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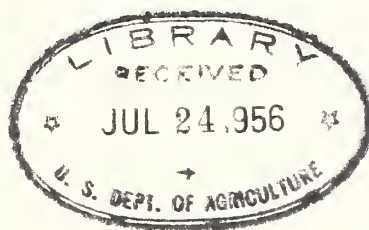
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GERMAN COMMUNITY CENTERS

A Case Study

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GERMAN COMMUNITY CENTERS

A Case Study of the Rural Women's Community Center Movement in Bavaria, Germany

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In the fall of 1949 there came into rural Bavaria an innovation which is revolutionizing the duties of Bavarian farm women - long accustomed to limited means, hard work and inadequate equipment. This innovation was the establishment in small rural villages of women's community centers equipped with the latest in household labor-saving devices.

The innovation has struck a responsive chord in rural Bavarian life. From the very beginning the community center movement has developed rapidly. Traditional ways of doing things are not easy to change; yet, in this program they have been changed with relative ease. How does it happen that this movement has been so successful? What does it mean to the Bavarian farm family? Does it hold promise for peasant women in other lands? What lessons can social engineers draw from experience here? To find the answers to these questions we must start with the Bavarian farm family and its way of life.

Bavarian Rural Life and the Role of the Farm Women

Peasant life in Bavaria, as in many other parts of the world, is one of never-ending toil and hardship. The farms are small and often divided into many parcels; it is always a struggle to make ends meet. The lot of the Bavarian peasant woman is considered by many to be even more arduous than that of her men folk. She rises early in the morning, cooks the meals, works long hours in the fields, maintains the home, and raises a family. It is traditional for her to perform many of the harder tasks of the household and farm. Normally she is busy from four or five o'clock in the morning till eleven o'clock at night. All this she has to do without the aid of modern household equipment. As a consequence, she lives a life of drudgery with little time to devote to her children and home. She is frequently in ill health and almost always an old woman, physically and mentally, by the time she is in her forties.

Most Bavarian farm people live in villages, many of which are more than a thousand years old. The houses are close together and usually combine the living and working rooms, the stable and barn under one roof. From these villages the people go out each day on foot or bicycle to work in the fields. Farming is considered much more a way of life than a business. The farms are small, averaging about 20 acres. Labor is plentiful, so plentiful and cheap that oftentimes there is little incentive to mechanize the practices of the farm and the home. From necessity, the Bavarian farmer is frugal. The margin between sale and cost is close, so close that the farmer feels he cannot take a chance on changing his practices. Old ways represent security; new ways insecurity, which he dares not risk. The practice of dividing the farm among all the children upon the death of the father has resulted in small enterprises with many small scattered plots or tracts. It is not uncommon for a farm to consist of 30-40 tracts, located at varying distances from the farmstead. This has lowered farm efficiency and made the use of modern farm equipment difficult.

The family institution is strong in Bavaria. The father is traditionally the dominant figure and his word is akin to law. Kinship ties are close. Bavaria is predominantly Catholic in religion and the people are devout. They have many religious ceremonies, such as the "blessing of the horses", at the Easter season, at Traunstein, and the "blessing of the harvest" in the fall. A number of the peasants hold superstitious beliefs. The Burgermeister (mayor), the priest, and the school teacher are the most respected leaders of community life and hold the positions of highest prestige. The church, the Gasthaus (the inn), and the village square are the centers of community life.

An outstanding farm woman leader has described life on the Bavarian farm and the role of the farm woman in these words: "Now it is hay-making time; work already begins at 4 a.m. The farmer awakens children and domestics. The farmer's wife and the maid-servant attend to the cow-barn, the pigs, and the poultry, arrange for milk and breakfast. The men go mowing. At 7 o'clock all meet in the living room of the farm house. The living room is the largest of the house, has 4 to 6 windows, is low and mostly has a wooden ceiling. The furniture is painted with colors and made of heavy rough wood. The large table with the corner bench, with the crucifix suspended above it, the cupboard, the stove made of Dutch tiles with stove-bench constitute the furniture. Ancient copper and tin vessels stand on the boards, the curtains are of hand-woven and home-spun linen. Everything looks plain and comfortable. The men wear the customary leather breeches and the women wear the working "Dirndl." After having said the "Lord's Prayer" they take their breakfast which consists of hot milk and bread or porridge. The family and the domestics take their meals at the same table. After breakfast they start to do field-work. Also the farmer's wife must perform field-work. Eighty percent of all our farms are small and medium-sized establishments; the farmer's wife is first maid; she works daily 8 to 10 hours in the field. The children, too, must perform hard work even when young; and there is no time left to the rural youth for school education; neither can the farmer afford a proper training for his children. All of them must assist in maintaining the farm. It is their home; the grandfather and the great-grandfather had worked on the farm; it must be maintained for the family. The field management is for the most part kept up-to-date because it upholds the reputation of the farm, whereas nothing is done to facilitate the work of the farmer's wife.

"In the afternoon one goes hay-making. For the most part the carts are drawn by cows and oxen, for the small establishment cannot afford to keep horses. The field-work continues until evening; then the livestock, the house and the children have to be taken care of; the farmer's wife cannot stop until 10 o'clock. Life on the farm is toilsome and hard. The farmer struggles doggedly for the maintenance of farm and home. The taxes, the equalization of war burdens, the wages, the too high prices for all implements, machines and fertilizers necessitate much work and many privations in the everyday life.

"Among the peasantry we find quite a number of old and very beautiful customs which are cultivated above all on Sundays and holidays, customs accompanying the course of human life, births, weddings and deaths on the farm. New Year, Easter, Whitsuntide, 1st May, Summer Solstice, Thanksgiving Day, Advent and Yule-tide become beautiful peasant family celebrations by the old customs. In the center of all these rural doings and dealings stands the farmer's wife. It is she who makes the hard peasant life still worth living for; she is the guardian of the peasant generations, of the peasant culture and the customs. In view of this status of the farmer's wife, and the importance of her tasks within the family and on the farm, it is a matter of

course that the farmer's wife should be aided as far as possible and her hard work facilitated." 1/

Exodus from the Land

The long dissatisfaction of German farm women and their daughters with their traditional role took on new intensity and form as the urban areas of Western Germany began to recover from the destruction of World War II. The advantages of city life in comparison with country life appeared greater and greater to rural women. Family ties had tended to weaken during the war with the loss of German manpower and with the partial disintegration of the social structure that came with capitulation. The preponderance of German women (in relation to men) had increased during the conflict. Furthermore, farm women and their daughters had come to realize that they had been providing the greater part of the labor necessary to run the farm enterprises; now they were to do even more. 2/ The father figure somehow no longer appeared so omnipotent and omniscient to the female members of the family. All of these factors, and others, too, seemed to unite rural women in a more concerted drive to improve their lot. The rural girls' wish to go to the city to live and work began to be realized in more and more cases as their mothers lent either tacit or overt support. As this exodus of farm girls increased, farm and home leaders, and government farm officials began to worry about a shortage of farm help and wonder what could be done about the situation.

A survey on "Why Farm Girls Leave the Farm," conducted by leading farm organizations and the State and Federal Ministries of Agriculture, brought forth many reasons for dissatisfaction with farm life. Typical girls expressed their pent-up feelings as follows:

Farm Women Should not be Working in the Fields

"I am helping on our farm. Since we cannot always afford farm hands, my mother, sister and I have to perform all kinds of jobs which actually shouldn't be done by women. Ours is not a single case. I don't even think that work on a farm has any agreeable aspects. Especially in summer time, I simply hate it. I would much rather work in an office and have some free time in the evenings for swimming, cycling, etc., than come home late from the fields and then attend to all kinds of work in the house and garden. I'm always glad to sink in my bed at nights, dog-tired. At this point, life doesn't make much sense, indeed."

Farm Women Lack Modern Equipment and Machinery to Facilitate Their Work

1. "If there is any modern machinery on the farm it is for men's use and the farm women have to do without. How much would a washing machine, for instance, do to alleviate the farm women's workload. The men often have their evenings free for reading the papers etc., while the women have to keep on working."

1/ Bauer, Maria, "Of Rural Life." Article on Bavarian farm life.

2/ It is estimated that women do 60 percent of the farm work in the Federal Republic.

2. "Mother has to work all day long and there is no time left for her to spend with the family. Most farm houses are impractically furnished. Most of the kitchens are too large, the stove is at one corner and the cupboard at the opposite one. We get the water supply from the washing room. So, the farm women have to do a lot of walking which would be unnecessary if proper equipment were furnished."

3. "I would never want to become a farmer's wife. All she knows and gets from life is work and worry. Never a change or recreation. She often does not have the means to get herself a nicely equipped household. I would always prefer to live in a city."

You can put Nothing Aside Working on a Farm

1. "My mother and I have been working on a farm for years. Originally it was my wish to be a nurse, but I couldn't afford it and so we work on a farm because we can't go hungry. Besides getting food, I earn next to nothing. A young girl would like to buy nice things for herself once in awhile. This is impossible working in agriculture. I spoil more clothes than I shall ever be able to buy."

2. "It's very little what the farmer pays to his helpers. No wonder that many of the young people don't wish to work there. If people collect unemployment relief, they have the same amount of money as if they work on a farm, and have a good life in the bargain."

3. "I like the summer on a farm just as little as winter. We girls must work as hard as the men and earn only half of what they do. And yet, we ruin more clothes working on a farm than the men do. For this reason alone, I don't want to work on a farm for the rest of my life."

Education for Farm Girls

1. "One of the darker features of living in the country is that you never have a few hours off. There is hardly any time left for the educational purposes. That makes it very dull and you get disinterested in everything."

2. "I get up at six and go to bed at eleven. I love to work but I wish I had at least the time for some studying." 3/

Birth of an Idea and a Plan

The hardships of the farm women were well known to Miss Sophie Deppisch, Head Home Economist of the Bavarian Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Forestry, Munich. She was determined to ease their burden in one way or another. She

3/ Grossmann, Annemarie and Berhaus, Irmgard. "Why Farm Girls Leave the Farm". Nutzen und Ordnung, Special Issue, 1951, pp. 48, 49, 51, 74. This booklet is published periodically by the Federal Ministry of Food and Agriculture. The survey information was gathered through the cooperation of the "Deutsche Landwirtschaftsgesellschaft, German Agricultural Association, the Laender or State Agricultural Ministries, and the Chambers of Agriculture, a farmers organization. It was based on 22,000 letters and essays from farm girls attending agricultural schools.

thought one answer might lie in the development of community type facilities to aid farm women in doing their household work.

In 1948 Miss Deppisch met Dr. Katherine Holtzclaw, American home economist, of the Food and Agriculture Division of U. S. Military Government. 4/ As Dr. Holtzclaw spoke German, the two women easily became acquainted. An exchange of information concerning developments in home economics work in the United States and Germany followed. Miss Deppisch became particularly interested in developments concerning community canning plants, freezer lockers and labor saving equipment in the United States, and decided she wanted to see these facilities personally.

In 1949 Miss Deppisch spent 2-months in the United States. She visited community canning plants, freezer locker installations, community laundries, women's clubhouses and at the same time became acquainted with the United States Extension Service. She was particularly impressed by the use of deep freezers for preservation of foodstuffs, and community rooms for social purposes. Miss Deppisch asked herself: Why couldn't these innovations be added to community facilities in Germany? 5/

The idea of community facilities, such as laundries, bakeries and baths, was not new in Western Germany. Sophie Deppisch's plan, as it had grown and crystallized in her mind, called for the use of those German facilities which had proven successful. To these she would add the American innovations that appeared to be congruent with Bavarian needs, culture, and conditions.

By the time of Miss Deppisch's departure from the United States her technical plans were complete - she was going to launch a program to develop rural women's community houses in the small rural villages of Bavaria. All of the modern household conveniences would be provided on a cooperative basis at cost. 6/

Promotion of the Plan

Miss Deppisch knew that she had many problems to solve before her dreams of community houses for farm women could begin to come true. Problem number

- 4/ The office of the U. S. High Commissioner for Germany - usually cited as HICOG - succeeded the Office of Military Government for Germany (US) commonly referred to as OMGUS in the summer of 1949. The Food and Agriculture Division was an integral part of OMGUS and HICOG. In addition, it was considered a part of ECA (the Economic Cooperation Administration) and MSA (Mutual Security Agency), its successor, as it had a responsibility for furthering ECA and MSA programs in Germany.
- 5/ Miss Deppisch is in charge of Home Economics work for the Winter Schools of Bavaria, rural home economics apprenticeship program, and the Home Economics phase of the Extension program.
- 6/ Observers report that although Miss Deppisch possessed her central idea of promoting community centers before her arrival in the United States, she was discouraged about the feasibility of the success of any effort in that direction. Upon her return she was filled with enthusiasm, saw great possibilities for accomplishing the work and was ready to go.

one was to sell the idea. She fully appreciated that the program would require money and that money was scarce in an economy just recovering from war.

However, Sophie Deppisch was not discouraged. She was convinced that she had a sound plan and because of her long years of association with rural women in Bavaria, leaders of farm organizations, and agricultural officials of government she felt confident that she could gain support for her program. Her confidence was buttressed by the fact that she was not only the head home economist for rural women in the Bavarian government but also by the fact that she was Director of the new Landfrauenverband of the state. This organization concerned itself with everything relating to home economics and had three main purposes: (1) To broaden the vision and horizon of farm women in public affairs; (2) to promote efforts to secure good schools and an advisory service for rural people; and (3) to secure for farm women more representation and voice in German society.

Despite the advantages that Sophie Deppisch enjoyed, her first efforts to raise money for her program were rebuffed. She had returned to Germany in June 1949, and the annual Agricultural Fair for Bavaria was scheduled to be held in Munich in early October. This seemed to her to be the logical time to acquaint large groups of farm people and agricultural officials with her plans. Furthermore, for the first time there was to be one day set aside in honor of the Bavarian farm women. Miss Deppisch wanted to build an exhibit that would illustrate the community house concept.

She needed 5,000 DM (\$1,200) for her exhibit. ^{7/} Her efforts to raise the money from the Ministry of Agriculture were unsuccessful. The Ministry was operating on a fairly tight budget, and the Minister, although he was sympathetic with Miss Deppisch's objective, did not feel that he could grant her request. In fact, he was not thoroughly convinced of the merits of the project.

However, the funds were soon forthcoming. Mr. Kenneth Ingwalson, Chief of the Food and Agriculture Division of the Office of Military Government for Bavaria, and his assistant, Mr. Vernon Darter, made available 5,000 DM (\$1,200) from a Reorientation Fund. They were deeply in accord with Miss Deppisch's objective of bringing modern techniques and facilities to the aid of farm women. Also, from the very beginning, Miss Deppisch had made it clear that she regarded her community center movement as a vital link and help toward more effective home demonstration work in Bavaria. It was her plan to have community centers serve as regular meeting places for rural women, youth and home economics advisors. As Ingwalson and Darter were busily engaged in urging German agricultural authorities to establish an effective advisory service for the farm families of Bavaria, Sophie Deppisch's scheme fitted nicely into their own hopes and plans.

Thus, the model community house was built and exhibited at the fair. It attracted much attention and admiration. Miss Deppisch overheard numerous country folk exclaim "my goodness, isn't it nice?" "Wouldn't it be wonderful if our village could have it? But, then, it costs too much. We simply couldn't afford it". Such remarks only deepened Miss Deppisch's confidence and her determination to go forward with her program.

^{7/} One Deutsche Mark (DM) was equivalent to approximately twenty-four cents.

The day set aside to honor the rural women of Bavaria turned out to be a day of great significance for them. Ten thousand rural women were on hand to take part in the festivities and to see Sophie Deppisch's model "Haus der Bäuerin" (Farm Women's Community House). Dr. Alois Schlögl, State Minister of Food, Agriculture and Forestry, was greatly impressed with the large turnout of farm women and their preoccupation with the model "Haus der Bäuerin". He thought perhaps there was something to this idea of Sophie Deppisch's after all.

The big event for the women came to a close with 20 leaders of the Landfrauenverband giving a party for Minister Schlögl to show their appreciation for his thoughtfulness in setting aside one day of the fair to honor rural women. After a meal, accompanied by Bavarian music and beer, Minister Schlögl arose and gave a toast to the Bavarian farm women. He spoke of the importance of the role of the farm woman, and the success of the first Farm Women's Day during the October Fest. He assured the leaders of the farm women's organization of his interest in their cause and promised assistance if possible. Thereupon the leaders of the association asked his financial assistance in establishing a few demonstration "Häuser fuer die Bäuerinnen". Dr. Schlögl promised 100,000 DM (\$24,000) from his ministry budget to get the program under way.

Launching the Program

Now that a substantial sum of money for the project was in sight, Miss Deppisch decided to rush ahead with her plans. Dr. Schlögl had suggested that the money be used to build one model "Haus der Bäuerin". But Sophie Deppisch felt that the development of a community center with state funds alone would be a wrong approach, that people would not accept it as a true demonstration. She believed if the program were to be successful it had to be launched on the principles of local participation and cooperation. Consequently, she proposed that the 100,000 DM be used to promote the construction of seven community houses in seven rural villages of Bavaria. Schlögl agreed.

One other basic decision had to be made at this point. In what way was the money contributed by the State to be used in the building of each Haus der Bäuerin? Sophie Deppisch came to a quick decision. It would be used to buy the household machinery. The State would buy the equipment and rent it to each community. The community in turn would be expected to finance construction of the Community House. In this way rent money on the equipment could be accumulated to buy new machines when the old ones were worn out. She thought that this procedure would ensure the replacement and maintenance of machinery and protect the welfare of the community houses from ultra frugal habits of the peasants. She understood the thrifty nature of peasant people and feared that the machines would not be replaced at the proper time if the decision rested with them.

It was agreed, too, that the final selection of the seven villages to receive the State's money for the initial program would rest with Miss Deppisch and Minister Schlögl. However, the presidents of the Landfrauenverband of the seven Districts (governmental subdivision of the State) were to make their recommendations on locations of the community houses to Miss

Deppisch after a careful survey of the situation in their respective districts. The criteria of need for a community house, interest of the people, and financial ability to cooperate were to be used in the nominations and final choices.

The procedure followed in the selection of the seven villages was an interesting one in terms of promoting and selling a program. Sophie Deppisch, armed with drawings and blueprints of her prospective Haus der Bäuerin, went to each village under consideration. Her first step was to approach the village Burgermeister, the priest, and other key individuals to explain her proposal and to gain their support. If she succeeded in her mission, then she would urge the Burgermeister to call a meeting of the farm people to acquaint them with the project and to learn their views.

At this session of the rural people the Burgermeister and the priest would explain the purpose of the gathering in general terms, and then call upon Miss Deppisch to give the details of her plan. She assured the village people, first of all, that no one was forcing them to have a community house, and that this was a cooperative enterprise to be managed at the local level if they decided to participate in the project. Her method of determining interest was to ask such questions as "do you want electric washing machines, how about showers, do you need a bakery?" The farmers and their wives then voted by voice or hand. Frequently when the question of a dough machine was raised the men would say, "No, we don't need that." Miss Deppisch replied, "I did not know that you men were such cavaliers as to make the dough for your wives." Invariably in the verbal exchange Sophie Deppisch would win her way.

Sophie Deppisch realized that success in gaining the participation of the village depended largely on selling her plans to the menfolk. Consequently, at each meeting she took time to develop a background and a frame of reference for her project, frequently addressing her remarks in a pointed fashion to the men. She told them what their wives and daughters were really like, that in many ways they resembled work animals with no time for themselves, their homes, or their families. She pointed out that this overload of work made their women ill and spent at an early age. She cited the statistical facts regarding the exodus of farm youth to the cities, and brought the situation home to her audience by quoting the discontent of young girls.

Occasionally, Miss Deppisch would make a frontal attack on the men by telling them how much easier their lives were than their wives. She reminded them that frequently they were sitting in the Gasthaus enjoying their beer during the cold wintery days while their womenfolk were home slaving in the stables or in the kitchen. She did all this in such a nice way that few took offense, and practically all agreed that she was entirely right.

Then she asked the men to support the project. The clinching point in her argument came back to the farm again. She pointed out that the use of this modern equipment would save time for the womenfolk and they consequently would have more time for themselves, the home and the fields. She pointed out how the village could save money if individuals would contribute materials and labor. The response was gratifying. Frequently someone would promise to provide the land, another timber, others labor and so on. Sophie Deppisch found to her great surprise and delight that most of the menfolk would support her project. She had had moments of uneasiness and worry as to whether she

could convince the heads of the farm families. Now these fears disappeared.

The Financial Problem

Determining ways and means to finance each community house proved to be the most complex problem of all. Raising a sum of 80,000 - 100,000 DM (\$19,200 - 24,000) to build the new center was not a simple matter in the small rural villages, particularly in the poorer areas along the Iron Curtain. Nevertheless, a pattern of financing soon began to appear. The State furnished the equipment; the Bauernverband granted a loan; and taxes from the district plus loans from cooperatives or banks usually met the actual money requirements. In addition, Minister Schlögl contributed 5,000 DM (\$1,200) from his Ministry budget for each community house built along the Iron Curtain. And finally, the Landfrauenverband assumed the responsibility of providing furnishings for the community clubroom.

As Sophie Deppisch's program got under way, financial help from American sources began to appear. Dr. W. H. Dankers and Vernon Darter had been following Miss Deppisch's efforts closely. 8/ Through their leadership, interest, and efforts 231,460 DM were ultimately received from the McCloy Special Fund to help finance 21 community houses in Bavaria. 9/ Also, Katherine Holtzclaw, who had had some mental reservations concerning the merits of Sophie Deppisch's project in the beginning, was beginning to give her active support at the federal level to secure funds. Later she and Darter were to play the major roles in helping to establish a large demonstration program under the Economic Cooperation Administration.

Other Problems

The problem of finances was not the only one that Sophie Deppisch encountered in the promotion of her project. Problems were numerous - of an administrative, cultural, and technical nature. The technical problems, dealing with construction of the "Haus der Bauerin" and its equipment, were minor and relatively easy to solve. The cultural problem was a major one. The task of getting people to change old practices is not easy and usually takes time. The case of Weigersdorf illustrates the problem of changing tradition. Approximately 50 percent of this village has accepted its "Haus der Bauerin" and is making use of its facilities. The other half needs to be won over. There are many factors involved in this problem of non-participation. It is said that some families have such poor clothes that they are ashamed to bring them to a community center for all to see, and

8/ Dr. W. H. Dankers was the successor to Mr. Kenneth Ingwalson as head of Food and Agriculture Branch, Office of Military Government, Bavaria.

9/ The purpose of this fund was to assist, financially, German organizations or individuals sponsoring worthy projects in the fields of youth, community, public health, welfare, and women's activities, academic and vocational education, and the preservation of historic and cultural monuments. One of the criteria of the grants specified "projects benefiting youth and projects emphasizing the reconstruction of German democratic institutions should be given priority."

perhaps to gossip about. In other cases it may be that the Burgermeister or the housekeeper are not popular. Perhaps, the housekeeper gossips too much. And in some cases, of course, the small charge for the use of the electric washer, the dryer, or some other piece of equipment may be too large, or at least seem too large to the mind of the peasant and his wife steeped in a tradition of frugality.

Progress of the Program

The progress of the program was phenomenal. By February 1951 Sophie Deppisch had her 7 community houses in operation; 3 more under construction, and requests had been received for 50 more. The status of the program and the intense interest of the rural people in the project are reflected in the following excerpt from a progress report of Dr. Holtzclaw:

"...All houses, to date, have been built on the Czech border or near the boundary of the Russian Zone. The villages in which they have been placed are the poorest and oldest in the land. The houses are similar but are not exactly alike. All contain community laundries with modern equipment, a meeting room, baths, and showers, a sewing room where not only clothes may be made but where sacks may be sewed on a power machine. Each one also has a room for the preservation of foods but the equipment in these rooms consists largely of sausage grinders, cider presses, a small cabinet for smoking meat, a machine for cutting cabbage for kraut and a bottle washer. No canning equipment is available, except there is in some houses a sealer for tin cans. Some houses have a bakery but in communities where there are other bakeries available this room is not included. A house near Bamberg has milk-cooling equipment and another which is situated in a community where fowls are raised for the market has a chicken-picking machine. All of the equipment is in constant use. The washing machines in one house are already engaged for every hour of every day through March. The baths and showers are in such demand that the time allowed has had to be shortened. All equipment was in use except that which is strictly seasonal, such as the fruit presses.

"The financing of these 10 houses has been done entirely by the Germans. When meetings were held to discuss the need and desire for such a house in a community, the people were told that the cost would be approximately DM 80,000 (\$19,200). In every instance the village people have decided to reduce this money outlay: (1) By a gift of land from a public-spirited citizen; (2) by the villagers contributing labor on construction; and (3) by donations of wood and other available materials from the people of the villages. In most cases the amount of money borrowed has been approximately DM 50,000 (\$12,000). This will be repaid on a long-term plan with 10-12 percent interest. The community has taxed itself to make these payments. In addition, each community house has some source of regular income. One house has a shop in it for which rent is paid. Another has two small apartments rented and still another has a Turkish bath, which is greatly in demand not only by the villagers but by people in the surrounding area. In addition to these sources of income a small sum is charged for the use of all equipment. This varies from 20 pfennigs for a bath to DM 2.00 for a large family laundry.

"All houses have a caretaker who is given an apartment free of cost for her services. In most cases this caretaker is married and her husband attends to the furnace. It is the caretaker's duty not only to see that

the house is kept clean but also to instruct people in the use of the equipment. The home economics winter school teacher in the Kreis also gives instructions. 10/ The equipment in the houses is not the property of the community but is bought and owned by the state. If it is not properly used, the Ministry of Agriculture reserves the right to give it to another community. The furnishing of the community rooms in each house has been done by the Land-frauenverband of Bavaria. The furniture is beautifully simple and entirely suited to its purpose."

"Many interesting developments have come from these houses. Among these are the interest of the men, not only in the houses, but in the equipment. A teacher was showing a farm woman how to pick chickens on the new machine when her husband seized the chickens and proceeded to complete the job. Another man took over the washing machine and sent his wife to begin her baking. The Burgermeister, the priest and the men school teachers showed up at every house visited. A fine relationship within the community was observed. Decisions are being made together. For example, one community has been given DM 1,000 (\$240.00) from the McCloy Fund for their books. Five communities were working to decide which books would be chosen. The pride with which every individual in the village said, 'Have you seen our house,' made me know that this is a real and lasting reorientation project. 11/

Community Houses in Weigersdorf and Steinhöring

Let us examine more specifically one or two community houses. Take the one in Weigersdorf. Situated in a small rural Bavarian village of 150 people - approximately 25-30 families in all - it was constructed and financed in line with the pattern we have described. Its facilities and equipment are utilized by 20 to 30 families from nearby villages and by approximately half the families of Weigersdorf. The number of people using the "Haus der Bäuerin" is increasing. The center is managed by a housekeeper under the direction of the village council. She collects the following nominal fees for the use of the facilities:

<u>Equipment</u>	<u>Amount of laundry, time of use, etc.</u>	<u>Charge</u>	
		<u>In DM</u>	<u>In cents</u>
Laundry	1 barrel	2.00 - 2.50	.50 - .60
	spin dryer		free
	drying chamber	0.50	.10
Electric ironer	1 hour	2.00	.50
Bakery	1 loaf of bread,		
	kneading and baking	0.20	.05

10/ A kreis is a political sub-division comparable to a county in the United States.

11/ Memo to Mr. Gordon O. Fraser, Chief of Food and Agriculture Division Office of the U. S. High Commissioner for Germany. Subject "Report on Trip to Bavaria", Feb. 18-22, 1951. Eventually ten community houses were outfitted with libraries by an allocation of DM 10,000 from the McCloy Fund.

<u>Equipment</u>	<u>Amount of laundry, time of use, etc.</u>	<u>C h a r g e</u>	
		<u>In DM</u>	<u>In cents</u>
	other pastry per hour	1.00	.24
Sewing	1 hour without thread and twine	0.50	.10
Smoking chamber	1 locker per day	0.50	.10
Baths	1 bath in a tub	0.60	.15
	1 shower	0.30	.07½
Wine-press Cider-press	Reducing to small pieces and pressing per hundredweight	2.00	.50
	Sterilizing per bottle	0.10	.02½

The community house in Steinhöring is in a larger village, a village of approximately 2,000 people. This "Haus der Bäuerin" cost 100,000 DM.

It is somewhat unique; it includes a deep freezer locker unit among its facilities. This unit was installed in June 1951 and 5 days later all 80 compartments had been rented at a charge of 3 DM per month. The size of each compartment is 150 liters. There is great demand for these freezer locker units and all community houses would like to have them. The expense has prevented their addition thus far. 12/

The community houses in Weigersdorf and Steinhöring were opened with a day of ceremony and festivity, as is the custom with community houses in Bavaria. The State Minister of Food, Agriculture and Forestry is invited to each inauguration of the new "Haus der Bäuerin," and he makes it a policy to attend each one. He is met on the outskirts of the village and conducted by the Burgermeister, the priest and other notables into the town. In fact, the procession includes all the inhabitants of the village along with the traditional village band. It is considered a great occasion and a great honor to have the Minister come to their little village.

The program of the day normally includes services in the church, inauguration ceremonies at the new "Haus der Bäuerin" followed by coffee and an inspection of the community center, thanksgiving, a large dinner, and then a dance. Attendance from surrounding villages is large. For instance, at the opening in the small village of Weigersdorf attendance was well over 600 people. In some cases it has been as high as 5,000. The neighbors come to take part in the celebration, to see the facilities of the new community center, to hear the Minister extol the advantages of the "Haus der Bäuerin," and then go home to consider what they can do to have one of their own.

12/ The freezer locker was obtained from the United States as a demonstration unit under one of the ECA counterpart grant-in-aid projects.

Sophie Deppisch has encouraged this way of selling her program by chartering buses to bring groups of people from neighboring villages. She firmly believes that there is no stronger or better way to sell a good idea than to have one user of a new innovation tell a visitor about its merits.

Wider Meaning of the Program

It became clearer and clearer as the program progressed that this was no ordinary project that Sophie Deppisch had set in motion. Established to lighten the farm woman's toil and to cut the movement of farm girls to the cities, the "Haus der Bäuerin" program, it soon became apparent, had much wider significance. The early decision of Dr. Schögel and Miss Deppisch to concentrate the construction of these community houses close to the border of the Iron Curtain was a momentous one. 13/ This decision was followed by another one giving an additional 5,000 DM subsidy to border villages who would participate. It should be made clear that these were German decisions which were arrived at by German thinking with no influence from Allied sources.

There have been millions of words written about democracy and communism, about the free world and the world behind the Iron Curtain. But, perhaps, Sophie Deppisch, in two brief sentences, explained the purpose of this decision most simply when she spoke to those who live behind the Iron Curtain. "You see here what we have. It is better than what you have." Furthermore, it was developed by the freedom of the individual and the community, and by their spirit of cooperation in a free society.

It is apparent that in the minds of these German Bavarian leaders the "Haus der Bäuerin" project was much more than a mere community facilities project; it was a symbol of a free German society, and a symbol of democracy in action. By its very nature and its location it was a means of showing those behind the Iron Curtain what democracy meant.

Economic Cooperation Administration Support for an Expanded Program

As the Economic Cooperation Administration program began to operate in Western Germany, Katherine Holtzclaw and Vernon Darter made several attempts to secure financial support from ECA for the "Haus der Bäuerin" project, not only to help Sophie Deppisch in her work in Bavaria but also to encourage the spread of the movement throughout the Federal Republic by the demonstrational method.

Dr. Holtzclaw gave the following reasons for asking more American support for the program:

"The primary purpose of the community house is to alleviate some of the almost unbearable labor of the German farm women through making available to her modern facilities for work. Until some of her time can be released

13/ One Haus der Bäuerin is only 6 KM from the Iron Curtain.

and her energy conserved she will never be able to improve life for her family nor take her place as a citizen in her community. I believe that the community house is the most effective and practical method of meeting these needs."

"The community house furnishes not only a situation for improved working methods but is also used for educational activities, cultural affairs and for recreation. This is true, not only for women but for all the members of the community."

"The baths and showers in the community house are the only ones in the village. They are in constant use and contribute to the standards of personal hygiene in the community."

"Most of the houses are being built along the border of the Russian Zone and Czechoslovakia. They are excellent illustrations of what a free people can do to improve living conditions through cooperation."

"The houses furnish the only situation in the villages where home economics can be taught to groups of adults and youth." 14/

In July 1951, an agricultural project for utilizing ECA-counterpart grant-in-aid funds was set up and shortly thereafter approved. (See appendix A for explanation of counterpart funds.) It called for a grant of 1,000,000 D, (\$240,000) to help establish 100 demonstrational community houses throughout Western Germany. This project was to give great impetus and momentum to the developing program in the Federal Republic. The pattern of establishment and operation of the community houses was to follow that set up by Sophie Deppisch. ECA approval was gained on the basis that community centers would increase agricultural productivity in the Federal Republic.

The project set forth the problem to be solved and the purpose and benefits of the project in the following terms:

(1) Problem to be solved:

To achieve a higher standard of living and increased production and production efficiency for farm families.

(2) Purpose:

To help solve the above problem by:

- (a) Encouraging rural people to cooperate in their work;
- (b) Providing facilities for increased efficiency in the work of farm families, especially farm women and girls;
- (c) Providing a community center for all members of the family which will serve as a social and educational center and which will supplement the regular agricultural advisory and educational facilities;

- (d) Strengthening and coordinating agricultural advisory work; achieving a better coordination between agricultural advising, education, and research, and establishing a closer relationship between agricultural advisors and farm families.

(3) Benefits expected:

(a) Economic:

Saving of time and energy through the use of efficient methods of work in the house will tend to interest women in accepting and using more modern methods on the farm. This, in turn, will increase production.

(b) Social:

By working more efficiently with modern equipment not only may production be increased but some time for home and community life may be obtained.

- (c) Improved health and higher standards of sanitation. Attaining a closer working relationship between the Agricultural Advisory Service and Farm Families in the community.

(4) Distribution of Funds:

The project specified that the funds would be distributed to the states in the following amounts:

DM (1 DM = about
.24 cents)

(a) Federal level (Bundesebene)	
(b) Bayern	290,000
(c) Baden	40,000
(d) Württemberg - Baden	60,000
(e) Württemberg - Hohenzollern	40,000
(f) Rheinland - Pfalz	120,000
(g) Hessen	110,000
(h) Nordrhein - Westfalen	90,000
(i) Niedersachsen	180,000

	DM (1 DM = about .24 cents)
(j) Schleswig - Holstein	50,000
(k) Bremen	10,000
(l) Hamburg	10,000
Total	1,000,000 15/

The Program Expands

The work of Sophie Deppisch in Bavaria soon became known to her colleagues in other parts of Western Germany. Similar efforts began to spring up in Northrhine Westfalen, Hesse, and other States of the Federal Republic. These efforts and their results varied to some degree, depending on the resources at hand, the needs of the area, and tradition and experience.

The publication of a bulletin by AID entitled "Haus der Bäuerin," which set forth the purpose of a community house, ways of developing it and other pertinent facts, along with exhibits of models of community houses at various State fairs, gave additional impetus to the movement. 16/ And the ECA grant provided the final means of getting the overall program for the Federal Republic under way.

A brief examination of the program in Hesse and Northrhine Westfalen illustrates the progress made in various States of Western Germany.

Mrs. Idel Oswald, of the Domaine Nonnenhof near Friedberg, has been very active in the Community House movement in Hesse. She states that in 1952 the State government appropriated 1.5 million DM (\$360,000) for 12 community houses with the stipulation that the village people provide the land and the labor for constructing the centers. The Bauernverband, the Landfrauenverband, the Chambers of Agriculture, and the State Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Forestry are jointly sponsoring the program. Many of the purposes are substantially the same as those in Bavaria; but the emphasis is slightly different. The houses are not called houses of farm women, but are referred to as village community houses. This is done because the urban population of Hesse is large and the leaders want both town and country people to use these centers in the hope that better relationships between city workers and farm people will be established.

15/ Agricultural project for utilizing ECA Counterpart Grant-in-aid. Project Number: III B2, Project title: Agricultural Advising, Education and Research - Promoting Establishment of Community Houses, July 1, 1950. pp 1-6.

16/ AID is Auswertungs und Informations-dienst für Land und Hauswirtschaftlicher, Evaluation and Information Service for Agriculture and Home Economics. It is the Information Service of the Extension Service.

The development in Northrhine Westfalen has been sparked and engineered by Dr. Anne Gausebeck, head of the Home Economics Department of the Chamber of Agriculture in Bonn. She is the Sophie Deppisch of Northrhine Westfalen. The demand for community houses is great and the need for them similar to that in Bavaria and other States. The leadership of the program, including the financing, rests largely in the hands of the Chamber of Agriculture. Funds are raised from taxes on land. This money is partly allocated as a loan on construction of the buildings and as a grant-in-aid on purchase of equipment. ECA funds, as in other States, have also helped further the movement on a demonstrational basis.

Table 1. --- Status of the overall program in the Federal Republic,
as of February 1, 1953

Land (State)	Number of community houses financed from		
	ERP counterpart funds	Other sources	Total
Bavaria	29	<u>2</u> / 21	50
Wuerttemberg Baden (North Wuerttemberg)	6	8	14
Wuerttemberg Hohenzollern (South Wuerttemberg)	4	5	9
Baden	4	0	4
Hesse	11	13	24
Rheinland Pfalz	12	<u>3</u> / 9	21
Northrhine Westfalen	9	<u>4</u> / 44	53
Niedersachsen	18	0	18
Schleswig-Holstein	5	0	5
Hamburg	1	0	1
Bremen	1	0	1
	<u>1</u> / 100	100	200

1/ DM 10,000 (1 DM = about 24 cents) programmed for each out of counterpart funds as an incentive. Balance supplied from State and local funds.

2/ DM 231,460 provided as special help under the McCloy Special Fund. Balance was furnished from State and local funds.

3/ One completed and 8 to be built in 1953.

4/ 19 completed and 25 being built.

Factors Affecting the Program

To fully understand why this program of community houses in Western Germany has successfully moved ahead, it is necessary to have some knowledge of the background and conditions that existed at the time the program was launched in 1949.

In the first place, it was not an entirely new idea or program. Rather, it represented an expansion of previous experiences in the general field of community facilities. Professor Dr. h. c. Adolf Muenzinger of Hoenssern in Wuerttemberg led the way, when in 1930 he established a pattern for the cooperative use of agricultural machinery. He was a professor at the University of Hohenheim and particularly active in experiments with land consolidation and cooperatives.

He was instrumental in getting community wash kitchens added to the facilities of the village agricultural cooperative. Before the kitchens were available, the women of Wuerttemberg and Baden, like their mothers and grandmothers before them, had washed their clothes in front of their houses and carried the hot water from kitchens located on the second floor of their homes. The Chambers of Agriculture of Wuerttemberg and Baden played a leading role in the expansion of the facilities of village agricultural cooperatives that followed the introduction in their States. Soon, bathing and shower facilities were added in many instances, and frequently a room for sack-mending machines as well. Then, during the Nazi regime, funds from the German Reich were granted to nearly all States for the expansion of community laundries. As a consequence, several hundred community and cooperative laundries existed in Western Germany, at the time Sophie Deppisch began her community house program in Bavaria. The Bavarian program expanded the existing facilities by the addition of a food preservation room, a meeting room, and included all in the "Home of the Farm Woman." The new program also called for a deep freezer unit, and the use of the community home for conducting home demonstration and youth work in the rural village areas. Many things are new in the present program, but there is no break with the past. The program represents the building of the new on the old.

We have already mentioned many of the other factors that were instrumental in providing pressure and a favorable climate for the development of the program. Some of these included a gradual weakening of the dominant position of the head of the farm family, a reawakening of a woman's movement and a drive for improved status in the home and community, the exodus of farm youth (especially the girls) from the country to the city, the demands and needs of the vast numbers of refugees, the established pattern of cooperative use of equipment and "self help" in such matters as donation of labor and local materials, and the needs of a rapidly developing Extension Service for a meeting place at the village level. We have already mentioned, too, the significance of the decision to build many of these community centers along the Iron Curtain. This decision had considerable influence on the Americans and in the securing of additional funds for the movement. And, finally, the currency reform of June 1948 gave German money real value for the first time since the capitulation; people were anxious to receive it and to work to get

it. 17/

Retrospect

All women, whether participants or observers in this program, feel proud of what has been and what is being accomplished in Germany. They plan to expand the number of community centers in the Federal Republic. They believe that the community facility idea is one that may be applicable to many other countries and one that should be seriously considered by all technical assistance workers. Dr. Gladys Gallup, Dr. Louise Stanley, Miss Ilena Hogan, and Miss Eunice Heywood - all of the United States Department of Agriculture - are only a few of the American home economists who feel that this program has real significance for other parts of the world. German leaders agree.

Before concluding this report on community houses in the Federal Republic it seems not only appropriate but important that we should record more directly some of the views and observations of leading participants and observers of the program. We will do so briefly.

Dr. Anne Sprengle, head of rural home economics work of the Federal Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Forestry at Bonn believes the movement will spread throughout Western Germany except for the areas of large farms. It is her plan to ultimately have one home economics advisor for each community house. Such a person would be a part of the Extension Service and devote her time to doing home economics advisory work and to promoting farm women's clubs. Dr. Sprengle cites some of the advantages of the community house as: (1) Easing the burden and facilitating the work of the rural woman; (2) improving the sanitation and health aspects of rural life through the provision of baths and showers; (3) providing a place to conduct youth and home economics work; and (4) providing a community or club room to promote the broader aspects of rural life. She feels the movement is changing the relationship of man and wife in the farm household. The man is interested in the modern techniques of the community house, and finds a number of the facilities of the house, such as the bath and the cider press, of direct interest. And finally, and perhaps most important, Dr. Sprengle is enthusiastic about the "Haus der Bäuerin" project because at last the women have a place to meet. The men have always had their Gasthaus, a place to congregate, talk, and drink their beer. Now the womenfolk and their children have a place, too.

Mrs. Maria Bauer, President of the Landfrauenverband of Bavaria, has been an active participant in the program from its very beginning, and her organization has been a key factor in the success of the movement in Bavaria. She views the women's community house program in broad perspective. It represents to her a move to lift the status of farm women. She believes

17/ Some observers feel that the influence of American personnel in general, including the hundreds of Military Government and State Department officers not directly associated with the program, was a factor in spreading the idea that farm women deserve a better life.

that it is a reflection of changing values of the farm family to some degree. She explains it this way: The farmer has always placed the greatest emphasis on the security of his farm and his family. The farm had to be improved during his lifetime, so that it could be passed on to his son in better condition. This meant taking advantage of modern machinery for use on the land if it was possible to raise the money to buy it. Mrs. Bauer points out that it is not uncommon for a farm to be in the same family for 500 to 600 years; thus, there is great tradition and honor involved in this matter of improving the land for the children. Consequently, the man has always followed the practice of using the income from his farm to improve his land in one way or another; only if there was something in excess has the wife and the household benefited.

Mrs. Bauer and her women's association say this extreme emphasis on the land is wrong. The mother and the family should receive first consideration. She says the farm women want to be freed of field work and want their duties in the stable and kitchen lightened by modern equipment. The women want steam pressure cookers to prepare potatoes for the pigs, running water in the kitchen and numerous other conveniences. The task of the farm women's organization is to help the farm woman reach these objectives.

It is Mrs. Bauer's belief that the strong antipathy of the younger generation for farm life, with its long hours of work, little cash money, Sunday work, and little entertainment, has done much to gain the support of the men for the "Haus der Bauerin" program. In the past there has been a need for a recreational place, particularly for the young people. The farm women's association has been establishing libraries and sponsoring dances in the new community houses.

Mrs. Bauer makes two other points concerning the status of farm women and the farm family in general. She brings out that a farm women's movement for increased status developed after World War I. This tended to subside during the more prosperous days of the Hitler regime, and then was renewed again after World War II.

In Nazi times Hitler propagandized the values of farming. One heard much of "Blut und Boden" (Blood and Soil). The German people were told that the farmer and his wife were the source of food and "new blood" for the country. There were special values in rural life. This attention of the German Government raised the status of the farmer's wife and the farm family in German society, according to Mrs. Bauer. Now, she says, all this has changed again. There has come a return or a partial return to the old attitude of city people toward country people - an attitude of superiority and kindly contempt derived from the days when peasants were serfs. She goes on to say that during the two wars urban people had to come to the farmers for food. In some cases farmers took advantage of the situation, which tended to add a certain animosity to the age-old attitude. Mrs. Bauer believes this situation is gradually improving. But she points out that it has been an important factor in the decision of country girls to leave the land. They are ashamed of their rural background.

Mrs. Bauer concludes by saying that all political parties since World War I have promised the farmer's wife something to lighten her work; but that it was not until 1949, when the community house movement got underway

in Bavaria, that this promise was carried out. Now, the farm woman feels that the government is paying some attention to her and that she has an important role in rural life and the larger German society.

Dr. Holtzclaw is proud of the program and happy to have had a part in it. She feels that the community house program has been a wonderful thing for rural Germany. She gives her reasons as follows:

1. It has been a means of bringing the people of the villages together to help solve their own problems. Since the war many of them have been distrustful of one another. The acceptance by the people of this community responsibility has been a wonderful lesson in social development for all the world to see.

2. From a food, health, and labor standpoint the program has enabled the farm family to make great strides.

3. From an economics standpoint the use of community house facilities has saved considerable time of the farm woman. For illustration, it used to take $1\frac{1}{2}$ days to do the laundry every 2-3 weeks. Now the farm women can do it in 3-4 hours. There has also been a considerable saving in the preservation of food. Dr. Holtzclaw says that as a result of the program the farm woman has more time to work in the fields. There has not been as much additional time for herself, her household, and her family as she had hoped. Dr. Holtzclaw admits, however, that she may be too pessimistic on this point.

4. And, finally, she believes that the greatest value of the program lies in its opportunities for social development.

In her opinion the strongly conservative people of Germany accepted the community house idea largely because of (1) the existence of a definite need that the people themselves came to realize, (2) the use of the principles of local participation and cooperation, (3) the financial help from the State, McCloy fund, ECA, etc., (4) the inspiring and energetic leadership of Sophie Deppisch, and (5) the previous experience with similar innovations.

How do the men feel about the women's community center? They approve it. We have already indicated the favorable reaction of the farmers to Sophie Deppisch's plans and their participation in the program. Thus far they appear to look at the venture in largely economic and physical terms. Professor Dr. Heinz Haushofer, in charge of the Production Branch of the Bavarian Bauernverband, and a farmer in his own right, adds the personal factor when he says: "It is much better now. Formerly the farmer's wife had to be handled like a raw egg on wash day."

It should be pointed out that the American men who have been closely associated with this program in the Federal Republic look upon it with a sense of accomplishment and pleasure. Mr. Gordon Fraser, Dr. Conrad Hammar, Mr. Norman Smith, Mr. Vernon Darter, Mr. Kenneth Ingwalson - and there are others - feel that it has been one of the most satisfactory and successful programs that ECA and then MSA have supported in Western Germany.

And, finally, in looking back on this project, how does the central figure of this account feel about what has been done and what needs to be

done? Sophie Deppisch, of course, is proud of the progress that has been made by the "Haus der Bäuerin" project. Fifty community centers in Bavaria, and one hundred and fifty in other parts of the Federal Republic are either built or being built largely through her inspiration and leadership. There are requests for many more, but she is not complacent. There is much work to be done, and she and her colleagues have only made a beginning. She points out that there are 4-5,000 Gemeinden (communities consisting of 2-3 villages each) in Bavaria alone, and she would like to have a community house for each of these communities that is made up of small farms. She and Mrs. Bäuer feel that the agricultural cooperatives must be encouraged to take a larger part in the Bavarian program if this objective is to be reached.

She has two large problems to solve; both are financial. One concerns overall community financing of the community houses. At present each village has to pay interest rates of 10-12 percent on borrowed money. A cheaper source, say of 3-4 percent, would ease the financial burden of participating villages and would do much toward enlarging the program. Her second problem concerns the manufacture and acquisition of deep freezer units for the community houses. The demand for such units is high, but the cost of each unit is likewise high. It takes 25,000 DM to purchase one. Here again she is searching for a source of capital with a relatively low interest rate. She is confident that if she can solve these problems her program will go forward and forward. It will help to keep the young people on the farm and make for more satisfied rural women. Dr. Sprengle, Dr. Holtzclaw, and others who have seen Sophie Deppisch in action and the benefits of the community house program have no doubts as to the outcome in Bavaria, nor in the remainder of the Federal Republic.

Appendix A

Explanation of Counterpart Funds 1/

Counterpart funds exist only because there is a European Recovery Program (E.R.P.) The counterpart fund is in D-Marks, and arises as a result of imports from the United States. The funds arise as follows:

- a. German consumers pay for the commodities they buy which have been imported in raw or processed form.
- b. Retailers, wholesalers and processors who handle these commodities also pay for the commodities in the regular way, but
- c. The importer of the commodities does not pay the United States in dollars. The payment for the commodities exported (from the U. S.) is made out of European Cooperation Administration (E.C.A. and Government and Relief in Occupied Areas, Carioa,) funds. However, the German importer must pay D-Marks for the commodities imported in an amount equivalent to the dollar value of the commodities imported. The accumulation of these D-Mark payments for imported goods constitutes the "Counterpart Fund." This fund is held in trust by the "Bank Deutscher Laender" until it is allocated to counterpart fund projects.

Counterpart funds are used in the economic rehabilitation and reorientation of Western Europe. All counterpart funds released by the U. S. to the Western German Federal Republic are considered public funds within the scope of the German National Investment program. The money is allocated to specific projects which must have joint approval of E.C.A. and the participating country. The funds are applied in two ways:

- a. On a loan basis - credits for agricultural and non-agricultural activities.
- b. On a "grants-in-aid" basis. This is to be a special allocation to projects where there is limited or no possibility for repayment, such as funds applied to research, education and advisory work.

1/ Source: The Food, Agriculture and Forestry Situation and Program Bavaria and Western Germany. Handbook and Digest. Prepared by the Food, Agriculture and Forestry Branch, Economic Affairs Division, Office of Land Commissioner for Bavaria - July 1950, p. 30.

