Igor Vrišer

O GEOGRAFSKEM PROUČEVANJU SLOVENSKIH MEST

Slovensko urbano omrežje, ki ga sestavljajo številna mala mesta, dve srednje veliki in dve večji mesti, je bilo v minulih petdesetih letih predmet mnogih in večstranskih geografskih proučitev.

I.

Večina slovenskih mest je nastala v srednjem veku, v 12., 13. in 14. stoletju. Pozneje je dobilo mestne pravice le nekaj krajev in še to v docela drugačnih okoliščinah. Mesta iz časa fevdalizma so bila povečini na novo ustanovljena, največkrat tam, kjer je že obstajala gostejša poselitev, tržišče, ugoden prometni položaj ali celo določena kontinuiteta z antično dobo. Razen trgovine in obrti, ki sta bili v Sloveniji, tako kot drugod v Evropi, najpomembnejša mestotvorna dejavnika, je imela velik pomen tudi obramba. A. Melik v razpravi »O mestih in trgih na Slovenskem« (9, 335—344) poudarja, da so pod vplivom teh dejavnosti nastala mesta na križiščih prometnih poti (Maribor, Celje), na strateško ali obrambno ugodnih pomolih, terasah ali soteskah (Kranj, Ormož, Krško), ob pomembnejših prometnih poteh (Slovenska Bistrica, Postojna), v gosteje obljudenih kotlinah ali ravninah (Slovenj Gradec, Radovljica), ali pa so vsi ti razlogi hkrati odločali. Neurejene fevdalne razmere, zaprto tržišče in drobna konkurenca, so pripomogle, da je ponekod nastalo veliko manjših trgov in mestec (Kozjansko), drugod, v ugodnih okoliščinah, pa se ni izoblikovalo ustrezno urbano središče (10, 56—60).

Urbano omrežje je obdržalo fevdalni značaj zelo dolgo, prav do srede 19. stoletja, ko se je pod vplivom industrializacije začelo spreminjati. Poglavitni razlog za to je treba iskati v dokajšnji nerazvitosti takratnih pokrajin Notranje Avstrije. Še v začetku 19. stoletja so bila urbana središča majhna: mesta so imela v poprečju, računano po konskripcijskih zapisih, okoli 2300 prebivalcev in številni trgi okoli 730 prebivalcev. Edino Ljubljana in Maribor sta imela 19.387 oziroma 12.245 prebivalcev. Pravo, zares veliko mesto je bil samo Trst. Raziskave urbanega omrežja (17, 27—28) so pokazale, da je bilo, upoštevajoč tudi mesta v bližnjih pokrajinah in na etično mešanem ozemlju, razmerje med več-

jimi mesti, mesti in trgi 7:31:73. Oddaljenost med mesti in med mesti in trgi je bila podobna kot drugod v Srednji in Zahodni Evropi.

V teku 19. stoletja se je s kmečko odvezo, izgradnjo železnic in postopno industrializacijo pričela deagrarizacija in urbanizacija. Zaradi šibkosti slovenskih mest je velik del emigrantov s prenaseljenega podeželja moral v tujino in ni v tolikšni meri prispeval k razvoju mest, kot je to bil primer v zahodnoevropskih deželah (10, 7). Novi socialnoekonomski procesi so postopoma zdiferencirali urbano omrežje. Analiza za čas ob začetku 20. stoletja je pokazala, da je bilo mogoče na Slovenskem razlikovati sedem hierarhičnih stopenj centralnih naselij (17, 29). Oblasti so sicer obdržale staro delitev na mesta in trge, industrializacija pa je ustvarjala nove tipe naselij in hkrati povzročala zastoj nekaterih tradicionalnih središč (npr. Metlika, Ormož, Lož, Kozje, Kanal, Mokronog, Lenart itd.).

Politično razkosanje vzhodnoalpskega prostora in še posebno slovenskega ozemlja po obeh svetovnih vojnah med tri države je urbani sistem na tem območju precej prizadelo. Številna središča so prišla v sklop sosednjih držav (Trst, Gorica, Radgona, Velikovec), zaradi česar so ostale nekatere slovenske regije do danes brez ustreznega središča (Primorska, Pomurje, slovenski del Koroške) (5, 73—91).

Po letu 1945 se je tempo urbanizacije, ki je bil doslej dokaj zmeren, pospešil zaradi intenzivnejše industrializacije in z njo povezane intenzivne deagrarizacije. Učinek tega socialnoekonomskega dogajanja so raziskovalci slovenskih mest podrobneje proučili predvsem v treh smereh: kako pojmovati in interpretirati mestni pojav v novih razmerah, kakšna sta bili stopnja in razporeditev urbanizacije in kako se je preoblikoval urbani sistem.

Že med obema vojnama so postajale potrebe po ustrezni reformi dotedanjih opredelitev urbanih naselij na mesta in trge zaradi socialnoekonomskih transformacij čedalje bolj očitne. Iskanje boljše ureditve se je očitovalo v večkratnih upravnih opredelitvah mest. Reforma iz leta 1952 in kasnejša dopolnilna iz leta 1955 so končno priznala status mesta 51 krajem. A. Melik, ki se je med slovenskimi geografi najbolj ukvarjal s tem problemom (10, 25—40), je zapisal, da tudi ta reforma ni bila dosledna in je nihala med kriterijem velikosti naselij, historičnega koncepta in funkcijske opredelitve. Zlasti pa ji je bilo zameriti, da je pustila docela ob strani vprašanje statusa nekdanjih trgov, ki jih je v Sloveniji vse polno (pomembnejših je po A. Meliku 28, a po historičnem kriteriju 58) in ki jih ni mogoče enačiti z vasmi. Tudi problem rudarskih, industrijskih in turističnih naselbin ni bil ustrezno urejen. Melik se je zavzemal, da bi vpeljali v upravi zanje več posebnih kategorij: »nekdanji trgi«, »urbanizirane vasi« in »turistični kraji« (10, 56—68). Nadaljnji problem pri opredeljevanju urbanih naselij je bil, katera naselja šteti k mestnemu organizmu. Zaradi togosti uprave je potekalo inkorporiranje obmestnih urbaniziranih naselij v mestni teritorij zelo počasi in so tako izkazovali uradni popisi za veliko mest praviloma prenizke številke (10, 13—25).

Prav to neskladje med upravno opredelitvijo mest in dejanskim stanjem je vsem dosedanjim raziskovalcem urbanizacije povzročalo nič koliko težav in se zato rezultati velikokrat razlikujejo. Vlado in Vera Kokole, ki sta ta problem doslej najtemeljiteje obdelala, sta zaradi tega uporabila kar štiri različne kriterije (4, 14—18). Stopnjo urbanizacije sta računala na podlagi števila prebivalcev v uradno priznanih mestih (l. 1961 33,2 %), glede na število prebivalcev v naseljih z nad 2000 prebivalci (l. 1961 31,0 %), upoštevala sta razen mest še bližnja urbanizirana naselja v radiju 2,5 km (l. 1961 38,4 %) in skušala iz zaposlitvene kapacitete urbanih naselij ugotoviti, koliko ljudi bi živelo v mestih, če bi se preselili tja vsi zaposleni (in njih družine), ki se dnevno vozijo iz okolice na delo v mesto (l. 1961 30,1 %). Razmerje med delovnimi mesti v domačem kraju in številom tistih, ki hodijo na delo izven domačega naselja, sta tudi uporabila za širšo opredelitev urbanizacije na podeželju in ob tem razlikovala tri urbanizacijske cone: izrazito in pretežno urbanizirano cono in ruralno cono. Območja izrazite urbanizacije so bila v gospodarsko najrazvitejših predelih: Gorenjska, okolica Ljubljane, Črni revir, Savinjska, Šaleška in Mežiška dolina, okolica Maribora in obala (4, 7—10).

V razpravi »Mala mesta v SR Sloveniji« je končno I. Vrišer določil stopnjo urbanizacije za l. 1971 na 42,6 %. Dobil jo je tako, da je upošteval vsa naselja z več kot 2000 prebivalci in 9 urbaniziranih naselij s 1500—2000 prebivalci (71 po številu) ter k njim prištel še bližnje močno urbanizirane kraje (17, 38).

Iz vsega tega je razvidno, da so urbanizacijske razmere v Sloveniji zaradi velikega števila malih mest, različnih zvrsti urbaniziranih naselij, velikega deleža zaposlenih, ki se vozijo s podeželja na delo v mesta, precejšnje deagrarizacijske stopnje (l. 1971 cca 20,4 %) in »sociološke urbanizacije« (4, 12—13) dokaj svojstvene. Ob uporabi nekoliko ostrejšega kriterija, npr. spodnje meje 20.000 prebivalcev, bi se urbanizacijska stopnja znižala celo na 22,6 % (l. 1971). Za slovensko urbanizacijo je zato najbolj karakteristično nasprotje med visoko deagrarizacijsko in nizko urbanizacijsko stopnjo; pojav bi lahko označili kot »hipourbanizacijo« (17, 43) »semiurbanizacijo« ali »razpršeno urbanizacijo« (1, 10 in 489).

V obstoječem urbanem sistemu se glede na vse to močno zrcalijo historična dediščina, učinki industrializacije, potek in graditev prometnih zvez in svojstvena urbanizacija. V. Kokole, ki je analiziral naselbinsko omrežje v Sloveniji nekoliko širše in sicer v zvezi z raziskavo centralnih krajev, je prišel do sklepa, da se je v sedanjosti razvejalo mestno omrežje na 9 hierarhičnih stopenj (5, 30—34), hkrati pa se je notranja ureditev in povezava spreminjala. Ob močni naslonitvi na Christallerjeve teze — slednje so imele med slovenskimi geografi na sploh dokajšen odmev — je ugotovil, da so se v določenih razdobjih uveljavljala sukcesivno vsa tri načela v organizaciji centralnih naselij: sprva oskrbno načelo, nato upravno in v poslednjem času tudi prometno načelo (5, 62—63). V svoji obširni analizi je V. Kokole zajel razen urbanih središč tudi podeželske centralne kraje, torej tudi tista središča, ki jih je, kot omenjeno, zakonodaja docela pustila ob strani. Ta središča je delil na sub-

centralne vasi, centralne vasi, ruralne in industrijske centre (5, 91—99). Kokoletova razvrstitev mest v hierarhične stopnje se je oprla na kvalitativne znake, to je na opremljenost in pogostost pojavljanja različnih storitvenih dejavnosti. Glede na to opredelitev se je v 9. hierarhično stopnjo uvrstila Ljubljana, v 8. Maribor, 7. Celje, 6. Koper, Nova Gorica, Novo mesto, Kranj in Murska Sobota, v 5. Jesenice, Trbovlje, Ptuj, Slovenj Gradec in Brežice, v 4. močnejši občinski centri, v 3. pa ostala občinska središča. Drugo in prvo stopnjo so sestavljala različna ruralna in industrijska središča. Do podobnih rezultatov je prišel tudi I. Vrišer v razpravi o »Centralnih naseljih v Jugoslaviji«. Razlikoval je 6 hierarhičnih stopenj (16, 402). Za opredelitev je uporabil razen pogostosti pojavljanja posameznih storitev tudi kvantitativno merilo in sicer presežek zaposlenih v storitvah nad določenim minimumom (16, 403—408). Rezultati obeh raziskav se bistveno ne razhajajo. Vrišerjeva raziskava je pokazala, da je veljalo za Jugoslavijo v celoti razmerje med višjimi in nižjimi stopnjami 1:3, v Sloveniji pa 1:2,6 (16, 410). Obe proučitvi sta potrdili, da je večina slovenskih mest kot centralnih naselij premajhnih in v primeru nekaterih »vodilnih gravitacijskih žarišč« (5, 74) prešibko opremljenih. Na urbani sistem je imel nedvomno velik vpliv razen gostote in razporeditve prebivalstva, potrošnje, industrializacije in prometa institucionalni faktor.

V zvezi z raziskavami urbanega sistema je treba tudi omeniti študije o mestnih gravitacijskih sferah. Medtem ko je l. 1963 napravil I. Vrišer o tej problematiki daljši metodološki pregled (14, 64—93), je V. Kokole v svoji študiji o centralnih krajih s pomočjo obsežne ankete tudi dejansko proučil obseg gravitacijskih območij vseh pomembnejših centralnih krajev, to je večine slovenskih mest (5, 24—25). Vplivne cone je proučil na treh različnih nivojih: na nižji, srednji in višji osnovni stopnji. Uvrstitev v eno od teh treh ravni je bila odvisna od značaja in frenkventiranosti potrošnje. V nižjo stopnjo je uvrstil storitve, ki se pogosto uporabljajo in so zato potrošnikom lahko dostopne, v srednjo občasno uporabljane in v višjo stopnjo izjemno uporabljane storitve in dobrine. Glede na številne odgovore je avtor lahko za vsa večja naselja določil, v katero gravitacijsko območje sodijo. Hkrati je tudi preveril hierarhično stopnjo in pomen vsakega centralnega kraja. O vplivnih območjih je izdelal tri karte in sicer vplivnih območij središč 3. stopnje, 6. in 8./9. stopnje. Rezultati so pokazali, da je prišlo na enega mestnega prebivalca okoli 4,8—10,5 ali v poprečju 5,5 prebivalcev na vplivnem območju. Na podoben način je tudi izračunal razmerje med delovnimi mesti v terciarnih in kvartarnih dejavnostih v mestih in številom prebivalstva na vplivnem območju. Poprečni koeficient 25 delovnih mest na 1000 prebivalcev (5, 44—45), ki ga je dobil, je znova potrdil že znane ugotovitve o slabi opremljenosti slovenskih mest s storitvenimi dejavnostmi (17, 145). V citiranem delu je končno V. Kokole podrobno prikazal še razmere na vplivnih območjih posameznih vodilnih gravitacijskih žarišč, to je takoimenovane subsisteme (5, 74—91). Gravitacijska območja slovenskih mest je proučil v zadnjem času tudi I. Vrišer[19] v študiji o vplivnih območjih jugoslovanskih mest.

Vse te značilnosti slovenske urbanizacije in mestnega omrežja so se zrcalile tudi v populacijskem razvoju mest. Urbano prebivalstvo je štelo v začetku 19. stoletja okoli 101.500 prebivalcev, l. 1869 126.783, l. 1910 251.341, l. 1931 312.015, l. 1953 456.151, l. 1961 577.200 in l. 1971 729.815 prebivalcev (upoštevana so bila vsa naselja z nad 1500 prebivalci ob vsakokratnem ljudskem štetju) (17, 55—72). Letni porast je znašal pred I. svetovno vojno cca 2,4 %, med obema vojnama 1,5 % in po zadnji svetovni vojni 3,5 %. Urbanizacija je imela dva sunka: prvega šibkejšega ob prelomu stoletja in drugega močnejšega v socialistični Jugoslaviji. Najmočnejšo rast so izkazovale razen obeh večjih mest, Ljubljane in Maribora, industrijska mesta. Stara fevdalna mesta in ruralna središča so imela šibkejši razvoj ali so celo stagnirala (Idrija, Metlika, Cerknica). I. Vrišer je v študiji »Mala mesta v SR Sloveniji«, ko je proučeval razvoj mestne populacije, ugotovil tesnejšo korelacijsko zvezo med urbanizacijo in industrializacijo (r^2_{xy} = 0,900) in med urbanizacijo in deagrarizacijo (r^2_{xy} = 0,855) (16, 63—65). Ocenil je, da je deagrarizacija tvorila urbanizacijskemu procesu podlago, industrializacija pa je dajala pospešek (17, 70).

II.

Slovenska mesta so bila nedvomno družbenoekonomska središča slovenskega gospodarskega prostora. V njih se je ustvarilo 75 % vsega socialnega proizvoda in 73,2 % narodnega dohodka SR Slovenije (18, 131). Pri tem je odpadla večina v mestih ustvarjenega socialnega proizvoda oziroma narodnega dohodka na mala mesta (36,6 %), ki so sicer imela samo 17,9 % prebivalstva. Ugotoviti je bilo mogoče tudi pozitivno korelacijo med velikostjo mest in ustvarjenim socialnim proizvodom (r^2_{xy} = 0,772) (18, 132). Do odstopanj je prišlo v negativnem smislu pri mestih z enostransko razvitimi dejavnostmi, do pozitivnih odmikov pa pri mestih z večstransko dejavnostjo.

Razmeroma temeljito je bila proučena družbenoekonomska in funkcijska struktura slovenskih mest. Prvo takšno obojestransko opredelitev je izvedel V. Kokole v študiji »Funkcije slovenskih mest« (2, 5—61). Pri delu se je oprl na Alexanderssonovo študijo o ameriških mestih, kot gradivo pa je uporabil podatke o strukturi aktivnega prebivalstva leta 1961. Iz analize je izločil kmečko prebivalstvo v mestih in »minimalni delež mestoslužnega aktivnega prebivalstva«. Njegov odstotek je določil na podlagi strukturnega deleža, ki ga je doseglo naselje na 5. mestu na kumulativni krivulji za vsako posamezno dejavnost. Samo opredelitev je izvedel na podlagi razmerja med sekundarnimi, terciarnimi in kvartarnimi dejavnostmi in ob tem dobil štiri kategorije: mesta brez izrazite usmeritve, sekundarno, terciarno in kvartarno usmerjena mesta. Analiza je pokazala, da je 35 ali 60 % mest (od 58 mest z več kot 2000 prebivalci) usmerjenih v industrijo (2,39). Večina jih je bila razporejenih v centralnem delu Slovenije od Jesenic, Ljubljane in Trbovelj do Celja, Maribora in Raven. Razmeroma velik delež so imela tudi mesta brez izrazite usmeritve (21 ali 36 %); le-ta pa so imela najbolj razvite »regio-

nalne funkcije« (2, 33). Slednje je avtor določil iz odstotnega razmerja med zaposlenimi v terciarnih in kvartarnih dejavnostih. Podrobneje je tudi obdelal, katere posamezne dejavnosti — mestne funkcije — so bile za slovenska mesta najbolj značilne. Glede na pogostost je bilo mogoče večino mest z regionalnimi funkcijami uvrstiti v naslednje 4 tipe: upravno-obrtni centri (18 mest), upravno-trgovski centri (11), upravno-obrtni centri (9) in upravno-prometni centri (7 mest) (2, 34).

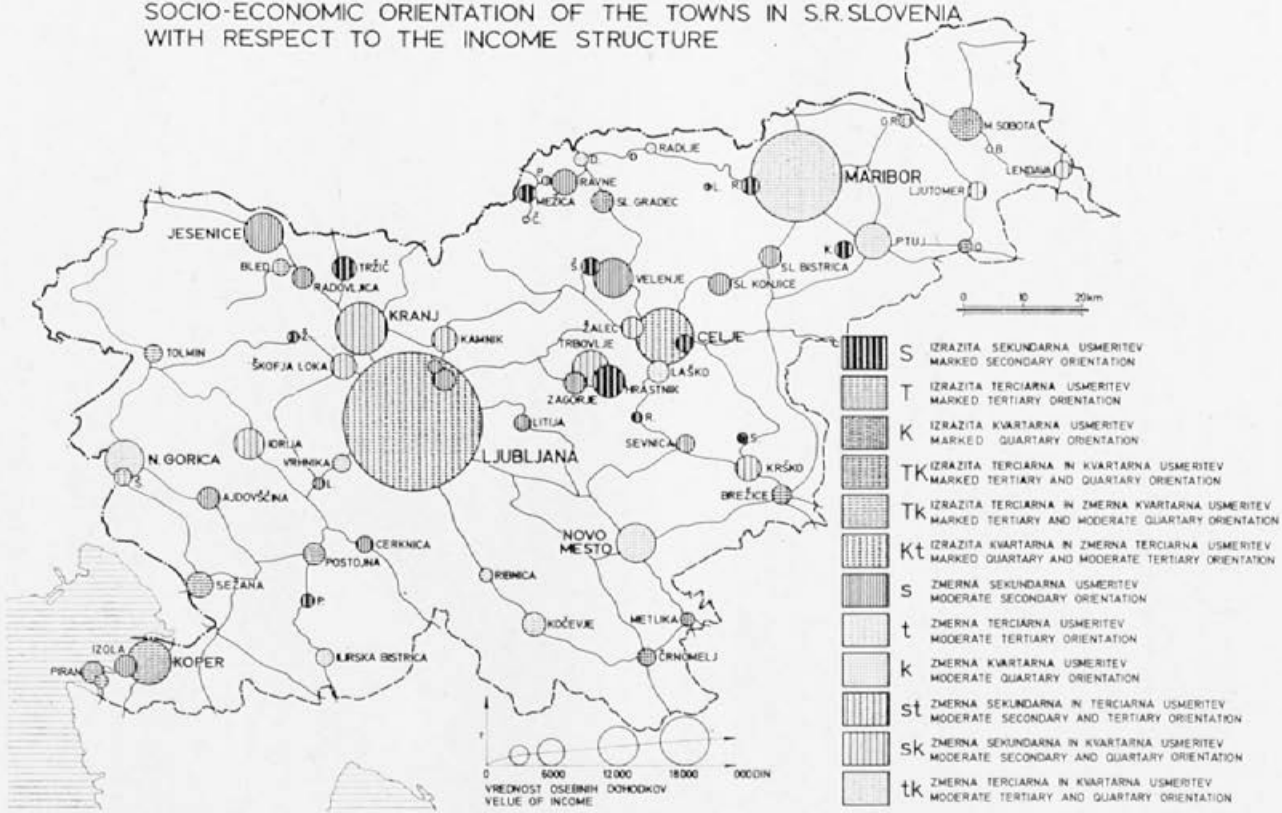
V podobni analizi iz novejšega časa je I. Vrišer ugotovil iz podatkov o strukturi zaposlenih in strukturi osebnih dohodkov zaposlenih, da je 38—40 mest ali 56—60 % (od 68 mestnih naselij) bodisi izrazito ali zmerno usmerjenih v sekundarne dejavnosti, 24—26 mest ali 35—37 % je bilo orientiranih v terciarne, a 27—33 mest ali 35—48 % je bilo izrazito ali zmerno usmerjenih v kvartarne dejavnosti (18, 135). Terciarno usmerjena mesta so bila večidel v Primorju, kvartarno usmerjena mesta v manj razviti vzhodni Sloveniji in sekundarno orientirana mesta v osrednji Sloveniji. Tudi ta avtor je skušal določiti minimalni delež mestoslužnega prebivalstva. Izračunani korelacijski krivulji med minimalnim deležem zaposlenih oziroma aktivnih v mestoslužnih dejavnostih in mestnim prebivalstvom sta znašali $y' = -7{,}05 + 29{,}7 \log x$ oziroma $y' = 12{,}7 + 15{,}7 \log x$, determinacijska koeficienta pa $r^2_{xy} = 0{,}917$ oziroma 0,855 (18, 135). Iz podatkov o zaposlitveni strukturi in strukturi osebnih dohodkov zaposlenih je ta avtor izdelal funkcijsko opredelitev mest v Sloveniji. Uporabil je dve metodi in določil, v katerih mestih je delež zaposlenih v določeni dejavnosti nadpoprečen glede na celotno Slovenijo, z drugo pa, katere dejavnosti so v strukturi zaposlenih v mestu posebnega pomena. Prvi vidik je imenoval »širši ali regionalni pomen«, drugi pa »ožji ali urbani pomen« mestnih funkcij (17, 113—121).

III.

Precej geografskih razprav se je ukvarjalo z morfološko in strukturno zgradbo slovenskih mest. Starejše razprave so bile večidel izrazito historično-geografske. Prikazovale so mestni razvoj in njegove usedline v sedanji mestni podobi. Takšni prerezi so bili napravljeni za Ptuj (F. Baš), Ljubljano (A. Melik, J. Rus, F. Zwitter), Celje (J. Orožen), Tržič (S. Lipoglavšek-Rakovec, 6, 113—187), Škofjo Loko (J. Lojk, 7, 73—101) itd. Priobčeni pa so bili tudi v nekaterih drugih mestnih monografijah. Najbolj obsežno delo te vrste iz novejšega časa je bila Melikova razprava »Rast naših mest v novi dobi«, v kateri je bilo veliko prostora pridržanega »staremu in novemu« in »gradbenemu razvoju naših mest v novih obdobjih«. Večina te razprave je sicer bila namenjena Ljubljani, vendar je avtor posvetil nekaj pozornosti tudi »dediščinam« v drugih mestih. V tej študiji je obravnaval geografijo srednjeveške Ljubljane, vplive mestnega obzidja na oblikovanje mestnega tlorisa, vraščanje nekdanjih predmestij in cestnega omrežja v mestni organizem ter teritorialni in funkcijski razvoj mesta med obema vojnama in v povojnem času (10, 131—163). Oris tipov mestnih hiš ob primeru Ljubljane pa sploh sodi

DRUŽBENOEKONOMSKA USMERJENOST MEST V S.R.SLOVENIJI GLEDE NA STRUKTURO OSEBNIH DOHODKOV

SOCIO-ECONOMIC ORIENTATION OF THE TOWNS IN S.R.SLOVENIA WITH RESPECT TO THE INCOME STRUCTURE



med najboljša tovrstna dela (10, 208—220). Poseben čar mu daje izredno poznavanje ljubljanskih razmer. Ta tipologija bi bila lahko ustrezna podlaga vsem sodobnim morfološkim in funkcijskim analizam mestnih naselij. V sklop proučitev o fiziognomiji slovenskih mest sodi končno še prikaz krajevne lege naših mest, ki je bil tudi izšel v citirani razpravi in ki je na sistematičen način obravnaval vzroke in posledice topografskega položaja večine mest pri nas, s posebnim ozirom na obmorska, rudarska in turistična urbana naselja (10, 77—131).

Druga skupina razprav o strukturi slovenskih mest je novejšega postanka in je bila v določeni meri samosvoj odsev stremljenj moderne socialno-geografske raziskovalne smeri. Te proučitve, ki jih je večidel opravil M. Pak, so težile prikazati socialnogeografsko transformacijo nekaterih mestnih četrti Ljubljane, Maribora, Raven, Jesenic, Kopra, Murske Sobote itd. (11, 123—143 in 12, 147—161), po drugi strani pa so obravnavale doslej pri nas še docela neobdelano mejno področje med geografijo in sociologijo: socialno-geografsko diferenciacijo in socialno diferenciacijo v povojni strukturi naših mest (13, 123—135). V nekaterih primerih so se te raziskave s pridom oprle na dosedanje podrobne morfološke in funkcijske analize hiš ali sploh izrabe tal v mestih (13, 69—93), ali pa so ubirale nova pota. Težišče proučevanja je bilo zavestno postavljeno na mestno populacijo, ki je »tisti osnovni element, ki ustvarja podobo mestnih četrti ali mesta v celoti« (11, 126). Po mnenju raziskovalcev te smeri je glede na to mogoče razložiti transformacijo mestnega organizma predvsem s temeljitim poznavanjem socialne strukture, populacijske mobilnosti in socialnih skupin, ki obstajajo v posameznih mestnih četrtih ali v mestu (12, 148). Rezultati teh proučitev so v precejšnji meri korigirali prevladujoče mnenje o socialnogeografski in sociološki uniformnosti slovenskih mest v povojni dobi.

IV.

Vsebina in problematika geografskih orisov slovenskih mest s temi skopimi vrsticami nikakor ni izčrpana. Zaradi omejenega prostora so ostale neomenjene še nekatere razprave, ki obravnavajo določene specifične probleme mest. Zanemarili smo tudi številne monografije o naših mestih; v njih so bila obravnavana mesta: Maribor in Ptuj (F. Baš), Ribnica in Kočevje (J. Rus), Tržič (S. Lipoglavšek-Rakovec), Murska Sobota (S. Ilešič), Vrhnika (P. Habič), Bled (M. Jeršič), Velenje (A. Sore), Škofja Loka (F. Planina in J. Lojk), Šentjur (M. Žagar), Bovec (A. Melik), Nova Gorica, Zagorje, Trbovlje in Hrastnik (I. Vrišer) itd. Nekatera med njimi nedvomno sodijo med najboljše urbane geografske proučitve.

Igor Vrišer

ON URBAN GEOGRAPHY IN SLOVENIA

The network of urban setlements in Slovenia which consists of two cities, two larger towns and many small urban places has been examined, during the last fifty years, in many and manysided geographic studies.

I.

Most towns in Slovenia came into existence in the Middle Ages, in the 12th to 14th centuries. Only a few places were given an urban status later on and this has happened in entirely different circumstances. The towns of the feudal period were generally founded as new settlements but in most cases in those parts of the country which, at that time, were already densely populated and provided market areas. Also they were situated in suitable sites with regard to transportation routes. Some of the sites reveal even a continuity with the Roman period. Commerce and handicrafts were the most important city-forming factors in Slovenia as they were in other European countries, but defence factors were also of very great significance. A. Melik has emphasised in his study on »towns and market-towns in Slovenia« (9, pp. 335—344) that, owing to these activities, towns were founded at important road intersections (Maribor, Celje), on strategically important promotories, terraces or in narrow gaps in the valleys (Kranj, Ormož, Krško), along main transportation routes (Slovenska Bistrica, Postojna), in the more densely settled basins or plains (Slovenj Gradec, Radovljica) or in sites where all these factors of location operated jointly. The disorderly circumstances of the feudal period, the closed markets and petty competition were ressponsible for the emergence of many tiny towns — mostly simple market-towns — in some parts (Kozjansko), while no adequate urban centers have emerged in other parts in more favourable conditions (10, pp. 56—60).

The urban network remained feudal for a long time, actually until the middle of the nineteenth century, when it began to change under the impact of industrialization. The reasons for such a course of evolution must be sought in the considerable backwardness of the provinces in Inner Austria of which the present-day territory of Slovenia was part. In the beginning of the 19th century the urban centres were small: the average size of settlements defined as urban was about 2300 inhabitants and that of numerous market-towns was only about 730. Ljubljana and Maribor only had a population exceeding ten thousand, 19.387 and 12.243 respectively. The only large city in that area was Trieste. The research on past urbanization (17, pp. 27—28) has established that the numerical relation between larger towns, towns and market-towns was 7:31:73 (if some linguistically mixed areas on the fringes of the ethnic

Slovenia* are also considered). The average distance between towns and between towns and market-towns were similar to those established for other countries of Central and Western Europe.

The abolition of the peasants' bondage, the construction of railways and the gradual industrialization initiated the processes of contemporary deagrarization of population and of urbanization. Because the towns of Slovenia remained small for a considerable time, a large proportion of rural emmigrants was diverted abroad and they did not contribute to urban growth to the same extent as, for instance, in the western countries (10,7). The new socioeconomic processes have led to a differentation of the urban hierarchy. A tentative analysis of the status of the urban functions in the beginning of the 20th century has suggested the existence of seven more or less distinctive hierarchal levels for central places (17, pp. 29). The old official distinction between »towns« and »market-towns« was still maintained by the authorities, but industrialization began to create new types of settlements and — at the same time — bypassed some traditional centres which began to stay behind in urban development (e. g. Metlika, Ormož, Lož, Kozje, Kanal, Mokronog, Lenart etc.).

The partition of the eastern Alpine area after World Wars I. and II. and, in particular, of the Slovenian ethnic territory among the three states had considerable consequences for the urban system. Several centers serving, at least partly, the Slovenian territory were attached to the neighbouring states (Trst—Trieste, Gorica—Gorizia, Radgona—Radkersburg, Velikovec—Völkermarkt) and, as a result, some peripheral parts of the present day Socialist Republic of Slovenia remained without an adequate center until now (Western Slovenia, Muraland in the easternmost part and the eastern sector of historical Carinthia. (See: 5, pp. 73—91).

After the year 1945 the pace of urbanization gained momentum because of the stepped-up industrialization and of the related deagrarization. The effects of this socioeconomic change were analysed by students of urban geography with regard to three facets of the phenomenon. The questions that were raised were: how to conceptualise and to interpret the urban phenomenon in the newly created circumstances? What is the degree and the spatial distribution of urbanization and, finally, how the urban system has changed?

The need of a revision of the old classification of urban centres either as towns or market- towns became more and more evident because of the socioeconomic transformation of the settlement pattern in general. There were several successive attempts at a new adequate definition of urban places. The last official definition (in 1952, with additions concerning the spatial size of urban places in 1953) recognizes 31 urban settlements in the S. R. of Slovenia. Melik, who among the geographers in Slovenia was most concerned with this problems, has observed (10, pp. 25—40) that even the last revision was not consistent since it was a compromise between criteria of settlement size, of their historical role

* i. e. the area inhabited by the Slovenian speaking population.

and of the functional orientation which were used indiscriminately. The main objection raised was that it neglected the question of the status of ancient market-towns, which are very numerous in Slovenia (28 important market-towns according to Melik, 58 if purely historic criteria are used) and which cannot be classified in the same category as villages. Also, the problem of smaller mining and industrial places as well as of tourist centres had not found an adequate solution. Melik advocated the introduction, in official definitions, of several separate categories of settlements: »former market-towns«, »urbanized villages«, »tourist settlements« (9, pp. 56—68). The next problems was what sort of settlements should be included into an urban area? Because of the administrative stiffness the incorporation of the outlying urbanized settlements into the urban territory was proceeding only slowly. As a consequence the official statistical figures in the Census of population of many towns were, as a rule, far too small (10, pp. 13—15).

The differences between the administratively defined urban places and the actual urban settlements caused many difficulties for researches when they were dealing with comparative studies. The results are often rather different. In the most thorough study related to this subject, by Vladimir and Vera Kokole on the contemporary trends in urbanization in Slovenia (4, pp. 14—18), four different sets of criteria were used for the delimitation of urban places. The level or the degree of urbanization was calculated for the S. R. of Slovenia as a whole and for the 13 »regions«. The degrees of urbanization in Slovenia, using official definition for urban places, was only 33.2 % in 1961. If the minimum size for an urban settlement is put at 2000 inhabitants the degree is even lower (31.0 %). It rises to 38.4 % if all settlements within the 1 mile radius of the centre of a place with urban characteristics are included. But if all settlements that supply labour-force to these places are added (providing the commuters represent over two thirds of the resident active population in such surrounding settlements) the degree rises to as much as 46.7 %. If all commuters to towns had lived there the percentage of the affected population in such areas would have exceeded 50 % in 1961. Journey to work to small industrial places which are also very numerous in Slovenia is not included in that figure. In another study by both authors (4, pp. 7—10) the spatial distribution of commuters and the share of them (and of their families) in the villages around towns were used as criteria to determine the extent of the »urbanization of the rural areas«. Three main zones — more or less concentric — are discerned: a distinctly urbanized zone, a predominantly urbanized zone and a rural zone where commuting is of secondary importance in the structure of the active resident population.

In a more recent study »on the small towns of Slovenia« Vrišer assessed the degree of urbanization for 1971 at 42.6 %. All, settlements of over 2000 inhabitants (71 altogether) were considered as well as some most urbanized adjacent villages (17, pp. 38).

The studies which were just mentioned indicate that the general conditions of urbanization in the S. R. of Slovenia are rather peculiar.

This is due to the great number of small towns, to different kinds of urban settlements, to a very large number of commuters, to the far advenced deagrarization of the population (agricultural population was only 20.4 % in 1971) and to the so called »sociological urbanization« (4, pp. 12—13). The use of the stricter criterion of a minimum of 20.000 inhabitants for a town status, would reduce the degree of urbanization in 1971 to only 22.6 %. It is most characteristic for conditions in Slovenia that there is a marked contradiction between the high degree of deagrarization and the low degree of urbanization. This phenomenon could possibly be described as »hypo-urbanization« (17, p. 43), »semi-urbanization« or »spread urbanization« (1, 10 and 489).

The historical circumstances, the impact of industrialization, of the transportation network and of the communications in general are reflected in the existing urban system. V. Kokole analysed the network of settlements more in detail, primarily in its relation to the central place hierarchy. Altogether nine hierarchal level were distinguished (5, pp. 30—34). He examined also the evolution of the central places pattern in the light of the classical central place theory as developped by Christaller, whose ideas found considerable response among Slovenian geographers, in particular, in connection with the changing administrative and socioeconomics spatial patterns. The conclusion of the study was that all three determining principles were at work simultaneously but that different principles were dominant in the succesive periods during the last decades, first the market principle, later the administrative principle, while the transportation principle became increasingly important in the last decade (5, pp. 62—65). The entire hierarchal scale was considered in the basic study by Kokole (5, pp. 5—135), including the rural central places, i. e. those somewhat larger settlements that were left out of the official classification of the »urban« settlements and the central villages. Qualitative indicators (urban services of various kind) and quantitative indicators (number of services) were used for ascertaining the 9 detailed hierarchal levels. Levels 1 and 2 are really rural central places, while the other were grouped in the three broad levels: the higher (Ljubljana — 9, Maribor — 8), the middle (Celje — 7, Koper, Nova Gorica, Kranj, Novo mesto and Murska Sobota — 6, Jesenice, Trbovlje, Ptuj, Slovenj Gradec and Brežice — 5) and the lower level (better equipped centers of the communes — 4, other commune centers and a few other small towns - 3). The dominant levels within these three groups were found to be 9, 6 and 3 (8 and 5 are subdominant within the respective main levels of the hierarchal build-up. Relations between the rank and the size for towns and between towns and their respective service areas were also examined.

Similar results were obtained in a study by Vrišer about »the central places in Yugoslavia« in which six distinctive hierarchal levels were established (16, p 402). The frequency of particular services as well as a quantitative measurement (the »surplus« of service employment above a calculated minimum) was used for classification. The results of both studies are not essentially different. Vrišer's analysis has shown that

the hierarchal order between levels is 1:3 for Yugoslavia and 1:2.6 for Slovenia (16, pp. 410). Both studies have confirmed that most town in Slovenia — as central places — are too small and, in case of several »leading focuses of gravitation« (4, p. 74) not adequately provided with services. The importance of the institutional factors in particular was stressed in both studies, but the role of the density and the distribution of population, of specific consumption patterns, of industrialisation and of the shifts in transportation are also discussed.

In connection with reasearch on the urban system some studies of the urban hinterlands or gravitation areas should also be mentioned. Vrišer has published in 1965 an extensive overview of the concepts and methods related to this topic (14, pp. 64—93), while Kokole, in connection with his study of the central places has actually carried out an extensive survey of the actual service areas for particular central activities in all towns of Slovenia (5, pp. 24—25). The urban hinterlands or composite service areas were thus determined and analysed for the three dominant levels of central places: the lower level, the middle level and the higher level, as reported earlier. In line with classification principles that were adopted the lower level comprises frequently used convenience goods and services, the middle level the more periodic ones and the higher level the rarer services. The survey was based on data made available in a detailed questionnaire-type inventory. Population of the composite service areas was then calculated (on the basis of the 1961 Census data) and then compared to the size of towns belonging to particular hierarchal levels. The ratio proved to be fairly uniform for the detailed hierarchal levels, 1:3.3 on the average, but 1: about 10 for Ljubljana and the 6th order central places which seem to be clearly undersized in comparison with their functions in the urban system (5, pp. 38—39). Also the relations between the population of the service areas and the number of jobs in central activities were examined. Only city-forming sector, however, was considered as it was established in an earlier study by Kokole. The calculated ratio proved to be surprisingly constant, but very low (about 25 jobs for 1000 people; see: 5, pp. 74—91) which seems to confirm earlier statements about the inadequate provision of central activities in the town of Slovenia in general (17, p. 145). In the study by Kokole special conditions affecting the system of service centres within the hinterlands of the main central places are examined at some lenght (5, pp. 74—91). The urban hinterlands or gravitation areas were in the last time analysed by I. Vrišer in his study »The Areas of Influence of Yugoslav Cities and Towns«.[19]

The above mentioned characteristics of urbanization in Slovenia and of the urban system are reflected in the population growth of towns. At the beginning of the 19th century total urban population was about 101.500. It grew only to 126.783 in 1869, to 251.341 in 1910, to 312.015 in 1931, to 436.131 in 1953, to 577.200 in 1961 and reached 729.815 in 1971 (settlements of over 1.500 at each Census year were considered) (17, pp. 55—72). The average yearly rate of growth in the intercensal periods was 2.4 % before World War I, 1.5 % in the inter-war period and 3.5

since World War II. Two main thrusts in the process of urbanization were noted. The first occurred before World War I and the second, much stronger in the socialist Yugoslavia. The industrializing towns, together with Ljubljana and Maribor, were growing quicker than the rest of the towns. Old feudal centres and rural service centres grew much slower or even stagnated during most of that period (Idrija, Metlika, Cerknica). Vrišer, in his study on the small towns of Slovenia, established a close correlation between urbanization and industrialization ($r^2_{xy} = 0.900$) and between urbanization and deagrarization ($r^2_{xy} = 0.855$) (17, pp. 63—65). He concludes that deagrarization was the basis for urbanization process while industrialization provided the thrust (17, p. 70).

II.

The towns of the S. R. of Slovenia were, during the last century, undoubtedly the foci in the socioeconomic space of the country. In the year 1966 as much as 75 % of the social product and 73.2 % of the national income of the republic were generated in urban places (18, 131). The small towns with only 17.9 % of the population of Slovenia, have contributed as much as 36.6 % to the total. It was also possible to ascertain a positive correlation between the size of the towns and the social product created in them ($r^2_{xy} = 0.772$) (17, p. 132). A positive deviation was established for towns with multiple functions and a negative deviation for towns with only one predominant function.

The socioeconomic structure and the related functional structure of towns in Slovenia were rather thoroughly studied. The first classification that was concerned with both was carried out by V. Kokole in his study of the functions of Slovenian towns (2, pp. 5—61). This study was inspired by Alexandersson's study of American towns and by Le Guen's study of French towns. Data for 1961 were used for the active (i. e. employed) population. The agricultural population was excluded as well as the »minimum share of the city-serving active population«. This share was put — after tests of the actual conditions in towns with practically no hinterlands — at the 5th place on the cummulative curve for each activity group. The classification was based on the respective percentages for the main sectors (secondary, tertiary and quarternary) viz. on structural relationship among them. Four broad categories were distinguished first (towns with distinct functional orientation to one of the three sectors plus a category with no sector being predominant). As many as 60 % of all towns examined (58 altogether) were biased in favour of the secondary sector (manufacturing industries and mining). Most of the towns in this category are located in a crescent form belt in the north-central Slovenia (along the Jesenice—Kranj—Ljubljana—Trbovlje—Celje—Maribor axis). The towns with no sector predominant are fairly common (21 towns or 36 % of them). These are the towns with relatively best developped »regional functions« (2, pp. 33—54). Functional specialisation into particular branches or activities was also analysed. The

four types of functional specialisation in the tertiary and quarternary activities were found to represent three quarters of all possible combinations (centers sprecialised in public services and handicrafts — 18 towns, public services and commerce — 11 towns, handicrafts and public services — 11 towns and public services and transportation — 7 towns. (See: 2, p. 54).

A similar analysis was made later by Vrišer who used data on employment and personal income in towns as indicators (s. Map p. 121). Altogether 68 urban places (towns) were considered. As many as 38-40 towns or 56 to 60 % of all towns were found to be distictly or moderately oriented into the secondary sector activities, 24-26 towns (or 35-37 %) into the tertiary activities and 27—33 towns (or 35—38 %) were found to be oriented distinctly or moderately, into the quarternary activities (17, p. 135). The towns that are functionally biased to tertiary activities are located mainly in western Slovenia while those biased to quarternary activities are to be found mostly in the less developped eastern Slovenia, whereas the towns with predominant secondary sector activities are most numerous in central Slovenia. Vrišer also tried to determine the minimum share of employment viz. of the active population in the city-serving category. The correlation between the size of the towns and the minimum share of employment viz. active population was found to be $y' = -7.05 + 29.7 \log x$ and $y' = 12.7 + 15.7 \log x$ respectively, whereas the coefficients were $r^2_{xy} = 0.917$ viz. 0.855 (18, p. 133). Using data on employment structure and personal income structure of the employees Vrišer also proceeded to a functional classification of the towns of Slovenia. First, the average share for every activity group was calculated and them those groups with the share above the average were analysed further in order to determine the relative importance of them in particular towns within the system. Second, the relative share of particular groups in each town separately was analysed. The first procedure yields information about the wider or regional significance of the towns, while the second indicates the »narrower, inner significance of particular urban functions« (17, pp. 113—121).

III

The urban morphology and the structure of the towns of Slovenia are examined in a number of geographical studies. The older among them deal mostly with historical geography of towns. Urban development by stages and the residual features in the contemporary townscape were analysed. Such studies were made for Ptuj (by F. Baš), Ljubljana (by A. Melik, J. Rus, F. Zwitter), Celje (by F. Orožen), Tržič (by S. Lipoglavšek-Rakovec), (6, pp. 115—187), Škofja Loka (by J. Lojk), (7, p. p. 75—101), and other towns. Some are included in urban monographs of wider scope. The most extensive study of this type is that by Melik (on »the development of our towns in the recent times«) where »old and new in the physical development« of the towns of Slovenia is examined

at length, although special attention was paid to Ljubljana. The geography of mediaeval Ljubljana is traced, the impact of the walls on the city plan is disscussed as well as the role of the suburban settlements and roads in the development process. The evolution of urban functions during the last decades is also analysed. The typological characterisation of urban houses in Ljubljana ranks among the best ever done (10. pp. 208—220). Intimate acquaintance with the city gives the book an attractive flavour. This typology could well serve as the basis for any modern analysis of urban morphology and functions. The chapter on the site and situation of the towns in Slovenia deals systematically with the reasons and the consequences of the siting of nearly all towns in the country with a special attention being paid to seaside towns and other resorts and to mining towns (10, pp. 77—131).

The second and more recent group of studies on the structure of Slovenian towns reflects in some ways the ideas of the social geography school. Most of the research along this line was done by M. Pak and its purpose was to demonstrate the socioeconomic transformation of some urban precincts in Ljubljana, Maribor, Jesenice, Koper, Murska Sobota, etc. (11, pp. 123—143 and 11, pp. 147—161). This research has been supported in some cases by previous detailed analyses of the urban land use in general (13, pp. 69—93) or by such which opened new vistas in research. The focus in such studies has been on urban population, described as »that basic element, which moulds the shape of urban areas or of towns as such« (11, p. 126). The transformation of an urban organism can be explained, in the opinion of the researchers of this school, primarily by an intimate knowledge of the social structure and mobility of different social groups that exist in particular parts of a city or in towns in general (12, p. 148). The results of these studies led to a correction of the widely held view about an assumed uniform social and socio-geographical set-up of the towns of Slovenia in the post-war period.

IV

The content and the problems tackled by the urban geographical research in Slovenia during the last fifty years are far from being completely covered in this short overview. Some studies dealing with specific problems were left out and so were also numerous general urban monographs on particular towns of Slovenia. Some of them may just be referred to: Maribor and Ptuj (by F. Baš), Ribnica and Kočevje (by J. Rus), Tržič (by S. Rakovec-Lipoglavšek), Murska Sobota (by S. Ilešič), Vrhnika (by P. Habič), Bled (by M. Jeršič), Velenje (by A. Sore), Škofja Loka (by F. Planina and J. Lojk), Šentjur (by M. Žagar), Bovec (by A. Melik), Nova Gorica (by I. Vrišer), Trbovlje—Zagorje—Hrastnik (by I. Vrišer). Some of them are outstanding examples of urban geographical studies.

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