environment. The personality of an individual is formed during the early years and is a product of the child's total physical and mental endowment and the quality of care he receives from his parents. It is now believed that the attitudes which the parents bring to the care of the child, their own feelings of security as well as acceptance, are determining factors in the child's attitude.…..

His attitudes, hatreds and aggressions, as well as more desirable manifestations of personality, are for the most part conditioned by what he has encountered in living with others.  

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It was with this in mind that C.S.S. went about creating an environment which might serve as an antidote to the less favorable home and neighborhood setting in which the majority of its clients could be found.
CHAPTER III

SOCIOMETRIC FINDINGS

Among the leading practitioners of group work, interest in program activities has been supplemented by an active interest in relationships, attitudes, and patterns of behavior. Out of this appreciation has come an elaborate technique of manipulating the group process, "through which individuals in groups in the social agency setting are helped by a worker to relate themselves to other people and to experience growth opportunities in accordance with their needs and capacities." The individual uses the group as a tool for personality development and expansion, while the worker constantly guides the group in its attempts to promote individual growth and socially desirable goals. An invaluable instrument for the leader in this manipulation of the group process is the sociometric approach.

The sociometric test, devised by Moreno in 1934, is a technique used to determine the emotional relations between individuals who are functioning as a social group. Further, it is a test which requires that the subjects themselves become

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1Grace Coyle, Group Work with American Youth (Cleveland, 1947), p. 22.


active and so motivated that they indicate to the tester their
attitudes, thoughts, and feelings in regard to other individuals.
They do this by being asked to name the individuals with whom
they wish to live, work, or play.

The first minature community approached by Director Moreno
and his staff was the New York State Training School for Girls
at Hudson, New York.¹ His findings disclosed the factors of
leadership and isolation that existed in the group in question.
Because interaction is not static, periodic testings revealed
successive changes in the structure of the group. Unlike the
typical social distance scale, which all too often crystallizes
attitudes and makes an issue of "interracial affairs,"² this
particular sociometric test proved less a test than an opportunity
afforded the individual inmate to remake the collective of which
he was a part.³

Taken in conjunction with an individual behavior sheet and
outline for group analysis,⁴ Moreno's sociometric technique,
applied to the campers in question, yielded some interesting
insights. The first test was administered three days after the

¹Ibid., p. 12.
⁴See Appendix.
campers arrived, and the second test was given during the fourth week. Specifically, the questions asked of the campers were as follows:

(1) Next Thursday, at five-thirty in the afternoon, all the groups are expected to leave camp and go in separate directions for group cook-outs. Each of you knows best whom you would enjoy hiking with and working with on that day. You may choose three persons.

(2) There may be someone in the group with whom you feel particularly uncomfortable. If so, you may write her name on the back of the card. Wherever possible, I'll arrange the group so that each one gets all of her choices.
FIGURE I

GROUP A - INITIALLY

Legend:
Direction of choice
First choice
Second choice
Third choice
Rejection
Negro
White

Diagram shows a network of choices and rejections among groups A, B, C, D, and E, with arrows indicating the direction of choice and symbols indicating rejections.
The formation of Group A, as in the case of all groups comprising Camp Ward Manor in 1948, was determined by the director and her assistant on the basis of age, nationality, race, and content of summaries. Behavior syndromes, degrees of expected participation and withdrawal, prestige patterns, and homogeneity of activity and personal experiences were taken into consideration in the hope of establishing a harmonious but racially representative group, as has been indicated earlier. They were from ten to twelve years of age.

The group comprised three Negro girls, A, B and C, and two white girls, designated D and E. First choices were at the outset in terms of racial identification. A and B were mutual first choices, C preferred A, and D and E were mutual first choices. In the area of second choices, the white girls took the initiative in crossing the color line; D preferred B, and E preferred A, while C and B were mutual second choices, and A preferred C. In the area of third choices only did the Negro girls see their way clear to venture across the color line. B reciprocated a second choice by naming D as third choice while A reciprocated E's first choice of her by choosing E as her third choice. Meanwhile, E chose C in third place, while D likewise chose C. The only expressed antipathy was the mutual rejection of D and A.

Since A, a Negro girl, was alone the object of two first choices, in addition to which she was the object of second choice on the part of E, it would necessarily follow that A,
if anyone, played the stellar role and could be regarded as the indigenous leader. B seemed, likewise, a person of positive tele, enjoying the role of being the leader's first choice and the second choice of both D and E. C was the object of two second choices and two third choices. E was the object of no more than a single first choice on the part of her fellow white camper, D. D was the object of a first choice, by E, the third choice of B, and rejected by A, whom she in turn rejected. The fact that E and D crossed the color line in making their second choices is not as significant as the fact that each chose a different person; since D and E were the only two white girls in this group of five, they could hardly have done otherwise than cross the color line in making a second choice. The significant fact here is that E elected for second choice the very person whom D rejected. If there is any truth to the axiom that things equal to the same thing are equal to each other, it would follow that E and D had only racial identification in common. In the matter of third choices, it is not without significance that C, rather than name either white girl as her third choice, chose to make no third choice at all; on the other hand, she did not go so far as to reject either girl outright.

The counselor now undertook to determine what underlay the stellar role of A.

Case 1

A was a healthy looking brown-skinned girl whose expression was usually cheerful. She was prolific in ideas
for program, readily took responsibilities, and liked to lead the group in singing while on a picnic or sleep-out. She participated eagerly in activities and, once started on a project, was not easily diverted.

She was jealous for her status as group leader and resented the bid for leadership made by D.

Case 2

D was a lively, red-haired, very fair-skinned girl. Early in the period, she had frequent conflicts with A, who was her match in social aggressiveness. She seemed to disagree with A over program suggestions as a matter of principle. She sought the friendship of a younger white camper in another group and spent many hours with this new found friend and her group. In due course, however, she found it more to her liking to go with her own group on hikes, picnics, or fishing trips. Gradually, she integrated herself more fully with the original group. She began to gain recognition for her swimming and dancing ability. Finally, when, the group planned a dance for an all-camp program, all the girls, A included, asked D to be their partner. She took this occasion to single out A as her first choice.

Case 3

B was a thin, gangly, dark-brown-skinned girl, who wore thick-rimmed glasses. In the beginning of the period, B's "buddy" was A, who was also a Negro. B would participate in any activity that A seemed interested in and often stayed near her. She accomplished more than the other girls in arts and crafts. She was frequently complimented by the group for her success in this area, which may have accounted for her receiving a large number of choices in the initial test.

B was in frequent conflict with E. When the counselor talked or played with E, B would call the counselor away on some pretext and then accuse the counselor (who was Negro) of being more friendly toward E because she was white.

In due course, however, B began to participate more freely in activities and came to be relatively independent of A. She was able to establish a more positive relationship with E and, in the final test, chose D as her second choice.
Case 4

E was a thin but sweet and healthy-looking girl. She was quiet and well-mannered and seemed reciprocally drawn to D, to whom she continually deferred. She participated in group activities to a small extent in the beginning of the period but spent a great deal of time watching the others. Later, she became more active.

E was upset when the girls reached for food at the table, ate rapidly, talked loudly, or used profanity. She complained and corrected their manners, which may have contributed to her near-isolate position in the group. She was often praised by the group, however, because of her success in the crafts shop, where she sketched well, made head-gears for the group, and taught them how to fashion paper flowers for their table in the all-camp birthday party.

Eventually, she was singled out by C for attention and began to share with C her first preference for A. In turn, A was often the first one to praise and compliment E because of her success in crafts and frequently encouraged her to participate more in activities. Ultimately, she transferred her first choice from D to A, retaining C in third place.

Case 5

C was a quiet, dark-skinned girl. In the beginning of the period, C spent a lot of time reading comic books and other books obtained from the library and did not seem able to participate freely in activities. She was the object of no first choice and also the only one who did not choose three persons in the initial test. When asked why she chose two instead of three, she said she wanted to work with only A and B. She seemed eager for acceptance by A and B; she readily took criticism from them and sought to do favors for them. She did not initially go swimming with the rest of the group but instead sat on the bench until the hour was over. In due course, however, she yielded to A's encouraging her each morning to go into the pool and, by summer's end, had learned to float.

During the course of the period, A transferred most of her attention to D, which for a while caused C to withdraw again into herself. With the acquisition of skills in swimming and crafts, however, she began to gain recognition from the other girls. E started making it a practice to sit near her at meals and, during rest hour, to exchange comic books with her. She and E were also very friendly in the craft shop. In the final test,
C chose E first instead of A; she was also able to make a third choice, namely, D.

FIGURE 2

GROUP A, FINALLY

Legend:
- Direction of choice: ← →
- First choice: —
- Second choice: ---
- Third choice: .......
- Rejection: ~~~
- Negro: @
- White: D
By the close of the camp season, A was more distinctly the natural leader than ever. She was now the object of three first choices, white campers E and D and Negro camper B. It is noteworthy that she not only ceased being the first choice of C (who now chose E, to the exclusion of A as even her second or third choice) but, what one would have been least led to anticipate, developed her most intimate ties with D, who, initially, was the one camper between whom and herself there existed mutual rejection. (A and D, as has already been indicated, were the two most aggressive girls in the group. Both seemed eager to participate in activities and finally found common interests in the many phases of the camp program. They liked swimming, fishing, and picnicking and, through these common interests, were brought into increasingly close contact with one another).

E and D were both objects of a single first choice. C and B were the objects of two second choices, while D was the object of only a single second choice. While D seemed characterized throughout by the weakest positive tele, she concluded the season as a fully accepted member of the group, with the two Negro campers A and B according her the greatest part of her group recognition. The fact remains that, in the last analysis, the group ended the season in a state of full integration, without the isolation of a single individual.
The Group Process

In the process of guiding mutual acceptance, minimizing mutual rejection, and encouraging wholesome status-finding, the counselor used the technique of suggesting pooled effort in the construction of a group "hide-out," selecting a group name, and programming group activities.

There was no social control in the form of a constitution or body of regulations. Group pressure was the single means by which control was exercised. Slothful members were urged by other members to do their "capers" (i.e., housekeeping chores) so that the whole group could participate in more pleasurable experiences. Or again, conflict might arise in the course of a morning hike. Some members might want to stop at a given point, while others would prefer going on. In such instances, the counselor would divert or re-direct interest by beginning a song or by making a completely new suggestion that had elements of both conflicting sides.

The indigenous leader, A, almost invariably held the key to group participation in a given activity. She exercised initiative in programming, encouraged others to participate by exhortation and example, and, by the same token, prevented the carrying through of a scheduled activity by merely refraining from personal participation.

One evening, the group wanted to go swimming but could not use the pool because other groups had signed-up first. This led
to their making excessive noise in the bunk area and insisting that they were not going to bed at all that night. The counselor attempted discussing with the group the motivation underlying their behavior and to get them to realize the futility of using destructive means in their attempt to get what they wanted. They finally went to bed, but only after insisting on their right to be angry over being denied the use of the pool. To what extent this last was a mere face-saving gesture, it is hard to say; the fact does remain that the group behaved in similar fashion on no subsequent occasion.

The manner of group participation in all-camp programs was determined by collective decision. The counselor would introduce the question while the group was on cook-out or in the hide-out. The more aggressive members would quickly volunteer suggestions. The counselor would accept these suggestions for discussion and seek to draw out the more retiring members by direct questioning. These withdrawn members, after having been assured that their suggestions were welcome, would then "come to life" and contribute to the discussion.

In consequence of all this, the group climate changed notably during the period. In the beginning, the girls did not seem fully at ease with each other. They were reluctant to express themselves. In craft, for example, each child chose to make an object different from that of any fellow-camper. Later, it was the exceptional child who did not prefer making bracelets, necklaces, etc., similar to those of her fellow-

campers. Even more significantly, they ultimately worked together on a box movie, which they put where all the other children in camp could use it.

This esprit de corps was strengthened by successive group hikes, fishing trips, picnics, and swims. They participated in many all-camp activities as a group. Their face-to-face contacts evidently fostered a development of understanding and mutual regard because of their purposefulness. Working toward a common goal, they "experienced the chagrin of frustration and the thrill of accomplishment—together."

The group even developed a secret code as an earnest of its unity. At times, the group went on trips to town, to the movies, or to Bard's summer playhouse; on such occasions, they helped each other get dressed so that the entire group might be ready on time.

A and D, who, in the beginning of the period, were mutually rejecting, later exchanged clothes with each other and were eager to share their other possessions.

Group values were especially influenced by the indigenous leader. Honesty was considered a general ideal and also the ability to succeed in camp skills, such as swimming, fishing, and arts and crafts. These collective evaluations gave status to each member within the group. A, the leader, was always being complimented for her accomplishments, and the girls

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were always reminding one another of the day's achievements in swimming, arts and crafts, etc.

In the beginning of the period, the group participated in activities of relatively short duration; later, they became interested in projects lasting two to four days. The principle activities occurred in the following order:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Duration</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Finding and Decorating a Hide-out</td>
<td>1 hour</td>
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<tr>
<td>Craft Shop</td>
<td>1 hour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fishing</td>
<td>1½ hours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exploring</td>
<td>1 hour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hiking to Town</td>
<td>1½ hours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All-Camp Fair, Preparation for Group Representation</td>
<td>1 hour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; Nights</td>
<td>&quot; 1 hour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; Barn Dance</td>
<td>&quot; 2 hours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; Masquerade</td>
<td>&quot; 2 hours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; Circus</td>
<td>&quot; 4 hours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; Party</td>
<td>&quot; 2 hours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group picnics</td>
<td>3 hours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peek-Hole Movie</td>
<td>4 hours</td>
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<tr>
<td>All-Camp Xmas</td>
<td>12 hours</td>
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The campers saw their main purpose as "learning how to do things while having fun." Members who were withdrawn in situations of active "give-and-take," gained recognition and status in the craft shop by painting or drawing something which met with group commendation. E was slow to participate in group activities because she was, perhaps, fearful of not being accepted, but when she sketched or made flowers in the craft shop, the girls stood around her and praised her. She gained increasing confidence and, later, was able to take an active part in group activities other than crafts. C, who was timid and wholly dependent on A, was later able to "wean"
herself of A. She developed skills with which she had formerly been unfamiliar and gained both status and a sense of worth.

The counselor felt that she enjoyed a positive relationship with all the girls in the group. When the group went swimming, they always asked the counselor to go along. When a girl learned how to dive, float, or merely hold her head under water, she always called the counselor's attention to her accomplishment. B, however, seemed in need of special attention and at times seemed unable to share the counselor with the other girls. In consequence, the counselor talked to her many times alone.

Not too dissimilar was the case of Groups B, who were similarly aged ten to twelve.
FIGURE 1

GROUP B, INITIALLY

Legend:
- Direction of choice ← →
- First choice
- Second choice
- Third choice
- Rejection
- Negro
- White
In group B, comprising seven campers, three white and four Negro, F, G, and H seemed, initially, to constitute the natural leadership of the group. These girls were the objects of two first choices. That there was cooperation among them would seem indicated by the fact that F was the first choice of G and H, while G was, in turn, the first choice of F, and H was the second choice of G. P was the first choice of J; K, J, and M represented nobody's first choice; J and M were, respectively, the second choices of P and F, while K was the second choice of none. The isolation of K was partially redeemed by her being the third mutual choice of M; however, she had strong feelings of antipathy for J, who, in turn, had strong feelings of antipathy for M. Thus, it might be said that K, J, and M were at the periphery of the group.

Because F was a strong member of her group and also liked by the Negro girls, especially by H, her subgroup became influential and generated much of the esprit de corps in the total group. Furthermore, the Negro indigenous leader, H, seemingly, felt that she had less in common with any of the Negro girls than with F.

F, G, and H evidenced the most positive tele. They were more active than their camp-mates, stimulated group thinking by offering suggestions for programs, and were more successful in skills.

P occupied a relatively strategic position in the group. The girls seemed to accept and show a need for P's jovial and
out-going behavior, which contributed much to the good feeling-
tone of the group.

E, J, and M, as has already been indicated, were comparative isolates relative to the rest and also rejected each other. K and J had their initial argument early in the period when J attempted to use more than her share of bunk space. J and M had frequent conflicts subsequently, over the use of the mirror and other group equipment.

Case 6

F, a white girl was, thin, and neat in appearance. She had dark hair, large eyes, and smiled often. She was the only girl who could swim when she arrived in camp and was frequently complimented by the other girls for her accomplishments in this and other skills. She was eager to take responsibility and often helped other members with their "capers." The girls took correction from her easily. In the hide-out, she emphasized the importance of secrecy when she felt that the girls should be quiet or reminded them of camp rules when she did not approve of their behavior. She was ready with suggestions for program and through her enthusiasm in group activities, influenced others to participate.

Case 7

Almost on a par with F in club esteem was G. G was a blond girl who talked and smiled easily and had an air of competence and security about her. She was active in group activities and was eager and dependable with regard to responsibilities. She was neither very aggressive nor unduly retiring. She participated in all activities and often had suggestions to offer. She was at ease when performing before groups in all-camp programs and was often complimented by the group because of her dramatic ability.

Case 8

H was a short, stocky, dark-skinned girl. She seemed fairly secure and often made suggestions for program,
participating freely in group activities. She was the accepted leader of a three-member sub-group of Negro girls. She was successful in arts and crafts and the second girl to pass the swimming test, an accomplishment which perhaps strengthened relations between her and F. (She felt that all the girls should learn to swim and continually encouraged those who seemed afraid.) She joined F regularly in the pool and never tired of speaking of the fun they had together after the swimming hour was over. She always volunteered where extra "capers" were involved. She liked reading fairy stories to the group.

Case 9

P was a sturdily built, jolly Negro girl, who wore glasses. When she arrived in camp, she lost no time asserting herself relative to her camp-mates but seemed fond of H; she was often near her and many times sought her opinion when they worked together in the craft shop. (H was warm in her relations with P but seemingly made no special effort to further the friendship.) Even though P was initially argumentative, the girls seemed to like her for her jovialness.

Case 10

M was an attractive, bright-eyed, white girl with brown hair and fair complexion. At the outset, she seemed unable to relate well to any of the girls in her group. She was sometimes explosive and "bossy." Her initial anti-social aggression took the form of such pranks as stealing a tube of lipstick from one fellow-camper and the spreading of toothpaste in the bunk of another. On each such occasion, the group took her to task; several times, they suggested that she be punished by being left in camp when they went on trips. Soon, however, she developed an attachment for F. On the other hand, she remained in frequent conflict with J, as has already been indicated.

With increased success in skills, on which she was complimented by the other girls, coupled with a love of paper dolls which she had in common with the rest of the group, she finally succeeded in being able to establish a more pleasant and consistent relationship with her group and was finally able to accept even J.

Among her idiosyncracies was the habit of costuming herself as a "rich lady."
Case 11

J was a thin, "jittery," Negro girl, who talked rapidly and seemed chronically ill at ease. She held a near-isolate position in the group and, in the beginning of the period, was especially insecure when the group was out alone on hikes or picnics. The girls called her "scared-cat." Later in the period, when the group went exploring one afternoon, J surprised everyone by volunteering to lead the way; the girls good-naturedly remarked about her sudden fearlessness.

One evening, J pushed K's bed from its original spot in order to have more space for her own bunk and, thereafter, missed no opportunity to quarrel with K. J was also often in conflict with M, as has already been indicated, over the use of the camp mirror and other facilities. Later, however, she was able to establish a more satisfactory relationship with these girls.

J's favorite activities were playing with paper dolls and swinging. She seemed pleased whenever the group accepted her suggestion that they engage in either of these activities. It was through these undertakings that she finally gained recognition and was able to function more freely.

Case 12

K was a sturdily-built, retiring Negro girl. When she arrived in camp, she became very fond of H and seemed at ease with her, but when more girls joined the activity in which she and H were engaged, it was only a matter of minutes before K would retire from the scene. She also worked long periods in crafts. Praise of her work in this connection led, ultimately, to her becoming almost normally assertive.

She was for a while a near isolate, receiving only one third-choice in the initial test. Towards the end of the period, however, she was able to participate in all group activities as successfully as she did in the craft shop.
FIGURE 2

GROUP B, FINALLY

Legend:

Direction of choice ← →
First choice
Second choice
Third choice
Rejection
Negro 🅰️
White 🅱️
In the final analysis, F stood out as the indigenous leader of the group. She received five of the six first choices and K's third choice. G received the next highest number of choices; K and F named G as their first choice, and she was designated second choice by P and H. In this final test, H named F her first choice and was the second choice of F, who, in the initial test, chose M. H was also the second choice of J.

P received no first choices; however, she was the third choice of G, J, and H. J received one third choice, from M, with whom she had formerly been unable to establish an adequate relationship, and a second choice from C, who initially named M her second choice. K improved in status by becoming the object of two choices, from F and P. M occupied a near isolate position, receiving only a single second choice from K.

The Group Process

Conflict sometimes occurred when they were out on picnics or sleep-outs, when the question arose as to who would set the table, or make the fire, or serve. To settle the issue amicably, they would be prevailed upon by the counselor to focus on the fun involved in discharging the responsibilities in question; in this connection, the counselor employed both precept and example. Finally, the group decided to rotate the various duties; before each outing, the duties would be allocated by the counselor and the names posted in the bunk area.
The campers seemed incidentally, to enjoy the sport of locating their names on the chart.

F probably gained status as indigenous leader through such devices as conspicuous success in skills, volunteering most of the suggestions for program activities, and generosity in doing favors for others, such as combing their hair or helping them in crafts.

Questions pertaining to group participation in all-camp activities required collective decision. Discussion usually occurred in the hide-out. Frequently, six of the girls acquiesced in a given decision only to have M register disagreement. This often led to the group's taking time out to persuade her to go along with them, which seemed precisely what she wanted. She enjoyed the extra attention this involved. On other occasions, however, the group resented her reluctant attitude and over-rode her.

In the beginning of the period, there was frequent conflict due to inability to share such things as the bunk-mirror, swings, or other common equipment. Furthermore, the timid ones were not given much opportunity for free expression; the more aggressive girls dominated all activities and discussions. Eventually, however, the new experiences and contrasting behavior patterns provided a quality of living which led to more adequate socialization.¹

The group program and all-camp events seemed to go far toward strengthening the group's *esprit de corps*. Arrangements were made for frequent fishing trips, picnics, and sleep-outs, activities which all members of the group enjoyed. It was intended that such activities enhance their we-feeling, as over against the larger whole on the one hand and the ruggedly individualistic group member on the other.

Values functioning to control behavior and establish esteem were loyalty to club secrets, respect for authority (whether embodied in the indigenous leader or the counselor), and respect for camp rules and regulations. The girls played in the hide-out frequently but always felt that they had to play quietly in order to keep its whereabouts a secret. (F always expressed the importance of secrecy and was herself very loyal to the hide-out program). When M did things contrary to camp rules, the girls would isolate her pending her giving evidence of repentance.

Those girls who were more skillful were the ones who more easily gained status in the group. F, G, and H ranked highest in club esteem most especially on this account.

The activities of Group B were subsequently those of Group A.

The all-camp programs facilitated inter-group activities and gave the girls opportunity to develop a sense of security within a larger social area.
CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The ideal summer camp suggests itself as almost a perfect laboratory for experimentation in democratic living. Its philosophy and practice are largely characterized by such democratically desirable principals as freedom, equality, and brotherhood. The ideal camp embodies many of the major activities as well as the major problems of a real community. Each camper becomes involved in the functions of government, home, recreation, and religion and is also in close contact with representatives of various races, nationalities, and faiths. Camping of this sort is conceived of as supplying a good educational experience which later helps shape our democratic society. Democracy, it would seem, must depend for full realization on education, not such as is concerned with merely the transmission of knowledge but rather such as is addressed to the growth of individuals by the education of their emotions. Only full growth, out of full living, can help correct the evils of prejudice and discrimination.¹

There is no one cause of prejudice. Its solution requires the combined efforts of a number of professional groups. Since it is deep-rooted and often reinforced by traditions, mores,

and ways of living, its causes are psychological, economic,
sociological, and historical. Although complex in its make-up,
prejudice is not, however, inborn; rather, it is acquired and
strengthened by the environment in which one lives. The
individual's attitudes, feelings, and opinions, are formed
during the early years of life and are the result of his
relationships in the family, school, and community.

The Community Service Society, through Ward Manor Girls'
Camp sought to help other institutions engaged in training
individuals in a democratic society and provided for its
clients a camp which was interracial and intercultural in
composition. In the initial camp session of 1926, campers
were selected interracially, on a quota basis. Eligibility
is currently determined on the basis of age, need, and
ability to adjust in a group of from five to seven girls. The
length of the 1948 camp period was four weeks. Staff members
were to some extent accepted from undergraduate colleges but
largely from graduate schools of social work.

The sociometric test devised by Moreno in 1934 was the
technique used in determining the relations that existed among
its individuals comprising two camper groups, aged ten to twelve,
and five and seven in number, respectively. An Individual
Behavior Sheet and Outline for Group Analysis was also used.
The test was an opportunity afforded the individual camper to
remake the collective of which she was a part; she indicated
to the tester her attitudes, thoughts, and feelings regarding
other individuals by choosing persons with whom she wished to live, work, or play. The factors of leadership and isolation were readily disclosed by the test results.

In the beginning, of the camp period, choices seemed related to similarity of race. In Group A, comprising three Negro and two white girls, the white girls took the initiative in crossing the color line in the area of second choices. One group member, rather than select a white girl as third choice, chose to make no third choice at all. Intensive rivalry existed between the Negro and white indigenous leaders. These girls rejected each other in the initial test and, in the beginning of the period, were in frequent conflict. At the outset, furthermore, some members could participate successfully in only solitary or parallel activities such as arts and crafts.

The behavior records and final sociometric test disclosed progress in individual growth and evidenced a fully integrated group. Members became able to freely participate in group activities other than crafts. The Negro member who made only two choices in the initial test, chose three girls finally, two of whom were white. Conflict that existed between the two indigenous leaders gave way to a friendly relationship that entailed the sharing of clothes and other possessions.

There were seven members comprising group B, three of whom were white and four Negro. Two white girls and one Negro
girl constituted the natural leadership of the group. Each of these girls received a high number of first choices; fortunately, their own first choices were made among themselves, which guaranteed cooperation instead of rivalry. Choices, otherwise were clearly based on racial similarity. The Negro girls and the white girls constituted separate constellations in the main. In the same test, rejection existed between two Negro girls and a Negro and white girl. The group's function was often endangered by the frequently expressed dissension that existed among these members.

In the final diagram, changes in choices was noticeable. Acceptance was related to status, and one white girl received five out of the six first choices. Those members who were isolates early in the period became able through the acquisition of skills, to participate more freely in group activities and to integrate themselves into the group. Those girls who formerly rejected each other were able to establish a more satisfactory relationship.

The success of Camp Ward Manor must be attributed in the last analysis to the fact that all its resources, both human and material, are geared to the development of all persons concerned, regardless of race or religion but, rather, on the basis of need. The functions of government, home, recreation, and religion are all embodied in the camp setting. Each camper is involved in these basic community functions as well as in continued face-to-face contact with the representa-
atives of various races, nationalities, and faiths.
APPENDIX A

Individual Behavior Sheet

I. Camper's Role in Unit and Attitude toward Camp... How she got along with other children in unit, her popularity and whether she was popular in certain kinds of situations, and what these were. What were the kinds of situations which seemed to upset her, to please her? Pet friends? Pet enemies? On what basis? Preferences for large- or small group activities. Was she leader, bully, clown, scapegoat, leader's pet? How did unit like her on the whole?

II. Attitudes toward Counselor When did she seem easier to handle? When was she unmanageable? Did she seem sure of you or in constant need of attention? Jealous of your attentions to others? How did she take praise, criticism? How did she show fondness, dislike? Did she try to "get your goat?" How? Was your influence lasting? Unusual relationships to other adults in camp?

III. Attitude toward Routine and Discipline Response to caper chores, other organized responsibilities. How did she react to punishment, reward? Any particular fears of punishment? What are the kinds of punishment she suggests to inflict on others? When could she seem to take correction most easily - from you, from the group, certain other children? How did she most easily get into difficulties?

IV. Activity Interests Accomplishments, Activity Aversions How sustaining were her interests, what was degree of participation? To what extent influenced by other campers? Achievements in program skills during camp, her reaction to these? Avoidance of certain activities.
V. Thoughts, Fantasies, Fears

Much day-dreaming? Special fears, superstitions? Extreme discomfort when performing before groups? What were the kinds of roles she chose in dramatic productions? Did she like to make up stories? What was the content of these?

VI. Attitudes toward Health and Body

Any actual assets or handicaps of her body? Any unusual or distorted ideas about health and bodily functions, such as headaches, toothaches?
Outline for Group Analysis

1. Group Formation

A. What type of group is this?
   i.e. "natural" group, interest group, formed social
   club or some combination of these.

B. If just formed, describe the process of formation in
   terms of the original members of the group, their
   purpose in forming it and the relation of leader to
   the formation.

C. What social factors are affecting the makeup of the
   group? Note influence of nationality, financial
   status of family, etc.

D. How is membership determined? What agency policies
   affect membership?

E. Has the group a stated purpose? If so, what is it?

2. Group Acceptance, Rejection and Status

A. During the period of the record, how have sub-groups
   affected the way the group has functioned? Note
   cliques, conflicts between sub-groups, leadership
   sub-groups, etc.

B. Does the group treat any of its members consistently
   in certain roles such as scapegoats, rebels, clowns,
   outcasts, or objects of pity to be uplifted by the
   group? Describe any such situations. How do you
   account for the attitudes in these cases - both on the
   part of the group and from the viewpoint of the
   individual treated in this way?

C. What part has leader played in this process of
   acceptance, rejection and status finding? How has he
   affected the pattern? How has he used it in relation
   to individuals? To the whole group?

3. Group Control

A. Does the group have a formal system of control embodied
   in a constitution or set of rules? If not, what means
   has it of control?
B. Describe the indigenous leaders of the group. What contribution do they make which accounts for their election leadership? How do they use their position as leaders in controlling the group?

C. What has the leader done in regard to the control of the group? At what points has he taken control himself? What methods did he use? What were his aims in doing this?

4. Process of Group Thinking and Decision Making

A. What kind of questions required group thinking and collective decision during the period of the record? Where were these handled? In business meetings? If not how and where did the discussion occur?

B. How does the group usually come to its decisions? By majority rule? Compromise? Integration?

C. What part has leader played in group deliberation? What educational purposes has he in mind for such deliberative meetings?

5. Group Climate and Esprit de Corps

A. What is the general social climate of the group in terms of factors such as the following: friendliness or hostility toward each other; opportunity for free expression of opinion and receptive attitude toward such; attitude toward authority as represented by leader, the agency or the indigenous leaders; ability to cooperate effectively for common ends.

If the climate has changed markedly during the period of the record what had produced this change?

B. How has esprit de corps of the group fluctuated during this period? What has produced these fluctuations? How has it been affected by program, conflicts, inter-personal acceptance and rejection, events outside the group?

6. Group Values

A. What evidences are there of commonly accepted values affecting the behavior of the group?

B. How are the group values related to its selection of indigenous leaders? To its stigmatizing of certain
members? To what extent does the elected leader embody the group ideal? (e.g., prominence in skills, embodiment of a social purpose, etc.)

In what ways are its values influenced by those of its indigenous leaders?

C. How is the agency attempting to effect these values? What does the leader do about them? What is his aim in doing this? What has resulted? Give specific instances.

7. Program Development

A. Outline the program of the group for the period of the record listing each activity and its duration.

B. What does the group consider its main purpose to be expressed in program? Are there other minor interests they wish or are willing to have included?

C. What educational results have come in your opinion from each of the activities listed? Describe results to individuals, if possible.

8. Relation to other groups

A. Has this group had any relation to other groups inside the agency? How has this group been related to program planned for whole agency?

B. What part has leader played in these inter-group activities? What has he aimed to do through them?

9. Relation of leader to Members of the Group

A. During the period were there certain members who constantly endangered the effective functioning of the group by such behavior as bullying weaker members; refusal to carry their share of the work, showing off by noisy or irritating behavior, monopolizing the adult? Define the most common of these in terms of individuals who often behave this way. How does the leader handle this behavior in the group? How has he used group program or group pressures to deal with this behavior?

Are there certain members who are normally helpful to the group by such behavior as making useful suggestions, assuming responsibility, upholding agency standards, stimulating thinking, or control
of emotional outbursts of other. Who does this commonly? What is the relation of leader to these persons? How has he used their behavior to promote group program or group relations? Has he used group program or pressures to develop their capacities?
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