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GRADUATE COLLEGE

THE ECONOMIC HISTORY OF AN AUSTRIAN TOWN

A DISSERTATION
SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY
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degree of
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RONALD GENE NARAMORE
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	ii
LIST OF TABLES	iii
MAP OF AUSTRIA.....	vi
INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER I: THE SETTING.....	8
CHAPTER II: TOURISM.....	23
CHAPTER III: INDUSTRIALIZATION.....	53
CHAPTER IV: AGRICULTURE.....	67
CHAPTER V: THE OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE.....	108
CHAPTER VI: CONCLUSION.....	126
REFERENCES CITED.....	140
APPENDIX.....	146

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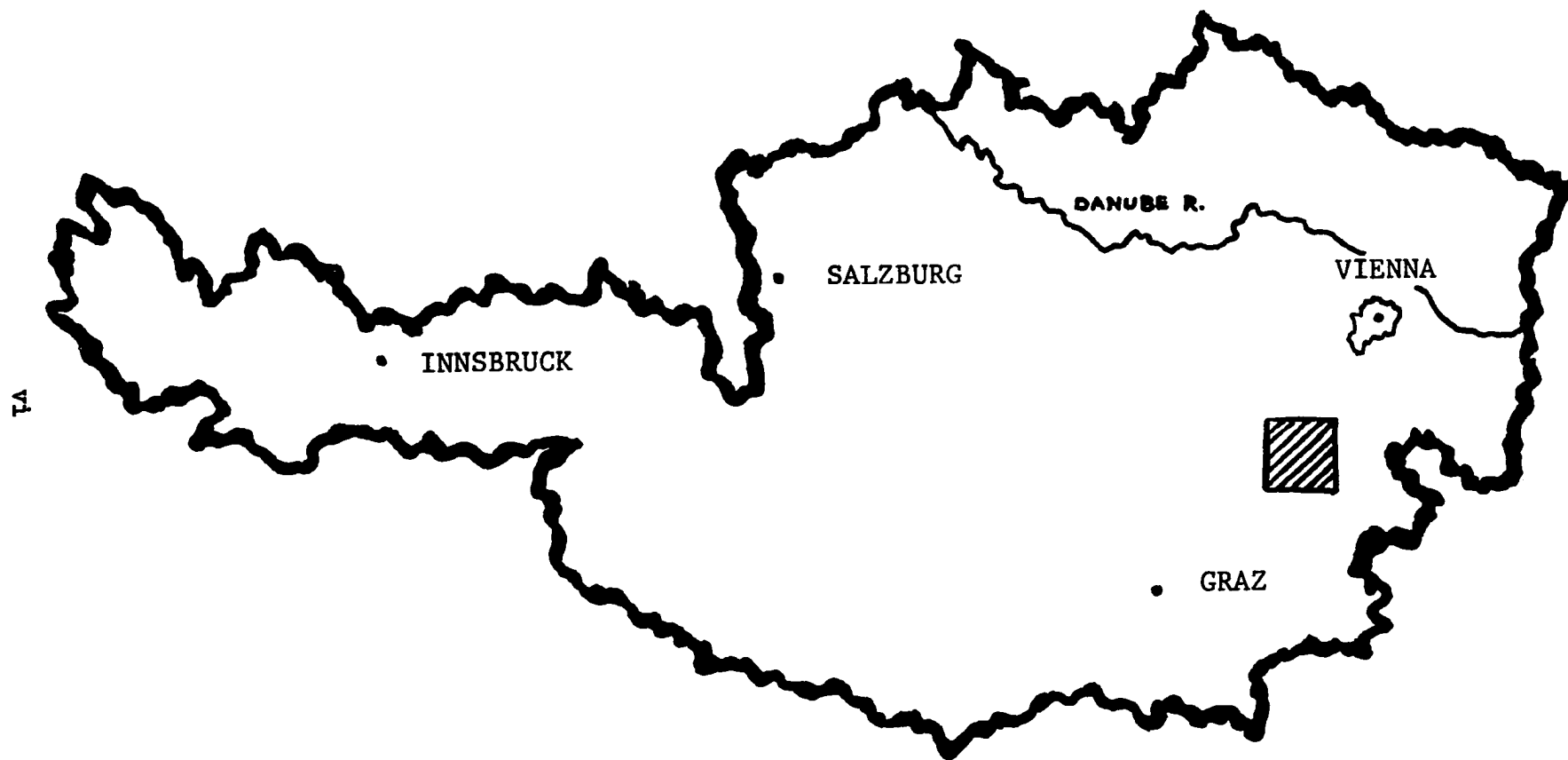
LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Population of Berghof.....	11
Table 2: Persons Present and Real Population of Berghof.....	12
Table 3: Tourists and Overnights in Austria.....	26
Table 4: Beds in Commercial and Private Establishments in Austria...	27
Table 5: Tourist Operations in Austria.....	28
Table 6: Percentage of Overnights in Commercial and Private Establishments in Austria.....	28
Table 7: Foreign Tourists and Overnights in Austria.....	30
Table 8: Foreign Currency Income per Foreigner per Overnight in Austria.....	31
Table 9: Average Duration of Tourists' Visits (in Days).....	31
Table 10: Foreign Currency Income in Austria	32
Table 11: Persons Employed in Tourism in Austria	33
Table 12: Overnights in the Austrian Provinces.....	36
Table 13: Tourists and Overnights in Lower Austria.....	37
Table 14: Percentage of Foreign Tourists in Lower Austria of the Total for Austria.....	37
Table 15: Percentage of Austrian Tourists in Lower Austria of the Total for Austria.....	38
Table 16: Percentage of Foreign and Austrian Tourists and Overnights in Lower Austria.....	38
Table 17: Number and Percentage of Commercial and Private Beds in Lower Austria.....	40

Table 18: Tourists and Overnights in Berghof.....	44
Table 19: Tourist Establishments and Beds in Berghof.....	45
Table 20: Number and Percentage of Overnights in Commercial and Private Quarters in Berghof.....	46
Table 21: Summer and Winter Tourism in Berghof.....	48
Table 22: Winter Tourism in Berghof.....	50
Table 23: Summer Tourism in Berghof.....	50
Table 24: Foreign Tourism in Berghof.....	52
Table 25: The Land-holding Structure in Neunkirchen Political District.....	71
Table 26: Number of Animals in Lower Austria.....	83
Table 27: Number of Agricultural Laborers in Austria.....	90
Table 28: Number of Agricultural Laborers in Lower Austria.....	90
Table 29: Composition of the Agricultural Labor Force in Austria in Percents.....	92
Table 30: Composition of the Agricultural Labor Force in Lower Austria in Percents.....	92
Table 31: Composition of the Agricultural Labor Force in Neunkirchen Political District in Percents.....	92
Table 32: Use of Fertilizers (in Tons) in Austria.....	100
Table 33: Milk Production in Austria.....	100
Table 34: Number of Agricultural Machines in Use in Austria.....	103
Table 35: Number of Agricultural Machines in Lower Austria.....	103
Table 36: Single Income Households by Category of Employment in Berghof.....	114
Table 37: Positions in the Household of Employed Persons in Multiple Income Household in Berghof.....	115

Table 38: Combinations of Employment in Two-category Multiple Income Households in Berghof.....	116
Table 39: Position in Household of Commuters from Households with other Income Sources in Berghof.....	118
Table 40: Destination of Commuters from Berghof.....	118
Table 41: Categories of Employment for Commuters from Berghof.....	119

AUSTRIA



BERGHOF IS LOCATED WITHIN THE SHADED AREA:



INTRODUCTION

Many studies in anthropology in recent years have dealt with questions concerning the "modernization" of peasant societies. However, notions of what exactly constitutes modernization are extremely varied and usually vague. A concise definition of modernization that would cover most of the anthropological work done in this area is given by Dalton (1971a: 22):

Modernization is a sequential process of cumulative change over time, generated by the interaction of economic and cultural innovations impinging on traditional economy, polity, and society, with feedback effects on the innovating activities.

More explicitly, modernization is a concept which is used to summarize the various social transformations which have accompanied the rise of industrialism and the nation-state since the 18th century. Modernization involves, among other things,

...a transition, or rather a series of transitions from primitive, subsistence economies to technology-intensive, industrialized economies; from subject to participant political cultures; from closed, ascriptive status systems to open, achievement oriented systems; from extended to nuclear kinship units; from religious to secular ideologies; and so on... (Tipps 1973: 204)

Using the modernization model, societies can be classified on a scale or continuum which ranges from the modernized at one end to the traditional at the other, with a large transitional area between.

A number of writers have recently questioned the utility of the modernization concept as an explanatory device (Tipps: 1973, and

Schneider, Schneider, and Hansen: 1972 for example). The problems associated with the modernization concept, as I see them, are several. First, there is implicit in the model an inevitability as to the direction social change will take as societies come under the influence of industrialization and nationalism. This is responsible for the idea that societies are traditional, modernized, or somewhere in the middle -- transitional. The assumption here is that all societies change in only one direction, the direction of already modernized societies. Furthermore, this model implies that social change prior to the advent of modernization is of little consequence in relation to that which comes with participation in the modern world. This seems to be responsible for the further assumption found in some modernization studies that the nature of a social system at the beginning of the modernizing influence is important only in its ability to retard or speed up the process but not in the overall direction that social change will take. This is, however, an empirical question, one which has not as yet been answered in full, and not a valid a priori assumption.

The modernization model of social change suffers from a lack of precision. The variables of social change are not separated analytically but instead are lumped together as covariants of the overall process. Is modernization in fact a unitary force affecting all societies in the same way, but to different degrees, or are there a number of distinct processes involved? What exactly produces modernization? What effects do the different social situations of modernizing societies at the beginning of the process have on the possible outcomes? Are different groups in a modernizing society affected differently by the process?

These are a few of the questions that need to be answered if our understanding of recent social change is to be furthered.

I am arguing here that present notions of modernization do not tell us enough about our subject matter. The social differences which are recognized in the modernization concept are real enough, but a systematic basis for comparison of the causes and consequences of the social transformations that fall under the term modernization is lacking.

I will not, of course, answer all of the questions I have posed here regarding modernization. This study will be an attempt to indicate the direction in research which I believe to be fruitful for the development of a more precise and analytically useful version of the modernization idea.

This study will deal with the economic changes that have occurred in a rural Austrian community as a result of the development of industrial capitalism in the larger society of which the community is a part. The development of industrial capitalism is only one of the types of economic change that have occurred in recent history, but it is a very common one. The economic changes that I have found in the community under study are also only one type of response to this development, but, as I will show, this type of response is also a common one. While non-economic aspects of this community's social structure will be discussed, the primary emphasis here is on economic changes in the community. Questions as to the political and ideological changes accompanying the various economic aspects of modernization in this town are important ones but are of distinctly secondary importance in this study.

I will outline the industrialization process as it has occurred in Austria, including important by-products such as the rise of tourism

as a source of employment. I will also show the way in which the process or series of processes has affected the particular community under study with regard to occupational diversification and the nature of agriculture and those who have remained employed in this sector of the economy.

The time span to be covered in this study is from 1848 to 1972. 1848 is not the date at which industrialization began in Austria, even if such a precise date could be assigned to such a drawn out process, but this is the date that peasants were legally freed of all forms of feudal servitude, a fact which was crucial for the expansion of industrialization. The factors producing the changes being investigated here were gradual in nature, exerting progressively more force on the town as time passed. For this reason, the later periods of the town's history are more important in terms of the rate of change taking place; therefore, considerably more emphasis will be placed on the more recent years of the town's history.

Several factors were of importance in the selection of a town to be studied. First, the town needed to be one with a relatively long and intimate involvement with the industrialization process of Austria but should not itself be an industrial center of any magnitude. Also, in order to assess the full range of alternate sources of employment to agriculture, I chose a town which had had a lengthy and heavy involvement in the tourist trade.

The techniques used in gathering data on the subject were several. Government documents were heavily relied upon, especially those concerned with such subjects as population and census data, tourism, agriculture, commerce, and industry (See the Appendix for a partial list of documents utilized but not cited). Much of the data appearing in the tables of this study comes from such sources. These series of rather

raw data were augmented with secondary sources which were analyses of the data in question. Documentary information of a primary nature was relatively scarce for the earlier years of the time span of this study; therefore, secondary sources of information have been heavily relied upon for data concerning the nineteenth century.

For much of the early history of the town, I have cautiously extrapolated from information that applies to Austria as a whole, or to certain parts of the country. This is necessary because of the paucity of information specific to the town during these early years. In the twentieth century, and especially since the end of World War II, data becomes much more abundant, but there are difficulties in the utilization of some of these data because of the lack of consistency in the methods of their collection from year to year.

For the last fifty years of the town's history I was able to augment documentary sources with personal recollections of the townspeople themselves. This latter type of data was collected in a series of informal interviews or conversations. These interviews were open-ended, and no schedules or questionnaires were utilized.

To protect the anonymity of the town and the people who live there, some documentary sources of information cannot be cited. A great deal of this information applies to chapter 5 and pertains to the occupational structure of the town.

The present study falls within the community study tradition in anthropology. The classic community studies, exemplified by works such as those of Arensberg (1937), Embree (1939), Yang (1945), Pitt-Rivers (1954), and Wylie (1957), shared a number of features in common. Adopting the methodology of ethnographic studies of primitive societies,

the emphasis was in these early studies on providing an account of the community that was wholistic in the sense of describing all of what were considered to be the major aspects of life in the community. These studies were, furthermore, essentially synchronic descriptions. If material of a historical nature was included, it was sketchy and of marginal relevance.

These essentially synchronic studies had two primary aims: either to provide a description of a community thought to contain in microcosm the major cultural features of a larger nation; or to construct a synchronic typology of communities against which to measure culture change (Redfield 1962). Another common feature of these classic community studies was their overwhelming concentration on internal features of the communities to the neglect of structural ties of the communities to the larger societies of which they were a part. This approach, while defensible when dealing with primitive societies which are relatively isolated and self-contained structurally, ignores the importance of external events and institutions for rural community life in stratified societies.

More recent community studies have been critical of this earlier approach on other grounds also. First of all, a wholistic perspective, as does any perspective, requires ethnographic selections for no culture can be described in its totality. Secondly, communities are not representative nor non-representative of a larger nation but consist instead of specialized interacting components within it. Third, culture change cannot adequately be measured unless a baseline against which to measure change is available. This must be reconstructed from historical sources.

Some of these more recent community studies, such as those by Anderson and Anderson (1964 and 1965) and Geertz (1963), reflect these changing concerns. One major concern is to show the types of interaction that take place between the community and the rest of the society of which it is a part. In doing this these studies focus on the nature of this interaction over a period of time as this helps to bring out more clearly the external forces which affect community life. This approach also allows one to compare the historical sequences of a number of communities and, thereby, deal with the dynamic processes of culture change in the communities.

The more recent historically oriented community studies are, furthermore, more directed toward the explanation of cultural similarities and differences than were the classic studies which had as their primary aim the description of such similarities and differences. Historically oriented community studies do, however, differ considerably in what they seek to explain. The Andersons (1964 and 1965) are dealing with changes in many aspects of the organization of the communities under study, while Geertz (1963) is interested primarily in understanding the origins of entrepreneurial behavior.

The present study is one which recognizes the usefulness of the historical approach to communities. By studying in detail the changes that have occurred in one community and comparing these with the sequence in other communities, it is hoped that a better understanding of some of the processes involved in culture change will be gained.

CHAPTER I

THE SETTING

The Gemeinde (best translated as "community"; this is the smallest political administrative unit in Austria) of Berghof (a pseudonym) comprises an area of 16.29 square kilometers in the extreme southern part of Lower Austria, one of the eastern provinces in Austria. The western and southern boundaries of the Gemeinde double as the provincial border between Styria and Lower Austria.

The main area of settlement in Berghof lies on the southern flank of one of the eastern-most spurs of the Austrian Alps at an elevation of 970 to 1000 meters. To the northwest of Berghof the mountain rises to a height of 1700 meters. To the south of Berghof proper, at a distance of about three kilometers, lies the other main settlement cluster in the Gemeinde, the hamlet of St. Peter (a pseudonym), at an elevation of about 800 meters.

Berghof occupies a curious geographical situation in several respects, it is not located in the typical alpine valley surrounded by mountains, but instead sits on the mountain slope. From Berghof, the mountain drops away rapidly to the northeast into an area of high hills. The topographical relief in this area is relatively great, and the majority of this region lies in the 600 to 800 meter range in elevation.

Berghof is located approximately half-way between Vienna and the Styrian capital of Graz, about one hundred kilometers from each, on an important government road. It occupies the highest point on this

road, and in fact is one of the highest settlements in Lower Austria. The road rises steeply into Berghof from both the east and west. Although the road is a good one, the trip from a larger town about ten kilometers to the northeast takes some twenty minutes in good weather, as the rise in elevation between these two points is over 400 meters, and the road has a gradient of about eight percent during this section. The road west into Styria is similar, if slightly gentler.

Berghof is also connected to the outside world by rail, but the train station is some five kilometers from the main settlement area, although still within the Gemeinde, and lies at an elevation some three hundred meters lower. This curious situation results from the difficulties of building the railroad over the pass where Berghof sits. Instead, a tunnel beginning at the Berghof station runs through a mountain into Styria. The location of the station, plus the fact that it lies off the main road, tends to diminish its usefulness to the inhabitants of Berghof. The important use of railroads for short distance commuting in Austria is somewhat impaired in this case.

This lack is more than made up for, however, by bus service. Both the government and private companies operate numerous scheduled bus runs in and out of the town to nearby larger towns, with multiple daily connections to other points from these. There is also daily non-stop bus service to and from Vienna, and similar service to and from Graz.

Weather conditions in the eastern Alps are influenced to a great extent by the presence of the Hungarian Plain to the east. The net effect of this in the eastern Alps is a much more rapid change

of seasons, with greater seasonal contrasts than are characteristic of other Alpine areas (Gsteu 1957: 31). In the Berghof area this is especially true. Summer days can be quite warm, but summer nights are cool. The winters in this area are notoriously harsh. Continuous snow cover usually exists from late November until early April. Winter temperatures are very cold, sometimes plunging to minus thirty degrees Centigrade, and it is not unknown for snow to reach the roofs of houses for short periods. In the fall, hail storms have been known to destroy the entire year's crop. The effects of this climatic situation are considerable.

Settlement in the Gemeinde Berghof is clustered around two main poles, with a few scattered houses in the outlying areas. The vast majority of buildings are bunched closely along or near the main street in Berghof proper. This street was, until the completion of a bypass in 1962, the highway as well. The main street forms an L-shape, with smaller lanes and paths extending outward from the arms of the L. During the history of construction in the town, buildings have gradually crept outward from the angle of the L, the original center of town, where the church and school stand.

The hamlet of St. Peter, about three kilometers south of the main settled area, forms the other pole of settlement in the Gemeinde. Approximately thirty houses constitute the hamlet, with a mountain separating St. Peter from Berghof and serving to isolate the two slightly, as the route between them is rather circuitous and in poor repair.

The figures in Table 1 show the population trends of Berghof over the last century and a half. The overall trend has been one of slow but steady growth, interrupted by brief periods of stagnation and decline. The decreasing population from 1880 to 1900 (and in fact slightly later) is indicative of the trend toward rural depopulation and urban migration that characterized Austria during this period of rapid industrialization. The sharp increase in 1910 relates to the new tourist business which was just beginning to flower in Berghof, creating a number of new jobs, and thus reversing the tendency toward depopulation.

Table 1: Population of Berghof

<u>Year</u>	<u>Population</u>
1830	359
1853	375
1869	479
1880	546
1890	540
1900	526
1910	615
1920	537
1923	579
1934	662
1951	669
1961	752
1971	782

Note: The figures for the years 1830, 1853 and 1920 are my estimates based upon the ratio of the population of Berghof to that of the area in which it lies. This latter is known for the years estimated.

Table 2 shows the increasing importance of tourism in the town. There were on the census days increasing numbers of persons in the town who were not residents, but tourists.

Table 2: Persons Present and Real Population of Berghof

<u>Year</u>	<u>Persons Present</u>	<u>Real Population</u>	<u>Census Date</u>
1934	715	662	March 22
1951	914	669	June 1
1961	1061	752	March 21
1971	1056	782	May 12

Note: "Persons Present" means all persons who were present in the town for any reason on census day, while "Real Population" indicates the number of full-time residents or legal residents of the town. The number of persons present in 1971 is relatively lower than one might expect, because May 12, the census date, is during one of the slowest tourist periods of the year.

The effects of World War I and II are evident in the figures of Table 1. Although only eighteen men from Berghof fell in World War I, the influenza epidemics of 1918 and 1920 took quite a toll in the town. The period from 1934 to 1951, showing an increase of seven persons, is of course quite deceptive. Sixty men from the town died in World War II, and hunger and disease during and after the war took others as well. On closer analysis of this period, the years from 1934 to 1938 were ones of slowly increasing population. From 1938 through 1946, there was a sharp decline in population, and from 1947 to 1951 there was again a fairly great rise in the number of residents.

The Early History

Although this study is primarily concerned with the period

of Berghof's history since 1848, a brief outline of the major events in its history prior to this date may help put the study in better overall perspective. Over two hundred sites are known for the Neolithic in Lower Austria, and most of these are naturally concentrated in the Danube area. Smaller pockets of settlement are, however, also known from the western edge of the Vienna Basin extending in the direction of our immediate area of inquiry. The Berghof area itself was apparently not settled during the Neolithic, even for purposes of temporary summer transhumance, as was the case in some Alpine areas to the west. During the Bronze Age the settled area in Austria was slightly expanded, and colonization of the Alps seems to have begun in earnest during the Iron Age. What are generally presumed to have been Celts appear in Lower Austrian Alpine areas in the fifth century B.C., and an iron mine is known from an area just north of Berghof during this period.

The first definite settlement of the Berghof area dates from just after the birth of Christ. The Romans built a road leading out of the Graz Basin into the Steinfeld region south of Vienna which crossed the mountains in the general vicinity of Berghof. As this road was of strategic importance in controlling the Roman province of Pannonia, a Roman garrison and settlement was established in the area of present-day Berghof, although its exact location is unknown.

After the fall of Rome, Lower Austria was invaded by Avars and various Slavic groups. These, however, confined themselves mainly to the lower-lying areas east and north of Berghof and had no real control over the upland areas. Charlemagne, in an attempt to extend the boundaries of his empire further to the east, drove the Avars from

Lower Austria in the eighth century. At this point the initial German-speaking colonization of the area commenced. These first settlers in the southern part of Lower Austria moved eastward out of Styria, most coming ultimately from Bavaria. By the middle of the ninth century, colonization of an extensive area around Berghof by Germans was in full swing, and the road over the pass near Berghof was an important route of this early colonization.

By at least A.D. 850, an ecclesiastical center had been established by the Archbishopric of Salzburg in the area of Berghof. Although this center may not have been located precisely at the present site of the town, there has been continuous settlement in the immediate area ever since. The collapse of the Carolingian Empire, the subsequent invasion by the Magyars, and their expulsion from Austria in the tenth century did not apparently disturb settlement in the region to any great extent, for most of the military and political action took place in the lowlands to the east and north.

The oldest direct evidence for the existence of the present town-site lies in the church building. This building dates from at least the twelfth century, and may have been built considerably earlier, as some architectural features suggest (Koller 1961: 10). This is entirely possible, as the whole area had been in the hands of the Archbishopric of Salzburg since the ninth century and had served as a center for missionizing activities in the eastern Austrian area (Guettenberger and Bodo 1929: 195).

During the twelfth century, the road through Berghof from Styria to Lower Austria assumed approximately its present route and was vastly

improved. The local priest at this time allowed an inn and a tavern to be built next to the church, and the town was undoubtedly an important stopping place along the road.

By the late Middle Ages, Berghof had become a religious shrine and a place of pilgrimage. Despite this, little is known of its history during the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. However, it is known that during this period much of the land in the region belonged to a nearby manor, but the church remained an important independent landholder also.

The sixteenth century seems to have been a relatively difficult time for the area. The Turkish wars and religious struggles brought about a general decline, marked by periods of severe economic calamity (Koller 1961: 14). According to a local oral tradition, Berghof is supposed to have burned to the ground in 1621.

The late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, on the other hand, seem to have been relatively prosperous and generally peaceful times in the area. With the Peace of Westphalia (1648) and the conclusive repulsion of the Turks after the second siege of Vienna (1683), the domestic wars came to an end, and the following period was one of general prosperity for Austria as a whole. In 1710, a new schoolhouse was built and a salaried teacher employed in Berghof. This is unusual for a town of this size during this period and at the least seems to indicate a prosperous economic situation in the town.

During the period of the Josephinian reforms in Austria (1780-90), with the ban on pilgrimages and the general anti-clerical tone of the time, the Church in Berghof, which had surely been one of the most

powerful forces in the area up to this point, was forced to sell much of its land and sacred treasures.

The Napoleonic wars in the early nineteenth century brought disaster to the town once more. Troops were quartered there during this time, and the town was plundered on two separate occasions. However, the economic difficulties of the period were overcome rapidly and the population seems to have been on the increase, for a new schoolhouse was built because of increased demand in 1818 (Koller 1961:17). Between 1823 and 1828 a new road was built through the middle of town which eventually had a stimulating effect upon the town's economy.

The Abolition of Serfdom

One of the major reasons for choosing 1848 as the baseline date for this study is that in that year all formal vestiges of feudalism were legally abolished. In this year serfs were freed of all forms of personal servitude based on feudal duties. There had been some prior attempts by Austrian rulers to make the life of peasants easier and to make them more mobile. In 1775, restrictions were placed on the types of services that could be demanded from a manorial serf by his landlord, and serfdom was abolished on Crown-owned estates. In 1781, further measures were enacted which allowed peasants more freedom to leave the land; these measures were intended to give them more civil equality with the other sectors of the population. While these early reforms did alleviate some problems for part of the peasantry, the majority remained in much the same situation as before. The provisions increasing peasant mobility were, however, important for the growth of infant manufacturing industries in the Austrian towns. Migration by

peasants was less difficult, and the result was a rather striking growth of urban population after this point (L'Tapie 1971: 214).

After the reign of the reformed-minded Joseph II (1780-90), little more was done to better the lot of the peasants in the empire for more than a half-century. This was the age of the "System Metternich", a very conservative period, and changes were resisted in all spheres of life (Buchinger 1952: 168).

The state of the peasant-landlord system in the Austrian section of the Monarchy just prior to 1848 was as follows. The majority of the land was in the hands of the small (in terms of the amount of land controlled) and medium peasants who owed various services to the manorial lord in control of their area. These lords owned considerable additional amounts of land which was worked partially through the peasant labor duties (Robot) owed them under the feudal system, and partly through the hiring of peasants, usually the landless or those with very little land, for wages. In parts of the empire other than what later became Austria, the landlords had much more power and more land under their own ownership than was the case for Austria proper, and the peasants had correspondingly less land and were under heavier burdens of manorial duties.

The revolutions of 1848 in Europe, while not directly successful, had important effects upon the rulers. In the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy it was recognized that the Metternich system had become more of a nuisance than an advantage for several reasons, and more specifically, that the feudal landholding system should be abolished. The reasons perceived by the rulers for the abolition of serfdom and the feudal system in general were basically threefold: first, the Robot seemed to be a

hindrance to the increased productivity of farm lands. The peasants were required to spend a large part of their time working for the Manorial lords and as a consequence were forced to let their own lands suffer. The landlords were generally not good businessmen in that they did not reinvest capital into the farms to the extent necessary to provide enough food for the growing urban populace, but instead spent it on more traditional but less productive forms of conspicuous consumption and display, which they felt was necessary to validate their status. The rulers, allying themselves with the increasingly powerful urban middle classes, were determined to change this situation to the economic benefit of the Empire as a whole.

The second reason was that the growing industries of the towns needed laborers in greater numbers than were at that time migrating from rural areas. The abolition of serfdom stimulated urban migration of the serfs. While the rulers may have not been fully aware of this effect of the abolition of serfdom, it did nevertheless work to their benefit.

The third reason relates to a power struggle that had been going on constantly in Austria for over two hundred years between the Monarchy, which was pushing for centralization of power in its hands, and the nobles who predominantly favored the feudal system of dispersion of power. When the serfs were freed, everyone was theoretically equal before the law, and the groundwork had been laid for the crushing of noble power in relation to that of the Monarchy and its bureaucratic organization.

In summary, the law freeing the serfs did away with all conditions

of personal servitude based upon the feudal system, eradicated all manorial hold upon peasant lands, and abolished the secondary patterns of personal servitude that had arisen from the basis servile conditions. One prime example of the latter, which by 1848 had assumed important proportions, was the practice of landlords demanding informal and "voluntary" gifts of various kinds from the peasants, usually given on holidays, birthdays, etc.

For some of the rights forfeited by the landlords payment was to be made, but for others it was not. There were literally hundreds of different types of services and payments rendered to the landlords by their peasants. These services were calculated by state functionaries according to their monetary value over a twenty year period and were to be paid off in twenty yearly installments. Of the total amount calculated by the state, one-third was to be paid by the peasants, one-third was to be paid by the state, and the final third was to be renounced by the landlords (Buchinger 1952: 173).

There were several immediate effects of the freeing of the serfs. I will discuss these here, but the more far-reaching effects will be covered in later chapters, as they are intimately tied up with the trajectory taken by the economy after this point. What will now be considered are those effects that can be directly traced to the enactment of the law freeing the serfs, as analytically separated from the whole of the Austrian economic scene.

One of the most startling effects of the freeing of the serfs was a considerable increase in food products. The farmers began to take up improved methods of crop rotation and land conservation and improvement,

as they now had the time to do so with the loss of their demanding Robot obligations. The large landowners, the former landlords under the feudal system, also began to improve their production. One reason for this was that many of them no longer felt quite as much obligation to validate their status through conspicuous consumption and assumed more of a capitalist ethic in the operation of their lands. Also they were able to mechanize their operations and generally improve their operations through the money payments made upon the abolition of serfdom. One further reason for the increase in food supply was that surpluses produced by the ex-serfs were now not only greater, but were going directly into the market and thus into the cities, instead of being siphoned off by the aristocracy. The final reason for the increase was that more land was planted in crops immediately following the abolition of serfdom. In many areas the Gemeinde-owned pastures were done away with, and what had previously been used for common pastureland was turned over to crop production after having been broken up, thus causing a reduction in the volume of sheep and goat husbandry carried on. Most sheep and goats had been grazed on the common pasture, and with its demise, the marginal peasants who had depended upon their few sheep and goats for a living were forced to migrate. Also adversely affecting sheep and goat raising was the fact that the landlords lost the right to pasture their considerable numbers of animals on peasant lands.

After losing their serfs, the large landowners in Austria were immediately faced with a labor shortage. They had lost the enormous amounts of Robot labor duties of the feudal period and were now forced to rely solely on wage laborers. However, the strata of peasants from

which they had previously recruited wage laborers, the marginal small peasants with little or no land, were now being forced out of the rural areas in increasing numbers. Further accelerating the pace of the flight from the land by marginal peasants were the relatively well paying jobs to be had in the urban industries. The mechanization of agriculture compensated for this labor shortage to some extent, but mechanization could not totally alleviate the problems of labor deficiency. One further way in which large landowners tried to remedy the labor shortage was to send agents into areas of overpopulation in other parts of the empire to recruit seasonal workers. This was, however, not effective enough, and the labor shortage, while not totally debilitating, nevertheless remained chronic (Buchinger 1952: 195). In fact, agricultural labor shortages in Austria have remained a problem to this day.

The abolition of serfdom did not of course totally eradicate peasants' problems. Those who remained on the land ran into several economic and political difficulties. The farmers were now dependent to a great extent upon the towns and cities for capital, as opposed to the help they could expect from their landlords under feudalism. Many farmers found themselves in economic trouble, especially with mortgages, after 1848 (Buchinger 1952: 226-227). The problem was eventually solved by means of farmer self-help organizations but took quite some time to accomplish, and many farmers lost their farms for non-payment of mortgages in the period immediately after 1848.

The political difficulties of the farmers after 1848 were of both local and national scope. Although after the abolition of serfdom the Gemeinde's were set up as the legal administrative units in Austria, the

large landowners remained in political control both by controlling the Gemeinde officers directly and indirectly by virtue of their economic strength (Buchinger 1952: 288). Further, on the national level, the farmers initially had very meager representation in the parliament: the two major political parties were controlled by the city-dwellers (primarily the professional and middle classes) and by the aristocracy (Buchinger 1952: 230, 273). These political difficulties of the farmers were eventually overcome in much the same way as the economic ones, by means of farmer political unions, but these rose to noticeable strength only in the late nineteenth century.

Although there is not much specific information on Berghof at this time, what is known conforms to the situation in Austria as a whole. For example, there was a great deal of confusion in the Gemeinde at the time of the abolition of serfdom. Taxes and other payments were refuted by many persons, and there were so many conflicting orders given that no one really knew whom to obey, even if he might choose to do so. This situation was quickly brought under control, however, and stability was restored in a short period of time (Koller 1961: 18).

With the general situation at the time of the baseline of this study in mind, we now turn to the particular developments in the economic history of Austria and Berghof that are the subject of this study.

CHAPTER II

TOURISM

In this chapter the nature of the tourist industry in Austria will be discussed including the trends that have characterized the history of tourism in these areas. I will consider in detail the rise of Berghof as a tourist town and will explain the effects that this has had on facets of the town's economic structure.

The striking alpine scenery and the picturesque villages of Austria have for a considerable length of time held a strong attraction for foreigners, as well as for city dwellers in Austria itself. Prior to the industrial revolution, however, very few people had the leisure time or the money available for extensive travel; pilgrims and wandering merchants were the major tourists of this era. Before the industrial revolution those villages that might lie on a major trade route or that were places of pilgrimage would have an inn or two with rooms as well as food. The visitors were in most places few, however, and had little direct effect on a town's economy. The vast majority of towns in Austria, of course, were neither on a major trade route nor were they places of pilgrimage, and so saw few if any visitors.

In the late eighteenth century, as the Austrian cities began to grow and prosper because of the rising commercialization and industrialization of Europe, one catches the first glimmer of tourism as it is thought of today. During this period, as well as the early part of the nineteenth century, the middle class citizens of the larger cities

began to take short weekend or Sunday holidays to nearby areas of scenic beauty or to picturesque villages. In late eighteenth century Vienna, for example, it was common practice for prosperous middle class citizens to visit the nearby wine-growing hamlets on Sunday and holidays (L'Tapie 1971: 174). Here one can see in its infancy the crucial factor necessary for a viable tourist industry: a large middle class with the time, money, and inclination to travel.

During the latter part of the nineteenth century and prior to World War I in the twentieth, the pattern became more widespread, with the majority of the new visitors to rural Austria coming from the large cities of the Habsburg Empire. Hungarians, Czechs, Italians and Poles from within the Empire visited spots in Austria proper. The reverse was also the case, as Viennese and other German Austrians began to visit other parts of the Empire for recreation. It must be emphasized, however, that tourism was still on a very small scale, as one had to be in the upper reaches of the middle class or above to afford such travel, especially during the earlier parts of this period.

Also during the latter part of the nineteenth century Austria began to receive the first group of modern-style tourists from foreign countries. Appreciable numbers of British and Germans began to visit certain spots, particularly in the regions of Salzburg and Tirol, for hunting and skiing trips as well as for enjoyment of the scenery. These visitors confined themselves to a few favorite spots, in the main, so that no widespread effect was as yet evident in the countryside as a whole. However, it was during this period that the possibilities of employment alternatives in the tourist trade began to appear as the rural peoples began to hire

themselves out as guides and take in boarders. The number of tourists involved here was relatively small, however, and this was only a shadow of things to come.

It was after the break-up of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy following World War I that tourism began to assume important proportions in Austria. Although exact figures for this early period of tourist expansion are lacking, it is generally known that there was a great increase in the number of foreign visitors. Also, the tourists were beginning to discover other parts of Austria besides Salzburg and Tirol, and so the impact of tourism on the economy of Austria was more widespread.

As would be expected, the World Depression of the 1930's had an adverse effect upon tourism in Austria. Fewer tourists came after 1930, and it was not until after World War II that tourism regained the losses of the depression years (see Table 3). However, after the war and especially after Austria became independent with the treaty of 1955, tourism rapidly accelerated in Austria. The increases in the number of tourists reported spending the night in Austrian tourist accommodations and the total number of nights spent by them in such establishments (referred to in the table as "Overnights", this is my translation of the German word Uebernachtungen) after 1955 are phenomenal and presently show no signs of declining.

Table 3: Tourists and Overnights in Austria

<u>Year</u>	<u>Number of Tourists</u>	<u>Number of Overnights</u>	<u>Overnights per Tourist</u>
1928	4,149,000	19,841,000	4.78
1929	4,203,000	19,925,000	4.74
1930	4,221,000	19,584,000	4.64
1931	3,759,000	20,584,000	5.48
1932	3,599,000	19,880,000	5.52
1933	2,803,000	16,518,000	5.89
1934	2,772,000	15,900,000	5.74
1935	3,255,000	18,633,000	5.72
1936	3,452,000	19,629,000	5.69
1937	3,684,000	20,595,000	5.59
1950	2,839,500	14,034,900	4.94
1951	3,677,600	18,106,000	4.92
1952	3,795,200	18,689,500	4.92
1953	4,263,900	20,813,900	4.88
1954	4,572,900	22,485,200	4.92
1955	4,930,000	23,802,500	4.83
1956	5,865,300	29,394,500	5.01
1957	6,308,000	33,157,500	5.26
1958	6,687,500	35,983,700	5.38
1959	7,280,700	39,763,600	5.46
1960	7,739,700	41,968,600	5.42
1961	8,387,100	47,888,100	5.71
1962	9,030,100	54,253,400	6.01
1963	9,132,400	56,235,200	6.16
1964	9,577,000	59,497,400	6.21
1965	9,834,600	62,023,400	6.31
1966	10,314,800	64,568,900	6.26
1967	10,219,800	63,823,900	6.25
1968	10,837,600	67,458,900	6.22
1969	12,598,700	70,615,000	5.60
1970	13,615,000	86,319,400	6.34
1971	14,605,000	96,431,600	6.60

Note: The figures for 1928 through 1959 are actually based upon the reporting year, and not the calendar year. Reporting years run from November 1 through October 31. Thus for example, the figures for 1929 are for November 1, 1928 through October 31, 1929.

The figures for the years 1928 through 1937 are rounded off to the nearest thousand, while the figures for the rest of the years are rounded to the nearest hundred.

As can be seen in Tables 4 and 5, both the number of tourist establishments and the number of beds available in them have increased drastically since 1950. As Table 5 shows, the greater proportion of this increase in tourist establishments was in Gasthaus's and pensions. This indicates that a greater number of individuals entered the tourist business, which with the passing of time became of major importance in the rural Austrian economy, as it opened up the possibility of multiple income households. Of equal importance for the rural Austrian economy since 1950 is the fact that a much greater number of beds available to tourists and actual overnights have been in private quarters (see Tables 4 and 6). Comparing the figures in Tables 4 and 6, one finds that commercial establishments have filled the beds available to a greater degree than have private accommodations. This will be seen to be the case for Berghof also.

Table 4: Beds in Commercial and Private Establishments in Austria
(Adapted from Bundeskammer der gewerblichen Wirtschaft
1969b:7).

<u>Year</u>	<u>Commercial Beds</u>	<u>% of Total</u>	<u>Private Beds</u>	<u>% of Total</u>	<u>Total</u>
1950	137,820	72.2	53,194	27.8	191,014
1955	191,960	64.1	107,447	35.9	299,407
1960	279,938	56.9	212,145	43.1	492,038
1961	302,001	56.3	234,118	43.7	536,119
1962	322,328	55.4	259,384	44.6	781,712
1963	348,229	55.3	281,556	44.7	629,785
1964	369,679	54.7	306,549	45.3	676,228
1965	398,989	55.2	324,161	44.8	723,150
1966	424,717	55.3	343,753	44.7	768,570
1967	442,258	55.9	347,976	44.1	790,234
1968	455,262	55.8	360,548	44.2	815,810

Table 5: Tourist Operations in Austria
(Adapted from Bundeskammer der gewerblichen Wirtschaft 1969b: 2,4).

<u>Year</u>	<u>Hotels</u>	<u>Gasthaus's</u>	<u>Pensions</u>	<u>Total</u>
1950	-----	-----	-----	9,158
1955	-----	-----	-----	10,431
1962	1255	5907	5815	12,977
1963	1281	6318	6363	13,962
1964	1349	6443	7091	14,883
1965	1394	6608	7703	15,707
1966	1432	6716	8341	16,489
1967	1463	7091	8725	17,279
1968	1507	7239	8972	17,718

Table 6: Percentage of Overnights in Commercial and Private Quarters in Austria
(Adapted from Bundeskammer der gewerblichen Wirtschaft 1969a: 193).

<u>Year</u>	<u>Commerical</u>	<u>Private</u>
1950	82.2	17.8
1955	76.5	23.5
1960	68.8	31.2
1965	65.9	34.1
1966	66.1	33.9
1967	67.8	32.2
1968	68.2	31.8
1969	67.9	32.1

A hotel is a fairly straightforward designation and means the same thing in Austria as it does in America. A hotel will have such things as porters, nightclubs or bars, restaurants, room service, and other amenities that are not usually found in the other types of accommodation. Also, a hotel is usually much larger than a Gasthaus or pension but at the same time has a higher ratio of workers to guests than the other types. A pension corresponds very closely to the American boarding house. What is provided is a room and one or more meals which are included in the per-day price. There are standard meal times and the meals are the same for all guests. Moreover, the pension is

usually owner-operated, and the owner or his wife is the cook. The guests eat what the family running the pension eats. A Gasthaus, usually translated into English as "inn", differs from a pension in that the restaurant section is open to persons not residing in the establishment, it is open for longer hours with no narrowly set meal times, and there is usually some choice of what one will eat. For the Gasthaus owner, the income provided by the restaurant section, including a significant income from the sale of beverages, is usually much greater than the income derived from the renting of rooms. On the average, more hired help is present among the work force of a Gasthaus than of a pension, although some larger pensions are well staffed.

The pension and the Gasthaus are usually of the same size range, with regard to the number of beds available, but the larger the town, the more pensions one will find in relation to the number of Gasthaus's. This general rule has its exceptions, however, in cases of smaller towns that are popular tourist resorts. In these cases, of which Berghof is one, there are more pensions than one would expect from the town's population.

The kinds of accommodations found in "private quarters" in Austria are essentially the same as those of pensions. The difference is one of degree. Private quarters have fewer rooms and beds, have no hired help, and the income derived from the renting of rooms is definitely of secondary importance to the household which almost always has outside sources of income. The pension, on the other hand, is usually the chief, if not the only source of income for the owner.

The Impact of Tourism

The great importance of the tourist industry for Austria's economy is basically twofold in nature. First, with regard to the Austrian balance of payments, tourism is of utmost importance. After 1955 the percentage of foreign tourists to Austria came to be greater than the number of domestic tourists, as did the number of overnights spent by them (see Table 7). Foreign tourists bring foreign capital into the country, and in fact spend more money per day than do domestic tourists.

Table 7: Foreign Tourists and Overnights in Austria

<u>Year</u>	<u>Foreign Tourists</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Foreign Overnights</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Foreign Overnights Per Tourist</u>
1928	1,850,000	44.6	8,548,000	43.1	4.65
1929	1,832,000	43.6	8,555,000	42.9	4.67
1930	1,809,000	42.9	8,415,000	43.0	4.65
1931	1,433,000	38.4	9,362,000	45.5	6.53
1932	1,327,000	39.8	8,807,000	44.3	6.64
1933	796,000	28.4	6,187,000	37.5	7.77
1934	618,000	22.3	4,384,000	27.6	7.09
1935	823,000	25.3	5,271,000	28.3	6.40
1936	1,020,000	29.5	6,265,000	31.9	6.14
1937	1,223,000	33.2	6,831,000	33.2	5.58
1950	868,000	30.6	4,583,000	32.7	5.28
1955	2,447,000	49.6	12,210,000	51.3	4.99
1960	4,604,000	59.5	25,708,000	61.3	5.58
1965	6,508,000	66.2	43,154,000	69.6	6.63
1966	6,962,000	67.5	45,657,000	70.7	6.56
1967	6,771,000	66.2	44,297,000	69.4	6.54
1968	---	--	47,675,000	70.7	--
1969	---	--	50,775,000	71.9	--

Note: All numbers are rounded off to the nearest thousand. Also, the figures for the years 1928 through 1937 are actually for the reporting years. (November 1 through October 31).

Percentages are of the total number of tourists and overnights spent in Austria.

Table 8 shows the rather marked increase in foreign currency brought into the country since the end of the war. Also, as Table 9 shows, the duration of foreign visitors' stays has become longer on the average. Thus, the increase in the percentage of foreign tourists and overnights, the increase in the amount spent by foreign tourists, and the longer duration of visits to Austria by foreigners have had the combined effect of making Austrian tourism more efficient through time, in that progressively more money has been obtained from the facilities available.

Table 8: Foreign Currency Income per Foreigner per Overnight in Austria
(Adapted from Bundeskammer der gewerblichen Wirtschaft 1969b: 43).

<u>Year</u>	<u>Schillings</u>	<u>Increase in %</u>
1950	85	---
1955	175	105.9
1960	235	34.3
1961	240	2.1
1962	256	6.7
1963	290	13.3
1964	323	11.4
1965	338	4.6
1966	339	0.3
1967	361	6.5
1968	375	3.9

Table 9: Average Duration of Tourists' Visits (in Days)
(Adapted from Bundeskammer der gewerblichen Wirtschaft 1969b: 37).

<u>Year</u>	<u>Foreigners</u>	<u>Austrians</u>	<u>Total</u>
1950	5.33	4.82	4.97
1955	5.04	4.69	4.86
1960	5.65	5.22	5.47
1965	6.73	5.74	6.39
1966	6.65	5.70	6.34
1967	6.64	5.73	6.33
1968	6.50	5.70	6.20

The heavy dependence of the Austrian economy upon tourist spending is graphically illustrated in Table 10. In every year from 1960 on, tourism was Austria's greatest sources of foreign currency. The export of wood and wood products is the second most important source of foreign currency. This industry has lagged behind tourism in the percent of increase of foreign currency brought into the country. Therefore, tourism is becoming increasingly important to the Austrian balance of payments.

Table 10: Foreign Currency Income in Austria
(Adapted from Bundeskammer der gewerblichen
Wirtschaft 1969b: 41).

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total Foreign Currency</u> ¹	<u>From Tourism</u> ²	<u>% of Total From Tourism</u>
1960	29.13	6,032	20.7
1961	31.26	7,210	23.1
1962	32.85	9,207	28.0
1963	34.47	11,000	31.9
1964	37.60	13,074	34.8
1965	41.60	14,574	35.0
1966	43.77	15,465	35.3
1967	47.03	15,981	34.0
1968	51.71	17,857	34.5

1. in Billion Schillings

2. in Million Schillings

The second important aspect of tourism for the Austrian economy is the number of people employed who cater to tourists. Table 11 shows the tremendous increase in the number of persons employed in the tourist industry since the war. The figures here are for employees only, however, and the number of self-employed persons in the tourist industry would, if included, make the totals much higher. The difference between the designations Arbeiter ("workers") and Angestellte ("employees"), as presented in Table 11, is an important one in Austria. Workers are a class of persons who are essentially manual laborers, while employees

are usually clerical or office type workers. The difference is roughly comparable to that of "blue-collar" vs. "white-collar" workers in America, but in Austria this is a formal, legal distinction. Regulations regarding working conditions, pay, and other matters are different for the two groups. Although "workers" in many cases must have years of training to become full-fledged members of their particular trade, the level of education, income, and prestige is generally higher among "employees".

Table 11: Persons Employed in Tourism in Austria
(Adapted from Zadek 1967: 35).

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Arbeiter*</u>	<u>Angestellte*</u>
1952	44,259	13,564	30,695	40,759	3500
1953	45,586	13,002	32,584	42,058	3528
1954	41,862	12,060	29,802	38,584	3278
1955	52,004	13,837	38,167	48,034	3970
1956	57,481	14,802	42,679	53,304	4177
1957	61,982	16,251	45,731	57,413	4569
1958	64,776	16,467	48,309	60,071	4705
1959	68,936	17,115	51,831	63,883	5053
1960	70,672	17,704	53,968	65,252	5420
1961	72,375	18,717	53,658	66,886	5489
1962	74,425	19,877	54,548	68,733	5692
1963	77,974	21,096	56,878	71,928	6046
1964	80,144	22,438	57,706	73,935	6209
1965	82,505	23,524	58,981	75,476	7029
1966	84,035	24,237	59,798	77,383	6652

* See the text of this chapter for an explanation of the difference between these two categories of workers in Austria.

Note: These are for the month of August.

If the tourist trade slacked off appreciably, Austria would be in danger of an unemployment problem, a possibility that seems remote at present. There is an important grain of truth in the saying that Austria is becoming a nation of inn keepers and ski instructors.

One further interesting feature may be noted here that is reflected in Table 11. The relative number of females to males employed in tourist

establishments is quite striking. This has had important effects on the occupational structure of the country, significantly raising the number of families in which there is more than one source of income.

While discussing the number of persons employed in tourism, it should be kept in mind that there are many related industries that often depend largely on the presence of tourists for their existence. Chief among these industries are such things as the manufacture of sport articles of all kinds, clothing, photographic equipment, and handicrafts.

It should also be noted that while the great majority of Austrians regard tourists as a relatively mild, if necessary, irritation, there are persons who think they are more trouble than they are worth. These are primarily the owners of large forest holdings who object to the liberty tourists have in roaming through the forests. They see tourists as careless, and even damaging to the forests in some cases. They also make the point that hunting is being interfered with when one has to take care not to shoot a tourist. The current seems to be running with the tourists and their keepers, however, as a recent law in Austria allows hunting only on a parcel of land that is at least 115 hectares in extent.

Tourism in Lower Austria

The phenomenal growth of tourism in Austria as a whole has not been matched by that of the province of Lower Austria. As Table 12 shows, Lower Austria has been the biggest loser in the race for the tourists of any province since the end of World War II. Likewise, Table 13 shows the lack of speed with which Lower Austrian tourism has recovered from the war and pre-war years, the number of reported tourists not reaching pre-war levels again until 1961. Since around 1950, the Lower Austrian

percentage of tourists has been falling. However, the province has not always occupied this relatively disadvantaged position; in 1937, Lower Austria had the highest number of overnights of any province in the country (Amt der Niederoesterreichischen Landesregierung 1955: 14). While precise figures are lacking, it is reasonably certain that Lower Austria was the early leader in tourism, only declining in relation to the other provinces since World War II. By 1955, Lower Austria had fallen to third place among the provinces, and by 1965, to sixth place.

The reasons for the decline of Lower Austrian tourism are several. First, as Tables 14, 15 and 16 show, tourists to Lower Austria are and have been for some time mainly other Austrians, the majority of them Viennese. Thus, with the great influx of foreign tourists to Austria during the last two decades, the percentage of tourists to Lower Austria has fallen, since it has remained primarily an area of domestic tourism. In addition, as the Austrians themselves have become more affluent, and with the widespread use of the automobile, trips further from home have become more common. This has been especially true of the Viennese.

Table 12: Overnights in the Austrian Provinces
(Adapted from Zadek 1967: 36).

<u>Province</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>1955</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>1965</u>	<u>%</u>
Vienna	918,815	6.5	1,510,402	6.3	2,164,644	5.2	2,779,030	4.5
Lower Austria	2,462,093	17.5	3,325,162	14.0	4,596,628	10.9	5,250,627	8.5
Burgenland	35,215	0.2	88,641	0.4	366,119	0.9	544,115	0.9
Carinthia	1,278,715	9.1	2,646,177	11.1	5,295,281	12.6	10,354,291	16.7
Upper Austria	2,155,014	15.3	2,874,478	12.1	4,368,641	10.4	5,948,414	9.6
Salzburg	3,020,587	21.5	4,153,983	17.4	6,640,698	15.8	10,204,391	16.4
Styria	1,137,939	8.1	2,575,517	10.8	3,960,777	9.4	5,432,396	8.8
Tirol	1,941,997	13.8	4,946,611	20.8	11,525,856	27.5	17,472,587	28.2
Voralberg	1,084,564	7.7	1,681,626	7.1	3,049,810	7.3	4,037,574	6.5

Note: Percentages are in terms of the total for Austria.

Table 13: Tourists and Overnights in Lower Austria

<u>Year</u>	<u>Tourists</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Overnights</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Overnights per Tourist</u>
1937	589,677	16.0	4,653,830	22.6	9.3
1948	257,136		1,772,816		6.9
1949	290,662		2,167,017		7.5
1950	337,306	11.9	2,626,556	15.4	7.8
1951	363,167	9.9	2,845,892	15.7	7.8
1952	377,134	9.9	3,131,621	16.8	8.3
1953	383,672	9.0	3,200,706	15.4	8.3
1954	401,661	8.7	3,454,346	15.4	8.6
1955	408,798	8.3	3,325,162	14.0	8.1
1956	436,303	8.5			
1957	475,795	8.2			
1958	499,215	8.0			
1959	599,905	7.4			
1960	572,167	7.4	4,596,628	10.8	8.0
1961	619,616	7.4			
1962	632,696	7.0			
1963	637,222	7.0			
1964	685,049	7.2			
1965	654,648	6.7	5,250,627	8.5	8.0
1966	661,291	6.4			
1967	669,014	6.5	5,312,956	8.3	7.9
1968	687,240	6.3	5,134,239	7.6	7.5
1969	702,975	6.2	5,111,348	7.2	7.2
1970	720,721	5.8	5,005,354	5.8	6.9

Note: For the years 1937 through 1954, the figures are actually for the reporting year, November 1 through October 31.

Note: Percentages are in terms of the total for Austria.

Table 14: Percentage of Foreign Tourists in Lower Austria of The Total for Austria.

<u>Year</u>	<u>%</u>
1937	4.11
1949	1.17
1950	0.84
1951	0.52
1952	0.41
1953	0.43
1954	0.67
1955	1.2
1960	1.5
1965	1.7
1967	1.8
1968	1.7

Note: For the years 1937 through 1954, the figures represent the reporting year, November 1 through October 31.

Table 15: Percentage of Austrian Tourists in Lower Austria of The Total for Austria.

<u>Year</u>	<u>%</u>
1950	25.6
1955	27.4
1960	25.9
1965	24.0
1967	23.0
1968	21.9

Table 16: Percentage of Foreign and Austrian Tourists and Overnights in Lower Austria
(Adapted from Amt der Niederoesterreichischen Landesregierung 1955).

<u>Year</u>	<u>Austrian</u>	<u>Viennese</u>	<u>Foreign</u>	<u>Austrian</u>	<u>Viennese</u>	<u>Foreign</u>
1937	91.5	61.5	8.5	91.8	74.1	8.2
1948	98.7	64.7	1.3	98.3	69.9	1.7
1949	98.5	66.8	1.5	98.7	74.1	1.3
1950	97.7	71.1	2.3	98.6	75.4	1.4
1951	98.3	70.3	1.7	98.6	76.1	1.4
1952	98.6	71.0	1.4	98.6	76.2	1.4
1953	98.1	70.9	1.9	98.3	75.6	1.7
1954	96.7	71.5	3.3	97.5	76.3	2.5

Note: These years are all actually the reporting year, November 1 through October 31.

One further important reason for this decline is the increased mobility of tourists. That is, tourists can reside for a short time in some larger center, such as Vienna, and make excursions by bus, train, car or boat to nearby points of interest with little difficulty. Since no point in Lower Austria is more than about two hours from Vienna by one or more of these means of transport, reported tourism in Lower Austrian towns is being reduced.

Lower Austria is the least mountainous of any province except Burgenland, being primarily composed of gently rolling hill and flat lands with mountains appearing only on its provincial borders. Thus

the scenery is not as spectacular as that of the more mountainous provinces. In addition, since the end of World War II, industry has tended to concentrate most heavily in Lower Austria, further reducing tourist appeal. The combination of these factors has undoubtedly had a limiting effect upon tourism in the province, especially in its appeal to foreigners.

Because of the above mentioned factors, tourism in Lower Austria has a rather curious structure. The vast importance of the mountainous areas on the borders of the province is all out of proportion to the number of towns involved. A small number of well established tourist towns in the southern and western reaches of Lower Austria account for a large amount of both the tourists and overnights reported for the province. In a small area surrounding Berghof on the north, in southern Lower Austria, are a group of small towns that have received and continue to receive a great proportion of Lower Austria's tourists. For example, in 1954, in four towns of the southern tip of Lower Austria, of which Berghof was one, the tourists reported amounted to 13.3 percent of the provincial total, and the overnights reported were 11.8 percent. These towns are all within forth kilometers of Berghof and range in population from 700 to 2500.

With regard to the ratio of commercial to private tourist establishments in Lower Austria, the pattern is generally the same as described for Austria as a whole. Table 17 as compared with Table 4 shows the similarities. The number of persons employed in the tourist trade in Lower Austria has not, of course, risen to the extent that has been the case for Austria as a whole, except in these popular tourist towns on

the fringes of the province. Berghof is one of these, and its history will be considered now.

Table 17: Number and Percentage of Commercial and Private Beds in Lower Austria
(Adapted from Bundeskammer der gewerblichen Wirtschaft 1969b: 8,9).

<u>Year</u>	<u>Commercial Beds</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Private Beds</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Total</u>
1950	19,493	66.5	9,832	33.5	29,325
1955	22,675	62.1	13,839	37.9	36,514
1960	28,221	58.6	19,926	41.4	48,147
1965	34,268	58.5	24,319	41.5	58,587
1967	35,212	58.9	24,536	41.1	59,748
1968	39,912	58.9	25,094	41.1	61,006

Tourism in Berghof

The early nineteenth century in Berghof saw faint glimmerings of things to come in the way of tourism. In 1823, the new road was begun replacing the old one which was almost impassable in wet or otherwise inclement weather; the new road ran directly through the center of town. In 1828, the local priest seemed to sense what was coming, for he bought a piece of land on the road near the center of town and built a large Gasthaus on it to serve the travelers who were beginning to use the road in large numbers (Koller 1961: 17). This Gasthaus still stands and is still used for this purpose, although now it is one of the smaller ones in town.

This was the extent of tourist expansion in Berghof until the latter part of the nineteenth century. By 1881, the railroad line from Vienna reached to within ten kilometers of Berghof, and incidentally, a post office was opened in the town. In the next few years, several tourists began to come to Berghof for the supposedly healthy properties of the air, and these tourists were not merely passing through. The

extension of the railroad line into Styria was begun in 1907. Because of the problems associated with the terrain and tunneling through the mountain just beyond the Berghof station, it was not completed until 1910. While this section of the railroad was being built, quite a number of workers lived either in Berghof or in the immediate area, and this gave a definite boost as well as direction to the town's economy. This ushered in the beginning of the first real period of tourism expansion in the town. The railroad workers seem to have been quite troublesome at times, however, and their departure was celebrated with as much enthusiasm as the completion of the railroad.

Thus, with the completion of the rail and highway links with the outside, tourism began to take on considerable importance in Berghof. In 1910, the first hotel was built by the man who is generally considered to be the local pioneer of tourism. Also in the same year another large Gasthaus was built, and the University of Vienna erected a cabin for hikers and skiers on the Schwaig (an area of meadow on the mountain just above town which later became the town's main ski area). Along with the boom in tourist activity in this year, various improvements were made in town, such as renovations in the church and in and around the town square. These were apparently an effort to provide the appropriate picturesque atmosphere needed in a tourist town.

The First World War brought a premature halt to the rising tourist trade in Berghof, and the immediate aftermath of the war, a period of runaway inflation lasting until 1923 when monetary reforms were introduced and the currency stabilized, was a blow to the town's economy which was already moderately dependent upon tourism. Shortly after 1923, however,

the tourist business picked up again, and during the inter-war period Berghof became a popular winter resort as well as a summer health spa, further extending the influence of tourism upon the town (Guettenberger and Bodo 1929: 166).

The second period of rapid tourist expansion was from 1923 to 1930. During these years, many more tourists are said to have come than before the war, although figures are almost totally lacking to substantiate this. Many tourist clubs were invading the region, and following the lead of the University of Vienna, most of these built year-round shelters on the mountain above Berghof.

Like the first, this second period of tourist expansion suffered a rather severe setback due to the worldwide Depression of the 1930's. For this period the first reliable figures on the number of tourists and overnights become available for Berghof. As can be seen in Table 18, tourism began to decline in the early thirties. During the latter half of the decade the tourist business picked up again somewhat, but did not regain its pre-depression vitality until after World War II. As a sidelight on the inter-war tourist scene in Berghof, there were apparently an abnormally high number of Czech and Hungarian tourists in the town between 1921 and 1938. Estimates for some years run as high as eighty percent of all tourists being Czechs and Hungarians, although this may be an overestimate (Bergauer 1961: 35).

In 1938, with the unification of Austria and Germany and the subsequent war, the tourist business declined drastically. The end of the war found the whole economy of the town, including the tourist sector, in a shambles. The facilities built up for tourists were, however, used during the war, as Berghof was a refuge area for wounded soldiers,

evacuated children, and the like.

At the end of World War II, tourism, which was by then considered by the townspeople to be the town's main occupation (whether this was true in terms of income derived or persons employed is not verifiable), was virtually nonexistent and remained that way for more than two years. The post-war occupation of Austria by the Allies left Lower Austria under the control of the Soviet Union. Because Berghof sits exactly on the provincial border, as well as on an important road, there was a large contingent of Russian soldiers stationed there as an occupation garrison. Whether or not the towns-people's characterization of the Russians as "robbers and plunderers" is exactly accurate, their presence did undoubtedly have a depressing effect on the town economy, most notably on tourism. Since the Russians took up all available quarters, there was no room for tourists. In 1947, however, the main body of the occupation garrison was removed, and the economy of the town began to recover. As the figures for 1948 and 1949 in Table 18 show, the tourists began to return in fairly large numbers in a short period of time. By 1949, tourism had recovered to such an extent that a chair-lift to the Schwaig was built and run by the community. It was opened in November of that year, in time for the ski season.

Berghof participated in the post-war tourism boom to a remarkable degree for a town in Lower Austria. As Table 18 shows, the increase of tourists from 1949 to 1961 was tremendous. Since 1962, tourism seems to be in a slight decline, but these figures are deceptive in this regard, as the changing nature of tourism in Berghof, to be discussed below, will point out.

Table 18: Tourists and Overnights in Berghof

<u>Year</u>	<u>Tourists</u>	<u>Overnights</u>	<u>Overnights per Tourist</u>
1932	6,722	66,689	9.8
1933	5,336	59,067	11.1
1934	5,358	52,755	9.9
1948		65,000	
1949	6,554	77,147	11.7
1953	7,718	89,673	11.6
1954	8,071	96,402	11.9
1955	9,855	116,022	11.8
1956	9,928	119,307	12.0
1957	10,929	133,452	12.2
1958	10,588	126,159	11.9
1959	12,652	139,440	11.0
1960	12,909	141,253	10.9
1961	14,590	169,281	11.6
1962	13,874	162,210	11.7
1963	13,926	168,582	12.1
1964	14,500	164,896	11.4
1965	13,300	158,182	11.9
1966	13,314	157,394	11.8
1967	13,255	154,182	11.6
1968	13,450	148,639	11.0
1969	14,347	158,067	11.0
1970	13,736	145,136	10.8
1971	13,218	147,307	11.1

Note: For the years 1932-34 and for 1948 the figures given are for calendar years. For the other years, the figures are for the reporting year, November 1 through October 31.

As seen in Table 19, there has been a steady rise in the number of commercial and private tourist accommodations and the number of beds available. But, as can be seen in Table 20, the rise in the percentage of overnights in private quarters has not matched that for Austria as a whole. The main reason for this is that Berghof has an abnormally high number of hotels for a town of its size. On a yearly average, the hotels in town operate at about forty-three percent capacity, the pensions, Gasthaus's and private quarters at about ten percent, and the main sanitorium at seventy-five percent.

Table 19: Tourist Establishments and Beds in Berghof

<u>Date</u>	<u>Establishments</u>		<u>Beds</u>		<u>Total</u>
	<u>Commercial</u>	<u>Private</u>	<u>Commercial</u>	<u>Private</u>	
1933	11 G.=4 O.=7	47	463 G.=239 O.=224	249	712
1934	13 G.=9 O.=4	52	399 G.=259 O.=140	300	699
1948-49	13		500	154	654
31-10-53	15				690
31-10-54	15				490
31-10-55	15				665
31-10-56	15				695
1957	15				705
31-10-58	15				869
31-8-59	16				1042
1960	16		600	400	1000
1961	16		600	405	1005
1962	16		600	405	1005
31-8-63	16		600	410	1010
31-8-64	16		600	410	1010
1965	16		640	536	1176
31-8-66	16		640	536	1176
1966-67	16		640	536	1176
28-2-68		55	640	536	1176
31-8-68			700	540	1240
28-2-69			700	540	1240
31-8-69			700	540	1240
28-2-70			838	540	1378
31-8-70			838	540	1378
28-2-71			838	540	1378
31-8-71			838	540	1378
1972	24 H.=4 G.=6 P.=13 E.=1				

Note: G. = Gasthaus's or Gasthof's, O. = Other, H. = Hotel,
P. = Pensions, E. = Erholungsheim

Table 20: Number and Percentage of Overnights in Commercial and Private Quarters in Berghof

<u>Year</u>	<u>Commercial</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Private</u>	<u>%</u>
1962	138,494	86.1	22,296	13.9
1963	148,940	88.4	19,611	11.6
1964	141,970	85.9	23,349	14.1
1965	137,267	86.6	21,262	13.4
1966	133,961	86.2	21,504	13.8
1967	133,394	86.3	21,595	13.7
1968	124,350	82.4	26,631	17.6
1969	127,979	81.9	28,153	18.1
1970	121,279	83.6	23,770	16.4

Changes in Tourism in Berghof

For the last decade, tourism in Berghof has more or less leveled off and remained relatively constant in terms of the impact on the town's economy. I will now discuss the changing nature of tourism in the town's history and will indicate the type of impact it has had on the town economy.

The initial tourists to Berghof were, during the early and middle nineteenth century, persons who were just passing through on the road from Vienna to Italy that ran through town. Later, after the completion of the road and rail network in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, tourists began to come for the healthy climate, and the town became something of a spa. Accordingly, there developed certain sanatorium-like institutions (Erholungsheim in German) into which a person could go for a period of time if he or his physician thought he needed to take the cure. Today there is still in the town one large Erholungsheim which does a thriving business. But many other persons who come for their health now stay in other commercial and private establishments. In any case, the fact that the town is a health spa accounts for the rather high ratio of overnights per tourist that one

finds in Berghof (see Tables 18 and 24). These tourists who come for their health were and still are naturally concentrated in the summer months.

Winter tourists, who come primarily for the skiing, began to be noticed in appreciable numbers only after World War I. By 1924 the town was well on its way to becoming a winter sport center. Winter sport gradually increased in importance in relation to summer tourism until around the year 1961, and has been declining since. The figures available show this, although there have been fairly great percentage differences from year to year (see Table 21). That rather sharp percentage shifts from year to year do not obscure the general drift of change, however, and they are related to such variables as the amount of snowfall in a winter, the first day and the duration of the ski season, and so forth. Also an unseasonably cool summer will affect the proportions, throwing a greater percentage of the tourists into the winter category.

More important for the amount of income derived from tourism is the relative number of overnights spent in summer and winter. The longer a tourist stays, the more he spends. Thus, looking at Table 21, one can see that summer tourism is more important to the town than would appear from the number of tourists alone. While not precisely corresponding, the general drift of change in the percentages of summer vs. winter overnights follows closely that for reported tourists. Berghof is losing its attraction as a ski resort, and thus its winter tourists, for a variety of reasons. Chief among these are that it has become too well known and, therefore, passe for many people, and

experienced skiers find its slopes too gentle. As the transportation network in Austria has become better and cheaper, people have the alternatives of vacationing in newer resort areas or those with more demanding slopes.

Table 21: Summer and Winter Tourism in Berghof

<u>Year</u>	<u>Tourists</u>		<u>Overnights</u>	
	<u>Summer</u>	<u>Winter</u>	<u>Summer</u>	<u>Winter</u>
1953	59.9	40.1	69.7	30.3
1954	61.4	38.6	68.9	31.1
1955	57.8	42.2	67.9	32.1
1956	58.4	41.6	69.2	30.8
1957	58.6	41.4	67.2	32.8
1958	60.2	39.8	70.8	29.2
1959	59.6	40.4	69.4	30.6
1960	56.2	43.8	66.9	33.1
1961	54.2	45.8	66.3	33.7
1962	55.2	44.8	65.9	34.1
1963	56.3	43.7	66.3	33.7
1964	54.1	45.9	65.8	34.2
1965	53.7	46.3	63.3	36.7
1966	54.9	45.1	63.8	36.2
1967	55.1	44.9	65.9	34.1
1968	57.3	42.7	65.7	34.3
1969	53.3	46.7	65.8	34.2
1970	56.3	43.7	65.8	34.2
1971	58.9	41.1	66.2	33.8

Note: These figures are percentages.

Note: These figures are all for the reporting year, November 1 through October 31.

Looking at Table 23, summer tourism seems to have peaked in the early 1960's, with a small decline experienced in the later 1960's. Likewise, from Table 22, winter tourism appears to have peaked between 1961 and 1965, with an overall decline in the number of tourists and overnights since. These figures are deceptive in some regards, however, due to changes in the very nature of tourism in the town that have been going on, but have not been captured in the figures cited.

The factor which has always dictated the changing nature of the tourist trade in Berghof is the state of transportation technology available. In the early nineteenth century when the new road was built through town, tourism began with the Gasthaus built by the priest. With the completion of the railroad link with the outside in 1910, the nature of tourism changed. The tourists after this point came for the climate, and the first real tourism boom ensued. The change in transportation which makes the figures for tourists and overnights reported in the last twenty years subject to misinterpretation is the advent of the widespread use of the automobile. Although the figures presented would indicate that tourism is on the wane in Berghof, the auto makes necessary the modification of this assumption for two reasons. First, and most importantly for the establishments which cater to tourists, the auto allows people to come to town for the day and return home (or to some other town) without spending the night. Thus these people escape being recorded in the data on tourists and overnights. The very adequate bus service to and from the town has had a similar effect. While these day visitors do not spend money for lodging, they do spend it in other ways: for food, the sauna, the movie, the ski lift, and other recreational purposes.

Another way in which the car has changed the nature of tourism in the town is by allowing persons who live and work elsewhere to construct houses, most of them quite substantial, and to live in them on weekends, holidays, and vacations. Since 1945, ninety-four new houses have been built in the Gemeinde, and eighteen are presently under construction. This has had quite an invigorating effect on the local

Table 22: Winter Tourism in Berghof

<u>Year</u>	<u>Tourists</u>	<u>Overnights</u>	<u>Overnight per Tourist</u>
1953	3091	27,149	8.8
1954	3115	29,917	9.6
1955	4158	37,230	9.0
1956	4124	36,698	8.9
1957	4520	43,720	9.7
1958	4211	36,838	8.7
1959	5111	42,658	8.3
1960	5651	46,733	8.3
1961	6681	57,091	8.5
1962	6211	55,352	8.9
1963	6082	56,819	9.3
1964	6650	56,376	8.5
1965	6154	58,014	9.4
1966	6001	57,005	9.5
1967	5945	52,573	8.8
1968	5747	51,022	8.9
1969	6706	53,990	8.0
1970	5998	49,641	8.3
1971	5436	49,787	9.2

Note: The Winter includes November 1 through April 30.

Table 23: Summer Tourism in Berghof

<u>Year</u>	<u>Tourists</u>	<u>Overnights</u>	<u>Overnights per Tourist</u>
1953	4627	62,524	13.5
1954	4956	66,485	13.4
1955	5697	78,792	13.8
1956	5804	82,609	14.2
1957	6409	89,731	14.0
1958	6377	89,321	14.0
1959	7541	96,782	12.8
1960	7258	94,520	12.8
1961	7909	112,190	14.2
1962	7663	106,858	13.9
1963	7844	111,763	14.2
1964	7850	108,520	13.8
1965	7146	100,168	14.0
1966	7313	100,389	13.7
1967	7310	101,675	13.9
1968	7703	97,617	12.7
1969	7641	104,077	13.6
1970	7738	95,495	12.3
1971	7782	97,520	12.5

Note: The Summer includes May 1 through October 31.

economy by stimulating the building industries, causing streets and utilities to be laid, thus employing more persons, and by increasing business for local merchants. This massive house building spree has had the further effect of taking land out of agricultural production, and in some cases, removing marginal farmers from agriculture, as they can make more money by selling their land for house plots than they ever could by working it as farm land.

Two further things have happened to change the nature of tourism in Berghof recently, although the extent of the change is hard to determine as yet. First, as Table 24 shows, more and more foreign tourists have begun to come to the town in the last decade and a half. This means more money spent per tourist, but the increase in foreigners has thus far been too slight to be of much consequence.

Secondly, more older people have started coming to the town, both for the healthy climate and because of its easy accessibility to urban centers. Because these persons do not usually have the means nor the inclination to travel long distances, they come to Berghof for their vacations. Since they come primarily in the summer months, the proportion of summer tourists and overnights should continue to increase. The effect of these persons on the amount of money brought into the town is open to question at present.

Thus, in summary, the tourist industry has had the following effects upon the economy of Berghof: (1) many people have been employed in the tourist related businesses, (2) this has increased the number of multiple income households, (3) a great number of women have been able to find employment in tourism, and (4) the population drain characteristic of much of rural Austria and Europe in general has been checked, and in fact reversed, by the possibilities of employment in tourism and related industries.

Table 24: Foreign Tourism in Berghof

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Tourists</u>		<u>Total</u>	<u>Overnights</u>		<u>Overnights per Tourist</u>		
		<u>Summer</u>	<u>Winter</u>		<u>Summer</u>	<u>Winter</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Summer</u>	<u>Winter</u>
1957	110	66	44	1044	650	394	9.5	9.8	9.0
1958	104	53	51	941	528	413	9.0	10.0	8.1
1959	129	101	28	986	803	183	7.6	7.9	6.5
1960	140	95	45	1075	729	346	7.7	7.7	7.7
1961	126	77	49	879	630	249	7.0	8.2	5.1
1962	220	173	47	1214	971	243	5.5	5.6	5.2
1963	195	155	40	1328	1137	191	6.8	7.3	4.8
1964	250	173	87	1795	1287	508	7.2	7.4	5.8
1965	199	137	62	1213	921	292	6.1	6.7	4.7
1966	319	243	76	1866	1323	543	5.8	5.4	7.1
1967	261	191	70	1537	1255	282	5.9	6.6	4.0
1968	451	358	93	2012	1496	516	4.5	4.2	5.5
1969	428	305	123	2122	1666	456	5.0	5.5	3.7
1970	643	543	100	3456	3138	318	5.4	5.8	3.2
1971	601	465	136	2863	2349	514	4.8	5.1	3.8

NOTE: The figures given all represent the reporting year, November 1 through October 31.

CHAPTER III

INDUSTRIALIZATION

Industrialization came relatively late to the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Prior to the beginning of the nineteenth century there was only minimal activity in the industrial productive sphere. The empire at this point was still largely an agricultural society, with such commerce as existed being oriented toward the internal markets of the far-flung imperial states. Most of the surplus products of the empire were controlled by the nobility who were not interested in either commercial or industrial ventures to any appreciable degree (Goodwin 1953: 105). The only "industrial" enterprise the nobility participated in to any extent was the running of breweries (L'Tapie 1971: 175).

The development of industry in Austria-Hungary had its inception in the period during and immediately following the Napoleonic wars. The reason for this was that manufactured goods that were in use in the empire came largely from England and France. With the wars and their aftermath, it became increasingly difficult to procure the manufactured items from these countries (Guettenberger and Bodo 1929: 179).

Between 1815 and 1848, industrialization in the empire had its real beginning. After 1815, the banks in Austria began to support new industrial enterprises. This was especially true of the National Bank, which was founded in 1816 largely for this purpose (L'Tapie 1971:266). The development of industry in the empire proceeded gradually and the empire as a whole began to change from an agricultural society to a

rapidly industrializing one toward the end of this period.

Several general trends characterized industrial development during the period from 1815 to 1848. Metallurgy became substituted for textiles as the dominant industry, the mines were reorganized to more efficiently fill the new needs of industry, steam became more widely used to power industrial plants, and the smaller, older factories were replaced by much larger ones (L'Tapie 1971: 259).

Just before 1848, certain social conditions were developing as a result of this process of industrialization in the empire, which would put a considerable strain on the society. A set of changes in the agricultural sector of a society seems to be curcial in order for industrialization to proceed in a non-socialist context. Land must be individualized and free market conditions in general must come into being. In addition, a large body of persons available as wage laborers must come from the agricultural sector. Land and labor alike must be treated as marketable commodities and freed from traditional restraints that surround them (Kemp 1969: 11-13). In general, the agricultural sector must provide the laborers (or at least some of them) to work in industry, it must provide more food per producer to feed the increased proportion of non-agriculturalists, and agricultural relations must become commercialized in order to more efficiently move the excess produce from where it is grown to where it is needed, i.e., the cities. These things were, in fact, beginning to happen in Austria-Hungary between 1815 and 1848 (Pfeifer 1956: 246).

Another curcial ingredient in industrial capitalism, the capitalist entrepreneur class, was also beginning to emerge during this period. These persons needed to be essentially free of the anti-individualistic,

customary restraints deriving from the feudal period to operate effectively in accumulating and reinvesting capital (Clough 1968: 262). For that matter, the whole society needed more freedom of mobility and action than was the case in pre-1848 Austria-Hungary (Kemp 1969: 13). This relative lack of freedom caused more and more of a strain on the social and economic system in the empire as industrialization proceeded and was one of the major contributing factors to the revolution of 1848.

The outcome of the revolution of 1848 was a more favorable atmosphere for the expansion of industrial and commercial activities. In the Austrian Empire, as in similar authoritarian regimes in France and Prussia, the rulers successfully allied themselves with the emerging urban middle classes and passed a series of laws that helped transform the empire from a feudalistic society based on landed wealth into a capitalistic one based on commerce and industry (Henderson 1969: 28,29). These mid-century reforms essentially eliminated the last formal vestiges of feudalism in the empire, and afterward, everyone was at least theoretically equal before the law. Restrictions as to personal mobility were abolished. All serfs were freed, releasing large numbers of potential industrial workers. Restrictions as to the buying and selling of land were also removed. These two latter reforms helped immensely in the commercialization of agriculture.

The urban middle classes, those most active in commerce and industry, were now not only free to conduct their businesses unhindered by the feudal system of social relationships, but were even supported and encouraged by the government. Rapid expansion in the governmental bureaucracies and the civil service took place after 1848, as these agencies were responsible for the enforcement and direction of the laws of the

new social order.

One finds in the Austro-Hungarian Empire shortly after 1848 a society about to reach what Rostow (1960: 36-58) has called the "take-off" point in its economic history: a relatively sudden transition to sustained economic growth primarily generated by the process of industrialization.

During the years 1848 to 1914, industrialization in Austria-Hungary expanded rapidly, interrupted by short periods of financial crisis and recession. The foundation of new industrial enterprises after 1848 was greatly facilitated by two developments. The first of these was the increased concern of banks with financing industrial ventures. In 1856 the Rothschilds of Vienna founded the Creditanstalt Bank with some assistance from the great landowners of Bohemia. Agrarian wealth was thus used to stimulate industrial production within the empire (L'Tapie 1971: 292). But it is unclear just how many of these landowners participated in the new banking venture or just how great the impact of agricultural wealth was on the development of industry through this channel.

Much more important for Austrian industry was the establishment, also in 1856, of a governmental banking agency designed to assist commercial and manufacturing interests and to generally provide an impetus for industrial undertakings throughout the empire. This agency could act of its own accord to establish industrial or commercial ventures or in concert with other persons. It was also used to build railroads and operate mines and other large-scale ventures. Thus, this agency played an important role in opening up credit sources to small

businessmen which might otherwise have been denied them (Pollard and Holmes 1968: 474).

The second major important economic development was the law passed in 1862 which gave charter to joint stock companies. The number of these grew rapidly. There were, however, a few setbacks in Austrian financial developments. A financial panic was created in 1869 when the easy credit policies produced a vast number of joint stock companies which felt obliged to buy their own stock at market values. As these values were highly inflated in relation to profits, the companies soon exhausted their capital. The years 1873 to 1879 also were ones of recession and financial crisis in Austria. This crisis period was precipitated by stock exchange difficulties similar to those of 1869, but the world-wide recession of 1873 also contributed to these difficulties in the Austrian economy.

After the crisis was over in 1879, the number of joint stock companies again began to rise, and industrial enterprises in Austria-Hungary continued to expand and improve until the beginning of World War I. In pre-World War I Austria, industries were thriving and sufficient capital was formed to expand and improve existing industries, thereby preventing widespread unemployment. Industrial corporations in Austria earned, after deduction of losses the following dividends in these years: 1908 = 8.53 percent, 1909 = 8.63 percent, 1910 = 8.85 percent, 1911 = 8.95 percent, 1912 = 9.51 percent (Hertz 1947: 155).

Although industrial corporations were doing very well in the period from 1879 to 1914, and unemployment was relatively low, the living conditions of the urban working class were not so enviable. As late as the 1880's a work week of seventy hours was not at all unusual in Vienna.

Wages were uniformly low, providing little beyond the basic necessities. Living quarters were very scarce in the cities because of the enormous numbers of people migrating to the urban areas. Many new structures, known as "rent-barracks", were built to house these people, but these were of relatively poor quality and were difficult to get as well as being grossly overpriced (Buchinger 1952: 225). These conditions, of course, were not peculiar to Austria. They seem to have been typical of industrializing countries in Europe during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Clough 1968: 261). As time passed, some improvements did occur in these areas, but very slowly.

The Post-World War I Economy

The rapid industrialization of the Austro-Hungarian Empire was dealt a serious blow by World War I and the political fragmentation which followed. That part of the empire which became Austria after the war was not directly exposed to the ravages of war to any great degree. In Austria the damages caused by the war consisted of (1) the loss of a proportion of the population as a result of the fighting and the influenza epidemic that immediately followed, (2) the exhaustion of the country's stocks of raw materials, and (3) dislocations in the agricultural sector resulting from losses of livestock and the destruction of crop lands. However, these difficulties were rapidly overcome; in fact, some industries had been stimulated by the war-time economy. Overall industrial capacity in Austria increased during the war years by twenty percent (Hertz 1947: 11), and the number of factories in Austria rose by thirty-five percent between 1913 and 1923 (Hertz 1947: 140).

Austria's post-war economic problems were actually a result of the

fragmentation of the empire into a number of independent states following the war. After this dismantling of the empire, the new states surrounded themselves with high tariff walls and other economic barriers. The value of this policy for the economic protection of developing economies in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and other central European states is open to question, but the result of these practices upon the economy of Austria is clear. In a word, it was disastrous.

The economic situation in the pre-war empire with regard to the areas that would later become independent states was one of symbiosis. Most of the industry was located in and around Vienna and in Bohemia. The Vienna-Lower Austria area was specialized in light industry, while Bohemia contained the bulk of the empire's heavy industry. Other areas in the empire, such as Hungary and the Polish provinces, were the major producers of food for the cities of the empire. The banking system, with its center in Vienna, was a source of relatively easy credit for the whole empire. The pre-war empire was, then, almost a self-sufficient entity, exporting and importing very little on a per capita basis of any type goods. Whether or not this system exploited the non-Germanic peoples of the empire, as was claimed by the Allies when they dismembered the empire following the war, it did work well as an economic entity. The effects of political fragmentation upon the economies of the various succession states was almost uniformly stultifying (Hertz 1947). Probably worst hit of all was Austria.

Post-war Austria contained the city of Vienna, and this was a major problem for the new nation. Vienna at the end of World War I was a city of nearly two million people, and constituted over one-fourth of the population of the whole nation. The vast majority of persons

living in Vienna were engaged in trade, industry, and governmental services, all oriented toward a far-flung, populous empire. After the war Austria had lost seven-eighths of its internal market as measured by population. Loss of raw materials and other resources, especially food products, was equally damaging (Hertz 1947: 137). So what were these people concentrated in Vienna to do for a living? The answer was that many of them were to do little or nothing. Austria developed and maintained a serious unemployment problem between the two World Wars, mainly centered in the urban areas, primarily Vienna. Along with this unemployment problem went the additional problem of providing enough food for the population, since the areas in the empire that had provided the bulk of the food were effectively cut off by highly restrictive tariff walls just after the war.

These were not the only problems faced by the new nation, however. The banking system in post-war Austria had collapsed by 1923. This had the effect of limiting the amount of capital available to industry, and, therefore, added to the unemployment problem. The influx of ex-agriculturalists into the cities, which continued during the inter-war years, also added to the problem of industrial unemployment.

After World War I, Austria was forced to import many goods on a massive scale that had not been needed before the breakup of the empire. The only way for the country to pay for these imports was to increase drastically its capacity to export in some area. Because of the difficulties in obtaining raw materials, the only avenue open was to increase the production of goods requiring a greater degree of skilled craftsmanship, as opposed to mass-produced goods. This policy was encouraged by the government, and such industrial strength as Austria was to attain

in the inter-war years was largely that of a great number of small, specialized factories (Hertz 1947: 139). Between 1929 and 1937, for example, there was an adverse development in the iron, steel, and building materials industries. On the other hand, paper, cellulose, sugar, glass, alcohol, and rubber production increased considerably. Textile industries were initially depressed during this period, but later recovered somewhat (Hertz 1947: 144). The rate of profit in industrial corporations never regained its pre-war vitality, however. During the years 1925 to 1936, the overall return of corporations in Austria was only 1.2 percent (Hertz 1947: 155).

Another feature of industrialization in the inter-war years would be of tremendous importance to Austria's future. Water power was harnessed on a vast scale for the production of electrical energy (Hertz 1947: 59). A large number of rivers and streams of all sizes, primarily in the mountainous areas of the country, were equipped with hydroelectric dams. Both farm homes and rural towns began to use the new energy source. This development provided Austrian industry not only with a new power source to replace fossil fuels and wood, but also gave a strong impetus to the production of the machinery needed by farmers and others as the energy became available to run them.

From 1938, when Austria became an integral part of the German Reich, until the end of World War II, the economy of Austria was totally subsumed in that of Germany. As Germany was at war the next year, the economy of Austria received a boost, in that production increased tremendously, much new capital was available, and unemployment vanished. Of course, the unemployment problem was "solved" by virtue of the large number of persons in the military.

At the end of the war in 1945, the Austrian economy was in a complete shambles. The situation was worse than that at the end of World War I in virtually every way. The loss of population was much greater in the second war. Such heavy industry as existed prior to the war was now almost non-existent. Those industrial plants that had not been bombed out during the war were, in many cases, removed wholesale by the Russians, whose post-war zone of occupation in Austria coincided with the main industrial area in the country.

The agricultural sector of Austria was also hard hit by the war years. The animal population of the country had almost been eliminated during the last year of the war in order to feed the troops. Crop lands were destroyed, and there was a great shortage of people to work the agricultural lands. Austrian agriculture was totally incapable of feeding the populace, and had it not been for emergency relief programs, starvation might have occurred on a massive scale.

The recovery of the economy was further slowed by the lack of coordination between the four powers who had divided the country into zones of occupation: America, Britain, France, and Russia. There was little centralized planning either by the occupation powers or by the new government of Austria itself until after 1947. Austria's economy was also alternately plagued by currency shortage and inflation. Black markets operated on a large scale in many types of goods. It was not, in fact, until 1949 that the economy began to stabilize significantly. By 1955, with the end of occupation, the economic structure was once again more or less stable.

Industrial growth in Austria since the end of the war has been

essentially an amplification and extension of those patterns that were established before the war. There has been an increasingly prominent specialization in goods requiring a relatively high degree of craftsmanship. The most active industries of the post-war period have been in such areas as textiles and clothing, chemicals, food processing, jewelery, camera equipment, wood and wood products, and sport articles. The major "industry" in the country since the war has been tourism, which has in turn stimulated the industrial sector of the economy.

Changes in the Rural Areas

The significance of the industrialization process in Austria for this study lies in the role it has played in changing the lives of the rural inhabitants of the country. One very important effect that industrialization has had on rural social structure is that it has functioned as a "labor magnet", drawing people from the land into the cities to fill the new jobs created by industry. Since 1848 this has resulted in an important shift in the population from rural to urban areas. Although this trend has continued to the present, in some rural areas other factors have come into play which have either reduced the effects of urban migration or reversed the trend entirely. One such intervening factor is tourism, which, as in the case of Berghof, created new jobs in small towns and allowed for the development of a sizeable non-agricultural population in the rural areas. Also, in some areas of the country, the decentralization of light industry in the last two decades has created a quite sizeable rural industrial work force in some areas of Austria.

The mechanization of agricultural production has accompanied the rise of industry, and the two have developed in a symbiotic fashion.

The movement of ex-agriculturalists into the cities resulted in a significant labor shortage on the farms. As the farmers became more involved in a capitalist money economy, this problem was partially solved through the purchase of machinery to replace the loss in manpower. This relationship between agriculture and industry is one of symbiosis because the purchase of machines by farmers constitutes a very important source of revenue for Austrian industry (Kraus 1958: 25). What is happening, then, is that people are being drawn off the land to fill industrial jobs, creating a labor shortage in agriculture which is overcome by the purchase of machinery. This in turn stimulates more jobs in industry, drawing more persons from the land, and the cycle repeats.

One particular type of industrial activity was especially important in changing the social structure of rural Austria as it underwent industrialization: railway construction. The building of railroads was a very important component of industrialization in Austria, as it was similarly in other states that industrialized relatively late. This was true for several reasons. It was the primary way that persons with wealth were introduced to new forms of investment (Kemp 1969: 25) and brought about advances in financial systems through government interest and intervention. It also stimulated the development of heavy industry, especially those industries involved with steel production. Furthermore, since many industrial products moved by rail, an efficient railroad network aided in the development of an effective market system within the industrializing society.

The Austro-Hungarian Empire was very concerned with the building of an effective rail network. Just after 1846, a locomotive factory

was built near Prague in the heart of the empire's heavy industry area (L'Tapie 1971: 267). The period from just after 1850 to around 1870 was one of great railroad building activity in the empire. The construction of railroads did not stop. Railroads were continually extended and improved throughout the life of the Habsburg Monarchy, and, in fact since.

The effects of railway construction upon rural life are well illustrated by the case of Berghof. During the construction phases, a distinct boost is given to the economies of whatever towns the railroad passes near or through. In the case of Berghof, work was within a ten kilometer radius of town from 1907 to 1910. During much of the period, the railway workers were living in or near Berghof, bought goods in the town, and spent their leisure in its taverns. Thus, a considerable amount of money came into the town's economy as a result of the railway construction.

After the railroads have been constructed and are functioning, certain other changes occur in rural life as a result of the decreased isolation of rural people. Railroads can move people and goods both in and out of rural areas. Agricultural products can be more easily moved to the place they are consumed, and non-locally produced items of all sorts can be more easily brought into the rural areas. Both of these things began to happen in Berghof after the completion of the railroad connection, and this facilitated greatly the involvement of rural peoples in the capitalist market economy.

In Berghof's case the movement of people was a two-way street. The railroad allowed (and to some extent still does, although recently superseded by bus and auto travel) people who lived in Berghof to

travel to nearby areas where jobs were becoming available in various industries. Initially, most of the new industrial jobs in the immediate area were in the Pitten valley to the northeast of Berghof, which was well connected by rail with the Berghof area (Guettenberger and Bodo 1929: 165). Also, in areas attractive to tourists, such as Berghof, the rail connections allowed visitors to more easily and cheaply reach the town. This in turn eventually created many new jobs in tourist-related areas, did much to help reverse the population drain, and introduced marked changes in the town's occupational structure.

CHAPTER IV

AGRICULTURE

The Land-holding System

After the serfs were freed in the middle of the nineteenth century, there were basically two types of agricultural enterprises in Austria: the large estates owned by the former nobility, and the peasant holdings. The former nobles were intimately concerned with the operation of their estates and with rural life in general. Later in the nineteenth and in the twentieth centuries, another type of large estate came into being: urban capital was invested in highly commercialized agricultural ventures, such as sugar beet production (Pfeifer 1956: 247). In these cases the estates were run by overseers through absentee landlordism. This latter type of estate was primarily restricted to the lowland areas of Austria, however, and had little effect on the life of mountain farmers.

The other type of agricultural operation, the peasant¹ holding, was quite diversified in terms of the size of the holdings. Peasant holdings ran the spectrum from the absolutely landless up to about one hundred hectares. Generally this was the upper range for peasant holdings in the period just after 1848.

One of the immediate effects of the period of industrialization following the abolition of serfdom was that the class of small peasants (those with little or no land) was drastically reduced in size. Many of the people in this group who remained on the land were marginal

farmers who augmented their income from the farms with wage labor on the farms of other peasants or on the large estates or later in industry and tourism.

The general trend during the last half of the nineteenth century was a slow decline in the proportion of small holdings (under twenty hectares) and a consequent rise in the medium and large holdings (twenty to one hundred hectares). The large estates remained very stable in number. Such land as was sold by farmers leaving agriculture was bought mainly by the medium and large peasants, with less going to the large estates.

Austria is popularly depicted as a country of small farm owner-operators, and this is generally a correct picture. The number of large estates was never very great in any one area, although the weight they carried in political and economic matters was far greater proportionately because of their prestige and leadership roles in the rural communities.

In 1900, ninety percent of the farms in Austria were owner operated. After World War I, no substantial land reforms were carried out in Austria, as opposed to other Austro-Hungarian succession states, because land holdings of large estates were considered to be relatively insignificant in comparison to those of the peasants. A law was passed, however, providing for the resettlement of former peasant land which some large estate owners had acquired for enlarging their shooting preserves (Hertz 1947: 115). By 1938, 92.8 percent of the land was owner operated, 4.5 percent was rented, and the rest was owned in common by the Gemeinde's (Schoehl 1938: 31). In 1951, 95.3 percent

of farm area was owner operated and 4.7 percent was rented, with no sharecropping or other forms of tenure reported (Dovring 1965: 150). In 1968, ninety-five percent of the farm area was owner operated (O.S.Z. 1968: 10). It is important to note that with respect to rented farm land in Austria, the renter is often a close relative of the land owner.

For Austria as a whole, the percentage of agricultural operations under ten hectares has dropped from sixty-eight in 1930 to sixty-four in 1961. Those operations of from ten to twenty hectares have risen from seventeen percent in 1930 to nineteen percent in 1961. Those in the twenty to fifty hectare group have risen from twelve percent in 1930 to thirteen percent in 1961. The proportion of operations above fifty hectares has risen from 2.8 percent in 1930 to four percent in 1961 (Hennet and Stenden 1933: 13, and O.S.Z. 1968: 10). These figures are, however, heavily weighted in the lower groups (under twenty hectares) because of the large number of small operations in the wine-growing areas of the lowlands. The situation in the mountain areas of the country is slightly different.

In the political district (this unit is the largest political subdivision of the province of Lower Austria) of Neunkirchen, in which Berghof lies, changes in the land-holding patterns present a somewhat different picture. First, the percentage of medium and large holdings is greater in this district than is the case for Austria as a whole. The reason for this is that this district is predominantly a mountainous area; small holdings are not as viable in the mountains because grapes and other types of intensively cultivated crops do not grow well in this environment.

Table 25 indicates the changes that have taken place in the landholding system of Neunkirchen district. Between 1939 and 1960, the proportion of operations under five hectares has decreased, those between five and fifteen hectares have remained about the same, and those between twenty and one hundred hectares have increased drastically. Those over one hundred hectares have increased just slightly. The small increase in the five to twenty hectare category is deceptive; actually there has been a decline in the proportion of those farm operations at the lower end of this category (five to fifteen hectares) which does not show up in the statistics.

In terms of the area controlled by each size category, there has been a decrease both proportionately and absolutely in all categories except that of twenty to one hundred hectares. These are the farmers who are usually the most interested in increasing the size of their holdings. The drop in the number of operations and area controlled by those farms over one hundred hectares in size is primarily a result of the loss of land by a few farms. The number and size of the large estates in this area has been remarkably stable over the years.

Two further features should be noted. First, there has been a decrease in the total number of agricultural operations in the district, and this trend has continued to the present. This is a general feature of the rural Austrian scene and can be explained as part of the flight from the land. Also, there has been a decrease in the total area given over to farming operations. This fact is again a general Austrian feature and results from the need for new construction sites, a decline in the number of marginal farmers who hold land as a form of investment rather than working it, and the diversion of land to recreational uses.

Table 25: The Land-holding Structure in Neunkirchen Political District

Hectares		1939	1951	1960
Under 2	# of Operations	1703	1490	1114
	% of Operations	30.8	28.5	24.3
	Area	1802	1607	1254
	% of Area	1.6	1.5	1.2
2 to 5	# of Operations	903	858	715
	% of Operations	16.3	16.4	15.6
	Area	2852	2697	2258
	% of Area	2.6	2.6	2.1
5 to 20	# of Operations	1565	1534	1327
	% of Operations	28.3	29.3	29.0
	Area	18,771	18,465	16,050
	% of Area	16.7	17.7	15.3
20 to 100	# of Operations	1285	1286	1362
	% of Operations	23.3	24.5	29.7
	Area	45,544	44,621	48,428
	% of Area	40.6	42.7	46.2
100+	# of Operations	73	67	68
	% of Operations	1.3	1.3	1.5
	Area	43,172	37,054	36,924
	% of Area	38.5	35.5	35.2
Total	# of Operations	5529	5235	4586
Total	Area	112,141	104,444	104,914

The proportion of land that has been taken out of agricultural production is much lower in Lower Austria than for the country as a whole. This is because this province is not among the most favored tourist areas of the country. The slight increase in agricultural land

between 1951 and 1960 in the district of Neunkirchen is indicative of the declining role of Lower Austria as a tourist area.

The Land-holding System in Berghof

Because of a lack of data for the earlier periods in Berghof's history and changing methods of collection of the data for later periods, the historical picture of the land-holding system in the town cannot be presented as clearly as might be hoped. Nevertheless, the basic trends as well as the precise nature of recent trends are apparent. The slow decline in the number of small peasant holdings that was described for Austria as a whole seems also to have been the case in Berghof. There has also been a rise in the proportion of medium and large holdings and the area controlled by them, both of which are typical of the country as a whole.

With regard to recent trends, one can be more specific. The percentage of agricultural operations of under two hectares has decreased from twenty-three to fourteen between 1951 and 1972. During this same period, the two to five hectare group has dropped from 10.5 percent to nine percent of the total operations. In the five to twenty hectare category, the proportion has risen from twenty to about twenty-two percent since 1951. The twenty to one hundred hectare category has seen a rise from forty-seven to fifty-four percent during this same period. Here again, the reason for the increase in the proportion of the number of operations in the five to twenty hectare category has been because of an increase in the fifteen to twenty hectare range. The number of operations in the five to fifteen hectare group has declined proportionately.

Concerning the amount of land controlled by each size category in Berghof, the under two hectare group has dropped from 1.3 to 0.4 percent since 1951. The two to five hectare group has dropped from 1.6 to 0.9 percent, the five to twenty hectare group has dropped from 10.1 to 9.9 percent, and the twenty to one hundred hectare group has increased from 87.2 to 88.6 percent.

During this period between 1951 and 1972, there has been a decrease in the total number of farms from fifty-seven to forty-four and a drop in the total amount of land given over to farming operations.

There are several complicating factors in the landholding situation of Berghof. First, there is a body of land, comprising about sixty-seven hectares, which is owned by the Gemeinde as a whole. This is all forest land. This land is leased to sawmills in the area which cut the wood from it. The Gemeinde then hires people to replant the cut areas.

The local church also owns just over fifteen hectares within the Gemeinde which the former priest worked himself. This land is not now being worked, however, and is being sold for house plots.

Over two hundred hectares within the Gemeinde Berghof are owned by a family which does not appear in the official statistics for the community. The reason for this is that the bulk of this family's holdings (which approach one thousand hectares in all) lie in another Gemeinde. The family is listed in the statistics of the Gemeinde in which the greatest proportion of its lands lie. Virtually no families have holdings in multiple Gemeinde's in Austria except descendants of the former nobility who own the large estates. This family, the only such case in Berghof, is descended from a local noble and holds land in three Gemeinde's. As

is the case of all large estates in this part of Austria and the majority of cases in the whole country, the family runs the estate solely as a forestry operation. All lands are in forest, the family runs its own sawmill for processing its own wood, and the whole operation is highly commercialized. The family members are highly educated and skilled in modern methods of land management.

The vast majority of farmers in Berghof, as in Austria as a whole, do not rent land. In 1951, forty-six farmers in Berghof rented no land, four farmers rented over fifty percent of their land, four farmers rented less than fifty percent of their land, and three farmers rented all of the land they worked. In 1972, forty-one farmers rented no land, no farmers rented over fifty percent of their land, one farmer rented less than fifty percent of his land, and two farmers rented all the land they worked.

When one looks at the land-holding structure in an area and attempts to judge the relative prosperity of the farms it must be remembered that family size and composition is a factor which is sometimes of more importance than the size of the holding. Obviously, if one were to find two farms of identical size, one of which must support ten persons and the other, three persons, they would not be judged equally prosperous. But in areas of imparible inheritance, they would be of unequal prosperity only at that particular time. Although each inheriting generation has the accumulated liabilities and assets of its ancestors to deal with and since there is only one heir, each generation starts out with a clean slate in many regards. Through generational changes, the situations of the two hypothetical farms might be reversed with regard to their relative prosperity.

In Berghof, as in most of Austria, farm property ideally passes intact to only one heir. Arrangements are made for those persons not chosen to inherit the farms which seek to insure that the non-inheritors will be adequately provided for. This may be accomplished through such means as paying the tuition of a non-inheritor while he attends a school of some sort or by cash settlement at the time of inheritance. The cash settlement will be based upon the assessed value of the farm at the time it changes hands. This value is agreed upon by all parties concerned, and is usually assessed considerably lower than its actual value, so as not to unnecessarily encumber the inheritor with debts. The retiring farmer and his wife, if they still live, are given a written contract of their rights as retirees with regard to housing, monetary allowance, and other matters. This takes place within the context of an all-encompassing document covering all aspects of the inheritance of the farm.

The prosperity of a farm, therefore, is related not only to the amount and types of land contained in it, but also to the number of potential heirs. The fewer children a farmer has, the better start will be had by the next generation of operators because of the restriction of capital outflow that otherwise would go to non-inheritors. But the number of children a farmer has will have other effects upon farm prosperity at other points in the family cycle. After a man's children are old enough to do substantial farm work, they are a decided asset to the farm, allowing the farmer to get by with less hired help, if he uses it, and/or to farm more land. At these peak years of labor capacity, a farmer will often try to rent additional land, as he has the man-power available to work it. On the other hand, when labor availability from

family members is at a low point, at the time of his wife's first pregnancy for example, he might want to rent out some of his land because he would not be able to work it all efficiently. The presence or absence of a farmer's retired parents who are able to do some work will have similar effects upon the farm's labor capacity.

In the last few years as jobs in the rural areas have increased, in the case of Berghof both in tourism and various industries, another factor related to the family cycle and farm prosperity has arisen. It has become possible for a farmer's child to work outside the farm, contributing his wages to the operation and thereby increasing the farm's prosperity at that time, as well as the inheritor's chances later. In the case of many children who will not inherit the farm, the wage labor off the farm has been combined with some form of apprenticeship for a trade which they will later pursue full time. Therefore, the farmer now has to consider not only the number of children he has when assessing the next generation's chances, but also what the non-inheritors may contribute to the farm before they leave the family.

In some cases in Austria, farmers have abused the income potential of non-inheritors by putting off as long as possible the decision of who is to inherit the farm. This has kept children in the household who would otherwise have left, had they known that they were not to inherit. The same tactic has been used by farmers who have no children working off the farm to keep the labor capacity of the farm at a high level. This has at times, however, backfired. The possible inheritors occasionally tire of waiting and leave the family with no heir who will take over. At other times the farmer has died without naming his heir, leaving the family members to decide the question for themselves and occasionally

causing considerable trouble within the family.

Land and Animal Utilization

Central to a discussion of the nature of agriculture is the broad question of what is gotten from the land. How exactly is the land used to support the population? The alpine areas of Europe are usually described as "mixed farming" areas, meaning that land is used in a finely balanced system combining cultivation with pastoralism in such a way as to make them mutually reinforcing (see Burns 1963). This is, however, not an answer to the question of land use so much as it is a general framework for investigation. One needs to ask what exactly is the "mix" in a particular mixed farming region. What proportion of the land is devoted to the production of crops for direct human consumption, what proportion is given over to animal support crops, what proportion is in woodlands (which itself can be an important crop), and what proportion of agricultural land is used in other ways, if any? Also, what crops are grown for human consumption, what animals are raised, and how does the farmer unite these different aspects of agriculture into a functioning whole?

With regard to crop lands (by which I mean crops grown for direct human consumption), the first data for the Berghof area comes from a survey made during the reign of Joseph II in 1787. In the area encompassing Berghof, this survey lists 12.1 percent of the land as being used for crops (Guettenberger and Bodo 1929: 171). This proportion probably remained constant until after the abolition of serfdom in the mid-nineteenth century.

By 1897, when another survey was made in the immediate area of

Berghof, croplands amounted to 18.1 percent of the total area (Guettenberger and Bodo 1929: 161). Within the approximate limits of the present Gemeinde Berghof in 1900, however, the proportion was higher, amounting to 27.3 percent (Statistischen Zentralkommission 1903).

In 1929 within the political sub-district (a political division encompassing several adjacent Gemeinde's) in which Berghof lies, the proportion of crop lands was twenty-nine percent (Bundesamt f. Statistik 1932). This is probably very close to the percentage within the Gemeinde of Berghof at this time.

Just after World War II, around 1952, the political district of Neunkirchen had a proportion of crop lands equalling 20.7 percent of the total area (O.S.Z. 1954: 37, 41), and in 1972 the proportion in Berghof was just over twenty percent.

During our period of investigation, 1848 to the present, the proportion of crop lands initially underwent expansion, primarily as a result of the loss of common lands by the communities following the abolition of serfdom. The common lands were usually used for grazing, and in some cases were woodlands. The push for self-sufficiency in food production that occurred in Austria following the First World War was another factor responsible for the increasing rise in the proportion of crop lands. After the Second World War, the crop lands declined proportionately as foreign food became more available and as it became more profitable for farmers to divert land into other avenues.

The crops grown in the alpine areas of Austria are those that are resistant to cold or that require a short growing season. This is especially true of the Berghof area which has one of the coldest climates in Austria, as well as a growing season of only about five months. Of the

cereal grains produced in Austria, the most important are oats and rye, which are more resistant to the cold climate than are wheat and barley. Rye is the most popular cereal grain for human consumption in Austria. Also, most potatoes grown in the country are small in size since the sooner the potatoes can be harvested, the higher will be the price received by the farmer. Wine grapes are not grown in the mountains of Austria, in contrast to some other areas in Europe; all the wine produced in Austria comes from the Danube valley around Vienna and from Burgenland, just east of Vienna.

The most popular crops in Berghof in terms of hectares planted were (in 1969) rye (forty-four hectares), oats (forty hectares), potatoes (sixteen hectares), barley (thirteen hectares), and winter wheat (two hectares). Virtually all of the other crop lands, excluding garden plots in which a wide range of vegetables are grown for home consumption, are actually planted in fodder crops, such as clover, or are "temporary pastures" and are not used every year.

With regard to grasslands, those plots of land devoted to growing animal support crops exclusive of such things as clover or turnips, a proportionate change through time can again be seen. The Josephinian survey of 1787 lists grasslands as comprising 26.7 percent of the total area in that part of Lower Austria surrounding Berghof (Guettenberger and Bodo 1929: 171). In the 1897 survey of the region, one finds 17.8 percent of the area in grasslands (Guettenberger and Bodo 1929: 161). In 1900 Berghof, 17.3 percent of the area was devoted to grassland. In Berghof's political sub-district in 1929, the percentage of grassland was ten (Bundesamt f. Statistik 1932). In the Neunkirchen political district in 1952, the percentage of grasslands was 12.1, while today in Berghof,

14.7 percent of the land is grassland. The general tendency with respect to grasslands has been for them to decrease proportionately during the period of this investigation.

There are several conceptually distinct types of land use patterns that I have lumped together under the term grassland. These are lands that are used differently by the farmers in feeding the animals. One type, which is best translated as "pasture" (Weiden in German), refers to the place where the animals are grazed out of doors during the summer months. Because of the climate, however, animals must be fed and housed inside for six or seven months of the year. For this purpose, other lands are kept in grass to which the animals are not admitted for grazing. Instead, the grass is cut and stored for winter food. This type is best translated as "meadow" (Wiesen). In order to obtain the most from their resources, alpine peoples also utilize the high pastures (usually above the tree line) to which animals are driven in the summer and brought down from in the fall. These high pastures are called alm or alp in German. Because of the atypical geographical situation in Berghof, there is very little alm available, amounting to just under five hectares. Pasture accounts for just over sixty-three hectares, and meadowlands, one hundred fifty-eight hectares. The different amounts of pasture vs. meadow reflect very clearly the amounts of time in which the animals must be fed from each type of grassland.

One of the most dramatic effects of the coming of the industrial age to alpine areas of Europe is the substantial alteration that has taken place with regard to animal husbandry within the mixed farming system. As agricultural machinery has become popular, the use of animals for traction has declined correspondingly. Horses and oxen have declined

drastically in number. Also, the widespread use of artificial fertilizers has cut down on the use of animal manure in most areas, which has in turn altered the nature of crop rotation.

Table 26 gives an indication of what has happened to animal husbandry in Lower Austria in the last fifty years, and the data are similar for the rest of the country. Except during the war years, horses have declined in a steady fashion. They were used more extensively during the war because agricultural machinery and items needed to keep the machines operative, such as gasoline and oil, were increasingly hard to obtain by the farmers, as production and inventories were diverted to the war effort.

Cattle have had a varied history in terms of the numbers present. Not represented in the figures in Table 26, however, is the fact that through the years the nonmilk cattle have increasingly been utilized as breeding stock for the dairy industry. Today most of Austria's beef comes from foreign imports, and over half of the nondairy cattle are breeding stock. Cattle are not always utilized to their full potential, and in some areas of the country farmers will tell one that the only reason they keep cattle is so that the tourist can look at them.

The data are relatively scarce with regard to the numbers of sheep and goats. These animals are of minimal importance to the country's economy, although they may be important to some farmers. Most goats are owned by small holders, especially those with less than ten hectares. Sheep raising was much more important in the Alps prior to 1860. After this date, cheaper wool was introduced from such places as Australia and South America (Buchinger 1952: 330). Also, the loss of grazing rights

on the community commons after the abolition of serfdom contributed to the decline in the numbers of sheep, which many times provided the additional income necessary to keep landless peasants alive.

Pigs have fared much better than the other domesticated animals. The number of pigs is on the increase throughout the country, since pork products are becoming more popular with the populace as beef prices continue to rise. Also on the increase lately among farmers in Austria are chickens. Eggs and other poultry products are an important source of income to some farmers, and most farmers keep some chickens, at least for their own use.

At present there are five persons in Berghof who own one horse each, and thirty-four farmers who own a total of about three hundred sixty cattle. There are also three hundred pigs, four sheep, no goats, and over eight hundred fifty chickens.

The third major use of agricultural land is forestry. Going back to the survey of 1787, one finds that the area contained 19.2 percent forest land, but this is undoubtedly a mistake. It is presumed that the surveyors included in the category of waste lands much of what was actually utilized forests (Guettenberger and Bodo 1929: 171). Thus, the waste land category in this survey comprises forty-two percent of the total area. Exactly how much of this was actually forest land is not known.

In the survey of 1897, a feature appears that has characterized the Berghof area ever since: 62.8 percent of the land is listed as forest in this survey (Guettenberger and Bodo 1929: 161). This huge proportion of forest land has continued to the present, and the farmer from the Berghof area is sometimes referred to as a Waldbauer or forest

Table 26: Number of Animals in Lower Austria

<u>Year</u>	<u>Horses</u>	<u>Cattle</u>	<u>Cows</u>	<u>Sheep</u>	<u>Goats</u>	<u>Pigs</u>
1920		515,840	254,019			546,835
1930	95,476	629,009	355,877			747,541
1938	86,976	664,429	329,616			1,050,730
1946	84,368	525,188	262,230			405,948
1948	90,910	513,318	242,357	65,021	131,497	488,289
1949	91,229	540,698	259,185	54,774	134,688	598,949
1951	97,247	564,618	283,136	55,250	102,267	683,856
1952	91,179	600,732	289,215			878,889
1953	89,731	593,402	294,106			859,301
1954	88,134	602,843	306,184			964,820
1955	83,076	609,694	301,920			1,021,996
1956	76,314	606,209	294,626	36,152	114,398	950,175
1957	68,006	601,357	292,237	32,509	106,450	1,007,977
1958	60,175	596,908	285,718	29,300	95,030	992,862
1959	52,927	599,505	280,929			982,715
1960	47,287	615,076	252,320			1,053,493
1961	41,231	627,457	252,483	26,529	61,663	1,090,667
1962	35,691	616,946	269,721			1,028,377
1963	31,076	579,205	259,544			1,053,493
1964	26,504	581,977	258,121			1,116,509
1965	22,647	604,312	252,711			976,053
1966	19,338	616,016	269,162			1,024,771
1967	16,509	614,932	254,339			1,090,465
1968	14,406	599,009	254,097			1,147,112
1969	12,382	590,525	245,600			1,172,873
1970	10,689	597,204	239,347			1,265,733

farmer. In 1900 Berghof had a percentage of 55.4 of its lands in forest (Statistischen Zentralkommission 1903). In 1929 Berghof's political sub-district had sixty percent of its total land in forests (Bundesamt f. Statistik 1932). In 1952 in the political district of Neunkirchen, sixty percent of the land was given over to forests (O.S.Z. 1954: 37,41), and at present in Berghof the percentage of forest lands is also sixty.

Woodlands, then, constitute the most important agricultural venture for farmers in the Berghof area. The large estate owners in this area have already been mentioned as dealing exclusively in forest products. This apparently has been the case for some time, as even before the First World War the large estate holdings in the area were selling wood

on a large scale (Kaindlstorfer 1910).

Aside from these large estates, the average farmer in Berghof is also heavily dependent upon forests. Each farmer ideally has four classes of woodlands: (1) woods to use in case of extreme emergency, which are never to be used unless this occurs, (2) woods for use in case of minor emergency when capital is needed in relatively large amounts, (3) woods for the family's use as firewood, and (4) woods for sale. These four classes are amounts of woodlands reserved for each function, and are not necessarily the same stands of woods from year to year. The last-mentioned class is usually the smallest amount. Not all farmers have enough woodlands to meet all functions, however, and have to make do with what they have and hope that emergencies do not arise.

Land Utilization and Farm Size

This brings up the matter of the different orientation toward land use that one finds in farms of different sizes. With regard to forests, the larger the size of the farm, the more forest it will contain, absolutely and proportionately. This is true for most if not all the mountainous regions of Austria, and it has been the case for as far back as the data exist. The reason for this is that forests represent an extensive kind of crop. In order to feasibly and economically run a forestry operation, one must have a certain number of hectares in woods. Only in the fifty to one hundred hectare category does woodland outweigh crop and grasslands among the nonestate owners. In the twenty to fifty hectare category, only about one-fourth or a little more of the lands are in the forests.

The average farm in Austria contains twenty-five non-contiguous

plots, with few larger than one hectare. In the mountain areas, however, the number of plots is on the average smaller than this, and the plots themselves are slightly larger. The larger the farm, the larger number of separate plots one will find, and the size of the plots will be larger. The farmer tries to strike a balance between the number and size of his farm plots with what can be most profitably grown on them. Forest lands represent quite an investment of capital over a relatively long period of time. Most small farmers cannot afford this type of investment, because they must be more flexible than the larger farmers to get the maximum out of their limited resources.

The smaller the farm in the Berghof area, the greater will be the percentage of its land given to production of crops for human consumption. The farms under five hectares in size are almost exclusively croplands, with some grasslands, but with very little forest. In the five to twenty hectare category, the farms contain more grassland proportionately, but still not much forest, although slightly more than the under five hectare category. Farms in the twenty to fifty hectare category contain more of an even mix of croplands, grasslands, and forests. In the fifty to one hundred hectare category, the farms contain very little croplands proportionately, being predominantly forest and grasslands. The exact proportion of forests to grasslands in this category varies somewhat, but with forests always in the majority.

A general rule with regard to land use patterns is, then, the larger the farm the more forests and the less croplands it will contain proportionately. Grasslands are slightly better represented among the middle categories (five to fifty hectares) than among either the under five hectare or the over fifty hectare categories. Many farmers in the

under five hectare category have either ceased to keep cattle or do not keep as many as they did in the past. This is the group mainly composed of part-time farmers whose incomes are augmented by outside sources, and they are not as reliant upon the farm for a living as they were in the past. Therefore, they will not try to squeeze food out of their land for the extra cow. In the past, primarily before the First World War, many farmers kept more cows than they could adequately feed during the winter. Some of them were so weak when spring came that they had to be carried to the pastures. This is simply no longer necessary. Among the over fifty hectare category farms, the proportion of grassland is lower because of the greater commitment of lands to woods which is profitable for these farmers. These farms do contain cattle, but not appreciably more than the medium size farms. Since their total land is larger, they need proportionately less to feed their animals.

As Berghof farmers have been pulled into the industrial age in the last 120 years, their commitment to the market system has grown apace. As the relatively self-sufficient and self-contained family farm has been transformed into a more capitalistically oriented business enterprise, the range of produce has shrunk to crops and animals that will provide the greatest profit margin. As this happened in Berghof, the proportion of crop lands initially expanded in response to market demands, then contracted, almost to vanish among full-time farmers as wood products and dairy products became more profitable. Less and less of the farmers' lands are devoted to products for the family's consumption as the farmers have become increasingly geared to cash sales in the market economy.

Because of ecological and practical constraints of other kinds, such as land size or work force availability, different size farms have

responded to this changing economic situation in various ways with regard to land utilization, as outlined above. But the common feature of the reorientation among all farmers has been that as the importance of capital expenditures on the farm has increased, the farmers have been forced to take the potential market into consideration and make decisions about land use prior to planting or other utilization. This is in contrast to the pre-capitalist peasant economy in which the family farms were largely self-sufficient, market conditions did not play a major role in influencing peasant land utilization decisions, and only after the harvest did the peasant make decisions as to what surpluses, if any, would be sold into the market (see Franklin 1969: 9,10; Clough 1968: 303; Dalton 1971b: 230; and Chayanov 1966 on this point). The viability of the farm enterprise has thus become tied to the specialized needs of the national and international market system.

The Agricultural Work Force

Considerable changes have taken place in the composition of the work force in Austrian agriculture since 1848. I will first discuss some of the factors producing these changes and then examine the nature of the changes taking place.

Probably the most important factor responsible for changing the composition of the agrarian work force has been the continuing drain of agricultural population out of the rural areas of Austria into the cities. With the abolition of serfdom in 1848, there was an instant shortage of labor in the rural areas, because persons with small amounts of land or none at all migrated to the cities in search of work in the expanding industries. As this situation continued to worsen, the large landowners,

who had been the hardest hit by the labor shortage, were forced to raise the wages of agricultural laborers significantly after about 1870 (Buchinger 1952: 230). Although wages continued to rise after 1870, there were still not enough laborers available. The large estate owners then began recruiting seasonal workers from the other parts of the empire where there was an abundance of labor (primarily the Slavic parts of the empire), but this did not suffice to meet the needs. The main reason why this strategy did not work was that the potential Slavic laborers had a more promising alternative, which was to migrate to the United States, Canada, or, seasonally, to Germany. In the years 1908 to 1912, for example, 1,034,813 emigrants left Austria-Hungary (Hertz 1947: 47). Although many of these emigrants returned to their native areas when they had saved enough money to buy land, they were still not available for wage labor in Austria, because they were then landowners themselves, although usually on a small scale.

This lack of agricultural laborers continued to worsen, and after World War I it had assumed the level of a national problem. The question arises as to what it was that attracted so many agriculturalists to the cities. For one thing, the wage differential between agricultural and industrial workers continually widened, with the agricultural wages on the low end of the scale. Another consideration was working time put in by an employee. The yearly working time of an agricultural laborer varied between 2900 and 4000 hours, depending upon the size of the operation. The larger operations were usually the ones with the shortest average working time per employee. On the other hand, a factory worker working a forty-eight hour week could expect to work about 2400 hours per year (Buchinger 1952: 408). Also, in many cases the work available

to an agricultural laborer would decline sharply in the winter months, leaving him with a rather erratic income. Another important consideration for a worker was that before the end of World War II, agricultural laborers were not entitled to unemployment assistance, accident benefits, or old age assistance. Considerations of prestige and social mobility also were undoubtedly important here. The city was seen by people leaving the rural areas as an avenue to a better style of life. The worker had better chances for social mobility in the urban areas, as well as a much wider range of recreational and educational opportunities. All of these things contributed to the loss of laborers in the agrarian sector of the society.

Between the two World Wars, the number of agricultural laborers migrating to the cities continued to climb. In 1938, the proportion of children leaving school in the rural areas who also left their villages at the same time was already at twenty-five percent (Buchinger 1952: 403).

The loss of men during the two wars, especially the second, further intensified the labor shortage in rural areas. In Berghof, for example, eighteen men were lost in World War I, but sixty from the town were lost in World War II.

Tables 27 and 28 show the picture of the decline in agricultural workers in Austria and Lower Austria since the end of World War II very clearly. Although after the war agricultural laborers came under the coverage of a compulsory federal sickness, accident, and old age insurance program in which the employers pay half of the premium (Taves and Hoerigschmied 1962: 203), the number has continued to decline, seemingly on the way to insignificance in terms of the total working population of the country.

Table 27: Number of Agricultural Laborers in Austria

<u>Year</u>	<u>Agricultural Workers (in 000's)</u>	<u>% of Austrian Workers</u>
1934	348.0	
1937	275.6	
1947	259.9	
1948	242.0	
1949	229.5	
1950	215.9	
1951	205.9	
1952	198.1	
1953	197.1	
1954	190.9	
1955	180.0	
1956	168.5	
1957	160.1	
1958	166.9*	7.4
1959	157.1	6.9
1960	142.9	6.2
1961	130.8	5.6
1962	119.4	5.0
1963	112.3	4.7
1964	103.6	4.3
1965	95.7	4.0
1966	88.9	3.7
1967	81.5	3.4
1968	76.0	3.2
1969	70.5	2.9
1970	64.9	2.7

* The figures for 1958-1970 include seasonal workers and are therefore higher than they would be without them. Seasonal workers have declined from about 8000 in 1958 to less than 2000 in 1970.

Table 28: Number of Agricultural Laborers in Lower Austria

<u>Year</u>	<u>Agricultural Workers (in 000's)</u>	<u>% of Lower Austrian Workers</u>
1947	100.7	
1948	80.0	
1958	40.7	11.6
1959	36.7	10.4
1960	33.8	9.5
1961	30.1	8.4
1962	29.1	7.8
1963	25.9	7.2
1964	23.8	6.6
1965	22.3	6.1
1966	20.5	5.6
1967	18.4	5.1
1968	17.3	4.8
1969	16.0	4.4
1970	14.7	4.0

Tables 29, 30 and 31 indicate in summary form a number of additional changes that have been taking place in the nature of the agrarian work force. First, there has been an overall trend toward an increase in the proportion of farm operators in the work force. The decline in agricultural laborers is partially responsible for this. Also, farm families have been giving birth to an increasingly smaller average number of children, especially since the end of World War II. This has the statistical effect of reducing the number of family members in the work force in relation to the operator. Also, the recent opportunities for employment of a farmer's children outside the farm enterprise has had a similar effect on the percentage of family workers in relation to the operator.

By far the most important change that has occurred is the reduction of non-family labor and the subsequent rise in the proportion of labor that is done by each family member. What is not revealed by the statistics, however, is that the greatest burden of this increased family work load has fallen on females. Over one-fourth of all farming operations in Austria are headed by females, and more females are employed in agriculture than males. Furthermore, of the full-time family workers in the agricultural work force, almost three quarters are women. The increased work load for women is the result of several things. There is great difficulty in finding non-family laborers for the farm, and this is especially true of domestic help. Also, there are additional burdens placed on farm wives at most periods in the family cycle because of the drop in the birth rate; there are simply fewer children to help with the work. Another factor of increasing importance is the part-time farming pattern that typically finds the husband working in some outside

Table 29: Composition of the Agricultural Labor Force in Austria in Percents

<u>Type of Workers</u>	<u>1923</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1947</u>	<u>1951</u>
Operator	19.1	27.96	29.43	27
Family members	42.7	45.43	45.22	52
Steady		36.86	42.32	
Non-steady		8.57	2.90	
Non-Family	37.7	26.58	25.33	21
Steady		16.37	14.45	
Non-steady		7.80	9.78	
Seasonal		2.41	1.08	

Table 30: Composition of the Agricultural Labor Force in Lower Austria in Percents

<u>Type of Workers</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1947</u>
Operator	29.03	29.25
Family members	43.98	46.44
Steady	37.39	43.74
Non-steady	6.59	2.69
Non-Family	26.96	24.30
Steady	13.82	10.96
Non-steady	8.50	12.18
Seasonal	4.64	1.14

Table 31: Composition of the Agricultural Labor Force in Neunkirchen Political District in Percents

<u>Type of Workers</u>	<u>1939</u>	<u>1960</u>
Family Members	74.74	82.27
Steady*	57.01	67.86
Non-steady	17.73	14.41
Non-Family	25.22	17.70
Steady	18.83	8.93
Non-steady	6.39	8.77

* This category includes operators.

job, with the wife and children responsible for the bulk of the management of these marginal farms.

One feature of Tables 29,30, and 31 might be misinterpreted without further knowledge of the situation. There seems to have been a slight increase in the percentage of part-time non-family workers. This does

not, however, represent a rise in absolute numbers, but rather the reverse is true. The reason for the rise in the percentage of this group in the labor force is that with the decline in full-time agricultural laborers, the part-time group is simply increasing proportionately. Another way of saying this is that full-time non-family agricultural laborers are declining at a faster rate than are part-time non-family laborers. They are both, it must be emphasized, declining in number from year to year. Between 1951 and 1960, for example, there was a decline in the number of part-time non-family agricultural laborers in Lower Austria that amounted to 24.7 percent of the total among females and 49.4 percent among males (O.S.Z. 1964: 26). These part-time non-family laborers are in many cases members of another farm family themselves, who hire themselves out to a farmer when help is needed at some crucial stage in the agricultural cycle.

All of the trends discussed here hold true for Berghof. The lack of agricultural laborers is a topic of concern among farmers, especially those with the larger farms. In 1960 there were fifteen full-time agricultural laborers in the Gemeinde, while today there are only eight. Of these eight, three work outside the community in large forestry operations, two are marginal family members, as they work for their brothers-in-law, and one is a part-time farmer himself. The situation in Berghof also points up the fact that the great majority of the agricultural laborers that are left work for large farming operations, usually those of over one hundred hectares in extent.

The feminization of the agricultural work force is very well illustrated in Berghof. This is especially true of the part-time or marginal farms that have come into existence in the last few decades.

There has been a noticeable trend for men who have inherited small farms to take outside jobs, either in town or nearby, and to leave the actual operation of the farms to their wives and older children (except for weekend contributions by the male household head). Including these marginal farms, at present slightly over one-fourth of the farms in the Gemeinde are actually run by women.

The Mechanization of Agriculture

The agricultural use of machines and other products generated by the industrial revolution, as well as the implementation of certain ideas concerning the rational use of land, has steadily increased in Austria since 1848. The utilization of these new techniques came about in order to make up for agricultural deficiencies of various sorts. The particular deficiencies involved varied from place to place and through time, but they can be grouped into shortages of agricultural labor and shortages of production for other reasons. Shortage of labor was the most common reason for mechanization of agriculture and could of itself result in production shortages. But, either apart from or in combination with labor shortages, other factors might intervene which would dictate, as a means to increase production, either placing a larger amount of land under cultivation or increasing production per unit of land or both. Therefore, mechanization served to increase efficiency per agriculturalist, per unit of land, or both. The importance of mechanization in increasing production in Austria lies in the fact other means to increase production were effectively blocked. It was never possible, for example, to increase the amount of land under cultivation to the extent necessary. Also, the farmer could not simply extend his work day, for that was, during most periods of this study, already pushed to its limits.

A limited number of agricultural machines were in use in Austria prior to 1848. Windmills were common and date from the sixteenth century. Also, a few mechanical reapers were in use after about 1820 (Buchinger 1952: 361). But the factors responsible for the widespread use of

machinery and new techniques in agriculture are bound up with the industrialization process that operated in the last half of the nineteenth century.

When the serfs were freed by law in 1848, those who had little or no land were inclined to leave the rural areas to seek jobs that were becoming available in commerce and industry in the cities. The landowners were, then, faced with a rather acute shortage of labor. One way of dealing with this shortage was to mechanize and rationalize (by this term is meant the attempt to increase efficiency from a cost accountancy standpoint) agricultural operations to the extent possible.

There have been in the past and still are serious limitations on the utility of some agricultural machines in Austria. The fragmented pattern of landownership in the mountains reduces the efficiency of some machines, because they must be frequently moved from one plot to another. The effort needed to move the machines may be more than that required to work the land without them.

The other main limiting factor in agricultural mechanization is lack of capital to buy the machines, fertilizer, etc. As sufficient capital became available to the different groups of Austrian farmers, they began to mechanize their operations.

The first group of Austrian farmers to mechanize were the large landowners, mainly the nobility and their descendents. When serfdom was abolished, this group of large estate owners suffered most from the labor shortage. In addition, they were the only group with sufficient capital to purchase the machinery. This money came in large part from the payments made to the nobility as compensation for the freeing of the

serfs. The large landowners resisted mechanization for as long as possible and instead tried to rely on hired seasonal laborers. The return on the investment in mechanization occurs more slowly in agriculture than in industry because the machines must lay idle for a good part of the year. This is especially true in Austria where the growing season is so short. In the long run, however, mechanization proved to be the only recourse in the face of ever greater shortages in the agricultural work force.

Another reason for the earlier mechanization of the large operations was that these owners came to view the farm strictly as a business enterprise. On the other hand, the peasant class of farmers placed primary importance upon the family unit, rather than strictly upon profit-making in the capitalist sense of return on investment. Also, because of the size of the holdings in relation to the family size, the peasant farmer was able to add and absorb additional family labor without recourse to machines (Leopold 1929: 3,4). This the large holders could not do.

During the period from 1848 to 1914 in Austria, several important developments were occurring in the mechanization of agriculture. But it must be pointed out that the main benefactors of the process during this period were the large estate owners and a few peasant agriculturalists who had been able to amass enough capital and who had enough land to make it pay.

Starting in the 1850's, efforts were made to develop new types of plows that would cut deeper furrows. This resulted in plows that could cut a forty centimeter furrow. This was quite an improvement over the most popular model of the early nineteenth century which cut a furrow

of about ten centimeters (Buchinger 1952: 357). Also in the nineteenth century, improvements were made in mechanical planters. These machines saved on labor, but also saved on seed as opposed to hand planting methods (Buchinger 1952: 360). But before the 1880's these machines were not manufactured in Austria-Hungary and had to be imported, thus making them prohibitively expensive for most farmers. Other types of agricultural machines came into use during the late nineteenth century in Austria, most notably mechanical reapers of various sorts, which virtually eliminated the sickle from harvest work in many areas by 1880.

Agricultural exhibitions were held periodically in various places in Austria. One of the largest ever held was in St. Poelten in Lower Austria in 1874. New machinery was displayed at these exhibitions, and they became increasingly important in disseminating new information about improvements in agricultural technology. The utility of agricultural machinery rapidly became evident to the farmers for in the 1860's and 1870's the demand for these goods was so great that it could not yet be met by Austrian industry (L'Tapie 1971: 323).

The effects of the new implements and techniques were certainly being felt in Austria just prior to the First World War. From 1901 to 1913, for example, the average yield per hectare in Austria increased by sixteen percent in wheat, twenty-four percent in rye, fifty-one percent in barley, and thirty-four percent in oats. During this same period the weight and quality of livestock also rose considerably (Hertz 1947: 31).

The Situation After World War I

The state of agriculture in Austria after the First World War was generally one of neglect. The non-agricultural population of the

Monarchy had been primarily provisioned from areas in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland. The high tariff barriers around Austria after the war forced the country to attempt self-sufficiency in food production, no easy task for an area that was mostly mountainous. The new government, however, pushed hard for increased production of food and other agricultural commodities such as wood products (which would help ease the balance of payments deficit when exported). The Landwirtschaftskammer, or Chamber of Agriculture, was formed in 1922, and has been instrumental in raising productive capacities through experimental farms, educational programs, and many other means.

As well as promoting new agricultural techniques to increase efficiency, the government was instrumental in reclaiming unproductive land. Between 1927 and 1934, 34,300 hectares of unproductive land was reclaimed and placed into production, although this amounted to only about one-tenth of the total land capable of reclamation. The major problem with this strategy was that most of the reclaimable land was marshland, land not located in large blocks, but instead widely dispersed (Hertz 1947: 119). This situation made for a very expensive procedure.

The problem of feeding the country's population after World War I was probably more severe in Austria than in most other European countries. In the countries to the east, agricultural labor was cheaper and more readily available, and to the west, agriculture was much more thoroughly mechanized. Austria's only recourse was to mechanize and otherwise improve efficiency as rapidly as possible. The farmers were active as a group in helping to improve agrarian production during this period. Self-help organizations which had been founded by farmers just prior to the turn of the century expanded considerably in the 1920's.

It did take some time, however, for agriculture to recover from the war before making significant improvements. The volume of the harvest in Lower Austria in 1920 was well below that of 1913 in almost all crops (O.S.Z. 1920: 26). Shortly thereafter, artificial fertilizers came into widespread use (see Table 32 below) and were responsible for increased yields in many crops. The per hectare yield of cereal grains in the years 1933 to 1937 increased twenty-five percent over that of 1910 (Hertz 1947: 119). The principle green fodder crops (turnips, clover, vetch, and hay) in 1927 to 1929 rose by twenty-three percent over 1911 to 1913 (Hertz 1947: 120). The production of dairy products rose accordingly, primarily because of the better and more abundant cattle feed (see Table 33 below).

Table 32: Use of Fertilizers (in Tons) in Austria
(Adapted from Hertz 1947)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Potash</u>	<u>Phosphate</u>	<u>Nitrates</u>
1923	17,365	58,847	7,411
1927	17,530	97,781	18,737
1937	20,947	117,682	38,095

Table 33: Milk Production in Austria
(Adapted from Schoehl 1935: 88)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Number of Cows</u>	<u>Average Yearly Production in Liters per Cow</u>
1919	.924,358	1300
1923	1,074,865	1700
1927	1,150,200	1900
1930	1,207,162	2000
1934	1,209,874	2100

Long before electrification became widespread in Austria, many mountain farmers harnessed the power of streams to electrify their house and mills. Electric water pumps were especially useful to mountain farmers during the inter-war years (Buchinger 1952: 337).

Electric motors could be used for other machines as well, and one of the most important of these was the threshing machine. With an electrically powered thresher, the performance of the machine could be more exactly regulated, and since it needed no tending while in operation, it further reduced the labor demands on the farmer. To illustrate the magnitude of electrification of mountain farms during this period, it can be noted that in 1939, fifty-one percent of the farms in the political district of Neunkirchen had electric lights, while only twenty-eight percent had running water (in the sense of indoor plumbing) (Statistischen Amt f.d. Reichsgau Ostmark 1931: 53).

During the last few years before the unification with Germany in 1938, the agricultural sector of Austria was able to supply, of the total crops consumed in Austria, sixty percent of the wheat, eighty-four percent of the rye, one hundred percent of the potatoes, and twenty-eight percent of the maize (Hertz 1947: 120n).

Between 1938 and 1945, the mechanization of agriculture progressed rapidly. As mass-production techniques became perfected, the machines became more abundant and much more reasonably priced. During this period, that of the greatest relative shortage of agricultural laborers in Austria's history (because the war was draining manpower off the farms), mechanization necessarily proceeded as fast as it could be pushed. Between 1930 and 1946, the number of tractor-plows increased by 3020 percent, diesel motors by 843 percent, liquid manure spreaders by 707 percent, tractors by 422 percent, silos by 382 percent, electric motors by 134 percent, planting machines by sixty percent, gas motors by fifty-four percent, and mowing machines by twenty-six percent. On the other hand, milk centrifuges declined by forty-five percent,

because better processing of milk in the dairies and cheese manufacturing had made them somewhat superfluous (Buchinger 1952: 352).

Mechanization After World War II

The situation in agriculture at the end of World War II was much worse in Austria than that following the first war. Many more fields and domestic animals had been destroyed, and many more potentially active males had been lost in the fighting. Then in 1946 and 1947, the economy fell into a chaotic depression. It was not until 1948 that the rebuilding of Austrian agriculture actually began. Within the area of agricultural mechanization, considerable regression had taken place. Despite the progress in the manufacture and use of machines during the war, many farmers during the latter stages of the war and immediately afterward reverted to older techniques of farming, because of a lack of essentials needed to operate the machinery, such as gasoline and oil. The following is an example of the economic chaos during this period: some farmers used butter, which they could not sell, to lubricate their machinery in lieu of oil, which they could not buy.

After 1948, mechanization of agriculture again began to make progress. Many types of agricultural machines were converted to electrical power when this was possible, because of the difficulties in obtaining petroleum products. Moreover, when the economy stabilized and as more farms either increased their level of mechanization or mechanized for the first time machines of all types were soon in far greater use. Table 34 shows the magnitude of the increase for various machines in Austria, and Table 35 shows the same for Lower Austria.

Table 34: Number of Agricultural Machines in Use in Austria

<u>Type of Machine</u>	<u>1946</u>	<u>1953</u>	<u>1957</u>	<u>1964</u>
Electric motors	142,526	264,645	322,254	
Internal combustion engines	44,237	36,475	25,511	
Tractors	7,465	30,884	78,718	184,000
Mechanical planters	53,892	59,266	65,124	
Balers	8,564	13,799	19,160	
Motorized mowers	3,834	28,030	57,578	108,000
Combines	0	919	4,383	21,000
Milking machines	3,555	5,603	18,160	

Table 35: Number of Agricultural Machines in Lower Austria

<u>Type of Machine</u>	<u>1946</u>	<u>1951</u>	<u>1953</u>	<u>1957</u>	<u>1960</u>
Tractors	2,530	7,366	10,991	31,422	35,357
Motorized mowers	743	2,973	6,694	13,622	18,095
Combines		136		2,894	5,904
Milking machines		819		5,297	7,632
Gas motors	11,035		7,038	3,806	

Several features stand out in these tables. First, the use of the internal combustion engine, except in moving machinery, definitely has declined in Austrian farms. They have largely been replaced in such types of machinery as water pumps, threshing machines, mills, and other stationary machines by electrical power which is cheaper, easier to operate, and more readily available.

Motorized mowers, which come in many shapes and sizes, have seen a sharp increase in use. These machines are especially valuable in mountainous areas in which relatively more land is given over to hay production than is true of lowland areas. At their stage of development in 1929, it was calculated that a grass mower could save the work of seven men per day of use (Leopold 1929:7), and they have been considerably improved since that time.

By far the most important machine to be utilized on a large scale since the war is the tractor. This machine has virtually replaced the

horse on Austrian farms and has eliminated oxen entirely. The great advantage of the tractor is its versatility. It can be used to operate other implements, such as plows, but its most important use is simply its ability to transport goods of all types from place to place in one or more wagons pulled behind. The speed with which the tractor can move goods and people is especially important in the mountain areas of Austria where terrain is difficult and where fragmentation of land in a single farm forces the farmer to spend much time and effort in going from plot to plot and to the house.

The tractor is important for different reasons in farms of different size and composition. In the case of the marginal farm where the adult males in the family are employed in non-agricultural pursuits, the tractor allows the farm to persist as a part-time family enterprise based on a large proportion of female labor. In the medium and large holdings, the full-time farms, the function of the tractor is different. Here it allows the working of more land with increased labor productivity. In both cases the tractor is actually used to offset labor shortages, although of different kinds.

Other types of improvements have been made in the mechanization of agriculture in post-war Austria. Fertilizers have continued to be used more and more. In Lower Austria nitrogen fertilizers used in 1937 amounted to 21,500 tons and 106,300 tons in 1958. In these same two years, potash rose from 13,500 tons to 104,500 tons, and phosphate rose from 46,000 tons to 204,100 tons (Niederoesterreichische Landes-Landwirtschaftskammer 1959:29).

In 1951, only three percent of the agricultural population had any professional formal training. Since then, many new agricultural

schools and short courses have been started, and many more people are attending. This is having the effect of increasing the inclinations and abilities of the farmers to utilize new methods as they become available.

The increasing use of superior seed grains, better pest control, and the above mentioned factors of post-war mechanization have led to a noticeable rise in the per hectare yield in virtually all crops. For example, the per hectare yield of bread grains increased from 1440 kilograms in 1937 to 1650 kilograms in 1957. Likewise, the more careful selection of breeding animals as well as improvements in breeding and feeding methods has brought good results in animal husbandry and in dairy production (Kraus 1958: 17). In milk production, the liters produced per cow had climbed to 2350 by 1957 (compare this with the figures in Table 33).

Since the end of World War II, the amount of land in Austria that is utilized agriculturally has declined slightly. Despite this fact, the overall production of agricultural goods had by 1957 already climbed by more than fifteen percent as compared with 1937 rates. Productivity per agriculturalist rose by more than thirty-five percent in this same period, and the productivity per unit area of agriculturally used land rose more than twenty-two percent (Kraus 1958: 17).

Apparently mechanization of agriculture did not play a crucial role in farming in Berghof until after World War II. This is true of many mountain farming communities in Austria. The sale of wood from the rather extensive forest holdings in the Gemeinde provided after 1948 the capital necessary to finance this mechanization. Before the

end of the war, the only enterprises that were mechanized to any extent were the large land-holdings, the estates. Today, however, mechanization has proceeded to such an extent that it is indispensable for the operation of most farms.

At present in Berghof, all of the full-time farming households own at least one tractor, and four of these own two tractors each. In addition, about one-half of the farming households own motorized mowers. This is undoubtedly a low proportion of mower owning households for the Austrian Alps. Since the production of hay plays a smaller part in the agrarian economy of Berghof than is typical in the alpine areas, mowers are not as necessary. On the other hand, power saws are to be found in almost all farming households, because of the large proportion of woodlands in the community.

The role of tractors in marginal farms is well illustrated in Berghof. Of the marginal farming households, those that receive a major part of their income from non-agricultural sources and who also operate farms on the side, over one-half own tractors, and some motorized mowers are also present in these farms. The marginal farmers who do not own tractors are those whose lands are relatively small (less than three hectares in most cases) and who do not derive enough income from their lands to make tractors profitable. Marginal farmers whose farm-derived income, though small (and marginal farms in Berghof are all under twenty-five hectares in extent, most under fifteen hectares), is important enough to warrant the most efficient methods of operations possible own significant amounts of agricultural machinery.

Notes on Chapter IV:

1. The word "peasant" refers to the class of farmers descended from serfs. This is a recognized category of agriculturalists in Austria and is usually translated (from the German Bauer) as "farmer". However, this translation is confusing to English-speakers. A large estate owner is also a farmer in our terminology, but he is not called a Bauer in German.

CHAPTER V

THE OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE

After the abolition of serfdom in the mid-nineteenth century, workers for industry were recruited almost exclusively from the lower strata of peasants, those with little or no land. With the abolition of the communal village lands at this time, many of these persons could no longer eke out even a marginal subsistence from the land. However, many small peasants could have survived through wage labor on the large estates but chose instead to try their luck in the cities as part of the emerging industrial unskilled labor force.

As industry expanded relatively rapidly through the latter part of the nineteenth century, this process continued. As a larger labor force was required in industry, more and more of those persons in the lower peasant strata were siphoned out of the agricultural sector. This trend has continued into the twentieth century and, in fact to the present although in modified form.

Those peasants who remained in agriculture after 1848 are said to have been in the process of becoming a "rural middle class" (L'Tapie 1971: 328). This class was well crystalized by the beginning of World War II, and its existence was furthered by the rising standard of living of farmers, as well as by the progressive elimination of the less well-off peasants through urban migration.

Both the migration of agriculturalists to the cities and the rising standard of living of the farmers were interrupted by the unsettled economic conditions in Austria following the First World War.

After the war, price ceilings were placed on rents in the cities (most notably in Vienna) and on agricultural products in an effort to curb inflation and keep down the cost of living for urban workers. However, manufactured goods and other things that farmers had to buy were proportionately much more expensive, causing a black market in agricultural products (Buchinger 1952: 398). After the economy was stabilized in 1923, the real wage level rose considerably, especially for urban workers, because food prices lagged consistently behind wages (Hertz 1947: 151).

With this sort of situation, one would expect that the migration of farmers for industrial employment would accelerate. In fact, the opposite happened; there was a slight decrease in the rate of urban migration. The reason for this was that at the same time wages were rising in the cities, unemployment was also on the rise. Those persons who were employed were doing better each year in terms of real wages, but fewer people were able to find work each year. Of those workers insured against unemployment, there were unemployed 14.1 percent in 1925, 15.5 percent in 1926, 15.5 percent in 1927, 15.8 percent in 1928, 17.0 percent in 1929, and 22.7 percent in 1930 (Hertz 1947: 146). Taking the 1929 employment rate as one hundred percent, the following percentages of people were employed in the years indicated; 95.1 percent in 1930, 86.6 percent in 1931, 76.4 percent in 1932, 70.6 percent in 1933, 69.8 percent in 1934, 66.8 percent in 1935, 64.6 percent in 1936, and 67.4 percent in 1937 (Hertz 1947: 147). This is a dismal picture indeed, since 1929 was anything but a year of full employment.

With regard to the occupational structure of the country as a whole during the inter-war years, the proportion of those employed in agriculture declined, as did that of people working in industrial

occupations. The percentage of people in commerce and transportation (and this included most tourism-related occupations) rose slightly, and the proportion of civil servants and people in the liberal professions rose sharply, as did the unemployed and students of all sorts.

The industry of Austria had for some time been relatively decentralized, but during the Second World War, this process was greatly accelerated. To further the war effort, Austrian industry was greatly expanded and was integrated within the German economy completely; in an effort to remove the threat of bomb damage to the plants, many industries were relocated in the countryside. Such new plants as were built were likewise isolated when possible. This decentralization (or delocalization) has continued in Austria since the recovery from the war and in the post-World War II period has had considerable effects on the occupational structure of rural areas.

Although some farmers had been working in factories, in forestry operations, or on large estates part time prior to the war or had been practicing some handicraft on the side, the incidence of multiple income families in the rural areas increased drastically after the war. This was made possible by the increasing decentralization of industry (and was in part responsible for its continuation) and also by the improved transportation facilities available to rural people after the war. The advent of cheap and efficient mass transportation has made feasible both the long and short distance commuting to industrial and other types of non-agricultural jobs which has become so prevalent in rural communities in Austria.

The proportion of industrial workers in Austria rose continually until about 1960, but from that point on has declined slightly (Bundeskammer

der gewerblichen Wirtschaft 1969a: 176-177). The wages of industrial workers of all sorts have been on the rise since the end of World War II (Strasser 1966: 338). Industrial prices have also been rising, but farm income, while rising, is not doing so at the same rate but is consistently lagging behind. The unbroken decline in the percentage of agriculturalists in the population that has characterized the country since 1848 has also continued unabated since the end of the war.

Increasingly since the end of the First World War, the biggest gain in the proportions of the population employed have been in the tertiary sector of the economy, including commerce, transportation, civil service, the army, and the tourist businesses: hotels, pensions, inns, restaurants, bars, and the like. The effects of this trend on rural villages were felt in different degrees, depending primarily upon the importance of tourism in the area. Also, some rural areas participated in the tourist trade much earlier than others. However, since the end of World War I, the effects of tourism on the rural occupational structure in Austria have been qualitatively the same, only quantitatively different. Just how these changes in the economic orientation of the country have been reflected at the rural level is well illustrated by the history of Berghof.

The Occupational Structure in Berghof

Between 1848 and the beginning of the First World War, the primary effects of the changing economic orientation of the empire on Berghof was the slow but increasing drain of agriculturalists into the major cities of the empire and into the industrial jobs that were opening up with increasing rapidity. Just prior to the First World War, around

1910, as the railroad was built into the area, tourism began its rise but was still a relatively unimportant part of the town's economy. Also at this time, a few persons from the town apparently received employment from the building and operation of the railroad, but this was not responsible for any great change in the town's economic structure.

The period between the world wars in Austria saw the continuation of migration of people from the town to the large cities for industrial employment. Also during this period, industry started to decentralize to a greater extent, and jobs were then to be found in the smaller cities of the area. With the moderately efficient transportation network of the times, one finds the beginnings of commuting to industrial jobs on a noticeable scale. In the Berghof area these jobs were primarily in the Pitten valley, between Berghof and Vienna.

The major feature of the inter-war period, the one that caused the greatest changes in the occupational structure, was the rise of tourism on a massive scale following the hiatus brought about by the war and its aftermath of economic instability. By the end of this period, the occupational structure of the town had been radically altered, and tourism was considered the primary occupation of the town.

The years following the Second World War have seen further changes in the town's occupational make-up. Agriculture has continued to decline in importance, both in terms of people employed and in terms of income brought into the town. Tourism continued to rise very rapidly in importance, peaking in the 1960's and remaining relatively stable since then. Short distance commuting has become increasingly common, primarily to industrial jobs, and long distance commuting on a regular basis has

become more and more popular as transportation service has improved.

Throughout the whole period of this study, the involvement of the townspeople in jobs in commerce and transportation has increased in direct proportion to the importance of tourism, and of jobs that require commuting. There are many businesses and jobs in Berghof that are indirectly dependent upon the tourists, such as restaurants, retail stores, and barbershops, which are not usually considered as tourist businesses. Also, there are many persons employed in transportation fields who might be otherwise employed were it not for the tourists and the commuter traffic. These include railroad employees, taxi operators, and gas station attendants.

In Austria over the last century, there has been a steady rise in the number and proportion of civil servants of all types in the population. This has held true for the town of Berghof as well. Another characteristic of the history of the Austrian occupational structure, the steady increase in the number of persons in the "liberal professions", such as physicians, lawyers, and journalists, has not occurred in Berghof. In fact, there has been a decline in the numbers of these people in the town's population since at least 1934.

The effects of these trends on Berghof's occupational structure have resulted in a number of interesting features of a less obvious nature which are of considerable importance. The first of these is the phenomenon of multiple income households. As opportunities for wage labor in industry and tourism have become available to the townspeople, the incidence of multiple sources of income in a single household has risen until today there are sixty-four households that have multiple sources of income, as opposed to ninety-two households that rely on a single

source of income.

Under the heading of single income source households, I am including those in which there is only one income earner, and he (or she) has only one source of income. Also in this group are those households in which more than one family member may work, but in the same job, as, for example, when a wife or child may help with the family business. Table 36 shows the breakdown in single income families as to the number and percentage of households receiving income from each category of employment.

Forty-one point one percent of all households have multiple sources of income. All of these figures are exclusive of income derived from pensions of any kind. There are forty-seven households with income derived solely from pensions. Also, there are thirteen households in which there is some outside employment but in which the most important source of income is from pensions. These have also been excluded from this analysis. Furthermore, many of the multiple income households discussed below have pensioners in them, but these persons are not included as having independent income sources for the purposes of this analysis.

Table 36: Single Income Households by Category of Employment in Berghof¹

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent of Single Income Households</u>	<u>Percent of Total Households</u>
Agriculture	20	21.7	12.8
Tourism	17	18.5	10.9
Industry, Commerce, & Manufacture	28	30.4	17.9
Transportation	18	19.6	11.5
Civil Service	7	7.6	4.5
Unknown	2	2.2	1.3
Total	92	100.0	58.9

Of the multiple income source households, there are basically two subtypes. The first is composed of those households in which although there is only one income earner, he has more than one source of income. The second type is that group of households which have more than one income earner. There are eight households that fall in the first type, and fifty-six that fall in the second. Of those households in the second type, however, there are four in which one member of the household also has more than one source of income. Of the sixty-four households with multiple sources of income, there are eight with one income earner, forty with two income earners, eleven with three income earners, and two with four income earners.

The positions in the household of the persons involved in multiple income families is represented by Table 37 below.

Table 37: Positions in the Household of Employed Persons in Multiple Income Households in Berghof

Head of household only.....	8
Head and spouse.....	26
Head, spouse, and child (ren).....	1
Head and child(ren).....	21
Head and sibling(s).....	3
Head, sibling(s) and child(ren).....	1
Other.....	4

The particular kinds of combinations of employment categories to be found in multiple income households is also of interest. Of the sixty-four multiple income households, sixty receive income from two areas of the economy only. Four households receive income from three areas. The data for the two-category households are summarized in Table 38. The intersection of any two categories on the grid shows how many families receive income from that particular combination of employment categories. As for those households which have income in

Table 38: Combinations of Employment in two-category Multiple
Income Households in Berghof

	<u>Agriculture</u>	<u>Tourism</u>	<u>Industry, Commerce, & Manufacture</u>	<u>Transportation</u>	<u>Civil Service</u>
Agriculture	1	---	---	---	---
Tourism	8	5	---	---	---
Industry, Commerce, & Manufacture	9	10	9	---	---
Transportation	1	1	0	0	---
Civil Service	1	4	6	0	5

three categories, one has members employed in tourism, transportation, and industry; one has members in agriculture, transportation, and tourism; one has members in civil service, industry, and tourism; and one has them in civil service, tourism, and agriculture.

Of all the households with multiple income sources, there are thirty-three which have at least one member commuting out of town to his job. The total number of persons who commute to jobs from the multiple income households is fifty-four.

The phenomenon of commuting to jobs while living in Berghof warrants further investigation. As mentioned previously, this trend has been more and more characteristic of rural Austria since just after the turn of this century and has accelerated dramatically since the end of the Second World War. In present day Berghof this trend has reached sizable proportions. Eighty-five out of a total of four hundred eleven employed persons, or just over twenty percent, commute outside the Gemeinde to work. Also, there are seventy-two households who have members commuting. There are sixty-one households with one commuter each, nine households with two commuters each, and two households with three commuters each.

Of the households which have commuting members, forty-two of these are households which have another source of income besides that derived by commuting. Thirty households derive their sole income from jobs which require commuting. Of those commuting households with outside income, nine are households in which the only other source of income is from pensions. Of those households without outside sources of income, only one is a household in which the commuter is not the head of the household.

In this case it is a child of the household head. The positions in the households of those commuters from households that do have outside sources of income is represented in Table 39. The position given is in relation to the head.

The places to which the commuters from Berghof go in order to work are illustrated in Table 40. The distances are approximate, as are the populations.

Table 39: Position in Household of Commuters from Households with other Income Sources in Berghof

Head.....	18
Spouse.....	3
Brother.....	2
Son.....	24
Daughter.....	5
Other.....	2

Table 40: Destination of Commuters from Berghof

<u>No. of Commuters</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Distance from Berghof</u>	<u>Population</u>
21	Vienna	100 km	1,600,000
2	Graz	100	250,000
8	Wiener Neustadt	50	35,000
20	"A**	10	2,300
7	"B**	15	1,000
3	"C**	10	3,000
3	"D**	20	1,500
19	Other	29.4**	3,242**

* To protect the anonymity of Berghof these towns cannot be named.

** Average

The data presented thus far do not include some railroad workers, because it is difficult to tell where exactly all of these people work. Some have regular bases of operations, but three persons in Berghof do not. Railroad officials who have a discernible regular base of operations are included in the above data.

Most of the commuters are daily travelers between work and home.

Some, on the other hand, are weekly commuters, this being especially the case with some who work in Vienna. These weekly commuters live where they work during the week, and return home on weekends. A few of the commuters apparently return home less frequently than once per week, but this is rare.

The categories of employment for all commuters are given in Table 41 with the number of commuters and the percentage of the total commuters in each area.

Table 41: Categories of Employment for Commuters from Berghof

<u>Category</u>	<u>Number of Commuters</u>	<u>Percent of Total Commuters</u>
Industry, Commerce, & Manufacturing	50	58.8
Civil Service	10	11.8
Transportation	18	21.2
Agriculture	2	2.3
Tourism	3	3.5
Unknown	2	2.3

This table taken in conjunction with Table 40 points out the tremendous importance of the effect of the decentralization of industry in Austria in combination with the improvements in transportation technology on the rural social structure. The industries have provided jobs for the rural worker, and the railroads, buses, and autos have provided him the means to take advantage of the opportunities.

The Effects on Farming Households

The farmers of Berghof have also had occasion to take advantage of the increasing occupational alternatives. Of Berghof's forty-five farming households, twenty-six are full-time farming families.² Of the twenty-six full-time farming families, seventeen receive no income at all outside of that provided by the farm.³ Nine full-time

farm families receive some outside income. In these nine households, there are twelve persons who receive income from working outside the farms. Five of these work in industry, commerce, and manufacturing; six work in tourism; and one works in transportation. None of the persons in full-time farming families who works outside the farm is the head of the household. One of them is the wife of the head, four are brothers of the head, one is a son of the head, four are daughters, one is the sister of the head, and the position of one is unknown.

The average hectarage worked by the full-time farm families with no outside income is (exclusive of the one large estate in this group) forty-one hectares, and the average for those who do receive some outside income is thirty-eight hectares.

Of the nineteen part-time farming families, two receive outside income only from pensions, while the other seventeen have other types of outside income as well. In these nineteen part-time farming households there are twenty-nine persons who receive income outside the farm. Fourteen of these persons are working in the areas of industry, commerce, and manufacturing; eleven are working in tourism; one is working in transportation; two are in the civil service; and one is also an agricultural laborer outside his own farm.

Of the persons working outside the farm in part-time farming households, sixteen are the heads of their household, eight are sons of the head, three are daughters, one is a wife, and one is a son-in-law.

The average hectarage of part-time family farms is 5.5 hectares. The range is from 0.2 to 22.58 hectares.

In comparing the data for full-time vs. part-time farming households, we find that in terms of non-farm workers per household, the

full-time farms have 0.46 per household, while the part-time farms have 1.52 per household. This is, of course, to be expected since the size of the part-time farms makes them non-viable entities in most cases. Only two of the part-time farms are of a size comparable to full-time farms, and these are owned by hoteliers who operate them strictly as a sideline. As the town has been brought into a capitalist economy in the last one hundred twenty years, those farmers with smaller holdings have abandoned them as the sole source of income. The reason why so many non-viable or marginal holdings are still to be found is precisely because of the increased income opportunities that have become available in the rural area, primarily in industry and tourism. This also explains the differences in the positions in the households of non-farm workers in the part-time vs. the full-time farms. In the part-time farm families, the majority of the non-farm workers are the heads of their households, with a high number also being the sons of the heads, or their primary heirs. These farms are worked primarily by the wives of the heads with some help from the children and weekend help from the household head. This arrangement allows the family to retain at least a small farm, and since much of this land is usually in the form of garden plots, the family's income is augmented considerably, especially in the summer. At the same time, the work done outside the farm provides the marginal farm family with an acceptably high standard of living, one which could not be gotten from the farm alone.

On the other hand, with regard to the non-farm workers in full-time farming households, we find that the majority of these people are the brothers and daughters of the heads of the households, or people who have little chance of inheriting the farm. Increasingly in the last

twenty-five years, the daughters of farmers have taken to working outside the farm in order to find a career and/or a non-farming husband. In fact, many young farmers are having a difficult time finding a wife for this reason. Many farm daughters are much more interested in what they consider to be the easier life of a non-farmer's wife.

Other Features

Another effect of the diversification of occupational opportunities in Berghof has been the influx of a large number of persons from outside the town to work in Berghof. Although some persons commute into Berghof from the surrounding areas to work, this is relatively uncommon. But there are at present fifty-nine single persons living and working in the town who have moved there from elsewhere. Fifty-three of these are working in tourist establishments and live in their respective places of employment. Of these fifty-three, forty-four are females who work relatively cheaply as maids and the like in the hotels and pensions. Of the total fifty-nine migrants into Berghof, forty-eight are females, and eleven are males.

One of the most crucial consequences of occupational diversification in Berghof and in rural Austria in general, is that the traditional organizational system of the town has broken down. With the coming of opportunities for wage labor outside the agricultural sphere on a large scale, the majority of the populace has been freed from the restraints of economic dependence upon the larger landowners in the town. Instead of the traditional system of interdependent strata largely under the control of the large estate owners and wealthier peasant farmers, one now finds a system of occupational groups, largely independent of

one another at the village level and of more equal economic standing.

The nature of this change is reflected very well in the changes that have taken place in the number and kinds of self-employed persons in the town. Prior to the twentieth century, virtually the only self-employed persons in the town were the estateowners and the most prosperous peasant farmers. Most other people had to work for these independent farmers, at least part time, even if they owned a small farm themselves. This pattern was responsible for the traditional system of interdependence. Today, however, the majority of the self-employed in Berghof are not farmers.

Of the full-time farmers, only twenty-five can be said to be self-employed in that most of their land is owned rather than rented and in that the majority of their income is provided by their own farms. At the same time, there are twenty-one self-employed owners of hotels and pensions, and fourteen self-employed merchants. Thus, fifty-eight percent of all self-employed persons are not farmers, while only forty-two percent are farmers.

Besides these people, however, there are a large number of others who can be said to be partially self-employed as a result of the economic shifts in Berghof's history. In this group are the part-time farmers who have achieved a measure of independence from the larger farmers through their recourse to wage labor outside the agricultural sector. At the same time, they are also partially independent of their employers by virtue of their small farms. Another group which has achieved some measure of economic independence, primarily as a result of the tourist business, are those persons who rent private quarters to tourists on an occasional basis. There are over thirty-five families

in Berghof who advertise that they have private quarters to rent.

Some of these are farmers, but most are not.

As these economic changes have proceeded in Berghof, relationships of power and prestige have undergone modification also. The farmer in Austria still has relatively high prestige as a whole (Taves and Hoenigschmied 1962: 205), but it is more and more common for prestige to be afforded strictly on the basis of a combination of one's occupation and income, with more importance attached to the latter. A farmer's prestige does not carry as much weight as it used to. This is evidenced by the fact that some farmers are having a difficult time convincing a son to take over the farm when greater economic opportunities are to be found elsewhere. Also of significance in this vein is the difficulty young farmers are having finding a wife who will put up with the relatively harder life on the farm.

Local town political relationships have also changed with the economic. The leaders in town politics are no longer exclusively the large farmers, although they still carry considerable weight, but instead they are the more prosperous merchants and tourist caterers.

Notes on Chapter V.

1. With respect to the employment categories, the following definitions will apply throughout this chapter. "Agriculture" includes farmers and agricultural laborers. "Tourism" includes owners and workers in hotels, pensions, Gasthaus's, restaurants and bars. "Industry, Commerce, and Manufacture" includes owners and workers in industrial, mining, commercial, and other manufacturing establishments. "Transportation" includes owners and workers whose primary business is the movement of goods and people, such as railroad employees, road workers, truck drivers, and bus drivers. "Civil Service" includes governmental officials at all levels, from the national to the Gemeinde, such as school teachers, postal employees, Gendarmerie officers (the national police), and all Gemeinde employees. For convenience, I am also including in this category church employees.
2. In Austria as a whole, about one-half of all farming operations receive income solely from agriculture. Eleven percent rely partially on outside resources, and just under forty percent receive the dominant part of their income from sources outside agriculture (O.S.Z. 1968: 10).
3. Three of these families list private rooms for rent, but this is not a major source of income for them.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

We have seen in this study what has happened to the town of Berghof as it has been brought directly into the industrial capitalist economy of the empire and later of the nation state of Austria. By direct participation in the industrial capitalist economy I mean not only the emigration of rural persons into the cities for jobs in industry, but also the penetration of this economy into the rural areas itself through such things as non-agricultural wage labor opportunities for persons still living in the rural areas, and the capitalization and rationalization of agriculture in these areas. This whole process is what Khera (1972) calls "rural industrialization". The obvious question at this point would seem to be: to what extent has this same pattern of development been characteristic of other towns in Austria and in other areas of Europe?

When one begins to look through the literature on European communities, the most impressive feature is the almost total lack of data on the subject of change in the occupational structure. Not many studies of European communities give adequate information for a comparison with Berghof, and almost none approaches the subject in any detail.

There are, however, some monographs and journal articles that cover the subject in enough detail to allow a comparison with the material presented in this study. I will first discuss such comparative

material as does exist, then I will make a series of general statements tying the particular historical sequences of these towns together to arrive at a better understanding of the process of modernization in European communities as it is represented by occupational structure changes.

As for other towns in Austria, Honigmann (1963) has described recent trends taking place in the Styrian alpine community of Altirdning. Over sixty years ago, the town was composed of a core of landowning farmers, agricultural laborers, servants, and such non-farming goods and services specialists as were required to support the agriculturalists. The industrial capitalist economy has come directly to Altirdning in the form of wage labor possibilities in the nearby Enns valley.

Today in the town, Honigmann finds two basic types of people: the farmers, primarily dairy producers, and workers, who are wage earners employed mostly outside of town and commute from Altirdning to their jobs. Honigmann recognizes the over-simplification of this distinction, however, and notes that some family members of farming households also work for wages outside the farm, and some workers are also part-time farmers. In addition, there are a few persons in the town who fit in neither category: agricultural laborers (these are very few), shopkeepers, pensioners, and others.

As industrial wage labor opportunities opened up in the nearby area, people in Altirdning who had previously been landless laborers or marginal farmers took advantage of the new possibilities, causing a labor shortage on the farms. Today farms are operated by a much smaller number of persons. This has been made possible by agricultural mechanization, which has proceeded in the town as labor has become

more and more scarce. Primarily, the recent high price of timber has allowed the farmers to purchase machines, renovate buildings, and generally modernize their farm operations.

Not only have many residents of Altirdning taken advantage of the wage labor possibilities in the surrounding areas, but many other persons have migrated into the town for residence who also work in other, nearby towns. These persons rent housing from farmers or in some cases build themselves houses on land purchased from a farmer. Honigmann indicates that over forty new houses have been built in the town since the end of World War II. One reason that Altirdning is so popular for these incoming laborers is that the town never developed a tourist industry; consequently, land prices have not gone up to the extent that one finds in tourist areas. Honigmann ascribes the bulk of the town's growth from six hundred two inhabitants in 1921 to eight hundred sixteen in 1959 to the influx of wage laborers from the outside.

The total occupational structure of Altirdning, then, has been altered in the last sixty years. The majority of the population is not now engaged in farming occupations. Also, the local service personnel have largely disappeared as tractors, motor scooters, motor cycles, and autos have given the townspeople access to larger market towns nearby. The town is in the process of becoming a residential area for workers in the Enns valley industries.

A similar situation is reported from the town of Berg in southwestern Upper Austria (Khera: 1972). This is a small farming town in the Alpenvorland area, a relatively rich agricultural area in Austria.

Traditionally in Berg, only the owners of holdings of at least

five hectares lived in economic independence at the community level. The owners of smaller holdings were partially dependent on the larger farmers for agricultural labor opportunities to make their farms viable. Landless laborers were totally dependent on the larger farmers to the point of living, unmarried, in the employers' households. This apparently was the extent of occupational diversification in the town other than the typical complement of service personnel.

Traditional village society in Berg came to an end with the beginning of the 1950's. Industrial plants and various business establishments moved into the area, drawing landless people and those with small farms away from employment as agricultural laborers. At the same time, agricultural machinery came into widespread use and replaced the now missing manpower.

The relatively high wages available to industrial and business workers soon permitted the landless and those with small farms to enjoy a standard of living equal to that of the Bauer, or full-time farmer. This fact in turn has had a leveling effect of a political and prestige nature in the village, honor and political power no longer being exclusively the preserve of the larger farmers.

The penetration of industrial capitalism into two villages in the Italian Alps is described by Cole (1969). The two villages are contiguous in area, one being a German-speaking town and the other composed of speakers of Nones, a Romance dialect. Until the mid-1930's, the traditional economy of the area was based on subsistence agriculture of the "mixed mountain farming" type, supplemented by the sale of a few goods and services into the surrounding regional market economy.

There were three classes of farmers in the towns: (1) those with enough land to meet all their subsistence and cash needs (ten percent of the farms), (2) those who had to find some part-time employment outside agriculture, usually in craft work of some sort (fifty percent of the farms), and (3) those with little land who had to find the majority of their income outside their own land, either as agricultural laborers, craftsmen, or some combination of the two (forty percent of the farms). Rural overpopulation was controlled by a constant out-migration of the landless or nearly so who could not meet their needs in the villages.

This situation began changing in the 1930's.

The construction of the first modern road through the area in 1936 brought it into closer physical articulation with the surrounding region, and the accelerating development of the northern Italian industry-market complex following World War II has since radically changed the total cultural environment of the villagers (Cole 1969: 186-187).

Daily bus service was also initiated over the road, and this whole process brought about new and better tools and consumer goods, better access to the market for the buying and selling of goods, and new job opportunities in the surrounding region.

Following World War II, sheep and wheat declined drastically in importance to the local farmers due to the availability of cheaper substitute products from the market economy. The keeping of cattle and the use of land as meadow increased greatly with the new market orientation of the farmers through dairy specialization.

In the 1960's, other things began happening in the area. Wage labor possibilities in the fruit industry were opened up nearby, tourism in the surrounding areas drew off many local youths, the

building industry in the surrounding areas became a source of wage labor for local persons, and members of the villages began migrating more or less permanently to the industrial centers of Germany and northern Italy.

These two contiguous villages are being changed by these events in quite different ways. In Tret, the Nones-speaking village, the possibilities of extra-village employment are heavily opted for, even to the detriment of the local farming economy. As the farm owners are growing old, fewer and fewer people are willing to take over their operation, even those which are considered to be among the more prosperous. Of the farmers with little land, some are retaining the farms and commuting weekly between them and their wage earning jobs, but the vast majority are simply leaving farming for good. Land is being put up for sale or rent by the Tret farmers, but there is little local interest in it. Total agricultural production has dropped significantly as has the agricultural population.

In the German-speaking town, St. Felix, on the other hand, the goal of most people is not to leave the land, but to instead use the new wage earning opportunities to reinforce the chances for success in a life in farming. Farmers in St. Felix are engaged in trying to expand their holdings, mechanize them, and otherwise improve them through wages earned outside of farming. Still in St. Felix, the fringe population (those with little or no land) has been greatly reduced. Some, however, have become part-time farmers, continuing to work a small piece of land while working in the wage labor market outside the village. Some of these part-time farmers are seeking to become full-time farmers by expansion of their holdings. Part of the land for rent and sale in Tret

has been acquired by St. Felix farmers with this end in mind.

The reasons for the divergence in strategies when confronted by the same set of circumstances in the two towns is not readily apparent from Cole's description. He mentions the fact that inheritance in Tret is partible, while in St. Felix it is impartible. This may have had some effect on the responses to modern economic changes in the two towns, but the precise way this has occurred is not discernable from the article.

Another, very different type of town has been described by Anderson and Anderson (1965). Wissous is a small town ten miles south of Paris. Traditionally, the village was composed of a number of small farmers and the normal contingent of village service personnel. As in the case of many European villages, the local landless left the 19th century village for work in the rising urban industry and commerce.

Although Wissous is close to Paris "as the crow flies," it is nonetheless in a relatively isolated position, as it lies off the main roads leading into Paris. Although by the nineteenth century coach service was available to Paris and in 1893 the railroad reached the nearby village of Anthony, Wissous remained into the twentieth century a difficult place to get in and out. "Twentieth century communities located more than twice as far from Paris, but east or west of Wissous, became sociologically much closer to the metropolis by virtue of direct connections with the city communication network" (Anderson and Anderson 1965: 100).

Real changes began in Wissous in the 1920's and 1930's. By the 1920's, industry had grown out from Paris enough to make commuting

from Wissous to its outer edges possible. Apparently, though, not a great number of people were able to take advantage of this, because of the poor transportation network. In 1936, however, bus service to Paris from the town became much more workable, with the result that there were more people from the city who visited in Wissous, and Wissousians began to visit the city frequently. Also, more Wissousians began working in Paris, and some Parisians began to build houses in the village. This was the beginning of a halting but nonetheless discernable trend toward the use of Wissous as a residential center for commuters to Paris. Starting in 1938, Wissous experienced what the Andersons refer to as "primary industrialization". This means that a number of small manufacturing concerns were established in the town which employed both local and non-local workers. More importantly, at this same time came an increasing incorporation of the Wissous population into the economic activities of Paris. The new transportation network which allowed local enterprise in Wissous to draw on some non-local workers also allowed Wissousians to seek and find jobs in Paris.

The ultimate outcome of this process was that Wissous became virtually a suburb of Paris, as large numbers of Parisian workers came to Wissous to live in the tract houses and apartments that rapidly sprang up in the town following the Second World War. This rapid growth is reflected in population figures for the town. In the 1920's, the town had a population of about 1000; in the 1940's, about 1500; and at the time of the study by the Andersons, over 2500.

Several massive changes have occurred in the agricultural sector of Wissous' economy. There has been a reduction in the amount of land

given to agricultural production as the new housing has been built on former field lands. Also, nearby Orly airport has eaten into the agricultural land of Wissous in building new runways.

The familiar feature of a shortage of agricultural labor is now present in Wissous. Competition from industrial jobs has virtually eliminated agricultural laborers as a group in the village. Farmers have responded by mechanizing their operations as much as possible, although they are slightly hampered by a lack of capital. With mechanization of agriculture, has come increasing specialization of products. The production of domestic animals has decreased rapidly except for pigs. The farms have tended to instead specialize in grain production, and one finds instead of the numerous small farms of the early nineteenth century, a smaller number of larger farms. Farmers in Wissous are further handicapped by an increasing land tax rate, apparently because of increasing value of land as a result of the need for new building sites.

What one finds currently in Wissous, then, is a small number of persons who continue to farm; the vast majority of the population is composed of wage earners in Paris industry and commerce at all levels of the business hierarchy, who live in Wissous and commute to their jobs on a daily basis. There has also been a decline in village service personnel as townspeople have easier access to the services of Paris.

The Andersons (1964 and 1960) report a similar situation for the town of Dragor, situated on an island a few miles from Copenhagen. In the nineteenth century, Dragon had an overwhelmingly maritime

economy. Eight-tenths of the men of the town gained their living from the sea as ships officers, seamen, pilots, fishermen, and salvagers. There were three farmers in the town, a few shopkeepers and innkeepers, and also some craftsmen who supported the maritime activities of the town.

About the turn of the century, Dragor experienced a series of changes that totally transformed the town. Technological changes in boat design that were occurring about this time went largely ignored by local shippers, with the result that the bottom dropped out of the local shipping industry. Also, motorized boats and the advent of cheaper fish from other areas badly hurt the fishing industry.

While these changes were occurring, communication with Copenhagen was tremendously upgraded, allowing easy movement back and forth between the town and the city. People began moving to Dragor from Copenhagen as housing began to be in short supply in the city, and, as in the case of Wissous, the suburbanization of the town had begun. At the same time, local persons, recently unemployed by the collapse of the local maritime activities, began to commute to the city in search of work.

Thus in modern Dragor, a few fishermen, pilots, and seamen sailing on non-local vessels are all that remain of the once pervasive maritime economy. The vast majority of Dragorians now are wage earners in the city who commute daily between their homes and jobs. The town is now a thoroughly modern suburb, with just enough picturesque touches left from the seafaring days to make the town a minor tourist stop.

Comparative Generalizations

Given the data on Berghof and this comparative material, what can be said of a general nature about the changes that have occurred in rural European towns as industrial capitalism has penetrated the traditional local economy? Actually, for my purposes, the question is a dual one. First, what happens in the occupational structure of the town, and secondly, what happens in the agricultural sector (or any other mainstay in the traditional economy, such as maritime activities in the case of Dragor)?

When industrialization reaches a point of rapid growth in a society, there is a sudden, massive need for wage laborers in the urban industries. As this occurs, some rural areas are opened to emigration on an unprecedented scale. The structural result of this pattern on the rural level is to remove the lower classes of the agricultural population and provide a safety valve for rural overpopulation. This tendency toward permanent urban migration of former agriculturalists continues throughout the industrial period of a society's history, although its importance to the rural area depends on the presence or absence of other trends that may develop.

The other main trend that can develop is the opening up of local opportunities for income outside the agricultural sector of the economy. This may be accomplished through opportunities for industrial employment as industry decentralizes, or as transportation improvements make industrial employment compatible with commuting. This wage labor opportunity need not be only in industry, but may also be in tertiary sectors of the economy, such as commercial establishments or tourism. In conjunction with wage labor opportunities is the possibility of

rural persons engaging in some form of non-agricultural entrepreneurship, such as small manufacturing concerns or tourist accommodations.

As a town comes to have transportation networks making access to industrial or other types of wage earning jobs easier, not only does the local populace take advantage of this, but in some cases there occurs an immigration of outsiders into the town. This may be of a relatively minor nature, as in the case of Altirdning, and, in a different way, of Berghof. Or it may be massive in scale, resulting in complete, or almost complete, suburbanization of the town as in the cases of Wissous and Dragor. The extent to which immigration proceeds is dependent on the number of jobs available^a within commuting distance of the town and the ease of reaching them.

What happens, then, in the agricultural sector of rural communities affected by these occupational structural changes? A gradual decline in the agricultural population (or in the maritime population in the case of Dragor) is evident. This decline in agricultural labor may be countered by capitalization of the agricultural operations. During the early phases of this process, only the larger farms are able to accomplish this to any meaningful degree. Capitalization here comes largely from the reinvestment of agricultural profits. Later in the industrial history of the society, capitalization gradually spreads to other farms through such means as specialization of products when transportation networks open up dependable urban markets, rapid increases in the price of some goods, such as wood in post-World War II Austria, or the application of funds derived from outside the agricultural sector when alternative sources of employment become widespread.

The occupational structure and agricultural systems in many areas of Europe have not followed the above pattern. When capitalization of agriculture does not take place, as in the case of Tret (or in the case of Dragor, capitalization of maritime activities), stagnation of the traditional economic sector results. This may, however, take other forms.

In the Midi region of France one finds a situation of agricultural overpopulation in which the emigration of labor has not proceeded rapidly enough to stabilize agriculture and in which there is little in the way of local wage earning possibilities in non-agricultural areas (Franklin 1969: 87-94). On the other hand, in the Massif Central region undercapitalization of agriculture is associated with underpopulation, poor land utilization, and low agricultural yields (Franklin 1969: 87-94). In Southern Italy, where emigration to industrial areas outside the region has been fairly heavy, one again finds little capitalization in agriculture, which has resulted in extreme agricultural stagnation (MacDonald and MacDonald 1964: 113-118).

Schneider, Schneider, and Hansen (1972) have described a similar situation for Catalonia and Western Sicily. Both of these regions have experienced what the authors call "modernization" as opposed to "development". That is, there have been marked improvements in the standards of living in these areas since World War II, but with no significant alteration in the organization of agricultural production. The increased standard of living has come primarily from remittances sent by emigrants in the industrialized areas of Europe, governmental "welfaristic" investments in the area (in the form of old age pensions, etc.), and from tourism (Schneider, Schneider, and Hansen 1972: 340-344). Such

occupational alternatives as exist in the areas are almost exclusively in the tertiary sector of the economy, with very little in the way of local industrial employment. When industries are located in these areas, moreover, they are controlled externally, and there is no re-investment of the profits locally.

In other areas of Europe, one can find quite different patterns. For example, certain regions in northern France are characterized by large scale capitalist farms involved in highly mechanized grain farming. Occupational alternatives to farming are abundant in these regions also (Franklin 1969: 94-98).

European communities have responded to the rise of industrial capitalism in very different ways. There are, it seems, several different routes to "modernization". This study has attempted to provide a research strategy to deal with the economic changes that have occurred in rural communities as they come under the influence of industrial capitalism. I have dealt in detail with one type of rural economic change, that typified by Berghof, viewing this change in terms of the alterations which have taken place in the occupational structure and in terms of related changes in the agricultural system. This method, I feel, provides a perspective on rural social change which can be valuable in developing a comparative analytical framework out of the modernization notion. Instead of asking how modernized a community is, we need to define as precisely as possible the forces operating to change the community and show how the community has responded.

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APPENDIX

The following are among the more important sources utilized in the gathering of statistical data for this study, but were not cited in the body of the text.

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- 1955 Oesterreichisches Agrar Handbuch. Vienna.

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- 1970 Die Gewerblichen Wirtschaft Niederoesterreich. Vienna.

Oesterreichischen Statistischen Zentralamt

- 1950 Statistisches Handbuch fuer d. Republik Oesterreich. Vienna.
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- 1953 Ergebnisse der Land-und Forstwirtschaftlichen Betriebszaelung vom 1 Juni, 1951 nach Gemeinden. Heft 6, Niederoesterreich, Vienna.
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- 1957 Gesamtergebnisse der Alpstatistik Oesterreichs. Vienna.
- 1963 Ergebnisse der Volkszaelung vom 21 Maerz, 1961. Heft 7, Niederoesterreich. Vienna.

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- 1964 Statistisches Handbuch fuer d. Republik Oesterreich. Vienna.
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