

# Economic and Social Work for Young People during Defence Service: the Israeli Formula<sup>1</sup>

THE DEMANDS of economic and social development and the need for service in the national defence forces have been uniquely combined in Israel's "Nahal"—short for "Pioneer Fighting Youth". This organisation is an especially interesting subject of study since it is at once an unusual institution devised to fit the specific conditions of a particular State, and the source of inspiration for a whole series of experiments introduced in differing circumstances in a number of developing countries. Its emblem, which combines the sickle with the sword—and which has itself served as a model for comparable emblems in other countries—illustrates its twofold task of developing the land and protecting its settlers.

The main aim of the Nahal is to give boys and girls who so desire—and who have been prepared for the job in advance by youth organisations—a chance to be specially trained and to carry out development work during their defence service so that they can help to found new population and rural development centres in difficult terrain and subsequently settle there themselves in collective or co-operative communities.

Other countries have been encouraged by this initiative to attempt to give their young people vocational training and a useful job to do, particularly in the field of rural development; this is especially the case in a number of new African States which, faced with the problems of untrained youth and the drift towards the towns, have formed "pioneer youth corps", "civic services", or "national youth services".<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Study prepared by C. Rossillion of the I.L.O., co-ordinator of the research programme, following a field mission in May 1965.

<sup>2</sup> In some of these countries it has also been provided that this type of service may be combined with or substituted for compulsory military service. Apart from programmes of this kind, in countries where there is compulsory military service various arrangements have been made to enable young people to participate in activities of an economic or social cha-

The Israeli experiment with the Nahal is of interest, therefore, not only in itself but also for the bearing it has on situations in other countries. Looking at it from this viewpoint, the study which follows will take the form of a description of the Nahal's experience the main features and lessons of which will be outlined by way of conclusions.<sup>1</sup>

### **Background and general characteristics of the Nahal**

The Nahal was launched in 1948, during the difficult days which succeeded the proclamation of independence. The idea was to create a system within which groups of young people belonging to youth movements could gain experience of agricultural and community life while at the same time undergoing their defence training. When the Defence Service Law, which ordains the call-up of all boys and girls at 18 years of age for a period of national service (at present about two years), was passed in September 1949, the text of the statute was so drafted as to allow agricultural training to be given during the period of defence service and to permit the groups formed by the youth organisations to be kept intact.<sup>2</sup>

Pursuing a tradition which had existed in the army prior to independence, the Law provides in principle that every conscript may undergo a period of agricultural training, in so far as this can be fitted in with the

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racter during or instead of all or part of that service; examples of these are certain accelerated vocational training and regional development programmes in South America and Asia, the "Literacy Corps" in Iran, through which young graduates serve as auxiliary teachers in rural areas, certain French combined training and development programmes and overseas technical assistance programmes, etc.

<sup>1</sup> In the course of the mission to Israel detailed interviews took place with governmental and administrative authorities, both national and local, trade union and university figures, members of agricultural communities, senior officers and civilian leaders of the Nahal and of other youth projects, and members of the Nahal of diverse circumstances and background. The mission included visits to Nahal centres in all parts of the country handling different aspects of the programme, to communities founded as a result of its work and to places where its members are participating in social and educational projects. Use has also been made of a fair amount of published information, including: *Israel Government Year Book* (published annually by the Central Information Office of Israel), which gives details each year on the Nahal and on other youth projects handled by the Ministry of Defence; Yitzhak LIVNI: *Nahal* (Ministry of Defence and Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1962), 30 pp., illustrated; and Gideon LEVITAS: "Army for peace", in *Work* (Tel Aviv, Histadrut), Vol. XV, No. 42, May 1965, pp. 29-32.

On the general situation in regard to population, the economy and social institutions, see: *Statistical abstract of Israel*, a voluminous and extremely comprehensive annual publication of the Central Statistics Bureau (in particular No. 15, 1964, 598+LXXXI pp. and maps); and *Facts about Israel, 1964-65* (Ministry of Foreign Affairs), 168 pp., with statistical tables, illustrations and maps.

Among recent and well-documented studies on the country's economic and social problems see, in particular: Shlomo SITTON: *Israël, immigration et croissance* (Paris, Cujas, 1963), 398 pp.; and Joseph KLATZMANN: *Les enseignements de l'expérience israélienne* (Paris, P.U.F., 1963), 297 pp.

<sup>2</sup> Defence Service Law, 1949, now Defence Service Law, 5719—1959 (Consolidated Version), *Laws of the State of Israel*, Vol. 13, 5719—1958-59, pp. 328 ff.; cf. sections 16 and 17.

needs of the different army units<sup>1</sup>; but in practice only a fraction of the recruits have been able to avail themselves of this opportunity<sup>2</sup>, and the Nahal has become a specialised unit in which boys and girls who intend to take up an agricultural and community life spend their period of national service. It may be estimated that it can cater on the average for up to a quarter of all young conscripts.

During its more than 15 years of existence the Nahal, it is said, has not changed significantly. It has, of course, consolidated its structure in the light of experience, and it appears today as a system at once complex in structure and flexible in operation.

Its activities are diverse: along with those concerned with training for collective and co-operative agriculture, which remains its main sphere of operations, it allows some of its members to take part in educational and social projects in frontier villages and new towns, and recently it has been experimentally adapting its traditional agricultural programme to industry by giving a few groups of young people courses leading to the formation of industrial and handicraft co-operatives.

The Nahal is more than a means of combining defence service duties with activities in the economic and social fields; it is part of a vast network of youth programmes sponsored by both public and private enterprise and providing ideological, civic, social, physical and cultural training for young persons of both sexes from school-leaving age onwards.

These programmes play an important role in a population with widely different backgrounds, including a large number of young people in whom a sense of national identity has to be inculcated when they have already left school. The youth organisations, both public and private, serve in the main to interest young people in and train them for "pioneer" activities, such as those the Nahal enables them to engage in during their national service; in their turn many young people who have served in the Nahal become leaders of youth organisations. Generally speaking, the national service period itself—whether served in the Nahal or elsewhere—is felt to play a major part in welding together disparate groups of the population in a spirit of national unity and social equality; a good part of the time is spent on civic education and general instruction (in particular the teaching of the national language).

### **Recruitment and the role of youth organisations**

As a general rule the Nahal recruits whole groups of young people formed within youth organisations; as has been stated, statutory provision has been made to keep these groups intact during the defence service period. Some individuals are also recruited.

<sup>1</sup> Section 16 (a).

<sup>2</sup> Section 16 (d), introduced by an amendment adopted in February 1950 which empowers the Minister to waive section 16 (a) on a year-to-year basis.

### **Group recruitment**

The members of the groups come in the main from urban areas (more than 80 per cent. of the population are town dwellers); a great many are from established city families and have completed their secondary education or are even planning to go to university after their defence service, whether or not they subsequently join a "kibbutz" or other co-operative settlement; the youth organisations bring them together with young people from different social and educational backgrounds, recent immigrants, etc.

There are more than a dozen private youth movements in Israel with a total membership of some 200,000 (about half the country's adolescents); they are affiliated to or associated with various occupational, political, social or religious organisations—notably the General Confederation of Labour (Histadrut)—as well as political parties, kibbutzim, scout movements, etc. These youth movements are aided and encouraged by the State. On the whole their activities go far beyond the traditional recreational and educational pattern: they place emphasis on national construction and the pioneer spirit, endeavouring in particular to keep flowing the trend towards collective and co-operative agriculture, and more generally towards the settlement and development of all parts of the country. Their emblems may be seen decorating the Nahal centres.

Alongside these movements, the "Gadna"—a state programme run by the Ministries of Education and Defence—organises out-of-school activities and preparation for the defence service for young people of 14 to 18 years of age, significantly complementing the work of the youth movements, particularly in the case of young people who do not belong to any of them. Its membership includes both boys and girls at secondary school and those who have left school at the end of primary education. It also organises "pioneer" activities in schools and its own clubs, camps and farms, in frontier villages and even in such places as archaeological diggings, as well as periods of "national service" lasting a fortnight. It directs its endeavours particularly at young people from new development areas and expanding suburbs with a large proportion of recent immigrants, forming them into groups which can then join the Nahal.

### **Individual recruitment**

Apart from organised groups the Nahal also recruits a small and varying proportion of individual applicants; indeed it always appears ready to take on more recruits.

Anyone called up for defence service can opt for the Nahal, and some who have never heard of it before volunteer at this time. Not all these individual recruits carry on to the end and some subsequently

transfer to a purely military form of service. Some join organised groups, while others keep their individual status as auxiliaries.

For a number of recent immigrants and young people with little schooling the Nahal thus constitutes a source of cultural and vocational training and a chance of social assimilation through contact with young people trained by the youth organisations.

Finally, individual recruits include a few young people in need of rehabilitation as a result of family or social difficulties, and for whom it is felt that service in the Nahal provides a way of life and a form of character building to be preferred to ordinary defence service.

### **Phases of service**

Service with the Nahal is made up of a series of progressive phases; these stand out most clearly in its traditional activities—those concerned with agricultural training and settlement—to which a number of variants have been added with the passage of time.

### **Basic training and preservation of groups**

After a fairly short period of basic training, differentiated according to the aptitudes and sex of the recruits, the groups are reconstituted preparatory to starting agricultural work (at least as regards the majority of their members). Even during basic training, however, the members of each group have had a chance to keep in touch with one another and to hold joint meetings. (Unlike other military units, which are separate for girls and for boys, the Nahal groups are mixed—though living accommodation is separate.)

During these meetings the group members discuss the future stages of their life together, the admission of new members, the choice of postings, etc.

In consultation with their leaders, they have their say in the appointment of those members who, instead of going with the rest of the group to an agricultural settlement, will be trained as officers for the Nahal itself or as instructors for youth organisations.

Quite a high proportion of members are in fact sent, after basic training, either to one of the various civilian youth movements or to the Gadna to serve as instructors and particularly to train new groups of young people for recruitment by the Nahal.

### **Technical training and social experience**

As for the majority—those who are going to do agricultural work—they are first sent, as a group, to one of the various types of agricultural settlement (as a rule to a kibbutz).

There each group spends a year learning how to work the land by helping with the host community's farm work. At the same time their stay in the kibbutz gives them a foretaste of the type of life they can choose to lead and serves to test the cohesion of the group.

Some of these communities are settlements that were originally founded by the Nahal but have since become civilian communities many of whose members formerly served in the Nahal. Others are settlements of long standing, frontier villages, and the like. In choosing a settlement regard is had, apart from its suitability for training young people, to factors such as defence or security needs, the manpower situation, the possibilities of subsequent settlement by new members, etc.

Arrangements are made for a kibbutz to receive Nahal groups by agreement between the kibbutz and the Ministry of Defence. The status of a Nahal group vis-à-vis its host community is governed by detailed regulations; it remains a defence service unit, and has its own quarters; girls and boys work alongside the members of the kibbutz, the former for the most part on the domestic side and with the livestock, and the latter mostly in the fields.

The kibbutz pays the Ministry of Defence a sum equivalent to the wages normally payable for the work, less board. Though no exact figures seem to exist, it is said that a kibbutz acting as host to a Nahal group does not always derive real pecuniary benefit from it; but other aims are served, notably the public interest, security and settlement policy.

For the Nahal, on the other hand, payment for the work done by its members during this period is an important source of revenue, which practically covers the running costs of the service, and this is a significant feature of the system.

During this year of agricultural training members of the groups are detached as often as possible to attend short specialised training courses at the central Nahal agricultural institute. Intensive courses are given in different branches of agriculture and stockbreeding, using sophisticated methods: audio-visual aids, scale models, experimental stations, etc. To the question why it is not felt practicable simply to send the young people to an ordinary agricultural school, the answer is given that these are accelerated training courses whose conception is necessarily different. But the Nahal has also established links with the agricultural schools, and draws more and more on the services of their graduates.

### **Founding of communities and training for settlement**

By the end of this year of agricultural training the members of the groups have acquired enough experience (including, in the case of some, special skills) to assume responsibility for the running and security of a new settlement to be founded, or in the process of being founded, by

the Nahal, and which may become in its turn a civilian collective or co-operative settlement.

Some members, however, first attend an advanced defence training course, at the end of which they rejoin their comrades—those who do not have the aptitudes for this kind of training, and the girls—who have proceeded directly to the settlement.

Sites are chosen with an eye both to security and to technical and financial considerations, in consultation with the competent services. Sometimes the settlement will be a new one: the Nahal launches an average of one or two each year. Sometimes it will be one founded in the same way by an earlier group and taken over from it.

During the remaining months of their defence service period the boys and girls of the Nahal are attached to these settlements while still remaining members of the defence forces. With the help of their instructors and monitors, the groups live and work as an agricultural community, their members performing the various social and economic functions expected of members of a community of this kind, as in a kibbutz; there is land to till, livestock to tend, machinery to install. The equipment they need is supplied to them by public or semi-public institutions, and buildings are constructed for them.

Little by little the settlement takes shape, until the moment arrives when it can detach itself from the Nahal and “stand on its own feet” as a civilian community. It will be occupied either by a group trained by the Nahal—for instance a group staying on after completing its period of service there—or by a completely different group, which might come directly from the civilian sector. It will generally take the form of a collective farm (kibbutz), though it may be simply a co-operative village (moshav ovdim). Sometimes the experiment peters out, and a Nahal post may disappear without ever becoming a civilian settlement, but the proportion of failures is said to be low.

### **Choice of a future**

Once their period of service is over the boys and girls who have served in the Nahal must decide whether or not they wish to continue the agricultural (or other) community life into which they have been initiated. If the answer is in the affirmative, they may form the nucleus of a Nahal settlement due for transformation into a civilian community—either the one where they have been working or another—or they may go elsewhere to found a new community, or they may simply join an existing community (generally a kibbutz).

Not all of them stand by their decision to stay on; after a lapse of time some return to their studies, to a profession or to a job in town, or leave the community in one way or another. It is those who themselves grew up in agricultural communities that generally show the greatest

propensity for taking up this way of life. Measuring the extent to which settlement in agricultural communities by former Nahal members has been permanent in terms of the proportion who remain for more than three years, the average has been 34 per cent. over the past ten years. The highest proportion is found among members of groups formed in youth organisations, where it reaches about 40 per cent. Among members who came to the Nahal individually, on the other hand, the figure is appreciably lower, falling to 15 per cent. among the less morally and socially motivated categories.

### **Achievements**

What are the results, by and large, achieved by the Nahal in the field of agricultural settlement?

#### **Impact on social structure and attitudes**

From the human and social viewpoint, the figures just quoted show that on average, mainly by continuing the work of the youth organisations, the Nahal has persuaded more than a third of the young people who have passed through its hands to settle in agricultural communities on a long-term basis—which undoubtedly adds up over the 15 years of the Nahal's existence to several tens of thousands of boys and girls who have thus played their part in settlement and rural development, whereas, judging by their social background, the majority of them, if they had remained in town, would have been likely simply to swell the numbers employed in the service sector and in administrative jobs.

As for the remaining two-thirds, it is felt that, while it would be preferable if a greater number were to persevere, their service in the Nahal has been none the less beneficial in itself, because of the experience it has given them, and because it has brought them into contact with a way of life that may have an influence on their future attitude to civic and social matters, as well as because of the material part they have played in the activities of the Nahal during their period of service.

#### **Rural development and community organisation**

By way of material achievements the Nahal has to its credit, since it came into existence, the founding of more than 25 agricultural settlements sited to meet security and population needs, and as a rule paving the way for the establishment of permanent communities. As has been said, at any given moment a number of these are always under the direct management of the Nahal, which opens an average of two settlements of this kind each year, while settlements of earlier date become civilian



communities. In this way about 15 settlements have now become new collective or co-operative villages.

In addition more than 17 other new agricultural communities of this type have been founded as permanent settlements by Nahal groups, and ten or so abandoned villages near the frontier have been rebuilt and repopulated in the same way.

Nahal-trained groups have also joined nearly 60 existing, recently founded agricultural communities, and about 100 older communities have also received Nahal reinforcements.

In all, in 15 years the young people from the Nahal have thus made their contribution towards nearly 200 agricultural communities, including in particular—in addition to the 100 they have helped—100 or so for whose actual foundation they are wholly or partly responsible (30 founded by them, ten which they have reopened and a further 60 which they have joined at the time of their foundation).

If we consider these results from a purely numerical standpoint as related to the development of rural settlements as a whole—there are today more than 700 collective or co-operative villages or communities, more than 400 of which have been founded since 1948-49—we see that the activities organised under the aegis of the Nahal, while they cannot claim to be a major factor in rural development and settlement, nevertheless play a far from negligible part.

There is no doubt that this role can best be assessed as it affects collective settlements of the kibbutz type, on which the Nahal's activities are generally centred. The total number of these establishments founded since 1948-49 is about 100 (as against a far higher number of ordinary co-operative villages, though formerly the ratio was the opposite). So it would seem from the figures quoted above that the young people from the Nahal have themselves been responsible for the founding of nearly one-third of these, and that they have played a more or less decisive role in the founding of the remainder.

The Nahal therefore appears to have played a significant part in helping the youth organisations to maintain, in changing conditions, a flow of people towards what is considered to be the more ideologically inspired and dynamic type of collective settlement. To a smaller extent and above all recently, it would seem, it has begun to take an interest in the founding of ordinary co-operative communities (*moshav ovdim*) as well.

### **Security and settlement**

However, the Nahal also credits itself with an important " qualitative " result: the stimulation of settlement and economic development in " sensitive " areas.

First and foremost these are frontier zones where the founding of new communities solves immediate security problems as well as attaining general development objectives that it would have been difficult, if not impossible, to achieve except in association with the defence service.

Broadly speaking, one of the fundamental principles of the system, based on the lessons of world history, is that a country's true territory is not the whole area encompassed by its frontiers on a map but the territory it populates and develops effectively; and that apart from the mere fact of its existence an unexploited desert, for example, has no real value as an integral part of a nation—not even from the standpoint of security.

Today, now that the central part of the country is well established, the main efforts at settlement and development are directed towards the still underpopulated regions of Central Galilee, in the north, and especially towards the Negev desert, in the south; it is there that the Nahal, like other projects, now concentrates its efforts. The Negev, in particular, occupying as it does more than half the area of the country, is considered to be the major region for future settlement. As elsewhere, numerous agricultural communities have been founded there or are being nurtured by the Nahal in suitable spots. But, by and large, the prospects it offers are for urban rather than agricultural settlement, and a number of "development towns" based on industrial activities are springing up (raw materials and power being brought in from outside). The young people of the Nahal have already embarked upon new activities linked with these developments.

### **Other functions and new experiments**

Though the diversification of the Nahal's activities is on the whole a recent trend, it is not entirely a new phenomenon and is in fact an extension of the traditional general conception of the service.

### **Education and assimilation**

The educational work and welfare activities that young people with the right qualities can do have always been felt, for example, to be one of the important functions that the Nahal performs by bringing together young people of very different education, background and outlook.

Similarly, as we have seen, an appreciable proportion of young Nahal members are by tradition detached each year as instructors for their juniors in youth organisations, where they do valuable work, particularly with adolescents of little education and new immigrants.

In addition, the possibility has long been open to girls (especially those with training as teachers or similar training) to spend their period

of defence service as teachers, or more usually as welfare workers, in frontier areas and development towns. This trend is constantly being encouraged, and not only among Nahal recruits: for instance girls called up for defence service are sent to such posts for a short trial period, at the end of which they decide whether they wish to stay there for the rest of their service (in 1962-63 one in five did so), in which case there is also a chance that they may stay on after their service ends.

### **Welfare activities: growing pains of development towns**

A new welfare programme launched by the Nahal a short time ago consists in detaching some of its members, as a group, to development towns, where they serve as volunteers to help deal with certain problems of expansion and social adjustment.

A pilot experiment of this sort has been begun in the town of Dimona, in the heart of the Negev: since 1957 the population of Dimona has risen from a few hundred to more than 20,000, and is still growing at a rate of several thousand a year. Its inhabitants come from widely varying backgrounds, and are desperately in need of social integration and education.

The problems of a growing town are particularly acute in the case of young people: several hundred of them between 14 and 18 years of age are cut off from secondary education and vocational training opportunities, existing facilities being as yet inadequate or unsuitable, and are therefore exposed to the dangers of idleness and bitterness—difficulties generally parried elsewhere by the existence of an adequate social infrastructure and strongly rooted youth organisations.

A group of boys and girls from the Nahal came for six months—at the end of which it was succeeded by another—to devote itself to educational work and leadership among these young people, alongside various welfare and other services in town, as well as work with adults, mainly to combat illiteracy and teach the national language. One day Dimona will have more or less stabilised its growth, and will have adequate educational, training and employment facilities, and the help of Nahal groups will probably no longer be necessary. But it is expected that the same problems of transition will arise elsewhere and need to be temporarily resolved along the same lines.

### **An industrial Nahal?**

Another of the Nahal's new departures involves adapting its methods, as traditionally applied to the founding of agricultural communities, to groups entering other branches of economic activity.

For example one of the particular methods it has adopted consists in enlisting groups of young people who have just completed their

seamanship training and having them continue their training and service in the merchant navy and fishing fleet concurrently with their defence service.

From a more general standpoint, the Nahal recently began to work out a programme of training suitable for groups intending to found industrial co-operatives or to take up other urban activities in development areas.

It appeared possible to form groups in the youth organisations and through the Gadna programme comparable in conception to those formed for agricultural development but concerned with other types of activity. At the same time the defence service period could be used to meet the needs of accelerated vocational training other than agricultural training.

By and large, the successive stages passed through by the non-agricultural Nahal groups follow a pattern similar to the traditional one. But a special difficulty arises from the fact that it is not so easy to find a community setting for the period of training equivalent to that offered by the kibbutz in the case of agriculture. As the experiment progresses it may prove possible for it to create for itself the supporting institutions it needs to carry on.

However, the success and future of this new departure, which so far has involved only a few groups, are still considered to be in the balance. Over and beyond the purely organisational problems, it may well be asked to what extent further achievements of the same nature will be possible if the Nahal departs from its traditional historical and social concepts.

### **Essential features and lessons of the Nahal's experience**

What, in conclusion, are the essential features of the Nahal's experience to date, and what lessons can be drawn from it?

Of special significance are perhaps the factors related to the motivation of participants. In this respect it is important that the system should be viewed against the general background of traditions and nation-building ideology that history and geography have rendered especially significant, in a society, moreover, where the call-up of all boys and girls for a period of defence service is considered to be a necessity because of the country's security position and of the limited numbers of recruits available in a population of fewer than two-and-a-half million.

More specifically, account should also be taken of the Nahal's connection with the role assigned to a vast network of youth organisations—both the various youth movements and the national Gadna programme—in the preservation of these traditions and the training of young people for activities in the national interest.

There is good reason to think that the Nahal would not be the same without these conditions, without the solid nuclei provided by the groups formed by the youth organisations, and without the strongly motivated élite constituted by many of their members and the influence they exert on their comrades. Even in the case of those who look upon the Nahal as one among many ways of performing their defence service, it is important that they should see something more in it, whether this be an opportunity to prepare the ground for their own future or a means of contributing to achievements of national importance. The campaign of education and persuasion within the service itself is equally important in this respect, especially in the case of young people who enter it direct.

By and large, experience has shown that the same results cannot be achieved if the participants are insufficiently motivated. If the system can also help certain young people in need of social rehabilitation, this should not be underestimated, even though these cases may represent only a tiny minority brought into contact with an élite.

The organisational framework within which the experiment has evolved is likewise characteristic.

It was the defence service that provided the organisational basis for the experiment, for which no additional separate organisational structure needed to be created. The Nahal was therefore able to build on an existing structure which was destined to expand rapidly and which had considerable administrative staff and traditions.

At the same time, because of frequent give and take between the defence forces and the rest of the national community, the task of fitting economic and social work for young people into the framework of national defence service seems to have been approached in a spirit very different from that usually regarded as typically military.

Broadly speaking, the imperatives of the actual situation from a security and organisational viewpoint are certainly a factor of primary importance that must be borne in mind when evaluating the economic and social activities which have been incorporated in defence service.

Finally, a further essential characteristic of the Nahal experiment, as it has evolved up to the present, appears to be the concordance between its objectives and the major preoccupations of economic and social growth and the security of the country.

Viewed in this light its activities are seen to be one aspect of a concerted effort to settle the frontier zones and development areas and promote them economically; to encourage the flow towards the land and achieve a better balance between town and country and between the various branches of activity; to level out economic and social conditions in general and weld together a population of diverse background and culture; to inculcate a national and civic spirit into young people; and so forth.

It must not be forgotten, indeed, that these objectives form part of an over-all economic and social policy governing the various aspects of the country's life, and that the Nahal's activities in this respect should be considered not as an isolated means of attaining these objectives but as part of over-all economic and social policy, as a contribution deriving from motivating factors and organisational circumstances that go far beyond the actual bounds of these activities.