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INTERNAL MIGRATION IN SLOVENIA, 1961—1971

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The rapid social and economic changes experienced throughout Yugoslavia in the period after World War II have provided geographers with many opportunities to study the large-scale population mobility which was caused by these processes. Unfortunately, although several scholars recognised that migration was stimulated very early in the post-war years published statistics were not very elaborate until the 1961 Census. Consequently, most studies have concentrated on two main themes: firstly, the rural-urban movement within the country as reflected in the twin processes of urbanization and deagrarianization, and secondly, the more recent phenomenon of Yugoslav workers abroad on a temporary basis, a trend which may be interpreted as an extension of pre-war seasonal migrations from over-populated regions.

As in all other countries the standard source of information is that part of the periodic population census which deals with differences between a person's place of birth and place of residence at the time of the numeration. The most serious handicap of this type of material is that it is not time-specific, that is it does not present data which are confined to a standard time scale because it deals obviously with the extremely wide variety of life-spans of different persons and aggregates them in a table of 'life-time' migration. A major consequence of this level of generalisation is that only one move is recorded for each person — the assumed single move from place of birth x years ago to the present place of residence — with the result that the whole aspect of chain migration is ignored, although in virtually all published studies this element is recognised as crucial to the full understanding of the migration process. In the 1961 and 1971 Yugoslav censuses, a refinement was introduced whereby the date of the move to the new permanent residence was allocated to certain time-spans, e.g. pre-1940, 1941—45, 1946—52 and so on, but this method gives only a relative relationship, since the dying out of earlier migrants will reduce their apparent significance in later censuses. Moreover, published data do not give cross-tabulations on a spatial

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basis of the number of migrants according to various types of selectivity, for example, age, sex, marital status, occupation, nationality, level of education and place of origin or distance moved, all of which may be of major importance in explaining general or regional patterns.

A second method of calculating the migration component in a population is to subtract the natural increase (excess of births over deaths) from the total population increase over a specified period (Natek, 1972), but this calculation would yield only net migration and depends on the availability of vital statistics for all areas to be studied. Moreover it tells us nothing about the origins or characteristics of the migrants themselves. Additional problems arise where the number of deaths exceeds the number of births, that is where there is a natural decrease to be considered.

The third source of data is the continuous register of population which was accepted after the Federal Law of 7. VI. 1950. Because of its detail and the fact that it records information for individual inhabitants, this type of material is by far the most valuable, although its analysis is very time-consuming even for relatively small areas. One such study for občina Idrija, has produced interesting results which could form the basis of at least a conceptual model of internal migration in Slovenia (Thomas, 1971).

The particular methods employed in this paper are concerned firstly with the estimation of net migration between 1961 and 1971 for the 60 občina, using birth rate and death rate statistics to calculate the natural component of total population change, and secondly with a detailed analysis of migration according to origin and destination by settlement type.

Natural and migration components, 1961—1971

Birth rates and death rates per 1000 inhabitants were calculated from annual statistics published in *Statistički godišnjak* for the various years for all Slovene občina. This procedure has already been adopted by Natek (1972). His conclusions demonstrated the broad contrasts in demographic trends between those areas which were predominantly non-agrarian and those which were largely agrarian in character, and it is clear that such a dichotomy gives rise to spatial differences in Slovenia which may be correlated with other social, economic and environmental factors. It is true that for the decade 1961—1971, neither birth rates nor death rates were static. On the contrary both tended to decline, as they had done for several years earlier, and the detailed trend in any particular locality was related to the age-structure of the initial population together with the selective effects of migration as the decade progressed.

Four main types showing the interaction between natural and migrational change can be seen:

1. Districts where migration gain exceeded natural increase; in Koper, Ljubljana-Bežigrad, Ljubljana-Moste/Polje, Ljubljana-Šiška, Ljubljana-Vič/Rudnik, Slovenske Konjice, Velenje, Nova Gorica.

2. Districts where migration gain was less than natural increase; in Celje, Domžale, Izola, Kamnik, Kranj, Maribor, Piran, Zalec.

3. Districts where migration loss exceeded natural increase; in Brežice, Cerknica, Ilirska Bistrica, Krško, Lenart, Lendava, Litija, Ljubljana-Center, Ormož, Radlje, Sežana, Šentjur, Šmarje, Trebnje.

4. Districts where migration loss was less than natural increase; in all the remaining občine, except Tolmin which recorded migration and natural losses.

The general distinctions between areas of positive and negative migration and positive and negative actual change are therefore established (Natek, 1972, p. 72). It has also been proved that the net effect of inter-republican movements does not greatly distort the over-all situation in Slovenia and for the terms of this paper it can be assumed that the most significant feature, both absolutely and relatively, in the 1961—1971 period was internal redistribution of the population.

Components of population mobility, 1961—1971

An important improvement in the presentation of Yugoslav census data occurred with the adoption in 1961 of M. Macura's classification of settlements on quantitative criteria of population size and occupation structure. In 1961 and 1971 the population which was not of local birth was grouped according to whether the place of origin was rural, mixed or urban and several studies have used this material to illustrate the internal shifting of people away from the countryside (Breznik, 1971). In view of the fact that the statistics are available by *naselje*, it is curious therefore that until now no-one has constructed for each *občina* a simple 3×3 matrix to examine not only the origins but also the destinations of migrants according to settlement type, thus:

Ajdoščina 1971		Place of origin of migrants			Total	%
		Rural	Mixed	Urban		
Destination	(Rural)	1406	211	154	1771	26.6
	(Mixed)	1650	426	528	2604	39.1
	(Urban)	1115	704	466	2285	34.3
Total		4171	1341	1148	6660	100

During the author's tenure of a scholarship at the Institute of Geography, University of Ljubljana, these calculations were completed for the whole of Yugoslavia for 1971 and subsequently the 1961 data were re-grouped to conform to the same administrative units that functioned in 1971 so that the results for the two dates were strictly comparable. It is accepted that migration obviously takes places across občina boundaries on a considerable scale in some cases and the results of this exercise should not be interpreted as indicating the typology of migration moves *within* that občina. Rather it demonstrates the types of movement that

have contributed to the present composition of population. Nevertheless, on a large scale, on a republic basis within Yugoslavia it will reveal the general tendencies in mobility patterns and show how these have changed through time. The results for Slovenia as a whole are contained in Table 1.

Table 1. Types of internal migration in Slovenia

	Total 1961	1971	% 1961	1971
Rural-rural	255,160	181,996	32.4	23.5
Rural-mixed	105,504	98,591	14.5	12.7
Rural-urban	159,057	149,291	19.2	19.3
Mixed-rural	25,119	27,868	3.5	3.6
Mixed-mixed	52,208	47,779	4.4	6.2
Mixed-urban	48,649	82,094	6.7	10.6
Urban-rural	25,527	24,740	3.5	3.2
Urban-mixed	37,519	43,046	5.2	5.5
Urban-urban	76,668	118,965	10.6	15.4
	725,211	774,170	100	100

The net number of persons living in Slovenia in 1971 who had changed their place of residence since 1961 was 48,959, an increase of 6.75% although if one knew the extent of purely local residential changes the figure would probably be considerably higher. Far more significant in many ways are the transformations that occurred in the type of mobility. For example, whereas in 1961 66.1% of migrants came from rural *naselje*, by 1971 the proportion had fallen to 55.5%, which can be explained by a simultaneous extension of urban commuting hinterlands which restrained permanent migration from the villages and caused major socio-economic changes in their population structure (Klemenčič, 1968). Despite the suggestion that the great reservoir of potentially surplus agrarian labour had been substantially reduced by 1971, possibly by about 50,000 persons, the still dominant rural origins of the mobile population must indicate continued dissatisfaction on the part of the inhabitants of rural *naselje* with their real or potential social and economic opportunities, together with the differentials that exist between rural and urban, and inter-regional, standards of living (Vrišer, 1974). Conversely, although movement from either rural or urban origins to mixed settlements had not greatly changed, mobility between mixed settlements had increased by over 15,000 persons, a change of 48.3%. This feature is probably a reflection of the policy of de-centralised industrial growth in non-urban localities, but it also implies a certain level of differentiation within this category of settlement, whereby some are growing at the expense of others, but are not necessarily attracting people of rural origins as permanent residents because they could readily commute daily from relatively short distances. From the point of view of wider economic development, the most optimistic feature is the very great increase in the amount of inter-urban mobility, a characteristic of advanced indu-

strual societies which are founded on a sophisticated and integrated urban network.

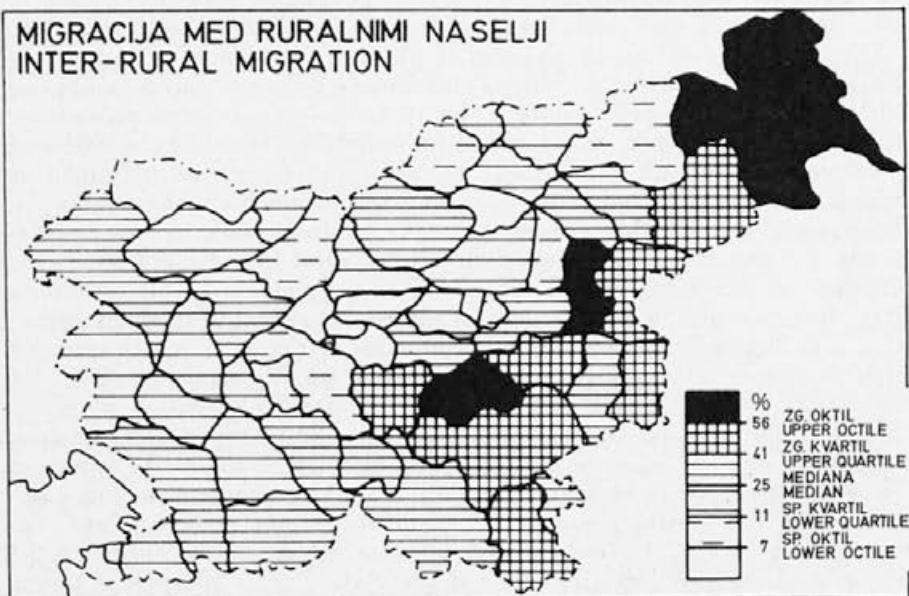
The aggregate results show that between 1961 and 1971 rural settlements had a net loss by migration of only 1.359; while mixed settlements had a net loss by migration of 37.580, almost entirely to urban centres. Towns themselves had a net migration gain of 38.959.

Conclusions derived from Table 1 must lead us to re-consider general statements made until now concerning the nature of the migration process in Yugoslavia and particularly in its more developed regions. Writing in 1968 M. Sentić of the Centre for Demographic Research in Beograd stated, "Although the movements (changes of places of residence) in Yugoslavia follow extremely varied directions and assume different forms, yet rural-urban migrations predominate." This in fact was not correct either for the country as a whole or for any of its individual republics in 1961 and was even less true in 1971, although many authors have repeated the error which was not based on a thorough analysis of the published statistics. It appears therefore that a serious mistake has been made in over-emphasising the numerical importance of strictly rural-urban mobility at the expense of other types and directions of movement. In all republics, including Slovenia in 1961 the largest single component of internal migration was that which occurred between rural settlements, a phenomenon that requires considerably greater research and explanation. By 1971 inter-rural migration was still the most important element in Slovenia, Serbia proper, Bosnia-Hercegovina, Crna Gora and Kosovo. Nevertheless, it is surprising to find so much inter-rural mobility in areas like Slovenia. Here the answer may be found in social as well as economic factors, together with the distinctive type of rural settlement structure and the transport network. Among features which need greater attention is the the role of marriage as a catalyst of population redistribution, a theme which has been investigated by V. Leban (1962) by analysing information in historical *matični knjigi*. From his study of several different localities in various regions of Slovenia it appears that for the whole period from 1850 to 1940 over 57% of all rural marriages resulted in a movement of either husband or wife beyond the confines of the village concerned. The actual loss of population in individual villages caused by movement at marriage was relatively small, but cumulatively it was very large.

It is logical that the outlines of mobility patterns indicated in Table 1 also possess spatial expression: the level of inter-rural or rural-urban migration is neither constant in time or space, but varies according to numerous environmental- socio-economic and administrative conditions. The scope of this short article will not permit a full discussion of all the trends or their regional variations, but a few examples can be taken to illustrate salient points.

Figure 1 shows the extent of inter-rural mobility as a percentage of total migration as recorded up to 1971. The highest values, over 40%, are found in an eastern and north-eastern zone extending from Grosuplje and Trebnje, through Laško, Sevnica, Šentjur pri Celju, Brežice and

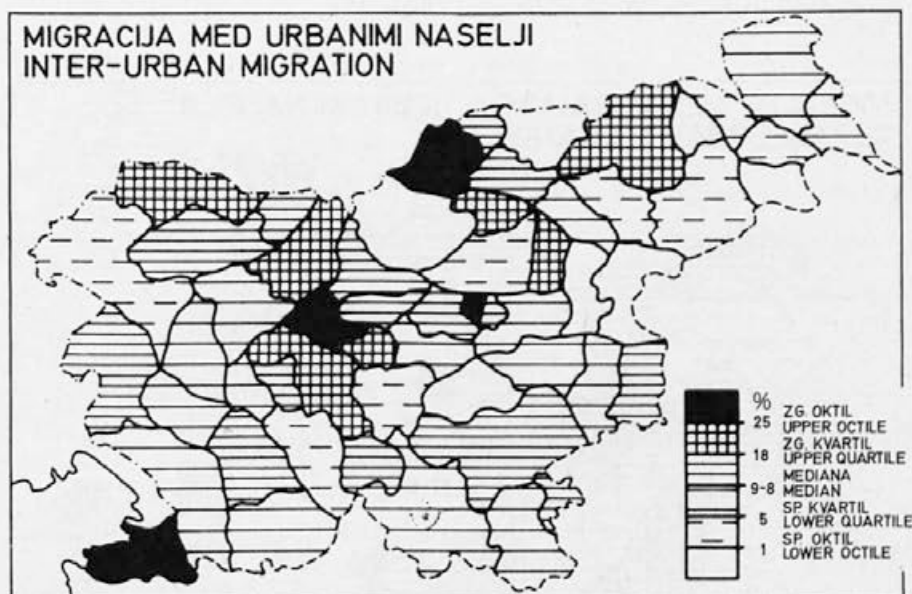
Šmarje pri Jelšah beyond Ptuj into Prekmurje where the greatest concentration is found. One outlier is also located in Črnomelj. The distributional pattern bears a close relationship to that which shows the percentage of the total population which live in rural settlements. This similarity would suggest that there is a direct association between the main type of population mobility and the administrative structure of settlement classification within individual občina, which is in turn based upon criteria of size and occupational characteristics. In other words, these



patterns may be regarded as relics of formerly more widespread phenomena in the sense that they provide supporting evidence for traditional ideas about the essential character of European agrarian society; namely, that despite heavy losses by external migration over several generations, where the natural environment and conditions of land ownership favour small economic units, community links are close in economic and social terms. This finds expression in a narrower territorial sphere of social as well as economic interaction and a relatively lower level of integration with the national economy. Within such communities economic deprivation is frequently compensated for by powerful bonds of social cohesion, regional loyalties, aspects of separate identity and often sustained by a strong awareness of a cultural heritage which might find outlets in local dialects and survival of old peasant customs and traditions.

At the other end of the spectrum, the patterns of inter-urban mobility shown in Fig. 2 are in many ways complementary insofar as both the longestablished and newer industrial bases emerge quite clearly. The four major concentrations for inter-urban movement are:

1. the Piran—Izola—Koper focus, to which many skilled workers and others of urban origin went during two distinct periods. The first influx occurred immediately after the territory was liberated from the Italians in the second world war when early reconstruction was begun, and the second inflow was stimulated by the expansion of the port of Koper, together with the massive development of the tourist industry of the Slovene Primorje. (Titl, 1965).



2. the greater Ljubljana region and the upper Sava valley centres of Kranj and Jesenice. To these should be added peripheral smaller industrial complexes such as Lesce—Bled, Tržič, Vrhnika, Kamnik and Domžale, while an older core of diversified heavy industry has survived in the Črni Revir (Zagorje, Trbovlje and Hrastnik) (Vrišer, 1963).

3. the fragmented axis which extends along the middle Savinja valley from Celje to Velenje new town, and over the watershed into the Ravne, Slovenj Gradec and Dravograd spheres. As in the Primorje, this area too has a mixture of pre-war industry and significant post-war urban growth which has particularly attracted a relatively high proportion of skilled workers and their families from other towns.

4. the influence of Maribor as the second city of Slovenia is revealed in the capacity of its industrial, transport, cultural and service functions to attract large numbers of people not only from the poorly developed subsidiary urban centres of northeast Slovenia, but also from other cities in the republic.

In addition to these four concentrations, other isolated examples of above-average inter-urban migration are to be detected in an outer arc including Nova Gorica, Postojna, Novo Mesto and Brežice, although the latter is only very small scale. In each of these examples a considerable part of the explanation lies in local factors, for example the role of the frontier in the post-war development of Nova Gorica (Vrišer, 1959), but all have the common feature that they are located as growth points in otherwise relatively weakly developed urban networks which serve extensive rural areas in Notranjsko and Dolenjsko.



Despite the fact that in absolute and relative figures inter-urban migration in Slovenia operates at lower levels of intensity than inter-rural migration, its increasingly widespread occurrence is an important indicator of the progress which is being made in the economic and social fabric of the republic. Equally significant is the fact that between 1961 and 1971, while inter-rural mobility (which would have only marginal impact upon existing socio-economic structures) declined markedly, the process of inter-urban mobility recorded a 55% increase, and involved a further 42,000 people.

It has already been demonstrated that the previous emphasis on rural-urban migration has not been entirely justified by analysis of published statistics, and its spatial variation, shown in Fig. 3, is more complex than either of the other two types of movement described above.

The above analysis is not intended to be a definitive statement of patterns of internal mobility in Slovenia. Neither can the more extensive research project of which it forms a part claim to perform that service for Yugoslavia as a whole. It is hoped, however, that it will stimulate scholars both within the country and outside it to construct systematic programmes of study at various levels from villages to cities in order to refine our knowledge of several themes, thus contributing to general migration theory.

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NOTRANJE MIGRACIJE V SLOVENIJI MED LETI 1961—1971

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Hitre socialne in ekonomske spremembe, ki jih je doživela Jugoslavija po drugi svetovni vojni, dajejo geografom veliko priložnosti za študij populacijske mobilnosti in njenih posledic. Na žalost so statistični podatki o teh migracijskih gibanjih, ki so se že zgodaj pojavila, zelo skopi. Razmere so se spremenile šele s popisom prebivalstva l. 1961. Zaradi tega se je večina dosedanjih raziskav osredotočila na dve glavni temi: na ruralno-urbane premike, ki so posledica predvsem urbanizacije in deagrarizacije ter na emigracijo jugoslovanskih delavcev na začasno delo v tujino, ki jo je mogoče interpretirati kot razširjeni trend predvojnih sezonskih emigracij iz prenaseljenih območij.

Ta študija želi dopolniti že obstoječe razprave o migracijskih gibanjih (Klemenčič, 1965, 1971, 1972; Natek, 1969, 1974; Olas, 1957, 1959, 1965, 1974) predvsem z analizo publiciranih podatkov o ljudskih štetjih.

Viri in metodologija

Kot v drugih deželah so tudi v Jugoslaviji standardni viri informacij o migracijah periodični popisi prebivalstva, ki prikazujejo razlike med krajem rojstva in krajem bivanja popisanih oseb ob trenutku popisa. Največja slabost tega gradiva je, da ne razlikuje, kdaj je prišlo do migracijskih premikov in da zaradi tega ni nikakršne časovne lestvice, oziroma so migranti združeni v velike skupine brez ozira na čas in kraj migracij. Posledica takšne generalizacije je, da se navaja samo ena selitev za vsako osebo, to je premik od rojstnega kraja do sedanjega bivališča, prezre pa se celotno verigo migracij (čeprav se v večini natisnjenih študij poudarja, da je za razumevanje migracijskih procesov to nadvse pomembno). Popisa prebivalstva l. 1961 in 1971 sta bila v tem smislu izboljšana, saj sta prebivalce povprašala, v katerem obdobju (npr. pred 1940, 1941—45, 1946—52 itd.) so se preselili v kraj stalnega bivališča. Vendar je ta način dal le omejene rezultate, saj ni upošteval umrlih migrantov. Razen tega publicirani podatki še vedno niso bili za-

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snovani tako, da bi v kombiniranih tabelah podajali število migrantov glede na prostorske enote in druge značilnosti (starost, poklic, nacionalnost, stopnjo izobrazbe itd.) ter glede na kraj izvora in oddaljenost, kar vse je velikega pomena za splošno ali regionalno razlago.

Po drugi možni metodi za računanje migracijskih gibanj skušamo določiti število migrantov tako, da od celotnega populacijskega prirastka odštejemo naravni prirastek (Natek, 1972). Vendar ta postopek podaja le neto migracije in je seveda odvisen od tega, ali imamo podatke o vitalni statistiki. Žal prav nič ne pove o izvoru in značaju migrantov. Dodatne težave lahko nastanejo tam, kjer število smrtnih primerov presega rojstne in imamo naravno depopulacijo.

Tretji vir podatkov je lahko register prebivalstva, ki ga predpisuje zvezni zakon iz 1950. leta. Ker vsebuje podatke o vsakem posameznem prebivalcu, je to gradivo zelo dragoceno, dasi je njegova analiza zelo zamudna, pa čeprav obdelujemo manjše območje. Ena izmed takšnih študij za občino Idrija je prinesla zanimive izsledke in njeno zasnovo bi bilo mogoče uporabiti vsaj kot konceptualni model (za študijo) o notranji migraciji v Sloveniji (Thomas, 1971).

Z metodami, ki smo jih uporabili v pričujoči študiji, smo skušali predvsem oceniti neto migracije med l. 1961 in 1971 v 60 slovenskih občinah. V ta namen smo uporabili podatke o natalitetni in mortalitetni stopnji in z njihovo pomočjo smo skušali oceniti komponento naravne rasti v celotnem populacijskem razvoju. Podrobno pa smo tudi analizirali migracije glede na njihov izvor, usmerjenost in tipe naselij.

Naravni prirastek in migracije med 1961—1971

Rodnost in smrtnost na 1000 prebivalcev po občinah je bila izračunana iz letnih statističnih podatkov, ki so objavljeni v Statističnih godišnjakih. Ta postopek je uporabil že Natek (1972). Njegove ugotovitve so pokazale precejšnje kontraste v demografskih trendih med agrarnimi in neagrarnimi območji. Ta dihotomija se je navezovala na socialne, ekonomske in druge faktorje in je povečevala obstoječe prostorske razlike. Opozoriti je treba, da v dekadi 1961—1971 rodnost in smrtnost nista bili statični; obe sta težili k zmanjševanju, kot je to bil primer že nekaj let. Zato je bil razvoj prebivalstva v vsaki prostorski enoti detajlno proučen glede na starostno strukturo prvotnega prebivalstva ter nato še skupaj z učinki migracije ob koncu dekade.

Razlikovati je bilo mogoče štiri osnovne tipe.

1. Občine, kjer je bil migracijski presežek večji od naravnega prirastka: Koper, Ljubljana-Bežigrad, Ljubljana-Moste/Polje, Ljubljana-Siška, Ljubljana-Vič/Rudnik, Slovenske Konjice, Velenje, Nova Gorica.

2. Občine, kjer je bil migracijski presežek manjši od naravnega prirastka: Celje, Domžale, Izola, Kamnik, Kranj, Maribor, Piran in Žalec.

3. Občine, kjer je migracijski primanjkljaj presegel naravni prirastek: Brežice, Cerknica, Ilirska Bistrica, Krško, Lenart, Lendava, Li-

tija, Ljubljana-Center, Ormož, Radlje, Sežana, Šentjur, Šmarje in Trebnje.

4. Občine, kjer je bil migracijski primanjkljaj manjši od naravnega prirastka; to je v vseh ostalih občinah z izjemo Tolmina, kjer je obstal migracijski in naravni primanjkljaj.

Na tej osnovi je bilo mogoče razlikovati območja s pozitivnim oziroma negativnim migracijskim saldrom in s pozitivnimi ter negativnimi populacijskimi spremembami (Natek, 1972). Izkazalo se je, da migracije iz drugih republik niso bistveno spremenile splošnih razmer v Sloveniji. Zato je bilo mogoče smatrati, vsaj za obdobje, ki ga zajema študija, da je bila najpomembnejša značilnost med l. 1961—1971 notranja redistribucija prebivalstva.

Komponente populacijske mobilnosti v razdobju 1961—1971

Do pomembne izboljšave v obravnavanju rezultatov jugoslovanskih ljudskih štetij je prišlo, ko so l. 1961 uporabili Macurino naselbinsko klasifikacijo. Le-ta je temeljila na kvantitativnih kriterijih o številu prebivalstva in deležu agrarnega prebivalstva. Tako je bilo prebivalstvo v publiciranih podatkih popisov iz l. 1961 in 1971 grupirano glede na svoj izvor v tri skupine: ruralno, mešano in urbano. Nekaj študij je to gradivo uporabilo, da bi prikazalo notranje premike prebivalstva, predvsem emigracijo s podeželja (Breznik, 1971). Glede na dejstvo, da so bili ti podatki prikazani po naseljih, je presenetljivo, da doslej še nihče ni skonstruiral za posamezne občine preprosto 3×3 matriko, s pomočjo katere bi bilo mogoče ugotoviti ne le izvor, temveč tudi kraj, kamor so bili migranti namenjeni, in pri tem razlikovati migracijske tokove glede na navedene tri osnovne naselbinske tipe. Navajamo primer takšne matrike za občino Ajdovščina l. 1971.

		Izvor migrantov glede na tip naselja				
		Ruralna	Mešana	Urbana	Skupaj	%
Ajdovščina, l. 1971	Ruralna	1406	211	154	1771	26,6
Tip naselja, kamor	Mešana	1650	426	528	2604	39,1
so bili migranti	Urbana	1115	704	466	2285	34,5
namenjeni	Skupaj	4171	1341	1148	6660	100,0

Med svojim študijskim obiskom na Geografskem inštitutu Univerze v Ljubljani je avtor napravil tovrstne račune za celotno območje Jugoslavije za l. 1971 ter kasneje tudi za l. 1961, pri čemer je podatke prilagodil upravni razdelitvi iz l. 1971 in jih napravil primerljive med seboj. Izkazalo se je, da so v nekaterih primerih potekala migracijska gibanja v velikem obsegu preko občinskih meja. Rezultati teh obračunov so lepo pokazali, katere oblike populacijskih premikov so pomembno prispevale k sedanji sestavi prebivalstva v okviru posameznih občin. V primeru večjih upravnih enot (npr. republik) pa so se razkrile splošne tendence

v mobilnosti prebivalstva in njihovo spreminjanje v teku časa. Izsledki za Slovenijo kot celoto so prikazani v tabeli 1.

Migracijski premiki glede na tip naselij	Skupaj		%	
	1961	1971	1961	1971
Ruralna-ruralna	235.160	181.996	32,4	23,5
Ruralna-mešana	105.304	98.391	14,5	12,7
Ruralna-urbana	139.057	149.291	19,2	19,3
Mešana-ruralna	25.119	27.868	3,5	3,6
Mešana-mešana	32.208	47.779	4,4	6,2
Mešana-urbana	48.649	82.094	6,7	10,6
Urbana-ruralna	25.527	24.740	3,5	3,2
Urbana-mešana	37.519	43.046	5,2	5,5
Urbana-urbana	76.668	118.965	10,6	15,4
	725.211	774.170	100,0	100,0

Neto število oseb, živečih l. 1917 v Sloveniji, ki so po l. 1961 spremenile svoje bivališče, je znašalo 48.959. Seveda pa bi bilo število sprememb bivališča veliko večje, če bi vpoštevali tudi lokalne selitve. Bolj pomembne so spremembe v značaju mobilnosti. Na primer: l. 1961 je prišlo 66,1 % migrantov iz ruralnih naselij, l. 1971 je njihov delež padel na 35,5 %. To si lahko razložimo z razširitvijo območij dnevnega migriranja, kar zadržuje stalno odseljevanje s podeželja (Klemenčič, 1968). Kljub domnevi, da so se obsežni viški kmečke delovne sile bistveno zmanjšali do l. 1971 (morda za okoli 50.000 oseb), kaže še vedno prevladujoči ruralni izvor mobilnega prebivalstva na to, da je velik del prebivalcev ruralnih naselij nezadovoljen z realnimi ali potencialnimi socio-ekonomskimi razmerami, bodisi da gre za odnose med mesti in podeželjem, medregionalne odnose ali pa za življenjski standard (Vrišer, 1974). In nasprotno, četudi se migracije iz ruralnih oziroma urbanih naselij v mešana niso zelo spremenile, je mobilnost med mešanimi naselji narasla na več kot 15.000 oseb ali za 48,5 %. Ta pojav je verjetno odraz decentralizacijske politike v industrializaciji, ki je razvijala industrijo v neurbanah naseljih. V njem pa se bržkone zrcali tudi določeno razlikovanje med naselji, ker so nekatera rastla na račun drugih, obenem pa niso, zaradi možnosti vsakodnevne vožnje na delo, v večjem obsegu privlačevala stalnih doseljencev s podeželja. Glede na prihodnji ekonomski razvoj je nedvomno najbolj optimističen pojav precejšnje povečanje medmestne mobilnosti. To je značilno za razvitejše industrijske družbe, ki so oprte na izpopolnjeno in integrirano urbano omrežje.

Agregatni rezultati kažejo, da so med l. 1961—1971 ruralna naselja imela neto izgubo samo 1359 oseb, medtem ko so mešana izkazala neto izgubo 37.580 migrantov, ki so šli skoraj v celoti v mesta. Tako so imela mesta čisti migracijski presežek 38.939 oseb.

Sklepi iz tabele 1 nas navajajo k ponovnemu pretehtavanju nekaterih stališč, ki veljajo glede migracijskih procesov v Jugoslaviji, zlasti v njenih bolj razvitih regijah. Tako je l. 1968 M. Sentić menila, da pote-

kajo spremembe bivališč v Jugoslaviji v zelo različnih smereh in da zavzemajo različne oblike, da pa vendarle prevladuje ruralno-urbana migracija. Ta ugotovitev ni povsem točna in ne velja niti za državo v celoti, niti za posamezne republike, in ni veljala niti za l. 1961, niti za l. 1971. Čeprav to mnenje zagovarja več avtorjev, je zmotno, saj ne temelji na popolni statistični analizi publiciranih podatkov. Do te napake prihaja zategadelj, ker se precenjuje ruralno-urbane premike in zapostavlja druge. V vseh republikah, vštevši Slovenijo, je bila l. 1961 daleč najmočnejša komponenta notranjih migracij tista, ki je potekala med ruralnimi naselji. Ta pojav bi nedvomno zaslužil več pozornosti in raziskovanja. L. 1971 je bila migracija med ruralnimi naselji še vedno na prvem mestu v Sloveniji, ožji Srbiji, Bosni in Hercegovini, Črni gori in na Kosovem. Vsekakor je presenetljivo, da sodi v to skupino območij z močno inter-ruralno migracijo tudi Slovenija. Odgovor je verjetno treba iskati v nekaterih družbenoekonomskih dejavnikih, v različnih tipih ruralnih naselij in v učinkih prometnega omrežja. Posebno pozornost bi tudi zaslužile poroke kot katalizator prebivalstvene redistribucije, kar je proučeval V. Leban (1962) s pomočjo matičnih knjig. Njegovi izsledki, ki so bili oprti na raziskave razmer v različnih krajih širom Slovenije, so pokazali, da je bilo v obdobju 1850—1940 nad 75 % ruralnih porok takšnih, da sta se ali ženin ali nevesta izselila iz vasi. Dejanska izguba prebivalstva v vsaki posamezni vasi je sicer bila po tej poti malenkostna, toda s kumuliranjem pa je lahko končno število migrantov znatno naraslo.

Razumljivo je, da prikazana mobilnost prebivalstva, kot jo podaja tabela 1, ni niti časovno, niti prostorsko ustaljena, temveč varira glede na okolje, socialnoekonomske in upravne okoliščine. Namen tega kratkega poročila ni razprava o vseh značilnostih in regionalnih posebnostih migracijskega procesa, toda na nekatere med njimi je vendarle treba opozoriti.

Kartogram 1 kaže razširjenost interruralne mobilnosti. Izražena je v deležu od skupne vsote migracij l. 1971. Najvišje vrednosti, to je nad 40 %, so imele občine, ki se razprostirajo od Grosuplja in Trebnjega preko vzhodne Slovenije do Pomurja in Črnomlja. Takšna razporeditev je močno podobna ali celo istovetna z razporeditvijo prebivalstva, ki prebiva v ruralnih naseljih, le da so odstotki v zadnjem primeru višji. Glede na razporeditev po občinah lahko sklepamo, da obstaja tesna korelacija med mobilnostjo prebivalstva in deležem prebivalstva v ruralnih naseljih. Ta ugotovitev nas navaja k temu, da bi to soodvisnost ocenjevali v smislu tradicionalnih idej o bistvu nekdanje evropske agrarne družbe (ki je bila svoj čas veliko bolj razširjena, kot je sedaj). V krajih, kjer sta okolje in drobna posest favorizirali male gospodarske enote, so kljub velikemu izseljevanju, ki je trajalo več generacij, favorizirali tesne skupne ekonomske in socialne vezi. To naj bi našlo odraz v socialnoekonomskem povezovanju v manjših teritorialnih območjih in v relativno slabi integraciji v nacionalno ekonomijo. Znotraj takšnih skupnosti je bilo gospodarsko zaostajanje pogosto nadomeščeno z učinkovitimi zve-

zami socialne kohezije, regionalne lojalnosti, posebne identitete ter pogosto vzdrževano s strogo čuječnostjo nad kulturno dediščino, ki se je kazala v dialektih in ohranjanju starih kmečkih običajev.

Podoba o interurbani mobilnosti (kartogram 2) je v mnogočem komplementarna dosedaj obravnavani. Lepo so razvidni starejši in novejši industrijski centri; med njimi je mogoče razlikovati štiri močnejše koncentracije interurbanih premikov.

1. Jedro Piran-Izola-Koper, v katerega se je doselilo veliko kvalificiranih delavcev, ko je bilo ozemlje osvobojeno in so tam pričeli z obnovo, oziroma kasneje, ko je pričela gradnja koprške luke in turistične industrije (Titl, 1965).

2. Velika Ljubljanska regija z Gorenjsko in industrijskimi centri v Kranju, na Jesenicah, manjšimi središči Lesce-Bled, Tržič, Vrhnika, Kamnik in Domžale ter starejšim industrijskim centrom v Črnem revirju (Vrišer, 1965).

3. Prekinjena os, ki se razprostira iz Spodnje Savinjske doline, to je od Celja preko Velenja in preko razvodja v območje Ravne—Slovenj Gradec—Dravograd. Kot Primorje je tudi to območje privabljalo na osnovi svoje predvojne industrije in povojnega razvoja številno delovno silo iz drugih mest.

4. Vpliv Maribora, drugega največjega slovenskega mesta, se kaže v njegovih industrijskih, prometnih, storitvenih in kulturnih kapacitetah, ki so privabljale ne le številne migrante iz slabše razvitih okoliških mest, temveč tudi iz drugih mest v republiki.

Izven teh štirih koncentracij so obstajala še nekatera osamljena jedra interurbane mobilnosti: Nova Gorica, Postojna, Novo mesto in v skromnejši meri tudi Brežice. Čeprav je treba pri razlagi njihove privlačnosti upoštevati nekatere specifične krajevne pogoje (npr. razvoj Nove Gorice zaradi nove meje; Vrišer, 1959), imajo vendarle vsa neko skupno potezo. Ta mesta so bila razvojne točke v relativno slabše razvitem urbanem omrežju, ki oskrbuje še pretežno ruralna območja Notranjske in Dolenjske.

Čeprav so številke o interurbani mobilnosti absolutno in relativno nižje od interruralnih migracij, je treba njihovo postopno večanje ocenjevati kot znamenja napredka, ki ga doživlja na ekonomskosocialnem področju republika. Zlasti pomembno je, da je med l. 1961—1971, ko je interruralna mobilnost znatno upadla, pokazala interurbana mobilnost porast za 55 % in je zajela 42.000 oseb.

Opozorili smo že, da je preveliko poudarjanje pomena ruralno-urbanih migracij glede na publicirano statistično gradivo neupravičeno, zato je lahko kartogram 3, ki prikazuje tovrstno mobilnost, koristno in obenem kompleksno dopolnilo ostalih dveh prikazov.

Sklep

Namen prispevka ni, da bi bil dokončna analiza notranjih migracijskih gibanj v Sloveniji. Isto velja za širši raziskovalni projekt, ki

obravnava to problematiko za vso Jugoslavijo in katerega del je pričujoča študija. Njegov cilj je spodbuditi domače in tuje raziskovalce k izdelavi bolj sistematičnega raziskovalnega programa o migracijskih tokovih na različnih ravneh od vasi do mest in na ta način izpopolniti naše znanje o različnih problemih, kar vse bi pripomoglo k graditvi splošne migracijske teorije.

Prevedel I. Vrišer