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VPLIV SOCIALNIH DEJAVNIKOV NA IZRABO ZEMLJIŠČA

Sleherna podeželska pokrajina v svoji zunanji podobi in organizacijski strukturi odseva zapleteno celovitost součinkovanja različnih materialnih in družbenih vplivov. Njeno bistvo je spoznavno le takrat, če ugotovimo vlogo in pomen posameznega dejavnika v kompoziciji geografskega okolja podeželske pokrajine. Pri neprestanem spreminjanju in preoblikovanju zunanje podobe in organizacijske strukture pa lahko imajo v različnem času in prostoru posamezni dejavniki različno vlogo. Zaradi tega ne morejo veljati neka univerzalna izhodišča za proučevanje izrabe zemljišča, ki bi veljala v vseh časih in prostorih. V deželah, kjer je zemlja splošna družbena last, so v ospredju predvsem družbeno ekonomski vidiki. Vrednost naravnih razmer za kmetijsko izrabo tal določa splošna stopnja družbeno ekonomskega in tehničnega razvoja ter potrebe po prehrani ali določenih pridelkih v posamezni državi ali širši gospodarski skupnosti. V deželah, kjer je zemlja deloma ali v celoti zasebna last pa na zakonitosti v izrabi zemljišča odločilno sovpliva več dejavnikov. V teh deželah ima sodobna vrednost naravnih razmer za kmetijsko izrabo tal dvojno vrednost: to je tako imenovano *splošno socialno* in *socialno razredno* vrednost.

Splošna socialna vrednost naravnih razmer za kmetijsko izrabo tal se v posamezni deželi valorizira vzporedno z družbeno ekonomskim in tehničnim razvojem ter ima teoretični in praktični pomen. V našem kmetijskem prostoru poznamo take valorizacije že od fevdalne dobe naprej. Svoj praktični odraz so dobivale v določanju dajatev in davčnih razredov. Na podobnih izhodiščih temelji tudi sedanji zemljiški davek tako od kmetijskih kot od gozdnih zemljišč.

Druga, *socialno razredna vrednost* naravnih razmer za kmetijsko izrabo tal pa temelji na individualni valorizaciji in je odvisna od velikosti posestva, socialne pripadnosti lastnika ter od stopnje družbeno ekonomskega in kulturnega razvoja v določenem področju.

Pri proučevanju izrabe zemljišča v deželah, kjer prevlada zasebna posest, moramo nujno upoštevati obe vrednosti. Prva, to je splošna socialna vrednost naravnih razmer za kmetijsko izrabo tal, nam lahko služi kot pokazatelj poprečne vrednosti, kot izhodišče od katerega lahko ugotavljamo pozitivne ali negativne odklone. Druga vrednost je razredno

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utemeljena in nam kaže kako vrednotijo splošno socialno vrednost naravnih razmer za kmetijsko izrabo tal različne velikostne in socialne skupine v določenem okolju.

Če hočemo ugotavljati vpliv socialnih dejavnikov na izrabo zemljišča moramo nujno izhajati iz socialnogeografskih izhodišč. Ta izhodišča proučevanja izrabe zemljišča pa ne pomenijo le obravnavanje socialnih elementov kot dela geografske stvarnosti temveč pomenijo socialno razredni vidik pri vrednotenju vseh sestavnih delov okolja, tako ekoloških kot historičnih, ekonomskih itd. Socialnogeografsko izhodišče proučevanja izrabe zemljišča pomeni torej socialno angažiran, razredni pristop k raziskavi določenega problema v podeželski pokrajini. Tak pristop k raziskavi zahteva naša agrarnogeografska stvarnost. V deželah, kjer prevlada družbena zemljiška posest, npr. v SZ, Bolgariji, Madžarski itd.¹ bi bila taka izhodišča nerealna (mogoče bi se dala uporabiti za proučevanje izrabe zemljišč ohišnic). Zaradi tega so v teh deželah agrarnogeografska proučevanja usmerili predvsem v raziskovanje tipov kmetovanja in v ugotavljanje vrednosti naravnih razmer za kmetijsko izrabo tal.

Ni slučaj, da so pri podrobnem proučevanju izrabe zemljišča v Sloveniji povsod prisotni elementi socialnogeografskih izhodišč. Od tujih geografskih šol smo sprejemali predvsem metode in tehnike, medtem ko smo izhajali iz izhodišč, ki jih narekujejo naše družbene razmere. Ta izhodišča pri obravnavi izrabe zemljišča so pri nas že tako stara, kot je staro zanimanje za tovrstno proučevanje. To trditev dokazujejo številna dela, od Žgečeve študije o Halozah, Melikovega Ljubljanskega barja, Ilešičevih medvojnih študij o izrabi zemlje do sodobnih agrarnogeografskih del.² Večja ali manjša prisotnost teh izhodišč je odvisna predvsem od časa, v katerem je študija nastajala ter od problema raziskave in prostora, ki ga študija obravnava. Kdorkoli je hotel prikazati celotno podobo katerega koli koščka slovenske podeželske pokrajine pa se ni mogel izogniti elementom socialnogeografskih izhodišč raziskave.

Čeprav je socialna diferenciacija in s tem socialni vpliv na izrabo zemljišča na našem podeželju prastar pojav, so vendar z naglim družbeno ekonomskim in tehničnim napredkom v zadnjih desetletjih nastale nove kvalitete. Število kmečkega prebivalstva se je naglo manjšalo, od 73,2 % leta 1900, na 60,3 % leta 1931, na 30 % leta 1961 in na 18 % leta 1971. Vzporedno s tem se je zmanjševalo tudi skupno število kmečkih gospodarstev od 199.000 leta 1931 na 183.000 leta 1969, torej za 16.000 ali 8 %. Povprečna velikost zasebnega kmečkega gospodarstva se je od leta 1931 do 1969 zmanjšala od 8,27 ha na 6,2 ha. Proces drobljenja kmetij je šel predvsem na račun zmanjševanja kmetij nad 10 ha in naraščanja števila kmetij in obsega zemljišč posestne skupine od 2 do 5 ha. Navedena dejstva in ugodne možnosti zaposlovanja v tujini so pospešili razvoj določenih pojavov, ki prej niso bili tako izraziti, to je socialno pogojenost izrabe zemljišča. Ta pojav, ki je danes zajel celotno Slovenijo, se je razraščal vzporedno z manjšanjem števila kmečkega prebivalstva, preslajanjem in napredkom agrotehnik. Osnovni pogoji za ta proces so obstajali že dolga desetletja, vendar šele obdobje nagle industrializacije odvzame toliko delovne sile, da začnejo na podeželju nastajati kvalitetne spremembe. Koče agrarnega proletariata in polproletariata se naglo izprazniijo, hlapci in dekletje ter kmečki sinovi, ki niso bili (ali pa tudi) določeni za naslednike, so zapustili kmetije in se zaposlili v neagrarnem go-

spodarstvu. Kmet je postajal vedno bolj odvisen od delovne sile ožje družine. Več ali manj enako število ljudi na kmetijah ter več ali manj enaka agrotehnika v prvih dveh desetletjih po osvoboditvi in različna velikost gospodarstev povzročijo znatni napredek v socialni pogojenosti izrabe zemljišča. Ta socialna pogojenost se kaže v različnih oblikah. Oglejmo si nekaj primerov:

1. *Socialno posestna pogojenost gojitve posameznih kultur.* Večje kmetije (njihova absolutna velikost je lahko v različnih naravnih in družbenih razmerah dokaj različna) zaradi pomanjkanja delovne sile za stari sistem izkoriščanja zemlje začnejo opuščati tiste poljedelske kulture, ki zahtevajo več dela in prehajajo na ekstenzivnejši način izrabe zemljišča. Manjše kmetije še nadalje vztrajajo pri gojitvi raznovrstnih intenzivnih kultur in to tem bolj, čim manjše je gospodarstvo, čim manjše so možnosti za zaposlitev v neagrarnem gospodarstvu in čim številnejša je kmečka družina.

2. *Socialno posestna pogojenost spreminjanja zemljiških kategorij.* Vzporedno s prehajanjem večjih kmetij na ekstenzivnejšo izrabo zemljišča nastajajo tudi velike spremembe v zemljiških kategorijah. Večje kmetije opuščajo manj primerna kmetijska zemljišča: strme ali bolj oddaljene njive se spreminjajo v travnike in pašnike, strme travnike in pašnike pa začne preraščati grmovje in gozd.⁸ Na kraškem svetu opuščajo manjše vrtače, slabše pašnike in travnike. Ta proces je posebno intenziven v zadnjih letih, ko se v kmetijstvu uvaja mehanizacija. Večje kmetije lahko z uvajanjem mehanizacije v poljedelsko in gozdarsko delo dvigajo storilnost dela. Rentabilna uporaba kmetijske mehanizacije jih sili, da dokončno opuste polikulturno usmerjenost izrabe zemljišča in se preusmerjajo v tisto vejo poljedelskega ali živinorejskega gospodarstva, ki jim grede na določene naravne in obstoječe družbene razmere najbolj ustreza. Pri tem dokončno opuste vsa tista poljedelska zemljišča, ki iz različnih razlogov ne dopuščajo strojne obdelave. Srednje kmetije lahko le deloma slede temu razvoju, kajti premajhna velikost posestva jim ne omogoča temeljite preusmeritve in ne opuščanja neprimernih kmetijskih zemljišč. Kmetijsko mehanizacijo si težje nabavi in je tudi manj izkoriščena. Manjše kmetije pa prihajajo v vedno večjo krizo. V kolikor v samem kraju ni možnosti za dodatno zaposlitev ali starostna struktura družinskih članov ne dovoljuje sezonskega zaposlovanja doma ali v tujini, potem morajo vztrajati pri starem polikulturnem sistemu in s predindustrijsko agrotehniko obdelovati tudi taka zemljišča, kakršna je večji kmet izločil že v davni preteklosti; ob uvajanju železnega pluga. Čeprav take primere lahko najdemo v vsej Sloveniji, so vendar najbolj značilni za subpanonski in predalpski svet, kjer na splošno prevlada drobna posest. Še zlasti pa so značilni za tista področja, ki nimajo industrije in ugodnih prometnih zvez.

3. *Socialni prelog.* Posledice socialne pogojenosti izrabe zemljišča pa se ne kažejo samo v gojitvi različnih kultur, različnem spreminjanju zemljiških kategorij in spreminjanju usmeritve, temveč tudi v socialnih prelogih, to je v začasno neobdelanih kmetijskih zemljiščih. Socialni prelogi pri nas niso popolnoma nov pojav. Socialni prelogi se pojavljajo pri različnih velikostnih skupinah in v različnih naravnih okoljih. Skupna značilnost socialnih prelogov je, da zemljišča iz socialnih razlogov

niso obdelana. Ti razlogi pa so pri različnih velikostnih skupinah in v različnih okoljih lahko zelo različni. Na nekdanjih veleposestvih so znani primeri, da veleposestnik ni dal vse zemlje v najem, temveč je pustil nekaj zemlje neobdelane, da je lahko obdržal višje najemnine. Ti špekulativni razlogi za nastajanje socialnih prelogov so z nacionalizacijo zemljišč tujih veleposestnikov in izvedbo agrarne reforme bili odpravljani. Toda sam način izvedbe agrarne reforme je že nosil v sebi krali za nastajanje novih socialnih prelogov. S tem, da so nekdanji najemniki ali kmečki delavci dobili kose zemljišč ali kmetije brez gozdov, se je njihov položaj samo trenutno izboljšal, saj te gospodarske enote v večini primerov niso imele gospodarskih pogojev za nadaljnji obstoj. Zaradi tega so že v prvem desetletju svojega obstoja prišle v resno krizo. Kmetije, nekdanji agrarni interesenti, so si morali v večini primerov poiskati dodatno zaposlitev, če pa to ni bilo mogoče, so se morali odseliti. S tem se je izraba zemljišča temeljito spremenila.⁴ Prej intenzivno obdelana zemljišča so nekaj časa izkoriščali kot travnike ali pašnike, končno pa so tudi to opustili. Podoben je bil razvoj na nekaterih družbenih zemljiščih. Prva leta po nastanku teh gospodarskih enot je bila zemlja dokaj intenzivno obdelana. S prehodom na rentabilnostno gospodarjenje pa so družbena gospodarstva začela opuščati tisto obdelovalno zemljo, ki zaradi oddaljenosti ali premajhnega kompleksa iz ekonomskih vidikov ni bila več zanimiva. Enak razvoj so doživela tudi nekatera zemljišča, ki jih je družbeni sektor dobil z arondacijo zemljišč. Tudi tu je v posameznih primerih sprememba lastništva povzročila nastanek začasno neobdelanih ali zelo ekstenzivno obdelanih zemljišč.

Enake zakonitosti povzročajo nastanek socialnih prelogov tudi pri drugih socialno-posesetnih skupinah. Sleherna socialno-posesetna skupina (tako glede na velikost posestva kot glede na socialni položaj lastnikov mešanih in delavskih gospodarstev) ima svoja merila za vrednotenje kmetijskih zemljišč in s tem tudi za opuščanje obdelave.

Pojav socialnih prelogov moramo dobro ločiti od tistih kompleksov opuščenih kmetijskih zemljišč, ki so neobdelana zaradi splošnega prevrednotenja kmetijskih zemljišč zaradi napredka tehnike, oziroma večje vrednosti človekovega dela. Čeprav je tudi to vrednotenje v bistvu socialno pogojeno, sloni vendarle na nekih splošnih normah, ki izhajajo iz stopnje družbeno ekonomskega in tehničnega razvoja določene dežele. Te splošne norme pri nas določajo, da za sodobno kmetovanje niso več primerna zemljišča, ki jih iz različnih razlogov ni mogoče strojno obdelovati. Izjeme so lahko samo v področjih, kjer posebno ugodni ekološki ali družbeni pogoji omogočajo gojitev visokorentabilnih posebnih kultur, ali pa je obdelovanje teh zemljišč potrebno iz različnih splošno-družbenih interesov. Načeloma lahko vsako odstopanje od teh splošnih norm pri opuščanju zemljišč smatramo kot socialno pogojeno in ga lahko uvrstimo med socialne preloge (mogoče bi tu sem lahko uvrstili tudi opuščanje nekaterih planinskih pašnikov).

Nasprotno temu je nadaljnje intenzivno obdelovanje neprimernih kmetijskih zemljišč prav tako socialno pogojeno in se tem bolj uveljavlja, čim manjša je posest in čim večja je splošna gospodarska in kulturna zaostalost pokrajine.

4. *Socialno-poklicna pogojenost izrabe zemljišča.* Socialna pogojenost izrabe zemljišča ni značilna samo za čista kmečka gospodarstva, temveč

je opazna tudi pri mešanih in delavskih gospodarstvih. Na teh gospodarstvih socialna pogojenost gojitve posameznih kultur, spreminjanja zemljiških kategorij in nastajanje socialnih prelogov ne izhaja samo iz velikosti gospodarstva, temveč predvsem iz socialno-poklicne pripadnosti lastnika in članov družine. Višja ali nižja strokovna kvalifikacija omogoča večje ali manjše dohodke, kar se odraža v izrabi zemljišča. Končno se socialna pogojenost izrabe zemljišča zelo močno uveljavlja tudi na zemljiščih v lasti nekmečkega prebivalstva, ali kot zemljišča vikendov ali drugih rekreacijskih prostorov za nekmečko prebivalstvo.

5. *Socialno-posestna pogojenost preusmerjanja kmetij.* Velikost kmečkega gospodarstva bo tudi v bodočnosti odločilnega pomena za usmerjenost izrabe zemljišča. (Saj strokovno in materialno družbeno pomoč za preusmeritev dobe samo tiste kmetije, katerih velikost omogoča uvedbo preusmeritve, ekonomičnost mehanizacije in produktivno zaposlitev družine.

Oglejmo si splošne značilnosti izrabe zemljišča v Sloveniji, ki so končno tudi rezultat součinkovanja socialnih dejavnikov. Slovenija kot celota je po vrednosti kmetijskih pridelkov izrazito živinorejska dežela, saj dajejo krmne rastline 65,2 % vrednosti pridelkov. Drugo mesto zavzemajo okopavine s 14,6 %, tem pa sledijo žitarice in posebne kulture.⁴ Polikulturalna usmerjenost izrabe zemljišča je tem večja, čim manjša je velikost gospodarstev in čim večja je splošna gospodarska zaostalost (prednjačijo občine Šmarje, Brežice, Krško in Lenart). Skupna vrednost poljedelskih pridelkov pa kaže močne socialne vplive. Dejstvo, da velika večina občin z največjo vrednostjo poljedelskih pridelkov na ha leži v osrednji Sloveniji, ni samo odsev vrednosti naravnih razmer za kmetijsko izrabo tal, temveč predvsem socialnih vplivov in višje stopnje splošnega družbeno ekonomskega razvoja. Izredno močan vpliv prej navedenih dejavnikov se kaže tudi v drugi posebnosti slovenskega poljedelstva, to je v izredno močni samooskrbni usmerjenosti. V Sloveniji pride skupno na trg samo 5,9 % pridelkov. Od te količine tržnega blaga daje družbeni sektor znatno nad polovico (55 %). Občine z najnižjo stopnjo tržne usmerjenosti (pod 1 % vrednosti pridelkov) obsegajo industrijsko razvite kraje z izredno slabimi naravnimi razmerami za poljedelstvo (npr. Jesenice, Hrastnik, Trbovlje) ali naše gospodarsko najbolj zaostale pokrajine (npr. občino Šmarje pri Jelšah, Lenart, Sevnico itd.).

Ob zaključku lahko ugotovimo, da je zaradi prevlade drobne posesti vpliv socialnih dejavnikov na izrabo zemljišča v Sloveniji izredno velik. Kmetijstvo v Sloveniji postaja vedno bolj dodatna zaposlitev v drugih gospodarskih panogah zaposlenega prebivalstva. Kjer pa ni možnosti za zaposlitve izven kmetijstva in starostna sestava družinskih članov ne omogoča odseljevanja in zaposlovanja v drugih krajih Slovenije ali v tujini, pa vladajo na manjših kmetijah tehnične razmere kot jih poznamo iz predindustrijskega obdobja. Obstoječe krize zasebno kmetijstvo samo nikakor ne more rešiti. Potrebna je temeljita družbena pomoč v spremembi zakonskih predpisov, strokovnem izobraževanju, podpori pri uvajanju mehanizacije in preusmerjanju kmetij in pri zaposlovanju odvečne delovne sile. Na nujnost teh družbenih ukrepov, ki se v velikem obsegu že začenjajo uvajati, agrarni geografi družbeno skupnost že dolgo opozarjamo.

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THE INFLUENCE OF SOCIAL FACTORS ON LAND UTILISATION

Any rural area reflects the complicated joint impact of various material and social influences both in its outer appearance and in its organisational structure. The essence of a rural area can be understood only when the role and the significance of each particular factor in the composite geographical environment is identified. Particular factors, however, can exercise — in the continual change and transformation of both the outer appearance and of the organisational structure — a different role in space in various periods of time. In countries where land is a social property the socioeconomic aspects are in the foreground. The value of natural conditions for the agricultural utilisation of land is determined by the general level of the socioeconomic and technological development and by the need for food or other agricultu-

ral products within a particular state or within a wider economic community. In countries, however, where part of the land or all land is held in private property the decisive influence on the laws that govern the utilisation is a combination of many factors. In such countries the contemporary value of natural conditions for agricultural utilisation is double. There is the general social value and the the social class value.

First, *the general social value* of natural conditions for the agricultural utilisation of land is determined, in the particular country, in relation to the socioeconomic and technological development and has both a theoretical and a practical significance. Such a valuation was present in the agricultural domain of Slovenia ever since the feudal period. It was reflected in the practice of assessing land-tax and classes of the quality of soil used for taxing purposes. Such an evaluation is also the basis of the present land-tax, both for the agricultural land and for forests.

Second, the *class social value* of the natural conditions for the agricultural utilisation of land is based on the individual valuation and is related to the size of the farms, to the social background of the owners of land and to the general level of the social and cultural development in a specific area.

In countries where most of the land is private property both kinds of value have necessary to be considered in the study of the agricultural utilisation of land. The first, i. e. the general social value of the natural conditions for the utilisation of the land may also be used as an indicator of the average value of of the land, as a yardstick for measuring positive or negative deviations. The second value is class determined and indicates the specific evaluation of the general social value of the natural conditions for the agricultural utilisation in a certain environment by land owners of different social background and possessing farms of different size.

If we want to examine the role of the social factors in the utilisation of the agricultural land, we have to start from the premises of the social geography. This does not only mean the consideration of social elements as part of the geographical reality but rather the social class aspect in the evaluation of the constituent parts of the environment: ecological, historical, economic, etc. The premises of social geography thus imply an active social, class approach to the study of a particular problem in rural areas. Such an approach to research is dictated by the very geographical reality of rural areas of Slovenia. In countries where social ownership of land has prevailed, as in the Soviet Union, in Bulgaria, in Hungary, etc.¹ such starting points would not be realistic. (Possibly they could be used in the study of land utilisation on very small plots close to the houses which still remain in private property.) The research in these countries has been, therefore, directed to the study of the types of farming and of the value of the natural conditions for the agricultural utilisation of land.

It is by on means by chance that the elements of the starting points of social geography are always present in the detail studies of agricultural land utilisation in Slovenia. Methods and techniques of analysis were borrowed from schools of geography in other countries whereas the starting points were those pertinent for particular situations in Slovenia. Such approaches to the investigation of the utilisation of land

are really as old as the geographical interest in agricultural problems. The proof is provided by numerous studies, from the early studies by Žgeč on Haloze and by Melik on the Ljubljana Marsh, by Ilešič and others, to the recent studies in agricultural geography.² It was dependant on the time when a particular study has been carried out, on the problem of research and on the kind of the geographical area that was investigated, to what an extent the starting points of social geography were present. But, whoever wanted to present a total picture of any part of the rural Slovenia he could not do so without considering the elements of the starting points of social geography.

Although the social differentiation and the related social influences on the utilisation of land in rural areas of Slovenia are centuries old phenomenon, new qualitative changes have taken place during the last few decades because of the rapid economic and technological progress. The total number of the agricultural population has declined rapidly: from 73,2 per cent in the year 1900, to 60,35 per cent in 1931, to 30,0 per cent in 1961 and to only 18 per cent in the year 1971. The decline in the number of the agricultural (peasant) landholdings went on simultaneously. There were 199.000 landholdings in the year 1931 and 183.000 in the year 1969, i. e. a decline of 8 per cent. The average size of a private agricultural landholdings went down, in the same period, from 8,72 hectares to 6,20 hectares. The process of the fragmentation of farms resulted primarily in the reduction of the size of farms of over 10 hectares and in an increase in the number and the size of farms in the 2 to 5 hectares group.³ The facts mentioned above and the good opportunities for employment abroad have led to an acceleration in the evolution of certain phenomena, which used not to be so marked before, that is to say, to social conditions for the utilisation of the land. This is now true of entire Slovenia. The role of the social factors is rising in importance hand in hand with the decline of the agricultural population, with its social transition and with the advance in technology. Basic conditions for this process have been already present for decades, but it was only in the period of rapid industrialisation, which has absorbed so much of the labour-force, that the new qualitative changes began to take place in the rural areas. Cottages belonging to the agricultural proletariat and semi-proletariat begin now rapidly to be abandoned, agricultural labourers and even peasants' sons who were not chosen to take over the farm (and even some who had been chosen) tend to leave the farms and takes to non-agricultural employment. The farmer has become more and more dependent on the labour force provided by his own family. More or less the same number of people on farms and more or less the same level of the agricultural technology during the first two decades after liberation in 1945 have led to a considerable increase in the impact of social conditions on the use of land. These social conditions are observed in many forms. Let us consider some of them:

1. **Social conditions related to cultivation of particural crops.** Larger farms — the absolute size of which can differ considerably in relation to varied natural conditions — tend to abandon, because of the lack of man-power, the old systems of the agricultural utilisation of the land and switch over to such crops which are less demanding in this respect and thus to a more extensive utilisation of the land. Smaller farm

continue cultivating various intensive crops and this practice is the more pronounced the smaller the landholding are, the lesser are the opportunities for employment outside agriculture and the larger are farmers' families.

2. Social conditions related to the land-use pattern. Great changes in the pattern of land-uses are parallel to the switch to more extensive types of agriculture which are characteristic of the larger farms. They abandon the less suitable agricultural land: steeper and more remote arable plots are converted to meadows or pastures whereas steep pastures and meadows are left over to afforestation.³ In the karst areas fields in smaller depressions («doline») are being abandoned, but also less productive pastures and meadows. This process was in particular intensive during the last few years, when mechanisation of agriculture was being rapidly introduced. Larger farms can raise the productivity of labour by using the newly acquired machinery both in agriculture and in the exploitation of the forests. The efficient use of the costly mechanised equipment is forcing the farmers to abandon polycultural use of land and to switch to that special type of agriculture which brings best returns within given constraints related to natural or to certain social conditions viz. circumstances. Thus they finally abandon all that agricultural land where mechanised cultivation is not possible because of various reasons. Medium large farms can only to a certain extent catch up in such a development, because they do not have enough land to enable them to reorient their production thoroughly; so the less suitable land is not abandoned. It is more difficult for them to acquire modern agricultural machinery which is also less efficiently used. Small farms are facing even more serious crisis. They have to stick to the old polyculture and to the techniques of the pre-industrial age if the farmers cannot find supplementary employment nearby or if the farmers or members of their household are too old to partake in the seasonal employment elsewhere in Slovenia or abroad. They have thus to cultivate such tracts of agricultural land that should have been abandoned long ago, ever since the introduction of the iron plough! Examples of such farms exist anywhere in Slovenia although they are more characteristic of the sub-alpine and the sub-pannonian parts of Slovenia where small landholdings are by far predominant. They are, however, even more common in areas which are far from manufacturing centres and lack adequate transportation.

3. The social fallow. The impact of social conditions the utilisation of the land is not only manifest in the cultivation of particular crops, in varying land-uses and in the changing types of agriculture but also in the social fallows, i. e. in tracts of the agricultural land which are temporarily left out of cultivation. The social fallows are not a new phenomenon. They appear in connection with all sizes of landholdings and in various natural environments. The common characteristics of the social fallows is that land is not cultivated because of social reasons. These reasons, however, can vary widely with different size groups of farms and with different natural environments. There are well known cases of big landowners in the past who did not lease all their land in order to be able to extract higher rents. Such speculative reasons for the social fallow have disappeared since after World War II when land belonging

to foreign large landowners has been nationalised and since the agrarian reform has been carried out. But the very way in which the agrarian reform was carried out contained already seeds for the eventual growth of new social fallows. By allocating to former leaseholders or to agricultural labourers' small parcels of land or farms without attached forests has the situation for them become better only for a short time since such units had, in most cases, no economic foundations for further development. They ran into a serious crisis as soon as in the first decade of their existence. In most cases the farmers who have got some land at the time of the agrarian reform, had to seek supplementary employment or, it was not possible, to leave the land. As a result of this the pattern of land-use has been very much changed.⁴ The land that has been once intensely cultivated was used then for some time as meadows and pastures which have been finally abandoned, too. A similar evolution was characteristic of some tracts of land which used to be or still are in the public ownership. In the first years after the socialist farms came into existence the land was relatively well cultivated. But as soon as better efficiency has become imperative these enterprises have also started to abandon those tracts of land which were either too small or too far away to make production economically viable. The same thing happened to some land that was acquired by the socialist farms in the process of land consolidation. The change in the ownership has led, in some cases, to a temporary abandonment of cultivation or to a very extensive cultivation of certain strips acquired from private farmers.

The same social laws lead to the emergence of the social fallows on the land belonging to other social groups of landowners. Each social group (defined either with regard to the size of the landholding or to the social status of the owner in the case of mixed or workers' households) has its own criteria for the evaluation of agricultural land and thus also for abandonment of cultivation.

The phenomenon of social fallows must be clearly separated from those tracts of the abandoned agricultural land that have been withdrawn from cultivation because of the general revaluation of agricultural land as the result of the advance in technology viz. of the greater value of the human labour. Although such evaluation is, in essence, also socially conditioned it is never the less based on certain general standards or norms which are derived from the level of the socioeconomic and technological development in a particular country. In Slovenia such generally accepted norms define land as unsuitable for modern agriculture if the use of machinery for cultivation is not possible because of any reason. Exceptions to such a rule can be found only in those areas where exceptionally good ecological or social conditions make possible cultivation of highly profitable special crops or where cultivation of land is necessary because of various interests of the general societal importance. Any deviations from the general norms can be in principle classified as social fallows (e. g. the abandonment of some high mountain pastures might be included among social fallows).

The opposite phenomenon, i. e. the continuing cultivation of unsuitable agricultural land is just as well socially conditioned and is the more common the smaller are the farms and the more backward is an area in general economic and cultural terms.

4. Social conditions of the utilisation of the land related to the profession of landowners. The socially conditioned utilisation of the land is not only characteristic of pure agricultural landholdings but also of mixed and workers' landholdings. The cultivation of particular crops, the changes in the land-use pattern and the emergence of the social fallows on such farms are socially conditioned not only because of the size of the landholdings but primarily because of the specific social professional background of the owners and their family members. A higher professional qualification enables higher incomes in non-agricultural jobs and this is then reflected in the way how they use their agricultural land. Social conditions very markedly determine the utilisation of the land on parcels which belong to the non-agricultural population, which is also true of the sites for weekend cottages and for other land use for recreation of the non-agricultural population.

5. Social conditions of the reorientation of production related to the size of the farms. The size of the farms is expected to exercise also in the future a decisive influence on the specific type of land utilisation. Financial and technical help for the reorientation of production is provided by the society only to those farms that reach the size which makes possible economical use of machinery and full employment for the entire family on the farm.

Finally the general characteristics of the utilisation of the land in Slovenia are examined, since they are a result of the influence of social factors. Slovenia as a whole is primarily a country of animal husbandry if the value of the agricultural produce is taken into consideration. Fodder crops account for as much as 65,2 per cent of the entire value of the agricultural production on the land cultivated. The second place is taken by root crops with 14,6 per cent; cereals and special crops follow.⁴ The orientation to polyculture or mixed farming is the more pronounced the smaller is the size of the farms and the more economically underdeveloped is an area (most notably the communes of Šmarje, Brežice, Krško and Lenart). The total value of the agricultural produce is very much influenced by social factors. The fact that the great majority of communes with the highest value of agricultural produce per hectare are located in Central Slovenia is not only the consequence of the quality of the natural conditions but primarily a result of social influences and of a higher level of general economic development in that part of the country. The above mentioned factors exercise also a powerful influence on another characteristic feature of agriculture in Slovenia, i. e. on a very pronounced orientation to home consumption of the produce. Only 5,9 per cent of all produce reach the market in Slovenia. More than one half of this (55 per cent) is supplied by the socialist sector. The communes that are least oriented to market production (less than 1 per cent of the produce sold outside the commune) include the most industrialised centres in the country in areas of quite bad natural conditions for agriculture (e. g. the industrial or mining communes of Jesenice, Hrastnik, Trbovlje) or some of the most backward areas of Slovenia (e. g. the communes of Šmarje, Lenart, Sevnica, etc.).

It should be stated in conclusion that the influence of the social factors on the land utilisation in Slovenia is extraordinarily marked because the small landholdings are so predominant. Agriculture is in Slo-

venia becoming more and more a part-time job of secondary importance for those employed in other branches of the economy. Where possibilities for such an employment are not within the reach of the rural population and where the age of the family members does not make possible emigration or seasonal employment in other parts of Slovenia or abroad, the technological level on the small farms is not very much different from that of the preindustrial era. The private sector is in to position to pull out of the existing crisis. A radical help by the society is needed: changed legislation, professional training, subsidies for mechanisation and for the reorientation of the farms as well as provision of non-agricultural jobs for the redundant labour-force. The geographers concerned with agricultural problems have for a long time pointed at the urgent measures which were evidently needed and which are only at present being implemented on a larger scale.

Diskusija o referatu J. Medveda

S. Ilešič

V geografiji podeželja bi bilo potrebno poenotiti terminologijo. Ob primeru socialne ledine, vsi vemo za kaj gre, to je termin za tisto, kar imenuje prof. Hartke v nemškem jeziku Sozialbrache. V historični agrarni geografiji pomeni v slovenskem jeziku beseda praha, ki je prenesena iz nemščine, tisti kratek premor v normalnih rotacijah, ko zemlja počiva. Z ledino je pa sploh težava. Ledina pomeni neobdelan svet, ki ga začnemo na novo obdelovati, to se pravi, da orjemo ledino; torej ne opušen svet ampak neobdelan. Tudi v ruščini pomeni ledina isto. Za zemljišče, ki je opuščeno za dalj časa iz katerih koli razlogov, socialnih ali kakšnih drugih, je tipična slovenska beseda prelog. In jaz bi dal pobudo za to, da bi se tega termina držali. Ostanimo pri besedi socialni prelog, ki nedvomno pomeni za dalj časa opuščeno zemljišče.

I. Vrišer

Mislím, da je takšnih terminov še več, na primer pri uporabi vas ali podeželje. Tudi na tem področju bi kazalo postaviti komisijo, ki bi te terminološke pojme razčistila.