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History of Tourism Research in Slovenia

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Abstract: The aim of the following discussions to describe the basic characteristics of the historical research of tourism in Slovenia. Our purpose is twofold. In the first part we will undertake an analysis of the conceptual foundations of the Slovenian tourism research in the context of the Slovenian economic history. On the other hand we also wish to present the basic developmental aspects of tourism in Slovenia in the context of the wider economic and social development or the context of the consumer society. To put it more succinctly, we wish to present the interpretational framework and basic substantive emphases that the authors use in their presentations of the developmental characteristics of tourism in the 19th and 20th century. Through these optics we will outline the basic developmental orientations on the example of the establishment of the models of tourist consumption practices.

Already in the introduction we wish to underline the basic dimension of this discussion as well, as its purpose is to present only the most characteristic points in the research of tourism in Slovenia. However, by no means do we want to draw up a commented bibliography of historiographic articles, discussions or monographs on tourism as an economic or social-cultural activity in Slovenia. The available space is far too limited for such an endeavour. Thus we only intend to present the most prominent research or publications from the research of the history of tourism in Slovenia from the viewpoint of conceptualisation or from the standpoint of thematisation. We also have to emphasise that this involves a subjective outlook of the author.

Key words: history, tourism, Slovenia

JEL classification: L83, N00, Z30

Историјат истраживања туризма у Словенији

Сажетак: Циљ следећег рада је да опише основне карактеристике истраживања историје туризма у Словенији. Наш циљ је двострук. У првом делу ћемо предузети анализу основе концепта истраживања туризма у Словенији у контексту историје словеначке економије. С друге стране, имамо и жељу да представимо основне аспекте развоја туризма у Словенији у контексту ширег економског и друштвеног развоја или у контексту потрошачког друштва. Сажето речено, желимо да представимо интерпретацијски оквир и укажемо на суштински нагласак који аутори користе у својим презентацијама о развојним карактеристикама туризма у 19. и 20. веку. На тај начин ћемо указати на основне правце развоја на примеру успостављања модела праксе туристичке потрошње.

У самом уводу подвлачимо основну димензију ове дискусије, пошто је њена сврха да представи само најкарактеристичније тачке истраживања туризма у Словенији. Никако, међутим, не желимо да сачинимо коментарисану библиографију

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историографских чланака, расправа и монографије о туризму као привредној или социокulturолошком активности у Словенији. Расположиви простор је сувише ограничен за такав подухват. Тако само намеравамо да представимо најистакнутија истраживања или публикације о истраживању историје туризма у Словенији са становишта концептуализације и тематике. Морамо да нагласимо да то подразумева субјективни приступ аутора.

Кључне речи: историја, туризам, Словенија
ЈЕЛ класификација: L83, N00, Z30

In the context of tourism research it has to be emphasised that this takes place within the context of the general development of Slovenian historiography, especially economic historiography. Therefore it is necessary to first present the basic developmental outlines of the Slovenian economic historiography. By all means it is difficult to define the development of the Slovenian economic historiography in the second half of the twentieth century in a single stroke, with an unequivocal claim. Especially because this was not a uniform period of time. We will try to define it with a few mutually connected conclusions. The first conclusion is the claim that Slovenian economic historiography as a branch started to take shape in the 1960s. To this empirical fact we can add the conceptual and methodological emphasis that Slovenian economic historiography was constituted on the basis of the traditional descriptive positivist pattern, without a clear conceptualisation and definition of category apparatus. Both of these starting points represent a foundation for the third conclusion: that the 1990s were definitely the time of notable changes in the conceptual and methodological sense. This period coincided with the exchange of the generations and the arrival of some younger economic historians, who asserted themselves as researchers at the beginning of the 1990s. The staff strengthened, the number of researchers doubled, as did the volume of research. Changes taking place on both the conceptual as well as methodological level were gradual, by no means dramatic. We have to underline that in the time from the 1990s it is not possible to talk about a dominant pattern. By generalising we can outline two orientations: the new orientation of addressing the problem ambitiously, in the long-term, with aspirations for interdisciplinarity; and the traditional historiographic descriptive-positivist approach. The co-existence of both orientations does not represent a conflict, as they actually complement each other with what are otherwise their dissimilar approaches. This has often been evident. The defined duality actually represents one of the basic characteristics of the Slovenian economic historiography in the last twenty years.² The research of tourism as a multi-layered phenomenon – that is, as a social and cultural phenomenon, but not as much an economic phenomenon – took place within this context as well.

² For more details about the development and turning points of the economic historiography in Slovenia in the 19th and 20th century see Žarko Lazarević, *Identitetne zadrege slovenskega ekonomskega zgodovinoписja – Poti emancipacije gospodarskega zgodovinoписja o 19. in 20. stoletju pri Slovencih* [Identity Crises of Slovenian Economic Historiography – Paths of the Emancipation of the Slovenian Economic Historiography about the 19th and 20th Century] In: Žarko Lazarević – Aleksander Lorenčič (ed.), *Podobe modernizacije – Poglavlja iz gospodarske in socialne modernizacije Slovenije v 19. In 20. stoletju* [Images of Modernisation: Chapters from the Economic and Social Modernisation in Slovenia in the 19th and 20th Century], Ljubljana, 2009, pp. 13-56.

As we define the tourism research we have to make a few statements. First and foremost we definitely have to underline that in the case of tourism as an economic, social or cultural phenomenon we cannot, in the Slovenian example, talk about a carefully planned and long-term research activity. There have been no research programmes or projects within Slovenian historiography, based on the planned and systematic research of activities related to tourism –not only from the viewpoint of economic criteria, but also from the standpoint of tourism as a cultural and social phenomenon. Research has been sporadic, encouraged by the momentary interests of either the tourism operators or initiatives of individual researchers.

Another introductory emphasis underlines two approaches which are, at the same time, characteristic of historiography as a whole. These are the two research foci that we have already mentioned: the descriptive/empirical and analytical/problem-oriented focus. In contrast with the first focus, the second one insists on placing tourism into a wider social context. With the principle of co-dependence it places tourism in the social and economic context, context of cultural and value changes, context of the changing lifestyles of the population in Slovenia. This developmental duality has a concrete consequence. On one hand we are dealing with a large number of works, focusing on the research interest in a narrow substantive or local tourist phenomena, institutions or companies with an exceedingly positivist approach and without paying any attention to the historical context. On the other hand but a few other works exist which attempt to synthesise the history of tourism in the dimensions of the socio-economic or cultural changes.

Regarding the contextualisation and problem-oriented approach a few authors should be underlined. For example, Andrej Studen, researcher from the Institute of Contemporary History, places Slovenian tourism into the environment of the changing systems of values and lifestyles throughout the 19th century in the Central European space. In view of the applied methodological approach Studen can be placed in the context of social history or historical-anthropological approaches.³ In the context of the opus of historical-anthropological topics the important issue of ecology and tourism has to be underlined. Janez Cvirn, Professor at the Ljubljana University, has opened the question of the phenomenon of the conflict of interests within the economic sphere: that is, the one-sided interests of industrial capital with the interests of tourist activity investors. Of course, at the same time Cvirn has also addressed the conflict of interest between the holders of industrial capital and the wider social motivation to prevent the phenomena of the environmental and consequently health pathology, determining the tourist potentials of a certain area. Cvirn has therefore problematised the issue of industrialisation from the qualitative rather than quantitative viewpoint, which has generally been the dominant viewpoint in the Slovenian economic historiography, and its conflicts with the aspirations of the holders of the local political power in the field of tourism.⁴ Božo Repe, Professor at the Faculty of Arts in Ljubljana, has made an important contribution to the history of the period after World War II and the place and role of tourism in the processes of the economic system, reform efforts, as well as strategies and practices of the communist

³ Andrej Studen, Gremonarajžo. Potovalna kultura in začetki modernega turizma v stoletju meščanstva [Let's Roam.Travelling Culture and Beginnings of Modern Tourism in the Century of Bourgeoisie]. In: Turizem smo ljudje. Zbornik ob 100-letnici ustanovitve Deželne zveze za pospeševanje prometa tujcev na Kranjskem, turistične zveze Slovenije in organiziranega turizma v Sloveniji 1905 – 2005, Ljubljana, 2006, pp. 23-36.

⁴ Janez Cvirn, Ekološki problemi v Celju med obema vojnama [Ecological Problems in Celje between the World Wars]. Celjski zbornik, 1994. Celje, 1994, pp. 159-172.

consumer society.⁵ As far as the originality of research conceptualisations and thematic extrapolation is concerned, we should also mention the discussions of Igor Grdina, Professor of Cultural History, about the critical and witty reflections on the tourist activities and travelling in the Slovenian literature.⁶

In the conclusion of the short characterisation of the state of research of the history of tourism we cannot overlook the fact that no analyses have been carried out in the Slovenian historiography which would focus on tourism as an activity from the viewpoint of economic efficiency and its role in the context of the national economy. In Slovenia we do not have any studies of the economic dimensions of tourism in the historical perspective. There are also no studies focusing on tourism as an intersection between the social and economic activities. Such matters remain in the domain of economists, sociologists or anthropologists, who have a quite narrow definition of the historical perspective, though.

The fundamental interpretational supposition of the presentation of tourism in Slovenia is based on the concept of progress as the basis for the economic and social modernisation of the Slovenian society. In this concept tourism is seen as a social process of the binary division between two sides, two spheres of life: the usual/everyday life on one side, and the special/unusual life, which tourism is a part of, on the other.⁷ Tourism is therefore included in the concepts of work and idleness, the newly-invented concept of leisure time and relaxation, the concept of pleasure, and the joy of travelling. Tourist consumption is also an inseparable part of the so-called conspicuous consumption, as defined by Thorsten Veblen. Veblen defines consumption as an eminently constitutive element of social distinction. Certain status is also ascribed with a certain level of consumption and the possibility of leisure. The capability to finance this consumption is obligatory in order to socially verify the status position of an individual or a stratum in the social hierarchic structure. The higher up the income ladder we climb, the greater the social demands for the individual manifestations of conspicuous consumption.⁸

On the basis of the aforementioned facts we can thus establish a direct link between the development of tourism and the development of the consumer society in Slovenia, as tourism as an activity functions within this context. When the dimensions of time and intensity are introduced in the category of the modernisation of the Slovenian provinces,

⁵ Božo Repe, *Turistična zveza in razvoj turizma v Sloveniji po drugi svetovni vojni* [Tourist Association and Development of Tourism in Slovenia after World War II]. In: *Turizem smo ljudje. Zbornik ob 100-letnici ustanovitve Deželne zveze za pospeševanje prometa tujcev na Kranjskem, turistične zveze Slovenije in organiziranega turizma v Sloveniji 1905 – 2005*, Ljubljana, 2006, pp. 61-99.

⁶ Igor Grdina, *Danes tukaj, jutri tam alionstran periferije kranjske klobase: čar daljnih obzorij v kulturi včerajšnjega sveta* [Here and There or Beyond the Periphery of the Carniolan Sausage: the Lure of the Far Horizons in the Culture of the Yesterday's World]. In: Franc Rozman – Žarko Lazarević (ed.), *Razvoj turizma v Sloveniji*, Ljubljana, Zveza zgodovinskih društev Slovenije, 1996, pp. 58-77.

⁷ Peter Corrigan, *The Sociology of Consumption*. Sage Publications, London, 1998, pp. 132.

⁸ Thorsten Veblen, *Razkazovalna potrošnja* [Conspicuous Consumption], *Časopis za kritiko znanosti*, 1998, No. 189, pp. 227-240; *ibid.*, *Theory of Leisure Class*, Dover Publications, New York, 1994.

we can state that the economic development was slow there. This also defines the other side: that is, the consumer society. In the time before World War I the Slovenian society was mostly agrarian. The mostly agrarian structure also determined the extent and penetration of the consumer lifestyles. The processes of economic modernisation remained restricted to a relatively limited space in the territorial as well as social sense. Industrialisation as the basic driving force of modernisation acquired somewhat more momentum in the 1880s and even more so in the 1890s. The industrialisation at this time was mostly based on the exploitation of natural resources. At the same time this was the first period of the formation of the consumer society in Slovenia, which was severely limited in its potentials as the social and economic environment was, in the material sense and in view of the purchasing power, mostly modest or, to put it more succinctly, impoverished. The majority of the population lived at the edge of its existential minimum, regardless of whether it focused on agricultural or non-agricultural activities. Most demand called for the basic life necessities, footwear and clothes. The supply reflected this as well. At the same time this sort of development underlines the fact that consumerism as a lifestyle was reserved for a very narrow circle of the Slovenian population, mostly in the cities. The process of urbanisation was in its infancy, in accordance with the slow changing of the economic and social structure of the Slovenian lands. Slovenian space did not have a strong centre. Quite the opposite, it was subject to the gravitational pull of the centres located at the edge of the Slovenian space – Trieste, Graz, Zagreb – and thus also to the patterns of consumption, depending on the lifestyles of the individual social strata. While focusing on the time before World War I we certainly cannot ignore the fact that at the level of the public discourse the Slovenian space was still dominated by the anti-capitalist and anti-consumption ideology. These may be two sides of a single phenomenon, which resulted from the difficulties to follow the modernisation processes and therefore the consequent lag.

The interwar period represents an important turning point. At this time industrialisation saw some progress, as in a short time its capacity doubled. The extensive Yugoslav market opened up for the Slovenian industry, and this precise Yugoslav demand, which remained constant for many decades to come, was the driving force and impetus of the Slovenian industrialisation. With industrial development, growing number of urbanised population and increasing income the wider social circumstances changed as well. The time between both world wars was the peak of the capitalist development in Slovenia in the first half of the 20th century. Despite perceptible changes the Slovenian market in the interwar period was still modest. The level of demand was low due to the insufficient purchasing power, since at that time Slovenia was certainly relatively poor – it was still far from being a consumer society in the true sense of the expression. A number of indicators attest to this fact, for example the income of the peasant population, which was most numerous; as well as the income of workers, the second largest group of consumers. These two strata lived in more or less profound poverty, most often close to the mere existential minimum. The meagre demand was also contributed to by the way of life, at the same time resulting from the economic circumstances but also the traditional anti-consumer way of thinking, calling for the maximum possible use of any purchased product, whether craft or industrial. In the 1930s, in the first years of the Great Depression, the personal and social living standard decreased significantly. The belief in the liberalist economic model waned, and anti-capitalism became almost a social consensus. Ideologies putting the interest of the community before the interests of the individuals came to the forefront. The dominating doctrine did not only stop at the political, economic and social freedoms, but encompassed consumerism as well: self-restriction and self-denial were supposed to become the guidelines for an idolised lifestyle.

The period after World War II brought about a different political and economic context. With the communist takeover of power the environment and the circumstances changed completely. New values, different from those before World War II, had to be introduced. The process of the removal of the old values started simultaneously with the implementation of the new regime. The communists started introducing the principles which did not acknowledge any individualism, entrepreneurship, materialism or capitalist logic in the economic life. Except for the chosen communist elite, consumerism was abolished as well. All of this can be described with the ideology of the social and material egalitarianism.

After about a decade of looking towards the Soviet developmental model Yugoslavia realised that the accelerated industrialisation, which was exceedingly one-sided in the development of certain industries, should be brought to completion. The effect of the schism with the Soviet Union was unequivocal: this was a time for numerous reforms. After 1955 Yugoslavia opted for a more harmonised development of the individual industries, with the emphasis on the processing industry and placement of the industrialisation on more rational foundations, especially by taking into account the economy of investments. Furthermore, something had to be given to the population which had sacrificed ten years of work without receiving appropriate compensations in the form of an increased personal and social living standard. Quite the opposite, the personal living standard was even worse than before World War II, not to mention the diversity of choice, which was non-existent in the centrally planned system. The orientation towards improving the social and personal living standard with foreign savings (borrowing) dates back to this time, while further industrialisation would supposedly be financed mostly with the national savings.

The emphasis on the responsibility of the companies for their own success, the option of the partial freedom to shape the prices, and independent access to the "socialist" market had numerous consequences. One of them was an intensive expansion of the "Slovenian communist" version of the consumer society as a life ideology and practice, emerging in the 1960s and 1970s. The aspirations of the authorities to encourage the consumer goods industry and enhance the personal and social living standard were more than obvious. The industries for the production of general-consumption goods strengthened significantly. The encouragement of the services sector, where small-scale private initiative was allowed most evidently, was emphasised. Everything was also accompanied by the policy of the increasing personal income. In the 1970s quite a high social standard was achieved with what was almost a full employment, as well as system of health, social and pension insurance for almost every citizen.

The material side of life in Slovenia became quite enviable in view of the past as well as that in the rest of Yugoslavia and the Eastern communist countries. The path towards consumerism was open. The relatively high income or increased purchasing power of the population, allowing for a high level of demand for consumer and durable goods, was also followed by the restructuring of the industry and services sector. In the 1960s and 1970s the manifestations of the consumer society were complete. The institute of consumer loans, provided by the traders and banks either in cooperation or individually was now extensively used, and they represented an additional incentive to satisfy the consumer passions. The social implications were obvious: at the same time the value systems of the consumer society, new ways of shopping, structure, patterns and models of consumption and appearances of lifestyles were being adopted, and these were often incompatible with the official communist ideology. They followed the Western models, especially from the Austrian and Italian space, where at that time people enjoyed a period of unprecedented growth of living standard. The accessibility of Italian and Austrian radio and television stations, mass consumer tourism near the border (for example in Trieste), availability of

the foreign press (original or translated), had a significant influence on the shaping of the Slovenian consumption patterns in the second half of the 20th century.⁹

Tourist activities developed within the context of the formation of the consumer society. In this conceptual framework quite a few tourism development models were established, depending on the social structure and the state of the social modernisation. Because modernisation was slow, the development of tourism was relatively slow as well. This leads us to the first conclusion: that for a long time the main driving force of the development of tourism in the Slovenian lands was external demand. Foreign guests were those who encouraged the development of tourist capacities in the Slovenian space. Domestic demand became more important in the second half of the 20th century, when tourism became a mass phenomenon. This popularity was a result of economic as well as social aspects: on one hand of the structural changes in the society, which had become wealthier in the processes of economic modernisation; while on the other hand it involved a changing lifestyle of the broader social strata, as the lower strata mimicked the values and lifestyles of the higher social strata.¹⁰ It also makes a lot of sense to distinguish between tourism in the 19th and 20th century. Thus, in the Slovenian case as well as in the wider European space, the 19th century implies the constitution of the consumer models of modern tourism. Meanwhile, in such a scheme, the 20th century contributes the expansion and involvement of masses into tourist activities: tourism became an industry. The 20th century – or, more precisely, its second half – thus meant the transfer of the model of leisure time, idleness and relaxation – until then reserved for a narrow social stratum – to the widest social strata with all of the economic potentials, which contributed to what was otherwise a general involvement of the masses in all spheres of the social life.

In accordance with the structural characteristics of the society the tourist activities in Slovenia had a limited scope. Until World War II they were restricted to a narrow group of the population (aristocracy, wealthy bourgeoisie), which established tourism as a point in which they distinguished themselves from the other social strata in the processes of the social legitimisation of their position. To be well-off materially, to have some leisure time and the opportunity for some healthy relaxation were the points which certainly separated the aristocracy and higher bourgeoisie from the rest of the population. It was this very extraordinary status which encouraged the creation of Slovenian natural health resorts, besides the thermal springs. In the Slovenian space as well as in the wider Central European territory, especially after the beginning of the 19th century the health resorts of Rogaška Slatina, Radenci, Dobrna, Laško, Rimske Toplice and Dolenjske toplice¹¹ were established. The activities of these tourist destinations resulted largely from the external

⁹ Žarko Lazarević, *Blagovne znamke v ritmih časa* [Trademarks through Time]. In: PUKL, Adela (ed.). *Cockta – pijača vaše in naše mladosti: o dediščini slovenskih blagovnih znamk*. Ljubljana: Slovenski etnografski muzej, 2010, pp. 13-26.

¹⁰ For more information about the social aspects of consumption see Peter Corrigan, *The Sociology of Consumption*, Sage Publications, London, 1998, pp. 17-49; Grant McCracken, *Culture and Consumption. New Approaches to the Symbolic Character of Consumer Goods and Activities*, Indiana University Press, 1988, pp. 3-30.

¹¹ Stane Granda, *Prispevek plemstva k razvoju turizma na slovenskem* [Contribution of Aristocracy to the Development of Tourism in Slovenia]. In: Franc Rozman – Žarko Lazarević (ed.), *Razvoj turizma v Sloveniji*, Ljubljana, Zveza zgodovinskih društev Slovenije, 1996, pp. 38-47.

demand. Most of the guests were foreigners, mostly successful entrepreneurs or administrative bourgeoisie. A vivid example of that is Rogaška Slatina as the most eminent tourist spot in Slovenia in the 19th century.¹²

The construction of the railroad certainly represents a structural change in the development of tourism in the Slovenian space. Railways do not only alter the idea of time and travel, but also completely redefine the accessibility of individual areas in the sense of price and distance.¹³ Integration in the railway network provides an opportunity for the perspective of the mass appeal and expansion of tourist activities outside of the health resorts. In combination with the bourgeois values of cleanliness and health, embodied by the fresh air and untouched nature, the tourist activities expanded. A typical example of this is Bled, which is even today considered as one of the most recognisable Slovenian tourist symbols. The affirmation of Bled was based on the health resort activities, but with other emphases. The location had thermal springs at its disposal as well, but Bled became famous for different kinds of therapies. Here a type of healing that included water, air, sun, vegetarian diet and nudism developed, and ever since the beginning this has attracted the richer customers.¹⁴ The city of Celje represents another interesting example of tourist positioning and exploitation of its proximity to the railway. In the last decades of the 19th century Celje, as an intermediate station of the southern railroad, also became a tourist centre. Like elsewhere the beginnings of the tourist activities in Celje were related to health: Celje as a tourist destination, as a place for relaxation and healing, personified by the bathing resorts on the nearby river of Savinja. For propaganda purposes these places were equated with the healing power of the nearby thermal spring health resorts like Rogaška Slatina, Laško or Rimske Toplice.¹⁵

The example of Celje already exhibited a tendency for the mass appeal of the 19th-century tourist activities in Slovenia. The practice of bourgeois summer vacations contributed significantly to this. This was a phenomenon, known under the name of "Sommerfrische" in the Central Europe. It was a symbolic practice of conspicuous consumption, positioning within the social hierarchy, modelled after the example of the aristocratic contrast between the city and a castle in the countryside. The phenomenon was based on the dichotomy between the city and the village, the urban and the natural environment, the unhealthy and healthy environment. In the urban environment this phenomenon should

¹² More details in the *Knjiga gostov zdravilišča Rogaška Slatina* [Guest Book of the Rogaška Slatina Health Resort], Celje, Zgodovinski arhiv Celje, 2002.

¹³ Ivan Mohorič, *Zgodovina železnic v Sloveniji* [History of Railroads in Slovenia], Ljubljana, 1968; CVIRN, Janez, STUDEN, Andrej. "Ko vihar dirjajo hlaponi": k socialni in kulturni zgodovini železnice v 19. stoletju ["Trains Flying Like the Wind": On the Social and Cultural History of the Railroad in the 19th Century], (Collection Tiri in čas, No. 12). Ljubljana: Slovenske železnice, Železniški muzej, 2001. 70 pages; BOGIČ Mladen. *Pregled razvoja železniškega omrežja na širšem gravitacijskem območju Slovenije in Istre* [Overview of the Railway Network Development in the Broader Influence Area of Slovenia and Istria]. Ljubljana: Železniško gospodarstvo, 1989, 33 pages.

¹⁴ Božo-Benedik – Jože Dežman, *Izbrana poglavja iz blejske turistične zgodovine* [Selected Chapters from the Tourist History of Bled]. In: Jože Dežman (ed.), *Bled – 1000 let*, Radovljica, 2004, pp. 187-214.

¹⁵ Andrej Studen, *Gremo na rajžo. Potovalna kultura in začetki modernega turizma v stoletju meščanstva* [Let's Roam. Travelling Culture and Beginnings of Modern Tourism in the Century of Bourgeoisie]. In: *Turizem smo ljudje. Zbornik ob 100-letnici ustanovitve Deželne zveze za pospeševanje prometa tujcev na Kranjskem, turistične zveze Slovenije in organiziranega turizma v Sloveniji 1905 – 2005*, Ljubljana, 2006, pp. 23-36.

also be seen in the context of the idolisation of the peasant population (rural areas) as the source of tradition, propagator of traditional values, national culture, genuine folk traditions and patriotism, and origin of physical and spiritual health, which was the usual ideology of that time.¹⁶ The practice of retreating from the cities to the rural areas during the middle of the summer also spread among the bourgeois strata in accordance with their material possibilities. The phenomenon of "Sommerfrische" can also be seen in the Slovenian space, even though at a significantly lower level as in the nearby provinces. This is understandable, as the level of urbanisation – that is, the density of the little Slovenian towns – was low. Furthermore, the social stratification of the Slovenian society was low as well. With only a few exceptions the inhabitants of the Slovenian cities were already in contact with nature where they lived every day. As it is customary in the procedure of the adoption of other practices, the modified, locally-conditioned forms of bourgeois summer vacations were created. On the basis of the published realisations of the individual analyses we can conclude that these vacations involved the more occasional manifestations of the "Sommerfrische" in the form of excursions, lasting for a day or several days, to the countryside and to the riverbanks, longer stays with relatives in the rural regions,¹⁷ rather than the practice of distinguishing between the winter and summer residence or an idolised search for contact with nature in order to return to some imagined authenticity.

Mountain tourism was one of the elements of tourism striving for mass appeal. In the Slovenian mountains this kind of tourism began at the end of the 19th century. It was also a branch of tourism most obviously intertwined with the national movement. The mountains became a point of the political-national separation and demarcation within the complicated Slovenian-German relations. Nationalism as a motivational element of mass appeal and conquering of the "national space" in the Alpine world was only characteristic of the time which Slovenians spent in the context of the Habsburg Monarchy.¹⁸ In the time before World War I the foundations for seaside tourism were established in the Slovenian space as well. Health reasons were the way of promoting this sort of tourism as well. In the context of Istrian tourist development, we should – in the today's Slovenian territory – mention Portorož, where, in the effort to place the town on the tourist map, healing involving the seaside air, seawater, mud and salt was carried out at first. The limited and local phenomenon of coastal tourism turned into a significant economic phenomenon as soon as at the turn of the nineteenth into the twentieth century. This sort of tourism depended on the foreign demand and investments as well, also from the Czech lands.¹⁹

¹⁶ Michael Prinz, German Rural Cooperatives, Friedrich-Wilhelm Raiffeisen and the Organisation of Trust 1850 – 1914. Paper delivered to the XIII IEHA Congress Buenos Aires, July 2002, Session 57

¹⁷ Mojca Šorn, Načini preživljanja prostega časa meščanov Dunaja in Ljubljane od druge polovice 19. stoletja do 30-tih let 20. stoletja [Spending Leisure Time as an Inhabitant of Vienna and Ljubljana from the Second Half of the 19th Century to the 1930s]. In: Franc Rozman – Žarko Lazarević (ed.), Razvoj turizma v Sloveniji, Ljubljana, Zveza zgodovinskih društev Slovenije, 1996, pp. 105-121.

¹⁸ Ervin Dolenc, Turizem v slovenskih hribih in gorah [Tourism in Slovenian Hills and Mountains]. In: Franc Rozman – Žarko Lazarević (ed.), Razvoj turizma v Sloveniji, Ljubljana, Zveza zgodovinskih društev Slovenije, 1996, pp. 136-139.

¹⁹ Petra Kavrečič, Biseri avstrijske riviere: Opatija, Gradež, Portorož. Začetki modernega turizma na severnem Jadranu [Jewels of the Austrian Riviera: Opatija, Gradež, Portorož. Beginnings of Modern Tourism in the Northern Adriatic]. Kronika, 57, 2009, pp. 113-128; Petra Kavrečič - Borut Klabjan, "Na najlepše morje na svetu, na Jadran". Procesu turističnega razvoja severnega Jadrana pred prvo svetovno vojno in ponj: primer Češke

Simultaneously with the development of tourist activities and expansion of its economic significance an organisational establishment of structures took place, stimulating the tourist development at the level of the civil society in the form of various local societies as well as at the level of the wider regional units. Thus, in 1905 in Ljubljana, the Provincial Association for the Encouragement of Tourism in Carniola was established, which was supposed to coordinate the efforts of the local societies at the level of the whole province and carry out the tourist propaganda in an organised manner.²⁰

What we have presented certainly confirms the fundamental thesis that the last decades of the 19th century were the period when the models of tourism in Slovenia were constituted, on the basis of health reasons. However, also the time between both world wars represented a turning point for the tourist activities, not as far as the structure itself was concerned, but with regard to the business conditions. The dissolution of the "yesterday's world", as it was defined by Stephan Zweig, as well as the general uncertainty and unpredictability of the 1920s and even to a greater degree the 1930s, did not remain without consequences. After 1918, 17,600 kilometres of new state borders were established all over Europe. This dry number reflects the deep and far-reaching processes taking place in Europe, especially in the Central, Eastern and Southeast Europe, where these changes were most extensive by far.²¹ The new state borders defined the new national economies, new customs and monetary areas. This did not have a favourable effect on the movement of goods, nor on the tourist activities: the number of foreign guests decreased. The structural characteristics of the Slovenian tourism remained the same.²² However, some changes were nevertheless necessary. The first change brought a new model of tourist consumption: winter tourism. The popularity of winter sports – sledding, skating and skiing – was on the increase. Certain places at suitable locations, remote until then, started becoming more significant as tourist destinations. Kranjska Gora and Pohorje began to assert themselves. However, Planica contributed the most to the model of winter tourism, especially in the 1930s when the ski jump ramp was constructed which allowed the distance of 100 meters to be exceeded.²³ Another structural change that influenced the Slovenian tourism was the strengthening of the middle class as the consequence of the business success and development of the public

in Češkoslovaške ["To the Most Beautiful Sea in the World, to the Adriatic". Processes of Tourist Development of the Northern Adriatic before World War I and after It: the Czech and Czechoslovak Example]. *Acta Histriae*, 18, 2010, 1-2, pp. 175-206.

²⁰ Olga Janša Zorn, *Stoletnica ustanovitve Deželne zveze za pospeševanje tujskega prometa na Kranjskem in razvoj turističnih organizacij pri nas do leta 1945* [The Hundredth Anniversary of the Establishment of the Provincial Association for the Promotion of Tourism in Carniola and Development of Tourist Organisations in Slovenia until 1945]. In: *Turizem smo ljudje. Zbornik ob 100-letnici ustanovitve Deželne zveze za pospeševanje prometa tujcev na Kranjskem, turistične zveze Slovenije in organiziranega turizma v Sloveniji 1905 – 2005*, Ljubljana, 2006, pp. 37-60.

²¹ Aldcroft, Derek, *The European Economy*, Ashgate, 2001.

²² Olga Janša Zorn, *Turizem v Sloveniji v času med obema vojnama (1918-1941)* [Tourism in Slovenia between the World Wars (1918-1941)]. In: Franc Rozman – Žarko Lazarević (ed.), *Razvoj turizma v Sloveniji*, Ljubljana, Zveza zgodovinskih društev Slovenije, 1996, pp. 78-95.

²³ Borut Batagelj, *Izum smučarske tradicije. Kulturna zgodovina smučanja na Slovenskem do leta 1941* [Invention of the Skiing Tradition. Cultural History of Skiing in Slovenia until 1941], Ljubljana, Zveza zgodovinskih društev Slovenije, 2009.

sector in education, social security systems and administration at various levels.²⁴ This new middle class increased the domestic demand and at the same time announced the end of the one-way flow of tourists. It heralded the processes that became apparent in the time after World War II.

The role of tourism in the time of the communist authorities was multifaceted. From the negation of its significance as an economic activity in the initial period to the acknowledgement of its economic and social effects. The story of tourism is closely connected to the other reform changes of the economic system, approving small-scale private initiative and liberalisation in the Yugoslav state. The liberalisation of the border regimes and the entry of the Yugoslav state in the GATT organisation (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) implied the liberalisation of travel at the personal level in the 1960s (the opening of the state borders and the possibility of travelling into and from the state) as well as integration into the international division of labour.²⁵ These changes paved the way for tourism at the organised as well as individual level. Tourism became an activity encouraged by the state because of its economic effects. The inflow of foreign guests was very welcome due to its significant contribution to the foreign-exchange assets of the state. Tourism started to be seen as a complex economic industry which brought together the production as well as service activities. In terms of income tourism overtook agriculture and approximated industry.

Among the structural changes we should mention the development of the workers', agricultural and congress tourism models as well as the integration into the global tourist flows. This soon acquired a new dimension. After World War II tourism lost its one-sided connotation of only being foreign. The industry started declaring itself as tourism and was clearly aware of the two-way nature of the flow, while external and internal demand gradually became equally important. On one hand tourism became an integral part of the imagery of the Slovenian communist consumer society in the form of tourism for workers at the Adriatic Sea coast²⁶ as well as organised or individual travelling abroad. On the other hand tourism also involved developmental strategies for the previously economically underdeveloped regions.²⁷ One of such initiatives is the development of agricultural tourism by emphasising untouched nature and authenticity.²⁸ The so-called shopping tourism asserted itself as an important part of the development of the consumer

²⁴ Žarko Lazarević, Na poti v moderno v "vmesnih časih" [On the Way to Modernity in the "Intermediate Times"]. In: ŠTEPEC, Marko (ed.), 1918-1941. Ljubljana: Muzej novejšje zgodovine Slovenije, 2011, pp. 24-33.

²⁵ Žarko Lazarević, Yugoslavia: Economic Aspects of the Position between East and West. In: ENDERLE-BURCEL, Gertrude (ed.). Gaps in the Iron Curtain: Economic Relations between Neutral and Socialist Countries in Cold War Europe. Krakow: Jagiellonian University Press, 2009, 218-225.

²⁶ Igor Duda, Adriatic for All. Summer Holidays in Croatia. In: Breda Luthar – Maruša Pušnik (ed.), Remembering Utopia. The Culture of Everyday Life in Socialist Yugoslavia, New Academia Publishing, Washington DC, 2010, pp. 289-311.

²⁷ Patric Hyder Patterson, Yugoslavia as It Once Was. What Tourism and Leisure Meant for the History of Socialist Federation. In: Hannes Grandits – Karin Taylor (ed.), Yugoslavia's Sunny Side. A History of Tourism in Socialism (1950s-1980s), CEU Press, Budapest – New York, 2010, pp. 367-402.

²⁸ Božo Repe, turistična zveza in razvoj turizma v Sloveniji po drugi svetovni vojni [Tourist Association and Development of Tourism in Slovenia after World War II]. In: Turizem smo ljudje. Zbornik ob 100-letnici ustanovitve Deželne zveze za pospeševanje prometa tujcev na Kranjskem, turistične zveze Slovenije in organiziranega turizma v Sloveniji 1905 – 2005, Ljubljana, 2006, pp. 61-99.

patterns. The expression denotes the mass journeys of the Slovenian (Yugoslav) citizens to the nearby Austrian and Italian cities with the goal of purchasing everyday Western consumer articles and thus getting involved in the Western consumer practices and models.²⁹

In connection with tourism we should also mention that in this field the practice of foreign investments in the Yugoslav communist economy began. One of the first attempts were made by the company called Putnik from Belgrade, which decided to put a stop to the previous practice of taking foreign loans while building a hotel at the Adriatic coast. They decided to attract the well-known tourist agency Lloyd Pacific to the investment. They counted on acquiring the necessary knowledge in this manner, while the connections with an international company would also ensure a regular inflow of foreign guests. In 1966 Putnik and Lloyd Pacific Co. thus concluded a special agreement, setting out their investments and mutual relations.³⁰ The state that officially swore by the communists economic regime was in an uproar. Although the project was authorised officially, many people saw this as the apocalypse of the Yugoslav communist system. This is why such investments did not occur more often. Quite the opposite, small-scale private initiative was allowed in the field of tourism.³¹ Tourist activities thus became an important additional profitable or even fundamental industry at many farms, or carried out by many individuals at the Slovenian tourist locations. At the symbolic level we can also define this economic and social phenomenon with the inscriptions "Zimmer frei", which have gradually characterised the visual appearance of the Slovenian tourist centres and towns next to the main road connections towards the Adriatic Sea since the 1960s.

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²⁹ Alenka Švab, »To si enostavno morala imeti!« - nakupovalni turizem v vzhodni Evropi. ["You Simply Had to Have That!" – Shopping Tourism in the Eastern Europe]. Časopis za kritiko znanosti, 26, 1998, No. 188, pp. 131-143; Maja Mikula, Highway of Desire. Cross-Border Shopping in Former Yugoslavia. In: Hannes Grandits – Karin Taylor (ed.), *Yugoslavia's Sunny Side. A History of Tourism in Socialism (1950s-1980s)*, CEU Press, Budapest – New York, 2010, pp. 211-237.

³⁰ Investiranje stranog kapitala u jugoslavenska italijanska poduzeća [Investment of Foreign Capital in the Yugoslav and Italian Companies]: scientific consultation, organised by the ISDEE in Trieste; in cooperation with the Faculty of Economics, Rijeka and Faculty of Economics of the University in Trieste, Rijeka: Ekonomski fakultet, 1970.

³¹ Karin Taylor, "SOBE". Privatizing Tourism on the Workers' Riviera. In: Breda Luthar – Maruša Pušnik (ed.), *Remembering Utopia. The Culture of Everyday Life in Socialist Yugoslavia*, New Academia Publishing, Washington DC, 2010, pp. 313-338.

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