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O GEOGRAFSKEM PROUČEVANJU SLOVENSKE PODEZELSKE POKRAJINE

Slovenija je v fizičnogeografskem pogledu ozemlje stikov in prehodov. V njej najdemo skoraj vse glavne pokrajinske tipe Evrope. Na skromnem obsegu, ki zajema samo dobrih 20.000 m², se stikajo alpski, predalpski, dinarski, subpanonski in submediteranski svet. Nič manjša kot v reliefu ni pri tem pisanost v podnebnih in rastlinskih razmerah.

Ta izredna raznolikost naravnih razmer nudi zelo različno materialno okolje za življenje in delovanje človeka. Vsa ta raznoličnost prihaja do izraza tudi v videzu in strukturi podeželske pokrajine, ki je zato že dolgo vzbujala posebno zanimanje slovenskih geografov. Pregled proučevanj te pokrajine pa je najboljše razdeliti na predvojno dobo, ko so še močno prevladovala poteze tradicionalne podeželske pokrajine in na najnovejšo dobo, ko je ta pokrajina v temeljitem preoblikovanju.

I.

Že za predvojno slovensko podeželsko pokrajino je bilo značilno, da je bilo zaradi prevlade gorskega in kraškega sveta na splošno malo zemljišč, primernih za poljedelstvo. Ob koncu preteklega stoletja, ko so bila obdelana vsa za to količinj primerna zemljišča, so njive obsegale 17,09 %, vinogradi 1,95 %, vrtovi 1,03 %, travniki 15,95 %, pašniki 16,99 %, gozdovi 41,47 % in nerodovitni svet 4,45 % celotne površine. Raznolikost naravnih razmer se kaže tudi v velikih razlikah pri deležu obdelovalnih zemljišč (njive, vrtovi, vinogradi) po posameznih naravnih področjih. Najnižji delež obdelovalne površine z 0—3 % je prevladoval v visokogorskih področjih in na najvišjih kraških planotah, kjer so le redka naselja. Od 5—10 % obdelovalnega sveta so imela višja, nekoliko močnejše naseljena ozemlja v Alpah, na Krasu in vmes ležečih gorovjih. V večini sredogorskega sveta je obdelovalna zemlja zavzemala od 10—20 % celotne površine. V kraških predelih so imele tak delež najbolj ugodne, v rodovitni vzhodni Sloveniji pa neugodne izjeme. Od 20—35 % obdelovalne površine so imeli kraji na nižjih južnih pobočjih gora (zlasti med Pohorjem, Dravskim poljem in Posavskim hribovjem). V sredogorju in na kraških poljih pomeni tak odstotek že ugodno stanje, v terciarnem

gričevju in na dnu dolin pa je nastopal le izjemno v močvirnejših predelih ali ob drugih neugodnih talnih razmerah. Delež s 55—50 % obdelovalne zemlje je bil značilen za suhe, rodovitne ravnine Ljubljanske in Celjske kotline, posebno pa za severovzhodna in jugovzhodna vinogradniška področja. V ravninskem subpanonskem svetu, ob Muri in Dravi ter v Slovenskih goricah, pa se je delež obdelovalne zemlje marsikje dvignil nad 50 %. V manjši meri je bil tak delež zastopan še v ravnem svetu okrog Gorice ter v flišnih gričih ob morski obali od Kopra do Pirana.

Delež travnikov je bil največji na kraškem področju (skoraj povsod nad 20 %), slede sredogorska področja, vlažnejše doline in deli nižin. Razširjenost pašnikov je šla precej vzporedno s travniki: največ jih je bilo na kraškem svetu na Primorskem, Notranjskem in Kočevskem, pa tudi v Beli krajini je ta delež presegal 50 % skupnih površin. V gorskem svetu so pašniki zavzemali (vštevši planinske) od 20—50 % površine. V dnu dolin in po kotlinah ter v nekaterih delih predgorskega sveta so pašniki zavzemali od 15—20 %. V drugih krajih Slovenije, zlasti v rodovitnejšem severovzhodnem delu, pa so pašniki obsegali znatno manjše površine.

V Sloveniji pa niso pester samo naravne razmere, temveč tudi kulturni vplivi, ki so soodločali pri nastajanju in razvoju oblik poselitve, zemljiške razdelitve, izgradnji naselij, usmerjenosti gospodarstva, skratka pri celotnem oblikovanju podobe kulturne pokrajine.

Ti materialni in nmaterialni dejavniki so tekom stoletij izoblikovali veliko pokrajinsko pestrost slovenskega podeželja. Poleg čistih mediteranskih, alpskih, kraških, subpanonskih in panonskih tipov kulturne pokrajine je mogoče ugotoviti še nekatere prehodne oblike kot odraz mešanja različnih vplivov.

Ni slučaj, da so profesor Melik in njegovi sodelavci svoje prve raziskave podeželske pokrajine usmerili v študij tradicionalne agrarne pokrajine z njenimi značilnimi naselbinskimi tipi. »V tej delovni smeri je prof. Melik spretno spojil pobude povzete iz ustreznih raziskovalne usmerjenosti Cvijićeve šole s pobudami, ki so se takrat razrastle v Srednji in Zahodni Evropi in ki so zlasti po delu nemških in avstrijskih geografov deloma zajele tudi naša tla. Te pobude so se plodno združile s pobudami, ki so jih za proučevanje naše agrarne zgodovine dajali takratni zgodovinarji na naši univerzi« (1. str. 235). Ta kombinacija vplivov zunanjih delovnih smeri je ustrezala tako potrebam razvijajoče se slovenske geografske znanosti kot družbenoekonomskim razmeram v novo nastali državi. Slovenija je bila takrat še izrazito agrarna dežela, saj se je delež kmečkega prebivalstva le polagoma zniževal, od 75,6 % leta 1890 na 73,2 % leta 1900 ter na 60,35 % leta 1931. Socialnoekonomski problemi podeželske pokrajine pa so v tem obdobju, ko je tudi našo deželo zajela gospodarska kriza, postajali vedno bolj pereči. Kot odraz zunanjih znanstvenih pobud in stvarnih razmer v domačem okolju so se razvijale raziskovalne smeri, ki so skušale čim bolj osvetliti aktualne probleme slovenske podeželske pokrajine. Pri raziskovalni dejavnosti sta že od vsega začetka razvoja slovenske agrarne geografije prisotni dve metodološki poti: monografski prikaz prostorsko omejenega dela pode-

želske pokrajine ter raziskava določenega elementa, pojava ali dejavnika ter prikaz njegove vloge in prostorske razširjenosti v celotni Sloveniji.

Med prva pomembnejša monografska dela, ki obravnavajo slovensko podeželje, spada Melikova »Kolonizacija Ljubljanskega barja« (2), ki poleg pregleda osuševanja, kultivacije zemljišča in naseljevanja prikazuje tudi tipe hiš, naselij, zemljišča in socialno gospodarske razmere. Ta Melikova študija ni pomembna samo zato, ker prikazuje za slovenske razmere izjemen primer pozne kolonizacije (v prvih desetletjih preteklega stoletja), temveč predvsem zaradi metodološke vrednosti, saj je dolga desetletja služila kot primer za kompleksno obravnavo podeželske pokrajine.

Vzporedno s tem so nastajale študije, ki so obravnavale posamezne elemente podeželske pokrajine ter njihovo prostorsko razširjenost na našem ozemlju. Pri tem moramo omeniti Melikova dela o gospodarskih poslopih in kmetijskih naseljih (5) ter Ilešičeve študije o obdelovalni zemlji v Sloveniji (4), o agrarni prenaseljenosti Slovenije (5) ter o kmečkih naseljih in poljski razdelitvi v nekaterih predelih Slovenije (6).

Med temi deli je Melikovo delo »Kmetijska naselja na Slovenskem« (5) prva sinteza raziskav slovenskih podeželskih naselij, ki podaja pregled čez osnovne tipe kmetijskih naselij na Slovenskem in njihovo prostorsko razširjenost (samotne kmetije, razložena naselja, zaselki, gručaste vasi, kolonizacijske dolge vasi ali vasi v vrsti, občestne vasi itd.).

V osnovne značilnosti socialnoekonomske strukture predvojne slovenske podeželske pokrajine posega Ilešičeva študija o agrarni prenaseljenosti Slovenije (5). Zasnovana je na statističnih podatkih iz leta 1931, ko je živelo v takratni Sloveniji na km² kmetijske površine 84,3 kmečkih prebivalcev, kar je bilo znatno več kot takratno poprečje v Jugoslaviji (78) ali pa v drugih evropskih državah (npr. Poljska 66, Madžarska 59, Švica 43), razen v Italiji (133), Bolgariji (90) in Grčiji. Velike pa so bile tudi razlike v agrarni gostoti med posameznimi predeli Slovenije od zelo visokih števil na severovzhodu in vzhodu (okraja Lendava in Ljutomer 128, Brežice 126) do podpoprečnih v osrednji in zahodni Sloveniji. Da so že predvojne študije slovenskih geografov nakazovale tudi akutne socialnoekonomske probleme slovenskega podeželja, ki pa so s polno močjo izbruhnili na dan šele po vojni, dokazuje kolektivno zasnovana študija Geografskega inštituta univerze o gospodarski strukturi Slovenije v luči poklicne statistike in delavskega zavarovanja (7).

Študij poljske razdelitve Slovenije, s katerim je Ilešič sistematsko začel pred vojno, pa je lahko dokončal in strnil v sintezo šele po vojni v delu »Sistemi poljske razdelitve na Slovenskem«, ki je pozneje doživel tudi dopolnjeno izdajo v nemškem jeziku (8). V tem delu je opredelil in razložil, v glavnem na osnovi študija katastrskih map, glavne tipe poljske razdelitve (razdelitev na grude, razdelitev na nepravilne delce, na nepravilne ali grudaste delce, druge prehodne oblike med grudami in delci, razdelitev na sklenjene proge, kombinacije sklenjenih prog in pravih delcev, samotne kmetije s celki). Današnja prostorsko

razširjenost posameznih tipov je skušal razložiti kot rezultat součinkovanja naravnih (predvsem reliefa) in družbenih (kolonizacijskih, agrarnoekonomskih, socialnih) vplivov. To temeljno delo o slovenskem podeželju je pomembno s teoretičnega in praktičnega vidika. V teoretičnem pogledu pomeni pomemben prispevek k razčiščevanju vprašanj o nastanku različnih tipov poljske razdelitve v Evropi. Pri tem po eni strani ovrže pretirane razlage o nemškem vplivu na nastanek sistemov poljske razdelitve pri nas in o etničnih vplivih na ta nastanek na splošno, po drugi strani pa z ugotovitvijo številnih prehodnih oblik in s prikazom razvoja zemljiških sistemov od srednjega veka do danes prispeva k splošnemu razčiščevanju vprašanj geneze tradicionalne evropske agrarne pokrajine. Hkrati pa iz dela spoznamo podedovano, pretirano razdrobljeno zemljiško strukturo kot element antropogenega geografskega okolja, ki povzroča današnjim težnjam za modernizacijo kmetijstva obilo težav.

Že pred vojno se je slovenska geografija lotila tudi proučevanja planinskega pašništva kot obdobjnega, sezonskega dela podeželske pokrajine. Rezultati teh študij so bili za slovensko Ziljsko dolino, za Karavanke in za Kamniške Alpe objavljeni že pred vojno ali tik po njej (9) ter dopolnjeni še z Melikovo sintetično študijo o planinah v Julijskih Alpah (10) ter s proučitvijo vzhodnega dela Savinjskih Alp (11). Te študije so bile pravtako izhodišče za poznejše proučitve velikih sprememb, ki jih je tudi ta oblika agrarnega življenja doživela po vojni.

II.

Zakaj v povojnem obdobju je doživelo slovensko podeželje v skladu s celotnim družbenogospodarskim razvojem velike in hitre spremembe, takšne, za kakršne so podeželske pokrajine v zahodnoevropskih deželah potrebovale več desetletij. Delež kmečkega prebivalstva v Sloveniji se je od predvojnih okrog 60 % znižal na dobrih 30 % leta 1961 in na 18 % leta 1971. Orna zemljišča so se v času 1954—1967 zmanjšala za 14 %. Kljub temu, da njive povečini spreminjajo v travnike, se je skupna površina kmetijskih površin zmanjšala za dobrih 20.000 ha ali za 1,9 %. Čista kmečka gospodarstva so se naglo spreminjala v mešana in nekmečka gospodarstva. Tako je bilo leta 1960 od skupnega števila (194.855) gospodarstev 49,1 % čisto kmečkih, 43,2 % mešanih, 5,9 % nekmečkih in 1,8 % gospodarstev brez delovne sile. Hkrati se je znatno zmanjšalo tudi skupno število zasebnih kmečkih gospodarstev, od 199.000 leta 1947 na 185.000 leta 1969, torej za 8 %. Poprčna velikost zasebnega kmečkega gospodarstva se je od leta 1951 do leta 1969 zmanjšala od 8,27 ha na 6,2 ha.

Iz teh podatkov odseva intenzivni razvoj, ki so ga sprožili v prvem povojnem obdobju predvsem nagla industrializacija dežele in s tem povezana potreba po delovni sili, v drugem obdobju pa prehod na tržno gospodarstvo, hitrejši razvoj terciarnih dejavnosti in odprtje meja z odhajanjem na delo v tujino. Te nagle in korenite spremembe na podeželju

so raziskovalce usmerjale k proučevanju problemov in pojavov, ki v predvojni Jugoslaviji še niso bili tako v ospredju.

Že v posameznih regionalnogeografskih delih o slovenskem podeželju, ki so nastala v prvih desetletjih po vojni, so ti problemi in z njimi socialni in ekonomski vidiki stopali vedno bolj v ospredje. To se pozna že v Lebanovi študiji o Nanosu (12), ki ob obravnavi gospodarske povezave tega predela s sosedstvom osvetljuje družbenogeografske vzroke za nastanek, razvoj in propad nekdanje tamkajšnje tranzimanse. Še bolj z vidika današnjih problemov je Klemenčič obdelal pokrajino med Snežnikom in Slavnikom (13), kar je bilo še posebno zanimivo, ker socialne spremembe na tem področju niso povezane samo z razvojem in propadom tranzimanse, temveč tudi z vplivom Trsta in Reke ter s problematiko, ki je nastala, ko je z novo razmejitvijo Trst pripadel Italiji. Nove spremembe so prišle do izraza tudi v drugih podobnih študijah, tako v Vrišerjevi o Goriških Brdih (14), v Kokoletovi o zaostalem podeželju med Savo in Sotlo (15), v študijah o dolini Kokre, Spodnjem Murskem polju, Mariborskih gorica in Šavrinskem gričevju, objavljenih v letih 1955/56 (16) ter v Gamsovi monografiji o razvoju kulturne pokrajine v Pohorskem Podravju (17). Značilne spremembe v kulturni pokrajini Kranjskega polja v smeri ogozdovanja, ki se je začelo že v 19. stoletju, pa je pokazala študija Z. Seifriedove (18).

Poseben mejnik v razvoju geografije slovenskega podeželja pomeni ustanovitev Inštituta za geografijo Univerze v Ljubljani (1961), ki mu je pod vodstvom V. Klemenčiča in znanstvenega svetovalca S. Ilešiča uspelo poživiti in razširiti zanimanje za raziskovanje podeželske pokrajine. K temu je prispevalo tudi veliko število doktorskih disertacij iz te problematike, pa tudi študijsko delo sodelavcev Inštituta za geografijo Slovenske akademije znanosti in umetnosti (Meze), Oddelka za geografijo Filozofske fakultete (Zagar) in posameznikov izven Ljubljane (Sore). Agrarno problematiko gorskih področij so v času po letu 1961 obravnavali J. Medved, D. Meze in M. Zgonik (19), spremembe v planinskem agrarnem gospodarstvu M. Vojvoda (20), subpanonska vinogradniška področja V. Bračič in B. Belec (21), nižinsko podeželsko pokrajino blizu industrijskega mesta M. Pak (22), problematiko gospodarsko zaostalega podeželja M. Žagar in A. Sore (23), preoblikovanje podeželske pokrajine v turističnih področjih in v okolici mest M. Jeršič in J. Lojk (24), probleme podeželske pokrajine v primorju blizu Trsta J. Titl (25) in posebne probleme Ljubljanskega barja A. Lah (26).

Ustanovitev Inštituta za geografijo Univerze v Ljubljani pa ne pomeni samo napredka v številu raziskovalcev in raziskav, temveč tudi začetek novega obdobja v odpiranju, povezovanju in sodelovanju slovenske agrarne geografije z drugimi znanstvenimi središči v Jugoslaviji in v inozemstvu. Šele z ustanovitvijo inštituta je bila ustvarjena organizacijska možnost za sodelovanje s poljskimi in drugimi vzhodnoevropskimi agrarnimi geografi, za katero je dala pobudo mednarodna konferenca za študij izrabe tal v deželah vzhodne Srednje Evrope, ki jo je organiziral Inštitut za geografijo Poljske akademije znanosti v Varšavi leta 1960. Prav tako so se odprle možnosti za stike s socialno

agrarno-geografsko šolo v Münchnu, ki so se zarodili ob priliki mednarodnega simpozija o agrarni geografiji in zgodovini v Nancyju (1957) in prišli prvič do izraza v nemški izdaji llešičevega dela o poljski razdelitvi (8). V okviru vzhodnoevropskega sodelovanja so razen s poljskimi bili živahni stiki s češkoslovaškimi, madžarskimi in vzhodnonemškimi agrarnimi geografi. Imeli so zelo različne oblike od medsebojnih obiskov in izmenjave mnenj ter študijskega izpopolnjevanja do organizacije skupnih raziskovanj in posvetovanj. Slovenski, poljski in madžarski ter deloma hrvatski, srbski in makedonski agrarni geografi so skupno raziskovali izrabo zemljišča v različnih krajih Slovenije in Jugoslavije, pa tudi na Poljskem in Madžarskem. Pri tem sodelovanju so slovenski geografi spoznavali sodobno problematiko podeželja v različnih evropskih deželah in se seznanjali s različnimi raziskovalnimi smeri in metodami. Tujih teoretskih in metodoloških izhodišč pa niso nekritično prenašali v svoje raziskovalno delo, temveč so jih uporabljali le v kolikor je taka smer resnično ustrezala in omogočila spoznavanje in raziskavo stvarne problematike določenega dela podeželske pokrajine ali določenega elementa v pokrajini. Zaradi tega v slovenski agrarni geografiji težko govorimo o čisti genetični, socialni ali gospodarskogeografski smeri. Kot smo že omenili, se vse tri smeri prepletajo, katera smer pa je v ospredju, je odvisno od stvarnih problemov v določeni podeželski pokrajini. Tako na primer Medved v svojih študijah (27) o gorskih kmetijah prikazuje odraze sodobnih socialnoekonomskih procesov v gorskem svetu. Prevrednotenje naravnih razmer in napredek tehnike se v teh predelih odražata v nagli depopulaciji, opuščanju manjših samotnih kmetij ter v nagli ekstenzifikaciji izrabe zemljišča: pašnike in travnike prerašča gozd, nekdanje njive pa se spreminjajo v travnike in pašnike. Intenzivnost teh sprememb je socialno pogojena: velike kmetije se hitro prilagajajo novim razmeram, medtem ko morajo male kmetije vztrajati pri stari usmeritvi ali pa se preslojiti. V času od 1900 do 1962 so se v Pohorskem Podravju skrčile njive za 22,6 %, pašniki za 29 %, medtem ko so travniki narasli za 20,7 %. Pri ugotavljanju možnosti za nadaljnji obstoj in razvoj kmetijstva v gorskem svetu Medved pri svojih sondnih študijah izhaja tako iz podrobnega kartiranja nagiba zemljišča glede na možnost uporabe mehanizacije in rentabilnosti gojitve kultur kot iz velikosti strnjenih kmetijskih zemljišč.

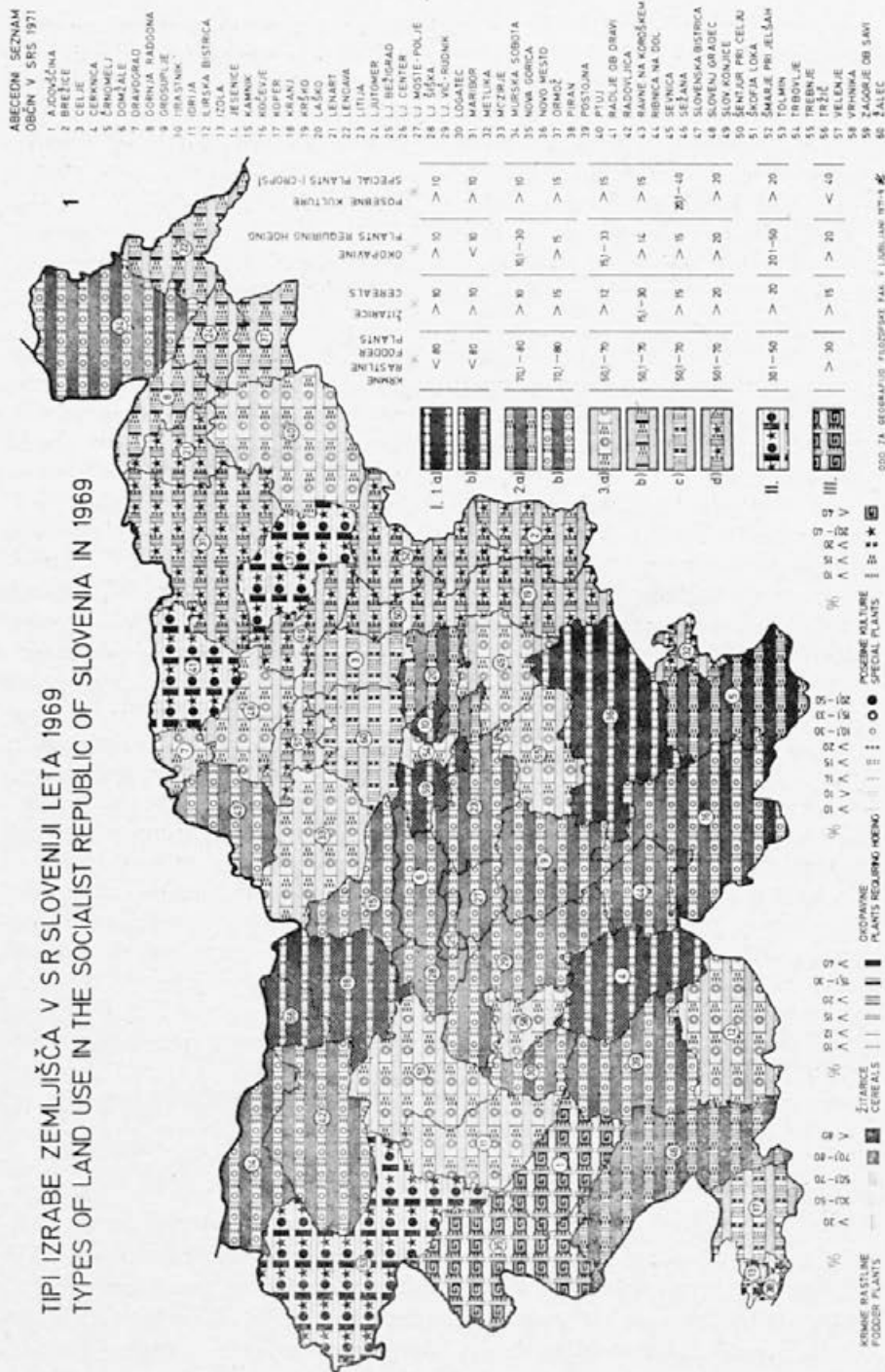
Da je pri prej navedenih monografijah, ki obravnavajo gospodarsko zaostala in gosto naseljena področja severovzhodne in vzhodne Slovenije v ospredju socialnogeografski vidik, je odraz aktualne življenjske stvarnosti. Ko V. Bračič v svojem delu »Vinorodne Haloze« (21), B. Belec v delu »Ljutomersko-ormoške gorice« (22) in M. Žagar v delu »Kozjansko« (25) prikazujejo razvoj teh pokrajin, izhajajo iz socialnoekonomske problematike, saj je ta v tem okolju tisti vodilni dejavnik, ki je dal osnovni pečat kulturni pokrajini. V izrazitih vinogradniških področjih, zlasti v Halozah, se je v preteklosti razvilo viničarstvo kot svojstvena oblika socialnih odnosov, ki ga ne poznajo vinorodne pokrajine drugih dežel. Prvi viničarji so bili služabniki, ki so jih premožni meščani pošiljali na delo v svoje vinograde in jih polagoma tam stalno naselili.

Viničarski odnosi so se širili vzporedno s prehajanjem zemlje v meščansko posest. Leta 1955 je bila skoraj polovica vinogradov v lasti tujih posestnikov in to 55,4 % v lasti meščanov in 13,1 % v lasti kmetov iz drugih krajev. Domačini so imeli mala posestva s povprečno okrog 30 arov vinograda. Z ukinitvijo viničarskih odnosov po drugi svetovni vojni je zemlja tujih meščanov prešla v družbeno posest. Leta 1963 je Kmetijski kombinat Ptuj posedoval 79 % vseh vinogradov. Z boljšimi agrotehničnimi ukrepi so znatno dvignili pridelok (kmečki vinogradi so prej dajali povprečno 16 hl/ha, družbena posest 71 hl/ha) ter z uvedbo teras zmanjšali potrebo po delovni sili od 2200—2500 leta 1964 na okrog 270 delovnih moči.

Med regionalnimi proučitvami močnejše urbaniziranega podeželja je še posebno dragocena proučitev transformacije Bistriške ravnine severovzhodno od Ljubljane, ki zajema tudi vprašanja neposrednega sosedstva tradicionalne kmečke in nove socialistične agrarne izrabe tal (28).

V zadnjih letih prehaja slovenska agrarna geografija od podrobnih regionalnih raziskav k raziskavam določenega problema za celotno Slovenijo. Med prvimi takimi raziskavami je Vrišerjeva študija »Sistemi agrarnega izkoriščanja tal v Sloveniji (29). Na osnovi površinskega razmerja med posameznimi kulturami je določil naslednje sisteme: krmni z dvema podtipoma, žitni sistem z dvema podtipoma, okopavinski sistem z dvema podtipoma, žitno-okopavinski-krmni ter posebne sisteme kot so sadjarski, vinogradniški in hmeljarski. Vrišer v svoji študiji ugotavlja, da se sistemi izrabe zemljišča v veliki meri teritorialno grupirajo, česar bi glede na velike razlike v naravnih razmerah ne pričakovali. Te ugotovitve potrjuje tudi Medvedova karta izrabe zemljišča v Sloveniji leta 1969. Čeprav med Vrišerjevo in Medvedovo karto ni mogoča prava primerjava, saj določanje tipov pri prvi karti temelji na površinah, ki jih zavzamejo posamezne kulture, pri drugi pa na denarni vrednosti posameznih pridelkov, nas vendar opozarjata, da je teritorialna grupacija posameznih sistemov posredno povezana z naravnimi razmerami. Toda ne z današnjo vrednostjo naravnih razmer za kmetijsko izrabo tal, temveč z vrednostjo iz časov, ko so se oblikovale oblika poselitve, zemljiška razdelitev in posestna struktura. Ti elementi preteklosti v pokrajini imajo še danes močan vpliv na izrabo zemljišča v lasti zasebnih posestnikov, zlasti v gospodarsko bolj zaostalih področjih. Te značilnosti so razvidne tudi iz Medvedovih študij »Spremembe v izrabi zemljišča in preseljevanje kmečkega prebivalstva v Sloveniji v zadnjih dveh desetletjih« in »Izraba zemljišča v Sloveniji s posebnim ozirom na tržne viške« (30). V prvi študiji obravnava razvoj posestne strukture v povojnem obdobju, razvoj družbene posesti (ki je leta 1966 zavzemala 51 % celotne površine Slovenije), vpliv velikosti kmetij na preseljanje kmečkega prebivalstva in spreminjanje izrabe zemljišča. V drugem delu pri izrabi zemljišča ugotavlja, da je Slovenija predvsem živinorejska de-

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žela, saj krmne rastline dajejo več kot polovico (65,2 %) celotne vrednosti poljedelskih pridelkov, tem slede okopavine (14,6 %) ter žitarice in industrijske rastline. V skladu s tem je tudi stopnja tržne usmerjenosti kmetijstva največja pri živinoreji, sledita sadjarstvo in vinogradništvo, medtem ko gre pri vseh drugih skupinah pridelkov na trg manj kot 12 % pridelkov.

Velika pozornost je bila posvečena razvoju planinskega gospodarstva in vinogradništva. S prvim vprašanjem se je ukvarjal M. Vojvoda (31), ki si je zadal nalogo, da prikaže za celotni alpski svet vse tiste spremembe, ki jih je v tradicionalno planinsko gospodarjenje že pred desetletji začela prinašati industrializacija, ki so se še posebno stopnjevale po drugi svetovni vojni in po naši družbeni preobrazbi. Med neposrednimi razlogi za nazadovanje planinskega pašništva so predvsem preseljanje prebivalstva, pomanjkanje pastirjev in prepoved tradicionalne gozdne paše iz leta 1960, ki je tudi močno skrčila pašne površine (npr. v občini Bohinj 6.700 ha, v občini Bled 4.800 ha v občini Radovljica 2.200 ha itd.). Ukrep o prepovedi gozdne paše je bil brez dvoma utemeljen, usoden pa je bil, ker gozdne paše še ni utegnila nadomestiti zadostna modernizacija planinskih obratov. Skupno je bilo na Slovenskem 530 planin, od teh jih je bilo do druge svetovne vojne opuščeni 34 ali 6,4 %, po drugi svetovni vojni, do leta 1966, pa še nadaljnjih 91 ali 17,2 %. S tem delom se je dopolnila in aktualizirala slika, ki so jo o našem planinskem gospodarjenju podale že omenjene dotedanje študije (9, 10, 11, 12, 13). Drugi problem, razvoj vinogradov v Sloveniji, proučuje B. Belec (32). Gre za razvoj od prvih desetletjih preteklega stoletja do danes, pri čemer se ugotavljajo tipi tako glede na vrsto trt kot na tehniko obdelave in se poskuša, na osnovi različnih skupnih meril, z regionalizacijo vinorodnih področij v Sloveniji.

S populacijskega vidika, z vidika deagrarijskih procesov ter strukture gospodinjstev in kmečkih gospodarstev proučuje socialno-geografske probleme slovenskega podeželja V. Klemenčič v študijah, objavljenih v domačem in tujem geografskem tisku. V njih se osvetljujejo procesi izraženi v strukturi in dinamiki prebivalstva ob naglem prehodu iz zaostale agrarne v moderno industrijsko družbo. S transformacijo podeželja, ki jih prinašata deagrarijska in urbanizacija, se ukvarjajo še druge raziskave, ki jih v tem »Geografskem vestniku« navaja tudi Vrišerjev prispevek o »Geografskem proučevanju slovenskih mest«. Med njimi je za geografijo našega podeželja posebej omeniti študijo Vladimirja in Vere Kokole o urbanizaciji podeželja v Sloveniji (34).

Vse naštete smeri geografskega raziskovanja podeželja s strani slovenskih in drugih jugoslovanskih geografov so lepo prišle do izraza na prvem jugoslovanskem simpoziju o agrarni geografiji, ki je bil v Mariboru leta 1964 in o katerem je izšel poseben zbornik (35). Omeniti pa je še, da je S. Ilešič poskušal podati mednarodnemu in domačemu strokovnemu svetu sintetičen pregled vseh transformacij slovenske tradicionalne podeželske pokrajine v toku 19. in 20. stoletja (36).

Naš pregled nam je pokazal, da so slovenski geografi v vsem zadnjem petdesetletju živeli s slovensko podeželsko pokrajino ter v vsakem obdobju raziskovali tiste pojave in probleme, ki so bili v ospredju dogajanja, še posebno tiste, ki so postali ovira za nadaljnji razvoj. Tako s svojimi prispevki niso samo prispevali k teoriji te smeri geografskih proučevanj ter se s tem enakovredno uvrstili med druge evropske narode, temveč so prispevali tudi k praktičnemu reševanju ustrezne problematike v Sloveniji.

Jakob Medved

GEOGRAPHICAL RESEARCH ON THE RURAL AREAS
OF SLOVENIA

From the view-point of physical geography Slovenia is a territory of contrasts and transitions. Most broad types of landscape of Europe are represented in that territory. The alpine, the subalpine, the dinaric, the subpannonian and the pannonian landscapes meet in an area which hardly exceeds 20.000 square kilometres. There is no less variety if conditions of climate and vegetation are taken into consideration. These extremely varied circumstances in the natural endowment of the country provide also a very differentiated material base for Man's life and action. All this variety is manifest also in the physiomy and in the structure of the rural landscape and, as a result of this, has been arousing the interest of Slovenian geographers since long. It seems appropriate to deal with research on the rural areas in Slovenia in two sections. The first is concerned with the prewar era when the characteristic traits of the traditional rural landscape were still dominant and the second deals with the modern period when the rural areas are undergoing a thorough transformation.

I.

It was characteristic of the rural landscape of prewar Slovenia that the amount of arable land was rather limited because of the predominance of mountainous and karst areas. At the end of the nineteenth century, when all land in any way suitable for agriculture was already brought under cultivation, the arable land represented only 17.09% of the total land area of the country, vineyards 1.95%, gardens 1.05%, meadows 15.95%, pastures 16.99%, woodland 1.47% and the unproductive land 4.45%. The variety of the natural conditions are reflected in the share of the cultivated categories of land (i. e. arable, vineyards, gardens) in particular types of natural areas. The lowest share 0–5% was typical of the high mountains and karst plateaus where only a few settlements exist. The share rises to 5–10% in other mountainous areas: in the Alpine area and in the Kras region as well as in the mountains lying in between where settlements occur more often. In most uplands the cultivated land covered 10–20% of the surface. In karst areas such a share is the highest possible whereas in the more fertile eastern Slovenia it is an unfavourable exception. The figure rises to 20–35% on the southern slopes, in particular in the area between Pohorje mountains, the Sava mountains and the Drava plain. The latter percentage may be considered quite satisfactory for upland and karst poljes, whereas such a share appears in the tertiary hills and valleys only where considerable parts are either water-logged or where the soils are

poorer. The share of 35–50% of the cultivated land is characteristic of dry, fertile plains in the Ljubljana and Celje basins and, in particular, of the northeastern and southwestern vine-growing areas. The share rises to over 50% in the subpannonian plains along the Mura and Drava rivers as well as in the low hills of Slovenske gorice between both rivers. Smaller areas where the share exceeds one half of the surface are also found more patchily in the lowland around Gorica and in the flysch hills in the coastal belt between Koper and Piran.

The share of the meadows was highest in the karst areas (where it exceeded 20%) and decreased in other uplands and in the wetter parts of the major valleys and plains. A similar distribution was characteristic of pastures (or grazing land). They are most common in the karst areas of Western Slovenia, of Inner Carniola and Kočevje upland but also on the low karst plateaus of Bela Krajina. The share in these areas is everywhere above 30%. In the high mountains the pastures (including those above tree-line) cover some 20 to 30% of the surface. In the valleys and basins, but also in some parts of the hills, the pastures represent between 15 and 20% of the surface. In the more fertile parts of Slovenia, in particular in the Northeast, the pastures cover a considerably lower percentage of the surface.

Not only the varied natural conditions but also the cultural influences were responsible for the evolution and forms of the settlement pattern in rural areas of Slovenia, of the field-patterns, of the types of settlements and of the types of rural economy: for the evolution of the rural cultural landscape in general. These material and immaterial factors were, during the centuries long evolution, responsible for the great variety of the landscape in the rural areas of Slovenia. Pure types of the mediterranean, alpine, karstic, pannonian and subpannonian landscapes may be discerned as well as some transitional types resulting from the interplay of various influences.

It was not by accident that professor Melik and his disciples focused their first research efforts on the study of the agricultural landscape in the pre-war period on the traditional aspects and on the types of settlements. »In his research in this direction Melik has skillfully responded to stimulations jointly both from Cvijić and his school and from the contemporary research orientation in the West, which had also been present in the work of some German and Austrian geographers who studied the rural areas of Slovenia. These stimulations have been happily combined with the contemporary initiatives of the historians at the University of Ljubljana concerned with agricultural history (1, p. 255). This combination of external impulses corresponded with the needs of the emerging geographical science in Slovenia and with the socio-economic background of the new state into which Slovenia was included after World War I. At that time Slovenia was still a predominantly agricultural country where the share of the agrarian population was decreasing, but only slowly: it fell from 75.6% in 1890 to 73.2% in 1900 and to 60.55% in 1931. The socioeconomic problems in the rural areas were getting more and more burning in that period of the world econ-

mic crisis which has hit Slovenia hard. Several lines of research were picked up as a result of the external scientific impulses and of the concrete material conditions at home in order to throw as much new light as possible on the problems of rural areas of Slovenia. In this research two methodological approaches were present in the evolving geography of rural areas from the very beginning. The first was characterised by the monographs on particular areas and the second by the analysis of a particular element, phenomenon or factor, and of the distribution and role played by them in general.

One of the first monographs on rural areas of Slovenia was that by Melik on the »Colonisation of the Marsh of Ljubljana« (2). In this study the draining of the marsh, its land-use and methods of cultivation as well as the origin and types of the settlements, types of houses and the utilization of the land and the other socioeconomic conditions in general were studied. The study is important not only because an exceptional case of late settlement was examined (first decades of the 19th century!) but primarily because of the valuable methodological approach: it served for many decades as a model for comprehensive analyses of rural areas in Slovenia.

Paralel studies, dealing with particular elements of the rural areas or of the rural landscape and of their spatial distribution in Slovenia were also started at that time. Among the first were those by Melik on farm buildings and settlements (5) and by Ilešič on the cultivated land in Slovenia (4), on rural over-population (5) as well as on rural settlements and field-patterns in some regions of Slovenia (6). The study by Melik on the »rural settlements in Slovenia« (5) is the first attempt at the synthesis of the research on main types of the settlement patterns in rural areas of Slovenia (isolated mountain farms, »dispersed« settlements, hamlets, nucleated villages, row colonization villages) and their spatial distribution.

The basic features of the socioeconomic conditions of rural areas in Slovenia are dealt with in the study on the agrarian overpopulation by Ilešič (5). In 1951 the density of agricultural population per square kilometre of agricultural land in Slovenia was 85. This is higher figure than that for Yugoslavia (78) or of many other European states (e. g. Poland 66, Hungary 59, Switzerland 45) with only some exceptions (Italy 135, Bulgaria 90). There were, however, great differences between various part of Slovenia. The density of the agricultural population was on the whole much greater in the northeastern and eastern parts of the country (former districts of Lendava and Ljutomer) while it was considerably lower in the central and western Slovenia.

The proof that Slovenian geographers were aware of the burning socioeconomic problems of rural areas in Slovenia, which were however fully felt only after the Second World War, was a collective publication of the pre-war Department of Geography at the University of Ljubljana on the economic structure of Slovenia in the light of the statistics of employment and social insurance (7).

Several studies by Ilešič on the field-patterns started even before last war (6) led to a synthesis in his publication *The Systems of Field-patterns in Slovenia*, (8, revised edition in German language). The study was based on the detail analysis of cadastral maps and of published historical sources and has enabled Ilešič to discern the following main types of field-patterns: field division into irregular blocks, division into irregular strips, regular and irregular openfields, continued strips-pattern, enclosures and many transitional patterns. The contemporary spatial distribution of particular types of field-patterns was explained to be a joint result of the natural conditions and of various social factors related to the process of the settlement of the land and to the socioeconomic structure. Ilešič basic study about the origins of the rural landscape of Slovenia is of great importance both because of the theoretical and the practical point of view. As far as theory is concerned the study is a valuable contribution to the analysis of the origins of field-patterns in Europe. The explanation about the strong influence of the medieval German social structure on the origin on the field-patterns is rejected both for Slovenia and some other parts of Central Europe. Also, by identifying many transitional forms and by tracing the evolution of the systems of field-patterns since they came into existence in the early Middle Ages the study is a significant contribution towards the elucidation of related problems and thus to the geographical science in general. At the same time the study is a presentation of the extreme fragmentation of the private landholdings, which is the result of a long evolution in the past and is an element of man-made geographical environment that causes a lot of trouble in present efforts of modernizing the agriculture.

Even before the last war the geographers have started also with studies on the high mountains pasture areas (*»planine«*) which are a marginally and seasonally occupied part of the agricultural domain. The results of studies on such areas along the lower Zilja valley (Carinthia), in the Karavanke mountains and in the Kamnik Alps were published just before the war (9). The synthetic study by Melik on alpine pastures in the Julian Alps (10) and that by Fajgelj on mountain pastures of the Savinja Alps (11) have completed this series of studies. They were the basis of later research which was concerned with great changes which the grazing and land utilization in the high mountains underwent in the years following the Second World War.

II.

During the post-war period the rural areas of Slovenia underwent great changes in accordance with the general evolution on the social and economic planes, which, in the West European countries, occurred only within five or more decades. The share of the agricultural population was greatly reduced to about 50% in 1961 and fell again in the last decade to only 18% in 1971. The arable land surface has shrunk by 14% between 1954 and 1967, or by about 1% each year.

Although arable land was mostly converted to meadows, the total area used for agriculture has diminished by more than 20,000 hectares or by 1.9%. Pure peasants' landholdings are being quickly changed into the mixed landholdings or even to non-agricultural landholdings. In 1960 there were 194,855 landholdings in Slovenia, of which 49.1% were still pure agricultural landholdings, whereas the share of the mixed landholdings was 45.2%. The percentage for the non-agricultural landholdings was 5.9% while 1.8% were those with no member of the household being employed in agriculture. The number of private landholdings was reduced from 199,000 in 1947 to 185,000 in 1969, i. e. by 16,000 or by 8%. The average size of the agricultural landholding was diminished from 8.27 hectares in 1951 to 6.2 hectares in 1969.

These data reflect the intensive evolution which was made possible because of several reasons. Among them were, first of all, rapid industrialization in the immediate post-war period and the connected demand for labour-force and, later, transition to a market economy; quicker development of the tertiary employment; opening of the boundaries for emigration and for seasonal employment abroad. These rapid changes have induced researchers to study the problems and phenomena which, in pre-war Yugoslavia, were not yet in the foreground.

Since the war the social and economic aspects in regional geographical studies became more and more prominent. Leban, in his study on Nanos and its economic links with neighbouring areas showed how the alpine pastures on that mountain were complementary to the farms in the Vipava valley or in the Kras region (12). He analysed the socio-economic reasons of the origin, evolution and later decline of the »transhumance« as a specific form of economic links between two different natural geographical areas. Present day problems are also even more in the foreground in a monograph by Klemenčič (12) on the area between Snežnik and Slavnik mountains. The social geographical evolution of the rural landscape was not related only to the evolution and decay of the »transhumance«, but also to the economic links with Trieste and Rijeka. These as well as the problems that have emerged because of the new Italo-Yugoslav boundary since World War II which severed Trieste from its hinterland, are examined in the study.

New changes in the structure of rural areas are evident also from some other regional studies: in the study by Vrišer on the region of Goriška Brda (14), by Kokole on the underdeveloped rural area between the Sava and Sotla rivers (15), in the studies on the Kokra valley, the lower Mura plain, the Maribor hills and the Koper hills published in the years 1955/56 (16) and in a monograph by Gams on the Dravaland of Pohorje (17). The study by Z. Seifried (18) was concerned with the changes in the cultural landscape of the plain of Kranj during the 19th century.

The establishment of a research Institute of Geography at the University of Ljubljana (1961) was an important milestone in the evolution of the rural geography in Slovenia. It was possible, under the leadership of professors Klemenčič and Ilešič, to revive and to expand the interest

in the research on the rural areas. Several geographers joined in this endeavour in a series of doctoral dissertations on various rural areas in Slovenia. The research done along these lines was also carried out by the Institute of Geography at the Slovenian Academy of Arts and Sciences (Meze), at the Department of Geography at the Faculty of Arts (Žagar) and also by some individuals out of Ljubljana (Sore). The agricultural problems of the mountainous areas were dealt with by J. Medved, D. Meze and M. Zgonik (19) and those on the alpine pastures by M. Vojvoda (20). V. Bračič and B. Belec dealt with the problems of the vine-growing subpannonian areas (21) and M. Pak with those of the agriculture on the subpannonian plains (22). The problems of the economically backward areas of the eastern fringe of Slovenia were studied by M. Žagar and A. Sore (23). Transformations on the rural areas near tourist centres or around resort towns were studied by M. Jeršič and J. Lojk (24). Special problems of the rural landscape of the agriculture in the mediterranean coast of Slovenia were studied by J. Titi (25) and in the Marsh of Ljubljana by A. Lah (26).

The creation of the research Institute of Geography at the University of Ljubljana did not mean only an increase in the number of researchers and of the studies undertaken but also the opening of a new era of cooperation with others research centres concerned with agricultural geography, both in Yugoslavia and abroad. The first stimulus came from the first international conference on land utilization studies in countries of Central and Eastern Europe (organized by the Institute of Geography of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw in 1960) but it was the newly founded Institute which has provided the organizational facilities for cooperation with Polish and other geographers in East-Central Europe. In a similar way the international symposium on agricultural geography and history (held in Nancy in 1957) was the start of close contacts with geographers of the »social geography« school at Munich. One of the first results was the publication in German language of the revised study by Plešič on the field-patterns in Slovenia (8). The international contacts have been quite lively also with agricultural geographers in Czechoslovakia, Hungary and East Germany. These contacts had various forms: mutual visits and exchanges of opinion as well as organization of joint research projects and symposia. The geographers from Slovenia, Poland and Hungary have jointly studied agricultural land-utilization in different part of Slovenia and Yugoslavia, but also in Poland and in Hungary. This cooperation has enabled the Slovenian geographers to get acquainted with contemporary problems of rural areas in various parts of Europe and with different methods and directions of research. They did not, however, uncritically transfer the foreign theoretical and methodological starting points into their work, but have rather used the acquired experience only inasmuch as a certain approach proved to be adequate in order to examine the objective problems of a particular part of the rural environment or landscape or a certain element of it. It is, therefore, hardly possible to say that the geographical research of rural areas in Slovenia has been biased either towards the

genetical or the social or the economic geography. The three directions are really intertwined and it depends on the objective problem of a particular rural area which of the three directions is in the foreground. Medved in his studies (27) for instance illustrates the impact of the socioeconomic processes in the mountainous areas. The evaluation of the natural conditions and the technological progress in such areas has led to rapid depopulation, to abandoning of smaller farms and to a generally more extensive use of land as exemplified in the change of meadows and pastures into woodland and of the arable land into meadows and pastures. The intensity of change depends on social circumstances. Larger farms have to stick to the old orientation or have to abandon farming as the main occupation. In the mountains along the Drava river the area under the arable has decreased by 22.6 % and that of the pastures by 29 %, while that of the meadows has increased by 20.7 %. Medved has also assessed possibilities for further existence and eventual development of the agriculture in the mountains. He based his evaluation — in some sample areas — on the amount of the land surface on slopes of different inclination (which were mapped in detail) viz. on the possibilities of the use of modern equipment as well as on the profitableness of various crops under such conditions and, also, on the size of the contiguous stretches of cultivable land.

The fact that the social geographical aspect is in the foreground in studies dealing with economically backward and densely populated parts of the northeastern and eastern Slovenia is an expression of the objective realities of the life in those areas. V. Bračič in his study of the vine-growing Haloze hills to the south of Ptuj (21), B. Belec in his study of the area between Ormož and Ljutomer (22), M. Žagar in his study of the environments of Kozje in eastern Slovenia (25) describe the evolution in their study areas and all of them consider the socioeconomic problems and conditions as determinant factors in the shaping of the cultural landscape. In the vine-growing areas and in Haloze in particular a special form of social relations has developed in the past, that of »viničarji« (i. e. agricultural labourers working for absentee landowners), which does not exist in the vine-growing areas in other countries. Originally, the »viničarji« were servants to rich townspeople who were sent out to work in the vineyards and had eventually settled there for good. This form of social relations was getting more common when more and more land passed into the hands of the bourgeoisie. In the year 1935 almost one half of the vineyards in Haloze was in the hands of people who did not possess land they were cultivating (35.4 % in the hands of townspeople and 13.1 % in the hands of peasants from other areas). The average size of the vineyards owned by local farmers did not exceed 30 ars. The institution of »viničarji« was abolished after the last war and the land owned by absentee landowners was passed to the socialist sector. By the year 1963 the big agricultural enterprise in Ptuj owned 29 % of all vineyards in Haloze. As a result of the better agricultural technology that was introduced the yields have improved considerably. (Peasants' vineyards yielded about 16 hectolitres per hectare whereas the yields were

as much as 71 hectolitres per hectare in the socialist sector). It was also possible, by terracing the slopes in order to enable modern equipment to be used, to reduce the need of labour-force from some 2200 to 2500 to only about 270.

Among regional studies concerned with more urbanized parts of Slovenia the analysis of the transformation of the Bistrice plain (north of Ljubljana) by Klemenčič and Jeršič (28) has to be singled out since the problems of coexistence of the traditional peasant agriculture and of the new socialist enterprises have also been dealt with.

During the last decade researchers in the field of the geography of rural areas have also switched their interest from detailed regional studies to the analyses of a certain problem throughout Slovenia. One of the first studies of this kind was that by Vrišer of 'the systems of agricultural land utilization in Slovenia' (29). By analysing the relation between different land-use (crops) the author discerned the following types or systems: the fodder system (with two sub-systems), the grain system (with two sub-types), the system based on growing of potatoes and other similar plants (with two sub-types), the system based on grain, fodder and potato and similar crops as well as some special systems such as the fruit-growing and the hop-growing systems. Vrišer has found out that different systems of land-use tend to be grouped in the territorial sense what was not expected considering the great variations of the natural conditions. His findings were confirmed by the map of the land-uses of Slovenia prepared by Medved in 1969 (30). Although a direct comparison of his map with Vrišer's map is not possible since the first of them used the cropped surface as an indicator and the second used the money value of particular crops, the similarities on both maps call attention to the fact that the territorial grouping of particular systems reveals dependence on the natural conditions. This dependence, however, is not in relation to the existing value of the natural assets for agriculture but is related to their value at the time when the settlement patterns, the field-patterns and the structure of land tenure came into existence. These elements of the past still exercise a powerful influence on the land-use patterns in the surfaces cultivated by private farmers, in particular in the economically more backward areas. The above mentioned characteristics are presented in two studies by Medved: of 'the changes in land utilization in relation to the social stratification of the agricultural population in Slovenia during the last two decades' and of 'the land utilization in Slovenia with particular reference to marketable surpluses' (30). In the first study Medved deals with the evolution of the size structure of the private landholdings in the post-war period as well as with the evolution in the socialist sector (in 1966 as much as 51% of the land area of Slovenia was managed by the enterprises of that sector); also, the role of the size of farms in the social transformation of the peasant population and on the changes in land utilization. In the second study Medved analyses the land utilization and comes to the conclusion that Slovenia is primarily a cattle-raising country since fodder crops represent more than half of the total value (65.2%) of agricultural produce.

Second in importance are potato and similar crops (14.8%); grains and other crops follow. In accordance with this situation the animal husbandry is most markedly market oriented, followed by fruit-growing and vine-growing. In all other groups of agricultural produce less than 12% of the production is marketed.

Great attention has been paid to the development of the grazing in the high mountains on alpine pastures and of the vine-growing. The first was an object of analysis by M. Vojvoda (31). His purpose was to demonstrate, for the entire alpine area of Slovenia, all those changes that were introduced — even before the last war and increasingly since the war — into the traditional use of the high alpine pastures through increased industrialization. The shrinking use of alpine pastures is a result of the social transformation of the agricultural population, of the lack of shepherds and of the fact that traditional grazing in the forests along the tree-line was forbidden since 1960. Thus the acreage of the grazing land has been greatly reduced (6,700 hectares in the former commune of Bohinj, 4,800 hectares in that of Bled, 2,200 hectares in that of Radovljica). The latter measure forbidding grazing in the forests undoubtedly was well founded, but it was fatal for grazing because sufficient modernization of agricultural equipment of the alpine pastures could not yet compensate the abandoned forest-pastures. There were 530 alpine grazing units (»planine«) before the war in Slovenia; 34 (or 6.4%) of them were abandoned even before the war and another 91 (or 17.2%) were abandoned till the year 1966. The study by Vojvoda provides supplementary and up-to-date information about the alpine grazing economy which was also dealt with before in detail in the studies by Melik, Ilešič, Jordan, Čerček, Fajgelj, Klemenčič, Leban and others (9, 10, 11, 12, 13). The other problem, that of the evolution in the vine-growing areas in Slovenia, was studied by Belec (52). He traced the development of the vineyards from the first decades of the 19th century to the present day. Several types are discerned both with regard to the kind of vines and to the technology of cultivation. On the basis of various joint indicators a regionalization of the vine-growing areas of Slovenia was worked out in outline.

Social geographical problems of the rural areas related to population growth and population structure, to the evolution of the household structure and the landholdings structure, to the share of the total and active agricultural population were studied by Klemenčič. His studies, published both in Slovenia and abroad, shed much new light on problems and processes which are reflected in the structure and in the dynamics of rural population in a period of transition from a backward peasant society to a modern industrial society (35).

Other studies also deal with the transformation in rural areas that was induced through deagrarianization and urbanization. Some are referred to in this volume of »Geografski vestnik« by Vrišer in his article on Urban Geography. Among them a study by Vladimir and Vera Kokole concerning the »urbanization of the countryside« should be mentioned

because of the special importance for geography of the rural areas of entire Slovenia (34).

All directions in the geographical research of the rural areas pursued by Slovenian geographers and by other Yugoslav geographers have found an expression in the first Yugoslav symposium on agricultural geography that was held in 1964 in Maribor. The papers that were presented were published in a special book (35). It should be also mentioned that essays by S. Ilešič of a synthesis on the transformation of the traditional rural landscape and of its socioeconomic components during the 19th and 20th centuries, were also published (36).

The purpose of this overview was to show that the Slovenian geographers had been, during the last fifty years, in close contact with realities of the rural areas and were studying the phenomena and problems that were in the foreground at any particular time and notably those that have become obstacles to further progress. Thus they did not only make a contribution to the theory in this branch of geographical research but also to the solution of practical problems concerning the development of rural areas in Slovenia.

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