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PROSTORSKE ZNAČILNOSTI STARANJA PREBIVALSTVA V SLOVENIJI: PRIMERJALNA ANALIZA DELEŽA STAREJŠIH V OBDOBJU 1981–2013 PO UPRAVNIH ENOTAH

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Izvleček

Prostorske značilnosti staranja prebivalstva v Sloveniji: primerjalna analiza deleža starejših v obdobju 1981–2013 po upravnih enotah

Za slovensko prebivalstvo je značilno, da se pospešeno stara. V članku zato izhajamo iz domneve, da ta proces v slovenskem prostoru ni enovit in da obstajajo pri nas različna območja staranja. Pri tem smo se osredotočili na obdobje 1981–2013, ko se je staranje prebivalstva v Sloveniji intenziviralo. Rezultati primerjalne analize so potrdili našo domnevo in določena so bila štiri območja staranja, ki so posledica različnih oblik selitvene mobilnosti slovenskega prebivalstva. V zaključku so podane smernice za nadaljnja raziskovanja dinamike staranja prebivalstva v Sloveniji.

Ključne besede

demografija, staranje prebivalstva, prostorske spremembe, območja staranja

Abstract

Spatial characteristics of population ageing in Slovenia: a comparative analysis of proportion of the elderly in the period 1981–2013 by administrative units

Slovenian population is characterized by an accelerated ageing. This article proceeds from the assumption that this process is not uniformed in Slovenia and that there are different areas of ageing. The analysis focused on the period 1981–2013, since the ageing of the population in Slovenia has been intensified. Results confirmed our assumption and determined four areas of ageing as a result of various forms of migrations of the Slovenian population. In conclusion, the guidelines for further research of the dynamics of ageing in Slovenia are stated.

Key words

Demography, ageing population, spatial changes, ageing areas

1. Uvod

Za slovensko družbo je značilno, da se pospešeno stara. Po podatkih Eurostata (2013) sodi Slovenija med evropske države, v katerih je delež prebivalcev, ki so bili stari 65 in več let, v zadnjih dveh desetletjih najbolj narasel. Od leta 1991 do leta 2013 se je namreč povzpел za 6 odstotnih točk z 11,1 % na 17,1 %. Proces staranja prebivalstva pa se je intenziviral že v začetku osemdesetih let prejšnjega stoletja, ko se je po navedbah Milivoje Šircelj (2009) pričela zviševati povprečna starost žensk ob rojstvu otrok, pričakovano trajanje življenja ob rojstvu je preseglo 70 let, rodnost pa se je znižala pod vrednost 2,1, ravno, ki ne zagotavlja več obnavljanja prebivalstva. Vendar ta proces v slovenskem prostoru ni (bil) enovit. V članku želimo zato preučiti, kakšne so prostorske značilnosti staranja prebivalstva v Sloveniji v obdobju 1981–2013, pri tem pa predpostavljamo, da obstajajo pri nas različna območja staranja, ki so posledica nekaterih družbenogeografskih procesov.

2. Metode

Pri primerjalni analizi smo se v preučevanem obdobju 1981–2013 osredotočili na podatke treh popisov prebivalstva (1981, 1991 in 2002) in najnovejše podatke Statističnega urada Republike Slovenije iz leta 2013, ki so bili dosegljivi v času pisanja tega članka. Ker merimo po Malačiču (2006) demografsko starost družbe z deležem starejših od 65, smo starejše prebivalstvo v članku opredelili kot prebivalce stare 65 in več let, starost slovenske družbe pa prikazali z njihovim deležem med celotnim prebivalstvom, ki je poleg indeksa staranja, povprečne starosti prebivalstva in koeficienta starostne odvisnosti eden od kazalnikov staranja. Deleže smo izračunali na podlagi podatkov o vseh prebivalcih in seštevku števila starejših ljudi po posameznih starostnih razredih nad 64 let. Izračunane deleže starejših smo po posameznih letih razdelili v štiri razrede, in sicer dva nad slovenskim povprečjem (pod +2 % in nad +2 % nad povprečjem) v posameznem opazovanem letu in dva pod njim (pod –2 % in nad –2 % pod povprečjem):

- za leto 1981: do 9,4 = izrazito pod povprečjem (pod –2 %), 9,5–11,5 = pod povprečjem (do –2 %), 11,6–13,6 % = nad povprečjem (do +2 %), 13,7 in več = izrazito nad povprečjem (nad +2 %);
- za leto 1991: do 9,0 = izrazito pod povprečjem (pod –2 %), 9,1–11,1 = pod povprečjem (do –2 %), 11,2–13,2 % = nad povprečjem (do +2 %), 13,3 in več = izrazito nad povprečjem (nad +2 %);
- za leto 2002: do 12,6 = izrazito pod povprečjem (pod –2 %), 12,7–14,7 = pod povprečjem (do –2 %), 14,8–16,8 % = nad povprečjem (do +2 %), 16,9 in več = izrazito nad povprečjem (nad +2 %);
- za leto 2013: do 15,0 = izrazito pod povprečjem (pod –2 %), 15,1–17,1 = pod povprečjem (do –2 %), 17,2–19,2 % = nad povprečjem (do +2 %), 19,3 in več = izrazito nad povprečjem (nad +2 %).

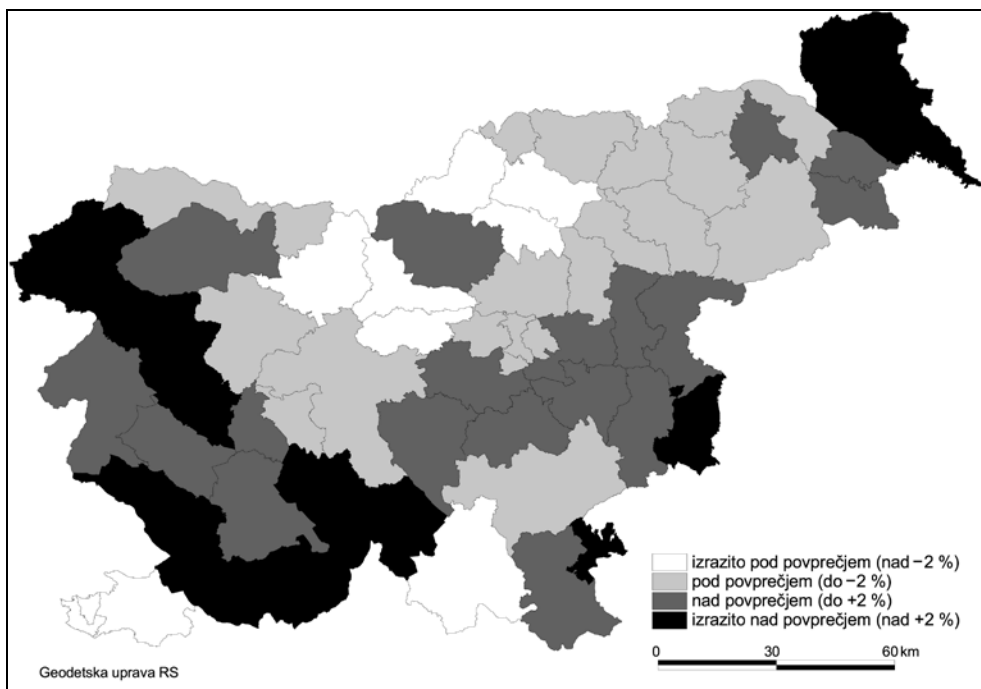
Čeprav so upravne enote precej velike in se zato zabrišejo razlike znotraj njih, smo deleže starejših po posameznih opazovanih letih prikazali in analizirali na tej ravni. S tem smo dosegli primerljivost prostorskih enot v preučevanih letih, meje upravnih enot namreč ustrezajo mejam občin v letih 1981 in 1991. Zaradi poenotenje izrazja pa v članku vseeno za občine leta 1981 in 1991 uporabljamo izraz upravne enote. Skupno je v Sloveniji 58 upravnih enot.

3. Rezultati

Kot so pokazali rezultati analize, je imelo leta 1981 izrazito nadpovprečen delež starejši 10 upravnih enot oziroma 17,2 % vseh, leta 1991 jih je bilo takih 7 (12,1 %), leta 2002 4 ali 6,9 % in leta 2013 6 (10,3 %). Število upravnih enot z izrazito podpovprečnim deležem starejših je bil po posameznih letih enak številu upravnih enot z nadpovprečnim deležem starejših, z izjemo leta 2002, ko so bile izrazito podpovprečne 3 upravne enote, kar je 5,2 % vseh. V vseh štirih ciljnih letih opazovanja je imela najvišji delež starejšega prebivalstva upravna enota Tolmin, in sicer 17,6 % leta 1981, 16,6 % leta 1991, 18,8 % leta 2002 in 20,6 % leta 2013. Sledi ji upravna enota Ilirska Bistrica s 15,9 % (1981), 15,0 % (1991), 17,5 % (2002) in 19,9 % (2013). Čeprav sta bili obe upravni enoti po deležu starejših v vseh štirih letih pred vsemi drugimi, pa se (v primerjavi z nekaterimi drugimi upravnimi enotami) v obdobju 1981–2013 delež starejših ljudi v njiju ni povečal za veliko – za 3 pri tolminski oziroma 4 odstotne točke pri ilirskobistriški upravni enoti. Najbolj se je povečal delež starejših v upravnih enotah Ravne na Koroškem (10,3 odstotne točke), Hrastnik (10,0 odstotnih točk), Izola in Maribor (9,4 odstotne točke), Piran (9,3 odstotne točke), Koper (8,5 odstotne točke), Trbovlje (8,4 odstotne točke) ter Velenje in Tržič s po 8,1 odstotne točke. Z izjemo Velenja, v kateri je bil leta 1981 delež starejših najnižji med vsemi takratnimi občinami, so imele zaradi tolikšnega povečanja vse druge našete upravne enote leta 2013 delež starejših ljudi nad slovenskim povprečjem, čeprav je bil v njih še leta 1981 ta delež pod njim. Med takšne upravne enote sodijo še Celje, Jesenice, Dravograd, Ruše, Zagorje ob Savi in Kočevje. Skupno jih je bilo 16 oziroma 27,6 %. Hrastnik, Trbovlje in Maribor so se v deležu starejših nad slovensko povprečje povzpeli že leta 1991, leta 2013 pa je bil v njih delež starejših že izrazito nad slovenskim povprečjem (nad +2 % nad povprečjem), in sicer v Hrastniku 19,5 %, Mariboru 19,4 % in Trbovljah 19,3 %. Na lestvici, na kateri so upravne enote glede na delež starejših razvrščene od tiste z najvišjim do tiste z najnižjim deležem, v obdobju 1981–2013, so se te upravne enote v primerjavi z drugimi tudi najbolj povzpele. Najbolj Hrastnik, in sicer za 45 mest in Maribor za 43 mest. Leta 2002 so se nad povprečje povzpele tudi upravne enote Zagorje ob Savi, Celje, Piran, Izola, Koper in Kočevje. Piran, Izola, Koper in Kočevje so imele leta 1981 delež starejših še izrazito pod slovenskim povprečjem (pod –2 % pod povprečjem). Zato so se tudi te upravne enote na omenjeni lestvici močno povzpele, najbolj Piran s 55 mesta (8,7 % leta 1981) na 19 mesto (18 % leta 2013), torej za +36 mest. Tudi za upravno enoto Ravne na Koroškem, ki je imela leta 1981 celo drugi najnižji delež starejših (7,9 %), takoj za Velenjem (6,1 %), je značilen izrazit vzpon na lestvici, in sicer kar za 44 mest. Tako kot upravne enote Jesenice, Tržič, Dravograd, Ruše in Gornja Radgona je tudi upravna enota Ravne na Koroškem slovensko povprečje preseгла leta 2013, ko je delež starejših v njej znašal 18,2 %.

Med vsemi upravnimi enotami je bilo 12 (20,7 % vseh) takšnih, ki so imela leta 1981 nadpovprečen delež starejših ljudi, leta 2013 pa je bil ta pod povprečjem. Mednje sodijo Šentjur pri Celju, Šmarje pri Jelšah, Lenart, Krško, Črnomelj, Metlika, Grosuplje, Litija, Trebnje, Ajdovščina, Postojna in Logatec. V upravnih enotah Krško, Črnomelj, Metlika in Ajdovščina je delež starejših padel pod povprečje leta 2013. V upravnih enotah Šmarje pri Jelšah, Šentjur pri Celju, Lenart in Postojna je bil pod slovenskim povprečjem že leta 2002, leta 1991 pa v Trebnjah, Litiji, Grosuplju in Logatcu. Slednje tri upravne enote so imele leta 2013 delež starejših celo izrazito pod povprečjem, in sicer je znašal v Litiji 14,8 %, v Grosuplju 14,2 %, v Logatcu pa 13,8 %. Logaška upravna enota je imela leta 2013 tudi v splošnem najnižji delež

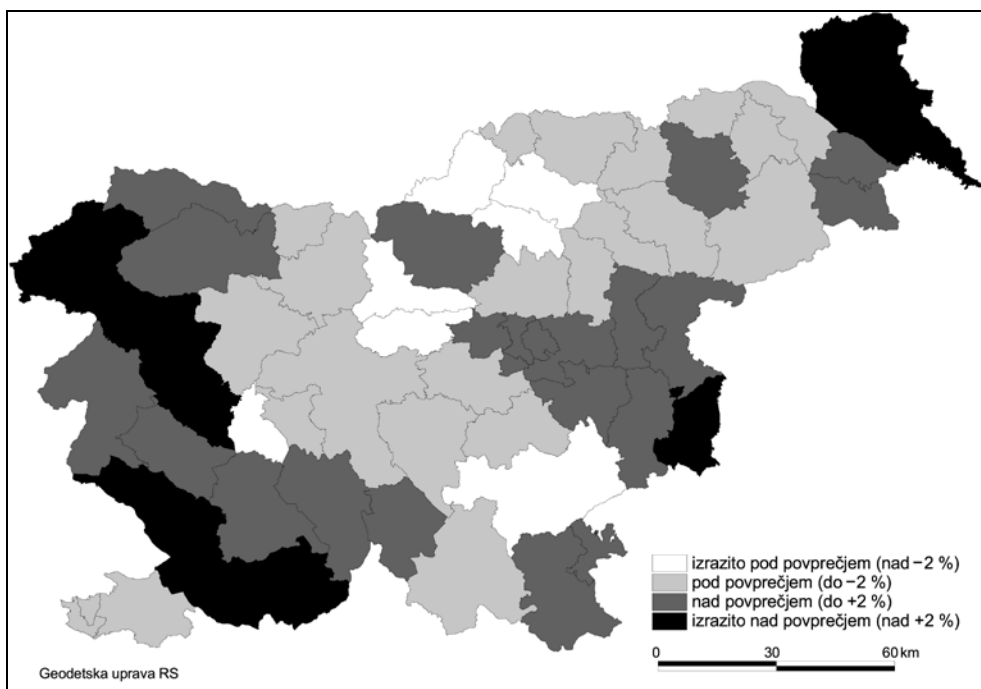
med vsemi upravnimi enotami. Na lestvici, na kateri so upravne enote glede na delež starejših razvrščene od tiste z najvišjim do tiste z najnižjim deležem, je zato v obdobju 1981–2013 »zdrsnila« za 32 mest (s 27 na 58 mesto). Za enako število mest sta »padli« tudi upravni enoti Grosuplje in Šmarje pri Jelšah. Največje znižanje beležita Trebnje (–33 mest) in Postojna (–35 mest). Pri prvi se je delež starejših povečal z 12,8 % (leta 1981) na 15,2 % (leta 2013), drugi pa s 13,4 % (leta 1981) na 15,6 % (leta 2013). V obeh primerih torej za 2,3 odstotne točke. Najmanj je delež starejših v obdobju 1981–2013 med vsemi upravnimi enotami narasel v Logatcu in Grosuplju, in sicer za 2,2 odstotni točki (v celotni Sloveniji za 6 odstotnih točk).



Slika 1: Delež starejših leta 1981 po upravnih enotah.

Vir: Statistični urad Republike Slovenije 2013a, lastni izračuni.

Med vsemi upravnimi enotami, ki so imele leta 1981 še nadpovprečen delež starejših, leta 2013 pa podpovprečnega, je imela leta 1981 metliška najvišji delež starejših (13,7 %), to pomeni, da je bil izrazito nad slovenskim povprečjem (nad +2 %). Leta 1991 je bil delež sicer še vedno nad povprečjem, a ni bil več izrazit (bil je pod +2 % nad povprečjem), leta 2002 je bil nad povprečjem le še za 0,1 odstotno točko, leta 2013 pa je bil delež starejših pod povprečjem (17,0 %), vendar tik pod mejo. Tudi v upravnih enotah Krško in Šmarje pri Jelšah, v katerih je bil podpovprečen delež starejših prav tako prvič zabeležen leta 2013, je bil leta 1981 še precej visok delež starejših – v Šmarjah pri Jelšah je znašal 13,6 % in je bil torej le 0,1 odstotno točko pod mejo izrazitega nadpovprečnega deleža starejših. Za 0,3 odstotne točke (13,4 %) pod to mejo je bila leta 1981 tudi upravna enota Postojna.

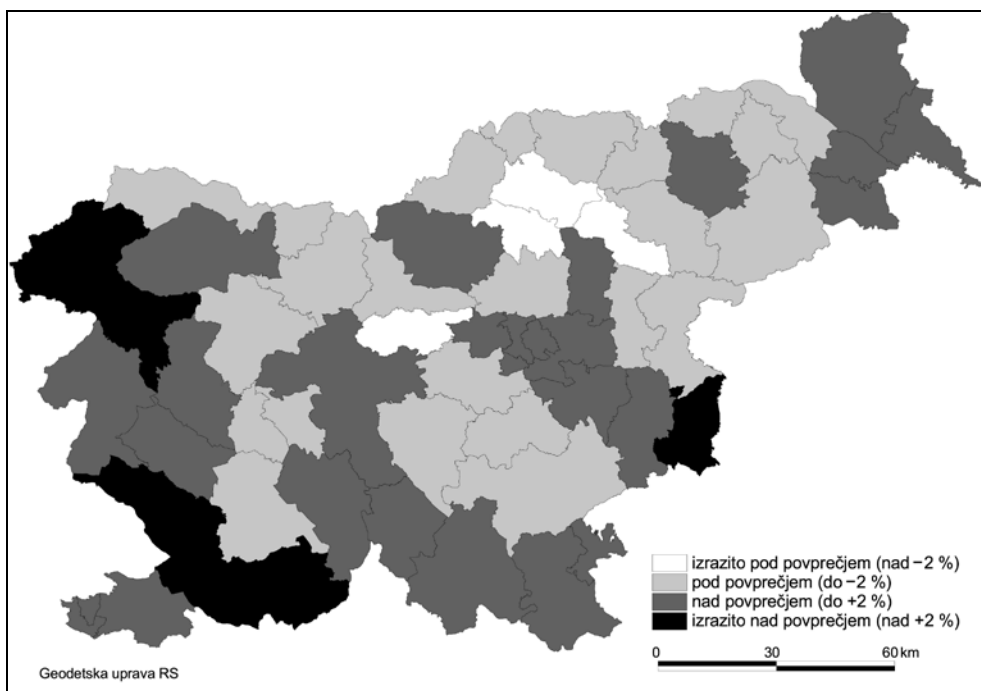


Slika 2: Delež starejših leta 1991 po upravnih enotah.

Vir: Statistični urad Republike Slovenije 2013b, lastni izračuni.

Nekatere upravne enote so imele tako leta 1981 kot leta 2013 delež starejših pod povprečjem. Skupno jih je bilo 14 oziroma četrtina (24,1 %). To so Pesnica, Ptuj, Kranj, Radlje ob Dravi, Škofja Loka, Slovenska Bistrica, Vrhnika, Novo mesto, Slovenj Gradec, Domžale, Kamnik, Žalec, Slovenske Konjice, Velenje in Ljubljana. Vendar pa so tudi te upravne enote glede deleža starejših padle ali pa so se povzpele na lestvici od najvišjega do najnižjega deleža starejših. Na primer, Slovenska Bistrica je zdrsnila za 11 mest, Slovenske Konjice za 9, Novo mesto in Škofja Loka za 8 ter Vrhnika za 5. Med obravnavanimi upravnimi enotami beležijo zato te v obdobju 1981–2013 tudi najnižje vrednosti povečanja deleža starejših. V Slovenski Bistrici se je delež povečal za 4,8 odstotnih točk (z 10,9 % leta 1981 na 15,7 % leta 2013), v Novem mestu za 5,3 odstotne točke (z 10,2 % na 15,5 %), v Škofji Loki prav tako za 5,3 odstotne točke (z 10,7 % na 16 %) in na Vrhniki za 5,5 odstotne točke (z 10,2 % na 15,7 %). Na drugi pa beleži največji vzpon Kranj (+14 mest), sledi Pesnica (+9 mest), Ljubljana (+8 mest) itd. Povečanje deleža starejših v njih je v obdobju 1981–2013 znašalo 6,2 odstotni točki (Ptuj), 6,5 odstotnih točk (Žalec in Radlje ob Dravi), 6,7 odstotnih točk (Pesnica) in 6,8 odstotnih točk (Ljubljana). Med obravnavanimi upravnimi enotami se je delež starejših najbolj povečal v upravni enoti Velenje, in sicer za 8,1 odstotne točke. Ker pa je bil leta 1981 izrazito pod povprečjem (znašal je 6,1 %, kar je bilo najmanj med vsemi upravnimi enotami), tolikšno povečanje ni pomenilo nadpovprečnega deleža starejših. S 14,2 % je bilo bil delež še vedno izrazito pod njim. Na omenjeni lestvici je zato upravna enota povzpela le za eno mesto, z zadnjega na predzadnje. Poleg Velenja sta še upravni enoti Kamnik in Domžale leta 2013 »obdržali« izrazito podpovprečen delež (pod – 2%) starejših iz leta 1981. V Kamniku se je delež povečal za 5,3 odstotne točke, z 9,4 % na 14,7 %, v Domžalah pa za 5,6 odstotne

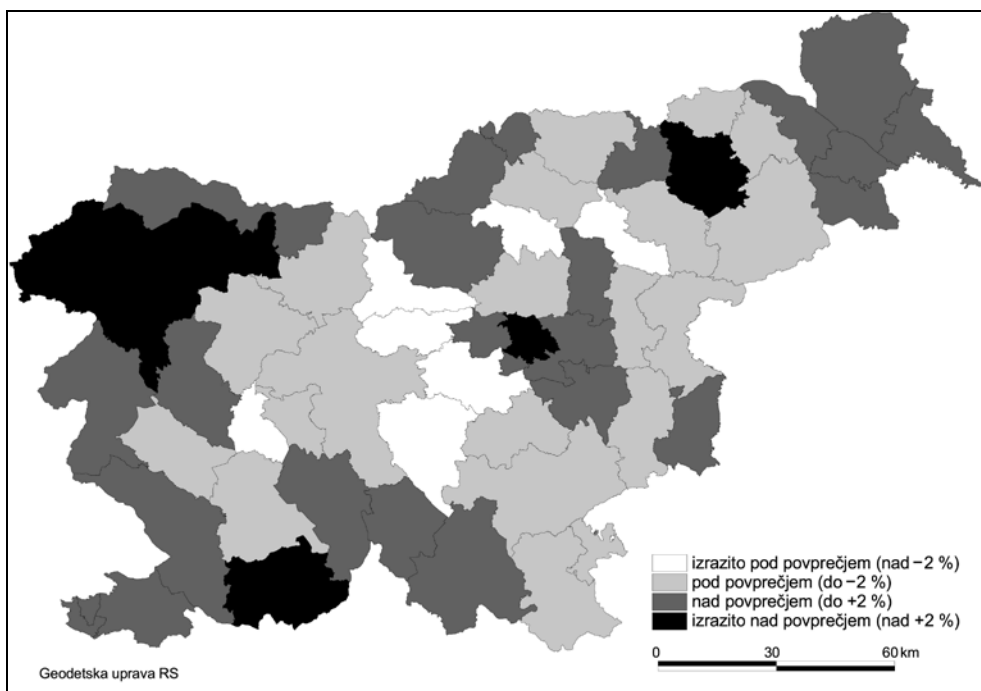
točke, z 9,4 % na 15 %. Upravna enota Slovenj Gradec, ki je imela leta 1981 prav tako izrazito podpovprečen delež starejših, je leta 2013 zgornjo mejo izrazitega deleža pod povprečjem presegla le za 0,1 %, pri čemer je bil leta 1991 in 2002 še vedno pod njo. Delež starejših se je v obdobju 1981–2013 v tej upravni enoti povečal za 6,6 odstotni točki. Leta 1981 je znašal 8,4 %, ker je bil takrat četrti najnižji delež med upravnimi enotami (za Velenjem, Ravnami na Koroškem in Izolo) in pred Koprom in Piranom. Med obravnavanimi občinami izstopa upravna enota Slovenske Konjice, saj je edina, v kateri je delež starejših padel pod mejo z izrazito podpovprečnim deležem starejših. Delež je bil v tej upravni enoti izrazito pod povprečjem že leta 2002, medtem ko je bil leta 1981 in 1991 še do –2 % pod povprečjem. V tej upravni enoti je zato v obdobju 1981–2013 v primerjavi z drugimi obravnavanimi upravnimi enotami povečanje deleža starejših najnižje (4,5 odstotne točke). Delež se je povzpел z 9,9 % leta 1981 na 14,4 % leta 2013, ker je bil tega leta četrti najnižji delež starejših med vsemi občinami (za Logatcem, Velenjem in Grosupljim). Podpovprečen delež starejših je leta 1981 imela tudi upravna enota Kranj (9,2 %), vendar pa je to mejo presegla že leta 1991. Leta 2013 je delež starejših v njej znašal 16,6 %, kar pomeni, da se je dvignil za 7,4 odstotne točke, ker je za Velenjem drugo največje povišanje med obravnavanimi upravnimi enotami. Druge upravne enote (Pesnica, Radlje ob Dravi, Vrhnika, Ptuj, Žalec, Škofja Loka in Slovenska Bistrica), so že leta 1981 niso imele izrazitega podpovprečnega deleža starejših in so delež pod –2 % starejših ohranile v vseh letih opazovanja. Izjemi sta le Novo mesto in Ljubljana. Prva je imela leta 1991 delež starejših za 0,1 odstotno točko pod mejo izrazitega podpovprečja, druga pa je imela leta 2002 nadpovprečen delež starejših (15,1 %), leta 2013 pa spet podpovprečnega, vendar na skrajni zgornji meji (17 %).



Slika 3: Delež starejših leta 2002 po upravnih enotah.

Vir: Statistični urad Republike Slovenije 2013c, lastni izračuni.

Od 58 upravnih enot jih je bilo leta 2013 17 ali 29,3 % takšnih, ki so imele delež starejših tudi leta 1981 nad slovenskim povprečjem. Poleg že omenjenih Tolmina in Ilirske Bistrice, gre še za upravne enote Radovljica, Brežice, Nova Gorica, Ljutomer, Cerknica, Laško, Murska Sobota, Ormož, Idrija, Sežana, Gornja Radgona, Mozirje, Lendava, Sevnica, Ribnica. Za največ mest se je povzpela radovljiška upravna enota (+23), novogoriška se je povzpela za 14, laška za 11, ljutomerška pa za 10 mest. Med vsemi obravnavanimi upravnimi enotami se je v navedenih štirih v obdobju 1981–2013 delež starejših najbolj povzpел. V radovljiški upravni enoti, v kateri se je povzpел za 7,9 odstotnih točk, je bil leta 2013, ko je znašal 19,8 %, že izrazito nad povprečjem (nad + 2 %), kar ne velja druga opazovana leta. Leta 2013 je bila ta upravna enota po deležu starejših na 3. mestu, takoj za tolminsko in ilirskobistriško. V preostalih treh upravnih enotah (Nova Gorica, Laško in Ljutomer), ki se je delež povečal za več kot 6 odstotnih točk, v novogoriški za 6,7 odstotne točke (z 12,2 % na 18,9 %), v ljutomerski za 6,2 odstotni točki (z 12,6 % na 18,8 %) in laški za 6,1 odstotno točko (z 12,2 % na 18,3 %). Nekatere upravne enote so na lestvici padle. S 5. mesta leta 1981 je na 30. padla ribniška upravna enota (–25 mest), s 3. na 20. lendavska (–18 mest), sledijo sežanska (–17 mest), sevniška (–14 mest), idrijska (–10 mest) itd. Sežanska upravna enota je imela v letih 1981, 1991 in 2002 delež starejših še izrazito nad povprečjem, leta 2013 pa nadpovprečen delež starejših v njej ni bil več izrazit. Znašal je namreč 17,9 %, kar je pod +2 % nad povprečjem.



Slika 4: Delež starejših leta 2013 po upravnih enotah.

Vir: Statistični urad Republike Slovenije, 2013d, lastni izračuni.

Med vsemi obravnavanimi upravnimi enotami se je prav v tej v obdobju 1981–2013 delež starejših najmanj povečal, in sicer za 2,4 odstotne točke. Tudi v Brežicah je bil pred letom 2013 delež starejših še izrazito nad povprečjem. Omenjenega leta se je spustil pod to mejo, vendar je bil z 19 % tik pod njo. Tudi v Idriji, Murski Soboti in

Lendavi je bil delež starejših sprva še izrazit, leta 2002 in leta 2013 pa ne več, a še vedno nad povprečjem. V Murski Soboti je znašal 18,3 %, v Idriji 18,1 % in v Lendavi 17, 7 %. Še leta 1981 je bil delež izrazit tudi v upravnih enotah Cerknica in Ribnica, v preostalih opazovanih letih pa je padel pod mejo + 2 % nad povprečjem. Leta 2013 je v Cerknici znašal 18,4 %, v Ribnici pa 17,3 %. V preostalih obravnavanih upravnih enotah je bil delež starejših v vseh opazovanih letih sicer nadpovprečen, vendar ne izrazit. Poleg že omenjenih Nove Gorice, Laškega in Ljutomer, je bil leta 2013 18-odstotni delež starejših presežen še v Ormožu (18,2 %), v Sevnici in Mozirju pa je bil nižji, in sicer je v mozirski upravni enoti znašal 17,8 %, v sevnški pa 17,5 %.

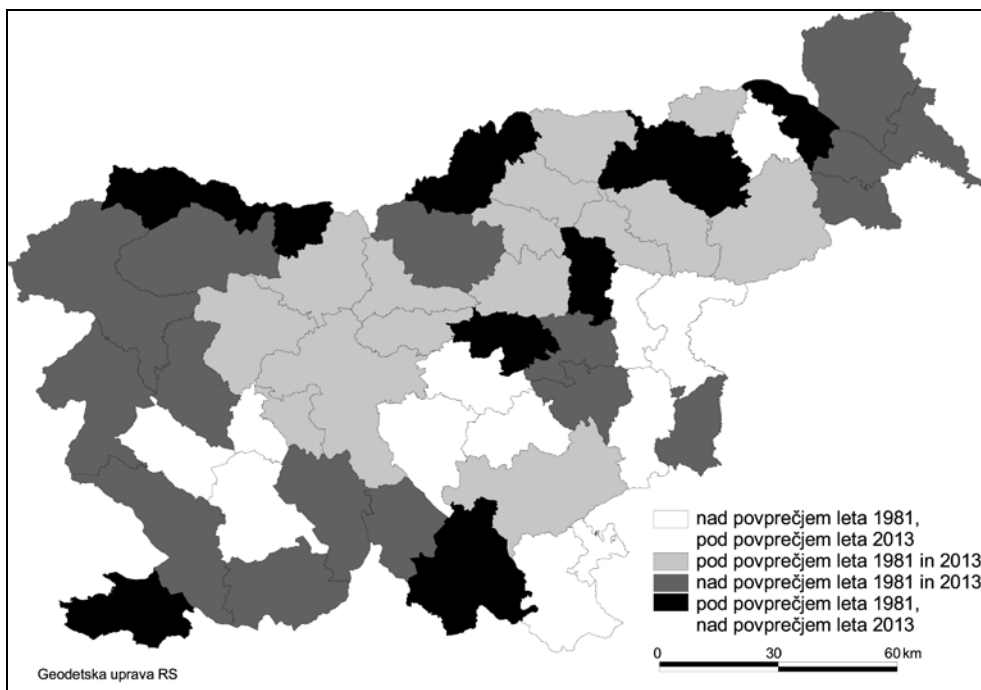
4. Razprava

Rezultati primerjalne analize so potrdili našo domnevo, da proces staranja prebivalstva v slovenskem prostoru v obdobju 1981–2013 ni bil enovit in da obstajajo različna območja staranja, in sicer (a) območja, ki so se v preučevanem obdobju pospešeno postarala, (b) območja, ki se starajo počasneje kot druga. Med prve sodijo upravne enote, ki so imele leta 1981 še podpovprečen, leta 2013 pa že nadpovprečen delež starejših, med druge pa upravne enote, ki so imele pred intenziviranjem procesa staranja v osemdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja še nadpovprečen delež starejših, ob koncu preučevanega obdobja pa podpovprečnega. Tretji tip območij so (c) območja, ki so imela že pred intenziviranjem procesa staranja nadpovprečen delež starejših, četrti tip pa (d) območja, ki so kljub pospešenemu staranju slovenskega prebivalstva ohranila podpovprečen delež starejših. V nadaljevanju se bomo osredotočili na prva dva tipa območij. Čeprav bi bilo treba opraviti še dodatne raziskave, prostorski vzorci nakazujejo, da je razporeditev prvega in drugega tipa območij staranja posledica selitvene mobilnosti prebivalstva, za katero so značilni različni vzroki, predvsem družbenogeografski. Na območjih, kjer se je prebivalstvo v preučevanem obdobju pospešeno postaralo, gre za tri različne oblike selitev:

- (a) odseljevanje prebivalstva z območij starih industrijskih panog, ki so se v osemdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja in po letu 1991 znašale v krizi (upravne enote Jesenice, Ravne na Koroškem, Trbovlje, Hrastnik, Zagorje ob Savi, Maribor in Celje). Sklepamo lahko, da so se iz teh t.i. depresivnih območij odseljevali predvsem mlajši prebivalci, v zgodnejši ali zreli rodni dobi. Čeprav bi bilo treba narediti bolj natančno analizo, vseeno menimo, da pri tem ni šlo le za odseljevanje na druga, razvojno bolj perspektivna območja v Sloveniji, ampak (zlasti po letu 1991) tudi odselitve prebivalcev iz Slovenije. Pri tem gre za delavce (in njihove družine) iz nekdanjih jugoslovanskih republik, ki so bili zaposleni v industriji in rudarstvu.

Vendar pa za omenjene upravne enote ne moremo trditi, da je pospešeno staranje v njih le posledica opisanega družbenogeografskega procesa. Vplivi so nedvomno še drugi. V primeru upravne enote Maribor in Celje gre po našem mnenju tudi za posledico procesa suburbanizacija, ki je obravnavan pri točki d. Zlasti pri upravni enoti Ravne na Koroškem gre tudi za odseljevanje zaradi periferne lege in njene prometne odmaknjenosti (glej točko b), pri upravni enoti Jesenice pa (poleg perifernosti) tudi za priseljevanje starejšega prebivalstva turistično privlačna območja, procesa, ki je obravnavan pri točki c;

- (b) odseljevanje prebivalstva z območij s periferno lego (upravne enote Kočevje, Dravograd, Ruše, Tržič in Gornja Radgona). Pomen perifernosti v teh upravnih enotah se je povečal po tem, ko so se v njih (ali v sosednjih upravnih enotah) v času tranzicije neuspešno prestrukturirale podjetja, ki so bila prej v teh upravnih enotah pomembna gonilna sila (gospodarskega) razvoja. Razen Kočevja so imele vse omenjene upravne enote nadpovprečen delež starejših (še) leta 2013 (enako kot Ravne na Koroškem in Jesenice), Kočevje pa že leta 2002, kar je nedvomno tudi posledica lege ob hrvaški meji, ki je bila vzpostavljena ob osamosvojitvi leta 1991;
- (c) priseljevanje starejšega prebivalstva v klimatsko ugodna območja (upravne enote Koper, Izola, Piran), o čemer govori Josipovič (2009, 25–26), in sicer »da ima specifična ali netipična starostna struktura migrantov specifične posledice ... o eni takih posebnosti lahko govorimo v primeru preseljevanja relativno starejšega prebivalstva prebivalstva v 'sončni' pas, kot so obmorska, zdraviliška in podobna naselja«. Sklepamo lahko, da gre v primeru upravne enote Jesenice odseljevanje prebivalstva z območij starih industrijskih panog in zaradi perifernosti po drugi strani tudi za priseljevanje starejšega prebivalstva v turistično in naravno privlačna območja v alpskem svetu (na primer Kranjska gora in naselja v njeni bližini). Starejši ljudi se v ta območja preselijo po upokojitvi in si svoja sekundarna bivališča spremenijo v stalna. Da je za Slovence značilen trend spreminjanja počitniških hiš v stalna bivališča opozarja že Marjan Ravbar (1992, 1994).



Slika 5: Razlika v deležu starejših leta 2013 v primerjavi z letom 1981 po upravnih enotah.

Vir: Statistični urad Republike Slovenije 2013a, 2013d, lastni izračuni.

Na območjih, kjer se je prebivalstvo v preučevanem obdobju postaralo počasneje kot na drugih območjih, gre za selitve prebivalstva na mestno obrobje in bližnja obmestna ter druga, nekoliko oddaljenejša naselja, za katere je značilna dobra in časovno sprejemljiva dostopnost do mest (proces suburbanizacije). To potrjujejo tudi ugotovitve Stanka Pelca (glej Pelc 2012), Marjana Ravbarja (glej na primer Ravbar 2000) in Dejana Rebrnika (glej na primer Rebrnik 2004). V območjih, ki jih je ta proces zajel delež starejših nižajo priseljenci, ki so po večini mlajši ljudje, v zgodnejši ali zreli rodni dobi. Da pa je »v zadnjem obdobju posebej zanimivo veliko pridobivanje prebivalstva v manjših naseljih osrednje Slovenije, kar je povezano tudi z napredovanjem suburbanizacije v podeželsko notranjost« (Josipovič 2009, 27), se kaže najbolj na širšem območju Ljubljane, kjer so nižje cene stanovanj oziroma parcel za gradnjo hiš kot v bližjem obmestnem območju (»prvotnih« suburbanizacijskih območjih – na primer upravne enote Vrhnika, Kamnik, Domžale). Vendar se tudi na širšem suburbanizacijskem območju Ljubljane kaže določena hierarhija: bližje in časovno dostopnejše ko so upravne enote Ljubljani, nižji je v njih delež starejših (upravne enote Logatec, Grosuplje, Litija). V trebanjski in postojnski upravni enoti, ki sta nekoliko bolj oddaljeni, je bil delež starejših že nekoliko višji, a še vedno izrazito pod povprečjem. Podobno stanje, a z nekoliko manj izrazitimi podpovprečnimi deleži starejših, so leta 2013 izkazovale tudi druge upravne enote: Ajdovščina, ki je v zaledju Nove Gorice, Krško v zaledju novega mesta, Šentjur pri Celju in Šmarje pri Jelšah na širšem suburbanizacijskem območju Celja, in Lenart v zaledju Maribora.

5. Sklep

V članku se je na podlagi analize statističnih podatkov o prebivalstvu za obdobje 1981–2013 potrdilo, da proces staranja prebivalstva v slovenskem prostoru ni (bil) enovit, kar je posledica različnih selitvenih gibanj prebivalstva. Poudariti pa je treba, da so območja staranja prebivalstva, ki so bila določena, najverjetneje tudi notranje zelo raznolika. Zaradi tega bi bilo treba nadaljnja preučevanja dinamike staranja prebivalstva v Sloveniji izvesti na manjših prostorskih enotah – na ravni občin in (še bolje) na ravni naselij. Poleg dinamike pa bi bilo treba na podlagi različnih metod (na primer demografskih projekcij) predvideti nadaljnji prostorski razvoj staranja prebivalstva v Sloveniji. Že manjša analiza, ki smo jo izvedli ob robu te raziskave, je namreč pokazala, da je bil od celotnega porasta deleža starejših v obdobju 1981–2013 pri 46,5 % upravnih enot zabeležen več kot 50-odstotni porast prav v zadnjem desetletju, kar bi lahko nakazovalo prostorski trend staranja prebivalstva v prihodnje. Pri tem je treba poudariti, da sodijo med te upravne enote tudi tiste s podpovprečnimi deleži starejših (celo tiste z izrazitimi podpovprečnimi deleži v celotne preučevanem obdobju) in tiste, pri katerih se je delež starejših znižal s povprečne na izrazito podpovprečno vrednost. Prostorska analiza staranja prebivalstva v Sloveniji s tem torej še zdaleč ni zaključena.

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SPATIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF POPULATION AGEING IN SLOVENIA: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF PROPORTION OF THE ELDERLY IN THE PERIOD 1981–2013 BY ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS

Summary

Slovenian society is characterized by an accelerated ageing. But, however, this process is (was) not uniformed in Slovenia. In this paper is, therefore, considered which are the spatial characteristics of ageing in Slovenia in the period 1981–2013 (since the ageing of the population in Slovenia has been intensified). The paper proceeds from the assumption that there are different areas of ageing caused by some social geographical processes. The comparative analysis focused on the data of three censuses (1981, 1991 and 2002) and the latest available data of the Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia (in the year 2013). Results showed that in 16 (27.6%) of 58 Slovenian administrative units ageing of the population has been accelerated, in 12 (20.7%) the process of ageing population was slower than in the others, in 14 (24.1%) the share of the elderly was below average proportion of older people at the beginning and at the end of the studied period, and in 17 (29.3%) the share of the elderly was above average proportion of older people at the beginning and at the end of the studied period. Ageing areas are result of the different migratory movements of the population – from the areas where ageing of the population was identified, as well as in the areas, which had above-average proportion of elderly people before the process of ageing was intensified, the population had emigrated, but immigrated to the area with below-average proportion of elderly in the studied period, especially to the areas where the proportion of older people has been reduced from above average to below average. For areas where the accelerated ageing of the population was identified in the studied period, three different types of migration are characterized: (a) emigration from the areas of old industries that were in the eighties and are since 1991 in crisis, (b) emigration from the areas with peripheral location, (c) immigration of older people in the favourable climatic zones (coastal area, or “sun belt”). But it can be assumed that these ageing areas are also very interiorly diverse. For this reason, further studies of the dynamics of ageing in Slovenia should be carried out at smaller spatial units – at the level of municipalities and (better) at the level of settlements. Beside the dynamics and based on different methods (such as demographic projections) further spatial development of the ageing population in Slovenia should be forecasted for different ageing areas.

URBANISATION, URBAN ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY, NATIONAL SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS AND DISEASES BURDEN IN AFRICA: A RESEARCH AGENDA FOR SPATIO-TEMPORAL ANALYSES OF SUBREGIONAL CHARACTERISTICS

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Abstract

Urbanisation, urban environmental quality, national socio-economic conditions and diseases burden in Africa: a research agenda for spatio-temporal analyses of subregional characteristics

The investigation of socio-economic, political and environmental aspects of urbanization in Africa is gaining research attention. Most recently, information on the patterns in urbanization, population growth, slumisation, among other aspects of urban Africa within the past quarter of a century or thereabout were reported. While this report elucidated on the relevant challenges, it was restricted to the regional patterns of the variables investigated. This report indicates that more information on the sub-regional aspects of these variables is required to elucidate on urban planning in the region and its sub-regions. Here, the ways forward in investigating these issues and variables underlying them are outlined. The theoretical, methodological, spatial and temporal aspects or requirements of the proposed research are discussed to provide a compass for future research.

Key words

Urbanization, population dynamics, Africa, sub-regions, socio-economic conditions, environment, theory, method, slumisation

1. Background

The proportion of the world's population living in urban centres reached half of the total (of the world's population) in the late 2000s. Apart from the implication that the remainder of the world's were rural dwellers, the conclusion that a large proportion of Developing World are still in the primary stages of the demographic transition thereby experiencing high rhythms of population growth is evidence that the world's population (and by extension the proportion of those residing in urban centres might have surpassed the point attained in the 2000s (Baum and Tolbert 1985), Institution of Mechanical Engineers 2011; United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-HABITAT 2010). The increasing proportion of the world's population living in cities ought to have brought economic prosperity to Developing World's urban centres going by another report at about that time (i.e. the late 2000s). This was restatement of the resurgent thesis that cities stimulate as well as benefit from economic growth (World Bank 2009). This is a re-assertion reinforcing earlier hypothesis that highlighted the significance of the belief that increasing 'density' (concentration of people and agglomeration of economic activities) within cities facilitates supplies of services that promote economic growth and social development thereby transforming cities and diffusing such forces to hinterlands, new and smaller towns (Deichmann, Gill, and Goh 2011). Safe water, sanitation, health, among other services has been included in the list of the stimulants of urban-based economic growth and prosperity (Ingwe 2012). Related reports speak of high rhythms of demographic change including rapid population growth in Developing Countries (DCs). Africa has been identified as one of the world's regions where rapid population growth and urbanization combine with poor socio-economic conditions where the positive association between urban centres and economic growth are yet to be realized or are negligible compared to those obtaining in Advanced (Developed) Countries. Put differently, the contribution of rapid urbanization in Africa, like elsewhere in the DCs, to economic growth and its gain from the latter is beneath the optimum level that prevails in Advanced Countries. Although academic research efforts are being made to fill the knowledge gaps pertaining to the magnitude and nature of the challenges associated with urbanisation, and socio-economic aspects of urban sub-Saharan Africa (SSA).

The prolonged socio-economic, political adversities suffered by SSA over several centuries –such as unequal trade, colonialism, neo-colonialism, imperialism and neoliberalism-(Ingwe, Ikeji and Ojong 2010) have spilled into the region's ecological systems in form of the acceptance by some of Africa's heads of state that toxic waste be dumped in their countries in return for 'economic assistance'. Apart from this, it is known that poor people are propelled by their economic adversity to engage in economic activities and practices that do not place premium on environmental sustainability.

2. Sub-Saharan African (SSA) regional trend of urbanisation, urban slumisation, poverty, safe water / sanitation for the past quarter of a Century

However, recent application of spatio-temporal method to analyse data describing urbanisation, slumisation (growth of unlivable sectors of cities and urban areas), poverty, safe water/ sanitation in urban sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) for the past 25 years or thereabout found the following: that rapid rates of national population growth and urbanisation occurred nearly throughout SSA -from 1980 to 2005. This

averaged 93.8% with a range of 90.5% points. The lowest and highest rates were 40% (Lesotho) and 130.5% (Niger), respectively. High national poverty rates were widespread in SSA with less than 50% in about seven countries -this might have been similar in a higher number of countries had a large number of SSA countries had reported their 1993 poverty rates. There were high urban/rural poverty ratios (1.05-1.79 points range) between Nigeria and Benin Republics. High average rate (73%) of slumisation in SSA in 2001 (range: 96%) -lowest and highest rates being in Zimbabwe (3%), Chad and Ethiopia (99%), respectively. Sub-Saharan Africa's 2000 health adjusted life expectancy was generally low (about 38.8 years: it was less than 40 years in 24 SSA countries while use of safe / improved water/sanitation services were poor almost throughout SSA. The latter declined rapidly and ubiquitously from 72% (2000) to 55% (2002) (i.e. minus 17% points decrease in three years within individual countries with alarming declines -up to minus 69% points in Guinea. The report concluded that that the policy implications of its findings include the urgent and imperative need to massively implement urban improvement programmes designed to provide health-inducing services/facilities across SSA (Ingwe 2012, 17-30).

Although, the foregoing report was highly informative, ignorance persist regarding the sub-regional patterns of the problems. Although the latter study elucidates on important aspects (national socio-spatial or improvements in urban environmental sanitation, safe water supply/services and diseases in a more systematic way thereby informing on the condition at the regional scale, it amounts to a mere average of the statues of these variable. Other information relevant to understanding these variables were not produced in the report. For example, it is very difficult to apply the information provided in the report to compare the variables studied among the major sub-regions of Africa in order to understand the variability in urban management factors such as use of safe water, improved sanitation, among others. Yet, knowledge of the latter variables is useful for strengthening urban environmental management, which might be some of the programmes being implemented by some of the sub-regional supra-national political-economic, among other organizations that emerged in post-colonial Africa.

3. Information gaps on urban socio-physical and economic conditions under the context of supra-nationalisation of development management in Africa's sub-regions

After the era of attainment of political independence by most member-countries of Africa (i.e. between the late 1950s and the 1860s), the emergent post-independent African nations rapidly adopted supra-nationalisation of development management. This had started earlier and matured in the Western European sub-region leading to the popularity of terms such as European Union (EU) and European Commission (EC) for describing politico-economic and socio-cultural entities created for advancing the economic growth of the sub-region by states to address challenges that were commonly faced by individual nation-states. This strategy of enhancing development in Africa involves the creation of sub-regional organizations for addressing political and socio-economic challenges commonly faced by several member-states of specific sub-regions. However, the sub-regionalisations in Africa have not ignored the regions' political traumas such as political and economic colonization or domination by Western Europe. The continuous relations between post-colonial African countries continue to manifest in the greater bonding in political and socio-economic affairs among countries to the extent that some skip

their closest neighbours who have a different colonial 'ancestry' in order to maintain stronger ties with their former 'sister colonies' located further apart. How the latter might have caused variations among African countries in terms of their management of challenges enthroned by rapid urbanization is also poorly understood.

4. Objectives

The objective of this article is to propose a framework for undertaking further studies designed to generate information showing spatial and temporal patterns of urban environmental quality, socio-economic conditions and national disease burden in Africa's sub-regions: namely, North, South, East and West. Specifically, I propose to inform on sub-regional urbanization dynamics, urban environmental quality, before relate the latter to national diseases burdens.

In the rest of this article, I justify further studies of the sub-regional patterns exhibited by urbanization, national socio-economic and political conditions, and urban environmental quality in Africa. My proposed investigations arise from recent baseline study of the same or related variables at the more general African regional scale (Ingwe 2012, 17-30). The recent report, as well as the proposed research programme, represents the contributions of CRADLE, the African Institute for Sustainable Development, to economic resuscitation of Africa as currently under the management of this author. Then, I follow on by outlining some hypotheses capable of guiding the proposed research programme. I also propose multiple theoretical perspectives (pluralism, incrementalism, rational comprehensiveness, neoliberalism, among others) that promise to be relevant for studying urbanization related challenges in Africa. I also show how multiple methods such as aetiology, spatio-temporal analysis, among others (as well as multiple data) that could be applied for studying/explaining complications associated with phenomenal urbanization and demographic dynamics in Africa. Then I propose spatial units for implementing the various separate studies of the urban variables of interest, before commenting on further justification of the proposed research project. I expatiate on various data type, sources and temporal scales of the proposed research programme beyond – but related to those of the recent study (Ingwe 2012). Then, I conclude this particular article.

4. Justifying the proposed research project under the context of the perpetuation of neoliberal-capitalism

After the 2008 –and ongoing- global financial-economic crises, reports have indicated that economic growth has increased in Africa. However, the extent to which that growth is being applied towards implementing innovations of technological and socio-cultural types that Advanced Nations used to achieve a high level of social (human) welfare, consumerism (Demeny, and McNicoll 2006), among other dynamics, is poorly understood. The new information and knowledge on urban conditions in Africa and its sub-regions promise to provide environmental bases on which preparations for a virile socio-economic advancement could be constructed.

4.1 Hypothesizing inter-relationships among urbanization, socio-economic, environmental, and conditions in Africa's sub-regions

Some key hypothesis for investigating the relationships among urbanization and socio-economic, environmental and political conditions in Africa emerge as follows:

- Urbanization and socio-economic, environmental and political conditions in Africa exhibit patterns or characteristics within specific socio-economic sub-regions;
- The peculiar urbanization and socio-economic, environmental conditions patterns (characteristics) exhibited within specific sub-regions is determined by politico-economic initiatives of the respective organization of each sub-region.
- Arising from the foregoing, the patterns (or characteristics) of urbanization and the underlying socio-economic, environmental conditions exhibited within specific sub-regions translates into their variation from one sub-region to the other(s).

4.2 Using urban resuscitation to move Africa beyond reliance on aid from rich nations

One aspect of neoliberal-capitalism deserves comment in justifying the studies being proposed. This pertains to the ongoing habit of perpetuating neoliberal-capitalist *modus operandi* while devising strategies of refining its old forms in order to keep it and economies operating it competitive. Although, some proclaimed its demise in the aftermath -nay, at the break of the 2008 global financial-economic crises (Birch and Mykhneko 2010), the politico-economic and cultural system still holds sway in the United States of America (USA), United Kingdom (UK) – including Ireland, Germany, among other countries in the membership of the Organisations for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). The most important relationship between the OECD countries and their counterparts in Africa has run through what might be described as previous, current and future politico-economic histories. As an indirect compensation for the domination of African countries through several centuries of unequal trade, Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, political-economic colonization, imperialism and neoliberalism, OECD nations have promised development assistance (aid) their African counterparts. It is noteworthy to note several fears that although OECD countries have done badly in terms of fulfilling their promises, numerous African governments have habitually relied on fractions of the assistance that came to them irrespective of delays associated with the process. Here, the prolonged failure of most OECD countries to recover from the 2008 global financial-economic crises has placed doubts in the capacity of some of these nations to fulfill their previous promises of aid and make new promises (Rodrik 2012, 48; Rajan 2012, 48). Therefore, the question posed by Thabo Mbeki, former President of South Africa and an African statesman: what does the 2008-and ongoing global financial-economic crises mean for Africa (BusinessDay 2011, Available online at: www.businessday.online.com.) stands out. Specifically, this President Mbeki's question could be placed at the roots of economic growth stimulation by African cities. Therefore, the need for producing information necessary for strengthening the capacity of African cities to stimulate and gain from economic growth is urgent and imperative in the light of this new economic situation of the neoliberal-capitalist global economy.

5. Multiple theoretical perspectives relevant for studying urbanization challenges in Africa

The study presents cases for application of multiple theoretical perspectives that promise to contribute towards understanding of the issues at stake. The relevance of parasitic elitism – exploitation of the poor in the rural areas (and to a lesser extent, the urban poor) has been demonstrated in studies of justice in the city

(Harvey 1973). A most recent extension of this theoretical framework involved combining parasitic elitism with the rational choice theory as a means of strengthening the latter to handle (explain) the motives of decision makers and the policies they frequently formulate. As recently applied (Ingwe 2012), this theoretical adaptation is suitable for explaining nations whose urban systems present a contradiction between the rich economic resource base and the manifestation of exploitation of citizens on ground in form of deprivation. Example of this is Nigeria, which presents enormous slumisation of its numerous cities (Ingwe 2012). The manifold aspects and multi-dimensional characteristics of the study variables (urbanization, urban environmental quality, socio-economic conditions, diseases burden, and any other that might become necessary in the course of implementing the project), present opportunities for the application of the method of pluralism .

6. Pluralism Theory

The concern of this theory is with causation involving diverse influences - or factors - in the way phenomena occur. Pluralism has been used to connote a view of behavior. Some radical opinions in Politics and Philosophy argue that Marxist materialist monism believe in the multiplicity of factors leading to substantial opposition to this approach and the law-determined interpretation of societal development. Pluralism has also been used in an extended way to denote a doctrine pertaining to the diversity of cultural, ideological, radical, national, class, gender, among other characteristics. It has also been used to connote the contradiction of class theory and challenge to state-centrism arising from pressure arising from a diversity of factors within the political environment at different levels (national or international). Pluralism theory encompasses all the foregoing points of view has been applied to analyse domestic politics and international political systems as an alternative to the Marxist class perspective. It has been suggested that the theory (pluralism) does not only provide a framework (doctrine) for opposing Marxism but also offers an alternative for understanding the multiplicity of factors actually existing in society thereby imbuing it with varying degrees dynamism. The division of society into various social classes and the flourishing of modern electoral democracy, which was accepted by several revolutionaries before the “cold war” has been used to illustrate the relevance of pluralism in society. Pluralism was frequently used during the era of the “cold war” by the opposing schools of thought to absolutise their own “truths” (Igwe 2005).

Lincoln Allison suggests that Pluralism has been used in philosophical theories and systems of thought that appreciate the influence (involve) more than one ultimate principle contrasted to those with “monist” characteristics. It was used in the United States to legitimize or rationalize the country’s constitution by various ethno-cultural groups (African Americans, Jewish Americans, Indian Americans, and so on) instead of the delusive hope that such ethnic diversity would disappear through some action.

The term is used literally to refer to the belief in the coexistence of more than one entity, belief system, viewpoint and other things. The contemporary meaning of the term to connote the formation of modern society by diverse groups has been shown to be the major political essence of pluralism. The diversity of groups contrasts with the dominance of society by elitist ruling class. Here, horizontal distinction of society is more important than the vertical. The elites ignore and manipulate other constituents of society such as communities, villages, trade unions, Churches,

religious groups, among others (Allison 2003). The rejection by some sociologists of what some sociologists perceived to be prolonged hegemony of positivist orthodoxy (i.e. use of only one approach to social research), founded on a unified philosophy and methodology of social sciences in the 1970s, led to agitation by scholars for pluralism (diversification of theory and method, in the subject. In place of pluralism, researchers promoted a research approach that allowed many styles and methods. Some earlier works perceived as hegemonic positivist orthodoxy (also, methodological exclusiveness) were contributed by two eminent sociologists: Talcott Parsons (who was notable for developing theories of functionalism), while "abstracted empiricism" was attributed to Paul Lazarsfeld. Phenomenological and structuralist sociologies were created in conjunction with the splitting of Marxism into neo-Marxist factions as well as philosophical relativism. The terms epistemological pluralism or epistemological anomie have been used to describe the multiplicity of theories of knowledge or paradigms competing with positivist orthodoxy in sociological studies. Pluralism was justified by arguing that natural scientists frequently altered their research methods when necessary instead of sticking 'slavishly' to existing but ineffective theories and methods. Epistemological anarchy (i.e. application of various research methods and theories) in sociological research became increasingly promoted as a means of salvaging research from the tyranny of positivist orthodoxy. However, it is argued that claims that a hegemonic positivist orthodoxy existed has been debunked by asserting that the desired methodological pluralism already existed prior to the scholarly rebellion (agitation for pluralism) in the 1970s. This argument point to the application of several philosophical and methodological alternatives (among which were: Marxism, idealism, symbolic interactionism, to name but only a few), prior to the 1970s (Scott and Marshall 2005, 405; Lazarsfeld, Berelson and Gaudet 1988; Lazarsfeld and Katz 1955; Feyerabend 1988; Parsons 1951; Parsons and Shills 1951; Parsons 1966), Parsons, 1971, and Lazarsfeld, and Katz, 1955).

Pluralism theory is relevant to this study for several reasons. Its underlying philosophy, versatility, and amenability to application in most of the social sciences (politics, philosophy, sociology, among others), make it to match the multidimensionality of urbanization and the manifold sectors underlying it. Moreover, the view that it reflects real life existence of a multiplicity of factors, make it amenable to adoption in this study concerned with elucidating on the multi-disciplinary and multi-sectoral -economic, social and political ideas involved in sustainable development in Africa (Ingwe, Ikeji and Ojong 2010).

Recently, it was demonstrated that challenges bordering on effective management of environments that are by-and-large poorly known require the employment of rational-comprehensiveness as a policy that provides a foundation for the employment of geo-spatial information science/technology (Ingwe, Odu, Ojong and Angiating 2012). Therefore, poor information and knowledge on urban environmental quality and socio-economic conditions in Africa presents cases for rationalism (Igwe 2005). The persistence of squalid and poor urban environments in Africa nearly 50 years after political independence suggests the implementation of incrementalist policies in sectors related to these challenges in individual nation-states of SSA and nearly through-out the region present cases for applying the theory of incrementalism. The doctrine of neoliberalism promises to facilitate explanation of politico-economic and cultural variations in study variables (Ingwe, Okoro and Ijim-Agbor 2012; Ingwe, Ikeji and Mboto 2010; Ingwe, Odu, Ojong and Angiating 2012, among others).

7. Applying multiple methods (and data) for explaining complications associated with phenomenal urbanization and demographic dynamics

However, my interest in highlighting sub-regional urban environmental and socio-economic conditions in Africa presents a natural case for spatio-temporal analysis, as recently employed in the baseline study of the situation in the sub-Saharan Africa (Ingwe 2012). The variations that are naturally associated with regions and countries presenting various histories, geographies, socio-economic and political conditions beckon for the use of aetiology (Ingwe, Okoro, Ukwayi 2009).

Recent study of urban environmental quality in SSA (Ingwe 2012) used data on variables such as: urbanization, demography (population increases within a quarter of a century - between 1980 and 2005. Slumisation was captured by data on the proportion (per cent of total national populations that were living in such sectors of urban centres in SSA in 2001. Data on poverty -by national poverty rates- were based on surveys in various years (between about 1990 and 2001) and ratios of urban/rural poverty lines for 1993. Urban health-determining services were represented by data on use of improved sanitation services (per cent of the population) between 2000 and 2002 and use of improved water sources in 2002. Others were: health by adjusted life expectancy represented by years for 2000, welfare measures were as described by Ravallion et al., 2007. We used data on malaria to show one out of several diseases afflicting urban Sub-Saharan Africa and to indicate the severity of the problem.

The proposed studies will differ from the recent study (Ingwe 2012) in several ways. Apart from spatial sub-regionalisation of urban environmental quality and socio-economic conditions in Africa, subsequent studies will diversify (mostly extend their temporal scales by gathering and analyzing data covering more recent years, if possible, up to the past few years or at least up to 2010. For example, the analysis of urbanization and demography might be extended to include about six more years (i.e. up to 2011 or thereabout) to make it cover a total of about thirty years. Similarly, there is scope for extending the study of slumisation, among other variables of interest in this study by about six or more. It is needless to exclude Northern Africa from the proposed study; there is need to examine the situation of the study variables in the sub-region thereby providing a means of comparing it with those of SSA.

8. Organization and management of further studies on this research (sub)themes

With an area of area of about 30 million square kilometers, Africa comprises 57 countries while about four of her islands remain under the control of colonial European powers (UNEP 2007). This large area of Africa suggests that to ease the management of this research project –and reporting of findings arising from it- the region should be reorganized along subdivisions (or sub-regional scales). This might follow the foregoing list of sub-regions including: North, South, East and West Africa. Other studies might also be undertaken after this project –or if possible and necessary- during its implementation. Yet, it might become necessary to undertake comparisons of the nature, magnitude or other characteristics of the variables of interest to the study between (or among) two or more of these sub-regions.

8.1 Spatial units for analysing the urban variables of interest: Politico-economic organization, colonial footprints-Anglophone and Francophone- or both?

The significance of addressing environmental challenges at the supranational scale has been acknowledged in Africa where some political and socio-economic organizations, as well as those concerned strictly with environmental management in the region have been working. For example, the African Ministerial Conference on the Environment (AMCEN) was created as the environmental arm of the African Union (AU). AMCEN's interest in mapping the environment was demonstrated by its collaboration with the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) to publish an atlas showing changing environment of Africa in the late 2000s (AMCEN/UNEP 2008).

8.2 Major politico-economic sub-regional organisations

Other major sub-regional organizations that have become well-known include the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), South African Development Community (SADC), East African Development Community, and to a lesser extent of sub-regionalisation within the rest of Africa, that of North Africa. One geographic listing –out of the several classifications- used by the International Governmental Organisation (IGO) UNEP shows that ECOWAS comprises 16 countries. Eastern and Central Africa comprise eight countries, respectively. While Northern Africa and Southern Africa have seven and 12 respectively, the Western Indian Ocean region has six (UNEP 2007). However, the foregoing sub-regional organizations are not the only ones defining the inter-relationships among African states. For another classification based on political regionalization is shown on (see Fig. 1) below.

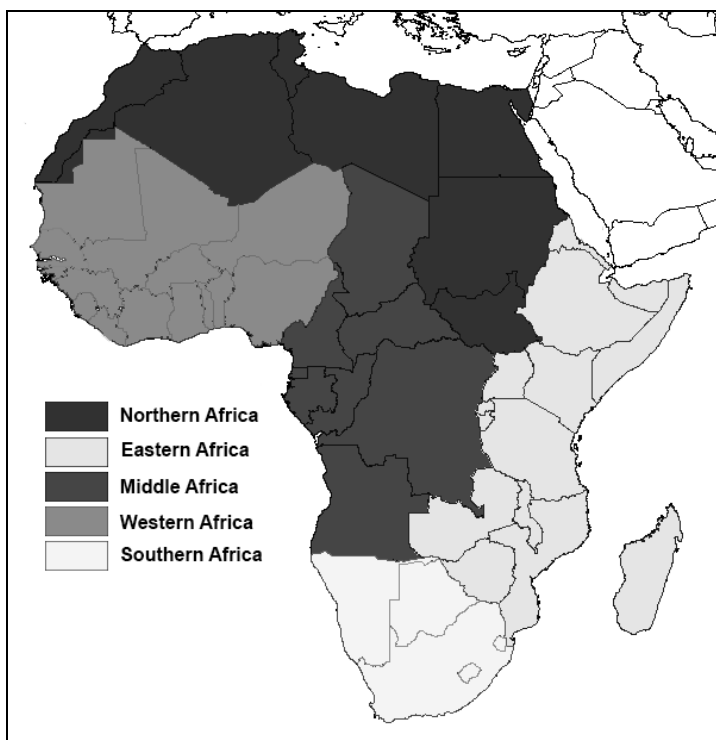


Fig. 1: Africa showing major sub-regions.

Other sub-regionalisations within and in-between the sub-regions exist. For example, Francophone West Africa comprising seven countries is shown on below (Fig. 2 and 3). Other political-economic sub-regions include the East African Economic Community, Central African Community, among others.

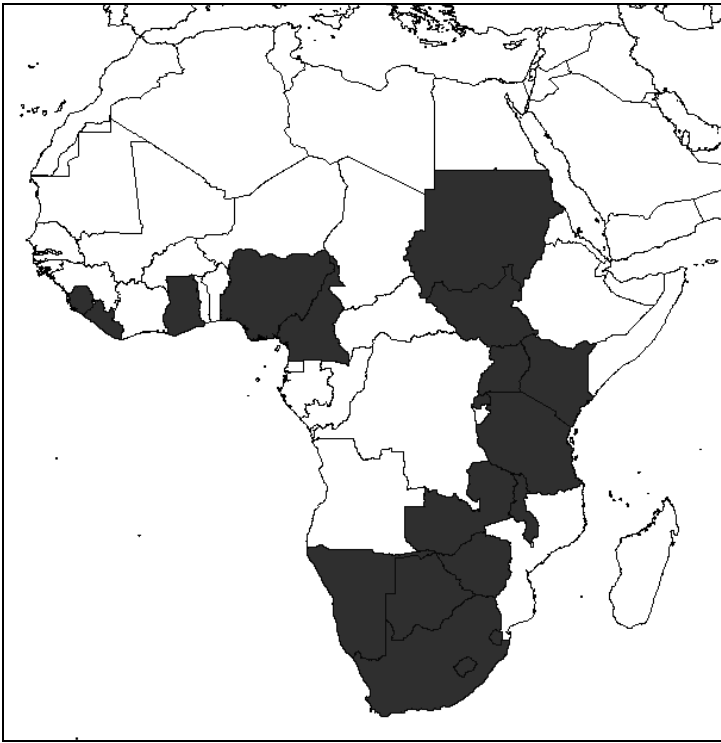


Fig. 2: Anglophone Africa-English-speaking countries.



Fig. 3: Francophone West Africa.

Whether one or another of the sub-regions described here is better suited for studying the variables of interest in this study is yet an undecided matter. However, there is need to cover all these sub-regionalisation classes (i.e. include all the criteria or bases used for creating them as a hypotheses of the influence on the performance on other variables. That is, after using political-economic regionalization for the preliminary studies, further studies would concentrate on colonial-linguistic history and regionalization arising there from, and so forth.

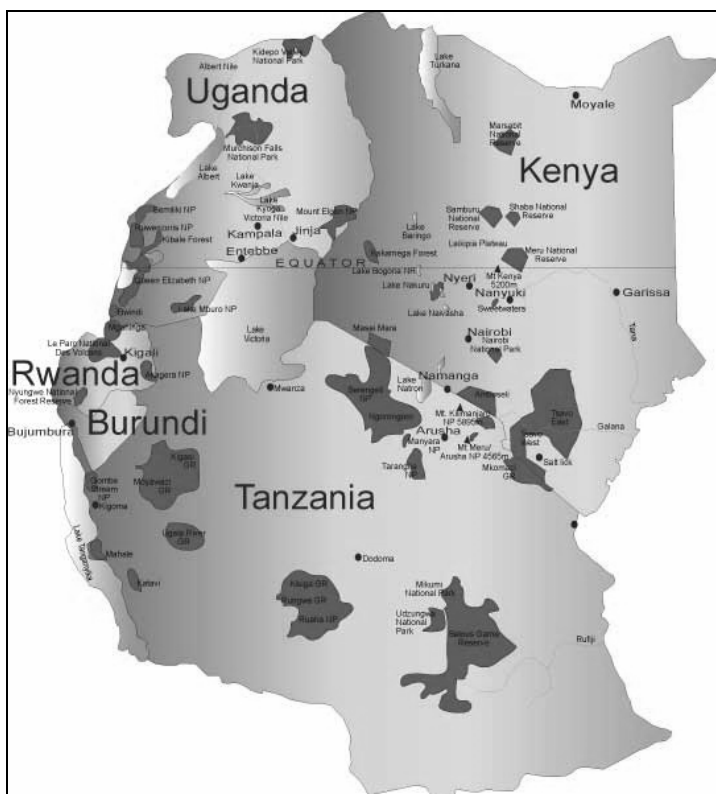


Fig. 4: East African Community.

A final decision might require establishing the strength of political bonding that has been going on between (among) the countries in the various unions. There is also the colonial influence at play within and beyond specific sub-regions. For example, in the ECOWAS zone, subtle differences exist among what is known as the Anglophone ECOWAS countries and their Francophone counterparts to the extent that the latter have extended their boundaries into Central and middle Africa-where several Francophone countries are located. Here, a question that might stand out in relief is: to what extent does colonial influence on urbanization outweigh or counteract the newer socio-political and economic organizations to make colonial influence a plausible factor in urbanization and related variables of these studies? Better understanding of the contribution of African urban centres to economic growth and gain from the latter would be achieved by answering the following questions: What are the sub-regional characteristics of urban environmental quality

and socio-economic conditions? What is the magnitude and nature of the urban environmental and socio-economic challenges as well as efforts made by the various political and economic organizations to address the challenges at sub-regional scales? Understanding (derived from information and knowledge on the existing sub-regional pattern) is necessary for strengthening policy at that spatial scale but also to support national level policy and programming that could be extended to sub-national government at state or provincial and local government levels.

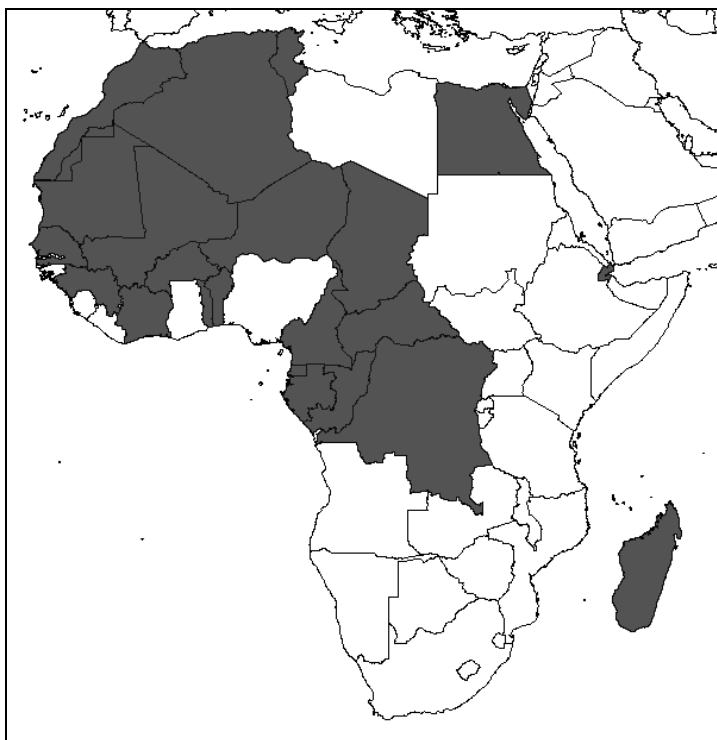


Fig. 5: Africa showing Francophone countries.

9. Conclusion

Reports of recent state of urbanization, urban environmental quality and socio-economic conditions in urban Africa have revealed phenomenal dynamics or changes. While these information and knowledge contribute valuable insights into the field of urbanization and socio-economic and environmental sustainable development, they indicate gaps in our current knowledge and understanding of the field. Related information on the sub-regional situation -or patterns- of the key variables (such as, urbanization rate, slumisation, socio-economic conditions, among others), promise to elucidate the field in ways that would strengthen sub-regional as well as national level policy-making that can be extended to sub-national scales. An agenda for so doing could apply some of the multiple theoretical perspectives and methods (most of which have recently been applied to related studies) indicated here. The spatial and temporal scales of addressing future scholarly investigation of these variables require expansion and calibration in order

to generate more of the required information and knowledge for supporting urban management in order to serve the purposes of socio-economic and environmental sustainability.

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URBANISATION, URBAN ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY, NATIONAL SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS AND DISEASES BURDEN IN AFRICA: AN AGENDA FOR ANALYZING SUB-REGIONAL CHARACTERISTICS

Summary

Having surpassed that of rural areas in 2008, the proportion of the world's population living in cities is projected to rise to 60% (8.2 billion) by 2030. This has provoked scholars of urban geography to seek for new knowledge on urbanization and sustainable development- especially in developing countries (including Africa) that are challenged by –and most vulnerable to –socio-economic and environmental adversities. This environmental and human settlement dynamic is viewed as not benign especially due to the high pressure that expanding cities are expected to exert on socio-economic-political systems as a result of the increasing demographic transition as well as urbanization globally but especially in Africa in the forthcoming 20 years. This urbanization trend is occurring coincidentally with increasing in momentum of the belief that cities stimulate, and gain from, economic growth. However, it has been demonstrated that this inter-relationship between urbanisation and economic growth is restricted to prepared cities i.e. it may not apply to regions experiencing the kind of urbanization characterized by disadvantages.

Unlike the global North's experience, Africa's rapid urbanisation has been dented by disadvantages (poverty, squalor, increasing slumisation -extensive emergence of urban sectors characterized by inadequacy of basic urban services such as: safe water, improved sanitation, among others). Research spanning recent 25 years (1980-2005) or thereabout reports sub-Saharan Africa (SSA)'s urbanization conditions reveals considerable changes. National populations increased –average: 93.8%/range: 90.5 percentage points, lowest and highest rates of change being: 40% (in Lesotho) and 130.5% (Niger), respectively). The proportion of national populations that lived in urban areas in SSA increased rapidly within ten years (1990-2000), from 28% of the total population in 1990 to 34% in 2000 – an increase of six percentage points. In nearly all sub-Saharan African (SSA) states, urban populations increased: by one per cent in Gambia, Lesotho, and Uganda to 14% in Mauritania: the range was 13% points.

Only Zambia experienced declining urban population (-4%) during that decade. Average slumisation of SSA was as high (73%) in 2001 (range: 96%) with lowest and highest proportions being 3% (Zimbabwe) and 99% (Chad and Ethiopia), respectively. The use of improved water and sanitation services in the region (SSA) was poor. Improved sanitation declined from 72% in 2000 to 55% in 2002: a decrease of 17 percentage points within three years! Nearly ubiquitously, individual countries experienced sudden declines in improved sanitation use. The decline was considerable (-69% points) in Guinea, while remaining constant (unchanged) in Congo, Equatorial Guinea and Ghana with rare improvements -in the following order of magnitude: by 44% in Rwanda -attributable to foreign aid following the genocide/ethnic cleansing of the 1990s; 20% in Mauritania, 12% in Benin, etc., while regional availability/use of improved water sources in 2002 was 80%; 32% (Somalia), 45% (Equatorial Guinea), and 100% (Botswana/Zimbabwe).

Disadvantaged urbanization of SSA, as impediments to economic growth warrant policy/decision making aimed towards improving urban management i.e. one designed to make African cities better facilitators of/gainers from economic growth hereafter. Research-derived information/knowledge on key urbanization variables at

disaggregated/sub-regional scales promise to increase visibility, comparability and understandability of the inter-sub-regional patterns of the key urban variables. Recent research emphasis on aggregate/regional characteristics of these urban variables provides scope for change because their disaggregated patterns/peculiarities are hidden by aggregation.

Disaggregating further research, in terms of re-calibrating spatio-temporal analytical units/scale aiming to elucidate on urban conditions of similar variables at Africa's variable sub-regions is important for generating required information/knowledge on urban development challenges. Historical factors deserving consideration in designing further research on this theme include: Africa's colonial rule within its insensitively fragmented units by European invaders from 19th Century to 1950s/1960s; creation of supranational (sub)regional organizations for facilitating socio-economic-political development following decolonization/political independence and democratization -transformation of military dictators into civil rulers. These histories underlie the spatial factors. With African Union, (AU) addressing regional-level challenges and sub-diving into Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), Southern African Development Community (SADC), East African Community (EAC), etc., at various sub-regional levels, multi-sectoral projects/programmes -similar/related to urban policy/management underway, could be investigated. As African Ministerial Conference on the Environment (AMCEN), an AU programme, bifurcates with urban management, so might be those of sub-regional organizations be determining urban management variation. Ditto for organisations sustaining cultural interests/linkages among former colonies of European invaders thereby created: Anglophone and Francophone African sub-regions, etc.

These sub-regional organizations and their developmental engagements underscore their significance/potency in clarifying inter-sub-regional urban development variation. Therefore, they present factors deserving incorporation into conceptualising/programming of further research on mapping these variables. Additionally, further studies on Africa's urban conditions require specification of variables reflecting urban environmental quality and socio-economic conditions – including disease burden –perhaps beyond Malaria affliction or sanitation/water-determined diseases, obtainable from local-national authorities of African countries indicating/elucidating influences of the sub-regional organisations on these variables. There is need to extend spatio-temporal scales beyond those of recent/previous research to investigate/understand urbanization, socio-economic and political conditions in Africa's sub-regions.

The enormous variation of Africa's sub-regional characteristics or diversity of the variables (socio-economic, political and environmental, health, etc.), provides scope for applying pluralism theory among multiple-methods appropriate for analysing these variables. Findings of various aspects/phases of the further research promise to support/strengthen urban management at Africa's (sub)regional levels.

GEO-ARCHAEOLOGICAL ENDOWMENTS AND THE TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN ERITREA

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Abstract

Geo-Archaeological endowments and the tourism development in Eritrea

Eritrea is one of the countries located in the horn of Africa. Geo-Archaeological sites of the country have been the main focus of the study area. This paper presents an overview of the research and includes a discussion of the tourism potential of Eritrea and potential benefits of Geo-Archaeological endowments in the development of its tourism industry. She is having diverse Geo-Archaeological endowments which are capable of attracting large number of tourists from all over the world. This country enjoys unique and exciting landmarks, such as breath-taking escarpments, mountains, depressions, open plains, plateaus, Sea with immense variety of marine life, islands, beautiful coastal lines etc. Furthermore, as Eritrea is situated in the region of the cradle of life, it owns rare archaeological and historical sites with unraveled cultural heritages. Though, Eritrea's tourism industry is currently rated as one of the lowest foreign exchange earners in the country, the potential of tourism industry to become a leading source of foreign exchange earnings in Eritrea has not been far realized. It is evident that the country's tourism potential has not been fully explored and marketed. Though several attempts have been made to enhance its rapid development, but these efforts have suffered some major drawbacks i.e. because the richness of the sites is not fully exploited to such an extent that it can revitalize the tourism sector and due to lack of a comprehensive spatial database of tourism facilities and destinations. In the present paper an attempt has been made to investigate the role of Geo-Archaeological Sites in the Development of Tourism with respect to tourism potentials in the country.

Key words

Geo-Archaeology, Eritrea, endowment, tourism

1. Introduction

Eritrea is located in the horn of Africa. It sprawls between 12° to 18° north and 36° to 44° east, is bounded by Red Sea in the northeast and east, by Djibouti in the southeast, by Sudan in the north and northwest and Ethiopia in the south. No doubt, Eritrea's tourism industry is a new sector but the Government is working on plan to develop it. Eritrea is a land of startling contrast from sweltering heat of the Denakil Depression to the cool but stark mountains of the highlands. Although Eritrea possesses tourist attractive natural landscapes, archaeological and historical sites, it gets little benefits from the tourism sector. Eritrea is believed to be the place of human origin and the place of strategic geographical rift valley which make it an attractive country of the world. This great fault zones witnessed an expansion of ancient human kind especially from the coastal areas of Eritrea. This has been supported by some archaeological findings in Denakil Depression in a place called Buya with one million years old human fossils (Buya Man) (Melake 2008,5-6).

Eritrea is a beautiful country with fascinating treasure of history comprises most of the Axumite Kingdom, which was one of the great four world powers of ancient time, where one can visit the evidence of ancient civilization. It is a wonderful land of nature and culture, a land that has a heritage that stretches back to the far distant days of human history. The legacy of Eritrean history, monasteries, ancient sites and monuments, dense archaeological sites, material culture of various type and rock art sites are reminders of glorious past that goes back to three millennium years. In addition to 40,000 archaeological sites, material culture of various type and rock art sites, Eritrea owns a divers natural features, cold atmospheric rugged mountain peaks of Emba Soira (3010 m), Forest of Semenawi Bahri (green belt), Denakil Depression (300 feet below sea level), big trees like Ficus-Vasta, off shores Islands, coral reefs and beaches along the coastal line which extends 1216 km.

The above mentioned Histo-Geo-Archaeological sites of this country have great potentials for the development of tourism industry. Tourism Industry in Eritrea has experienced great fluctuations during various periods. During the pre-Independence period especially in the Haillesilase regime, it had shown both quantitative and qualitative progress in terms of arrivals of tourists. However, this progress has declined with the coming of Derg-regime. All these attractions were undermined during the colonial period, especially during the Derg-regime. The few infrastructure that were in existence had been fully damaged. Consequently, the number of visitors reduced drastically. This was due to the devastating war and destructive policy of the regime. In post independence period particularly until 1998, tourism activity kept accelerating rate, but this dramatic growth was hindered by the Ethio-Eritrea border conflict.

2. Methodology

The present study is more akin to collection of primary and secondary data. The compiled data on different subjects have been tabulated. Synthesis, perusal and analysis of data have been carried out wherever it can explain the trend with the outcome of results and facts. Personal interviews were conducted with various authorities viz, concerned officials in the Ministry of Marine Industry (Shipping Line of Tourism Sector) and in the Ministry of Tourism, National Museum Asmara etc. Besides, questionnaires were designed to collect information on different geo-archaeological sites regarding tourism in Eritrea as a whole.

Secondary data pertaining to the present study was collected mainly from published documents of Ministry of Tourism and Civil Aviation Authority Service, Asmara, different journals, magazines, and pamphlets and off course also from browsing the Internet.

Descriptive method is used for data analysis. The obtained data sets were analyzed by percentage calculation. Equally, graphs and tables are presented in an appropriate manner.

3. The Study Area

In the present paper an attempt has been made to investigate the role of Geo-Archaeological endowments in the Development of Tourism with respect to tourism potentials in the country which covers an area of about 124,000 km², lies in the north of the equator and just north of the horn of Africa. It sprawls between 12° to 18° north and 36° to 44° east. Eritrea shapes like a hatchet and the handle of the hatchet is on the Red Sea in the east. It is bounded by Sudan in the north and north-west, by Ethiopia in the south, by Djibouti in the south east and by the Red Sea in the north east, Fig.1.

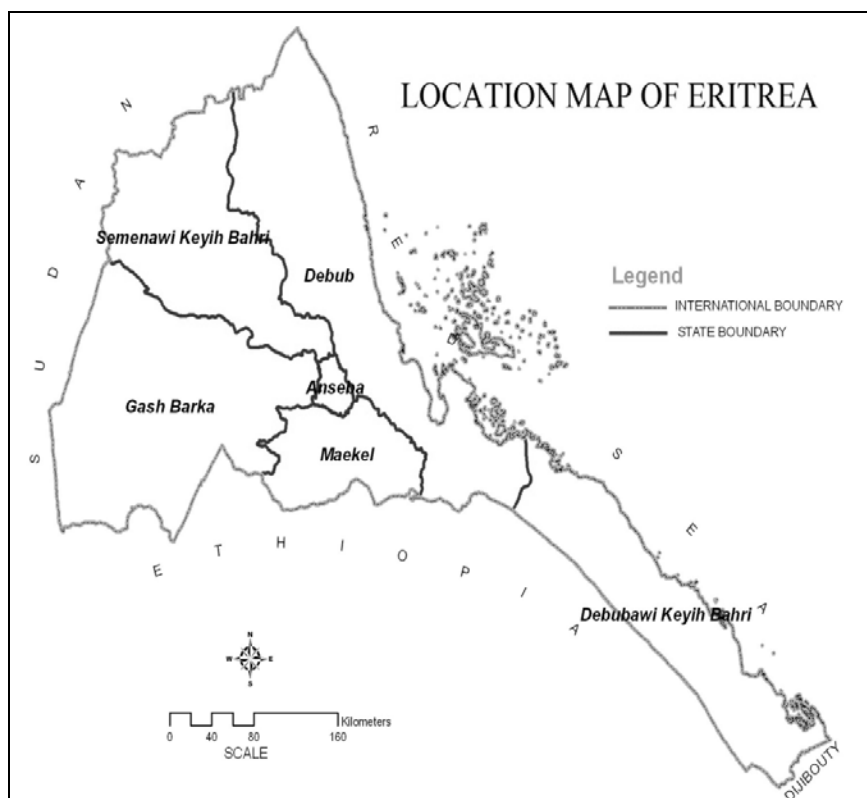


Fig. 1: Location map of Eritrea.
Source: Ministry of Tourism, Eritrea.

The country has coastline of about 1,200 km. with more than 350 islands. Eritrea is a land of fascinating contrast with its scenic and contrasting landscapes and one of the loveliest tropical coastlines in Africa. Eritrea has enormous potential as a tourist attraction. Massawa, 117 km from the capital city of Asmara is one of the main ports of Eritrea, known as the pearl of the Red Sea. Its Mediterranean ambience and settling and its peripheral environs make a perfect location for such tourist's related developments as yachts marinas, hotels and beach resorts. It will serve as springboard for the development of tourism in the Dahlak islands and along the coast, from west to east. In addition, Eritrea's topographical features provide the greatest climatic contrasts. Each of the geographical zones offers unparallel experience for the tourists. The claim that Eritrea offers "three seasons in two hours" is not an idle boast. In two hours the tourist can rise from the extremely hot pristine and unspoiled beaches of the coast to the moderate weather of the forests of plains and hills and the fertile fields of Eritrea. Above 2000 meters the tourists encounters the cool highlands which are pleasant at any time of the year (Britain Informaton sevices 1950; Mery and Leonardo 1995).

Tab.1: Number of international visitors by nationality (2004-2008).

Nationality	2004	2005	% change	2006	% change	2007	% change	2008	% change
Ethiopia	57	65	14.03	53	-18.46	70	32.07	38	-45.71
Sudan	3275	3090	-5.64	3550	14.88	3505	-1.26	3570	1.85
Eritrea (overseas)	61851	60935	-1.48	58938	-3.29	61904	5.03	55171	-10.87
Other Africa	1402	1150	-17.10	939	-18.34	640	-31.84	488	-23.75
Europe	7690	7260	-5.10	5951	-18.03	5374	-9.69	5151	-4.14
Middle East	4280	3605	-15.77	2803	-22.24	2108	-24.79	1884	-10.62
Asia	6295	5250	-16.60	4949	-5.74	4641	-6.22	2028	-56.30
America	2250	1660	-26.23	1474	-11.20	983	-33.31	858	-12.71
Australia	301	292	-2.99	221	-2.42	267	20.81	235	-11.98
Total	87401	83307	-4.68	78678	-55.72	79492	-1.03	69423	-12.66

Source: Ministry of Tourism, Asmara, Eritrea.

Tab. 2: International tourist arrivals by purpose of visit (2004-2008).

Purpose of visit	2004	2005	% change	2006	% change	2007	% change	2008	% change
Business	14340	13457	6.15	11557	14.11	9874	-14.56	7726	21.75
Tourism	63439	66550	4.90	64840	2.56	69804	7.65	62031	-11.13
Others	2350	2150	-8.51	2064	-4	825	-60.02	160	-80.60
Total	80129	82157	2.53	78461	-4.49	80503	2.60	69917	-1.14

Source: Ministry of Tourism, Asmara, Eritrea.

4. Geo-Archaeological endowments and the tourism development

Eritrea is abundantly rich in terms of geo-archaeological endowments, especially diverse physical features and potential tourism resources with great natural attractions. Geographical factors have significant role in the development of any country. Eritrea has a very attractive landscape which consists of different landforms and unique natural structures which have favorable climatic conditions for

settlements. These landforms range from 100 m below sea level in the Denakil depressions, to mountain peaks greater than 3000 m above sea level. The country has uncharted coastal line which stretches for more than 1216 km, with a variety of islands and untouched marine life and coastal beauty. Thus, geographical factors play important role in the development of tourism in Eritrea. Geographical factors might be divided into three broader categories i.e. landscape, Seascape and the coasts.

5. Tourism and landscape of Eritrea

The present landform of Eritrea is the product of all geological geomorphic processes. As the landscape of a country attracts large number of tourists from any corner of the world, the Eritrean landscape is not different. It has a significant role in the development of tourism in the country. The Eritrean landscape is further divided in to highlands, lowlands and escarpments.

The highlands of Eritrea stretch from north to south. They occupy the central part of the country, separating the western and eastern lowlands into two parts. These are the product of uplifting, rifting and basaltic flow created various features and shapes that one wonders in their natural creation. High land of Eritrea consists of plateaus, mountains and gentle western slopes. The highlands of Eritrea are situated at an elevation of higher than 1000 m above sea level. Eritrean highlands have an immense potential for tourist attraction. These highlands stretched over a large portion of the central part of the country. They are distinctively classified in to highlands and plateaus.

5.1 Highlands

Highlands are divided into Sahel highlands to the east and Halhal highlands to the west. Some of the highest peaks in this region are Hager-Neus (2770 m) and Aiget Tseada (2573 m). These highlands had served as a strong hold and sheltering area for the Eritrean liberation fighters. Thus, it can attract military experts to study the military significance of the area. Historians and domestic tourists can also be attracted to trace the historic events of the armed struggle which happened in these highlands.

Upper Anseba highlands extend from Aditekelezan and Zaghir in the south to the Keren zone in the north. These highlands have strategic and historic significance as decisive battles were fought between Italians and British. This battle altered the balance of power in the Second World War in Africa. And for these reasons, the historians and descendants of both sides can be eager to visit this place and this gives the area potentially huge impact on the development of tourism (Kubrom and Yonas 2010).

The eastern highlands extends from Dekemhare area in the north to the border in the south. These highlands are the most elevated of all physiographic regions in the country. The highest peaks of the country are found in this region such as Mt. Soira (3018 m) which is the highest peak in Eritrea. Education tourist interested in studying landforms can visit and study such sites with ease. Mountain climbers and hikers can be interested in the adventures of this region. This region also served as historic natural trade route.

5.2 Plateaus

Central plateau extends from Dekemhare-Teraemni road in the south to Aditekelezan-Zaghir in the north. Major rivers of Eritrea originate from this plateau. Emba-Tekera (2579 m) is the highest peak in this region. The central plateau occupies an important geographical location in the country. Major accommodation and communication facilities are relatively developed in this plateau. The suitable climatic condition is a component of attractiveness in this region. The outskirts of the region is covered with trees making it calm from windy conditions bringing the area a decent, undisrupted weather almost throughout the year. Asmara the capital city of Eritrea is located in this region. The city's tourism significance is widely notable. Thus, it acts as a major tourism attraction site (Efrem 2010; Kubrom and Yonas 2010).

5.3 Lowlands of Eritrea

In Eritrea the lowlands are found in the western and eastern parts of the country separated by the highlands, i.e. Western lowland and Eastern lowlands. The western lowland is not as significant as the Eastern lowlands.

5.4 Eastern lowlands

The Eastern lowland is low-lying strip of land along the Red Sea coast. It has an average elevation of less than 500m. They are nearly flat plains covered by sandy alluvium brought by flush floods and sheet wash from the escarpment. There are a series of alluvial fans. The hot desert-like sandy landscape lying in between the coastal area in the east and towering escarpment to the west has given the plain a unique and myth appearance for the tourists who are interested in viewing sand hills.

The Denakil Depression, one of the lowest and hottest points on the planet is located to the southern part of the Eastern escarpments. This Depression which is 100 meters below sea level with a temperature over 50° Centigrade is part of the Great Rift Valley, which runs through Eritrea. The vast salt plains, the volcanoes and other strange salt and mineral shapes make this place unique. It is very inhospitable climate and people interested to visit this place could only be with the academic reasons and tourists which are thrill seekers. Adventure Safaris focused on the unusual through harsh natural environment. The Denakil Depression has also a good amount and potential of generating geothermal energies. Thus, the energy researchers, study groups and companies may travel and survey the area, which in turn can facilitate business tourism in the region (Yohanns 2006). Some limitations though need to be addressed as the place has poor transportation and accommodation facilities which hinders the tourism and energy activities of the region.

5.5 Eritrean escarpments

The Eritrean escarpment is tectonic in origin caused by series of faulting and steep faulting. Later, it has been modified and roughened by strong erosion. The resulting dissected and rugged terrain has produced a spectacular and majestic landscape with breath-taking wilderness beauty. This Escarpment providing spectacular views from the highland plateau to the coastal plains has strong attraction to the visitors. Some parts of the escarpments have a historic significance as they served as natural guides for foreign travelers and invaders in the past. As the escarpments of Eritrea receive rainfall twice a year, they are almost evergreen throughout the year. Thus, the natural beauty and forestry has facilitated the area to be home for diverse

wild animals, birds and flora species. This amazing scenery is added to the presence of hot springs and varied temperature. Thus, this area could have a potential for outdoor activities such as bang jumping, parachuting and air gliding, satisfying the tourists with various appetite and taste. The scenic beauty and diverse fauna and flora beauty can also be a factor for further incentive for more tourist visitors. The escarpments of Eritrea are the most prolific landscapes of Eritrea which can be a driving force for the development of tourism in Eritrea as they have the components and materials for different types of tourism and travel activities. The main part of the escarpments which is dominantly acting as a tourism site is the Semenawi Bahri at the eastern part of the escarpments.

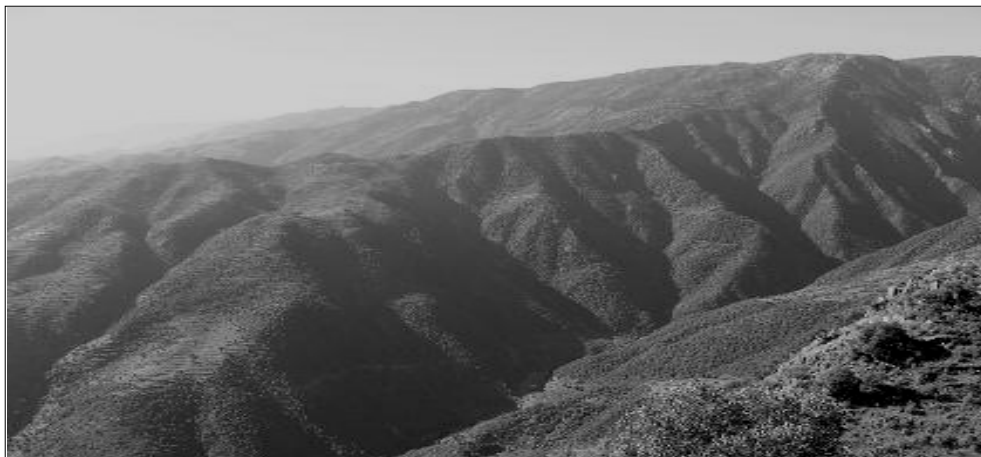


Fig. 2: The Semenawi Bahri (Eritrean Green Belt).

Semenawi Bahri is a region in the eastern escarpment which extends from Biet Giorghis through the slopes of Adi-Nefas and Sealezghi, Emba Seiat (Eastern side of Quazien). It has an abundance of bird life and numerous species of plants. Its scenery is stunning lying beautifully making the green belt one of the ideal places for tourism activities in Eritrea.

Among the major tourism attraction roads that Eritrea boasts of is the Filfil-Massawa road. This newly built road is an outstanding accomplishment among the various infrastructure projects undertaken by the government of Eritrea (Petros 2010; Hagos 2010; Kubrom and yonas 2010). What makes this road very important is that, it is a part of the Eritrean green belt region, which gets rainy season twice a year. For that reason the road is always green and the forestry is very thick. With such thick forestry that covers every square inch of the surroundings, one can imagine the variety of wildlife that uses the area as a heaven. All of these summed up with the unpolluted natural scenery while descending towards Massawa makes the road one of the must-visit places in Eritrea.

In Meg'o which is 43 km from Asmara, the view attracts and observes the wonders of Semenawi Bahri in every direction. Sabur which overlooks the lush forests of Filfil valley simply amazes tourists with large number of sought birds, which seem to be everywhere. Visitors cannot fail to experience the soothing sound of birds that bring peace and delight. Wildlife species like Leopard, bushbuck, Klipspringer, Greater Kudu, and a number of bird species have ascertained recently (Hagos 2010).

Just by the side of the road upon starting, the beautiful scenic perspective of forestry and mystic condition is a huge writing, which says, Take nothing but photos, and Leave nothing but footprints. Indeed, the place is so tempting that everyone would want something but of course would ruin the beauty and it would be so polluting to leave some waste behind. This region is designated as a Protected Area and will be developed into a National Park in the future.

6. Climatic pattern and its significance in tourism

Climate is one of the important geographical factors that determines and affects the activity of people. Climate has a major impact on the tourism sector of any country. Eritrea is a tropical country with significant physical diversity. It is characterized by highlands and lowlands. Thus, its climate is influenced by its tropical location and physical diversity. The most important factors which influence the climate of Eritrea are latitude and altitude. The mean annual temperature of the country ranges from less than 15°C in the highlands to about 40°C in the lowlands. There are places that experience extreme conditions of temperature, like the Denakil Depression, where the temperature condition is over 50°C. The extreme heat can affect the movement of tourists, but it can also attract a huge number of tourists who are thrill seekers. Because of the difference in altitude, different parts of the country experience variation in temperature. For example, Massawa which is located in the eastern lowland of the country with an altitude of 8 meters above sea level has a tropical climate (locally known as Kolla). The town of Ghindae which has an altitude of 962 meters above sea level experiences a sub-tropical climate (weinedega). The capital city of Asmara which is located in the highlands at an altitude of 2321 meters above sea level enjoys a temperate climate (dega). Thus, as one moves upward from Massawa through Ghindae to Asmara he/she can feel three different climatic conditions such as tropical, sub tropical and temperate climates within few hours. Because of this, the country can provide the visitors a chance to experience "Three seasons in Two hours", which cannot be found in other countries easily (Efrem 2010).

The Eritrean coast is a dry and arid area, with mild beauty that is appreciated by many people. The annual rainfall at Massawa is about 173 mm. The daily maximum temperature ranges between 29°C and 40°C and average humidity ranges between 54 per cent and 78 per cent.

There are no climatic records for the islands, but it is assumed that the temperature is higher and rainfall is lower. The lower rain fall in the coastal area and the small nature of the majority of the islands results in very limited and localized water supplies, which is of major consideration (Nielson 2008).

The mean annual temperature on the eastern slopes of the escarpment is 25°C. Along the Red Sea and on the offshore islands it rises to 31°C. At the Denakil Depression temperature ranges between 38°C to 50°C. The difference in temperature between the hot and the relatively cold season is about 5°C to 10°C. The mean daily duration of maximum possible sun light for the month of the year ranges between 11 hours a day in December to 13 hours in June; with daylight virtually constant throughout the year, seasonal changes in day light vary by only about an hour.

7. Sea-scape and coastal configuration

Eritrea, bestowed with more than 1216 km of mainland coastline and more than 350 islands and islets with an additional coastline of more than 1950 km. It is characterized by an array of highly distinguished marine and coastal ecosystems. These ecosystems incorporate a variety of habitats tourism industry; the sandy beaches and the colorful coral reef communities that attract tourists for snorkeling and diving.

At a national level, future tourism in Eritrea heavily relies on the coastal environment. The establishment of different tourism centers, hotels, resorts, ecotourism opportunities and related supporting facilities; diving centers, marinas and recreation centers pulls in the tourism activities towards the coastal environment.

Different from many coastal environments of the world, the pristine and unpolluted waters of Eritrea draw the attention of many beach and sea hobbyists. Accordingly, as one of the leading resources, the government is working conscientiously on developing and expanding coastal tourism, for it to play its role in building the national economy.

The Eritrean coastal configuration and seascape is immerse and diverse. The coastal line is bordered by deserted unspoiled and hot beaches. It also has natural bays and harbors which are a unique characteristics in the coastal lines of the Red sea. Marvelous landscapes which are formed by sand dunes, volcanic surfaces and salty features are distinctive features in the coastal line of Eritrea.

The Eritrean coastline has all the qualities of an idyllic holiday destination. In the north lies endless stretches of soft undulating sands, bounded by dramatic mountains and the Red sea. The historic south offers, natural harbors and volcanic islands bathed by limpid waters. All these are the forgotten paradise of Eritrea's coast line areas (MOT). The coastal line of Eritrea is largely dominated by the landscape, harbors and bays which are naturally formed.

7.1 Islands

There are about 350 islands in Eritrea. They vary in size from tiny islets of about 50 meters in length, to the giant island of Dahlak Kabir that is over 60 km long and 642 km² in area with eight inhabited villages in the islands. Most of the islands i.e. 78 per cent (276) are less than 1 km² in area and have little relevance except as supplement to the main possibilities for tourism. Another 63 islands are between one to ten km² in area and offer some possibilities for development. Fifteen of the islands have an area of over 10 km² while 59 per cent (209) of these islands lie in the well-known Dahlak Archipelago offshore from Massawa, the remaining lesser known islands (south along the coast as far as the southern border) should not be ignored especially when coastal infrastructure developed (Eritrea Horizons 2010,34).

More than 200 of Eritrea's islands belong to the Dahlak Archipelago which forms the natural gateway of Eritrea, guarding the approaches to the modern part of Massawa and the ancient one of Adulis, the larger island Dahlak Kabir, covering several Sq.Km is one of the most suited for development as a tourist resort. This is due to the fact that the island is endowed with natural and man- made attractions. Among these potential attractions include 365 cistern rocks which are well structured, the

500 hundred years old necropolis of gravestone carried with beautiful kufie script and an interesting people who were thought as descendants of Nigeria intermarried with local settlers in that area (Yohanns 2006).

So far as tourists are concerned, Dahlak islands are attractive to visit, even if the transport and accommodations are still in a rather initial stage. The diving and bird life are the major attractions.

According to Ministry of Tourism the islands open for tourists are: Dessie, Durehalla, Duri, Dehul, Noera, Harat and Dahlak Kebir. Besides, the above mentioned islands, there are 13 additional islands open for tourists. These are: Aderbara, Shuma, Ajuje, Dardes, Aukan, Hawatib, Esratu, Bulisar, Madat, Delef, Tore and Durgham. These islands have relatively calm waters, unpolluted and clear continental shelf and diverse marine life (Eritrea Horizons 2010,6-7 and 30-34).

The waters of the Eritrean coast are shallow and relatively safe for swimming. There are beaches on both the mainland coast and islands, very suitable for recreation and family retreat. Thus, beach resort and recreation can be developed easily. With its expensive coastline, numerous islands and relatively calm waters with steady winds in some areas, the shore and marine environment of the country offers significant potential for water based tourism. Tourists visit islands of Eritrea in small numbers. Fair share of international tourists arrives to the islands and are amazed with the attractions they offer. The most visited islands of Eritrea are stated in the Tab. 3.

Tab.3: Island visitors by year.

Island Name	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	Total
Dahlak	146	454	315	434	373	1722
Dessie	406	580	506	543	486	2521
Nakura	27	102	102	64	91	386
Asaraka	47	191	116	36	104	494
Shuma	94	240	134	89	116	673
Madot	0	465	373	458	461	1757

Source: MOT, Department of Statistics 2010.

8. Importance of Archaeological endowments in tourism

Eritrea is one of the countries having largest concentration of the archaeological heritage in Africa. The Geographical location and Geological formation of the nation attract the human being since Pleistocene period until recent. The site Buya, famous for the discovery of the Homo-Heidelberg located in the southern part of Eritrea comes under the east African rift valley (Melake 2008,5-6), the ancient port city of Adulis in the Gulf of Zula is a natural harbour dated back to the early Christian era, the historic city Qohaito in the southern plateau, the well planned city and stela of Metera, Deber'bizen monastery of the Christian monks, the colonial built heritage of Massawa and Asmara are the important attractive archaeo-tourism centre of the country which attracts people from different corners of the world. Each site has its own inherent uniqueness in the form of material culture and geographical location. The southern parts of the country possess more archaeological sites in comparison with the rest part of the country. If anyone can visit the major archaeological site he

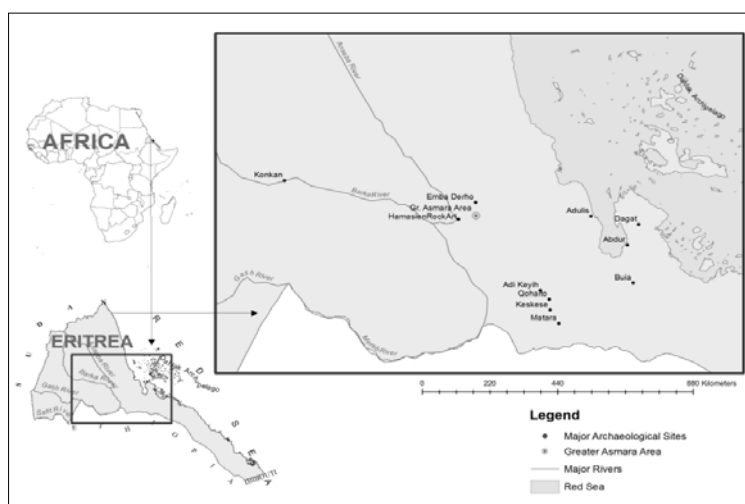
or she can easily understand the story of the rise and fall of civilization in this country from the prehistoric period to the early historic period as well as the phases of incipient urbanism through successive growth, culmination, decline, transformation to complete de-urbanization (Fattovich 1988,85;1997,484-489; Shillington 1995).

This paper throws light on the geo-archaeological potentiality of Eritrea on tourism. In this study we have discussed the geo-archaeological condition of the country from the time of prehistoric period to the historic period.

The fossil remains revealed from the Buya now kept in the National museum of Eritrea became most attractive tourist point for the inbound as well as out bound tourist. Many people, particularly the researcher of different country made Buya as the tourist destination. The site not only attracts people for its potential for research in the human evolution but also the land escarpment itself is more charming for adventurous tourism (Lalmba 2010).

The rock art shelter of the southern part of the country gives first hand information about the environment of the region from the prehistoric time to the historic period. The depiction of hump less and humped cattle, camels, donkey etc. in the rock art shelter panels associated with human figurine and other abstract motifs itself gives a message about the socio-economic life of the region in general and pastoralism in particular (Clark 1954; Brandt and Carder 1987,194-213; Schmidt and Curtis 2008, 49-61; Smith 1992). The important sites of the southern region are the rock art shelters of Qohaito, Hesmele, Hawatsu, Dera' Hawatsu etc. The landscapes of these sites are praise worthy for their beauty and are the place of tourism.

Fig. 3: Eritrea: Location of major archeological site.



The Sembel archeological site located in the southern outskirts of the city is easily accessible by arteries of roads and this can be taken as an incentive for the prospective archeological visitors. Apart from the aforementioned site, there are also sites in and around Asmara including Maitemenai, Embaderho, Tsada kiristian and Maichehot. In the excavation at Sembel within the greater Asmara area yielded

rich archaeological material culture dated to approximately 500 BC or much earlier by the archaeologist (Anfray 1967; Schmidt and Curtis 2001,849-59; 2008,110-126). These sites are now became the interested tourist destination in Asmara. All the major sites of archaeological importance are located in Fig.3.

8.1 Qohaito

Qohaito site is located in (Lat. 14° 51'58"N to Long. 39°25'27"E; MSL 2615 m) 15 km east of Adi-Keih and 120 km south of Asmara. Today the plateau is inhabited by Saho ethnic group of Cushitic speaking community. According to the Saho ethnic group 'Qohaito' means 'rock', due to the rocky environment of the place. Qohaito is important for its highly elevated mountain (second highest plateau in the region), and enchanting windy climate and scenic beauty and strategic location. It has played a crucial role in the 30 years of Eritrean struggle for independence. In addition to that it is the center of trade and communication during Axumite civilization. The plateau area is of 17 km long from south to north and 4 km from wide east to west, and preserves hundreds of archaeological sites, out of them 11 are of rock art site, which found surrounding the plateau. Between 700 B.C and 700 A.D Qohaito site grow dramatically, but some researchers said its civilization extended before the ancient Metera site. So, further research and excavation required to identify whether Qohaito is older than Metera or not. Generally, Qohaito has feasible for understanding ancient complex society in the northern Horn of Africa based on the survey conducted by German archaeological mission to Eritrea and Adi-Keih archaeological survey project.



Fig. 4: Qohaito Structural Remains.

In this ancient city, structures are found standing in columns of monumental arrangements possibly temples. Among Qohaito's most important ruins is the so called temple of "Mariam Wokiro" that was built on a rectangular plain on a solid platform and may have been the site of a very early Christian church. Near the Mariam Wokiro temple lies a tomb discovered in 1894 by Germans, nicknamed "Mekaber Ghibtse" or the Egyptian tomb. The distinctive features of this tomb are the two quatrefoil (flower shaped) crosses curved on the inside wall. There also

exists a dam dating back to first century A.D and it is still in operation for the local Saho people around. This dam goes by the name Safira dam. It is 67 m long and 60 m deep. The longevity of the dam is credited to the masonry skill of its builders. On one of those walls of the dam, there exists an intricate Geez inscription which consist 79 words. It is also assumed to be the longest inscription yet found in geez. The site is unique in nature, as they spread over a large area of land with diversified historical remnant and a place for heritage as well as eco-tourism (Schmidt and Curtis 2008,287-300 and 359, 367, 370, 376).

8.2 Belew-Kelew / Metera

This site is situated 20 km south of Qohaito, and south east of the town Senafe is a most important historical site. The site is known as Metera or Belew Kelew. It is famous for its well town planning and the tall stele of 3rd century AD. The material culture of the site dated back to the 5th century BC. The ruined of the site is spreads over an area of about 20 hectares (Anfray 1967,7;33-88).

One of Metera's most important features is its enigmatic stele. Unique in Eritrea, the stele is known for its pagan, pre-Christian symbol of a south Arabian divinity, a disc over a crescent. Standing 5m tall, the stele has an inscription near the middle in Geez. An unknown king dedicated the stele to his ancestors who had subjugated the 'mighty people of Awanjalon, Tsebelan'.

One of the more remarkable things in Metera is its architectural richness and material culture of indigenous as well as foreign. It has been identified by the historian Kobishchanov as the ancient city of Koleo, which currently seem to be more acceptable theory that the one put forward in the 1890s by Bent, that Koleo was Qohaito. Metera with all its mystery could be a wonderland for local as well as the outsiders for its archaeological heritage (Schmidt and Curtis 2008, 311-20).



Fig. 5: Auksumite Stela at

Metera.

8.3 Adulis

Adulis is laying 59km to the south of modern port city Massawa, near the village of Foro, sub-zone of Zula, once numbering among the greatest ports of the ancient world. Adulis is mentioned in the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea, over two millennia ago, was an important port through which much trade with the African hinterland took place. As the Roman Empire declined, Adulis assumed a great significance as the primary trading port of the Axumite Empire, which reached its height between 4th and 7th century AD. It was an important port of the Abyssinian Empire. Adulis is connected to the Axum region of Ethiopia via Qohaito, Metera. A highly complicated path through the mountains leads the way to Axum (Peacock and Blue 2007, 1-7; Schmidt and Curtis 2008, 301-309). The basaltic constructions that have been unearthed from the sandy soils are the chief focus of the site. Adulis is considered as a major tourist attraction in the region. Nonetheless, Adulis and its vicinity, especially Zula are the historical sites that are attracting a number of tourists comparing with other historical sites in the country. It is hoped that Adulis will eventually be declared a UNESCO World Heritage Site.

The number of tourists that visited the three major tourist sites is increasing steadily after 2009. The data shows the increasing trend of visits by tourists to these sites. The reason could be allowing access to these sites after the border conflict, rehabilitation of the transportation facilities to the sites and growing stability and security of the country (Tab. 4).

Tab. 4: International tourist arrivals to major Archaeological sites in 2009.

Sites visited	Adulis	Qohaito	Metera & Keskesse
Number of visitors	96	100	199
Number of visitors in first quarter of 2010	37	41	63
Total	133	141	262

Source: MOT, Department of statistics 2010.

9. Religious monasteries

There are numerous Christian religious monasteries in Eritrea. These places attract thousands of local and also outsiders for religious purpose every year. The ancient monastery of Debere- Bizen is one of them. Debre Bizen Monastery was founded by monk Abune Philipos, who is rumored to have said that he would "rather stare into the face of a lion than into a woman's eyes." It is for this reason that you will find a sign at the foot of the rocky path that reads "No Females beyond This PointOf Any Species" and the monks don't always treat visitors with smiling face. This monastery is visited by thousands of local Christians on the 14th of August each year. This place is found 2500 foot vertical ascent from a small town of Nefasit, halfway between the capital city and Massawa. Debre Bizen's library is famous for its over 1000 illustrated manuscripts; its 500 years old library holds a number of manuscripts, some written as early as the 1200s. The monks have had to defend it with their lives, so they have reason to fear unknown visitors. Only male visitors are allowed to the monastery. Besides this monastery the other monastery of the country are of Debre-Libanos, Debre-Dehuan, Debre-Menkerios and Debre-Sina which attract tourists from different corners of the world (Eritrea Horizons 2006, 2007, 2010; Mery and Leonardo 1995, 34).

Tab. 5: International tourist visitors to major Monasteries.

Monastery	2007	2008	2009
Debre Sina	114	127	153
Debre Bizen	66	94	105
Debre Libanos	3	7	16

Source: Ministry of Tourism, 2010.

The above mentioned monasteries apart from being religious places, could also serve as important tourist sites (Petros 2010).

10. Colonial heritage: Asmara art deco and unique monuments

Asmara was essentially built between 1935 and 1941 when Eritrea's Italian colonizers used the city as a blank canvas to design and build their own urban utopia in East Africa. Although the Italians occupied the region they called Eritrea (after an ancient Greek word meaning red) in 1889, a massive influx of Italians in the colony's capital after 1935 necessitated development on an unprecedented scale. In just six years, the population grew from 4000 to 45,000. Asmara was transformed into the most modern city in Africa. Apart from its mild climate, its long history and beautiful colonial buildings make Asmara a very important tourist center in Africa. The Harenat Avenue and also the Sematat Avenue which lie at the heart of the city are majorly consisted by such type of buildings. The Liberation Avenue is well known for its partying culture. The Liberation Avenue of Asmara houses many important buildings.

Al Khulafa Al Rashiudin Mosque is one of the major tourist attractions and religious places in the city of Asmara. The Al Khulafa Al Rashiudin Mosque is located in the Peace Street of Asmara in the close proximity of the much coveted markets. The palatial mosque was built some sixty-nine years ago in the year 1938. The building structure is majestic and most of the daily visitors are worshipers, there are also a large number of tourists (Petros 2010).

Asmara has been settling fast and the tourism industry is earning handsome revenue. There are ample tourist attractions in Asmara of which, the Synagogue of Asmara is one. Nda' Mariam Orthodox Church is also located within the city. The Nda' Mariam Orthodox Church is also called as, the QdistMariam Church, St. Mary's Cathedral at Asmara or the Cathedrale Ortodossa di Nda Mariam. This beautiful Orthodox Church is located in the center of the city and its architecture is such that the four corners of this edifice point to the four directions of the city. Though a Christian religious place, it also comprises a major tourist interest in Eritrea.

In 1922, the Cathedral of Asmara was built. The architecture of the cathedral resembles Lombard-Romanesque style of architecture. Cathedral of Asmara is an important Eritrean attraction. The main attraction of this cathedral is the bell tower constructed in the Gothic style. One can go up this 52-meter tall bell tower by the steep stairs to get a magnificent view of the city. The melodious sound of the bell chimes can be heard from distant parts of the city (Mery and Leonardo 1995; Eritrea Horizons 2010, 25).

As Asmara is considered as the uniquely built city of Africa, with marvelous buildings and architectural designs, it is obvious that the city itself is a huge attraction site for

different tourists and visitors. Tourists who visited the city always vie to come again. The city's moderate climate, wonderful citizens, architectural settings are some of the preferences of most tourists which the city can easily offer. These major attributes are the richness of the city, and thus, they should be properly managed and preserved as they could attract all sorts of tourists and generate huge amount of economic advantages to its people and the country.

10.1 Massawa

Massawa is a beautiful port city with vast history. Because of its strategic location, Massawa has attracted foreign powers since early 16th century. The building styles represent the culture and history of the people. Most of the buildings in Massawa are of Italian style, Arabian style, the influence of Turks and Egyptians style. These styles of buildings are one of a kind, so they have lot of admirers from domestic as well as from abroad. These buildings are major tourist destinations in support to the attractive coastal area (Eritrea Horizons 2010, 6-7).

11. Steam locomotive and tourism

This site is one of the rarest yet valuable tourist sites in Africa if not in the world. The construction of the Eritrean Railways was commenced in 1887 and was finalized 41 years after under the supervision of an Italian engineer Mr. Emilio Oliver. The total length of the railway from the port city Massawa to Akordat via Asmara and Keren was 306.4kms. Its route ascends from Sea level -Massawa- to an altitude of 2394 meters in Asmara and descends to an altitude of 606 meters in Akordat (Eritrea Horizons 2010, 27; Tekleyos 2010).

These sharp fluctuations in altitude within a short distance coupled with the beautiful scenery make the journey so captivating. "This [The Eritrean Railway] is one of the most spectacular rail lines in the world, and climbs almost 2400 meters in only just over 100 kilometers amidst breathtaking mountainous scenery," wrote worldsteam.com, a website dedicated to steam engine enthusiasts.

Tab 6: Steam Engine Train Travelers in 2009.

Train	Foreigners	Eritreans
Steam engine	717	5448
Lotorina	122	28

Source: MOT department of statistics.

12. Monuments and national museum

Museums introduce tourists to the history, culture and environment of the country and are educational for residents, especially students and young people. Museums in Eritrea though few in number are fully organized so that tourists can get an excellent idea about the historical background and the long lost cultural heritage. Asmara, the capital city houses only one museum of Eritrea, the Asmara National Museum. This museum was originally housed in the present day state Palace in Asmara (Lalmba 2010).

The Asmara National Museum is located opposite to the Selam hotel of Asmara. The main artifacts on display are the findings from different parts of Eritrea. There are a large number of scrolls in Geez, which were made from Sabean material. Tourists

can also check out the rich collection of the remains from the Adulis region. Adulis is a port dating back to ancient times, The Adulis findings belong to the era between first century AD and 7th century AD. The port was used by the Axumite people. There is also a famous old skull which is dated as one million years that was found in Buya region.

Tab. 6: Tourist visitors of national museum in Asmara.

Months	2007		2008	
	Domestic	Foreigners	Domestic	Foreigners
January	145	19	192	22
February	105	22	225	24
March	295	13	328	10
April	205	15	219	21
May	350	18	463	15
June	145	12	130	8
July	101	9	86	18
August	180	20	126	39
September	150	11	195	6
October	299	23	155	5
November	149	7	96	0
December	175	26	133	4
Total	2299	195	2348	172

Source: National Museum of Eritrea, 2010.

13. Conclusion and Recommendations

Eritrea is a beautiful country with fascinating treasure of history comprises most of the Axumite Kingdom, which was one of the great four world powers of ancient time, where one can visit the evidence of ancient civilization. It is a wonderful land of nature and culture, a land that has a heritage that stretches back to the far distant days of human history. The legacy of Eritrean history, monasteries, ancient sites and monuments, dense archaeological sites, material culture of various type and rock art sites are reminders of glorious past that goes back to three millennium years. In addition to 40000 archaeological sites, material culture of various type and rock art sites, Eritrea owns a divers natural features, cold atmospheric rugged mountain peaks of Emba Soira (3010 m), Forest of Semenawi Bahri (green belt), Denakil Depression (300 feet below sea level), big trees like Ficus-Vasta, off shore Islands, coral reefs and beaches along the coastal line which extends 1216 km.

Although Eritrea possesses tourist attractive natural landscapes, Geo-Archaeological and historical sites, it gets little benefits from the tourism sector. Eritrea is believed to be the place of human origin and the place of strategic geographical rift valley which make it an attractive country of the world. This great fault zones witnessed an expansion of ancient human kind especially from the coastal areas of Eritrea. This has been supported by some archaeological findings in Denakil Depression in a place called Buya with one million years old human fossils (Buya Man).

It possesses breath taking landscape sceneries incorporating escarpment, mountains, depressions and extensive plains. Geo-archeological sites seeing can be the major tourist activities in the escarpments. Bang jumping and air gliding are

also a prospective for thrill seeking visitors to these areas. As these places are endowed with hot springs, health tourism and leisure tourism can also be carried out in these places. The climatic condition is also another factor which changes abruptly in just two hours from Asmara to Massawa, where one can experience three seasons in two hours. Eritrea possess clean and unpolluted climate favorable for the prospective visitors. Eritrea also has a landscape ranging from three thousand meters above the sea level in Mount Soira to below hundred meters in Denakil depression. The different landforms, unique structures, changing environment and attractive sceneries are some of the attributes that the country possesses. The above mentioned Histo-Geo-Archaeological sites of this country have great potentials for the development of tourism industry.

In addition to these, as the country is close to the Middle East and Europe, it has an advantage over other far off countries regarding tourist preferences. Thus, Eritrea being a young nation has all the incentives for the tourism industry to develop easily. The country has all the potentials to develop as a tourist nation in the near future. But having said the aforementioned points, there are also draw backs and constraints in the development of tourism in Eritrea which needs mentioning.

The tourist attraction sites are still not been fully exploited to such an extent that it would rejuvenate the tourism sector and the reasons are multidimensional.

- The devastating war for independence has greatly crippled the road networks, communication services and social services.
- The more recent border conflict with Ethiopia and political stalemate that followed has diverted the human power and capital to the war effort. This also has aggravated the economic condition of the local people hence lowering the frequency of the local people visiting the sites leading to lower income for preserving and developing the sites.
- The confrontation with Yemen regarding the disputing islands of Hanish has also affected and imprinted a negative mark in the coastal tourism of the country.
- The transportation and accommodation sectors are not well developed to facilitate the movement and expectations of visitors and tourists especially out-side the capital city.
- There is lack of properly trained labor force. Even though, there are efforts made to increase the human resources of the tourism sector, they are either inadequate or not properly managed.
- There is lack of cooperation and coordination among different sectors of the government in general and departments of the tourism sector in particular.
- The public awareness about travel and tourism within Eritrea is very low. There are efforts made by the promotion department and Ministry of information to acquaint citizens and visitors, but these efforts are minimal.

In order to develop tourism in any part of the world, there should be proper planning and management of the sector (Ray 1998). Therefore, for the development of the tourism industry in Eritrea, the above mentioned limitations and constraints needs to be addressed properly. Thus, the following recommendations and suggestions are advisable.

13.1 Recommendations:

- As per the information we gathered from various sectors, there is lack of coordination and cooperation among various sectors of government in general

and the tourism sector in particular. Hence some kind of mechanisms to alleviate this poor level of interaction should be implemented. The different sectors of government and tourism sector should have a common network of understanding and guidelines in working to improve the tourism industry.

- There are lacks of properly deployed skilled man power, tour operators and travel agents who are incapable of promoting the attraction sites and accommodations as per the expectation. Therefore, the tour operators and travel agents should be encouraged by government to execute their full potential in order to promote tourism development in the country. Furthermore, the tour operators, managers and CEO should promote professionalism among their subordinate to cultivate and nurture the facilitation and speedy tourism activities. Frequent lectures, seminars and other measures to increase the awareness of the public and other service sectors like tour guides, dive-boat operators, hotel managers, car-hire operators and other bodies should also be conducted.
- As much as possible, some governmental intervention in subsidizing the cost of transportation, accommodations and other related services should be executed in promoting domestic tourism.
- There should be a proper budget and investment provided and allotted in preserving and collecting historical/archeological sites and components by the National Museum and other concerned bodies. The rehabilitation and conservation programs of the architectural sites should also grow in a higher intensity as they encourage city tour circuits and architectural studies.
- The State of Eritrea, particularly the National Museum of Eritrea should work for the inclusion of many archeological sites of Eritrea in the world heritage sites for the advantages of financial helps and political boost.
- Well managed and documented information related to site seeing should be dispensed by tour operators and major hotels in the form of brochures. Furthermore, general information on how to get permission paper and other legalities that goes with it should be clearly provided.
- Since the Eritrean Red Sea is endowed with a number and varieties of fishes and coral reefs which are not found anywhere else on this planet, Eritrea has to develop deep Sea diving, scuba diving and snorkeling industries along the coastal area. Beach resorts and swimming activities should also be encouraged to develop as they are part of coastal tourism. Therefore, this gives the country huge potential on coast and underwater tourism.
- Since clean and protected environment is required for tourism sustainability "Take nothing but pictures leave nothing but foot prints" should be the guiding principle (Bhatia 1995).
- Finally, suggestion has been forwarded for further research to strengthen the findings of the study pertaining to the Geo-Archaeological endowments and the tourism development in Eritrea.

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GEO-ARCHAEOLOGICAL ENDOWMENTS AND THE TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN ERITREA

Summary

Eritrea is endowed with numerous tourist attracting sites ranging from various natural sites to historical sites and cultural heritages. It possesses breath taking landscape sceneries incorporating escarpment, mountains, depressions and extensive plains. Geo-archeological sites seeing can be the major tourist activities in the escarpments. Bang jumping and air gliding are also a prospective for thrill seeking visitors to these areas. As these places are endowed with hot springs, health tourism and leisure tourism can also be carried out in these places. The climatic condition is also another favorable factor which changes abruptly in just two hours from Asmara to Massawa, where one can experience three seasons in two hours. The different landforms, unique structures, changing environment and attractive sceneries are some of the attributes that the country possesses.

The people of Eritrea are peace loving and welcoming to any outsider. Though, Eritrea does not have a well-developed infrastructure. But the security and safety of visitors and tourists is the major advantage the country has over other nations. The government of Eritrea, alongside its ministries and regional administrations, is trying to improve the transportation and accommodation facilities all over the country. The Massawa-Assab road has been constructed to improve the transport network between the two ports. It is built side by side to the coast in consideration of it becoming a major tourist attraction site. The newly tarred Filfil-Solomuna road is also acting as a network for improving the tourism activity in the green belt. Other road networks also have the potential to be corridors for the beautiful tourist sites of the country. The accommodation/service sector is gradually developing. As the country has well established facilities which the Italians built, there is a good infrastructure of service sector especially in the capital city (Asmara) in which the development efforts are well placed to go forward. The accommodating nature of the people can be another factor for such development. As the country is close to the Middle East and Europe, it has an advantage over other far off countries regarding tourist preferences. Thus, Eritrea being a young nation has all the incentives for the tourism industry to develop easily. The country has all the potentials to develop as a tourist nation in the near future.

Eritrea has a strategic location, the geo-archeological and historical sites of the country engrave the history of many generations from Europe, Asia and Africa which are waiting to be explored and discovered. These sites can be a major attraction sites for historians and academicians, as they are imprinted with huge heritage potentials. They can also be used for tourists interested in site seeing activities. Above all, they are the identity of Eritrean history and culture and thus if properly managed and presented, a large number of domestic tourists can be interested in visiting them.

DELITEV IN UPRAVNO-TERITORIALNA ORGANIZIRANOST SLOVENSKEGA OZEMLJA NA RAVNI NUTS 3

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Izvleček

Delitev in upravno-teritorialna organiziranost slovenskega ozemlja na ravni NUTS 3

Prispevek obravnava upravno-politično delitev slovenskega ozemlja od nastanka dežel do danes v luči geopolitičnih razmer. Ob vstopu Slovenije v Evropsko unijo (EU) 1. 5. 2004 so se zahteve glede upravno-politične delitve spremenile, saj EU zahteva poenotenje regij NUTS. Ker to vprašanje še do danes ni urejeno v zadovoljivi meri, prispevek podaja nov pogled na oblikovanje regij NUTS 3.

Ključne besede

politična geografija, upravna delitev, regije NUTS, Slovenija

Abstract

Division and administrative-territorial organization of the Slovenian territory at NUTS level 3

This article deals with the administrative-political division of the Slovenian territory from the formation of provinces to this time in the light of the previous geopolitical situation. When Slovenia joined the European Union (EU) on 1st of May 2004, the requirements for administrative and political division changed, since EU requires unification of the NUTS regions. Since this issue has not been satisfactorily regulated up until now, this article provides a new perspective on the creation of NUTS 3 regions.

Key words

Political geography, administrative division, NUTS regions, Slovenia

1. Uvod

V času gospodarske, finančne in moralne krize je projekt ustanavljanja slovenskih pokrajin skorajda pozabljen, čeprav je to ena izmed zahtev Evropske zveze (EU), katere člani smo že 8 let. Poleg tega naš način upravne organiziranosti kaže tudi na določeno stopnjo unitarne državne ureditve. Ta termin predpostavlja, »/.../ da obstaja v državi visoka stopnja notranje homogenosti in enotnosti /.../« (Bufon 2001, 138), kar ne velja za večino držav sveta. Vsaka država ima zato bolj ali manj federalno ureditev, ki temelji »/.../ na dogovoru med različnimi bolj ali manj avtonomnimi politično-teritorialnimi subjekti /.../« (Bufon 2001, 138). Na tem mestu naj še pojasnimo, da je termin pokrajina uporabljen izključno zaradi poenotenja vladne terminologije in da ni sinonim pokrajine v geografskem pomenu besede. V prispevku bomo na kratko opredelili morebitne vzroke, zakaj v Sloveniji še ni pokrajin NUTS 3, in prikazali nov model pokrajin, ki smo jih oblikovali na bolj tradicionalnih kazalcih.

2. Kratek pregled upravno-teritorialne organiziranosti slovenskega ozemlja

Slovensko ozemlje se je v upravno-teritorialnem smislu skozi zgodovino zelo spreminjalo. O členitvi ozemlja, ki je bila zametek kasnejših upravnih delitev, lahko govorimo že v času fevdalizma (predvsem v 11. in 13. stol.), ko so bile določene že prve meje med zemljiškimi gospodstvi. V obdobju poznega srednjega veka se na slovenskem oblikujejo dežele: Štajerska, Koroška, Kranjska, Goriška in Trst. Vse do razpada Avstro-Ogrske (A-O) smo Slovenci živeli v kronskih deželah A-O, katerih razdelitev se je odražala tudi v prostoru. Meja med posameznimi kronskimi deželami je bila obeležena z mejnimi kamni, ki so še danes opazni v prostoru. Ob ustanovitvi države Slovencev, Hrvatov in Srbov (SHS) je bila vsa oblast prenesena na Narodno vlado SHS, ki je predstavljala dejanskega nosilca in uresničevalca državne oblasti, zato že lahko govorimo o prvi državni samostojnosti Slovencev. Slovensko ozemlje se je upravno-politično zelo skrčilo, saj smo takrat izgubili Primorsko in Koroško. Čermelj (1965, 11) navaja, da je Italiji tako pripadlo 291.697 ha in 260.749 prebivalcev po zadnjem avstrijskem štetju, Italija je dobila še Trst z okolico z 9589 ha in 229.510 prebivalci, Istro (brez dela občine Kastav in otoka Krk) s 443.693 ha in 371.470 prebivalci ter politični okraj Postojna, sodni okraj Idrija ter manjše dele občin Grčarevec, Planina in Logatec, skupaj 127.350 ha in 57.325 prebivalcev. Od slovenskega narodnostnega ozemlja se je Italiji s Saintgermainsko mirovno pogodbo priključila Kanalska dolina ter občine Bela Peč in del občine Rateče. Čermelj (1965, 11) navaja, da smo s tem dodatno izgubili 3643 ha in 8992 prebivalcev. Po vidovdanski ustavi leta 1921 je bilo slovensko ozemlje razdeljeno na ljubljansko in mariborsko oblast, ki sta bili razdeljeni na sreze in občine. Takšna delitev vsekakor ni pripomogla k združenosti že v stari Avstriji razklanega naroda. V Kraljevini Jugoslaviji se je ozemlje delilo na banovine, sreze (okraje) in občine. S spremembo imena države je bila zabrisana nacionalnost, kar je umirilo nacionalna trenja v državi, ravno tako pa je nacionalnost zabrisala delitev na banovine, saj so bile slednje poimenovane po rekah. Slovensko je bila edina banovina v Jugoslaviji, ki je notranje zaokroževala tudi nacionalno ozemlje v Kraljevini Jugoslaviji. Dravska banovina je bil najmanjša, merila je 15.849 km² in predstavljala 6,40 % celotnega ozemlja. Poleg tega je bilo po novi ureditvi Dravski banovini dodatno odvzeto ozemlje, občina Štrigova, vasi Dubrovo, Breg, Presiko, Badličan, Prihovec (Krajevni leksikon Dravske banovine 1937). Po podatkih popisa prebivalstva z dne 31. marca 1931 je bilo na območju Dravske banovine našteti 1.144.298 duš, od tega 551.211 moških in 593.087 žensk, ki so živeli v 1072 občinah (Krajevni leksikon Dravske

banovine 1937). Takšna razdrobljenost slovenskega ozemlja na vasi oz. občine je bila predvsem ovira za njihovo uspešno delovanje.

Upravna organiziranost slovenskega ozemlja v času 2. svetovne vojne je posebej zanimiva, saj sta v tem obdobju nastajali oz. obstajali dve vzporedni členitvi oz. upravno-teritorialni organizaciji ozemlja. Na eni strani okupatorjeva »legalna« in na drugi strani legitimna organiziranost narodnoosvobodilnega gibanja. Specifičnost organizacije OF je bila v svojevrstni ljudski oblasti, saj so terenski odbori OF nastajali že v času, ko še ni bilo osvobojenega ozemlja (Šnuderl 1965, 11). Z vidika teritorialne členitve ozemlja Slovenije v okviru poveljne Jugoslavije lahko rečemo, da je za poveljno obdobje značilna hitro spreminjajoča se notranje teritorialna organiziranost. Godec (1982, 3–4) poimenuje poveljno obdobje kot obdobje teritorialne nestabilnosti. Obdobje po letu 1963, ko je bila sprejeta nova ustava, pa imenuje obdobje teritorialne trdnosti. Prvi zakon, ki je po vojni urejal vprašani delitve in teritorialno-upravne organiziranosti, je bil Zakon o upravni razdelitvi federalne Slovenije z dne 8. septembra 1945. Po slednjem je bilo slovensko ozemlje razdeljeno na 5 okrožij, 28 okrajev in 1583 krajev (Grafenauer 2000, 272). Vse do leta 1963 je prihajalo do pogostih sprememb, ki jih na tem mestu ne bomo posebej omenjali. Zadnja sprememba upravne organiziranosti v okviru Jugoslavije je zakonsko stopila v veljavo že leta 1964 (Uradni list SRS, št. 35/64). Teritorij Ljudske republike Slovenije je bil po novem razdeljen na 4 okraje in 62 občin. Do osamosvojitve smo v Sloveniji imeli skupaj 62 občin in 1173 krajevnih skupnosti. Takšna delitev in upravno-politična organiziranost mlade države je obstajala vse do leta 1998, ko so se zaradi različnih političnih interesov začele ustanavljati nove občine. Tako imamo v letu 2012 že 211 občin.

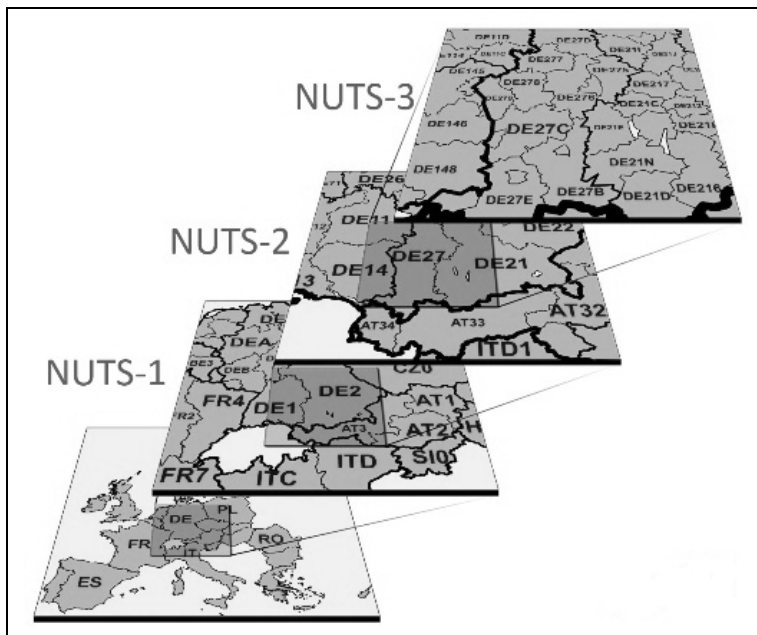
3. Obstoječe stanje upravne organiziranosti in zahteve EZ

Slovenija je 1. maja 2004 Slovenija vstopila v Evropsko unijo (EU). Pri predpristopnih pogajanjih je morala naša država med 29 poglavji obravnavati tudi poglavje o regionalizmu. Slednje je pomenilo na eni strani zavrnitev centralistične ureditve, po drugi strani pa omogočilo dotok znatnih finančnih sredstev iz strukturnih skladov EU ter krepitev čezmejnega sodelovanja prek programov INTERREG in PHARE (fr. Pologne-Hongrie Assistance à la Restructuration Économique). Področje regionalizma je v EU urejeno z dvema uredbama Evropskega sveta, in sicer št. 1059 iz leta 2003 in št. 1888 iz leta 2005 (SURS, 2010). Slednji določata skupno standardno klasifikacijo statističnih teritorialnih enot Evropske unije ali na kratko klasifikacijo NUTS (fr. Nomenclature des Unités Territoriales Statistiques). Slikovno predstavitev klasifikacije prikazuje Slika 1. Po uredbi št. 1059 je določena velikost NUTS regij oz. teritorialnih enot. Določena je na osnovi števila prebivalcev.

Na ravni NUTS 1 je določen minimum 3 milijonov in maksimum 7 milijonov prebivalcev. NUTS 2 je v razponu od 800.000 do 3 milijone in NUTS 3 v razponu od 150.000 do 800.000. Za ravni NUTS 4 in NUTS 5 niso določene nobene omejitve, edino to, da je NUTS 5 najmanjša upravno-teritorialna enota. Zanimivo pri tej klasifikaciji je to, da ravni NUTS 4 nimajo le Belgija, Estonija, Italija, Latvija, Nizozemska, Avstrija, Romunija in Švedska.

Slovenija je po takšni klasifikaciji kot celota razvrščena v NUTS 1, čeprav ima po popisu 2002 1.987.971 prebivalcev, kar ne zadovoljuje osnovnega določila za ustanovitev NUTS 1. Da bi zakrili oblikovanje regij NUTS v okviru meja držav članic,

so kot pomembno izhodišče zapisali tudi, da prebivalce regij družijo skupni jezik, kultura in zgodovina. Na ravni NUTS 2 imamo tako dve enoti, vzhodno in zahodno kohezijsko regijo, ki pa nimata skoraj nikakršne vloge v smeri decentralizacije naše države. Raven NUTS 3 so po sili razmer statistične regije. Če pogledamo našo najmanjšo zasavsko statistično regijo, ima po zadnjih podatkih le 44.750 prebivalcev (Medmrežje 1), kar niti približno ne ustreza spodnji meji za ustanovitev NUTS 3. V Preglednici 1 so prikazani nekateri podatki po statističnih regijah, najpomembnejši je podatek o številu prebivalcev. V nadaljevanju bomo pri oblikovanju novih regij poskušali slediti smernicam EU o minimumu števila prebivalcev.



Slika 1: Klasifikacija NUTS.

Vir: <http://www.stat.si/doc/pub/REGIJE-2010.pdf>.

Preglednica 1: Podatki po statističnih regijah.

Statistična regija	Št. prebivalcev	Št. preb. v %	Velikost v km ²	Velikost v %	BDP v mio. €
Pomurska	119.537	5,88	1.337	6,59	1.361
Podravska	322.900	15,89	2.170	10,70	4.674
Koroška	72.481	3,57	1.041	5,13	969
Savinjska	258.845	12,74	2.384	11,76	3.913
Zasavska	44.750	2,20	264	1,30	512
Spodnjeposavska	69.900	3,44	885	4,37	964
Jugovzhodna Slovenija	141.166	6,95	2.675	13,19	2.249
Osrednjeslovenska	521.965	25,68	2.555	12,60	12.465
Gorenjska	201.779	9,93	2.137	10,53	2.907
Notranjsko-kraška	51.728	2,55	1.456	7,18	669
Goriška	118.533	5,83	2.325	11,47	1.980
Obalno-kraška	108.778	5,35	1.044	5,15	1.906
Slovenija	2.032.372	100,00	20.273	100,00	34.568

Vir: <http://www.stat.si/doc/pub/REGIJE-2010.pdf>.

NUTS 4 oz. po novi metodologiji LAU 1 (angl. Local Administrative Units) so v Republiki Sloveniji upravne enote, ki pomenijo korak k decentralizaciji države. Ustanovljene so bile leta 1994, pomenile pa so ločitev državne uprave od lokalne samouprave. Edina zakonsko določena obvezna samoupravna teritorialna enota v Republiki Sloveniji je občina. Slednjih imamo leta 2012 že 211. Po klasifikaciji NUTS so to enote NUTS 5 ali po novi metodologiji LAU 2. Za primerjavo med evropskimi državami si pogledajmo Preglednico 2, ki prikazuje število enot LAU 2 in LAU 1 izbranih držav.

Preglednica 2: Evropske države – klasifikacija LAU.

Država	NUTS 3	NUTS 4 – LAU 1	NUTS 5 – LAU 2
Avstrija	35	-	2.357
Nemčija	429	1.457	12.379
Italija	107	-	8.101
Madžarska	20	168	3.152
Slovaška	8	79	2.928
Danska	11	99	2.148
Finska	20	77	416
EU-27	1.303	8.397	121.601

Vir: <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/>.

4. Dosedanji predlogi pokrajinske organizacije

Slovenija še danes, osem let po vstopu v EU, nima urejene regionalizacije. Nastali vakuum med državo in lokalno samoupravo zapolnjujemo s statističnimi regijami, ki pa niso niti terminološko poenotene niti ne ustrezajo zahtevam Evropskega sveta za regionalizacijo na ravni NUTS 3 in kar je z vidika živosti regij zelo pomembno, ljudje se ne poenotijo z njimi.

Najstarejše poročilo o oblikovanju regij sta leta 1993 izdala Urbanistični inštitut RS in Inštitut za ekonomska raziskovanja. V poročilu Regionalni razvoj in regionalizacija Slovenije sta podala več delitev Slovenije na regije, ki so se opirale na gravitacijska območja, naravne danosti, prometno infrastrukturo idr. Poročilo omenjamo zato, ker bomo za oblikovanje novih regij uporabili tudi enega od kazalcev, tj. gravitacijsko povezanost razvojnih središč. Nekoliko mlajše oblikovanje regij v Sloveniji je leta 1999 izdala Vlada RS, Služba za lokalno samoupravo, v knjižici z naslovom Pokrajine v Sloveniji. Pri oblikovanju regij, ki so predstavljene v tej knjižici, so sodelovali večinoma geografi, med njimi Lojze Gosar, Dušan Plut, Marjan Ravbar in Igor Vrišer. Predlagane pokrajine so bolj ali manj geografsko zaokrožene enote bodisi z izstopajočo družbeno ali naravno komponento. Dušan Plut v omenjenem delu (Čokert s sodelavci 1999) predlaga delitev Slovenije na 25 pokrajin in 8 oz. 7 zvez pokrajin. Lojze Gosar predlaga (Čokert s sodelavci 1999) delitev Slovenije na 20 oz. 25 pokrajin. Slika 3 prikazuje delitev na 25 pokrajin. Vrišer pa (Čokert s sodelavci 1999) podaja dve različici delitve Slovenije na 10 in 25 pokrajin in kot večina drugih avtorjev navaja argumente za in proti takšni delitvi. Ekonomsko najustreznejše so večje regije, kar poudarja več avtorjev. Delitev Slovenije na 10 pokrajin, bi lahko nadomestila sedanje statistične regije.

Če povzamemo zaključke vseh avtorjev, so se odločili za tri enakovredne predloge o delitvi Slovenije na (Čokert s sodelavci 1999):

- manjše pokrajine,
- večje pokrajine in
- tretjo vmesno različico delitve na 12 oz. 15 pokrajin.

Različico majhnih pokrajin utemeljujejo z argumentom, da temelji na tradicionalnih geografskih regijah in se v znatni meri ujema z naravno oblikovitostjo Slovenije (Pokrajine v Sloveniji 1999). Po drugi strani pa priznavajo, da bi se razlike med regijami povečale, saj naj bi bil prepad med najrazvitejšo (osrednjeslovensko) in najmanj razvito (sotelsko) kar 1 : 3,18 (Čokert s sodelavci 1999). Najbolje je utemeljena delitev na 8 večjih pokrajin, kjer bi bil razmah v razvitosti med osrednjeslovensko in pomursko samo 1 : 2,5. Pri tem predlogu pa se nikakor ne morejo zediniti o nekaterih mejah med regijami, npr. priključitev jugovzhodne koroške k savinjski ali podravski regiji. Delitev na vmesno različico pa je v bistvu samo nekakšna kopija sedanjih statističnih regij. Kot glavno slabost takšne delitve predstavljajo predvsem središča regij, npr. Postojno, ki ni dovolj močna za obvladovanje notranjske regije. Razmah v razvitosti bi znašal 1 : 2,6. Pri delitvi na 15 regij prvič omenjajo število prebivalcev. Tako bi povprečna regija štela 132.000 prebivalcev, vendar najmanjše le 50.000. Razlika v razvitosti pa bi znašala 1 : 3,05.

Vsi dosedanji predlogi imajo tako pozitivne kot negativne argumente za ustanovitev pokrajin, vendar ne smemo pozabiti, da je 22. junija 2008 v RS potekal posvetovalni referendum o ustanovitvi pokrajin. Na tem referendumu smo se volivci odločali o ustanovitvi pokrajin. Predlagano različico, o kateri se je že odločalo, so volivci delno podprli, kajti referendum je uspel večinoma na vzhodu države in prinesel majhne pokrajine.

Kljub leta 2008 izpeljanemu referendumu v Sloveniji v letu 2012 še vedno nimamo pokrajin. Na tem mestu naj omenimo še predlog nekdanje ministrice za lokalno samoupravo Duše Trobec Bučan, ki je slovensko politično in strokovno javnost 9. februarja 2011 vznemirila s predlogom delitve Slovenije na 6 pokrajin po vzoru škofij, čeprav se njihove meje naj ne bi povsem skladale z mejami pokrajin. Odzivi so bili zelo burni in zelo različni. Temu predlogu so bili naklonjeni samo nekateri iz desne politične struje. Vsekakor je treba dodati, da takšen predlog ni bil osnovan na kriterijih gospodarskega sodelovanja, gravitacijskih območij in zgodovinskih območij. Slovenija z odlašanjem ustanovitve pokrajin izgublja denarna sredstva, ki bi jih lahko v večji meri črpala iz evropskih skladov, po drugi strani pa krepi centralistično ureditev države, ki je v nasprotju s smernicami o skladnem regionalnem razvoju, ki si jih je zadala že v osemdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja.

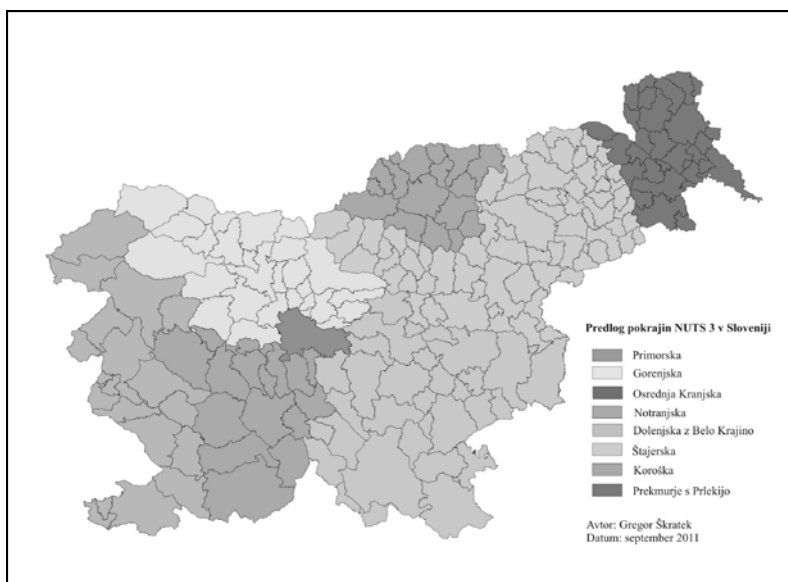
5. Predlog nove upravne organiziranosti države na ravni NUTS 3

V tem poglavju želimo predstaviti nov pogled na ustanavljanje pokrajin ali regij. Do sedaj je bilo predstavljenih že mnogo delitev slovenskega ozemlja, vendar se nobena delitev ni tako zasidrala v zavest ljudi kot nekdanja delitev na kronske dežele. Nova delitev nikakor ne sme prezreti tega dejstva, čeprav je razumljivo, da tudi identičnih dežel zaradi spremenjenih gospodarskih in političnih razmer ne moremo ustanoviti. Smotno bi bilo, da bi nove pokrajine ali dežele vsaj v večji meri lahko povzemale nekatere prostorske razsežnosti.

Pri snovanju regij nam bo vodilo Listina regij, ki jo je 1988 odobril Evropski parlament in ki regijo pojmuje kot subjekt z lastno identiteto ter določenimi specifičnostmi, kot so jezik, kultura in zgodovinska tradicija. Pri formalnostih bomo poskušali zjeti priporočila Evropskega sveta, ki za regije NUTS 3 predvideva od 150.000 do 800.000 prebivalcev. Zaradi številčne majhnosti slovenskega naroda si bomo dovolili spodnjo mejo spustiti na minimum 100.000 prebivalcev. Drugi pomemben kriterij, ki ga bomo uporabili pri oblikovanju regij, bo gravitacijsko

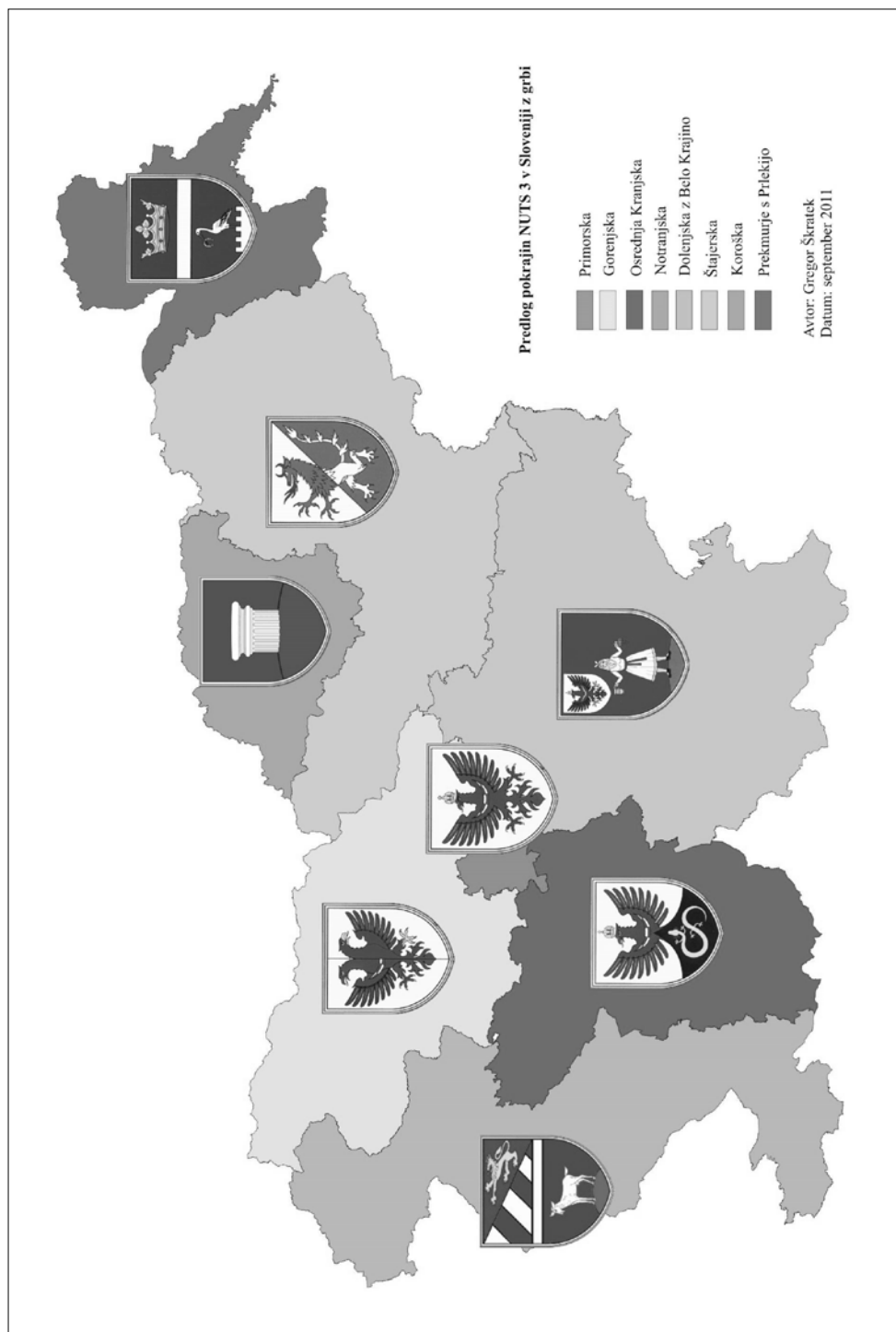
območje večjih mest. Ob izdelavi zemljevida bomo »nove« regije v nadaljevanju predstavili tudi v številkah. Z metodo prekrivanja kart dobimo približne orise prihodnjih pokrajin, ker pa je meje med njimi težko določiti, bodo zgodovinska navezanost, jezikovna podobnost in gravitacijsko središče odigrali pomembno vlogo pri uvrstitvi ene občine v to ali ono pokrajino.

Osnova za snovanje regij je zemljevid občin v Republiki Sloveniji. Na njega bomo po slojih nanašali že izrisane karte gravitacijskih središč, nekdanjih dežel in narečij. Uvrstitev posamezne mejne občine v pokrajino bo subjektivna, vendar bo upoštevala vse prej omenjene kriterije, pri čemer bosta izstopala predvsem gravitacijsko središče in zgodovinska navezanost. Pri tem želimo posebej poudariti, da bo Mestna občina Ljubljana kot prestolnica predstavljala posebno regijo, kar je bilo že zaslediti pri nekaterih predhodnih pripravljavcih predlogov za ustanovitev pokrajin. Po spojitvi vseh slojev smo določili mejo in izdelali zemljevid, ki prikazuje »nove« pokrajine (Slika 2). Pri poimenovanju pokrajin smo se naslonili predvsem na nekdanje zgodovinske dežele, s katerimi se ljudje še danes istovetijo in presenetljivo dobro poznajo njihov nekdanji obseg. Od zahoda se tako vrstijo pokrajine Primorska, Gorenjska, Notranjska, Osrednja Kranjska, Dolenjska z Belo Krajino, Štajerska, Koroška, Prekmurje s Prlekijo.



Slika 2: Predlog pokrajin na ravni NUTS 3.

Čeprav se naslednje vrstice neposredno ne nanašajo izključno na področje geografije, pa želimo pri snovanju pokrajin doseči tudi navezanost njenih prebivalcev na pokrajino. Na osnovi zgodovinskih pokrajin in predlogov grboslovcev Heraldike smo vsaki pokrajini dodali tudi grb, ki predstavlja njeno skupno zgodovino in posledično tudi prepoznavnost pokrajine. Vse grbe razen grba Primorske so izdelali grboslovci Heraldike, primorskega smo izdelali sami, na njem pa so zastopani simboli nekdanjih zgodovinskih dežel Goriške in Istre. Zemljevid z grbi pokrajin je prikazan na Sliki 3.



Slika 3: Predlog novih pokrajin z grbi.

Dolžni smo podati še številčno predstavitev novih pokrajin. Za statistično predstavitev nam bodo služili podatki po občinah Statističnega urada Republike Slovenije. V Preglednici 3 lahko vidimo, da bi najmanjša pokrajina Koroška štela 118.594 prebivalcev, največja, Štajerska pa 540.644, kar je še zmeraj v obsegu od 100.000 do 800.000, ob znižanju minimuma s 150.000 na 100.000.

Preglednica 3: Nove regije v številkah.

Regije	Površina v km ²	Št. prebivalcev (31.12.2008)	Število podjetij	Št. reg. brezposelnih	Povprečna neto plača
Primorska	3.078	215.446	19.522	4.841	852,15
Gorenjska	2.877	316.935	23.645	6.127	858,71
Notranjska	2.509	136.897	9.863	2.585	798,85
Osrednja Kranjska	275	276.091	31.469	7.324	1.042,35
Dolenjska z Belo krajino	4.540	290.100	17.765	8.786	792,86
Koroška	1.311	118.594	7.185	4.075	809,58
Štajerska	4.119	540.644	35.586	22.035	808,12
Prekmurje s Prlekijo	1.575	137.655	7.506	7.414	801,67
Slovenija	20.284	2.032.362	152.541	63.187	845,54

Vir: http://www.stat.si/publikacije/pub_obcine2009.asp.

5.1 SWOT-analiza predloga nove pokrajinske organiziranosti Slovenije

Smotrno je, da za predlagano delitev Slovenije na pokrajine naredimo tudi kratko SWOT-analizo. Prednosti, ki jih vidimo pri delitvi Slovenije na 7 + 1 pokrajino, so:

- navezanost na tradicijo, ki je pri ljudeh še zmeraj prisotna,
- poistovetenje ljudi s pokrajino in njenimi simboli,
- dovolj ekonomsko avtarkične pokrajine, ki bodo kos pokrajinsko pomembnim projektom in
- cenejša javna/pokrajinska uprava, saj bi centri bili v krajih, ki so že sedaj dovolj ustrezno opremljeni.

Slabosti delitve na sorazmerno velike regije so:

- pomanjkanje posluha za lokalne interese prebivalstva,
- težje politično obvladovanje prostora in
- nevarnost pokrajinskega centralizma pri dodeljevanju sredstev.

Priložnosti, ki se kažejo ob takšni pokrajinski delitvi, so predvsem:

- pokrajinska povezanost in zavest podjetij za ustanavljanje pokrajinskih razvojnih centrov,
- večje možnosti pri kandidiranju za evropska sredstva za regionalni razvoj,
- možnost ustanovitve pokrajinskega prevoznika in posledično pocenitev javnih prevoznih sredstev,
- povezovanje pokrajin s skupnimi interesi v Evropski uniji in
- možnosti za razvoj novih delovnih mest.

Pasti, ki lahko pretijo takšni pokrajinski členitvi:

- prevelika navezanost prebivalcev na pokrajino in izguba narodne zavesti,
- morebitna razgradnja države na federalne enote in
- morebitna neskladja pokrajinske in nacionalne zakonodaje.

6. Sklep

Kakšne pokrajine bomo imeli v Sloveniji in koliko jih bo, bo odvisno predvsem od nas, državljanov in državljanek, in tega, koliko se bomo angažirali pri njihovem ustanavljanju. Dosedanje poti k ustanavljanju pokrajin so bile bolj kot ne brezplodne, saj zaradi političnih interesov in kupčkanja z glasovi volivcev niso pripeljale do končne rešitve, to je do ustanovitve pokrajin. Vladajoče politične strukture se morajo pri tem vprašati, ali je kupčkanje z glasovi res več vredno kot

denar, ki ga vsako leto izgubljam zaradi neurejenega področja pokrajin. Na tem mestu končujemo naš komentar, saj ga ne želimo razviti v luči dnevne politike. Naš predlog delitve Slovenije je prikaz ene izmed rešitev in nov doprinos k tej vedno aktualni tematiki. Opira se na tradicionalne kazalce, ki smo jih uporabili, prav tako smo terminološko poenotili imena pokrajin ter jih zaradi poistovetenja prebivalcev s pokrajino nadgradili s simboli. Na tem mestu lahko zapišemo samo še to, da si želimo, da bi bila rešitev glede tega vprašanja v Sloveniji sprejeta čim prej.

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DIVISION AND ADMINISTRATIVE-TERRITORIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE SLOVENIAN TERRITORY AT NUTS LEVEL 3

Summary

The territorial organization of the territory has always been an important factor in terms of monitoring and administration of the space. In our article we briefly presented the administrative-territorial organisation of the Slovenian territory in the light of the then geopolitical situation since the formation of provinces up until today. But the requests for an administrative organisation have changed in each period. After the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire (A-H) the division of the territory persisted temporarily, but could not function due to the Rapallo border. Thus, the Slovenian territory was after the St. Vitus day's Constitution divided into the administrations Ljubljana and Maribor, which were further divided into districts and municipalities. Such division of the territory partially prevented the integration of the for centuries divided nation within countries. Due to the appeasement of the situation and suppression of national aspirations in the newly formatted Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes the later was renamed into the Kingdom of Yugoslavia on the 10th of April 1929. The renaming was followed by the new administrative-territorial division. The whole country was divided into provinces, which were named after rivers in order to disguise the nationality. However, the Drava province, which covered the Slovenian territory, was the only territorial-national homogeneous formation. At the emerge of World War II the Slovenian territory was divided into the zones of the occupying forces, which were created with the aim to annex the occupied territory as soon as possible to the territory of the occupying forces. In addition to the organisation of the occupying forces the Slovenian territory also had a legitimate administration of the Liberation front. The specific of the organization of the Liberation front was in the unique people's governance, since field committees of the Liberation front were formed even before the territory was liberated. In terms of the territorial division of Slovenia's territory within the post-war Yugoslavia we can say, that the post-war period is characterized by rapidly changing internal territorial organisation. The post-war period has been marked as the period of territorial instability. This period is after 1963, when the new constitution was adopted, followed by the period of territorial strength. According to the Act on the administrative division of the federal Slovenia from the 8th September 1945 Slovenia's territory was divided into 5 districts, 28 district units and 1583 towns (Grafenauer, 2000, 272). The last change of the administrative organisation within Yugoslavia entered legally into force already in 1964 (Uradni list SRS, no. 35/64). The territory of the People's Republic of Slovenia was again divided into 4 districts and 62 municipalities. Until the independence, Slovenia had a total of 62 municipalities and 1173 local communities. Such division and administrative-territorial organisation of the young country persisted until 1998, when new municipalities began to form due to various political interests. So in 2012 we have already 211 municipalities.

Slovenia joined the European Union (EU) on the 1st of May 2004. In the accession negotiations our country had to discuss the chapter on regionalism among 29 other chapters. However, the later is still not regulated to a satisfactory extent. The biggest problem arises regarding NUTS 3 regions, since they still, even 8 years after the entrance into the EU, have not been formatted in a functional manner. The second major problem of the existing regions is their lethargy among people.

Our guide in planning the regions was the Charter of regions, which was in 1988 endorsed by the European parliament and which defines the region as an entity with its own identity and certain specificities like language, culture and historical traditions. When it comes to formalities we will try to cover the recommendations of the European Council, which anticipates from 150.000 to 800.00 residents for NUTS 3 regions. Due to the numerical smallness of the Slovenian nation we will allow ourselves to lower the lower limit to the minimum of 100.000 residents. The second important criterion, which we have used in planning the regions, is the gravitational area of larger cities. With the method of overlapping maps we obtained approximate outlines of the future regions, but since borders among them are hard to determine, the historical attachment, linguistic similarity and the gravitational centre played an important role in classifying municipalities in this or that region. The basis for the planning of regions was the map of municipalities in the Republic of Slovenia. On it we placed in layers the already drawn maps of gravitational centres, former countries and dialects. The classification of each border municipality into the region will be subjective, but will take into account the gravitational centre and historical attachment. Here we would like to emphasize, that the state municipality Ljubljana as the capital represents a special region, which could already be observed in some previous drafters of proposals for the creation of regions. After the merger of all layers we have determined the border and created a map, showing new regions (map 7). By naming the regions we have primarily relied on former historical countries, with which people today identify themselves and have surprisingly good knowledge on their former range. From the west the regions are as follows: Primorska, Gorenjska, Notranjska, Osrednja Kranjska, Dolenjska with Bela Krajina, Koroška, Štajerska and Prekmurje with Prlekija.

Although the following lines do not directly relate exclusively to the field of geography, we want by planning the regions also preserve the attachments of residents to the region. On the ground of historical regions and suggestions of the experts of heraldry (of Heraldika) we provided each region with a coat-of-arms, which represents their common history and consequently the visibility of the region. We formed all coats-of-arms, except the one of Primorska, with the experts of heraldry (Heraldika). The one of Primorska we made alone and it includes the symbols of former historical provinces Goriška and Istra. The map with the coats-of-arms is shown in map 8.

It is appropriate that we make a brief SWOT-analysis for the suggested regional division of Slovenia. The advantages we see in the division of Slovenia after the method 7 + 1 are:

- the attachment of people to tradition is still present,
- identification of people with the region and its symbols,
- sufficient economic stand-alone regions that could handle important projects,
- cheaper public/regional administration as the centres would be located in places that are already sufficiently equipped.

Weaknesses of the division into relatively large regions are:

- lack of sensitivity for the interests of the local population,
- more difficult political control of the space,
- danger of regional centralism in the allocation of funds.

Opportunities that show up at such regional division are mostly:

- regional connectivity and interest of companies for establishing regional business development centres,
- greater options in applying for European funds for regional development,

- possibility of establishing a provincial carrier and consequently cheaper public transport,
- integration of regions with common interests in the European Union and
- opportunities for development of new work places.

Threats of such a regional division:

- excessive attachment of the residents to the region and loss of national identity,
- possible degradation of the state into federal units,
- possible discrepancies between the provincial and national legislation.

ROLE OF RURAL TOURISM AND AGRICULTURE FOR DEVELOPMENT OF RURAL, PROTECTED AREAS

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Abstract

Role of rural tourism and agriculture for development of rural, protected areas

The main challenge in rural areas currently is facing migration and unemployment. Inhabitants of the traditional Órség region also face this serious problem. The aim of this paper is to reveal problems in the region highlighting the two pillars of local rural development solutions; the current situation and opportunities for tourism and agriculture development. The opinion of local inhabitants acquired through questionnaires bare a special role in this search for solutions. Given its geographic location, success of the region's rural development may also be achieved through cross-border initiatives and cooperation.

Keywords

Rural development, borderlands, sustainable development, sustainable agriculture, rural tourism, ecotourism, Órség

1. Introduction

The fundamental challenge of rural development is keeping the local inhabitants from migrating, creating an attractive living environment and working conditions through the rational, integrated and sustainable use of local resources. In rural regions, the key activities are concentrated around agriculture. However, rural areas have an innate multifunctional value (Póla 2004), which means, that besides economy and production, their ecological and socio-cultural role is also well-known and recognized. In the “Őrség”, this complexity of rural areas prevails in an extraordinary manner. The former agricultural area, which has unique socio-cultural characteristics, became a National Park in 2002, and thus is under the highest level of nature protection. Amongst the pillars of local rural development protection and enhancement of ecological functions occur within the frame of National Park regulation. Economic function of the land needs significant development, and serious problems exist in the socio-cultural area as well. This study reveals the problems of borderlands as well as their solutions. Small village country sides have two main breakout opportunities: to enliven agriculture and to boost tourism. It must be noted that the development of rural areas is best achieved through endogen resources and based on bottom-up initiatives with the involvement of local inhabitants. Next to the economic potential, the main resource of a rural area is a healthy, self-organizing local community. For this reason, the study of the changing society of the Őrség gained great emphasis in this research.

2. Methodology

The research area was determined by the Hungarian settlements of today's Őrség (Fig. 1). It is well known, that the former, historic Őrség enveloped fewer settlements, and that three of its former settlements now belong to Slovenia (Hodos, Krplivnik és Domanjsevc). The study area is located alongside the Slovenian-Hungarian border, and has been a protected area since 2002, and since 2003 it also became the trilateral Őrség-Raab-Goričko Naturpark area. It is important to note, that the area of the National Park itself is significantly larger than the Őrség. The National Park comprises historically and developmentally varying regions (Csapó 2007), from which the Őrség belongs to the underdeveloped ones.

In this research, we carried out questionnaire surveys on site, from which 213 data sheets could be used in the evaluation. These were later supplemented with questionnaires filled out by the village leaders. Next to the data collected through questionnaires we also used the official statistical databases (Hungarian Central Statistical Office (CSO) publications and Settlement Information System (SIS) for the chronological portrayal of the individual regional processes. Based on the collected data we strived to point out the most important problems in the region; the scales of aging, migration and unemployment and the historical reasons of the above. We studied the relationship of the agriculture and current inhabitants of the former agricultural land, as well as the current state and development opportunities for tourism. Study of human resources also received an important role, since people are a key factor to all activities.

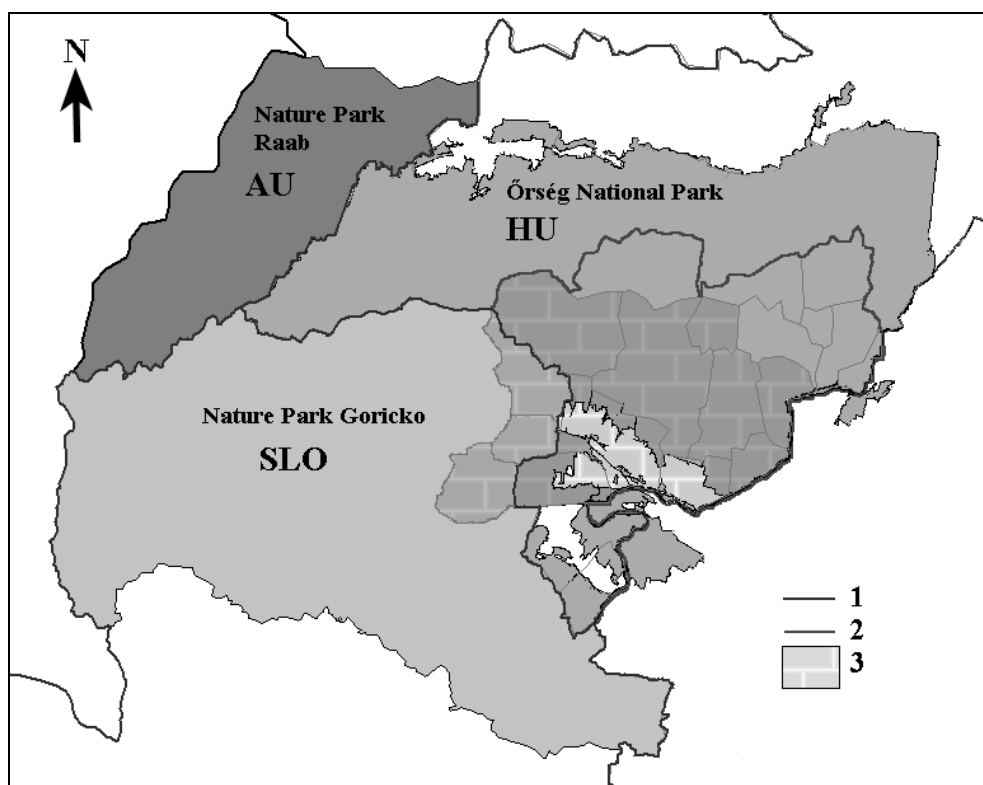


Fig. 1: Location of the Órség.

Legend: 1. national border, 2. border of the searching area, 3. settlements of the historical Órség.

Source: Baranyai 2012.

3. Discussion

During the Hungarian conquest guards were deployed for the protection of the western border. For their services, these settlers gained certain privileges, which they later lost. The typically fragmented, mosaic-like settlement pattern shows centuries-old co-existence of man and nature in the region. The ungenerous land could never sustain a large number of population, the villages did not grow big (Baranyai 2011). The inhabitants usually lived from agriculture (mainly animal husbandry) and were self-sustaining, but due to the unfavorable natural conditions they always needed additional income. Throughout history, the area was always on the periphery, but this became a disadvantage only after World War I. With the redrawing of the borders, the Órség lost family-, economic/market and geographic connections; the blood circulation of the area was mutilated on both sides of the border. The closing down of the borders, and subsequently the political milieu destroyed the small villages and the area became infrastructurally and economically poor (Baranyai 2011; Beluszky 2005; Olas, Kert 1993).

In a few villages, migration of the population began as early as 1910, yet, looking at the entire Órség region, the population decrease only began in 1949. Population count of the Órség in 1949 was 11457, which by 2010 decreased to 5056 (CSO

database). Reasons of the decrease in population are complex, and differ in different time periods. Population decrease began with the World War losses, deportations and persecutions. Later, existential difficulties and the distant availability of jobs caused people to migrate. The current volume of population decrease began approximately in the 1970-ies, and unfortunately today, the aging society “takes care” of this decrease themselves. Results of the questionnaire survey showed, that the vast majority of young inhabitants do not wish to stay in the Órség: 77.3% would like to move elsewhere either to live and/or to work. Within the population structure, the worst index is the age composition and the resulting economic activity. The biggest problem of the Órség is ageing: the index is 2.04. All this clearly has a negative effect on the economic activity of the population. The proportion of the economically inactive (37.9%) almost reaches that of the economically active (40.6%).

Change of the employment structure also contributes to the current environmental problems, as the decrease in the rate of population living from agriculture on the former agricultural land is significant. In the 1930-ies, the ratio of people living from agriculture in almost all the settlements was above 70%, which ratio decreased to an average of 11.3% by 2001 (CSO database). The decline of agricultural activities did not only result in the decrease of cultivated land, but also in the reduction of livestock (which decreased to one-sixth since the 1930-ies), which sequentially results in serious nature conservation issues. Without grazing, the spread of woody vegetation increases causing the valuable pastures to degrade significantly. Development of agricultural land use would not only be desirable from the aspect of nature protection. The land cannot sustain as many workers in other sectors of economy, as many were released from agriculture. Scarcity of workplace is enhanced through the continuous closing down of numerous factories (bread-, shoe-, brick factories) that provided jobs for many. Opportunity to reduce unemployment lies in agriculture and a lively tourism.

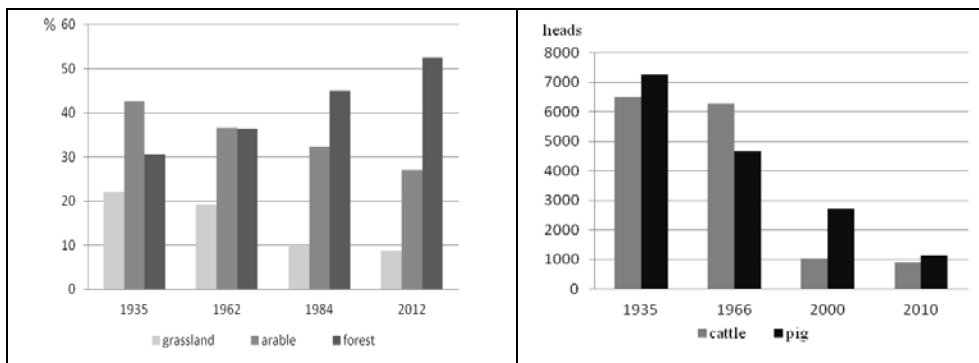


Fig. 2: Changes in land use and livestock in the Órség.

Tourism in the area is increasing; the number of guests and overnight stays are growing since 2004. In 2010 commercial and private accommodations had more than 10000 guests staying a total of 34000 overnights in the settlements of the Órség (CSO database). Tourists prefer staying in village accommodations as opposed to commercial ones. The locals (partially) recognized the possible income opportunities lying in tourism, and so the number of private accommodations is increasing year-by-year (SIS database).

Tab. 1: Tourist arrivals and tourism nights in the Órség, between 2000-2010.

Year	Public accommodation						Private accommodation					
	all guests	of which foreign		number of tourism nights	of which foreign		all guests	of which foreign		number of tourism nights	of which foreign	
		F	%		F	%		F	%		F	%
2000	5588	290	5,2	15137	629	4,2	1231	39	3,2	7365	86	1,2
2001	7586	639	8,4	18979	1689	8,9	1942	12	0,6	5928	29	0,5
2002	7206	430	6,0	19618	952	4,9	1864	9	0,5	7832	37	0,5
2003	8112	621	7,7	23585	1557	6,6	2195	15	0,7	7039	68	1,0
2004	4028	179	4,4	9893	411	4,2	1806	12	0,7	7358	36	0,5
2005	3389	229	6,8	8997	756	8,4	2452	51	2,1	7986	267	3,3
2006	4028	63	1,6	10977	115	1,1	3676	43	1,2	12929	118	0,9
2007	7193	254	3,5	15988	608	3,8	4472	44	1,0	13280	165	1,2
2008	6149	258	4,2	16452	1045	6,4	5537	39	0,7	17613	116	0,7
2009	4568	150	3,3	11905	238	2,0	7145	51	0,7	21443	145	0,7
2010	4685	237	5,1	12662	600	4,7	6010	56	0,9	21508	235	1,1

Source: by dates of Settlement Information System (SIS) Database 2000-2010 ed. Baranyai, O. 2012.

At the same time, results of the questionnaire survey suggest, that the majority of the population does not see any other reason/opportunity in rural tourism, than providing accommodation, and the arrival of tourists (58.2%). Those, who are involved somehow in tourism (17.6%), mostly offer accommodation (52%), and only a small proportion provides other services (pottery, horse riding, and selling goods). Those, who show optimism regarding the future of the Órség trust tourism as a solution for economic development (47.7%). However, not everyone can build an existence solely on providing accommodation.

It is evident, that the local tourism is this lively due to the presence of the National Park, and having high cultural and natural values (Baranyai, Baranyai, Csapó, Balogh 2012). Most important directions in developing the tourism of the Órség is the regional construction of tourism destination management (TDM) and discovering further potentials in tourism. Opportunities are given for the growth of ecotourism, the utilization of thermal water supply and the involvement of agriculture in tourism (organic farming, demonstrational farms). All the above could be a solution for providing a livelihood for the locals and can be achieved in two ways. One way is to introduce businesses into the area that offer more employment opportunities, or, the individual conditions of the inhabitants must be created in order to seize opportunities. An exemplary farm, where agricultural activities are joined with providing accommodation can already be found in the region (e.g. Ferencz Porta, Szalafő).

Tourists arriving to the area stay on an average for 3-4 days. A lack of foreign tourists can be observed: in year 2010, only 2.74% of tourists were foreigners (SIS database). In order to increase these numbers/ratios, the locality (borderland) of the area could be used to its advantage. The area is part of the trilateral Órség-Raab-Goričko Naturpark, and is a successful winner of numerous cross-border tenders. The expansion of cross-border thematic routes, or the market created to sell local produce from the Naturpark may be of interest to many arriving guests. Protecting and aiding local goods the Órség National Park created a trademark called "National Park Product". The idea of creating a trademark also arose on the Slovenian side (Štaus, Bavec, Bavec 2011). Accordingly there could be a Naturpark brand as well. It is known, that on the area of the Naturpark, the Slovenian, Austrian and Hungarian side are all engaged in producing pumpkinseed oil. It could be interesting producing a product-package, which contained each of the three

country's pumpkinseed oil. Other, local goods could be found in the package (local fruits, cheese, honey, pálinka, pottery). Equally big interest surrounds organic products. Although Slovenian researchers and their studies (Štaus, Bavec, Bavec 2011) confirm, that organic farming is still in the initial stages of development, and the local inhabitants see better perspectives in tourism development, organic farming on protected sites has great opportunities. Undertakings in this direction are typically initiated by settlers (organic apple juice factory, jam factory). Unfortunately these initiatives were not always successful, and also, the native inhabitants do not often appreciate these attempts of the newcomers.

The villages of the Órség have a unique history, and the trials of the past 50-60 years made the inhabitants quite withdrawn. This is why some of the locals (mainly the elderly) disapprove of the settlers and the increasing number of tourists arriving. Tourism requires a different life pace, and an adaptive lifestyle, but could, at the same time, have a positive effect (Palancsa 2007). Unfortunately, in the Órség the multiplication effect of the tourism prevails only slightly. Infrastructural developments lag behind (e.g. road development), larger scale job creation in the context of tourism did not occur, and part of the seasonal workers arrive from outside the region. Most of the inhabitants like the tourists (90.1%), but they still fear their environment from them (22.6%).

Foreign house buyers and settlers have appeared in the region, but even more so, "refugees" from other homeland cities, similar to the Goričko region (Lampič, Mrak, Potočnik Slavič 2012). Starting from the 1970-ies, the interest of the wealthy city people in the Órség region arose. While the local youth who lost their livelihood fled from the region, urban people moved into the empty houses (some temporally, others permanently), quasi creating a second home for themselves. In the questionnaire survey, one third of the local inhabitants (29.6%) claimed to be settlers, which is a very high ratio! Settlers usually have higher qualifications, and often bring enthusiasm or some sort of novelty – may that be cultural, spiritual or technical. Some of them (47.6%) are retirees, who just wish to spend their time on good air and a nice environment. The majority however is eager to do something and often arrive with solid ideas and plans, and if they have sufficient capital, expertise and a will to act, they can contribute significantly to the economic development of the region by starting up their business. Actually, this is something the native inhabitants do not have anymore. Hopelessness of the ageing society on the verge of identity-loss is evident. Human resources development and creating a strong social network are the heart of all further developments in the region.

The revival of rural farming – especially livestock – is important also in the aspect of the region's nature conservation. Although the ratio of farms which also have livestock is quite high, 74.8% (General Agricultural Census 2010), in the entire Órség region the number of cattle is only 908. This means, that the stock is highly fragmented, and the inhabitants have typically 1-3 cows at home. Unfortunately these animals are rarely sent out grazing by their elderly owners, the hay is mostly brought to their barn. Cattle above the average numbers (above 50 cows) are kept only in few settlements, consequently only smaller areas of the land can be covered by grazing. A higher level of local livestock product processing (milk, meat) and their marketing could provide solutions for numerous problems. Not only would it preserve the pasturelands, it could also open up local workplaces (as has been partially achieved by the milk factory of Szalafő). Numerous governmental and national subsidies are available for the revival of livestock farming and the

maintenance of pasturelands. The number of applicants however is few: in the first half year of 2012 only 53 tenders won (www.mvh.gov.hu). The situation for arable cultivation is quite different, the requested area payments are high (270 successful applications), yet the sown crops yield sometimes only subsidies.

The National Park established in 2002 has an outstanding role in the economic development of the region, the growth of tourism and of course nature protection, nature conservation. With the support of the National Park, many farming projects started up and were realized from which some are related to cropping, some to animal husbandry. The National Park is the constant organizer of farmer's forums, and helps the local farmers with guides introducing ecologically desired, sustainable farming practices. The National Park is the regional organizer of ecotourism, coordinating numerous programs and presenting nature trails. These programs and trails can be interesting for both tourists and locals, since they are unique to a specific area in the Naturpark. The questionnaire survey shows, that the inhabitants know and acknowledge the cultural heritage of their living environment, however, are not aware of the natural values of the region. Churches (mentioned by 89.4% of the inhabitants) and the monuments in Szalafő (47.9%) were the most cited built environmental elements which the locals would show to tourists. Nature itself and natural trails were less attractive to the inhabitants (36.6%). The region's unique charm lies in the fusion of nature's unparalleled beauty, the many-faced land and the cultural heritages and traditions. This feature is something that can certainly be utilized in the region's economic development.

4. Conclusions

Due to its history and geographic location, the region of Órség struggles with similar problems as the neighboring Goričko region (Ólas, Kert 1993; Lampič, Potočnik-Slavič 2007; Torkar, Rodela 2011). The once halved land became part of two countries, and also a periphery within their own countries. Population decrease, the high ratio of elderly and the consequent low economic activity is a characteristic of the Órség. Next to the migration of native inhabitants – typically the youth -, there is a growing number of city folk and foreign settlers moving into the area causing tension in the community. Reasons of migration are complex, mainly hopelessness regarding the future and the lack of work opportunities. The locals, giving up their agricultural farming practices are not able to make a living solely of tourism. Therefore, the region needs a complex rural development notion, which promotes the weakening agricultural industry as well as tourism, creating job opportunities and giving an attractive vision of the future to the local youth. This of course must be accomplished in cohesion with the needs of the local population and their collaboration.

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ROLE OF RURAL TOURISM AND AGRICULTURE FOR DEVELOPMENT OF RURAL, PROTECTED AREAS

Summary

Due to its history and geographic location, the region of Órség struggles with similar problems as the neighboring Goričko region. The once halved land became part of two countries, and also a periphery within their own countries. Population decrease, the high ratio of elderly and the consequent low economic activity is a characteristic of the Órség. Next to the migration of native inhabitants – typically the youth -, there is a growing number of city folk and foreign settlers moving into the area causing tension in the community. Reasons of migration are complex, mainly hopelessness regarding the future and the lack of work opportunities. The locals, giving up their agricultural farming practices are not able to make a living solely of tourism. Therefore, the region needs a complex rural development notion, which promotes the weakening agricultural industry as well as tourism, creating job opportunities and giving an attractive vision of the future to the local youth. This of course must be accomplished in cohesion with the needs of the local population and their collaboration.

MANORS AND SCATTERED FARMS: SPECIAL SETTLEMENT FORMS OF OUTSKIRT AREAS IN HUNGARY

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Abstract

Manors and scattered farms: special settlement forms of outskirt areas in Hungary

The Hungarian settlement network is very varied and multiple. In the teeth of its small territory we can find many area-specific settlement forms in the country. These settlement forms are usually not independent municipalities, but mostly occupied the outer areas of some towns and villages. In this study we try to demonstrate two types of these special settlement forms: scattered farms and manors. Scattered farms are sporadic, lonely settlements of the Great Hungarian Plain, which are centres of agricultural works and generally the centres of economic activities now, but they used to serve as winter shelters for the livestock. Most of the manors could be found in Transdanubia. The leader utility is the agriculture, but among others we found manors with industrial, sanitary, tourism functions also.

Key words

Hungarian settlement network, outskirt areas, scattered farm, manor, Great Hungarian Plain, Transdanubia

1. Introduction

The settlement network of Hungary has many special characteristics, the majority of which – at least in traces – serve as a still tangible, very good basis for their in-depth analysis, and for the mapping of their changes. Despite the relatively small geographical extension of the country, the characteristic features within the settlement network usually coincide with rather definite spatial segregation. The reasons for that are to be found in the history of the Hungarian nation, the orography of the country, the farming habits, the settlement order and traditions of the different ethnic groups living in Hungary, and not last in the settlement policy changing from time to time.

The present essay focuses on two dominant elements of the Hungarian settlement network which are products of different times in the medieval ages, they were born in large numbers, and whose development path is well demonstrated by the subsequent phases of birth–maturity–decline, and which, although in very much decreased numbers and in most of the cases after the change of their original functions, are living in the shadow of their glorious days gone by. These two types of settlements are usually not independent municipalities, they did not become sovereign during their history; they functioned and still function as auxiliary settlements. One of them is the so-called scattered farms, most typical of the Great Hungarian Plain, the other one can more typically be found in Transdanubia, these are the manors or manors. In our analysis we demonstrate major socio-economic differences between the two.

2. Definition and birth of the scattered farms and the manors

2.1. Scattered farms

The most general definition of scattered farms is provided by István Györffy: in his words scattered farms are the sporadic, lonely settlements of the Great Hungarian Plain, which are centres of agricultural works and generally the centres of economic activities now, but they used to serve as winter shelters for the livestock. Scattered farms are not a type of sovereign settlements; they belong, together with their estates, to a town or a large village (Becsei 2001, 155). Actually Györffy's definition was taken over by Ferenc Erdei when he defined the characteristic features of scattered farms as follows: they

1. are lonely settlements, buildings or groups of buildings located outside the closed blocks of towns or villages;
2. serve agricultural or in more general smallholders' purposes, i.e. they are locations of animal husbandry or field cultivation, or forestry or fishing;
3. are the dwelling places of those active in production for a shorter or longer time, but never simply the places of permanent settlement (Becsei 2001, 155).

The general conditions allowing the birth of scattered farms were as follows:

- Large outskirt areas of settlements that were impossible to cultivate intensively and economically from the inner parts;
- The need or constraint of intensive farming (cereals production, later viticulture and fruit production);
- The refusal of prohibition of final settling out from the towns (i.e. the establishment of new villages in the more distant outer areas of existing settlements), for different reasons (insistence on rights and advantages

gained in the country boroughs, or the insistence of the community of the country boroughs to keep their inhabitants (for taxation and fiscal purposes);

- Individual ownership of (one part of) the towns' outskirts and free land use (Beluszky 1999, 98).



Fig.1: A scattered farm in the Great Hungarian Plain.

Scattered farms are most often seen as successors of the “outskirts gardens” having gone through a change of function. Outskirts gardens were land areas in private use and appeared as early as in the 16th and 17th century. They originally served the purposes of animal husbandry: they were winter shelters for the livestock taken out from the common herds or flocks, they were the places where fodder was collected and stored, and manure was used to cultivate the land. In other words: animal husbandry was accompanied by the cultivation of the land. If the cultivation of the land and stable-based, indoor animal husbandry became more important in the farming structure of these dwellings, i.e. when a more permanent settlement took place, a scattered farm was born (Beluszky 1999, 100). The first scattered farms thus were economic units established in the outskirts gardens, dividing the vast pastures of the “puszta”, the waste land (Frisnyák 1990, 86). The majority of the scattered farms was later established independent of the outskirts gardens, when it became necessary or possible to create “farming centres” on the outskirts (e.g. after the formerly common lands became private holdings).

2. 2. The manor

It is a settlement form even more ancient in its look than the scattered farm; also, its appearance and penetration precedes that of the scattered farms by some 200 years. Although they were also established in the Great Hungarian Plain in large numbers (e.g. in Békés county), they were basically a special residential and

economic unit typical of Transdanubia. On the basis of its development, a manor is a double concept: it means a piece of land that is the management and administrative centre of a large estate, on the one hand; on the other hand, it is a form of settlement, i.e. the residential place of the farming workers or even the owner of the estate (Balogh and Bajmócy 2011, 13). Manors in their initial form appeared in the early or mid-13th century, but their appearance in large numbers only took place in the 16th century. The majority of lands was in private property in Hungary by the 12th century. Estates were scattered all over the place, which was due to the typically self-sustenance farming. Different branches of agriculture (plough lands, orchards, vineyards etc.) all required different types of soil, so it was natural that different parts of the estate were in areas of different endowments (Herber and Martos and Moss and Tisza 2002, 184). In the privately owned lands, so-called praediums were established, which were the scenes of economic activity, i.e. they can be considered as the economic units of the landowner but they also served as residential places of the people working there. The praediums were inhabited by serfs who were obliged to do boon work for their landowners (Kristó and Barta and Gergely 2002, 87). The praediums thus contained some economic site of the landowner (a stable, a barn, a workshop etc.), so in its original meaning a praedium was an economic plant. In the first half of the 13th century this kind of working organisation was strikingly declining, as the serfs living there were uninterested in production, as opposed to the more and more widespread serfplots which came to Hungary from Western Europe (the very first datum of such a unit is from 1214), used by families possessing a house and land. They harvested the crop themselves and paid a contribution in kind to the owner of the estate. If the serfs fulfilled their obligations to their landowner, they could not be deprived of their land (Kristó and Barta and Gergely 2002, 88). The largest part of the praediums thus disintegrated and peasant farms were born in their stead; landowners hardly kept any land – right until the early 16th century – for their own farming purposes. If they ever did so, they had these lands cultivated by serfs and – in a smaller proportion – day labourers, i.e. the “prototypes” of manors appeared (Frisnyák 1990, 20). Their size hardly exceeded that of the serfs’ sites. As these manors were organised in the “stead” of the former landowners’ economic units, in many references the term ‘praedium’ was still used for a long time – but with a totally different meaning: it meant a piece of land and not a landowner’s estate. After some time even the expression went out of use, replaced by the term ‘manor’ (Balogh and Bajmócy 2011, 14).

Similarly to the scattered farms, manors mostly occupied the outer areas of some towns and villages, a smaller part of them have by now become parts of the respective settlement, and we can even find manors which by now have become administratively independent settlements. On the whole, a manor is a spatial unit with usually 10 to 50 inhabitants, located on outskirts most of the times, segregated from the other elements of the Hungarian settlement network both in its birth and its original morphology, which initially functioned as the management and administrative centre of a large estate and as the residential place of the people working there (Balogh and Bajmócy 2011, 15). A significant difference between scattered farms and manors is that in its classic age a manor always meant an area around the castle or – in case of less affluent landowner – the mansion of its owner, with an area ranging from a few hundred acres to thousands of acres, including the totality of the cultivated lands and the settlement. In the case of scattered farm this is unknown; scattered farms had much closer ties to those towns in whose outskirts they were located.



Fig. 2: A manor in Transdanubia.

3. Development path of scattered farms and manors

3. 1. Scattered farms

The history of the scattered farms is a sequence of continuous transformations, decays and rebirths (Becsei 2001, 156). The system of scattered farms on plough lands was actually established by the mid-18th century. During the 18th and 19th century scattered farms as settlements and economic units were the largest sporadic settlements in Europe (Frisnyák 1990, 86). The further development of the scattered farms can be demonstrated with the change of the residential functions of the farms (Beluszky 1999, 102):

1. In the beginning, only "sleeping places" were established on the outskirts, without more durable buildings, and family members only lived there in the season of agricultural works.
2. Later more durable buildings were erected and wells were dug, so the family members could move to the farms for the summer months.
3. A more intensive form of livestock breeding using stables required the permanent stay of some member of the family on the farm. More durable and heatable buildings and heated pig pens were built.
4. The separation of the residential house of the farm and the stable allowed the longer stay of the family on the farm, but they did not sell their homes in the town. It was typical for the families to move into the town houses for the winter months.
5. Finally – from the late 19th century – people of the farms gave up their houses in the towns and the scattered farms became real sporadic settlements (Beluszky 1999, 102).

River regulations also had a significant contribution to the penetration of scattered farms. Regulations doubled the extent of arable lands, but this was not accompanied by the birth of new villages; areas saved from floods increased the territories of existing county boroughs and villages. The owners possessing lands in these now flood-free areas were only able to cultivate their lands – often located at a distance of 20 to 25 kilometres from the towns – if they moved there permanently, i.e. established scattered farms. The period from the turn of 19th and 20th century until the end of World War II is a new era in the life of the scattered farms. The number of the permanent population of farms kept on increasing. Thereby the character of the scattered farms changed from being auxiliary settlements; the birth of sporadic settlements with permanent population became typical. In addition, new forms of farms, i.e. lease farms appeared (Becsei 2001, 160). After 1945 the destruction and differentiation of the system of scattered farms started. The collectivisation of agriculture, the preference of urban settlements, the radical fall in the number of agricultural employment, the penetration of industry and then services led to the decrease in the number of the inhabitants living on the outskirts (Tab. 1).

Tab. 1: Changes in the number of outskirts population in the Great Hungarian Plain

Year	Number of population living on the outskirts
1850	50,000
1870	200,000
1910	700,000
1949	1,107,798
1960	771,222
1970	572,387
1980	323,208
1990	206,988
2010	173,038*

*Total of residential areas and outskirts of agricultural function

Source: Magyarország Helységnévtára 2010 (Gazetteer of Hungary 2010).

3. 2. Manors

From the 16th century, the extension of lands in the own management of the landowners started to increase. The Hungarian manors, however, were not so important at this time – due to the shortage of labour typical in Hungary – as their Czech, Polish or East German counterparts. The manors established in the estates of the landowners were not created at the cost of the peasants' lands, but in derelict, uncultivated or cleared lands. In addition, the boon work and thereby the transfer of the technical level used by the serfs blocked their development (Kristó and Barta and Gergely 2002, 237). What was a progress is the spatially more optimal location of the manors, on the one hand, determined by the transport tracks and market centres of the time; on the other hand, the introduction of many species of cultivated plants never known before – in addition to cereals –, like Smyrna melon, Persian peaches, several species of cherry, nut, strawberry, chestnut etc. (Frisnyák 1990, 42). After the 18th century, expropriations of the serfplots contributed more and more often to the growth of the manors. After the liberation of serfs and induced by the growing demand for food, a new solution had to be found for the effective cultivation of the lands. This solution was the farming of the manors. Landowners settled down their liberated serfs on the lands of their manors (as paid servants) and they went on cultivating their lands. The notion of manor thus expanded from the second half of the 1800s: manors as settlements were born. Manors as a piece of land and as a settlement were present in landowners' estates right until 1945. On the one hand, manor was the piece of land owned by the

landowner and cultivated by the descendants of the liberated serfs and the day labourers of the nearby villages; on the other hand, it was also a settlement, with a special society and agriculture related economic activity (Pócsi and Bajmócy and Józsa 2008, 323). After World War II, following the distribution of lands in 1945 manor as a piece of land lost its reason for existence and survived as a settlement type. Parallel to this, their decline and decay started. The utilisation of the former demesne lands and their buildings – provided that they still existed – brought a rather strong differentiation of their functions.

One of the most populous types of outskirt settlements in the Carpathian Basin was manors in the early 20th century (Balogh and Bajmócy 2011, 20). In the territory of the historical Hungary, by the Census of 1900 approximately 8,000 manors were identified, the Census of 1910 registered 6,000 of them. The distribution of the manors, however, was far from being balanced in the Carpathian Basin. In 1910, half of the manors (3,030) were in Transdanubia. Another 1,400 manors existed on the other side of the Danube, in the northern areas, in the western half of Upper North Hungary. In addition, a significant number of manors could be found in the Danube-Tisza mid-region (210), in the Northern Middle Mountains (430) and in the Banat region (440). The Transdanubian majority of manors is shown by the fact that in 1910 Somogy county had the largest number of them (approximately 11% of all of them), other counties with the largest number of manors included Tolna, Fejér, Veszprém, Vas and Zala (Tab. 2).

In 1910, a total of 431 thousand people, i.e. 2.4% of the population of Hungary lived in manors, which means that one in every forty persons was an inhabitant of manor. Of them, 233 thousand (54%) lived in Transdanubia (Balogh and Bajmócy 2011, 21).

Tab. 2: The number of manors in the counties with the largest number of manors in the territory of the historical Hungary, 1910.

	County	Number of manors		County	Number of manors
1	Somogy	654	11	Baranya	201
2	Nógrád	468	12	Hont	182
3	Fejér	375	13	Torontál	180
4	Zala	362	14	Gömör and Kishont	177
5	Veszprém	288	15	Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun	172
6	Pozsony	282	16	Sopron	162
7	Vas	281	17	Bihar	155
8	Tolna	257	18	Győr	149
9	Nyitra	250	19	Temes	114
10	Komárom	221	20	Bars	106

Source: Hungarian Central Statistical Office, Census of 1910.

4. The present and future of scattered farms and manors

4. 1. Scattered farms: a case study from the Homokhátság (The Sand Hills)

In 2005 the Hungarian government assigned the VÁTI Hungarian Public Nonprofit Company for Regional Development and Town Planning and the Great Plain Research Institute of the Centre for Regional Studies, Hungarian Academy of Sciences to explore the situation of the areas accommodating scattered farms and

map their development possibilities. The target area of the survey was 104 settlements in the so-called Homokhátság (The Sand Hills) area. The Homokhátság area, situated in the Danube-Tisza mid-region, is not a selected area on its own; however, it is one of the most active fields of researches on scattered farms. A significant proportion of all Hungarian scattered farms can be found here, accommodating approximately half of the total population of these farms. During the survey the typifying of the scattered farms was also done, identifying the following categories (Csatári and Jávör 2005, 14):

- A. Scattered farms gone by
- B. Scattered farms with economic functions (28% of existing farms in the Homokhátság)
- C. Scattered farms with residential functions (50%)
- D. Uninhabited farms (22%)

A. Scattered farms gone by: territory of former farms whose buildings have collapsed by now, their place has been occupied by field cultivation (e.g. plough lands) or other activity (Fig. 3).

B. Scattered farms with economic functions: farms where economic activity is done either on its own (without residential function) or together with residential function. This type of farms is one of the viable groups of the scattered farms. The following sub-types can be identified (Csatári and Jávör 2005, 15):

- 1. farms engaged with small-scale agricultural production (71% of the farms with economic functions) (Fig. 4);
- 2. farms engaged with large-scale agricultural production (13%);
- 3. agricultural self-sustenance without residential functions (4%);
- 4. farms engaged with rural tourism (2%);
- 5. farms engaged with other economic activities (10%).



Fig. 3: A decaying scattered farm, Kiskunmajsa.
Source: Czene 2008.



Fig. 4: A farm doing agricultural activity, Szatymaz.

Source: Czene 2008.

C. Scattered farms with residential functions: farms without economic activity but with residential function (Fig. 5). Farms with residential functions can be:

1. farms with residential functions and maybe also with agricultural self-sustenance as an auxiliary activity (44% of farms with residential functions). They make the other group of viable farms;
2. farms inhabitant by elderly people, those with financial problems or homeless (41%);
3. hobby farms (15%).



Fig. 5: A suburban residential farm on the outskirts of Kecskemét.

Source: Czene 2008.

D. Uninhabited farms: former farms with farm buildings, ones that now do not have inhabitants or economic activities. Their survival is more than questionable. Of the scattered farms of Homokhátság area, every fifth belongs to this category now (Csatári and Jávör 2005, 16).

4. 2. The manor: a case study of West Transdanubia

West Transdanubia is one of the seven planning-statistical regions of Hungary. Its borders follow administrative boundaries. It consists of three counties, from north to south these are Győr-Moson-Sopron, Vas and Zala. In the summer of 2010 and 2011, 184 manors of the region were visited; photos and databases were made of them, the use of which allowed the typifying of the manors.

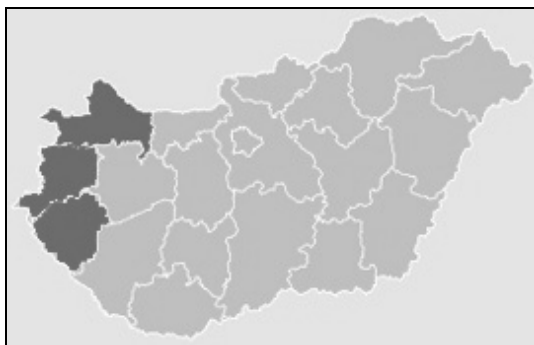


Fig. 6: The region of West Transdanubia.

The main grounds on which typifying took place were as follows (Balogh and Bajmócy 2011, 39):

- A. Physical condition of the manors
- B. Their population
- C. The present function of the former manor houses (or their manors)

A. Physical condition of the manors: the physical conditions of the 184 manors included in the survey are very heterogeneous. (We must not forget, however, that the majority of the manors have disappeared without a trace in this region too, so physical conditions only relate to those manors that still exist at some level.) The outskirts with original demesne buildings were either in the categories “in ruins” or “in bad physical condition”. Almost one-third of the 184 manors belong to this type (Fig.7).

Those former manors whose buildings are in “average” or “good” condition (approximately two-thirds of the manors surveyed) no longer contain or only partially, sporadically have original, authentic manor buildings.

B. Population of the manors: the 184 manors in our examination can be classified in three groups on this ground (Balogh and Bajmócy 2011, 40):

- 1. uninhabited (26% of demesne lands)
- 2. inhabited: with population below 25 persons (43%)
- 3. inhabited with substantial population: with more than 25 inhabitants.



Fig. 7: A manor house in bad condition on the outskirts of Mikosszéplak.
Source: Balogh and Bajmócy 2011.

Although manors – similarly to scattered farms – are usually located on the outskirts of towns and villages, there are 9 allodiums in West Transdanubia that have become sovereign settlements by now. All of them are in the category with a substantial number of inhabitants. On the other hand, a significant proportion of the outskirts with original manor buildings are often inhabited by disadvantaged, impoverished social layers.

C. Present functions of manors: typifying manors on this ground is an extremely complicated task, as the way the outskirts formerly operating as manors is rather varied; in addition, in the larger part of them we often find 2-3 functions mixing with each other. (This is why the total of the proportions of manors belonging to the respective categories exceeds 100%: as a consequence of multiple functions, one unit may belong to more than one category.) Of the 184 establishments in the survey, 91% have some function (Balogh and Bajmócy 2011, 72). The main subtypes are as follows:

1. manors with residential functions, only: 27% of the units in the survey;
2. agricultural function: in 42% of the manors we find agricultural activity. It is usually combined with residential functions but can also be the exclusive function. Within agricultural activity, animal husbandry is more frequent than plant cultivation. The buildings used can be old demesne buildings and brand new ones as well (Fig. 8).
3. Industrial function can be found in 7.5% of the manors. It is more typical of the ones with a substantial number of inhabitants; it only appears in two cases without permanent local labour force and never as a sole function. The industrial activities pursued are extremely varied: wood processing, metal industry, construction materials industry, printing industry, packaging industry, food processing industry etc (Balogh and Bajmócy 2011, 73).
4. Tourism is an economic activity in 13.5% of the manors. This is mostly the provision of accommodation (Fig. 9), or equestrian schools, in fact, the two can be combined in some cases. It is usually not the original manor buildings

that are used but it happens in some cases, especially for keeping horses. In five manors – one in Győr-Moson-Sopron and four in Zala county – touristic activity can be a function on its own (wellness, equestrian schools, animal petting, reserve, holiday resort).



Fig. 8: Modern pig farm on the outskirts of Pusztacsó.
Source: Balogh and Bajmócy 2011.



Fig. 9: Equestrian tourism in Mórchelypuszta, a part of Nagykanizsa.
Source: Balogh and Bajmócy 2011.

5. Basic services (in 12.5% of the manors) are typical in the former outskirts areas with the largest number of population, often functioning as sovereign settlements by now. Coming from the nature of the function it must always be accompanied by residential function. The contribution to the improvement of the local living conditions can be a grocery, a pub, a church, a local government, maybe a post office.
6. The 'other' category includes a wide range of activities including intellectual, transport, nature protection, social, sports and recreation etc. activities. These services can be found in 11% of the manors. It is especially ones with social care functions that utilise authentic manor buildings, especially castles and mansions. A permanent population is not an absolute necessity, as in many cases those in search of recreation are awaited by holiday homes, weekend gardens or excursion facilities (Balogh and Bajmócy 2011, 73).

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MANORS AND SCATTERED FARMS: SPECIAL SETTLEMENT FORMS OF OUTSKIRT AREAS IN HUNGARY

Summary

Scattered farms and manors are two characteristic settlement forms of outskirt areas in Hungary. Both of them are after their heydays, in decline. Their future is uncertain, and their number is continuously decreasing. They have already lost the major part of their original buildings and functions, it is only their location on the basis of which they can still be called scattered farms or manors, but not their activities any longer in many cases. Their already ongoing differentiation is expected to continue, during which process the major part of them will become farms with sheer residential functions, agricultural functions, tourism or other economic activity. On the other hand, both scattered farms and manors are important elements in the Hungarian settlement network, the Hungarian architectural heritage, which makes their preservation in some way important. There are better chances for this in the case of manors, but even in their case it is the more "spectacular" castles and mansions that are more likely to be saved from destruction, whereas a large proportion of servants' houses, stables, barns etc. will certainly disappear in the future. For the existence and re-development of the farms it is not the number of holdings that matters but the size of the estates, the quality of the land and the agricultural activity pursued. For those for whom these farms are only places of residence, it is a makeshift, only that will be abandoned immediately when these people get hold of a home in the nearby village or town, because their jobs are in the closed settlement. While formerly people lived in the towns and had their workplace in the farms, now most of the farm population has their jobs in the towns. On the whole, both scattered farms and manors will encounter processes that do not favour their survival. Their transformation will continue and this "metamorphosis" may not only mean a changed morphology and functions but eventually even a total physical annihilation.

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Izvleček

Prostorska identiteta v Sloveniji

Socialni geografi povezujejo prostorske identitete z družbeno organizacijo v smislu zadovoljevanja nekaterih potreb. Pravijo, da je posameznik umeščen v določen prostor, na katerega ga vežejo mnoge dejavnosti, ki mu omogočajo mirno, varno in udobno življenje in ga s tem vežejo v prostor, posledično pa se tudi identificirajo z njim. Dejavnike, ki vplivajo na prostorsko zavest lahko razdelimo na tradicionalne in moderne. Tradicionalni so zgodovinski spomin, kultura, umetnost, jezik, pokrajina, moderni pa družbene institucije, upravne delitve, mediji, gospodarski subjekti in množični šport.

V prispevku so opredeljeni in pojasnjeni osnovni pojmi, povezani s prostorskimi identitetami, kot so: prostorska identiteta, identiteta prostora, regionalna identiteta, identiteta regije, identitetna regija, prostorska pripadnost, zavest in identiteta.

Prostorska identiteta pomeni istovetenje (identiteto) z določenim prostorom, ki je lahko manjših ali večjih razsežnosti. Ko govorimo o prostorski identiteti, govorimo o identiteti vezani na prostor na splošno, vendar imamo lahko opravka z različnimi prostorskimi obsegi, od lokalnega do globalnega

Ključne besede

prostorska identiteta, regionalna identiteta, regionalna pripadnost, regionalna zavest, identitetne regije Slovenije

Abstract

Spatial identity in Slovenia

Social geographers link together spatial identities with social organization in term of full filling of the some needs. They claim that every individuals is install in specific space binding with it on the base of actions enable him peaceful, safe and comfortable life. In such a way man is connected with the space of living and consequently also identified with it. We can divide the factors causing spatial consciousness on traditional and modern. The traditional are historical memory, culture, art and landscape. Modern factors are social institutions, administration divisions, medias, economical companies and mass sport.

In paper we try to make clear basic terms regarding spatial identities, like: spatial identity, identity of the space, regional identity, identity of the region, identity region, spatial belongingness, consciousness and identity.

Spatial identity means that one is identifying one self with the space that could be bigger or smaller dimensions. When we talk about spatial identity we mean identities connected with the space in common but we deal with the different extensions ranged from local to global.

Key words

Spatial Identity, Regional identity, Regional belongingness, Regional consciousness, Identity regions in Slovenia

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1. Uvod

Človek se s prostorom kjer biva identificira. Zakaj? Znanost razlaga, da je prva domena človeka, zakon o ohranitvi vrste – preživetje in ohranitev vrste in individualnih biti znotraj nje. Ta preživetveni mehanizem povzroča potrebo po pripadnosti skupini in prostoru, ki pomeni večjo verjetnost preživetja skozi lažje pridobivanje osnovnih virov življenja, obrambo, zaščito ljudi, imetja in prostora bivanja ter racionalizacijo organizacije življenja. Iz te osnove izhajajo tudi socialni geografi, ki povezujejo to vprašanje z družbeno organizacijo v smislu zadovoljevanja nekaterih potreb. Pravijo, da je posameznik umeščen v določen prostor, na katerega ga vežejo mnoge dejavnosti, ki mu omogočajo mirno, varno in udobno življenje. V prostoru kjer živi, zadovoljuje najrazličnejše potrebe; nekatere skozi družbene organizacije, druge kot individuum. Prvine tega delovanja imajo za posledico prostorske identitete (Werlen 1993, 42).

V članku poskušamo nakazati pristop do prostorskih identitet in njenih povzročiteljev, od iracionalnih vplivov, do tistih, ki prihajajo iz najbolj praktičnih, vsakdanjih dejavnosti. Tako je cilj raziskave nakazati dejavnosti, povezane z družbeno organizacijo in njihov vpliv na socialne dimenzije prostora, skozi njih prihaja do skupne percepcije, imaginacije, ki ustvarja kolektivni »mi«, in »nas« razlikuje od drugih družbenih skupin ter njihovih »oni« in »njih«, isto pa ločuje »naš« prostor od »njihovega«. (Paasi 1986).

V literaturi je pogosto prisotno precej nejasnosti in neločljivosti osnovnih pojmov, kot so prostorska identiteta, regionalna identiteta, identiteta prostora, identiteta regije. Nedorečeni so tudi pojmi, prostorska pripadnost, zavest, identiteta. V članku poskušamo razjasniti te pojme, povezane z različnimi nivoji prostorskih identitet. V intervjuju ugotavljamo prostorsko pripadnost ljudi

Namen prispevka pa je tudi opredelitev različnih nivojev prostorskih identitet. Prostorska identiteta pomeni istovetenje (identiteto) z določenim prostorom, ki je lahko manjših ali večjih razsežnosti. Ko govorimo o prostorski identiteti, govorimo o identiteti vezani na prostor na splošno, vendar imamo lahko opravka z različnimi prostorskimi obsegi, od lokalnega, do globalnega. Namen raziskave je tudi ugotoviti, kako gledajo ljudje na različne prostorske nivoje identitet in kateri mehanizmi so po njihovem mnenju najbolj vplivni pri teh procesih.

1.1 Metodologija

Temeljna metoda raziskave je hevristična metoda. S hevristično metodo smo opredelili in spoznali razsežnost osnovnih pojmov, na katerih sloni raziskava. Hevristična metoda (starogrško: heurísko - najti, spoznati, odkriti, ugotoviti, izvedeti) je metoda reševanja problemov, oz. filozofski nauk o metodah raziskovanja in pridobivanja novih spoznanj. Je metoda, po kateri se s postavljanjem vprašanj in iskanjem odgovorov nanje, približujemo jedru problema. Teoretična spoznanja smo poskušali podkrepiti še z metodo intervjuja.

2. Osnovni pojmi

Tako v domači kot tudi tuji literaturi imamo opravka s celo vrsto pojmov, povezanih z obravnavano tematiko. Pogosto ti pojmi niso razjasnjeni, včasih zaradi nedorečenosti prihaja do mešanja pomena le-teh. Pojmi kažejo določeno sorodnost, vendar so različni. To so:

- prostorska identiteta,
- identiteta prostora,
- regionalna identiteta,
- identiteta regije,
- identitetna regija.

Hkrati se v literaturi pogosto uporabljajo izrazi, kot so prostorska pripadnost, prostorska zavest, regionalna pripadnost, regionalna zavest. Za obrazložitev teh pojmov podajamo najprej opise iz Slovarja slovenskega knjižnega jezika, ki jih definira na sledeč način:

a. Pripadnost

- dejstvo, da kdo, kaj, pripada čemu (pripadnost ozemlju, državi); pripadnost prostoru pomeni čutiti pripadnost do nekega ozemlja, okolja, pokrajine.

Do občutka pripadnosti (povezanosti) pride po dolgotrajnejšem bivanju neke skupnosti v določenem prostoru, v katerega družba "odtisne" svojo podobo in tudi prostor odtisne svojo podobo v družbo; to stanje je pogojeno s stopnjo družbenega, gospodarskega, tehnološkega in kulturnega razvoja. Sčasoma se vzpostavi ravnotežje med prostorom in družbo, ki v njem živi.

b. Zavest - zavedanje

- sposobnost koga, da se zaveda svojega obstajanja in svojih duševnih stanj;
- celota duševnih stanj in procesov, ki se jih kdo zaveda;
- celota idej, spoznaj o čem, kot jo ima kak osebek sploh;
- zavedanje o svoji pripadnosti čemu.

Prostorska zavest pomeni zavedanje posameznika ali družbe, da pripadata določenemu prostoru.

c. Identiteta

- skladnost, ujemanje, istovetnost

Prostorska identiteta pomeni istovetenje (identificiranje) s prostorom, običajno s prostorom bivanja.

Lahko si postavimo zanimivo vprašanje, kaj obstaja prej, prostorska pripadnost, prostorska zavest ali prostorska identiteta? Ali obstaja časovno sosledje teh pojmov (stanj)? Namen tega vprašanja ni, da razglabljamo, kaj je bilo prej kokoš ali jajce, drevo ali seme. Zanima nas ali je mogoče razvojno razložiti nastanek prostorske identitete – tudi s tega vidika. Domnevamo, da obstaja geneza omenjenih stanj, ki si sledijo v naslednjem časovnem zaporedju:

1. pripadnost
2. zavest
3. identiteta

Domnevamo, da se sprva pojavi občutek pripadnosti prostoru, ki posledično vpliva na zavedanje in deluje na prostorsko zavest. Ko je prisotno zavedanje, se pojavi istovetenje, identiteta.

V nadaljevanju podajamo kratke definicije pojmov prostorska identiteta, identiteta prostora, regionalna identiteta, identiteta regij in identitetna regija.

Prostorska identiteta

Ko govorimo o prostorski identiteti, mislimo o identitetah vezanih za prostor na splošno; obstajajo lahko najrazličnejši prostorski nivoji, od pripadnosti ozkemu bivalnemu okolju, do globalnih dimenzij.

Identiteta prostora

Identiteta prostora je predstava (poster) nekega prostora v zavesti ljudi. Bazira na pokrajinskih, kulturnih zgodovinskih in izkustvenih komponentah posameznika ali celotne družbe.

Regionalna identiteta

Regionalna identiteta je stanje prostorske zavesti posameznika ali skupnosti do nekega specifičnega območja - regije. Kaže se skozi občutke pripadnosti, identifikacije s tem območjem - regijo.

Identiteta regije

Identiteta regije je predstava določene regije v zavesti ljudi. Identiteto regije lahko razdelimo na dva dela, »subjektivno« in »objektivno«. Subjektivna identiteta regije je tista, ki jo izražajo prebivalci regije in tisti, ki živijo izven te regije, objektivna identiteta regije pa je tista, ki bazira na fizičnem okolju, pokrajini, kulturi.

Identitetna regija

Identitetna regija je območje, ki ga povezuje podobno stanje duha ter pripadnost istim družbenim institucijam, upravnim delitvam, gospodarskim subjektom, množičnim medijem, športnim klubom, posledica česar je občutek regionalne pripadnosti oziroma identifikacija s tem istim območjem (Kosi 2012).

3. Prostorska identiteta

Geografi nenehno poskušajo razjasniti dilemo ali naj geografija pojave in procese »le« opisuje, oziroma do kod jih »sme« še razlagati. Geografija izhaja iz registracije zapaženega in opisovanja prostorskih procesov, oboje videno kot učinek oziroma rezultat v prostoru. Sodobni raziskovalec pa spoznava, da prostorska stvarnost ni le izključno stvar množice pojavov, učinkov in medsebojnih prepletanj temveč, da je končni rezultat človekovega delovanja prostoru (lahko) tudi iracionalne narave. V raziskavi se sprašujemo, kaj je tisto kar človeka tako veže v prostor in ga tudi identificira z njim? A se lahko sploh verodostojno na nivoju različnih strok sprašujemo o morda nezavednem, duhovnem pomenu povezanosti človeka in prostora in vpetosti človeka vanj? Govorimo o najrazličnejših potencialnih vplivih oblikovanja prostorske zavesti, običajno rafiniranih, pogosto oddaljenih od posameznikovega osebnega sveta.

Dejavnike, ki vplivajo na prostorsko pripadnost, zavest in identiteto lahko razdelimo na tradicionalne in moderne. Tradicionalni so zgodovinski spomin, kultura, umetnost, jezik, pokrajina, moderni pa družbene institucije, upravne delitve, mediji in množični šport (Kosi 2012). Tradicionalni so pomembni prostorsko identifikacijski elementi, na katerih temeljijo tudi današnje prostorske identitete. Prostorska identiteta je produkt dolgotrajnih procesov, ki segajo globoko v preteklost. Do pojava modernih dejavnikov so bili tradicionalni glavni generatorji prostorskih identitet. Lahko bi rekli, da tradicionalni dejavniki predstavljajo bazo prostorskim identitetam, moderni pa nadgradnjo. Omenjeni dejavniki so bili podrobneje preučeni v delu Identitetne regije Slovenije (Kosi 2012) in zaradi prostorske omejenosti ni mogoče podrobneje obravnavati v pričajučem prispevku.

V določenih primerih opazamo, da prostorska identiteta – predvsem tista, ki bazira na tradicionalnih vplivih, slabi. Lahko prihaja do precej nevtralnih identitetnih območij. Preko te nevtralnosti se oblikuje prostorska identiteta skozi moč centrov

(središč), v katerih so skoncentrirani vzvodi moči skozi najrazličnejše dejavnosti (Drozg 2004). Rezultat tega je »novo« dojemanje prostorske identitete, ki se ustvarja predvsem skozi institucionalizacijo območij na osnovi izjemno akumulirane institucionalne moči centrov.

Ugotavljamo, da gre pri prostorskih identitetah za notranje vzgibe, potrebo po »opredeliti se«, ločiti se od drugih in hkrati biti z, pripadati, istovetiti se z neko skupino, idejo, prostorom, vero, prepričanjem, modnim trendom, zvrstjo glasbe, filmom, umetnostjo. Kot primer lahko navedemo nedavno svetovno prvenstvo v nogometu. Tudi ko je Slovenija izpadla iz nadaljnjega tekmovanja, so se ljudje vedno postavili pri nadaljnjih tekmah na stran nekoga, pa četudi je to ena oddaljena (prostorsko in mentalno) Gana. Naravna potreba človeka je postaviti se na neko stran, jo braniti, zagovarjati, navijati in simpatizirati. Morda veljajo isti mehanizmi tudi na političnih in drugih področjih. Ljudje smo se sposobni ločevati – združevati, tudi na podlagi tega, katero znamko avtomobila vozimo, katero pivo pijemo, katere politike volimo. Očitno gre za potrebo ločiti se od drugih in pripadati nekomu ali nečemu, v odnosu do prostora, pa je to še toliko bolj izrazito.

Musek (1997) izhaja pri pojmu prostorska identiteta iz osebne in skupinske identitete; prostorska identiteta se kaže kot zmes prostorskih in socialnih aspektov skozi življenje posameznika in družbe. Oblikuje se z vzajemnim delovanjem med posameznikom, družbo in prostorom. V prispevku poskušamo to povezavo prikazati skozi družbeno življenje, oziroma dejavnike, ki delujejo kot generatorji prostorskih identitet. Prostorske identitete pa ne izhajajo samo iz prostora samega, upoštevati je potrebno tudi duhovne aspekte. Če bi prostorska identiteta izhajala zgolj iz prostora kot takega in njegovih funkcij, potem pri emigracijskih etničnih skupinah ne bi obstajala navezanost na prostor, ki ga poseljuje matična enota, saj zdaj bivajo drugje. Po Smithu (1991) etnije in njihova povezanost s prostorom lahko živijo naprej, tudi če so že davno ločene od domovine – in sicer zaradi socialnih vezi, močne nostalgije in duhovne navezanosti. Gre za teritorij v spominu, kar velja za tako imenovane diasporične etnične skupine in dele teh skupin. Celo kadar gre za nomadske družbe, so le-te vedno navezane na določen prostor (ozemlje), ki ga imajo za svojega – lastijo si ga celo v primeru, ko nimajo stalnih naselbin.

Istovetenje s prostorom je vedno najprej ozemeljsko: človek začrta meje svojega bivališča. Z obrambo teh meja je povezana njegova suverenost. To velja tako na osebnotnem kot tudi skupinskem nivoju. Na skupinski ravni je prostorska identiteta domovina, ki je pojmovana kot država ali njena enota, na primer regija, na osebnotni ravni pa je to prostor konkretnega bivanja, ki mu rečemo dom (Južnič 1993). Tako domovina kot tudi dom imata svoje korenine v tem kar Heidegger razume kot primarni obstoj-obstajati-bit (der Da-Sein). Gre za proces, s katerim ljudje prostor spremenijo v svoj dom; ta transformacija temelji na praktičnem in čustvenem dojemanju sveta. Zato se ljudje prostorsko identificiramo tako s praktičnega kot tudi čustvenega vidika.

Glavne prvine prostorskih identitet so (Grdina 1997):

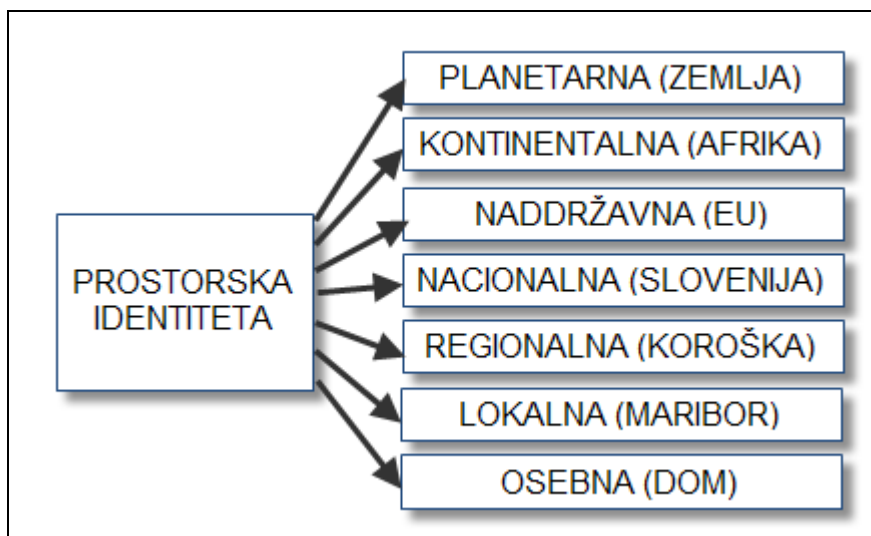
- prostorska identiteta je skupek kolektivnih predstav, ki vzpostavljajo zavest o skupni prostorski pripadnosti skupnosti, ki živi na določenem prostoru. Takšna zavest se ne pojavlja samo pri pripadnikih skupnosti, ki naseljuje določen prostor, temveč tudi pri pripadnikih drugih skupnosti. Ključno vprašanje pa je, kaj oblikuje zavest o (skupni) prostorski pripadnosti;

- prostorska identiteta ni nekaj statičnega, je zelo dinamična kategorija in je kot takšna odvisna od različnih gospodarskih, družbeno-političnih, kulturnih in drugih dejavnikov, ki se spreminjajo prostorsko in časovno;
- kolektivne predstave so sprva v glavnem posamična, individualna videnja in razumevanja, ki pa so v določenih gospodarskih, političnih in kulturnih razmerah postala last skupnosti.

Prostor, v katerem živimo je zelo obsežen in raznovrsten. Na najnižji stopnji zajema naše neposredno okolje, v kateri se trenutno gibljemo. Nekoliko bolj obširno je širše okolje, ki ga zaznavamo z našimi čuti, kot so vid, sluh in vonj. Prostor, v katerem se gibljemo vsak dan je še širši; zajema naše stanovanje, hišo, delovno mesto, trgovino, kot tudi vsa ostala mesta, ki jih obiščemo čez dan in poti, ki jih povezujejo. Prostor, ki je še obsežnejši in ga na različne načine spoznavamo, se v njem gibljemo ter v njem ali z njim načrtujemo in opravljamo različne dejavnosti, je „virtualni prostor“, ki ga posameznik sprejema iz medijev, institucij (v šoli), skozi množični šport (športne prireditve po celem svetu). Tako ima vsak posameznik množico prostorov v katerih deluje, iz tega izhajajo različni nivoji prostorskih identifikacij (Repovš 2002). Zajema naš kraj, regijo, državo, kontinent, celoten planet. Vsakega od naštetih prostorov spoznavamo na različne načine, v njih načrtujemo in izvajamo različne dejavnosti. O tem govorijo tudi psihologi, ki predpostavljajo, da temelji naše spoznavanje, iz katerega sledijo posamezne prostorske identitete, na različnih kognitivnih procesih in miselnih predstavah. Downs in Stea (1977) ločujeta zaznavni prostor majhnih razsežnosti ter geografski ali transperceptualni prostor velikih razsežnosti ter poudarjata, da se način zaznavanja in spoznavanja v obeh prostorih pri ljudeh pomembno razlikuje. Velikost prostora se tesno povezuje z identitetami in z virom informacij, ki so ključne pri njegovem spoznavanju kar direktno vpliva na prostorske identifikacije. Glede na zaznavne in spoznavne vire informacij ločuje Mark (1992) tri osnovne koncepte prostora, ki jih lahko zasledimo v prostorski kogniciji: haptični, slikovni in transperceptualni prostor. Haptični prostor obsega bližnji prostor, ki ga spoznavamo s stiki in telesno interakcijo z njim. Slikovni prostor temelji na vidni zaznavi, vključuje pa tudi slušne in vonjalne informacije. Transperceptualni prostor presega okvire naše zaznave, saj je opredeljen kot prostor, ki ga ne moremo naenkrat zajeti v celoti. V umu ga sestavljamo na podlagi izkušenj z večjim številom neodvisnih haptičnih in slikovnih prostorov, ki jih prejmemo skozi različne vplive vsakdanjega življenja. Različno zaznavanje prostorov različnih razsežnosti vpliva tudi na različne nivoje prostorskega identificiranja (lokalno, regionalno, ...).

Prostorska identiteta pomeni istovetenje (identiteto) z določenim prostorom, ki je lahko manjših ali večjih razsežnosti. Ko govorimo o prostorski identiteti, govorimo o identiteti vezani na prostor na splošno, vendar imamo lahko opravka z različnimi prostorskimi obsegi. Tako kot imamo državne institucije, nekatere na državnem, druge regionalnem, spet tretje na lokalnem nivoju. Vsem je skupno, da so državne, postavljene pa so za prostore različnih dimenzij. Podobno je s prostorskimi identitetami. Prostorska identiteta predstavlja okvir, znotraj katerega lahko umestimo cel spekter od lokalnega do planetarnega. Tako na primer med prostorsko in regionalno identiteto ne gre za hierarhičen odnos, saj govorimo o prostorski identiteti tako na lokalni ravni, kot tudi globalni. V prispevku razumemo prostorsko identiteto kot splošni pojem, ki vsebuje različne nivoje in oblike identitet vezanih za prostor – na primer, regionalna identiteta predstavlja enega izmed nivojev prostorske identitete.

Tako predstavlja prostorska identiteta splošno gledanje na različne prostorske identitete, za katere veljajo podobni ali celo enaki principi.



Slika 1: Nivoji prostorskih identitet.

Vir: Kosi, 2012.

Posameznik se istočasno opredeljuje na vseh nivojih, točno ve kakšen je njegov odnos do svojega doma, ima občutek pripadnosti „svojemu“ Logatcu, Notranjski, Sloveniji, EU. Še najbolj izrazito je to opredeljevanje na lokalni, regionalni in narodni ravni. Vendar se različni nivoji prostorskih identitet ne izključujejo ampak dopolnjujejo, hierarhično nadgrajujejo in včasih tudi konkurirajo.

V času v katerem živimo smo podvrženi mnogim globalnim vplivom, prihaja do "množenja" prostorskih identitet. Postmoderna, postkapitalistična, postindustrijska družba ponuja veliko identitet tudi v prostorskem smislu. V današnji družbi se lahko identitete med seboj prekrivajo in kopičijo ter s tem tudi zasenčijo pomen katere iz med njih. V Evropi se je pojavila še nadnacionalna identiteta, ki jo lahko imenujemo evropska. Mesto evropske identitete je nekje med nacionalnimi identitetami in globalizacijskimi razsežnostmi. Nastaja zaradi vse večjega širjenja ter vpliva Evropske unije na naša življenja - predvsem EU igra pomembno vlogo pri nastanku evropske identitete – verjetno bo ta nivo prostorske identitete postajal vse bolj prisoten tudi v vsakdanjem življenju ljudi.

Vendar se posameznik težko istoveti, identificira s tako široko skupnostjo, kot je nadnacionalna skupnost (na primer Evropska unija ali Evropa). Za človeka so še vedno temeljnega pomena manjše skupine in skupnosti ter prostori vezani za njih. Potrebe po družbeni pripadnosti, varnosti in sprejetosti se uresničujejo predvsem na lokalni ter regionalni ravni in ne širše. Zato dobivata vse večji pomen lokalna in regionalna pripadnost, saj so mentalno ljudem kraji in regije bližje kot država, kaj šele Unija. Vendar je potrebno računati tudi z evropsko identiteto. Če razmišljamo o času, ko nacionalne identitete še niso bile izoblikovane in zakoreninjene med ljudmi, so se ti identificirali s svojim krajem, dolino, pokrajino, ne pa s tedaj tako abstraktno idejo nacije. Prav tako se morda nekomu danes zdi abstraktna ideja o

evropski identiteti in njena dejanska »zaživitev« med ljudmi. Čas bo prinesel odgovore, če se je tako ogromna in heterogena struktura kot je EU sploh sposobna ohraniti na »daljši rok«, in če se je, kako bo to delovalo identitetno na ljudi. Kakorkoli že, tako regionalna identiteta, kot tudi evropska, pomenita obogatitev za človeka in lahko predstavljata izziv za nacionalno identiteto. Kot pa smo že omenili, ni nujno, da se različne identitete med seboj izključujejo, ampak se lahko dopolnjujejo.

Prostorska identiteta pa se ne konča na nadnacionalnem nivoju ampak lahko doseže tudi kontinentalnega (Evropejci, Afričani, Američani). V zadnjih letih prihaja v ospredje, predvsem v povezavi z ekološkimi, klimatskimi, zdravstvenimi in ekonomskimi spremembami/ dogajanjem, zavest, da smo prebivalci Zemlje. Vedno bolj se zavedamo, da karkoli pomembnega se zgodi v Sloveniji, ZDA ali na Kitajskem, ima hitro vpliv tudi na vsako posamezno državo in celoten planet. Metaforično lahko rečemo, da sedimo vsi v istem čolnu in karkoli se zgodi na posameznem delu čolna, vpliva na vse, ki sedijo v njem.

4. Rezultati Intervjuja o prostorski identiteti v Sloveniji v luči različnih nivojev prostorskega identificiranja

V Sloveniji smo 2011 končali sedem letno raziskavo o prostorskih identitetah v Sloveniji (Kosi 2012). Ena izmed metod raziskave je bil tudi intervju ki smo ga izvajali tri leta, do 2009. Intervjuvali smo 440 oseb iz različnih delov Slovenije. V pričujočem članku predstavljamo rezultate omenjene raziskave z vidika različnih nivojev prostorskih identitet.

Odgovori intervjuvancev so pokazali, da lahko v Sloveniji prepoznamo 12 identitetnih območij s katerimi se najpogosteje identificirajo: Prekmursko, Mariborskoštajersko, Koroško, Celjskoštajersko, Zasavsko, Posavsko, Dolenjsko, Ljubljansko, Gorenjsko, Notranjsko, Goriška in Primorsko.

Vsako od teh območij ima svoje središče – v nekaterih primerih tudi več. Ponekod je občutek regionalne pripadnosti najmočnejši v središčih regij, proti mejam s sosednjimi slabi - Ljubljanska regija - in se preliva z drugimi. V določenih primerih pa je regionalna identiteta ravno na robnih območjih najizrazitejša - Prelekija nasproti Prekmurski identiteti.

Intervjuvanci so v pogovoru nakazali, da zaznavajo različne nivoje prostorskega identificiranja, od lokalnega do globalnega. Odgovori povezani z lokalnim prostorskim nivojem kažejo predvsem na praktične vidike življenja. Bolj »abstraktni svetovi« pa so povezani predvsem s prihodnostjo in skrbjo – tudi strahom, glede dogajanj na globalni ravni, s seveda možnimi posledicami na lokalni.

Posameznik se istočasno opredeljuje na vseh nivojih, točno ve kakšen je njegov odnos do svojega doma, ima občutek pripadnosti »svojemu« Logatcu, Notranjski, Sloveniji, EU. Še najbolj izrazito je to opredeljevanje na lokalni in regionalni ravni. Vendar se različni nivoji prostorskih identitet ne izključujejo ampak dopolnjujejo, hierarhično nadgrajujejo in včasih tudi konkurirajo.

Vprašani v veliki večini jasno zavedajo kateri regiji pripadajo, kaj je njihova »matična« regija, skoraj enoznačni so tudi odgovori glede središča posamezne regije. Brez dvomov je močno prisoten tudi državni identitetni nivo, nastaja pa tudi

v povezavi z Evropsko unijo. Izkazalo se je, da ljudje razmišljajo praktično, bližje so jim kar je seveda logično, ožji bivalni prostori. Širše prostorske strukture so jim precej oddaljene, abstraktne in odtujene.

4. Zaključek

V prispevku opozarjamo na raznovrstnost prostorov našega bivanja in delovanja ter posledično tudi identificiranja. Ljudje se jasno opredeljujejo/umeščajo in identificirajo z različnimi prostorskimi nivoji, od lokalnega do globalnega. Posameznik se istočasno opredeljuje na vseh nivojih, točno ve kakšen je njegov odnos do svojega doma, ima občutek pripadnosti „svojemu“ Logatcu, Notranjski, Sloveniji, EU. Še najbolj izrazito je to opredeljevanje na lokalni, regionalni in narodni ravni. Vendar se različni nivoji prostorskih identitet ne izključujejo ampak dopolnjujejo, hierarhično nadgrajujejo in včasih tudi konkurirajo.

Geografi povezujejo prostorske identitete z družbeno organizacijo v smislu zadovoljevanja nekaterih potreb. Pravijo, da je posameznik umeščen v določen prostor, na katerega ga vežejo mnoge dejavnosti, ki mu omogočajo mirno, varno in udobno življenje in ga s tem vežejo v prostor, posledično pa tudi identificirajo z njim.

V prispevku so opredeljeni in pojasnjeni osnovni pojmi povezanimi s prostorskimi identitetami, kot so: prostorska identiteta, identiteta prostora, regionalna identiteta, identiteta regije, identitetna regija, prostorska pripadnost, zavest in identiteta.

Dejavnike, ki vplivajo na prostorsko zavest lahko razdelimo na tradicionalne in sodobne. Tradicionalni so zgodovinski spomin, kultura, umetnost, jezik, pokrajina, sodobni pa družbene institucije, upravne delitve, mediji, gospodarski subjekti in množični šport. Tradicionalni so pomembni prostorsko identifikacijski elementi, na katerih temeljijo tudi današnje prostorske identitete. Prostorska identiteta je produkt dolgotrajnih procesov, do pojava modernih dejavnikov, so bili tradicionalni glavni generatorji prostorskih identitet. V določenih primerih opazimo, da prostorska identiteta – predvsem tista, ki bazira na tradicionalnih vplivih, slabi. Glede na izjave intervjuvancev ugotavljamo, da blede zgodovinski spomin, zaradi globalizacijskih vplivov pada identitetna moč narečij (jezika), pogosto se izgubljajo značilnosti tradicionalne pokrajine, masovna globalizacijska kultura meče veliko senco na lokalno-regionalno. Zaradi tega lahko prihaja do precej nevtralnih identitetnih območij. Preko te nevtralnosti se oblikuje prostorska identiteta skozi moč centrov (središč), v katerih so skoncentrirani vzvodi moči skozi najrazličnejše dejavnosti kot so mediji, institucije, upravne delitve, gospodarske subjekte in množični šport. Rezultat tega je »novo« dojemanje prostorske identitete, ki se ustvarja predvsem skozi institucionalizacijo območij na osnovi izjemno akumulirane institucionalne moči centrov. Vendar so tradicionalne usedline še vedno močno prisotne, zaradi česar ugotavljamo preplet sodobnih in tradicionalnih dejavnikov na prostorsko identiteto ljudi.

Rezultati intervjuja kažejo, da lahko v Sloveniji prepoznamo 12 identitetnih območij s katerimi se ljudje najpogosteje identificirajo: Prekmursko, Mariborskoštajersko, Koroško, Celjskoštajersko, Zasavsko, Posavsko, Dolenjsko, Ljubljansko, Gorenjsko, Notranjsko, Goriška in Primorsko identitetno območje.

Ponekod je občutek regionalne pripadnosti najmočnejši v središčih regij, proti mejam s sosednjimi slabi - Ljubljanska regija in se preliva z drugimi. V določenih primerih pa je regionalna identiteta ravno na robnih območjih najizrazitejša - Prlekija nasproti Prekmurski identiteti.

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SPATIAL IDENTITY IN SLOVENIA

Summary

In paper we would like to point out the diversity of the space of human living and acting, subsequently also identifying. The people very clearly declaring them self with the different spatial levels from local to global. The individuals are declaring them self at the same time on all spatial levels, they express clearly their relations towards their home, they have feeling of belongings to »their« Logatec, Notranjska, Slovenia and EU. Most explicitly they declare them self on local, regional and national level. Different levels of spatial identities don't exclude each other but working complementary and sometimes also compete one another. Geographers link together spatial identities with social organization in term of full filling of the some needs. They claim that every individuals is install in specific space binding with it on the base of actions enable him peaceful, safe and comfortable life. In such a way man is connected with the space of living and consequently also identified with it.

In the paper we try to make clear about basic terms regarding spatial identities, like: spatial identity, identity of the space, regional identity, identity of the region, identity region, spatial belonging ness, consciousness and identity.

We can divide the factors causing spatial consciousness on traditional and modern. The traditional are historical memory, culture, art, language and landscape. Modern factors are social institutions, administration divisions, medias, economical companies and mass sport. The traditional are important spatial identical factors and represent the basis of actual spatial identities. Spatial identities are the product of the long term process until the appearance of the modern they have been main generators of spatial identities. But we have been notice in certain cases that spatial identities – especially that based on traditional influences is decreasing. According to the opinion of interviewers we conclude that historical memories gets lost. Due to globalization influences the role of dialects slowly decline. And we are the witnesses of the diminishing characteristics of the traditional landscape. Mass global culture is prevailing local-regional. Due to all those facts neutral identical Territories can appear. New spatial identity is shaped by strong influence of the cities where many social activities are concentrated like social institutions, economical companies, the seat of administration divisions, medias and mass sport. The result of that process is new understanding of spatial identities created through the institutionalization of the Territories on the base of the outstanding accumulated institutional powers of the Centre. But traditional influences are still intensively present, so we found out the mixture of the both traditional and modern.

The results of the interview shows that in Slovenia we can recognize 12 identical regions: Prekmurje, Mariborskaštajerska, Koroška, Celjskoštajerska, Zasavje, Posavje, Dolenjska, Ljubljana region, Gorenjska, Notranjska, Goriška in Primorska. Somewhere the feeling of belonging ness is strongest in the Centre of the regions getting weaker towards the borders and mixing there with neighbors regional identity (Ljubljana region). In certain cases regional identity is strongest at the borders area – Prlekija against Prekmurje identity.

URBAN BLIGHT AND URBAN REDESIGN: SCHICKSAL UND / ODER CHANCE

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Abstract

Urban Blight and Urban Redesign: Schicksal und / oder Chance

The phenomenon of urban blight dates back to the 19th century when industrialisation starting in Europe and North America initiated an uncontrolled urban growth in combination with strong demand in cheap and quickly constructed housing. Ghettoisation of mainly the working-class population and other "marginal groups" were the consequence together with a constant decay of single buildings, whole blocks and quarters. These general aspects of urban blight with its additional facets or aspects residential, commercial, industrial, physical, functional and social blight can be presupposed and will not be topic of this paper. Nevertheless urban blight is by no means a topic of the past, it still today challenges apart from geographers a remarkable number of other disciplines (urban and landscape planners and designers, economists, sociologists, medical sciences, etc., not to forget politicians, the media, and last but not least the city dwellers themselves). While urban blight, urban decay, - decline, or - crisis originally seemed to be a problem of the big cities and metropolises it meanwhile also affects the small towns and centers. By the example of two Styrian small towns, Murau and Eisenerz, both counting less than 5.000 inhabitants each some of the many reasons for their being confronted with symptoms of urban blight will be addressed together with the up to now largely unsolved question which possible counter strategies could be successfully applied. One namely "urban redesign" has been chosen from a number of others mainly because it has been selected by the city of Eisenerz as a strategy against urban blight and to fight the dramatic population losses of 7867 citizens between 1951 (pop.: 12948) and 2010 (pop.: 5087).

The crucial questions for the future to be discussed facing the present world wide monetary crisis will be:

1. Will there be enough money to finance the necessary rescue measures?
2. Who pays and bears the risks of a failure?
3. Is it worth while and justified to invest huge amounts of public money into a seemingly bottomless barrel or
4. borrowing an idea from the human hospice-movement: would it not be wiser, more human, and cost-efficient to spend much less money for those measures only that are needed to guarantee a patient (city) with little or uncertain perspectives for the future a survival in dignity.

Knowing that the hospice movement was severely questioned in its initial phase although today it is widely accepted and respected the transformation of this idea into the urban sphere as one means to discuss the problem of urban decay and urban blight seems justified.

Key words

Urban blight, urban redesign, Kleinstadt, Leerstände, Rückbau, Reformpartnerschaft

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1. Einleitung

Das hier vorgestellte Thema, obwohl hunderte Male diskutiert und publiziert besitzt dennoch ungebrochene Aktualität, beschäftigt Planer, Politiker, Medien, Wissenschaftler und Bürger gleichermaßen. Waren Stadtverfall und Städterückbau ursprünglich Probleme in Metropolen und großen Städten, so hat das Phänomen längst auch die mittelgroßen und kleinen urbanen Zentren erreicht. Wie ehemals bewirkt es auch dort Unbehagen, teilweise Ratlosigkeit und bisweilen heftige Auseinandersetzungen über adäquate Lösungsstrategien. Da Geschichte und Phänomen des „urban blight“ als bekannt vorausgesetzt werden dürfen, werden im folgenden u. a. einige persönliche Überlegungen zu dessen gegenwärtiger Problematik in österreichischen Kleinstädten zur Diskussion gestellt und in der Folge Möglichkeiten zur Bewältigung, zumindest aber zum Umgang mit dieser Herausforderung für Stadtplanung, Kommunal- und Sozialpolitik sowie für Ortsbild und Denkmalschutz angesprochen. Dabei möchte der Verfasser ganz bewusst und durchaus ein wenig provokativ auf die Grundprinzipien der menschlichen Existenz zurückgreifen, auf Geburt und Tod, leben und sterben, werden und vergehen.

Zu den offenkundigen Tabus und absoluten „no goes“ in der heimischen Kommunalpolitik scheint zu gehören, aus welchem Grund auch immer, schwächelnde, dem Niedergang geweihte Ortschaften oder Ortsteile mit zum Teil immensem budgetärem, politischem und/oder medialem Einsatz so lange wie möglich am Leben zu erhalten, auch entgegen mittel- wie langfristig negativer Entwicklungsprognosen mit wirtschafts- und sozialpolitischem Hintergrund. Wieso ist das so? Auf diese Frage gibt es ebenso wenig eine eindeutige und allseits befriedigende Antwort wie auf jene nach der Sinnhaftigkeit, „Wirtschaftlichkeit“, „Sozialverträglichkeit“, Notwendigkeit bzw. Berechtigung des Einsatzes kosten – und materialintensiver Maßnahmen zur Verlängerung des Lebens eines dem Tod geweihten Patienten. Moralische oder ethische Überlegungen dazu bleiben weitestgehend ausgespart, da sie die Diskussion auf eine andere, der Kommunalpolitik (leider) zumeist fremde bzw. von ihr gemiedene metaphysische Ebene führen. Dennoch wird immer wieder die „moralische Verpflichtung“ der Politik beschworen, wenn es um die Erhaltung bzw. Absicherung von essentiellen Betriebsstandorten oder wirtschaftlichen Grundlagen von Städten geht. Wie soll man mit dieser Forderung umgehen? Hier gilt wohl die selbe Uneinigkeit bzw. Ratlosigkeit, wie sie derzeit bei der Bewältigung der Budget- und Finanzkrise in der EU zu beobachten ist. Die Beispiele Griechenland, Portugal, Zypern, Italien, Spanien oder jüngst Slowenien könnten, wenn auch mit einer völlig anderen Dimension, als Analysemuster für Ursachen und Umgang mit der Krise einzelner Städte fungieren.

2. Urban Blight

Städtische Verfallserscheinungen finden auf der Makro- (Gesamtstadt), Meso- (Stadtteile oder Stadtviertel) und Mikroebene statt (Objekte, Ensembles). Darüber hinaus untergliedert man Blight-Erscheinungen häufig in commercial-, industrial- oder residential blight (Lichtenberger 1998, 279). Auch von social blight ist die Rede, wenn es um Erscheinungen des sozialen Niederganges, der sozialen Aushöhlung geht. Neben dem Begriff „Urban Blight“ findet auch der eher unscharfe, weil ubiquitär angewandte Terminus „Urban Decay“ Eingang in die Fachliteratur. Er wird sowohl für ökonomische, soziale (Obdachlosigkeit, Kriminalität, ethnische Überfremdung, etc.) und städtebauliche Verfallsprozesse gebraucht. Seit sich in den letzten Jahrzehnten des 20. Jahrhunderts das städtische Geschäftsleben von den

Innenstädten immer mehr an die Stadtränder verlagerte und somit der schon viel früher stattgefunden Abwanderung der Wohnbevölkerung aus den Zentren folgte, spricht man vom Commercial Blight der Innenstädte. Die Kommunalpolitik reagiert äußerst unterschiedlich auf diesen Prozess, was nicht weiter verwundert, gleicht doch letztlich kein selbstständiges urbanes Gebilde dem anderen. Zudem sind in einem pluralistischen Gesellschaftssystem mit einer differenzierten, hinsichtlich ihrer politischen Ziele zum Teil kontroversiell ausgerichteten Parteienlandschaft Entscheidungen und Planungsstrategien zur Stadtentwicklung eher ortszentriert, denn auf lokal übergreifende, regionale Aspekte mit einbeziehende, zukunftsorientierte Entwicklungskonzepte ausgerichtet. Ein Übriges zur durchaus unbefriedigenden wirtschaftlichen, d.h. fiskalischen Situation in der Mehrzahl der österreichischen Stadtgemeinden trägt die seit Jahrzehnten einzementierte, modernen Ansprüchen nicht mehr gerecht werdende Gemeindestruktur bei; kurz gesagt gibt es zu viele, zu kleine Gemeinden. Diese haben bis heute ihre Gemeindeautonomie, unabhängig von den politischen Mehrheitsverhältnissen, mit Zähnen und Klauen verteidigt. Erst seit 2010 kommt Bewegung in dieses starre Gefüge. Mit dem Slogan „Wir wollen die Steiermark neu ordnen“ (Kleine Zeitung, Graz, 16. Sept. 2011) haben die zwei größten Parteien der Steiermark, die Sozialdemokratische Partei Österreichs (SPÖ) und die Österreichische Volkspartei (ÖVP) eine sog. „Reformpartnerschaft“ beschlossen. Deren vorrangiges Ziel ist eine tiefgreifende Verwaltungsstrukturereform. Mit ihrer Hilfe soll in erster Linie die prekäre finanzielle Lage der Gemeinden, aber auch des Landes selbst, verbessert werden. Einsparungen werden vor allem durch die Zusammenlegung von politischen Bezirken (ab 1. 1. 2013 nur noch 13 statt bisher 17 politische Bezirke) und von Gemeinden erwartet (Kleine Zeitung, Graz, 20. 4. 2012, S. 16, Albertoni: Neue Bezirke. Aus sechs mach drei).

Während auf Bezirksebene die erste Vereinigung zwischen den obersteirischen Bezirken Judenburg und Knittelfeld zum neuen Bezirk Murtal bereits ohne größere Schwierigkeiten Anfang 2012 vollzogen wurde, verursachten andere Fusionspläne z. T. viel beachtete Irritationen in der Lokal- und Regionalpolitik, aber auch innerhalb der betroffenen Bevölkerung. So gibt es heftige Proteste nicht nur gegen eine Vereinigung der beiden oststeirischen Bezirke Feldbach und Fürstenfeld, da Feldbach eher zu Radkersburg tendiert, sondern auch gegen den Namensvorschlag für einen neuen Bezirk „Vulkanland“. Es wird befürchtet, dass die mit großem Aufwand eingeführte „trade mark“ „Vulkanland“ für eine räumlich begrenzte Kulinarik- und Wellnessregion durch ihre verwaltungspolitische Vereinnahmung verwässert werden könnte. Weiters gibt es Tendenzen zur teilweisen Auflösung bisheriger Bezirksstrukturen. So streben einzelne Gemeinden des Bezirkes Radkersburg aus verkehrs- und arbeitsplatztechnischen Gründen eher zum Nachbarbezirk Leibnitz als nach Feldbach. Kurios ist die Situation im Bezirk Liezen, der wegen seiner flächenmäßigen Ausdehnung bislang 2 politische Exposituren (Gröbming und Bad Aussee) umfasste. Der Beschluss, die Expositur Bad Aussee aufzulösen, führte zu einer Welle der Entrüstung. Hauptgrund dafür war vor allem der Verlust des bisherigen eigenen Polizeikennzeichens BA, das sogar in der heimischen volkstümlichen Musik besungen wird. Einzelne Gemeinden des österreichweit wegen seiner kulturellen Eigenständigkeit bekannten Ausseerlandes nahmen die Auflösung der regionalpolitischen Teilselbstständigkeit sogar zum (vielleicht nicht ganz ernst gemeinten) Anlass, eine Abspaltung von der Steiermark und einen Anschluss an das wesensverwandte, wirtschaftsstarke oberösterreichische Salzkammergut anzudenken.

Seit dem Niedergang des Salzbergbaus hat das steirische Salzkammergut mit strukturellen Problemen zu kämpfen, die durch den Tourismus nur zum Teil wett gemacht werden können. Geschäftsleerstände, Einschränkungen des lokalen Krankenhausbetriebes, Abwanderung oder Tendenzen zur Überalterung der Wohnbevölkerung im kleinregionalen Hauptort Bad Aussee (2012: 4.884 EW) spiegeln die Situation auf regionaler Ebene wider. Damit wird auch klar, dass eine groß angelegte kommunale Verwaltungsreform nicht ohne begleitende Maßnahmen bzw. nur unter Berücksichtigung der regionalen Strukturen i. w. S. erfolgreich sein kann.

Obwohl in der heutigen wissenschaftlichen Geographie der traditionellen Regionalgeographie, vor allem dann, wenn sie sich dem sog. „länderkundlichen Schema“ verbunden fühlt, mit Skepsis bis Ablehnung entgegen getreten wird, ist die regionale Ebene als Forschungsbezug unverzichtbar. Mit der Forderung eines „Europas der Regionen“ und den zahlreichen Regionalförderprogrammen hat die Europäische Union der „Region“ als Keimzelle der europäischen Integration ein besonders Gewicht verliehen. Nur in einer gesunden Region können sich letztlich gesunde Gemeinden entwickeln. Ein gehäuftes Auftreten von Blight-Phänomenen kann daher ein Hinweis auf eine insgesamt schwächelnde Regionalstruktur sein. Das heißt freilich nicht, dass „Krisenregionen“ nur durch negative Symptome, wie stagnierende oder schrumpfende Städte gekennzeichnet sind. Die ehemaligen Industrie- und Bergbauregionen der Obersteiermark stützen diese These ebenso eindrucksvoll wie die Oststeiermark. Beide Landesteile zeugen aber auch dafür, dass regionaler wie städtischer Verfall nicht nur eine betont räumliche, sondern auch eine ebenso wichtige zeitliche Dimension aufweisen.

Neben dem räumlichen und zeitlichen Aspekt des Blight-Phänomens, das auf regionaler Ebene ja nicht nur in den Städten zu beobachten ist, sondern gleichwohl im ländlichen Raum mit seinen Hof- und Flurwüstungen, Betriebsstilllegungen bzw. -umstellungen, den Schwierigkeiten, in Landwirtschaft und Gewerbe engagierte Nachfolger zu finden, allgegenwärtig ist, darf die i. w. S. (sozial-) politische Komponente des Urban Blight keineswegs vernachlässigt werden. Immerhin ist in einem demokratisch geführten Rechtsstaat das private Niederlassungsrecht, die freie Wahl des Wohn- bzw. Betriebsstandortes von gesetzlichen Reglementierungen wie auch von den Spielregeln des Immobilienmarktes und damit auch von den finanziellen Möglichkeiten des Standortwerbers abhängig. Anders als in den großen Städten Österreichs spielt der soziale, meist von den Kommunen getragene Wohnbau in den Kleinstädten zahlenmäßig nur eine untergeordnete Rolle. Dennoch hat es auch dort auf der Mikroebene zu einer sozialen Selektion der Wohnbevölkerung geführt. Die niedrigen Mieten und die meist aus Baukostengründen weniger attraktiven Standorte, dazu das auf soziale Bedürftigkeit ausgelegte Wohnungsvergabesystem, führten dazu, dass etwa bis in die Sechziger Jahre des 20. Jh. überwiegend Arbeiter, kleine Angestellte und Gemeindebedienstete mit Kindern in den Genuss dieser Wohnungen kamen. Da der kommunale Sozialwohnbau in den kleinen ehemaligen Industrie- und Bergbaustädten Österreichs vornehmlich von der Sozialdemokratie getragen wurde, was gleichermaßen auf die Werkwohnungen der (staatlichen) Großbetriebe zutrifft, ist es naheliegend, dass bei der Wohnungsvergabe auch auf die (richtige) politische Gesinnung geschaut wurde. Da weder Mieter noch Vermieter über die nötigen Kapitalreserven für Sanierungs- oder Verbesserungsarbeiten verfügten, verschlechterte sich der Wohnungsstandard der selten über 60 m² großen Wohnungen zusehends. Dies und der wirtschaftliche Aufschwung seit den 1960-ern

fürhte dazu, dass die Ansprüche an das Wohnen auch innerhalb der besser situierten sozialen Unterschicht bzw. bei jenen, die den Aufstieg in die (untere) Mittelschicht geschafft hatten, immer größer wurden. Es kam zu einem ersten sozialen Austausch innerhalb der Mieterschaft, der sich wegen der äußerst günstigen Mieten jedoch vorzugsweise innerhalb des Familienverbandes abspielte. Die Eltern bezogen entweder eine größere (Eigentums-)Wohnung oder bauten das ersehnte Häuschen im Grünen, die Studierenden oder erst berufstätig gewordenen Kinder blieben in der billigen elterlichen Kleinwohnung.

Ab den 1970er Jahren wurde der Sozialwohnbau immer stärker vom Genossenschafts- bzw. Eigentumswohnbau abgelöst. Ein neues Mietrecht führte einerseits zu einer drastischen Erhöhung der Mieten, andererseits zu einer erschwerten Weitergabe der Wohnungen. Den entscheidenden Anstoß für eine drastische Veränderung des sozialen Gefüges im städtischen Mietwohnungswesen lieferte zunächst die Privatisierungswelle im kommunalen Sozial- und betrieblichen Werkwohnungswesen. Die bisher auch für kleine Einkommen leistbaren Wohnungen wurden nun plötzlich zu marktpreislichen Bedingungen weiter vermietet oder in das Eigentum übertragen. Die Zahl an finanziell bedingten Wohnungsleerständen vorzugsweise im Substandardbereich bzw. an unattraktiven Standorten nahm folglich zu. Mit den gravierenden politischen Umwälzungen ab 1989 in Europa, von denen Österreich kraft seiner geopolitischen Lage in Mitteleuropa besonders heraus gefordert wurde, trat ein weiterer Faktor auf den Plan, welcher das Entstehen bzw. Weiterbestehen urbaner Blightphänomene begünstigt: die gewaltige Welle an politischen und Wirtschaftsflüchtlingen, vorzugsweise aus den Balkanländern, der Türkei, Tschetschenien, Afghanistan, Irak, Südost-Asien, Nord- und Schwarzafrika. Nicht nur die gewaltige Zahl an Asylanten, sondern vielmehr ihre Herkunft aus völlig differenten Kulturräumen mit großteils muslimischer Religion verursacht seither zunehmend Spannungen zwischen den Asylanten und der Mehrheitsbevölkerung. Neben der Integrationsunwilligkeit vieler Muslime trägt auch die überforderte, perspektiven- und planlos agierende Innenpolitik (fehlender Zugang zum Arbeitsmarkt für Asylwerber, zu lange Asylverfahren: beides fördert die Kriminalität; großzügige Nachholung von Familienmitgliedern, zu wenig Rücksicht auf die berufliche Qualifikation der Asylwerber und damit auf die Erfordernisse des heimischen Arbeitsmarktes, etc.) zur Verschärfung der Lage bei.

Mit der Entleerung der Innenstädte seit den 1970-ern, die auch Österreichs Kleinstädte in unterschiedlicher Intensität betraf, standen nunmehr immer mehr Wohnungen und Geschäftslokale bzw. Gewerbeflächen leer. Dieser Residential bzw. Commercial Blight dauert bis heute fort. Vom Commercial Blight sind in erster Linie der Lebensmittelhandel, kleine eigenständige Spezialgeschäfte, Bäckereien und Konditoreien, der Fleisch- und Wurstwarenhandel sowie die Gastronomie erfasst worden. Als Gegenstrategie sollte ein Stadtmarketing neuen Schwung in die Innenstädte bringen. Über dessen Ziele und Erfolge bzw. Erfolgshoffnungen ist inzwischen viel geredet und geschrieben worden, was als bekannt vorausgesetzt werden darf. Als persönlicher Nachsatz, der auf einschlägige Gespräche mit Bürgermeister*innen fußt, kann dazu festgehalten werden, dass sich die hohen Erwartungen der Politik in das Stadtmarketingkonzept allzu oft nicht oder nur zum Teil erfüllt haben, was insbesondere auf die damit verbundenen hohen Kosten bzw. teilweise mangelnde Qualifikation der Verantwortungsträger zurückzuführen ist. Wie beim ebenso propagierten Leerstandsmanagement zeigte sich ganz klar, dass ohne Mitwirkung und Bereitschaft der Geschäfts- bzw. Betriebsinhaber bzw.

Liegenschaftseigentümer das beste Konzept scheitert. Diese Binsenweisheit sollte den Marketingexperten bekannt sein.

Versuche der Kommunen, Commercial Blight-Phänomene in den Griff zu bekommen, scheitern entweder an physischen Standortkriterien (schlechte Lage, schlechte Zu- und Abfahrt für Lieferanten, fehlende Parkplätze, etc.), an sozialen Kriterien (Überalterung der Vorbesitzer bzw. Vermieter mit teilweisen Tendenzen zum Altersstarrsinn, Resentiments gegenüber bestimmten Nachmietern wie Ausländern, etc.), an ökonomisch-bautechnischen Kriterien (überzogene Mietzins- oder Kaufpreisforderungen, schlecht ausgestattete oder zu kleine Lokalitäten, hoher Instandsetzungs-, Umbau- bzw. Modernisierungsaufwand, etc.) oder, leider, schlicht und einfach an persönlichen Kriterien wie Unfähigkeit, Unwilligkeit, Ignoranz, Korruption, etc., die nicht auf einzelne Akteure respektive Institutionen begrenzt sind. Dennoch sind Geschäftsleerstände kein unabwendbares Schicksal. Sie bieten die Chance der Reflexion über deren Ursachen und führen oft zu einfachen, kostengünstigen Zwischenlösungen, wie der Nutzung von Auslagen für temporäre Ausstellungen heimischer oder auswärtiger Künstler, Handwerker und dgl. Ebenso wenig muss die Tendenz zur Veränderung mancher kleinstädtischen Zentren als Schicksal hin genommen werden, das vor allem dann bejammert wird, wenn das als Ursache gezeiðelte neue Einkaufs- oder Fachmarktzentrum zwar auf der „grünen Wiese“, aber leider auf dem Boden der Nachbargemeinde errichtet wurde (s. Judenburg/Fohnsdorf, Feldbach/Mühldorf, Leibnitz/Gralla, Voitsberg / Köflach/ Rosental/ Bärnbach, etc.). Wie rasch sich dadurch verursachte Unstimmigkeiten zwischen Nachbargemeinden auflösen lassen, zeigen die in der Steiermark vorangetriebenen Bestrebungen, durch die Fusion einzelner Bezirke und Gemeinden eine nachhaltige, kostensenkende Verwaltungsreform umzusetzen und die Kommunalbudgets zu sanieren. Inzwischen sieht man Zentrum und EKZ am Stadtrand nicht mehr als Konkurrenten, sondern als Partner im Werben um Kunden.

2.1 Urban Blight in der Kleinstadt Murau (Steiermark)

Die Bezirkshauptstadt Murau in der Obersteiermark zählte 2011: 2124 EW. Sie gehört, obwohl seit 1298 mit dem Stadtrecht ausgestattet, zu den stagnierenden Kleinstädten sowohl was die bevölkerungs-, als auch wirtschaftliche Entwicklung anlangt. Der Anteil der 60- bzw. über 60-Jährigen an der Wohnbevölkerung betrug 2006 31 %, jener der unter 20-Jährigen dagegen bloß 16,7 % (Statistik Austria „Murau-Probezahlung 2006“ 2010). Die Überalterung der Stadtbevölkerung ist eine der Ursachen für Residential Blight Phänomene in Murau. Eine weitere liegt sehr wahrscheinlich in den die Altstadt um den Schloßberg betreffenden petrographischen und hydrogeologischen Verhältnissen. Die starke Wasserführung der den Schloßberg aufbauenden wasserlöslichen Gesteinsschichten wirkt sich auf den Altbaubestand in diesem Bereich vor allem durch Feuchteschäden negativ aus. Die tw. ungünstige Belichtung, historisch bedingte Kleinstrukturiertheit der Gebäude und Wohnungen sowie deren z. T. bis in die jüngere Vergangenheit reichende, unzumutbare Sanitärausstattung führen zu Wohnungsunterbelegungen bzw. veranlassen speziell jüngere (Mit-)Bewohner diesen Teil der Altstadt zu verlassen. Der hohe Sanierungsbedarf und die damit verbundenen Investitionskosten, was u. a. auf die Einhaltung der rigiden feuerpolizeilichen Bestimmungen zutrifft, wirken sich negativ auf die Sanierungsbereitschaft der überwiegend über 50-Jährigen und eher unteren bis mittleren Sozialschichten angehörenden Bewohner aus. Damit ist oft der weitere Verfall der Bausubstanz vorprogrammiert.

Aber nicht nur der Wohnungssektor Muraus ist von Blighterscheinungen betroffen, sondern auch das im Altbaubestand der Stadt angesiedelte Gewerbe und der Einzelhandel. Die Häufung von Geschäftsleerständen in der Anna-Neymann-Straße, der Hauptgeschäftsstraße, am Fuße des Schloßberges bestätigt dies (s. Fig. 1). Für den Commercial Blight in der Murauer Altstadt zeichnet aber nicht nur die Überalterung der Bausubstanz mit ihrer (viel) zu kleinen Geschäftsflächenausstattung verantwortlich, sondern auch die Konkurrenz des neuen Einkaufszentrums am Stadtrand, jedoch bereits in der Nachbargemeinde St. Lorenzen. Die dort angesiedelten Filialen der großen Handelsketten machen den noch wenigen in der Altstadt verbliebenen Familienbetrieben das Leben zusätzlich schwer. Diesen gelingt es daher kaum noch Betriebsnachfolger zu finden. Andererseits scheitert eine Nachvermietung aufgelöster Geschäftslokale an unrealistischen Mietverträgen und/oder viel zu hohen Pachtzinsvorstellungen. Monate – ja Jahre lange Leerstände sind die Folge.

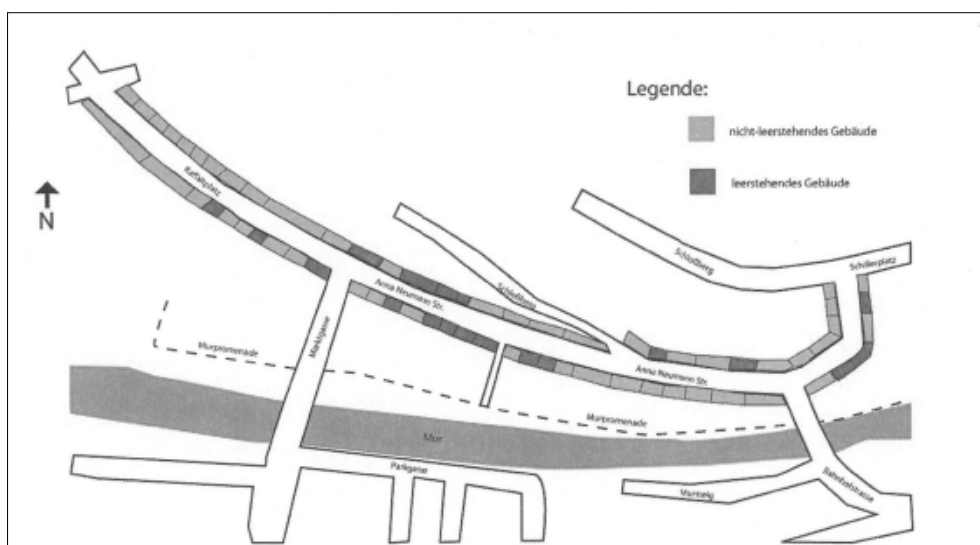


Fig. 1: Commerical Blight in der Anna-Neumann-Straße in Murau (Stand 04. 06. 2010).

Quelle: H. Wallner, 2010.

Um dem Commercial Blight in der Innenstadt entgegen zu treten, beschloss der Gemeinderat 2007 ein bis 2016 laufendes Innenstadtwirtschaftsfördermodell. Dieses Innenstadtwirtschaftsfördermodell ist an einen Innenstadtkooperationsvertrag gekoppelt, mit dem Ziel, die Innenstadt wieder zu beleben (Baltzer 2010). Da die Innenstadt historisch bedingt äußerst schlecht erschlossen ist, wurde ein Parkraumsystem entwickelt, das es erlaubt, die Innenstadt jedenfalls innerhalb von max. 5 min. fußläufig zu erreichen. Da es aber die Flächenausdehnung vieler mittelalterlichen Kleinstädte zulässt, die ganze Altstadt in 5 min. zu durchlaufen, wird die Anlage von Stellplätzen am Innenstadtrand von der einheimischen Wohnbevölkerung oft als viel zu weit entfernt empfunden und nicht im gewünschten Maß angenommen. Mit ihrem Innenstadtwirtschaftsfördermodell ergreift die Stadt Murau die Chance, gegen die weitere Ausdünnung des Stadtkerns als Wohn-, Geschäfts- und Dienstleistungsstandort anzukämpfen. Gebäudeförderungen für Sanierungs- und Verbesserungsmaßnahmen bis zu € 5000,-/Jahr pro Objekt dienen

ebenso dem Ziel wie Betriebsförderungen in Form einer Betriebsansiedlungsprämie bis zu max. € 5000,-, zweckgebunden für Verbesserungen der Betriebsausstattung und an einen 3-jährigen Kündigungsverzicht gekoppelt. Handwerksbetriebe und Betriebe, die wesentlich zur Steigerung der Kundenfrequenz der Innenstadt beitragen, können u. a. mit einem Frequenzbonus von bis zu € 10000,- unterstützt werden (Baltzer 2010).

Ein zusätzliches Projekt „Zurück ins Zentrum“ sieht ein innerstädtisches Einkaufszentrum mit bis zu 3000 m² Verkaufsfläche vor, scheiterte aber bislang am Denkmalschutz, da es den Abbruch denkmalgeschützter Bausubstanz erfordert. Ortsbild- und Denkmalschutz deshalb als Blockierer einer Innenstadtrevitalisierung zu brandmarken ist freilich zu kurz gegriffen.

3. Urban Redesign

Versteht man unter „Urban Design“ das Bemühen und die Fähigkeit, Städte und Märkte kreativ und zeitgemäß zu gestalten bzw. zu entwickeln, so bedeutet „Redesign“ letztlich i. w. S. eine, aus welchen Gründen auch immer, aus dem Ruder gelaufene oder zu Stillstand gekommene Entwicklung zu korrigieren, neue Impulse zu setzen, um wieder Wachstum zu erzeugen. Falsch verstanden wäre der Begriff „Redesign“ allerdings, wenn man in die Vorsilbe „Re“ einen Aspekt des Vergangenen, rückwärts Gewandten hinein interpretieren möchte. Mittels des Urban Redesigns bietet sich eine Chance, Verfallsprozesse zu stoppen oder zumindest zu verzögern, wenn schon auf absehbare Zeit keine Trendumkehr zu erwarten ist. Das Redesign bezieht sich dabei keineswegs nur auf die Bausubstanz, sondern schließt u. a. den Öffentlichen Raum, das Transportwesen bzw. die Verkehrsinfrastruktur, den Freizeitsektor wie auch den städtischen Dienstleistungssektor mit ein (<http://www.urbandesign.org>). Räumlich gesehen kann sich Urban Redesign wie der Urban Blight auf Einzelobjekte bzw. -ensembles, auf Stadtviertel oder den ganzen Siedlungskörper beziehen. Urban Redesign integriert Architektur, Landschaftsarchitektur und -planung, Stadt- und Verkehrsplanung, Stadtsoziologie u. a. Auch die Geographie ist gefordert, sich mit dieser Problematik zu befassen, insbesondere was die Umweltbedingungen anlangt. Die Ausarbeitung von auf den Einzelfall zugeschnittenen realistischen wirtschaftlichen Entwicklungsnahzielen ist ebenso notwendig wie Visionen für eine fernere Zukunft zu haben. Diese visionäre Komponente des Urban Redesign darf sich nicht auf Politik und Planer beschränken, sie muss vielmehr von Anbeginn die Bevölkerung mit einbeziehen. Nur so kann es gelingen, den städtischen Verfallsprozess aufzuhalten bzw. neue Zukunftsperspektiven umzusetzen. Dabei ist, wie das Beispiel der steirischen Bergbaustadt Eisenerz zeigt, eine wirtschaftliche Wiederbelebung bzw. Neuausrichtung durch „Gesundshrumpfen“ das vorrangige Ziel. Die Akzeptanz und positive realitätsbezogene Auseinandersetzung mit der Krise ist Grundvoraussetzung, wenn auch keine Garantie für die Chance einer Trendwende. War die politische Eigenständigkeit der Gemeinden mit eigener Finanzhoheit bis 2010 in Österreich ein absolutes Tabuthema, so können sich heute angesichts der tristen Finanzlage immer mehr Gemeinden mit einer Zusammenlegung mit Nachbargemeinden anfreunden, auch wenn vieler Orts unter dem Eigenständigkeitsgedanken mehr auf Kooperation denn Fusion gesetzt wird. Dennoch, der finanzielle Druck wächst. Im Jahre 2010 verzeichneten schon über 200 der 542 Kommunen der Steiermark einen Abgang im Budget (<http://www.sommergipfel.at/steiermark/strukturereform/2833978/neuer-weg-des->

miteinanders 22.9.2011. Gigler, C. Der neue Weg des Miteinanders. Kleine Zeitung, Graz, (Fig. 2)).



Fig. 2: Der neue Weg des Miteinanders.
Quelle: Kleine Zeitung, Graz, 18. 09. 2011.

Risiken und Profite von Gemeindefusionen wurden bereits bei der letzten Tagung des Forschungssechsecks in Kutna Hora (CZ) vom Verfasser zur Diskussion gestellt. Sie werden daher in diesem Rahmen nicht nochmals erläutert. Da auch Städterückbau verbunden mit einem in die Zukunft gerichteten Redesign viel Geld verschlingt, sind betroffene Gemeinden meist finanziell überfordert. Die Schaffung größerer Verwaltungseinheiten durch Zusammenlegung bringt aber nur dann eine budgetäre Entlastung, wenn wenigstens ein Fusionspartner finanziell leistungsstark und unter diesem Aspekt auch fusionswillig ist.

Aus der demographischen Dynamik im ländlichen Raum und dessen kleinen Zentralorten ergibt sich eine schrumpfende Einwohnerzahl, begleitet von einer wachsenden Überalterung der Bewohner. Der Trend der Entleerung der Stadtzentren setzt sich im Gegensatz zu vielen Großstädten fort. Die dortige Häusersubstanz ist veraltet und zumeist im Privatbesitz investitionsschwacher und/oder -unwilliger

Personen. Das führt zu Leerständen in Wohn- und Gewerbegebäuden. Die bestehende Infrastruktur der Ver- und Entsorgung sowie das Verkehrsnetz sind oft überdimensioniert und teuer in der Erhaltung (ÖIR e-letter Ausgabe 10/2011. Wien) [e-letter-bounces@ists.air.at]. Mit der Überalterung geht üblicherweise ein drastischer Rückgang bei Kindern und Jugendlichen einher mit einschneidenden Auswirkungen auf die lokale und regionale Bildungslandschaft. Schließt die Volksschule, geht viel an kommunaler Identität verloren. Daher rumort es in vielen kleinen Gemeinden, so auch in Eisenerz, dem steirischen negativen Paradebeispiel für Stadtverfall und Urban Redesign.

3.2 Fallbeispiel Eisenerz

Die steirische Bergbaustadt Eisenerz gilt als das Paradebeispiel für einen ökonomisch bedingten Schrumpfungsprozess. Als Passfußort im N des knapp 1000 m hohen, im Winter tief verschneiten Präbichl-Passes entstanden, hat doch der Erzbergbau (s. Name) 1300 Jahre lang die Siedlungsgeschichte dominiert. Dies belegt eindrucksvoll die Entwicklung der Einwohnerzahl seit es Volkszählungen in Österreich gibt. Von 1869 an (3850 EW) kam es bis zum Bevölkerungshöchststand 1957 mit knapp 13.000 EW (12.948 EW) zu einer rasanten Aufwärtsentwicklung.

Während des II. Weltkriegs sollen inklusive Zwangsarbeiter bis zu 28.000 Menschen die Stadt bevölkert haben (W. Nußmüller und R. Rosegger, o. J.). Das rapide Bevölkerungswachstum hatte einen Bauboom an Werkwohnungen, kommunalen sowie genossenschaftlichen Mehrfamilien-Wohnbauten ausgelöst, der heute noch das Stadtbild prägt und dessen größte Hypothek für die zukünftige bauliche Entwicklung darstellt.

Mehr als ein Fünftel der rd. 3850 Eisenerzer Wohneinheiten sind unbewohnt. In einzelnen Stadtteilen liegt der Anteil an Leerständen sogar bei über einem Drittel. Die meisten Mehrparteienwohnhäuser stammen aus der Gründer-, Zwischenkriegs- bzw. aus der Zeit nach dem II. Weltkrieg. Sie werden modernen Wohnungsstandards weder hinsichtlich Größe noch Ausstattung gerecht. Da es sich großteils um Sozialwohnungen handelt, war die Bereitschaft der Wohnungseigentümer (Stadt, Bergbau), in Substanz und Modernisierungsarbeiten zu investieren gering. Selbst überregionale Zeitungen wie „Die Presse“ (30. 2. 2010), Wien, nehmen sich des anscheinend unabwendbaren Schicksals der Stadt an und im Herbst 2012 suchte ein internationales Symposium in Eisenerz nach Lösungsmöglichkeiten für die Probleme der Stadt. Gibt es für sie überhaupt eine Chance? Waren all die bisher in Wiederbelebung, Sanierung, Erhaltung und Neugestaltung der Stadt geflossenen Millionen, Konzepte und Ideen vergebene Liebesmüh oder sind sie doch der Nährboden für einen Neubeginn? Wie könnte, wie soll ein solcher aussehen? Die finanziellen und ideellen Anstrengungen des Landes Steiermark zur Rettung von Eisenerz sind beachtlich. Inzwischen sind auch private Investoren auf den Plan getreten. Sie erwerben attraktive Wohnstandorte, um sie zu sanieren und als käufliche Zweitwohnsitze einem nationalen und internationalen (D, NL, etc.) Interessentenkreis anzubieten. Trotz mehrerer erfolgreicher Revitalisierungsvorhaben in der bemerkenswerten mittelalterlichen Altstadt, die den einstigen Reichtum der Stadt bezeugen, gelang es bislang nicht, einen ganzjährigen Städtetourismus zu etablieren. Einzelne Events wie das Erzberg-Rodeo, ein weltweit beachtetes Motorrad Trial, das für ein paar Tage über 30.000 Besucher anlockt, sind mittlerweile jedoch wichtige Impulsgeber für den Tourismus geworden. So könnte der Erzberg nach den mageren Jahren als Folge des Niederganges des Erzbergbaus

seit den späten 1970ern (1981: 10.068 EW; 1991: 7.759 EW) erneut zur Chance für die Stadt werden.

Mit dem markanten Berg als Marke, dessen getreppte Abbaustufen und rötlich-violette Gesteinsführung sich deutlich von seiner Umgebung abheben, könnte es gelingen, dem weiteren Stadtverfall Einhalt zu bieten. Voraussetzung dafür ist das gemeinschaftliche (Bürger, Wirtschaft, Politik, Planer und Investoren) Bekenntnis zur Realität und die ist wie folgt geprägt von:

- Abwanderung
- Überalterung
- Arbeitsplätzemangel
- Bevölkerungsrückgang
- Vertrauensverlust der Bevölkerung in die Politik
- geringe Investitionstätigkeit bes. in langfristige und nachhaltige Projekte
- wenig attraktive Anreize für Betriebsansiedlungen
- schlechte Anbindung an das int. Verkehrswegenetz (Straße, Bahn) bes. im Winter infolge ungünstiger inneralpiner Beckenlage
- meist realitätsferne Entwicklungskonzepte für die nähere Zukunft, deren Finanzierung nicht gesichert ist
- triste budgetäre Situation der Gemeinde

Mit dem 2006 beschlossenen Rahmenkonzept „re-design Eisenerz“ wurde ein neuer Anlauf zur Trendumkehr gemacht. Um bis 2021 den Bevölkerungsrückgang zu stoppen und die Wirtschaft wieder zu beleben wurden in den vier ersten Jahren der Projektverwirklichung 4 Mill. € Landesmittel in die Hand genommen (Die Presse, 20. 2. 2010). Eine Stadterneuerung durch gezielte Verkleinerungsmaßnahmen und Nachnutzungskonzepte erfordert nicht nur eine an die aktuellen Bedingungen und finanziellen Möglichkeiten angepasste, behutsame weitere Revitalisierung des mittelalterlichen Stadtkerns, sondern im gegenständlichen Fall ein spezielles Augenmerk auf den weitläufigen, von (ehemaligen) Anlagen des Bergbaus und ausgedehnten Werkswohnanlagen geprägten Altstadtrand.

Diesen Bestrebungen kommt die seit 2010 in der Steiermark intensiv geführte und in der Umsetzungsphase befindliche große Gebiets- und Verwaltungsreform durchaus entgegen. Auch dort geht es vornehmlich um „Gesundshrumpfen“, um Verwaltungsvereinfachung, Nutzung von Synergien, Kooperation im kommunalen Dienstleistungsangebot zwecks Kostenreduktion, Förderung von Privatinitiativen vornehmlich im Wohnungswesen und in der mittelständischen Wirtschaft, u. v. m. Derzeit gibt es in Eisenerz noch keine speziellen Förderprojekte für die Sanierung privater Wohnobjekte. So sollen im Rahmen von „re-design Eisenerz“ bis 2021 ca. 470 Wohneinheiten rückgebaut sowie weitere 700 einer nicht näher definierten Sondernutzung zugeführt werden. In der Zukunft wird im Sektor „Wohnen“ das Hauptaugenmerk auf die Altstadt gelegt. Dadurch erhofft man sich auch eine Wiederbelebung des Geschäftslebens (W. Nußmüller u. R. Rosegger, o. J., S. 34). Im Zuge der Revitalisierung der Innenstadt fördert die Stadtgemeinde Handels-, Gewerbe- und Tourismusbetriebe, die in 2 bestimmten Bereichen des Kerngebietes Betriebsstätten (wieder) errichten, Arbeitsplätze schaffen und den innerstädtischen Branchenmix beleben. Es werden u. a. Investitions- und Gründerprämien bis zu 5.000,- € gewährt, ferner Mietzuschüsse bei der Wahl eines Innenstadstandortes bis zu 3.000,- €, Gästebettenförderungen und Investitionszuschüsse bis zu 1.500,- € für die Innenstadtgastronomie, Arbeitsplatzförderungen für Betriebsneugründungen, Betriebsübernahmen bzw. Standortverlegungen in die

Altstadt bis zu 3.000,- € sowie Jungunternehmerförderungen bis zu zusätzlich 500,- €. Zwischen Jänner 2009 und Juni 2010 haben bereits 14 Firmen von dieser Fördermöglichkeit Gebrauch gemacht. Wie nachhaltig die Fördermaßnahmen wirken und ob sie alle sichtbaren Zeichen des Commercial Blight beseitigen können, wird wohl die Zukunft weisen. Will man mit dem Leitprojekt „Innenstadtbelebung“ dem Commercial Blight zu Leibe rücken, so soll das Leitprojekt „Münichtal Siedlung“ Möglichkeiten der Sanierung bzw. des Rückbaus einer ehemaligen Großwohnsiedlung zur Diskussion stellen. Die Wohnsiedlung im Münichtal weist die meisten Wohnungsleerstände in Eisenerz auf (W. Nußmüller u. R. Rosegger, o. J., S. 77).

Bereits 2009 hat eine deutsche Investorengruppe einen Kaufvertrag für die Siedlung unterzeichnet. Geplant sind tief greifende Umbauten und Sanierungsmaßnahmen mit dem Ziel, Ferienwohnungen mit 1600 Gästebetten zu errichten. Zielgruppe sind vornehmlich Gäste aus Deutschland, Österreich und den Niederlanden. Allerdings könnten Einwendungen des Ortsbild- und Denkmalschutzes wegen der geplanten massiven Eingriffe in das bauhistorisch bedeutende Wohnbauensemble die Revitalisierung in der vorgesehenen Form verzögern bzw. verteuern, womit sich wieder die Frage der Wirtschaftlichkeit des Projekts stellt. In diesem Zusammenhang sei auf einen Artikel in der Wiener Tageszeitung „Der Standard“ vom 19. 2. 2010 verwiesen, der eindringlich den Zusammenhang zwischen der Abwanderung junger Bevölkerungsschichten und dem unzureichenden, insbesondere was die Kostenfrage angeht, (Miet-)Wohnungsangebot anspricht.

Wenn es nicht gelingt, die Jugend an die Stadt zu binden, in dem man ihr eine realistische Langzeitperspektive anbietet, werden noch so gut gemeinte und durchdachte Strategien gegen Urban Blight und für Urban Redesign nicht viel am gegenwärtigen Schicksal kränkender Städte zu ändern vermögen. „Yes, we can“ allein ist zu wenig. Es müsste zumindest heißen: „Yes, we can finance it“. Danach richtet sich letztlich auch die Antwort auf die Titelfrage dieses Beitrages.

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URBAN BLIGHT AND URBAN REDESIGN: SCHICKSAL UND / ODER CHANCE

Summary

The phenomenon of urban blight dates back to the 19th century when industrialisation starting in Europe and North America initiated an uncontrolled urban growth in combination with strong demand in cheap and quickly constructed housing. Ghettoisation of mainly the working-class population and other "marginal groups" were the consequence together with a constant decay of single buildings, whole blocks and quarters. These general aspects of urban blight with its additional facets or aspects residential, commercial, industrial, physical, functional and social blight can be presupposed and will not be topic of this paper. Nevertheless urban blight is by no means a topic of the past, it still today challenges apart from geographers a remarkable number of other disciplines (urban and landscape planners and designers, economists, sociologists, medical sciences, etc., not to forget politicians, the media, and last but not least the city dwellers themselves). While urban blight, urban decay, - decline, or - crisis originally seemed to be a problem of the big cities and metropolises it meanwhile also affects the small towns and centers. By the example of two Styrian small towns, Murau and Eisenerz, both counting less than 5.000 inhabitants each some of the many reasons for their being confronted with symptoms of urban blight will be addressed together with the up to now largely unsolved question which possible counter strategies could be successfully applied. One namely "urban redesign" has been chosen from a number of others mainly because it has been selected by the city of Eisenerz as a strategy against urban blight and to fight the dramatic population losses of 7867 citizens between 1951 (pop.: 12948) and 2010 (pop.: 5087).

The crucial questions for the future to be discussed facing the present world wide monetary crisis will be:

1. Will there be enough money to finance the necessary rescue measures?
2. Who pays and bears the risks of a failure?
3. Is it worth while and justified to invest huge amounts of public money into a seemingly bottomless barrel or
4. borrowing an idea from the human hospice-movement: would it not be wiser, more human, and cost-efficient to spend much less money for those measures only that are needed to guarantee a patient (city) with little or uncertain perspectives for the future a survival in dignity.

Knowing that the hospice movement was severely questioned in its initial phase although today it is widely accepted and respected the transformation of this idea into the urban sphere as one means to discuss the problem of urban decay and urban blight seems justified.

VPLIV PRIHODA RAZLIČNIH SKUPIN TURISTOV PO DRŽAVNI PRIPADNOSTI NA OBSEG TURISTIČNEGA OBISKA V ROGAŠKI SLATINI MED LETOMA 1953 IN 2012

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Izvleček

Vpliv prihoda različnih skupin turistov po državni pripadnosti na obseg turističnega obiska v Rogaški Slatini med letoma 1953 in 2012

V prispevku je analiziran obseg turističnega obiska v Rogaški Slatini v zadnjih šestdesetih letih v povezavi z državno pripadnostjo turistov. Ugotovljeno je, da je bil turistični obisk ves čas bolj ali manj odvisen od prihoda turistov iz le nekaj najpomembnejših držav. Spremembe turističnih tokov so zato posledično močno vplivale na njegov obseg in značilnosti. V celotnem obdobju so večino turistov v kraju predstavljali tuji turisti. Obdobje do konca 80. let so zaznamovali predvsem turisti iz drugih republik bivše Jugoslavije in Avstrije, drugo polovico 90. let in po letu 2000 iz Italije, po letu 2010 pa iz Ruske federacije. Turisti iz Slovenije so bili najpomembnejša skupina turistov le v 90. letih, to je v času največje krize v zdravilišču.

Ključne besede

turizem, tuji turisti, povprečna dolžina bivanja turistov, zdravilišče, Rogaška Slatina, Slovenija

Abstract

The impact of the arrival of different groups of tourists by country of origin to the scope of tourist visits in Rogaška Slatina between 1953 and 2012

The paper discusses the scope of tourist visits in Rogaška Slatina (one of the oldest and the most important tourist places and spas in Slovenia) in connection with the arrival of different groups of tourists by the country of origin. It has been found that the tourist visits all the time depends on the influx of tourists from just a few countries. Changes in tourist flows consequently has major impact on the scope of tourist visits and its characteristics. Throughout the period, the majority of tourists in the resort came from abroad. Period until the end of the 1980s were marked mostly by tourists from other republics of the former Yugoslavia and Austria, the second half of the 1990s and since 2000 with tourists from Italy and after 2010, from the Russian Federation. Tourists from Slovenia were the most important group of tourists only the 1990s, in the period of the greatest crisis in the development of the health resort.

Key words

Tourism, foreign tourist, average length of tourist stay, health resort, spa, Rogaška Slatina, Slovenia

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1. Uvod

Rogaška Slatina se uvršča med najstarejše in najpomembnejše turistične kraje v Sloveniji. Vrelec mineralne vode se prvič omenja že v sredini 12. stoletja, iz 17. stoletja pa izvirajo prvi knjižni zapisi o njenih zdravilnih učinkih. Koncesije za izkoriščanje vrelcev so s cesarjevim dekretom pričeli podeljevati po letu 1680 in rogaška mineralna voda je kmalu postala tržno blago po vsem Avstrijskem cesarstvu in širše.

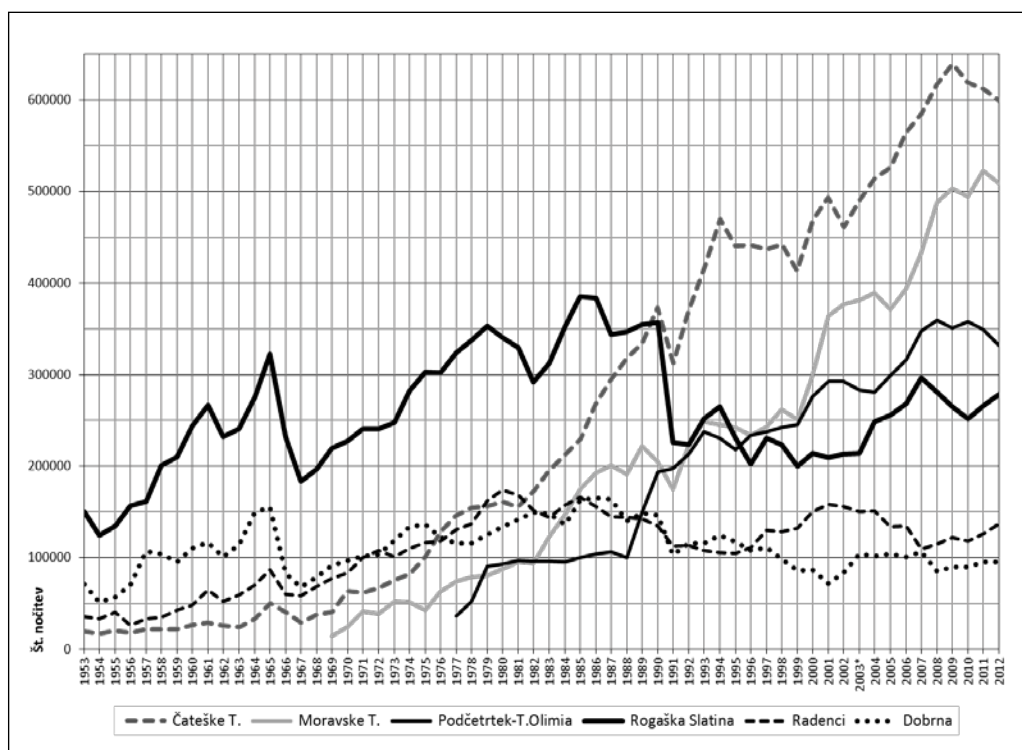
V turističnem razvoju Rogaške Slatine izstopata dve osnovni časovni obdobji (Horvat 2000). Načrten razvoj zdravilišča in urejeno izkoriščanje mineralne vode se je pričelo leta 1803, ko je prešlo pod upravo Štajerskih deželnih stanov iz Gradca in so po zamisli deželnega glavarja F. Attemsa postopoma zgradili mondeno zdravilišče, podobno drugim v Evropi. Vanj so prihajali predvsem elitni in premožni gosti, med katerimi je potrebno omeniti habsburškega nadvojvodo Johanna, Napoleonovega brata Louisa Bonaparta, tedanjega nizozemskega kralja, pariško bančniško družino Rothschild, idr. Pred prvo svetovno vojno so Rogaško Slatino obiskovali večinoma gosti iz današnje Avstrije, Madžarske in Hrvaške, po prvi svetovni vojni pa iz Hrvaške in Srbije. Turistični obisk je bil vezan le na poletno sezono in je le počasi naraščal. Višek je dosegel tik pred prvo in pred drugo svetovno vojno (leta 1938 so zabeležilo okoli 8.000 turistov in 120.000 nočitev).

Drugo obdobje sledi po drugi svetovni vojni. Povezano je z velikim povečanjem turističnega obiska, ki je v začetku temeljilo predvsem na socialnem in zdravstvenem turizmu, v 70., še zlasti pa v 80. letih 20. stoletja pa je zdravilišče začelo širiti svojo ponudbo tudi na druge ciljne skupine turistov. Jedro zdravilišča se je razširilo z novimi objekti za namestitev gostov (hotela Donat in Sava) in specializirano zdravstveno ponudbo (Pivnica mineralne vode, Terapija), pa tudi z objekti za šport, rekreacijo in zabavo ter z različnimi oskrbnimi - storitvenimi dejavnostmi. Odrptost meja v nekdanji Jugoslaviji ter širjenje in visoka kvaliteta turistične ponudbe je vplivala na močno povečanje mednarodnih turističnih tokov, tako da je Rogaška Slatina sodila med slovenske zdraviliške kraje z najvišjim deležem tujih turistov (Horvat 1989). Turistični obisk je dosegel višek leta 1985 (okoli 41.000 turistov in 385.000 nočitev), ko je bila Rogaška Slatina po številu ležišč in nočitev največji zdraviliški kraj, obenem pa peti največji turistični kraj v Sloveniji.

Po letu 1990 je zdravilišče (za razliko od drugih v Sloveniji) zašlo v krizo. Posledice vojn na Balkanu, spremembe turističnih tokov in povpraševanja turistov, pa tudi neurejenih lastniških razmer v zdravilišču, so vplivale na močno zmanjšanje turističnega obiska. V primerjavi z letom 1985 se je število nočitev do leta 1999 zmanjšalo kar za 48 % (na 199.000 nočitev). Nekateri starejši objekti so bili zaprti ali so jim spremenili namembnost. Spreminjalo se je tudi lastništvo posameznih hotelskih objektov in polnilnice mineralne vode. Zdravilišče se je začelo ponovno razvijati šele po letu 2000. Postopoma so obnovili hotele in razširili turistično ponudbo s termalnim kopališčem (na osnovi odkrite termalne vode s temperaturo okoli 55 °C). Ponovni višek turističnega obiska je bil zabeležen leta 2007, ko je Rogaško Slatino obiskalo okoli 57.000 turistov, ki so zabeležili okoli 296.000 nočitev. Vendar pa se je v primerjavi s prejšnjim obdobjem precej znižala povprečna dolžina bivanja turistov (leta 1985 je bila okoli 9,4 dni, leta 2007 pa okoli 5,2 dni).

V zadnjih dveh desetletjih so slovenska zdravilišča doživela pomemben preobrat v

svojem turističnem razvoju. V nekaterih so z izgradnjo t. im. »termalnih rivier« oziroma »aquaparkov«, ki obsegajo zunanje in pokrite bazenske komplekse, pričeli intenzivno izkoriščati termalno vodo za rekreacijo, zabavo in »doživetja«. Preusmeritev v množični turizem na osnovi preživljanja dopusta v zdraviliških krajih je povzročila bistveno povečanje turističnega obiska v t. im. »počitniških in rekreacijskih« zdraviliških krajih, kot so npr. Čateške Toplice, Moravske Toplice, Podčetrtek, Ptuj, idr. in ti so po številu nočitev že v sredini 90. let bistveno presegli t. im. »klasične« zdraviliške kraje z izrazito zdravstveno funkcijo (Horvat 2013). Danes so Čateške Toplice po številu nočitev tretji največji turistični kraj v Sloveniji (okoli 155.000 nočitev leta 1981, 600.000 nočitev leta 2012), na petem mestu so Moravske Toplice (96.000 nočitev leta 1981, 509.000 nočitev leta 2012), na sedmem pa je Podčetrtek s Termami Olimia (97.000 nočitev leta 1981, 332.000 nočitev leta 2012). Turisti v njih v povprečju bivajo okoli 4 dni, medtem ko v zdraviliščih z bolj izrazito zdravstveno funkcijo okoli 5-6 dni. V »počitniških in rekreacijskih« zdraviliških turističnih krajih je potrebno k stacionarnim turistom prišteti še veliko število enodnevniških obiskovalcev, ki prihajajo predvsem v poletnem času in koristijo njihovo bogato športno-rekreacijsko ponudbo.



Slika 1: Število nočitev v izbranih zdraviliških turističnih krajih v Sloveniji med letoma 1953 in 2012.

Vir: Letni pregledi turizma, 1953-2002; Medmrežje 1 (* podatki od leta 2003 dalje veljajo za občine).

V zadnjih letih so tudi v nekaterih »klasičnih« zdraviliških krajih izgradili sodobne wellness hotele in spa centre. Preusmeritev na nove ciljne skupine gostov se kaže tudi v njihovem preimenovanju. Prav vsa termalna zdravilišča so se iz »toplic« preimenovala v »terme«; npr. Terme Čatež, Terme Olimia, Terme Dobrna, Terme

Lendava, Terme 3000 v Moravskih Toplicah, Thermana Laško, idr. (Horvat 2013).

Rogaška Slatina, ki ostaja večinoma t. im. »klasično« zdravilišče, tako že dve desetletni ni več največji zdraviliški turistični kraj v Sloveniji. Leta 2012 je bilo v kraju okoli 1.600 hotelskih ležišč, obiskalo ga je okoli 40.000 turistov, ki so zabeležili okoli 279.000 nočitev, s čimer se je Rogaška Slatina uvrstila na četrto mesto med zdraviliškimi kraji v Sloveniji. Še vedno pa je na prvem mestu glede na delež nočitev tujih turistov. Ti so leta 2012 v Rogaški Slatini ustvarili kar 83,4 % vseh nočitev, kar je daleč pred drugimi zdraviliškimi kraji v Sloveniji.

2. Razmerje med domačimi in tujimi turisti v Rogaški Slatini

Rogaška Slatina je že pred drugo svetovno vojno predstavljala izjemo med slovenskimi zdraviliškimi kraji, saj so v njej domači turisti (iz Slovenije) predstavljali le manjši del obiskovalcev. Takšno stanje se je nadaljevalo tudi po drugi svetovni vojni. V 50. letih in v začetku 60. let 20. stoletja so turisti iz Slovenije predstavljali manj kot četrtno vseh in tudi delež njihovih nočitev je bil manjši od četrtnine. V tem obdobju je okoli 60 % (konec 50. let pa celo več kot 70 %) vseh turistov prišlo iz drugih republik nekdanje Jugoslavije (ti so bili sicer vse do leta 1991 zabeleženi kot domači turisti). Delež tujih turistov (t. j. do leta 1991 vseh, ki niso bili iz nekdanje Jugoslavije) je le počasi naraščal in sredi 60. let so predstavljali okoli 20 % turistov in nočitev. Za razliko od Rogaške Slatine, so v drugih slovenskih zdraviliščih domači turisti realizirali več kot polovico turističnega obiska. Največji delež so imeli v Čateških Toplicah (med 60-70 %, v posameznih letih celo 90 % vseh nočitev). Večina preostalih turistov je v druga slovenska zdravilišča prišlo iz drugih republik nekdanje Jugoslavije, medtem ko jih je iz tujine prišlo le 10-15 %.

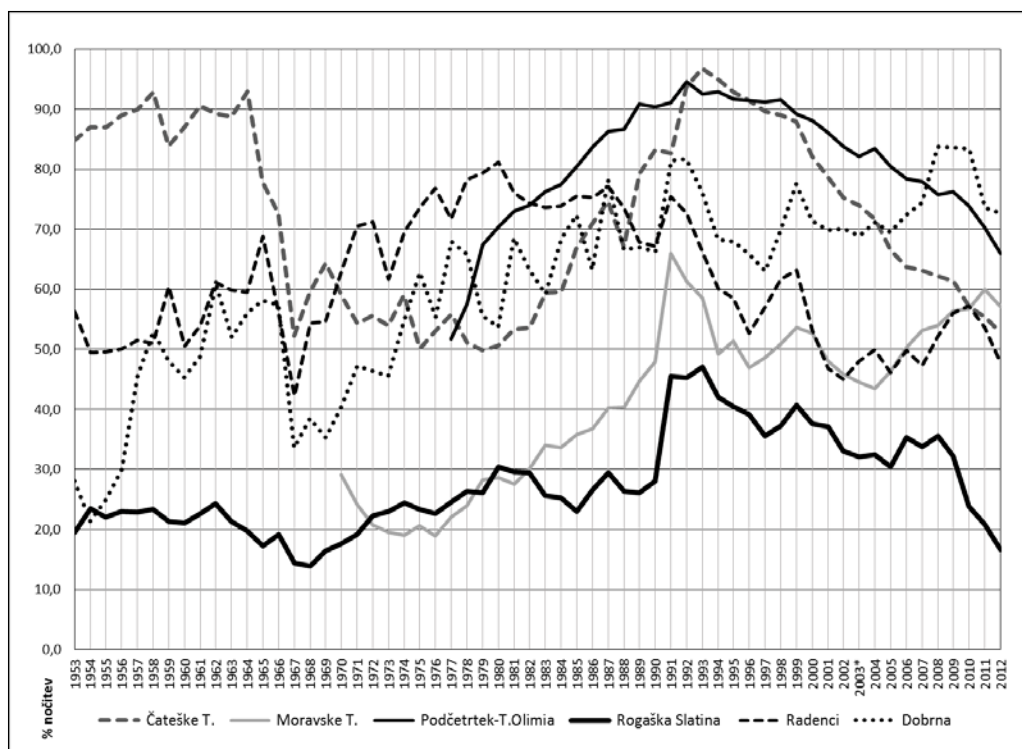
Zaradi spremembe zakona o zdravstvenem varstvu, ki je močno omejil napotitev bolnikov v zdravilišča, se je konec 60. let v Rogaški Slatini delež domačih turistov in njihovih nočitev zmanjšal na le 15 %, delež turistov iz drugih republik nekdanje Jugoslavije pa na 40 % (oziroma 35 % nočitev). Zdravilišče se je moralo preusmeriti na tuja tržišča in iz tujine je med letoma 1967 in 1969 prišlo okoli 45 % vseh turistov, ki so realizirali okoli 50 % vseh nočitev.

V 70. letih in do sredine 80. let je za turistični obisk v Rogaški Slatini značilna ponovna prevlada turistov iz drugih republik nekdanje Jugoslavije. Rogaška Slatina je imela, kot eno redkih zdravilišč za boleznih prebavil v Evropi, široko zaledje po celotni nekdanji državi. Iz tega območja (brez Slovenije) je prišlo kar okoli 45 % vseh turistov, ki so realizirali okoli 43 % vseh nočitev. V 70. letih so bili tudi delež turistov iz tujine višji od domačih; tujih je bilo okoli 32 %, domačih pa okoli 24 %. V drugih zdraviliščih je bilo razmerje med domačimi in tujimi turisti različno. Domači (iz Slovenije) so prevladovali v Radencih (okoli 75 % nočitev), Podčetrtku (75 %) in v Dobrni (60 %). V Čateških Toplicah so predstavljali le četrtno vseh gostov, vendar pa so realizirali kar 55 % vseh nočitev. Omenjena zdravilišča so bila usmerjena predvsem na območje nekdanje Jugoslavije, saj so tuje nočitve predstavljale le 5-15 % vseh. Le v Moravskih Toplicah so tuji turisti ustvarilo okoli 65 % nočitev. V drugi polovici 80. let je delež tujih turistov v Rogaški Slatini dosegel svoj drugi višek po letu 1967. Leta 1989 je prišlo iz tujine kar 46 % vseh turistov, ki so realizirali 50 % vseh nočitev. Četrtno nočitev so realizirali turisti iz Slovenije, četrtno pa iz drugih republik nekdanje Jugoslavije.

Preobrat v turističnem obisku v Rogaški Slatini predstavlja začetek 90. let. Leta

1991 se je zaradi vojne v Sloveniji in nato na Balkanu, delež tujih turistov prepolovil (na 23 %), realizirali pa so kar 120.000 nočitev manj kot leta 1990 (t. j. le 27 % vseh nočitev v Rogaški Slatini). 45 % nočitev so realizirali domači turisti, 27 % pa še vedno turisti iz drugih republik nekdanje Jugoslavije. V obdobju do leta 2003 je bil turistični obisk v Rogaški Slatini precej skromen. Močno se je zmanjšal obisk iz drugih republik nekdanje Jugoslavije (leta 2000 je s tega območja prišlo samo 10 % turistov, ki so realizirali le 7,7 % nočitev). Zmanjšal se je tudi obisk iz Slovenije (leta 2000 so domači turisti predstavljali 39 % vseh turistov in realizirali 37 % nočitev). Če se ne bi povečalo število nočitev turistov iz tujine, bi bilo zmanjšanje turističnega obiska v kraju še večje.

V tem obdobju so se tudi druga slovenska zdravilišča preusmerila na tuje trge. V Moravskih Toplicah so leta 1996 tuji turisti ponovno realizirali več kot polovico vseh nočitev (52,3 %), v Radencih so istega leta prvič po letu 1968 presegli 40 % nočitev (45,4 %), v Dobrni pa prvič po drugi svetovni vojni 30 % nočitev. Delež nočitev turistov iz območja drugih republik nekdanje Jugoslavije pa je bil v primerjalnih zdraviliščih je bil še nižji kot v Rogaški Slatini, saj je v slednji še vedno veljala tradicionalna in dolgoletna navezanost teh turistov na zdravilišče oziroma na zdravilne učinke mineralne vode Donat Mg in z njo povezanih zdravstvenih storitev.

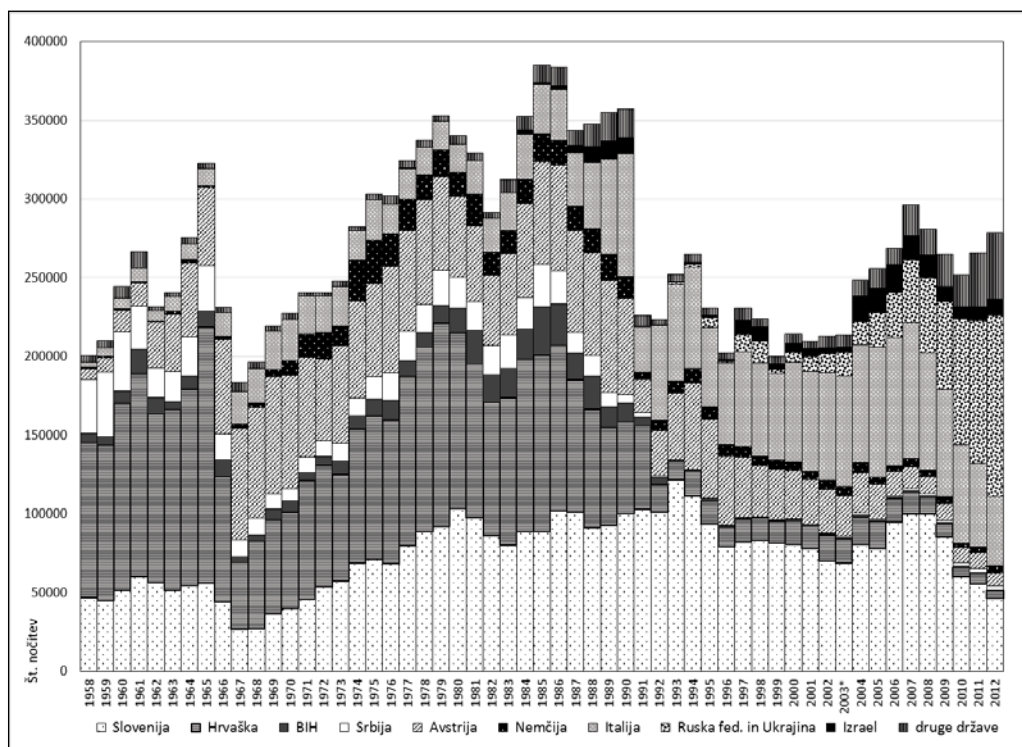


Slika 2: Delež nočitev domačih turistov (iz Slovenije) v izbranih zdraviliških turističnih krajih v Sloveniji med letoma 1953 in 2012.

Vir: Letni pregledi turizma, 1958-2002; Medmrežje 1 (* podatki od leta 2003 dalje veljajo za občine).

Zaradi ekonomske krize in vse krajše povprečne dolžine bivanja turistov, se je po letu 2008 delež turistov iz Slovenije in tudi njihovih nočitev v Rogaški Slatini močno

zmanjšal. Tako so tuji turisti (vključno s turisti z območja drugih republik bivše Jugoslavije) v leta 2012 v Rogaški Slatini ustvarili kar 83,4 % vseh nočitev, kar je daleč pred drugimi zdraviliškimi kraji. Tudi v slednjih se delež tujih turistov v zadnjem času povečuje, vendar pa še vedno znaša v povprečju okoli 35 %. Več kot polovico tujih nočitev so zabeležili leta 2012 le na Ptuj (53,0 %) in v Radencih (52,2 %), med 40-50 % pa v Čatežu (47,1 %), Moravskih Toplicah (42,9 %) in Lendavskih Toplicah (41,9 %). Manj kot 30 % tujih nočitev je bilo v Šmarjeških Toplicah (28,0 %), Dobrni (27,2 %) in Dolenjskih Toplicah (25,6 %). Največ tujcev je v letu 2012 prišlo v slovenske zdraviliške kraje iz Italije, Avstrije, Ruske federacije, Nemčije in Hrvaške, medtem ko so v Rogaški Slatini prevladovali turisti iz Ruske federacije in Ukrajine ter Italije.



Slika 3: Število nočitev v Rogaški Slatini po državah prihoda med letoma 1958 in 2012.

Vir: Letni pregledi turizma, 1958-2002; Medmrežje 1 (* podatki od leta 2003 dalje veljajo za občino).

3. Državna pripadnost turistov v Rogaški Slatini

Turisti iz Slovenije so v celotnem obdobju delovanja zdravilišča v Rogaški Slatini predstavljali najpomembnejšo skupino obiskovalcev le med letoma 1987 in 2009. Glede na delež nočitev so dosegli višek med letoma 1991 in 1995 ter leta 1999, ko so realizirali 40-48 % nočitev. Razlog gre iskati predvsem v močnem zmanjšanju obiska do tedaj najpomembnejših turistov iz Hrvaške, obenem pa tudi močnem zmanjšanju prihodov tujih turistov po letu 1991. Sicer pa so v obdobju 60., 70. in 80. let v povprečju domači turisti realizirali le okoli četrte vseh nočitev v zdravilišču, po letu 2000 pa med 30-37 %. Po letu 2010 se je njihov delež ponovno

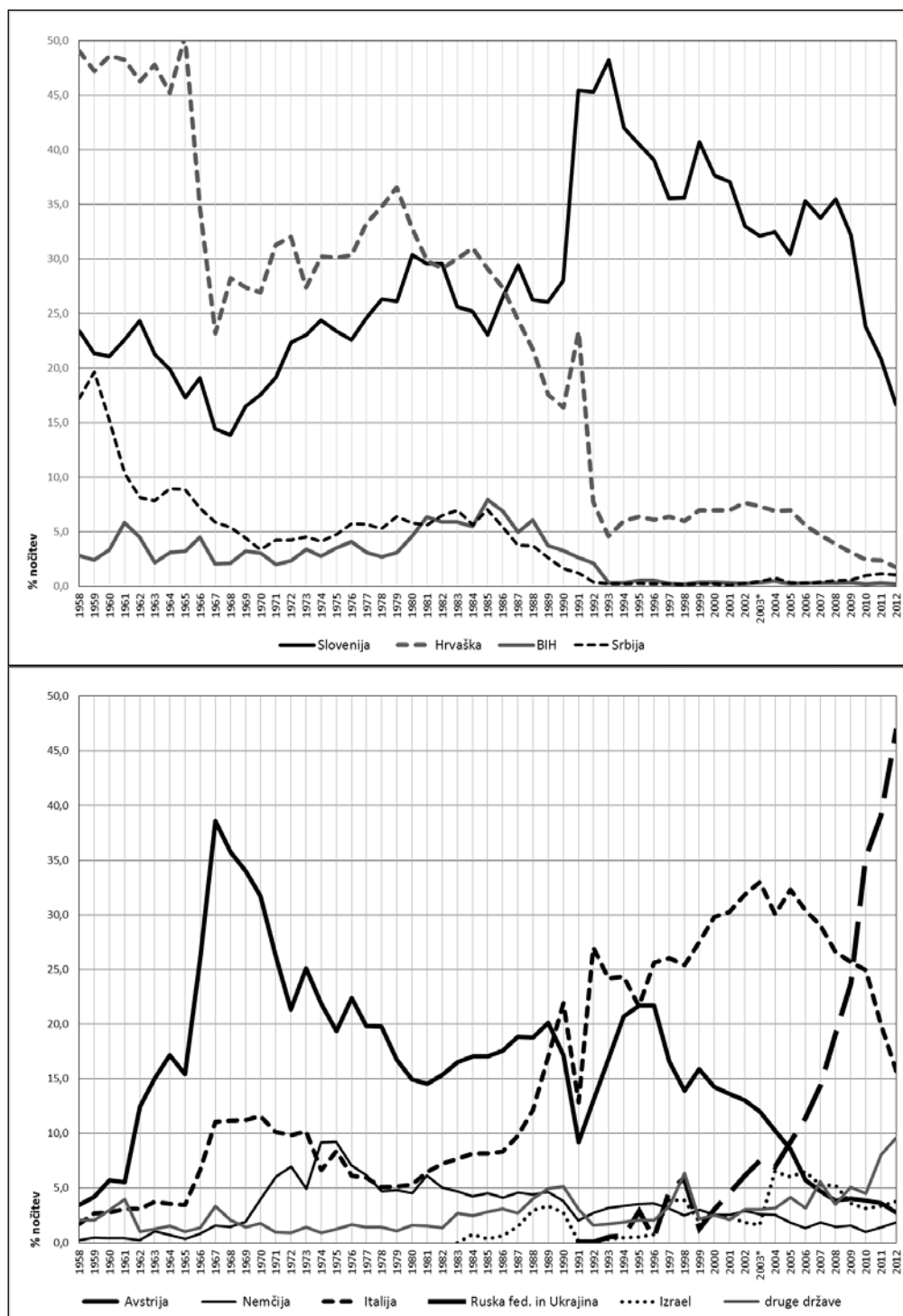
močno zmanjšal; na okoli 20 % turistov, leta 2012 pa so realizirali le še 16,6 % nočitev. V absolutnih številkah so turisti iz Slovenije med letoma 1979 in 2009 v povprečju na leto realizirali okoli 80.000 do 120.000 nočitev, leta 2010 se je število nočitev zmanjšalo na 59.919, leta 2012 pa na 46.281 (manj so jih zabeležili le med letoma 1966 in 1971). Ne glede na tolikšno zmanjšanje so bili turisti iz Slovenije leta 2012 še vedno na prvem mestu po številu turistov in na drugem mestu po številu nočitev po državni pripadnosti v Rogaški Slatini.

Turisti iz Hrvaške so vse povojno obdobje do leta 1986 predstavljali najpomembnejšo skupino obiskovalcev v Rogaški Slatini. Do leta 1965 so predstavljali celo več kot 40 % vseh turistov v zdravilišču, do leta 1985 pa več kot 30 %. Tudi pri nočitvah so imeli najpomembnejši delež, saj so v 50. letih realizirali polovico vseh nočitev, do leta 1965 več kot 40 %, do leta 1984 pa več kot 30 %. Šele leta 1987 so (z izjemo med letoma 1967 in 1970) prvič padli na drugo mesto med skupinami turistov po državni pripadnosti. Njihov delež se je znižal na okoli 20 %, realizirali pa so okoli 17 % nočitev. Po letu 1991 se je obisk iz Hrvaške močno zmanjšal, in to je bil tudi eden od razlogov, da je zdravilišče v Rogaški Slatini pričelo nazadovati. Na pomembnost obiska turistov iz Hrvaške za razvoj turizma v Rogaški Slatini kaže tudi primerjava v absolutnih številkah. Leta 1965 so turisti iz Hrvaške realizirali kar 162.795 nočitev, leta 1985 112.207, leta 2000 pa le še 14.935 nočitev.

Med letoma 1992 in 2005 so turisti iz Hrvaške predstavljali okoli 6-9 % turistov (in realizirali okoli 6-7 % nočitev), po letu 2009 pa celo manj kot 4 % turistov (in manj kot 3 % nočitev). Po letu 2009 se je število njihovih nočitev zmanjšalo celo pod 8.000 na leto in leta 2012 so realizirali le 4.840 nočitev (1,7 % vseh nočitev) in bili šele na devetem mestu med nočitvami po državni pripadnosti.

Obiskovalci iz današnje Srbije so bili pred drugo svetovno vojno najštevilčnejša skupina turistov v Rogaški Slatini, saj so ustvarili so več kot 40 % vseh nočitev. Po vojni jih je prihajalo manj, kljub temu pa so bili do leta 1961 za turisti iz Hrvaške in Slovenije tretja najštevilčnejša skupina obiskovalcev po državni pripadnosti (leta 1961 so predstavljali okoli 12 % turistov in realizirali okoli 10 % vseh nočitev). Med letoma 1967 in 1986 se je njihov delež zmanjšal na okoli 5-8 % turistov in 4-7 % nočitev. Tako so bili v 70. in v 80. letih peta do šesta najštevilčnejša skupina turistov (s povprečno okoli 2.000 gosti in 17.000 nočitvami na leto).

Proti koncu 80. let je prihajalo iz Srbije v Rogaško Slatino vedno manj obiskovalcev. Na zmanjšan obisk so najverjetneje vplivale tudi zaostrene politične in gospodarske razmere v tedanji Jugoslaviji. Leta 1990 so obiskovalci iz Srbije predstavljali le še 1,8 % vseh turistov in 1,6 % nočitev. Če so leta 1959 obiskovalci iz Srbije v Rogaški Slatini realizirali kar 41.203 nočitev, so jih med letoma 1992 in 2006 večinoma manj kot 1.000 na leto (leta 2001 le 244 nočitev). Po letu 2007 se je njihov obisk začel spet rahlo povečevati in leta 2012 je prišlo iz Srbije 651 turistov (1,6 %), ki so realizirali 2.855 nočitev (1,0 %), s čimer so se uvrstili na deseto mesto po državni pripadnosti.



Slika 4: Delež nočitev v Rogoški Slatini po državah prihoda med I. 1958 in 2012.
Vir: Letni pregledi turizma, 1958-2002; Medmrežje 1 (* podatki od leta 2003 dalje veljajo za občino).

Med številčnejšimi obiskovalci iz območja nekdanje Jugoslavije so bili v preteklosti tudi turisti iz Bosne in Hercegovine. V 60. in v 70. letih so predstavljali okoli 2-5 % turistov in nočitev, v sredini 80. let pa je njihov delež narasel na okoli 5,5 % turistov in 7 % nočitev. V tem času so bili peta najštevilčnejša skupina turistov po državni pripadnosti, s povprečno okoli 2.000 turisti in 22.000 nočitvami na leto. Po vojni na območju Balkana njihovega obiska v Rogaški Slatini skoraj ni bilo več, oziroma so na leto zabeležili v povprečju med 500 in 1.000 nočitev. Leta 2012 iz BIH prišlo le 174 turistov (0,4 %), ki so realizirali 544 nočitev (0,2 %).

Obisk iz drugih območij nekdanje Jugoslavije je bil zaradi precejšnje oddaljenosti tudi v času skupne države relativno skromen. V 70. in v 80. letih so obiskovalci iz Črne Gore in Makedonije predstavljali le okoli 0,1-0,4 % turistov, po vojni na Balkanu pa so v zdravilišču registrirali le nekaj turistov s tega območja. Leta 2012 je prišlo iz Makedonije le 49 turistov (0,1 %), ki so realizirali 219 nočitev (0,1 %). Turisti iz Črne Gore so bili med letoma 1994 in 2006 v statističnih podatkih priključeni obiskovalcem iz Srbije. Leta 2012 je prišlo iz Črne Gore le 22 turistov.

Obiskovalci iz današnje Avstrije so bili pred prvo svetovno vojno najštevilčnejša skupina turistov v Rogaški Slatini. Med obema vojnoma se je njihov obisk bistveno zmanjšal (na okoli 5 %), po drugi svetovni vojni pa so bili vse do leta 1989 po številu nočitev najštevilčnejša skupina tujih turistov, oziroma na tretjem mestu za turisti iz Hrvaške in Slovenije. Njihov delež je pričel naraščati sredi 60. let. Med letoma 1967 in 1970 so nadomestili velik upad obiskovalcev iz območja nekdanje Jugoslavije (ki so ga povzročile spremembe zakona o zdravstvenem varstvu) ter predstavljali 29 % vseh turistov in kar 38 % vseh nočitev v zdravilišču. S povprečno okoli 6.500 turisti in 70.000 nočitvami na leto so postali celo najštevilčnejša skupina turistov po državni pripadnosti v Rogaški Slatini. V 70. in v 80. letih so jih prehiteli obiskovalci iz Hrvaške in Slovenije in njihov delež se je v 70. letih počasi znižal na 17 % turistov (in 22 % nočitev) oziroma na 14 % turistov (in 17 % nočitev) v 80. letih.

Leta 1990 so obiskovalce iz Avstrije po številu turistov kot tudi nočitev prehiteli obiskovalci iz Italije in za skoraj dve desetletji prevzeli prvo mesto med tujimi turisti v Rogaški Slatini. Sledilo je postopno zmanjšanje obiska iz Avstrije. Kot je ugotavljal Horvat (2000), so bili obiskovalci iz Avstrije v 90. letih v povprečju najstarejši turisti v zdravilišču, saj jih je bilo med anketiranci okoli 37 % starejših od 70 let. Ker se je v tem obdobju premalo vlagalo v promocijo zdravilišča na avstrijskem trgu, Avstrijci pa so se v tem obdobju v veliki meri preusmerili v številna na novo zgrajena zdravilišča na Madžarskem, se je po letu 1996 število njihovih nočitev v Rogaški Slatini zmanjšalo pod 40.000 na leto, po letu 2000 pod 30.000 in po letu 2005 pod 20.000. Posledično so obiskovalci iz Avstrije leta 2005 padli na četrto mesto po državni pripadnosti (z 8,6 % nočitev), leta 2006 na peto (5,7 %) in leta 2007 na šesto mesto (4,7 %). Leta 2012 je prišlo v Rogaško Slatino iz Avstrije le še 1.693 turistov (4,2 %), ki so realizirali 7.615 nočitev (2,7 %). Po številu turistov so se uvrstili na četrto mesto, po nočitvah pa šele na sedmo glede na državno pripadnost.

Obiskovalci iz Italije so začeli prihajati v Rogaško Slatino relativno pozno. Pred drugo svetovno vojno jih je bilo manj kot 2 %, do sredine 60. let pa so predstavljali okoli 4 % turistov in realizirali okoli 3 % nočitev. Njihov obisk se je povečal konec 60. in v začetku 70. let, ko so predstavljali okoli 11 % turistov in nočitev (s povprečno okoli 2.500 turistov in 23.000 nočitev na leto). Do sredine 80. let turistični obisk iz Italije ni naraščal, zato se je njihov delež znižal pod 7 % turistov in

6 % nočitev.

Po letu 1987 pa se je pričel turistični obisk iz Italije naglo povečevati. Zdravilišču se je obrestovalo vlaganje v promocijo na italijanskem trgu in leta 1989 so Italijani po številu turistov presegli turiste iz Avstrije, po številu nočitev pa so jih presegli leta 1990. Istega leta so presegli tudi obisk iz Hrvaške in bili (z izjemo leta 1991) vse do leta 2010 druga najštevilčnejša skupina turistov v Rogaški Slatini (do leta 2009 za turisti iz Slovenije, od leta 2010 pa iz Ruske federacije). Med letoma 1992 in 2000 so realizirali med 20-30 % nočitev, višek obiska je bil dosežen med letoma 2003 in 2007, ko je število nočitev preseglo 74.000, delež nočitev pa se je gibal med 30-33 %. Leta 2011 se je zaradi gospodarske krize v Italiji število obiskovalcev precej zmanjšalo in leta 2012 je v Rogaško Slatino prišlo iz Italije 9.490 turistov (23,6 %), ki so, zaradi kratke povprečne dolžine bivanja realizirali le 43.738 nočitev (15,7 %). V primerjavi z letom 2007 se je število nočitev zmanjšalo kar za 50 %, tako da so podli na tretje mesto po številu nočitev glede na po državni pripadnost.

V drugi polovici 90. let so zdravilišče v Rogaški Slatini »odkrili« turisti iz Ruske federacije in Ukrajine (v analizi so obravnavani skupaj). Leta 1995 so predstavljali le 1,3 % vseh turistov in realizirali 2,9 % vseh nočitev. V letu 1997 in 1998 je število njihovih nočitev sicer preseglo 10.000, a se je nato v naslednjih treh letih zopet zmanjšalo. Novo etapo v razvoju predstavlja leto 2005, ko so zabeležili okoli 23.000 nočitev (9,2 %). Leta 2008 so presegli 54.000 nočitev (19,2 %), leta 2010 88.000 nočitev (35,2 %) in leta 2011 129.000 nočitev (39 %). Leta 2012 je v Rogaško Slatino prišlo iz Ruske federacije in Ukrajine 10.784 turistov (26,8 %), ki so zaradi dolge povprečne dolžine bivanja realizirali kar 130.309 nočitev (46,8 %). Nočitev iz Ruske federacije je bilo 41,4 %, iz Ukrajine pa 5,4 %. S temi deleži so turisti iz Ruske federacije le v nekaj letih postali najpomembnejša skupina turistov po številu nočitev v Rogaški Slatini, iz Ukrajine pa so se uvrstili na četrto mesto. Njihov obisk je uspešno nadomestil izpad turistov iz Italije in obenem predstavlja novo etapo v razvoju zdravilišča, ki ni povezana le z njihovim turističnim obiskom, temveč tudi s povečanim interesom za vlaganja in nakup nepremičnin v kraju.

V povojnem obdobju so sodili med številčnejše obiskovalce zdravilišča le še turisti iz Nemčije. Do konca 60. let so predstavljali okoli 1,3 % vseh turistov in okoli 1,1 % nočitev. V 70. letih se je njihov delež povečal na okoli 4,7 % turistov in 6,3 % nočitev. S povprečno okoli 1.400 turistov in 22.000 nočitev na leto so bili v tem obdobju v zdravilišču peta do šesta najštevilčnejša skupina turistov po državni pripadnosti. V 80. letih se je njihov delež ustalil na okoli 4 % turistov, realizirali pa so okoli 4,5 % nočitev. Leta 1999 je iz Nemčije prišlo 960 turistov (2,7 %), ki so realizirali 5.978 nočitev (3,0 %), ter se po številu nočitev uvrstili na peto mesto po državni pripadnosti. Ker je po letu 2000 njihov obisk ostal na približno enakem nivoju, se je delež njihovih nočitev postopoma zmanjševal in se gibal med 1-2 %. Leta 2012 je prišlo v Rogaško Slatino iz Nemčije 1.367 turistov (3,4 %), ki so realizirali 5.102 nočitev (1,8 %), s čimer so uvrstili na šesto mesto po številu turistov in na osmo po številu nočitev po državni pripadnosti v Rogaški Slatini.

Na koncu je med posameznimi državami potrebno omeniti še turiste iz Izraela, ki so že konec 80. let pričeli prihajati v Rogaško Slatino v organiziranih skupinah in se nato vračali v različnih obdobjih, ko je njihov obisk predstavljal med 3-6 % nočitev v kraju. Med letoma 1984 in 1990 je prišlo iz Izraela preko 3.500 turistov, ki so v sedmih letih realizirali okoli 43.500 nočitev. Leta 1988 so predstavljali kar 2,4 % vseh turistov (980 turistov), leta 1989 pa so realizirali 3,3 % vseh nočitev (okoli

11.800 nočitev), s čimer so se takrat uvrstili na sedmo mesto po številu nočitev po državni pripadnosti. Med letoma 1991 in 1994 je bil izraelski trg popolnoma izgubljen, saj je letno prišlo v Rogaško Slatino manj kot 100 turistov. Njihov obisk se je pričel povečevati šele konec 90. let in leta 1998 so z 9.125 nočitvami (4,1 % vseh nočitev v Rogaški Slatini) prišli na šesto mesto po številu nočitev. Po vnovičnem zmanjšanju so se v večjem številu zopet pojavili med letoma 2004 in 2009 (na leto je prišlo okoli 3.000 turistov, ki so realizirali okoli 15.000 nočitev). Leta 2012 je prišlo iz Izraela v Rogaško Slatino 925 turistov (2,3 %), ki so realizirali 10.450 nočitev (3,8 %), s čimer so uvrstili na deveto mesto po številu turistov, po številu nočitev pa na šesto mesto (zaradi dolge povprečne dolžine bivanja).

Turisti iz drugih držav so v preteklosti predstavljali majhen delež obiskovalcev v Rogaški Slatini. Le v posameznih letih je zdravilišču uspelo pridobiti nekaj organiziranih turističnih skupin iz različnih držav. Leta 1961 je tako npr. od povprečja izstopal obisk iz Velike Britanije. Nekaj čez 430 turistov je takrat v kraju realiziralo kar 2,3 % vseh nočitev, s čimer se je država uvrstila na sedmo mesto po številu nočitev. Konec 60. let so večji obisk registrirali tudi turisti iz Nizozemske (1,6 % nočitev leta 1967). Omeniti je potrebno tudi obiskovalce iz Finske, od koder je med letoma 1983 in 1991 prišlo v Rogaško Slatino okoli 2.000 turistov, ki so realizirali okoli 27.000 nočitev. Višek obiska je bil leta 1988 in 1989, ko so predstavljali 0,9 % vseh turistov in 1,5 % vseh nočitev v kraju. V teh letih so zabeležili povečan turistični obisk tudi iz Švedske. Skandinavsko tržišče je bilo v letu 1991 popolnoma izgubljeno in se ni obnovilo. Konec 80. let se je nekoliko povečal turistični obisk tudi iz nekaterih zahodnoevropskih držav (Nizozemske, Švice, Velike Britanije) in ZDA, vendar ni presegel obiska iz Izraela in Finske. Vsi poskusi pridobitve organiziranih turističnih skupin so bili prekinjeni z vojno v Sloveniji leta 1991.

Preglednica 1: Število in delež turistov in nočitev po državni pripadnosti v Rogaški Slatini leta 2012.

	Država	Št. turistov	% turistov	Država	Št. nočitev	% nočitev
	Skupaj	40.246	100,0	Skupaj	278.559	100,0
1.	Slovenija	9.561	23,8	Ruska federacija	115.215	41,4
2.	Italija	9.490	23,6	Slovenija	46.281	16,6
3.	Ruska federacija	9.464	23,5	Italija	43.738	15,7
4.	Avstrija	1.693	4,2	Ukrajina	15.094	5,4
5.	Hrvaška	1.478	3,7	Druge evr. države	12.702	4,6
6.	Nemčija	1.367	3,4	Izrael	10.450	3,8
7.	Ukrajina	1.320	3,3	Avstrija	7.615	2,7
8.	Druge evr. države	1.243	3,1	Nemčija	5.102	1,8
9.	Izrael	925	2,3	Hrvaška	4.840	1,7
10.	Srbija	651	1,6	Srbija	2.855	1,0
11.	VB	362	0,9	VB	1.979	0,7
12.	Romunija	239	0,6	Romunija	1.502	0,5
13.	ZDA	230	0,6	Drž. Latin. Amerike	1.113	0,4
14.	BIH	174	0,4	ZDA	964	0,3
15.	Madžarska	172	0,4	Nizozemska	663	0,2

Vir: Medmrežje 1.

V 90. letih se je število obiskovalcev iz bolj oddaljenih držav močno zmanjšalo, ponovno pa se je zopet povečalo po vključitvi Slovenije v EU. V zadnjem desetletju beležijo nekoliko večje deleže nočitev v Rogaški Slatini turisti iz ZDA (med 0,5-1,0 %), Velike Britanije (po letu 2004 med 0,3-0,4 %), Romunije (po letu 2011 okoli 0,5 %). Povečuje se tudi delež nočitev obiskovalcev, ki jih statistika beleži kot

»druge države«. Leta 2005 je njihov delež znašal okoli 5 %, leta 2012 pa se je povečal že na 9,6 %.

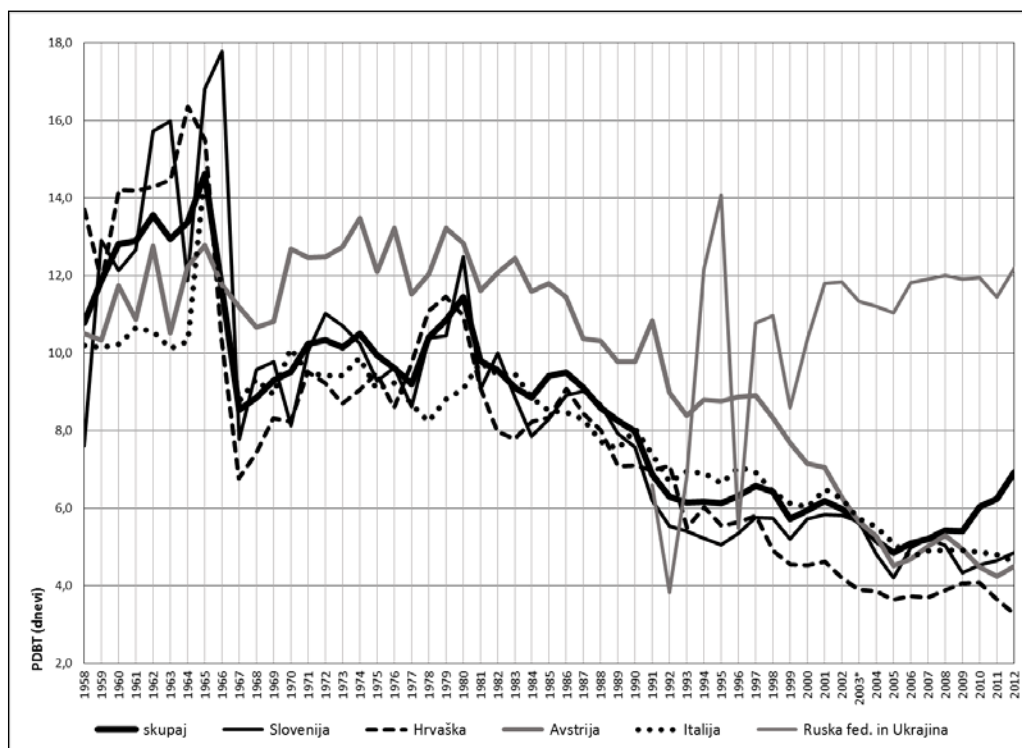
4. Povprečna dolžina bivanja turistov v Rogaški Slatini

V preteklosti so prihajali obiskovalci v zdravilišča večinoma na zdravljenje, zato so bile povprečne dolžine bivanja turistov (izračunane iz razmerja med številom nočitev in turistov) v t. im. »klasičnih« zdraviliških krajih v Sloveniji najdaljše med vsemi vrstami turističnih krajev (Horvat 2008). Konec 50. in v začetku 60. let so se gibale med 11-12 dni, v 80. letih pa so se znižale na 6-7 dni. V tem času so v zdraviliščih najdlje bivali turisti iz Slovenije (v povprečju 8-9 dni), sledili so turisti iz drugih republik nekdanje Jugoslavije in tujine (5-6 dni). Po letu 1993 so se dolžine bivanja v slovenskih zdraviliških krajih postopno zniževale; v 90. letih so znašale okoli 5,5 dni, leta 2000 5,1 dni, leta 2005 4,5 dni in leta 2010 le 3,9 dni. Na skrajšanje je predvsem vplivalo dejstvo, da je večina obiskovalcev zdravilišč samoplačnikov, ki se odločajo za večkratni krajši obisk, poleg tega pa se je v večini zdravilišč v zadnjem desetletju bistveno povečal delež t. im. "počitniških in rekreativnih" turistov ter turistov ob koncu tedna.

Glede na povprečne dolžine bivanja turistov se zdraviliški kraji v Sloveniji razlikujejo med seboj. V tistih, ki so bolj odvisna od turistov, ki prihajajo na zdravljenje in preko zdravstvenega zavarovanja, so povprečne dolžine bivanja daljše. Leta 1999 so bile daljše od povprečja (5,2 dni) v Rogaški Slatini (5,7 dni) in Dobrni (7,5 dni), krajše od povprečja pa so bile v Podčetrtku (5,1 dni), Radencih (4,7 dni), Moravskih Toplicah (4,6 dni) in Čateških Toplicah (4,6 dni). Leta 2012 je znašalo povprečje 3,9 dni in daljše od so bile v Radencih (4,2 dni), Dobrni (4,4 dni), Dolenjskih Toplicah (5,2 dni), Šmarjeških Toplicah (5,8 dni) in Rogaški Slatini (6,9 dni), med tem ko so bile v Čateških Toplicah, Podčetrtku in Moravskih Toplicah krajše (okoli 3,7 dni).

Rogaška Slatina je med slovenskim zdraviliškimi kraji vse obdobje izstopala z najdaljšimi povprečnimi dolžinami bivanja turistov. Pred drugo svetovno vojno so turisti v kraju v povprečju bivali 13-16 dni, med letoma 1953 in 1966 pa 11-13 dni. Zaradi omejitev pri pošiljanju zdravstvenih zavarovancev v zdravilišča so se v drugi polovici 60. let dolžine znižale na 9 dni. V 70. letih so se ustalile na 9,5-10,5 dni in v tem obdobju so tuji turisti v povprečju ostali v Rogaški Slatini dan dlje od domačih. Povprečne dolžine so se nato v 80. letih znižale na 8 dni.

V 90. letih je prišlo do bistvenega znižanja povprečnih dolžin bivanja turistov. V povprečju so turisti bivali v Rogaški Slatini okoli 6,5 dni, vendar najmanj domači turisti (le okoli 5,5 dni). Znižanju so pripomogle visoke cene, zmanjšan delež obiskovalcev napotenih preko zdravstvenega zavarovanja in povečan delež tistih, ki so prišli v Rogaško Slatino le na zdravniške preglede, krajšo zdravstveno preventivo ter na oddih in počitnice. H krajši povprečni dolžini bivanja je pripomoglo tudi večje število obiskovalcev številnih seminarjev, ki so jih organizirali v kraju. Leta 1999 so se povprečne dolžine bivanja prvič znižale pod 6 dni (na 5,7 dni). Turisti iz Slovenije so v povprečju ostali v kraju 5,2 dni, iz tujine 6,5 dni in iz drugih republik bivše Jugoslavije le 4,5 dni.

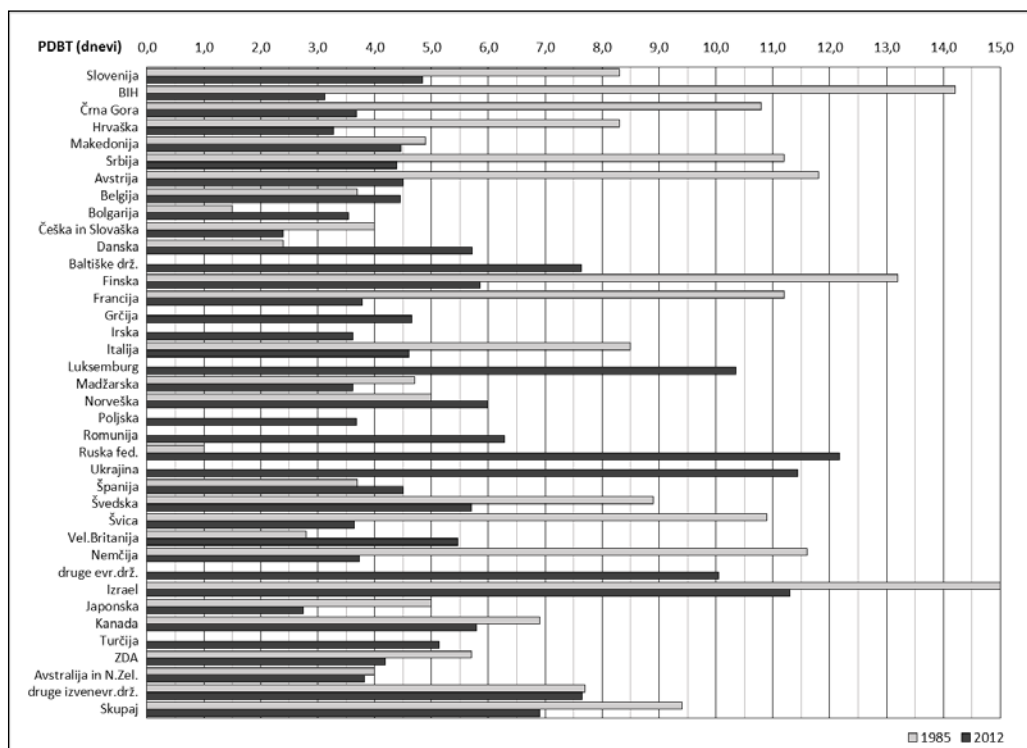


Slika 5: Povprečna dolžina bivanja turistov v Rogaški Slatini po državah prihoda med letoma 1958 in 2012.

Vir: Letni pregledi turizma, 1958-2002; Medmrežje 1 (* podatki od leta 2003 dalje veljajo za občino).

Po letu 2000 je sledilo nadaljnje znižanje in povprečne dolžine bivanja turistov so se ustalile na okoli 5 dni. Domači turisti so v povprečju v kraju ostali 5 dni, iz drugih republik bivše Jugoslavije pa le 3,5 dni. S povečanim obiskom turistov iz Ruske Federacije, Ukrajine in Izraela (ki v Rogaški Slatini v povprečju ostanejo 11-12 dni) pa so se v zadnjem desetletju povprečne dolžine ponovno zvišale. Leta 2012 so znašale kar 6,9 dni.

Najdaljše povprečne dolžine bivanja so v začetku 60. let imeli turisti iz Hrvaške, Slovenije ter Bosne in Hercegovine (okoli 14 dni), v 80. letih pa turisti iz Izraela in Finske (okoli 13 dni). V povprečju so v Rogaški Slatini takrat dlje bivali tudi gosti iz Avstrije in Nemčije. Po letu 1991 so se povprečne dolžine bivanja skrajšale pri vseh skupinah turistov. V zadnjih letih med številčnejšimi turisti v kraju najdlje bivajo turisti iz Ruske federacije (12,2 dni leta 2012), Ukrajine (11,4 dni) in Izraela (11,3 dni). Kljub številčnosti po številu turistov pa so povprečne dolžine bivanja turistov iz Italije (4,6 dni), Avstrije (4,5 dni), Nemčije (3,7 dni) in Hrvaške (3,3 dni) zelo kratke, kar je pripomoglo k bistvenemu zmanjšanju deleža njihovih nočitev v kraju.



Slika 6: Povprečna dolžina bivanja turistov v Rogaški Slatini po državah prihoda leta 2012.

Vir: Medmrežje 1.

5. Zaključek

Analizirani podatki o deležu nočitev po državah prihoda v Rogaški Slatini kažejo, da je bil turistični obisk v zdraviliškem kraju skozi celotno obdobje bolj ali manj odvisen od prihoda turistov iz le nekaj najpomembnejših držav. Pred prvo svetovno vojno so Rogaško Slatino večinoma obiskovali elitni in premožni gosti iz današnje Avstrije, Madžarske in Hrvaške, med obema svetovnjima vojnoma pa iz Hrvaške in Srbije.

Glede na obseg turističnega obiska in države z najvišjimi deleži nočitev v Rogaški Slatini lahko obdobje med letoma 1953 in 2012 razdelimo v naslednja razvojna obdobja:

- Po drugi svetovni vojni, ko se je turistični obisk močno povečal in temeljil predvsem na socialnem in zdravstvenem turizmu, so vse do leta 1986 v zdravilišču prevladovali turisti iz območja bivše Jugoslavije (predvsem iz Hrvaške in Slovenije ter do leta 1961 tudi iz Srbije). Obiskovalci iz Hrvaške so do leta 1965 realizirali celo več kot 45 % vseh nočitev, do leta 1985 pa več kot 30 %. Obiskovalci iz Slovenije so bili druga najštevilčnejša skupina turistov, deleži njihovih nočitev pa so se gibali okoli 25 %. Izjemo v tem obdobju predstavlja obdobje med letoma 1967 in 1970, ko se je zaradi spremembe zakona o zdravstvenem zavarovanju močno omejila napotitev domačih turistov v zdravilišče in se je le-to preusmerilo na tuja tržišča. V tem obdobju so prišli na prvo mesto turisti iz Avstrije (31-39 % nočitev). Avstrija je ostala tradicionalno tržišče vse do leta 2004. V tem obdobju so bili njeni turisti tretja

najpomembnejša skupina obiskovalcev Rogaške Slatine (do leta 1996 so zabeležili med 15-22 %, do leta 2004 pa med 10-15 % nočitev v kraju).

Preglednica 2: Značilna obdobja s tremi državami z najvišjim deležem nočitev v Rogaški Slatini med letoma 1953 in 2012.

Obdobje	1. mesto	2. mesto	3. mesto
1953 – 1961	Hrvaška (45-50%)	Slovenija (19-23%)	Srbija (10-20%)
1962 – 1966			Avstrija (12-17%)
1967 – 1970	Avstrija (31-39%)	Hrvaška (23-28%)	Slovenija (14-18%)
1971 – 1986	Hrvaška (27-36%)	Slovenija (20-30%)	Avstrija (10-22%)
1987 – 1989	Slovenija (32-48%)	Hrvaška (17-24%)	
1990 – 2004		Italija (24-33%)	
2005 – 2009			
2010 – 2012	R.f. in Ukr. (35-47%)	Slovenija (16-24%)	Italija (16-25%)

Vir: Letni pregledi turizma, 1958-2002; Medmrežje 1.

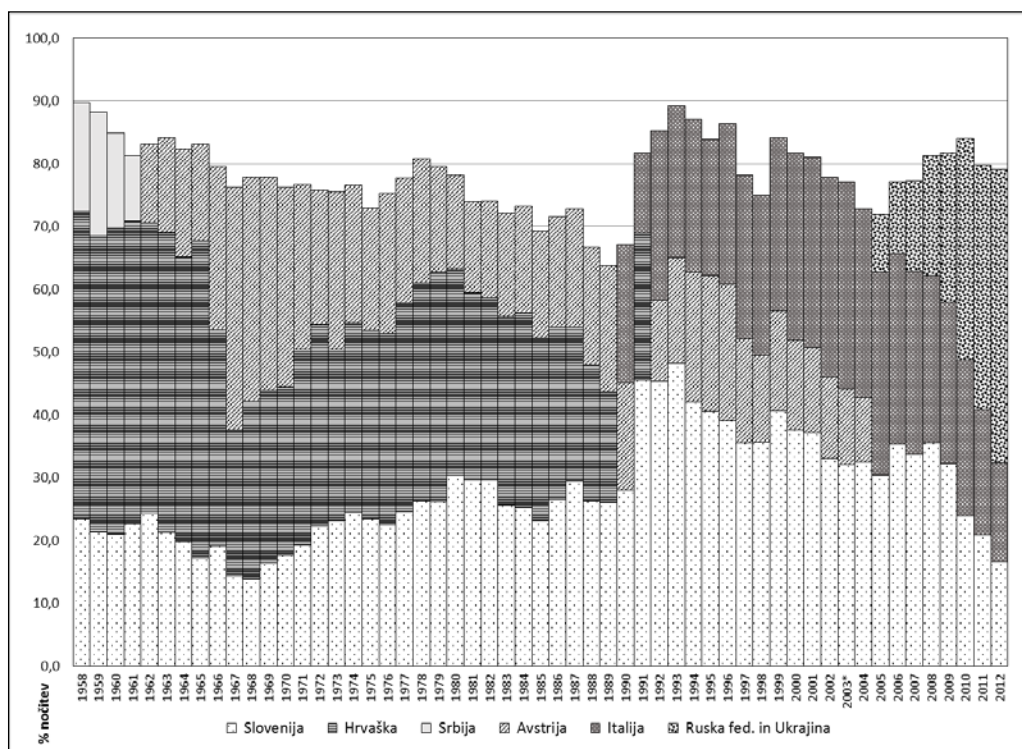
- Obdobje druge polovice 80. let napoveduje začetek nove etape v razvoju zdravilišča v Rogaški Slatini. Zdravilišče se je razširilo z novimi objekti za namestitev gostov in specializirano zdravstveno ponudbo ter z objekti za šport, rekreacijo in zabavo. Začeli so širiti svojo ponudbo tudi na druge ciljne skupine turistov, predvsem na samoplačniške goste iz tujine. Delež nočitev domačih turistov se je konec 80. let precej zmanjšal. Turisti iz Hrvaške so se s 17-24 % nočitev uvrstili na drugo mesto, turisti iz Slovenije pa s 26-29 % nočitev na prvo. Več kot 45 % nočitev so v tem obdobju zabeležili tuji turisti; še vedno največ iz Avstrije (20 %), vse več pa jih je bilo tudi iz Italije (10-15 %). V tem obdobju so v Rogaško Slatino zahajale tudi organizirane skupine turistov iz Izraela, Finske in drugih držav.

- Žal je ugoden turistični razvoj v začetku 90. let prekinila vojna na Balkanu. V primerjavi z letom 1985 (385.000 nočitev) se je število nočitev do leta 1999 zmanjšalo kar za 48 % (na 199.000 nočitev). Močno se je zmanjšal obisk iz drugih republik nekdanje Jugoslavije (leta 1999 so turisti s tega območja realizirali le 7,5 % nočitev) in tujine. Nekateri starejši objekti so bili zaprti ali so jim spremenili namembnost. Spreminjalo se je tudi lastništvo posameznih hotelskih objektov. Med letoma 1987 in 2009 so prvič v zgodovini zdravilišča prevladovali domači turisti (iz Slovenije). Med letoma 1991 in 1995 so zabeležili kar 40-48 % nočitev, kasneje pa se je njihov delež zmanjšal na okoli 35 %.

- Po letu 1990 so (z izjemo leta 1991) druga najpomembnejša skupina turistov v Rogaški Slatini postali turisti iz Italije. Ti so zaznamovali novo etapo v razvoju zdravilišča, zlasti med letoma 2000 in 2007, ko je znašal delež njihovih nočitev med 30-33 %. V tem obdobju so v zdravilišču postopoma obnovili hotele in razširili turistično ponudbo s termalnim kopališčem. Leta 2007 je bil po 22 letih dosežen nov višek turističnega obiska z okoli 296.000 nočitvami.

- Zadnjo etapo v razvoju turističnega obiska v Rogaški Slatini predstavlja preusmeritev na novo tržišče. Obisk turistov iz Ruske federacije in Ukrajine se je pričel hitro povečevati po letu 2005, ko so le-ti odkrili zdravilišče v Rogaški Slatini kot odlično alternativo prenapolnjenim Karlovim Varom na Češkem. Številni prebivalci Ruske federacije imajo namreč tradicijo vsakoletnega obiskovanja

zdravilišč, še posebej tistih, ki temeljijo svojo ponudbo na osnovi mineralne vode. Voda Donat Mg, ki je zaradi visoke vsebnosti magnezija (preko 1.000 mg/l) ena najbogatejših pitnih vod z magnezijem na svetu ter z dokazanimi fiziološkimi učinki na zdravje, zato predstavlja pomemben potencial za prodor na to tržišče. Voda se uporablja predvsem v obliki pitne kure, v zdravilišču pa se izvajajo tudi številni drugi terapevtski postopki medicinske rehabilitacije ter programi za bolj zdrav način življenja in izboljšanje psihofizičnih sposobnosti, ki so zanimivi za turiste iz Ruske federacije in Ukrajine. Leta 2008 so le-ti zabeležili 19 % vseh nočitev v Rogaški Slatini, leta 2010 35 % in leta 2012 47 %. Izstopajo po dolgi povprečni dolžini bivanja (12 dni), ki je dvakrat daljša od povprečja obiskovalcev iz drugih najbolj zastopanih držav. Zaradi tega so turisti iz Ruske federacije in Ukrajine le v nekaj letih postali najpomembnejša skupina turistov po številu nočitev v Rogaški Slatini. Njihov obisk je uspešno nadomestil izpad turistov iz Italije in obenem predstavlja novo etapo v razvoju zdravilišča, ki ni povezana le z njihovim turističnim obiskom, temveč tudi s povečanim interesom za vlaganja in nakup nepremičnin v kraju.



Slika 7: Kumulativni delež nočitev turistov iz treh držav z najvišjim deležem nočitev v posameznem letu v Rogaški Slatini med letoma 1958 in 2012.

Vir: Letni pregledi turizma, 1958-2002; Medmrežje 1 (* podatki od leta 2003 dalje veljajo za občino).

Navedeni rezultati potrjujejo ugotovitve Cigaleta (2010), ki v svoji analizi o značilnosti turističnega obiska v slovenskih občinah glede na državni izvor turistov ugotavlja, da je največja zgostitev obiska turistov iz le nekaj držav prisotna prav v občinah z zdraviliškimi kraji. Po njegovih ugotovitvah vrednosti povprečnega kumulativnega deleža turistov iz petih najpomembnejših držav v zdraviliških krajih v Sloveniji znaša kar 91 % (npr. pri mestnih občinah le 66,8 %). To govori o veliki

odvisnosti turizma od turistov iz razmeroma maloštevilnih držav. Med njimi so vse občine z zdraviliškimi kraji v Sloveniji, z izjemo Ptuja (Cigale 2010). Na primeru Rogaške Slatine lahko ugotovimo, da znaša kumulativni delež turistov iz treh najpomembnejših držav med 70-80 %. Najnižji je bil konec 80. let (med 64-68 %), ko je bila v Rogaški Slatini tudi najbolj pestra zastopanost obiskovalcev iz različnih držav. V obdobju prevlade obiskovalcev iz ene ali dveh držav (npr. iz Hrvaške v 60. letih, Slovenije v 90. letih ali Ruske federacije in Ukrajine po letu 2010), pa znaša preko 80 %. Tolikšna odvisnost od enega ali dveh turističnih tržišč lahko predstavlja velik problem, še zlasti če pride do hitre spremembe turističnih tokov v nek turistični kraj. V kratkem času je namreč nemogoče nadomestiti izgubo tržišča in poiskati nove trge.

Poznavanje državnega porekla turistov je pomembno z več vidikov. Cigale (2010) navaja, da so različne raziskave ugotovile pomembne razlike v ravnanju, motivih in percepcijah turistov iz različnih držav. Tako je npr. Mykletun (2001; po Cigale 2010) ugotavljal, da je bila država prebivališča najpomembnejši dejavnik, ki je vplival na razlikovanje med turisti, ki so malo ali veliko trošili, bili bolj ali manj zadovoljni s turistično ponudbo ter z večjo ali manjšo verjetnostjo nastopali kot ponovni obiskovalci. Razlike med turisti iz različnih držav v potovalnih stilih, preferencah in vzorcih ravnanja so pokazale tudi številne druge raziskave. Gursoy in Umbreit (2004; po Cigale 2010) sta opozorila tudi na razlike med turisti iz različnih držav Evropske unije pri iskanju informacij o potencialnih ciljih. O razlikah pri ravnanju in mnenjih turistov iz različnih držav pričajo tudi rezultati ankete, ki jo izvaja Statistični urad Republike Slovenije med tujimi turisti vsaka tri leta. Med rezultati anketiranja so posebej izpostavljeni tudi zdraviliški turistični kraji (SURS 2004; Medmrežje 2).

Na primeru Rogaške Slatine je konec 90. let tovrstne pojave preučeval Horvat (2000). Ugotavljal je povezanosti med starostno sestavo turistov ter njihovo sestavo po državah prihoda s pglavitnimi motivi obiska zdravilišča, viri informacij o zdravilišču, pogostosti prihodov, dolžini bivanja, terapevtskih potrebah, izletniški aktivnosti turistov in njihovem zadovoljstvu s turistično ponudbo. Izpostavil je visoko starost turistov iz Avstrije (večina je bila starejša od 60 let), ki so prihajali v Rogaško Slatino predvsem na zdravljenje. To se je kazalo tudi na njihovi majhni prostorski mobilnosti v kraju in veliki odvisnosti od vsakodnevnih terapevtskih storitev. Na drugi strani pa so bili turisti iz Italije, ki so bili večinoma v starosti med 40-60 let in so prihajali v Rogaško Slatino predvsem zaradi preživljanja dopusta, prakticiranja zdravega načina življenja in zdravstvene preventive. Bili so veliko bolj prostorsko mobilni in so koristili obsežno izvenpenzijsko ponudbo. Glede na navedene spremembe v turističnem obisku v Rogaški Slatini v zadnjem desetletju in prevlado turistov iz Ruske federacije in Ukrajine, ki imajo nekatere specifične turistične potrebe in značilnosti, bi bilo smiselno tovrstna preučevanja v prihodnje ponovno oživeti.

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(20.10.2013)

THE IMPACT OF THE ARRIVAL OF DIFFERENT GROUPS OF TOURISTS BY COUNTRY OF ORIGIN TO THE SCOPE OF TOURIST VISITS IN ROGAŠKA SLATINA BETWEEN 1953 AND 2012

Summary

Rogaška Slatina is one of the oldest and the most important tourist places and spas in Slovenia. Data of the share of overnight stays by country of origin indicates that the tourist flows in the resort at all times depends on arrival of tourists from just a few countries. Before the First World War resort was mostly visited by the elite and wealthy guests from Austria, Hungary and Croatia, and between the two world wars from Croatia and Serbia.

According to the scope of tourist visits and the countries with the highest shares of overnight stays in Rogaška Slatina, the period between 1953 and 2012 is divided into the following development periods.

After World War II, the tourist visits increased significantly. It based primarily on social and health tourism. Until 1986, in a spa prevailed tourists from former Yugoslavia. Visitors from Croatia until 1965 realized even more than 45% of all overnight stays, up to 1985 more than 30%. Visitors from Slovenia were the second largest group of tourists. Their share of overnight stays varied around 25%. Exception in this period represents the period between 1967 and 1970. Due to significant changes in the health insurance legislation, has sharply reduced the number of domestic tourist, so at the first place came tourists from Austria. Austria remained a traditional market until 2004. Its tourist were during this period the third most important group of tourists, regarding the share of overnight stays.

Period of the second half of the 1980s, announces the beginning of a new stage in the development of spa in Rogaška Slatina. It has expanded with construction of new facilities for accommodation and health care, as well with facilities for sports, recreation and entertainment. Spa began to expand its offer also to other target groups of tourists. The share of overnight stays from other republics of former Yugoslavia at the end of 1980s decreased considerably. Tourists from Croatia ranked on second place, tourists from Slovenia to the first. More than 45% of overnight stays was recorded by foreign tourists. The most from Austria, but more and more tourists came also from Italy. During this period to Rogaška Slatina came also some organized groups of tourists from Israel, Finland and other countries.

Unfortunately, the favorable tourist development was interrupted in the early 1990s by the war on the Balkans. Compared to 1985, the number of overnight stays until 1999 decreased by 48%. Strongly decreased visit from other republics of the former Yugoslavia and abroad. Some older buildings were closed or have changed their use. Between 1990 and 2009, for the first time in the history of spa prevailed tourists from Slovenia. After 1990, with the exception in 1991, the second most important group of tourists become tourists from Italy. They marked a new stage in the development of the resort, especially between 2000 and 2007. During this period in the resort gradually restored hotels, and tourist offer increased with thermal swimming pools. In 2007, after 22 years, the spa reached a new peak, according to the number of tourist visits.

The last stage in the development of tourist visits in Rogaška Slatina represents a shift to a new tourist market. Tourist visits from the Russian Federation and Ukraine

began to rise rapidly after 2005, when they discovered the spa in Rogaška Slatina as an excellent alternative to overcrowded Karlovy Vary in the Czech Republic. In 2008, they recorded 19% of all overnights in Rogaška Slatina, in 2010 35% and in 2012 47%. Russians are stand out for its long average length of stay (12 days), which is twice longer than the average of visitors from most other countries. Because of this, tourists from the Russian Federation and Ukraine only in a few years become the most important group of tourists, according to the number overnight stays. Their visit has successfully compensated the loss of tourists from Italy, and also represents a new stage in the development of the resort. This is not only related to their tourist visits, but also with an increased interest in investing and buying real estate in the resort.

Results of investigation in Rogaška Slatina confirms the findings of Cigale (2010). In the analysis of the characteristics of tourist visits in Slovenian municipalities, according to the state origin of tourists, he noted that the greatest congestion of the tourist visits from only a few countries are present in the municipalities with health resorts and spas. According to its findings, the average cumulative share of tourists from the five most important countries in health resorts in Slovenia amounted to 91% (e.g. in urban areas only 66.8%). In the case of Rogaška Slatina the cumulative share of tourists from only three of the most important countries varied between 70-80%. It was the lowest at the end of the 1980s. In that period, Rogaška Slatina had also the most diverse representation of visitors from different countries. During the period when the majority of visitors came just from one or two countries (e.g. from Croatia in the 1960s, from Slovenia in the 1990s or from the Russian Federation and Ukraine after 2010), it amounts over 80%. Such reliance on one or two tourist markets can be a major problem, especially when it comes to rapid changes in tourist flows into a certain tourist destination. In a short period it is impossible to compensate the great loss of market and find out new markets.

NAGRAJENE FOTOGRAFIJE ŠTUDENTSKEGA IN DIJAŠKEGA GEOGRAFSKEGA FOTO NATEČAJA

Sipine Kanarskih otokov (avtor Danijel Siter, študent geografije, Filozofska fakulteta, Univerza v Mariboru)



Jutranji Bled (avtor Jan Križaj, dijak Gimnazije Antona Aškerc, Ljubljana)



NAVODILA ZA PRIPRAVO ČLANKOV V REVIJI ZA GEOGRAFIJO

1. Sestavine članka

Članki morajo imeti naslednje sestavine:

- glavni naslov članka,
- ime in priimek avtorja,
- avtorjeva izobrazba in naziv (na primer: dr., mag., profesor geografije in zgodovine, izredni profesor),
- avtorjev poštni naslov (na primer: Oddelek za geografijo Filozofska fakulteta Univerza v Mariboru, Koroška 160, SI – 2000 Maribor, Slovenija),
- avtorjev elektronski naslov,
- izvleček (skupaj s presledki do 800 znakov),
- ključne besede (do 8 besed),
- abstract (angleški prevod naslova članka in slovenskega izvlečka),
- keywords (angleški prevod ključnih besed),
- članek
- summary (angleški prevod povzetka članka, skupaj s presledki do 8000 znakov).

2. Citiranje v članku

Avtorji naj pri citiranju med besedilom navedejo priimek avtorja in letnico, več citatov ločijo s podpičjem in razvrstijo po letnicah, navedbo strani pa od priimka avtorja in letnice ločijo z vejico, na primer: (Drozg 1995, 33) ali (Belec in Kert 1973, 45; Bračič 1975, 15 in 16).

Enote v poglavju Viri in literatura naj bodo navedene po abecednem redu priimkov avtorjev, enote istega avtorja pa razvrščene po letnicah. Če je v seznamu več enot istega avtorja iz istega leta, se letnicam dodajo črke (na primer 1999a in 1999b). Vsaka enota je sestavljena iz treh stavkov. V prvem stavku sta pred dvopičjem navedena avtor in letnica izida (če je avtorjev več, so ločeni z vejico, z vejico sta ločena tudi priimek avtorja in začetnica njegovega imena, med začetnico avtorja in letnico ni vejice), za njim pa naslov in morebitni podnaslov, ki sta ločena z vejico. Če je enota članek, se v drugem stavku navede publikacija, v kateri je članek natisnjen, če pa je enota samostojna knjiga, drugega stavka ni. Izdajatelja, založnika in strani se ne navaja. Če enota ni tiskana, se v drugem stavku navede vrsta enote (na primer elaborat, diplomsko, magistrsko ali doktorsko delo), za vejico pa ustanova, ki hrani to enoto. V tretjem stavku se za tiskane enote navede kraj izdaje, za netiskane pa kraj hranjenja.

3. Preglednice in slike v članku

Vse preglednice v članku so oštevilčene in imajo svoje naslove. Med številko in naslovom je dvopičje. Naslov konča pika. Primer:

Preglednica 1: Število prebivalcev Ljubljane po posameznih popisih.

Vse slike (fotografije, zemljevidi, grafi in podobno) v članku so oštevilčene enotno in imajo svoje naslove. Med številko in naslovom je dvopičje. Naslov konča pika. Primer:

Slika 1: Rast števila prebivalcev Ljubljane po posameznih popisih.

Slika 2: Izsek topografske karte v merilu 1 : 25.000, list Kranj.

Za grafične priloge, za katere avtorji nimajo avtorskih pravic, morajo avtorji od lastnika avtorskih pravic pridobiti dovoljenje za objavo. Avtorji naj ob podnapisu dopišejo tudi avtorja slike.

4. Sprejemanje prispevkov

Avtorji morajo prispevke oddati natisnjene v enem izvodu na papirju in v digitalni obliki, zapisane s programom Word. Digitalni zapis besedila naj bo povsem enostaven, brez zapletenega oblikovanja, poravnave desnega roba, deljenja besed, podčrtavanja in podobnega. Avtorji naj označijo le mastni (krepki) in ležeči tisk. Besedilo naj bo v celoti izpisano z malimi črkami (razen velikih začetnic, seveda), brez nepotrebnih krajšav, okrajšav in kratic. Zemljevidi naj bodo izdelani v digitalni vektorski obliki, grafi pa s programom. Fotografije in druge grafične priloge morajo avtorji oddati v obliki, primerni za skeniranje, ali pa v digitalni rastrski obliki z ločljivostjo vsaj 120 pik na cm oziroma 300 pik na palec, najbolje v formatu TIFF ali JPG.

Avtorji morajo za grafične priloge, za katere nimajo avtorskih pravic, priložiti fotokopijo dovoljenja za objavo, ki so ga pridobili od lastnika avtorskih pravic.

Avtorji naj prispevke pošiljajo na naslov urednika:

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5. Recenziranje člankov

Članki se recenzirajo. Recenzijo opravijo člani uredniškega odbora ali ustrezni strokovnjaki zunaj uredniškega odbora. Če recenziji ne zahtevata popravka ali dopolnitve članka, se avtorju članka recenzij ne pošlje. Uredniški odbor lahko na predlog urednika ali recenzenta zavrne objavo prispevka.

POROČILO RECENZENTA

1. Avtor prispevka
2. Naslov prispevka
3. Recenzent (ime in priimek, znanstveni ali strokovni naziv)
4. Pomen prispevka (ali prinaša nova znanstvena spoznanja)
 - a) da
 - b) ne
 - c) delno
5. Primernost prispevkov (ali naslov primerno poda vsebino)
 - a) da
 - b) ne
 - c) delno
6. Uporaba znanstvenega aparata, ustrezno navajanje virov in literature
 - a) da
 - b) ne (opozori na morebitne pomanjkljivosti)
 - c) delno
7. Pripombe in predlogi za izboljšanje besedila (priložite na posebnem listu)
8. Priporočam, da se prispevek sprejme:
 - a) brez pripomb
 - b) z manjšimi popravki
 - c) po temeljiti reviziji (na osnovi pripomb recenzenta)
 - d) zavrne

Datum:

Podpis recenzenta: