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PLASTI PROSTORA
IN ČASA

IZ GOSPODARSKE
ZGODOVINE
SLOVENIJE
PRVE POLOVICE
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Povzetek

Predstavljeni pojavi in fenomeni iz gospodarske zgodovine Slovenije do druge svetovne vojne pričajo o ekonomskih spremembah kot sestavnem delu sprememb v družbi. Družbene in ekonomske spremembe gredo namreč vštric in so vzajemne. So splet kompleksnih, deloma tudi kontradiktornih razmerij in medsebojnih relacij med družbo in posamezniki, med družbo in tehnologijo, med družbo in ekonomijo v kontekstu določnega vrednostnega sistema. Za povrhu vsega tudi nastajajo in učinkujejo v določenem družbenem, kulturnem, časovnem in regionalnem kontekstu.⁶³⁴ Slovenija je bila v času do druge svetovne vojne po svoji socialni in gospodarski strukturiranosti blizu vzhodnoevropskim razmeram, kar se je z vključitvijo v jugoslovansko državo še poglobilo. To je bil čas, ko je bila slovenska družba pred izzivi prehoda v novo in drugačno paradigmo razvoja, družbenih razmerij in koncepta ekonomskega napredka. Najpomembnejši dejavnik teh sprememb, ki so vplivale na prerazporeditev družbene moči in razmerij, na sistem družbenih vrednot in življenjske sloge ter na pokrajino, je bila industrializacija. Bila je počasna in skromnega obsega, dolga desetletja omejena na izkoriščanje osnovnih naravnih virov. Še na začetku tridesetih let si je v panogah, utemeljenih na naravnih virih, vključno s kmetijstvom, zagotavljalo eksistenco dve tretjini prebivalcev Slovenije, se pravi v tehnološko manj zahtevnih panogah. Tako je šele čas med obema vojnama prinesel nekoliko hitrejšo dinamiko in delno spremembo industrializacijskega vzorca.

Povzetek ozadij gospodarskega razvoja Slovenije v času prve polovice 20. stoletja bomo skušali ponazoriti na primeru štirih stebrov ekonomskega razvoja. To so pogoji, ki naj bi bili izpolnjeni, da lahko družba krene na pot gospodarskega razvoja oziroma modernizacije. Gre za ustrezne naravne vire, akumulacijo kapitala in tehnologijo ter človeške vire. Pri tem se ne bi smeli izogniti dodatnemu vsebinskemu in pomenskemu poudarku, ki razširi momente družbene sprejemljivosti razvoja. Mislimo na kulturna ozadja družbeno-ekonomskih sprememb, ki jih je izpostavila institucionalna teorija⁶³⁵ in so sestavni del različnih razvojnih paradigem.

Tako koncipirana opredelitev kriterijev oziroma pogojev za gospodarski razvoj se kaže kot umestna, da jo lahko uporabimo kot izhodiščno osnovo pri kontekstualizaciji slovenskega gospodarskega razvoja v prvi polovici 20. stoletja.

V štirih točkah namreč povzemamo kompleksne in soodvisne procese, ki vsi učinkujejo na dolgi rok. V nadaljevanju bomo na primeru naravnih virov zgolj opozorili na posamezne točke s stališča pomena za gospodarski razvoj, saj gre za zelo raznoliko kategorijo, ki zajema fizične in geografske danosti slovenskega ozemlja. Nato bosta sledili problematika akumulacije kapitala prek institucij finančnega posredništva in razčlenitev sestave človeških virov. Pri slednji kategoriji ni odveč dodati, da sodobno družboslovje raje uporablja termin človeški kapital in ga po pomembnosti uvršča med najpomembnejše pogoje gospodarskega razvoja. Sam pojem človeškega kapitala pa zajema uporabna znanja in spretnosti, ki si jih posameznik pridobi v procesu izobraževanja in usposabljanja oziroma na delovnem mestu. Tako postavljena definicija tudi izenači obe vrsti posameznikove izobrazbe, ki si jih pridobimo v življenju, formalno in neformalno. Zaradi pomanjkanja historičnih študij o tehnoloških vidikih razvoja bomo pri obravnavi naravnih virov in obeh zvrsti kapitala dodali le priložnostna opozorila.

Ko opazujemo slovensko družbo ali gospodarstvo v prvi polovici 20. stoletja, se nam neizogibno ponuja sklep, da so v Sloveniji tega časa imeli težave s tremi kategorijami. Kapital, tehnologija in naravni viri so bili skopi ali pa neustrezno uporabljani. Težav ni bilo samo s človeškimi viri, pa še ta trditev le deloma drži, saj je preverljiva le v omejenem obsegu. Mislimo na obseg razpoložljive delovne sile v Sloveniji, k drugačnemu sklepanju pa nas vodi strukturiranost formalne izobrazbene ravni prebivalstva oziroma kakovosti človeškega kapitala.

Naravni viri

Začnimo s tistim, kar se med naravnimi viri običajno prezre: obdelovalna zemlja. Obdelovalne površine sicer niso najbolj zastopan naravni vir, a zato historično zelo pomemben. Zemlja je bila tista, ki je omogočala razvoj kmetijstva. Pri tem moramo takoj dodati opomnik, da je bilo obdelovalne zemlje sorazmerno malo. Izkoriščanje tega potenciala je bilo, primerjalno gledano, skromno. Ob nizki donosnosti kot posledici uporabljane tehnologije je bila za Slovenijo značilna agrarna prenaseljenost. Vloga zemlje je presegala zgolj produkcijsko funkcijo. S pravno natančno ureditvijo lastninskih pravic v postopkih defevdalizacije se je za najširšo populacijo pojavila možnost kapitalizacije zemljiške posesti, kar je bilo

formalizirano z institutom moderne zemljiške knjige in mehanizmi dolžniškega financiranja razvoja.

V povezavi z zemljo je naslednji naravni vir, gozd oziroma les, ki je bil najbolj zastopan naravni vir na Slovenskem. Delež gozda pri slovenski površini se je oziroma se redno meri s polovičnim deležem. Vpliv tega dejstva je bil velik. Vloga gozda je bila večplastna, z nabiralništvom je prebivalstvo zadovoljevalo del prehrambenih potreb. Gozd je igral pomembno vlogo tudi v živinoreji. Na drugi strani je bil kot surovina izjemno pomemben les. Omogočal je namreč vključevanje množice slovenskega prebivalstva, tudi kmetov, v lesno trgovino, predstavljal je tudi pomemben in relativno stabilen vir dohodkov tako na domačem trgu kot v izvozu. Prezreti tudi ne smemo dejstva, da je les omogočal začetke industrializacije, po slovenskem podeželju so bile množično raztresene številne žage in drugi obrati za osnovno predelavo lesa. Lesna industrija je med vojnama postala ena najpomembnejših, v njej je bilo zaposlenih skorajda 3,5 % prebivalstva ali prek 17 % vseh zaposlenih v industriji. Les je hkrati v tem času še vedno igral vlogo pomembnega energenta.

Z omenjanjem lesa kot energetskega vira se nam pojavlja tudi vprašanje premogovništva oziroma premoga kot pomembnega naravnega vira. Izkoriščanje zaloga premoga na slovenskem prostoru dobi večje razsežnosti šele z gradnjo Južne železnice, ki se je oskrbovala v zasavskih revirjih. Gibalo premogovništva je bila torej železnica, in ne domača gospodarska dejavnost ali povpraševanje gospodinjstev. Slovenski premogovniki oziroma Trboveljska premogokopna družba je do konca prve svetovne vojne oskrbovala s premogom proge beljaške in tržaške direkcije državnih železnic ter omrežje Južne železnice do Semmeringa. Tako široko območje dela se je poznalo tudi pri količini izkopanega premoga: v zasavskih rudnikih se je izkop od leta 1858 do 1913 več kot podeseteril. Pri energetskih virih je potrebno omeniti tudi slovenski vodni potencial, kajti z železniškim omrežjem so plovne poti po slovenskih rekah zamrle. Vztrajali so sicer savinjski splavarji, vendar širšega pomena to ni imelo. Z industrializacijo so izgubljali razlog obstoja tudi vodni mlini. Konec 19. stoletja predstavlja obdobje, ko se je ob premogu začela uveljavljati tudi elektrika. In takrat se začnejo intenzivneje izrabljati vodni potenciali.

Izmed naravnih danosti oziroma virov je vsekakor potrebno omeniti še geografski položaj Slovenije. Slovenija je geografsko umeščena na presečišče

prehoda med severom in jugom ter med zahodom in vzhodom. Ta strateški položaj je bil le z redkimi izjemami prepoznan kot prednost. V tej smeri se je veliko razmišljalo v času gradnje osnovnega železniškega omrežja v 19. stoletju, kasneje znatno manj. Podoben in zelo tehten razmislek v smeri ekonomizacije slovenskega geografskega položaja, kot možnega gibala gospodarskega razvoja in rasti, se zopet aktualizira v času pred drugo svetovno vojno. Takrat je na Slovenskem živelo od prometa slabe štiri odstotke prebivalstva, tri četrtine od železniškega.

Z gotovostjo je mogoče zapisati, da je bilo železniško omrežje na Slovenskem grajeno iz strateških potreb in razmisleka Habsburške monarhije, to je povezati Trst in balkanske predele prek Zagreba z notranjostjo oziroma centralnimi deli monarhije. Osnovi križ je bil sorazmerno hitro zgrajen, že na začetku šestdesetih let 19. stoletja. Bistveno počasneje pa je potekala gradnja lokalnega omrežja železnic, ki je bilo za slovenske pokrajine vitalnega pomena. Z njim se je ponujala priložnost ne samo prometne, temveč tudi gospodarske integracije. Izostanek je imel posledice. Železnica kratkoročno ni prinesla hitrega napredka, prej nasprotno. Na dolgi rok pa je pomenila geografsko koncentracijo gospodarskih potencialov, industrija se je razporedila ob osnovnih železniških progah. Nastala je še druga sprememba. Železnica je povezala trikotnik prek slovenskega ozemlja, med Gradcem, Trstom in Zagrebom, ki so svoje gravitacijsko območje razširili globoko v slovenski prostor. Kot dinamična regionalna središča politične, kulturne in gospodarske moči so pritegnila gospodarske in migracijske tokove z znatnega dela slovenskega ozemlja. V slovenskem prostoru središča, ki bi se lahko merilo z naštetimi, ni bilo. Slovensko ozemlje enostavno ni imelo zadostne razvojne dinamike; najprej je bilo v globoki transformacijski depresiji, potem pa je bil razvoj izjemno počasen in teritorialno razpršen. Šele jugoslovanska doba je prinesla spremembo, da je ta položaj gospodarskega središča z novimi državnimi mejami postopno prešel na Ljubljano. V izostanku gostejše železniške mreže so postajale čedalje pomembnejše ceste, ki so bile zaradi pomanjkanja denarja in osebja zelo slabo vzdrževane, kar je pomenilo dodatno oviro hitrejši integraciji prostora.

Kapital

Kot zelo pomembna kategorija za gospodarski razvoj nastopa tudi kapital. V tem pogledu v historični literaturi prevladuje vtis, da je bilo v slovenskih deželah veliko pomanjkanje kapitala in da je to eden temeljnih razlogov ekonomskega zaostajanja tega prostora v drugi polovici 19. stoletja. Da so se slovenske dežele modernizirale počasi, je empirično preverljivo dejstvo, ki ga ponuja komparativni razgled po bližnji in daljni soseščini. Drugače pa je z vprašanjem kapitala, saj študije, ki bi bila posvečena akumulaciji kapitala na slovenskih tleh, nimamo. Ko govorimo o pomanjkanju kapitala v Sloveniji druge polovice 19. stoletja, moramo problematizirati kar nekaj vprašanj. V času od srede pa do osemdesetih let 19. stoletja je potekal odkup zemljiških obveznosti v procesu defevdalizacije. Vsote, ki so jih plačali slovenski kmetje, so bile velike in so zmanjševale oziroma odlagale možnosti prestrukturiranja kmetijstva. Sorazmerno velika akumulacija kapitala pa ni pustila trajnejših sledi v investicijski dejavnosti na drugih področjih gospodarstva v slovenskem prostoru. Posamezne študije kažejo, da se je večina tega kapitala odlila na druga, sosednja ozemlja ali bila porabljena v neproduktivne namene.

To seveda opozarja na povsem novo dimenzijo problematike pomanjkanja kapitala. Od nas terja kritični pretres samoumevnosti trditve, da je bilo pomanjkanje kapitala vzrok razvojnega zaostajanja. Ali drugače rečeno: ali so podjetniški podvigi in ambicije posameznikov (gospodarskih družb) s tega prostora res bili dovolj veliki, da bi potrebovali več kapitala? Razvojna dinamika ponuja en, dokaj prepričljiv odgovor. Drugega je iskati v strukturi, miselnih obzorjih in izvoru podjetništva. Vzemimo za primer donosno proizvodnjo platna na Gorenjskem v predindustrijski dobi. Izpostavljena industrijski konkurenci je postopoma usahnila. Niso se našli močje, ki bi to proizvodnjo povezali in jo dvignili na drugo vsebinsko in tehnološko raven, kot se je zgodilo v primeru plavžarstva s Kranjsko industrijsko družbo. Ali na drugi strani uspešen podvig, kot je bila Trboveljska premogokopna družba, ki so jo zastavili domači podjetniki. Relevantnost podjetniške ideje in potencial rasti obsega poslovanja sta kmalu terjala dokapitalizacijo, ki so jo izvedli dunajski investitorji. Podjetje je obstalo, se širilo, zaposlovalo, plačevalo davke in v jugoslovanski dobi predstavljalo tretjino

delniškega kapitala v Sloveniji in bilo največje jugoslovansko podjetje. Naključje ali izjema, ki potrjuje pravilo?

Vzorec, relevantna podjetniška ideja in kasnejša dokapitalizacija (praviloma so jo izvajale banke), se začne številčneje pojavljati komaj od preloma v 20. stoletje dalje, bolj izrazito formo in obseg pa pridobi šele v času med obema vojnama. To dejstvo izpostavlja vprašanje sistema institucij finančnega posredništva. In v tem pogledu je nesporno, da se je bančni sistem na slovenskem ozemlju razvil razmeroma pozno. Dolgo vrsto let je bila Slovenija nekakšen prazen prostor, v katerega niso dejavnije posegale niti ustanove zunaj slovenskega prostora. Le izjemoma, če se je podjetjem obetala velika rast. Odsotnost bančne podpore oziroma organiziranega zbiranja prihrankov je bila torej temeljni vzrok za počasnejši gospodarski razvoj v slovenskih deželah. Kreditno združništvo, ki je po skromnih začetkih v devetdesetih letih 19. stoletja povsem prekrilo slovensko ozemlje, je bilo tipični primer. Takrat sta pregovorna slovenska revščina in posledično pomanjkanje kapitala dobila novo, do tedaj neznano dimenzijo. Izkazalo se je, da Slovenci razpolagajo z znatnimi sredstvi, le zbrati in usmeriti jih je bilo potrebno. Tudi na področju kapitala se izkazuje temeljna značilnost slovenskega gospodarskega razvoja. Obetavnim, modernim začetkom ne sledi širitev. Tako začetki organiziranega zbiranja prihrankov segajo v leto 1820, kar je spoštljiva obletnica. Takrat je bila ustanovljena Kranjska hranilnica, druga v okviru Habsburške monarhije. A kaj ko je ta hranilnica dolgo ostala osamljen pojav. Preteklo je pol stoletja, preden so ji sledile druge, množično šele v osemdesetih letih 19. stoletja. Bančne delniške družbe pogosteje nastajajo na Slovenskem šele po prelomu v 20. stoletje, intenzivneje pa šele v času med obema vojnama, pa čeprav je v Mariboru že od leta 1872 delovala Mariborska eskomptna banka, strogo zaprta v lokalne okvire. Ko se je vzpostavil domači bančni sistem, je tudi modernizacija slovenskih dežel krenila nekoliko hitreje.

Človeški kapital

Dosedanje izvajanje nas gotovo navaja h sklepu, da je za družbeni razvoj v kontekstu štirih stebrov gotovo ključna kakovost človeškega kapitala, to je prebivalstva z vsemi njegovimi formalno in neformalno pridobljenimi znanji, izkušnjami in veščinami. Tako opredeljena kategorija nemudoma zastavlja

dodatno metodološko vprašanje o inštrumentariju in načinih merjenja kakovosti človeškega kapitala, ne samo v historični perspektivi kot v našem primeru, ampak tudi sicer. Možnih parametrov je več, vendar je s historičnega stališča in zaradi pomanjkanja primernih podatkovnih osnov za pretekla obdobja smotrna uporaba stopenj formalne izobrazbe. Je merljiva, podatki pa so dostopni za daljša obdobja. Uporabljena definicija človeškega kapitala močno izpostavlja vprašanje historične relacije med izobrazbo in gospodarskim razvojem. Njune korelacije prav gotovo ni mogoče zanikati. Določena raven znanja in izkušenj je nujno potrebna za uvajanje in obvladovanje gospodarskih procesov. Že na prvi izobraževalni ravni, to je na ravni osnovne pismenosti je pomembno izpostaviti, da se s tem znižujejo stroški razširjanja informacij. Izobraženo prebivalstvo je bolj produktivno, uporablja kapital bolj učinkovito, se lažje prilagaja novim tehnologijam in je sposobno sproti nadgrajevati obstoječe znanje. Vsekakor pa ne smemo zanemariti zelo pomembnega prispevka izobrazbe v družbenem razvoju. Resda posreden, a toliko bolj učinkovit. Širjenje izobrazbene ravni prebivalstva oziroma družbe kot celote ustvarja ozračje naklonjeno razvoju na vseh področjih, ne samo na ekonomskem. Hkrati pa se z dvigovanjem izobrazbene ravni tudi povečuje možnost inovacij tako na splošno družbeni ravni, na ravni podjetniških strategij in praks kot tudi tehnologije gospodarskega razvoja.

V slovenskem primeru lahko s stališča izobrazbe, kot merila kakovosti človeškega kapitala, postavimo štiri trditve, ki po našem mnenju zaznamujejo slovenske razmere v času od srede 19. do srede 20. stoletja. Te trditve bi bile sledeče: slovenska izobrazbena raven je bila skromna; izobrazbena struktura je bila poklicno nerazčlenjena s prevlado humanistične inteligence; slovenski prostor obvladujejo protirazvojne ideologije, to je vztrajnost ekonomskemu razvoju nenaklonjenega družbenega ozračja; zapoznela afirmacija vidikov tehnologije in ekonomske učinkovitosti v družbeni percepciji. Vse štiri trditve so med seboj vzročno povezane in so določale temeljne parametre slovenskega gospodarskega in družbenega razvoja, se pa med seboj razlikujejo v času njihovega učinkovanja. Prvi dve točki se kažeta kot dolgoročna stalnica, tretja pa je delno izgubila naboj v času med obema vojnama, ko je začela učinkovati četrta.

V povprečju je prebivalec Slovenije tega časa obiskoval šolo le malo več kot štiri leta. Tako se nam potrjuje izhodiščna trditev o skromnosti izobrazbene ravni v Sloveniji v dolgoročni perspektivi do druge svetovne vojne. Več kot očitno je,

da je bilo težišče izobrazbe na osnovnošolski ravni, se pravi na ravni osnovne pismenosti. To pa podpira drugo izhodiščno trditev, da je bila struktura izobrazbene ravni na višjih ravneh, se pravi na primeru srednješolske (nižje in višje ravni) in univerzitetne izobrazbe nerazčlenjena in poklicno neuravnotežena. V historičnem kontekstu lahko vzpostavimo razliko med dvema velikima obdobjema s prvo svetovno vojno kot ločnico. Po njej se je začelo vzpostavljati okolje, ki je bilo bolj naklonjeno ekonomski in socialni modernizaciji tudi na ravni javnega diskurza. To obdobje med obema vojnoma je pomenilo večplasten prelom s predhodnim obdobjem. In to z obdobjem, ki ga zamejuje čas od srede 19. stoletja do prve svetovne vojne. Tudi znotraj teh časovnih koordinat je potrebno ločiti dve manjši periodi. Mejniki med njima je začetek osemdesetih let 19. stoletja. Za prvo periodo do začetka osemdesetih let je bila za slovensko okolje v ekonomskem razvoju značilna razvojna negibnost. Zaradi transformacijske depresije pri prehodu iz fevdalne v kapitalistično gospodarsko ureditev je slovenski prostor ostal na obrobju modernizacijskih procesov. Le malo je posegel po inovacijah moderne kapitalistične ekonomije. Tako so se vzpostavila osnovna relativna ekonomska razmerja do severnih in zahodnih sosednih pokrajin. Ta zaostanek v procesih ekonomske modernizacije je slovenski prostor močno zaznamoval, ne samo na področju dosežkov gospodarskega razvoja, temveč tudi ali predvsem na področju družbene ideologije. Kot smo videli, so izostale ideje in pobude, teoretske in praktične, o drugačni gospodarski in socialni strukturi. Prevladujoči ideologiji sta postala antikapitalizem in protekcionizem – kot odgovor na nezadostno sledenje modernizacijskim procesom. Najprej sta bila oba pojava posledica, kasneje sta deloma že postajala tudi vzrok zamudništva, saj se je izoblikovalo družbeno ozračje, vrednostno nenaklonjeno hitrejši ekonomski modernizaciji. Bolj kot individualizem je slovensko okolje cenilo voljo skupnosti, namesto podjetniškega tveganja udobnost samozadostne gotovosti; zato morda ni predrzno reči, da je namesto podjetništva bilo vrednostno višje rentništvo.

In kje so vzroki takega družbenega konteksta? Možne razloge najdemo v nerazčlenjeni družbeni in izobrazbeni strukturi. Izostalo je podjetniško meščanstvo kot nosilec napredka na gospodarskem in socialnem področju, pa tudi zemljiški posestniki fevdalnega izvora niso gojili podjetniškega duha. Na drugi strani je bila več kot očitna enostranskost slovenskih elit, ki so dajale ton konstrukciji družbene realnosti. Znotraj te maloštevilne skupine so prevladovali

predstavniki humanističnih (duhovniki, učitelji) ali družboslovnih disciplin (pravniki). Njihov miselni svet je bil razdvojen med tradicijo in moderno. Ni prav tvegana ocena, da je bil z večjo zazrtostjo v tradicionalno družbeno in gospodarsko sestavo manj naklonjen modernim gospodarskim in socialnim tokovom.

V presojo konstrukcije ekonomsko antimodernizacijskega ozračja je potrebno vnesti tudi moment etničnosti, ki je tudi močno zaznamovala slovenski prostor druge polovice 19. stoletja. Nemalokrat se je namreč zdelo, da gre ekonomska modernizacija z roko v roki z etnično asimilacijo. V očeh humanističnih elit, ki so dajale ton javnemu diskurzu in so se prepoznavale v slovenstvu, je nastajalo nasprotje med načelom narodne (etnične) pripadnosti in načelom ekonomske modernizacije. Zaradi tega je bila slovenska družba blokirana in se ni mogla povsem odpreti modernemu svetu, kakor je to opredelil Dušan Pirjevec.⁶³⁷ Namesto ekonomske učinkovitosti je v ospredje postavljala simbolično modernizacijo v obliki narodnih kulturnih ustanov in organizacij. V ta okvir je sodilo tudi pospeševanje zadružništva namesto individualnega podjetništva. Zadružništvo je v podtonu imelo tudi vlogo orodja nadzora in zapiranja znotraj meja lastne etnične skupnosti na ekonomskem področju.

Družbeno ozračje, nenaklonjeno razvoju, je bilo, kakor smo spoznali, posledica razmer, v katerih je ali primanjkovalo tako kakovostnih virov, človeških in naravnih, kot tudi kapitala in tehnologije ali pa so bili nezadostno in neučinkovito uporabljani. Glede znanja in tehnologije je bil slovenski prostor vezan na uvoz manjkajočih virov. Enaka trditev drži tudi za kapital pri ambicioznejših podvigih do razmaha domačega bančništva. Bolj intenziven proces ekonomskega razvoja je nastopil šele od osemdesetih let 19. stoletja dalje in so ga že znatno podprli domači denarni zavodi. Značilnost tega časa je bila velika prisotnost tehniškega osebja v vidnejših slovenskih podjetjih iz drugih avstrijskih, zlasti čeških dežel, ki je skrbelo za nemoten tehnološki proces proizvodnje. Slovensko okolje je praviloma ponujalo obilje pismene delovne sile in to dejstvo lahko izpostavimo kot eno od pomembnih značilnosti tega časa.

Obdobje med obema vojnama, po vstopu v jugoslovansko državo, je, kot smo že nakazali, prineslo številne spremembe. Opozoriti velja na tiste, ki so imele velike posledice na ekonomijo in družbo v Sloveniji v tem času. Mislimo na pridobljeno samozavest, nekoliko hitrejšo industrializacijo v dvajsetih letih in tudi

na ustanovitev Univerze v Ljubljani z organiziranim študijem tehnike. Zelo pomembna sprememba je nastopila tudi na ravni opredeljevanja in dojetanja naroda, narodnega vprašanja. Z jugoslovansko državo, v kateri so bili Slovenci konstitutivni element države, se je spremenila percepcija vprašanja naroda. S spremembo državnega okvira se je na večinskem delu slovenskega ozemlja končala nevarnost asimilacije/germanizacije, kar je vplivalo na sprostitev družbenega ozračja. Procesi »slovenizacije« v ekonomiji, upravi, politiki in kulturi dvignejo družbeno samozavest. Občutki socialne, kulturne in ekonomske podrejenosti postopoma izginjajo v novem okolju in posledice spremembe samodojetanja so bile večstranske.

Proces dvigovanja samozavesti so spremljali še drugi procesi, tudi ali zlasti na gospodarskem področju. Slovenija je v novem okolju kljub svojim relativno skromnim razvojnim dosežkom postala gospodarsko najnaprednejši del. Vloga države, v kateri so Slovenci konstitutivni del, je velika. Država nastopa paternalistično, kot kompenzacija za nezadostno oblikovano družbeno in institucionalno okolje za hitrejši gospodarski razvoj. Država je nastopila kot porok pospešene akumulacije kapitala, kar ni bilo v nasprotju s slovenskimi hotenji. In v takem protekcionističnem okolju, v razmerah spremembe relativne ravni cen v korist industrijskega sektorja, ob velikem trgu, v Sloveniji pride do industrializacijskega sunka. Spodbude jugoslovanskega trga so odtehtale siceršnje pomanjkljivosti institucionalnega okolja za hitrejši razvoj. Število industrijskih zmogljivosti se je v sorazmerno kratkem času podvojilo, da se je tehnica ustvarjenega domačega proizvoda oziroma dohodkov že nagnila v prid neagrarnih dejavnosti.

Pomembno je bilo, da je ekonomski razvoj izhajal iz značilnosti slovenskega prostora: pomanjkljive ravni izobrazbe prebivalstva, skromne kapitalske akumulacije in nizke tehnološke ravni. Znotraj industrijskega sektorja se najbolj razvijejo tiste panoge, ki ob nizki tehnološki ravni terjajo predvsem veliko delovne sile. In te je imela Slovenija v izobilju, pri čemer velja izpostaviti široko razširjeno pismenost prebivalstva. Še nadalje pa je značilnost tega časa sorazmerno velika prisotnost tujih tehniških strokovnjakov v slovenskem gospodarstvu, ki skrbijo za zahtevnejše proizvodne in upravne procese. Značilnosti izobrazbene strukture so ostajale še vedno enake. Slovensko prebivalstvo je bilo resda v prek 80 % pismeno, vendar je bila razširjenost srednješolske ali univerzitetne izobrazbe še vedno skromna, omejenega dosega. In

tudi na tej točki nastane sprememba. Čas med obema je bil znanilec pomembnih premikov v izobraževanju, ki so prispevali k postopnemu spreminjanju/širjenju izobrazbene ravni in strukture. V dvajsetih letih se je število vpisanih dijakov v srednjih šolah podvojilo, ravno tako je zaradi dostopnosti naraščal vpis na univerzo. V teh podatkih se zrcalijo ne samo dosežki splošnega družbenega razvoja, temveč tudi sistema družbenih vrednot, šolske politike in dostopnosti izobraževanja na višjih ravneh.

O širših ozadjih in družbenih razmerah percepcije posameznih poklicev na akademski ravni nam priča priročnik Lovra Sušnika iz leta 1932 o akademskih poklicih oziroma o pravilni izbiri študijske poti.⁶³⁸ Sporočila, ki jih je dobil bralec, so bila ambivalentna. Avtor je že v uvodu izpostavil stališče o nujnosti višje izobrazbe: »...izobrazba je zaklad, je koristna vsepovsod, brez nje je človek dandanes vedno večji revež...« Polemiziral je z v javnosti prisotnim vtisom o »hiperprodukciji inteligence« z ugovorom, da nima realne podlage. Vtis o »hiperprodukciji inteligence« je bil posledica dejstva, da je širjenje šolskega sistema nekoliko prehitelo družbeno-ekonomski razvoj, kar je na kratek rok omejevalo zaposlitvene možnosti diplomirancev. Avtor se sicer ni spuščal v vrednotenje posameznih poklicev, a vendar so bili določeni poudarki v podtonih pomenljivi. Razmerja v odmerjenem prostoru posameznim poklicem so se nagibala v korist humanističnih in družboslovnih disciplin. V široki paleti poklicev znotraj tehniških strok pa so opazni poudarek na težavnosti in zahtevnosti študija v primerjavi s humanističnimi in družboslovnimi in hkrati tudi manjše možnosti zaposlitve.

Kljub treznemu pogledu na svet izobrazbe je avtor hkrati visokošolsko izobraževanje odsvetoval ženskam z argumentacijo o nezdružljivosti ženskega načina mišljenja (čustven, živahen, oseben, konkreten) z abstraktnoteoretskimi poudarki na univerzitetnem študiju. V skladu s prevladujočo družbeno ideologijo, ki je še vedno vztrajala pri tradicionalni sestavi družine in vlogi spolov v družbi, so se na načelni ravni odrekli znatnemu delu slovenskega človeškega kapitala, ki so ga predstavljale ženske. Ne nazadnje o tem priča tudi že omenjeni priročnik o poklicnem usmerjanju.

A tudi tukaj je življenje krenilo svojo pot, kajti vzporedno z obravnavanimi procesi in fenomeni je potekala tudi zgodba o ženski emancipaciji, zlasti na ekonomskem področju. Industrializacija, četudi počasna, je na novo določala

razmerje med spoloma. Slovenija do druge svetovne vojne je bila dežela, ki je imela nesorazmerno visok delež žensk med zaposleno populacijo. To dejstvo je vnašalo v družbo nove dimenzije, vplivalo je tudi na položaj žensk v družbi in družini. Z možnostjo zaposlitve izven doma in z možnostjo pridobitve stalnega in stabilnega vira dohodkov se ni spreminjala le socialna vloga žensk, temveč tudi ali predvsem njihova ekonomska vloga, posledično tudi družinski odnosi. Ženske so k običajnim opravilom, ki so jim pripadala glede na delitev po spolu, dodale še pridobitno funkcijo, ki nikakor ni bila zanemarljiva. O teh v temelju globokih in dolgoročnih spremembah priča statistična ugotovitev, da je imela Slovenija zaradi tega sorazmerno nižji delež vzdrževanega prebivalstva. To so ugotavljali že pred prvo svetovno vojno in tudi v obdobju med vojnama.

Visok delež ženske delovne sile v slovenski industriji je bil splet različnih okoliščin, predvsem značaja industrializacije. Pogojen je bil s panogami, ki so se razvile na samem začetku, s tem pa je bila opredeljena tudi struktura industrije na slovenskih tleh. V Sloveniji so namreč že od začetkov prevladovale tiste dejavnosti, ki jih poznamo pod oznako delovno intenzivne panoge. Le-te so potrebovale veliko za silo pismene delovne sile, ki jo je bilo mogoče hitro usposobiti za opravljanje enostavnih del, kar je terjala fordistična zasnova delovnega procesa. Take delovne sile pa je bilo na Slovenskem zaradi agrarne prenaseljenosti veliko, če že ne zelo veliko. Žene in dekleta so že v prvih letih dvajsetega stoletja predstavljale dobro četrtino zaposlenih v Sloveniji. Po prvi svetovni vojni se je delež žensk močno povečal. V ospredje je stopila tekstilna industrija, kar je značilno za zgodnjo etapo industrializacijskih procesov, ki je zaposlovala pretežno, če že ne izključno ženske. K strmemu skoku zaposlenih žensk je v obdobju med vojnama poleg ekspanzije delovno intenzivnih panog pripomogla tudi velika gospodarska kriza. Ženske so bile zelo priročne za nadomeščanje moških v industriji, ki so praviloma dobivali višje plačilo. Že tako visok delež žensk v slovenski industriji je pred drugo svetovno vojno poskočil na celih 40 %.

Na področju spreminjanja strukture in kakovosti človeškega kapitala je zelo veliko vlogo odigrala Univerza v Ljubljani. Ustanovitev univerze z veliko večjo dostopnostjo študija je vnesla v slovenski prostor novo dimenzijo. Z okrepitevijo tehniških študijev in drugih družboslovnih disciplin izven pravnih znanosti se je začela spreminjati sestava izobrazbene ravni oziroma strukture in kakovosti

človeškega kapitala. Izobrazbena struktura je začela postajati poklicno bolj uravnotežena. Tako je bilo v študijskem letu 1931/32 na tehniške študije vpisanih 30 % vseh študentov ljubljanske univerze. Približno enak delež je imel tudi študij na filozofski in pravni fakulteti. Zastopanost tehniške inteligence je postajala veliko bolj opazna, čeprav je s stališča gospodarskega razvoja in potreb za obvladovanje gospodarskih procesov na ravni tehnologije in posloводства še vedno bilo občutno pomanjkanje tehniškega kadra.

Čas med obema vojnama pomeni afirmacijo slovenske tehniške inteligence. Ne samo, da so diplomanti tehniških in družboslovnih študijev postopno vstopali v slovensko ekonomijo in zapolnjevali vodilna mesta, pomembna je bila tudi njihova vloga v javnosti. Vstopili so v javni prostor in vanj vnesli nove poudarke, nova znanja, neobičajna za slovensko okolje. Prodor tehniške inteligence je bil omogočen z obema naštetima elementoma, z univerzo in večjo dostopnostjo izobraževanja ter industrializacijo. Predvsem industrializacija je imela pomembno vlogo, saj je, ko je postala proces, potrebovala stalni dotok primerno izobraženih in usposobljenih tehnikov in inženirjev, zlasti za prehod na nove oziroma za prenos zahtevnejših tehnologij v slovenski prostor.

Besednjak, intelektualna podlaga in miselni doseg novih izobražencev tehniške usmeritve so se odmaknili od dotedanjšega tematskega vzorca. In to tistega uveljavljenega vzorca s stališča vsebine, razvojnih prioritet ter hierarhije družbenih vrednot, v katerem se je prepoznavala humanistična inteligenca, tradicionalno najštevilnejši sloj izobražencev med Slovenci. V ospredju njihovega zanimanja niso bila več prvenstveno vprašanja kulture in naroda. Šli so onkraj tega in tematizirali tehnološka vprašanja, vprašanja implementacije tehnologije v proizvodni proces, poti in načine obvladovanja tehnoloških in poslovodnih procesov, relacije tehnologije in družbe oziroma njune soodvisnosti. Konceptualizacija in tematizacija njihovega javnega nastopanja je pomembno prispevala h kreiranju družbenega ozračja v slovenski javnosti, ki je z veliko večjim razumevanjem začela spoznavati in sprejemati dinamiko in večplastnost procesov ekonomske in socialne modernizacije.

Vztrajanje tehniške inteligence na vidikih tehnologije upravljanja družbe in ekonomije s ciljem večje ekonomičnosti v razvojni dinamiki je v slovenski prostor vneslo potrebo po novem premisleku o razvojnih strategijah in praksah. Eden od njih je slovenski javnosti brez olepševanja sporočil temeljno razvojno dilemo

slovenskega prostora. Provokativno je opozoril, da je glede na učinkovitost kmetijstva polovica kmečkega prebivalstva »odveč«. Dilema je bila jasna, modernizacija in tehnološka učinkovitost ali revščina. Sicer tehnično izraženo, a zato učinkovito in prodorno do tedaj povsem prezrt vidik. Drugi so skušali ekonomsko osmisliti slovenski položaj v jugoslovanski državi. Družbi so ponujali v razmislek dilemo o načinu prestrukturiranja slovenske industrije (ekonomije) v smeri višje in bolj zahtevne stopnje proizvodnje, kjer je potrebno več znanja, zahtevnejše tehnologije in kapitala. Opravljene analize so jih privedle do zaključka, da dotedanji razvojni vzorec ob pričakovani industrializaciji drugih jugoslovanskih predelov ni obetal trajnega uspeha.

To so bili sicer majhni koraki, vendar v slovenskem okolju zelo pomembni. V konstrukcijo družbene realnosti so vnašali načelo celovite soodvisnosti družbe, ekonomije in tehnologije. Vstop v javni prostor so si zagotovili tudi s specializiranimi revijami, kot so bile Tehnika in gospodarstvo, Misel in delo in Trgovski tovariš, ki so združevale humanistično, tehniško in družboslovno inteligenco. Pri tem je posebno zanimivo dejstvo, da sta prvi dve reviji začeli izhajati v tridesetih letih, v letih velike gospodarske krize. To je v času, ko se je pretežni del humanistične inteligence zazrl v antidemokratske in antikapitalistične ideologije, brez težav so se bili pripravljene odreči osebnim, političnim in gospodarskim svoboščinam.

Zaradi tega je bila širitev razpravnega prostora v smeri multidisciplinarnega pristopa pri celoviti obravnavi kompleksnih razvojnih razmerij med družbo, tehnologijo in gospodarstvom za slovenski prostor pomembna intelektualna pridobitev. V tridesetih letih so se pripadniki tehniške in družboslovne inteligence lotili tudi ustanovitve posebne znanstvene ustanove. Ustanovili so Socialno-ekonomski inštitut, kjer so nastajale študije o različnih vidikih družbenega in ekonomskega razvoja. Ustanovitev tega inštituta je bila pomembna, saj se je prvič v slovenski zgodovini zgodilo, da sta bila kritični pretres in premislek o možnih strategijah in praksah družbeno-ekonomskega razvoja tudi institucionalizirana. Resda na ravni društva, a vendar.

Summary

The presented events and phenomena from the Slovenian economic history until World War II testify to the economic changes as an integral part of the changes within a society. Namely, social and economic changes are parallel and reciprocal. They are a combination of complex, partly also contradictory and mutual relations between society and individuals, society and technology as well as society and economy in the context of a definite value system. Furthermore, they also emerge and function in a certain social, cultural, temporal and regional context. Until World War II Slovenia was, in terms of its social and economic structure, similar to the East European situation, and that became even more evident after its integration into the Yugoslav state. This was the time when the Slovenian society faced the challenges of the transition into a new and different paradigm of development, social relations and concept of economic progress. Industrialisation was the most important factor of these changes, influencing the reallocation of social power and relations, system of social values and lifestyles, as well as the landscape. It was gradual and of modest extent, limited to the exploitation of basic natural resources for decades. Even in the beginning of the 1930s the livelihood of two thirds of the Slovenian population depended on the industries based on natural resources, including agriculture – meaning technologically less demanding sectors. Only the time between both world wars brought about a somewhat faster dynamics and partial change of the industrialisation pattern.

We shall present a summary of the Slovenian economic development in the first half of the 20th century on the example of four pillars of economic development. These are the conditions that should be met if a society is to take the path of economic development or modernisation. They include appropriate natural resources, accumulation of capital and technology as well as human resources. However, we should not neglect to emphasise the additional aspects of contents and meaning, expanding the moments of the social acceptability of progress. With this we mean the cultural background of socio-economic changes, underlined by the institutional theory, which are an integral part of various developmental paradigms.

The definition of criteria or conditions for economic development envisioned in this way proves to be appropriate for use as a basic foundation for the contextualisation of the Slovenian economic development in the first half of the 20th century. Namely, the four points sum up the complex and co-dependent processes, all of which have a long-term effect. In the case of natural resources we will only underline certain aspects relevant to the economic development, since this is a very diverse category that encompasses the physical and geographical characteristics of the Slovenian territory. Then we will focus on the issues of capital accumulation through financial intermediation institutions and analyse the structure of human resources. With regard to the latter category we should add that contemporary social sciences prefer the term "human capital" and include it among the most important conditions for economic development. The concept of human capital itself includes useful knowledge and skills acquired by individuals during the process of education, training or work. Such definition also equalises both kinds of education we acquire in our lives: formal and informal. Due to the lack of historical studies of the technological aspects of development we will only add occasional notes while exploring the natural resources and both kinds of capital.

As we examine the Slovenian society or economy in the first half of the 20th century, we unavoidably reach a conclusion that in Slovenia of that time problems with three categories were present. Capital, technology and natural resources were modest or used unsuitably. Only human resources did not seem to be problematic, but even that claim cannot be completely confirmed. We are referring to the extent of the available workforce in Slovenia; however, the structure of the formal educational level of the population or the quality of the human capital leads us to a different conclusion.

Natural resources

Let us begin with what is usually overlooked among different kinds of natural resources. That is arable land. Although arable areas are not the most prominent natural resource, they are exceedingly important historically. It was land that allowed for the development of agriculture. We should immediately stress that arable land was relatively scarce. Comparatively, the exploitation of

this potential was modest. Low yield as a consequence of the technology used and agrarian overpopulation were characteristic for Slovenia. The role of the land exceeded a simple production function. Precise legislative regulation of ownership rights in the defeudalisation processes allowed for the capitalisation of land holdings by the general population, which was formalised with the institution of the modern land register and mechanisms of debt financing of development.

The following natural resource – forests or wood, which was the most prominent natural resource in Slovenia – is also related to the land. The percentage of forests in the Slovenian territory has always been around a half. The impact of this fact was profound. The role of the forests was multi-layered, and the population met a part of its nutritional needs through foraging. The forests also played an important role in livestock production. On the other hand, wood was extremely important as a raw material. It allowed much of the Slovenian population, also peasants, to participate in the wood trade, which represented an important and relatively stable source of income on the domestic market as well as in terms of exports. We should not overlook the fact that wood enabled the initial stages of industrialisation: sawmills and other facilities for basic wood processing were abundant in the Slovenian countryside. Between both world wars, timber industry became one of the most important sectors: it employed almost 3.5 % of the population or over 17 % of everyone working in the industrial sector. At that time wood still had a role of an important energy source.

Speaking of wood as an energy resource, we should also touch upon the issue of coal industry or coal as an important natural resource. Exploiting the coal reserves in the Slovenian territory was not much of an issue until the Southern Railroad, supplied by the Zasavje region, was constructed. Thus railroads, not domestic economic activities or household demand, were the driving force of the coal industry. Until the end of World War I, Slovenian coal mines or the Trbovlje Coal Mining Company supplied coal to the railroads of the Villach and Trieste state railway directions and the network of the Southern Railroad as far as Semmering. Such a wide range of activities was also evident from the amount of coal produced: the extraction in the Zasavje mines increased more than tenfold from 1858 to 1913. As far as energy resources are concerned, the Slovenian water resource potential should also be mentioned. With the development of the railway network the Slovenian river waterways disappeared. The Savinjska region rafters

persisted, but that did not have a wider significance. Watermills also became obsolete with industrialisation. At the end of the 19th century electricity was also gradually introduced and the most intense exploitation of water resources began.

Of natural characteristics or resources, the geographical position of Slovenia should also definitely be mentioned. In the geographic sense, Slovenia is located at the crossroads between the north, south, west and east. With rare exceptions this strategic position hasn't always been recognised as an advantage. In the 19th century, when the basic railway network was under construction, this consideration was more important than later. A similar and very reasonable efforts to economise the Slovenian geographic position as a possible driving force of the economic development and growth once again became topical in the time preceding World War II. At that time the livelihood of less than four percent of the Slovenian population depended on the transport sector, and three quarters of that percentage depended on railways.

We can state that the railway network in Slovenia was constructed due to the strategic requirements and the intention of the Habsburg Monarchy to connect Trieste with centre of Monarchy and the Balkans via Zagreb. The basic railway backbone was built relatively quickly, already in the beginning of the 1860s. However, the construction of the local network of railroads, which was of vital importance to the Slovenian provinces, was far slower. It represented an opportunity for transport as well as economic integration. The delay had consequences. In the short term, railway did not result in swift progress, rather the opposite. In the long term it resulted in the geographic concentration of economic potentials, as industry developed along the main railroads. Another change occurred: the railroad made a triangle through the Slovenian territory between Graz, Trieste and Zagreb – the cities spreading their gravitational pull deep into the Slovenian space. As dynamic regional centres of political, cultural and economic power, these cities attracted the economic and migration flows from a significant part of the Slovenian territory. There was no centre in the Slovenian space that could measure up. The Slovenian territory simply lacked an appropriate developmental dynamics: at first it was in a deep transformation depression, while later the development was extremely slow and dispersed throughout the territory. Only the Yugoslav period resulted in a change as with new state borders the position of the economic centre gradually shifted towards Ljubljana. The lack of a

denser railway network increased the significance of roads, very poorly maintained due to the lack of money and personnel, which represented an additional obstacle for a quicker integration of this territory.

Capital

Capital is a very important category of the economic development. In this sense the historical literature gives an impression that there was a severe lack of capital in the Slovenian lands and that this was one of the main reasons for the economic backwardness of this space in the second half of the 19th century. The fact that Slovenian countries became modernised gradually is empirically verifiable and provided by a comparative overview of the near and far neighbourhood. The issue of capital is a different matter, since no studies have been dedicated to the accumulation of capital in the Slovenian territory. As we discuss the lack of capital in Slovenia in the second half of the 19th century, we should focus on several questions. From the middle of the 19th century until the 1880s the purchase of land took place during the process of defeudalisation. The amounts paid by the Slovenian peasants were considerable, diminishing or postponing the possibility of restructuring the agriculture. However, the relatively large accumulation of capital did not leave more permanent marks in the investment activities in other Slovenian economic sectors. Individual studies indicate that the majority of this capital was transferred to other, neighbouring territories, or used unproductively.

Obviously, this shows a completely new dimension of the lack of capital. It forces us to critically explore the claim that the lack of capital caused the developmental lag. Or, to put it differently: were business undertakings and ambitions of individuals (companies) in this territory truly big enough to require more capital? The developmental dynamics provides a single, quite convincing answer. Another answer could be sought in the structure, mental horizons and origin of entrepreneurship. For example, let us look at the profitable production of linen in the Upper Carniola region in the pre-industrial period. Once exposed to the industrial competition, it gradually died out. There was no one to integrate this production and lift it to another contextual and technological level, like in the case

of smelting and the Carniolan Industrial Company or, on the other hand, the successful establishment of the Trbovlje Coal Mining Company by Slovenian entrepreneurs. The relevance of the business idea and growth potential soon called for capital increase, carried out by investors from Vienna. The company persisted, expanded, employed people, paid taxes, represented a third of capital stock in Slovenia during the Yugoslav period and was the largest Yugoslav company. Coincidence or exception to the rule?

The pattern – a relevant business idea and subsequent capital increase (mostly carried out by banks) – only starts emerging more frequently since the turn of the 19th century, acquiring a more distinctive form and extent as late as between both world wars. This fact brings the attention to the question of the financial intermediation institutions system. In this sense it is undisputable that the banking system in the Slovenian territory developed relatively late. For a number of years Slovenia was a kind of a void, even for foreign institutions that avoided it. They intervened only exceptionally, in case of companies promising extensive growth. The lack of banking support or organised savings collection was thus the basic reason for slower economic development in the Slovenian provinces. Credit cooperatives that, after modest beginnings, covered the Slovenian territory completely in the 1890s, were a typical example. At that time the proverbial Slovenian poverty and consequent lack of capital acquired a new, previously unknown dimension. It turned out that Slovenians had considerable resources at their disposal – they only had to be collected and used purposefully. The basic characteristic of Slovenian economic development is also evident in the field of capital. No expansion followed the promising and contemporary beginnings. Thus the initial organised savings collection began in 1820, which is quite early. At that time the Kranjska hranilnica (Carniolan Savings Bank) – the second savings bank in the Habsburg Monarchy – was established. However, unfortunately this savings bank remained the sole example for a long time. Half a century had to pass before others followed, and not until as late as the 1880s were they founded in significant numbers. The establishing of joint-stock banks in Slovenia became more frequent after the turn of the 19th century and intensified in the interwar period; even though the Mariborska eskomptna banka (Maribor Acceptance Bank) operated in Maribor ever since 1872, strictly locally. When the Slovenian banking system had

been established, the modernisation of the Slovenian lands became somewhat swifter.

Human capital

From what has been determined we can conclude that the quality of the human capital – population with all its formally and informally acquired knowledge, experience and skills – is certainly of key importance for the social development in the context of the four pillars. Such definition of this category poses an additional methodological question about the instruments and methods of measuring the quality of human capital, not only from the historical viewpoint like in our case, but also in general. There are several possible parameters, but from the historical standpoint and due to the lack of appropriate data foundations for the past periods, the use of formal education levels is prudent. It is measurable and data is available for longer periods.

The established definition of human capital opens the question of the historical relation between education and economic development. The correlation definitely cannot be denied. In order to introduce and manage the economic processes, a certain level of knowledge and experience is essential. Already as far as the first educational level – the level of basic literacy – is concerned, it has to be underlined that it lowers the costs of information dissemination. Well-educated population is more productive, uses capital more efficiently, finds it easier to adapt to new technologies and is capable of promptly upgrading the existing knowledge. By no means should we overlook the very important contribution of education to social development. It may be indirect, but is that much more effective. Expanding the education level of the population or society as a whole creates an atmosphere favourably inclined to development in all fields, not only economy. Simultaneously, as the education level increases, the possibility of innovations at the general social level, level of business strategies and practices as well as economic development technology also increases.

In case of Slovenia, with regard to education serving as the human capital quality criterion, we can make four statements that in our opinion describe the Slovenian situation from the middle of the 19th to the middle of the 20th century.

These statements are the following: the Slovenian level of education was modest; the educational structure was unbalanced in terms of professions, and humanist intelligentsia prevailed; the Slovenian space was governed by anti-progress ideology: the social atmosphere not in favour of economic development persisted; the affirmation of certain aspects of technology and economic efficiency in the social perception was delayed. All of the interconnected statements define the basic parameters of the Slovenian economic and social development. However, they differ among themselves as far as the time of their effect is concerned. The first two points manifest themselves as a long-term constant. The third point partially lost its momentum in the interwar period, when the fourth one started taking effect.

The average inhabitant of Slovenia only attended school for a bit over four years. This confirms our initial statement about the modest education level in Slovenia in the long-term perspective until World War II. It is more than obvious that the focus of education was on the elementary school level – the level of basic literacy. This supports our second initial statement: that the education level structure on the higher levels – that is, in case of secondary school (lower and upper levels) and university education – was deficient and unbalanced in terms of professions.

In the historical context we can differentiate between two very important periods with World War I as a dividing line. After this dividing line circumstances more favourably disposed to economic and social modernisation, also at the level of the public discourse, started establishing themselves. The time between both world wars represented a conclusion of the preceding period on various levels – the period from the middle of the 19th century until the beginning of World War I. However, also within these points in time, two shorter periods should be distinguished. The division between them is the beginning of the 1880s. As far as economic progress is concerned, in the Slovenian space a developmental standstill was characteristic for the first period, lasting until the beginning of the 1880s. Due to the transformational depression during the transition from the feudal to capitalist economic system, the Slovenian territory remained on the edge of the modernisation processes. It did not make use of many innovations of modern capitalist economy. Thus the basic relative economic relations with the northern and western neighbouring territories were established. This lag in the economic

modernisation processes characterised the Slovenian space notably, not only in the field of the economic progress achievements, but also or especially in the field of social ideology. As we have demonstrated, theoretical and practical ideas and initiatives with regard to a different economic and social structure were nowhere to be seen. Anti-capitalism and protectionism became the predominant ideologies – as an answer to not keeping up with the modernisation processes. At first both of these phenomena were the consequence of the delay, while later they also became its cause, since a social atmosphere disinclined to faster economic modernisation had formed. In the Slovenian environment the will of the collective had precedence over individualism, and the comfort of self-sufficient certainty was more important than the risk of entrepreneurship: therefore in this sense we could even say that rentiership had a higher value than entrepreneurship.

And what were the reasons for such a social context? They can possibly be found in the unbalanced social and educational structure. Entrepreneurial bourgeoisie as the propagator of progress in the economic and social field was non-existent. Furthermore, landowners of feudal origin did not cherish the entrepreneurial spirit. On the other hand the one-sided nature of the Slovenian elites, which influenced the construction of social reality, was more than obvious. The representatives of humanist disciplines (priests, teachers) and social sciences disciplines (lawyers) were prevalent within this sparse group. Their way of thinking was torn between the traditional and modern. It is not very risky to conclude that this mentality, with its focus still more on the traditional social and economic structure, was less favourably inclined towards modern economic and social developments.

The aspect of ethnicity, which strongly characterised the Slovenian space of the second half of the 19th century, also has to be taken into account in the assessment of the construction of the economic anti-modernisation atmosphere. Namely, it often seemed that economic modernisation went hand in hand with ethnic assimilation. In the eyes of the humanist elites, influencing the public discourse and identifying themselves in Slovenianism, the opposition between the principle of national (ethnic) adherence and the principle of economic modernisation started establishing itself. Therefore the Slovenian society was blocked, unable to open itself up to the modern world completely, as Dušan Pirjevec put it. Instead of focusing on economic efficiency it emphasised symbolic

modernisation in the form of national cultural institutions and organisations. In this context cooperatives were also encouraged instead of individual entrepreneurship. Cooperatives also functioned as a tool for establishing control and closing the borders of the Slovenian ethnic community in the economic field.

As we have discovered, the social atmosphere, disinclined to progress, was a consequence of the circumstances in which there was either a lack of high-quality resources (human and natural as well as capital and technology) or these resources were used insufficiently and inefficiently. In terms of knowledge and technology the Slovenian space depended on the importation of required resources. The same holds true of the capital in case of more ambitious undertakings until the expansion of Slovenian banking. Only since the 1880s did a more intensive process of economic development, already supported significantly by the national monetary institutions, take place. A significant presence of technical personnel from other Austrian, especially Czech, lands, taking care of the smooth technological process of production, was evident in the more important Slovenian companies. The Slovenian environment, as a rule, supplied an abundance of literate workforce. This fact can be underlined as one of the more important characteristics of that time.

The period between both world wars, after Slovenians entered the Yugoslav state, brought many changes, as we have already indicated. We should focus on those that had significant consequences for the Slovenian economy and society at that time. That includes the newly acquired self-confidence, a somewhat swifter industrialisation in the 1920s, as well as the establishment of the University in Ljubljana and the organised technical study programme. A very important change also took place at the level of defining and comprehending the nation and the national question. With the Yugoslav state, in which Slovenians were a constituent element of the state, the perception of the national question changed. As the state context altered, the danger of assimilation/Germanisation in the major part of the Slovenian territory passed, which resulted in a more relaxed social atmosphere. The processes of "Slovenisation" of economy, administration, politics and culture raised the social self-awareness. In the new situation the feelings of social, cultural and economic subordination gradually disappeared. The consequences of the new self-consciousness were multifaceted.

The process of increasing self-awareness was also accompanied by other processes, including or especially in the economic field. In the new environment Slovenia, despite its relatively modest developmental achievements, became the most advanced part of the state economically. Slovenians were a constituent part of a state that had a very important function. The state behaved paternalistically in order to compensate for the underdeveloped social and institutional environment for swifter economic development. The state acted as a guarantor of the accelerated accumulation of capital, which was not in opposition to the Slovenian wishes. In such a protectionist environment, after the relative level of prices changed in favour of the industrial sector, and in light of such a large market, industrialisation in Slovenia intensified. The encouragement provided by the Yugoslav market made up for what was otherwise a deficient institutional framework for swifter development. Industrial capabilities doubled in a relatively short time, and the scales of the national product or income generated already tipped in favour of non-agrarian activities.

It was important that the economic development resulted from the characteristics of the Slovenian space: deficient educational level of the population, modest accumulation of capital and low technological level. Within the industrial sector the branches developing most rapidly were those that did not demand a high technological level, but required a lot of workforce. Slovenia had workforce in abundance, and we also have to underline the high literacy rate of the population. Furthermore, a relatively notable presence of foreign technical experts in the Slovenian economy, overseeing the more demanding production and management processes, was also characteristic of this time. The characteristics of the educational structure remained the same. The Slovenian population may have been over 80 % literate; however, the extent of secondary school or university education was still modest and of a limited scope. And this also changed. The time between both world wars brought important developments in education, contributing to gradual alteration/expansion of the educational level and structure. In the 1920s the number of pupils enrolled in secondary schools doubled, and the number of students enrolled in the university increased as well due to availability. This information does not only reflect the achievements of the general social development, but also the progress of the system of social values, school policy and accessibility of higher level education.

Lovro Sušnik's 1932 manual about academic professions or the correct selection of study courses attests to the wider backgrounds and social circumstances of the perception of individual professions at the academic level. The messages conveyed to the readers were ambivalent. Already in the introduction the author stressed his opinion about the necessity of higher education: "...education is treasure, it is useful everywhere, without it one is worth less and less these days...". He took part in controversial debates about the impression of the "hyperproduction of intelligentsia", present in the public, claiming that it had no real basis. The impression of the "hyperproduction of intelligentsia" stemmed from the fact that the expansion of the school system was somewhat ahead of the socio-economic development, which in the short term limited the employment possibilities of the graduates. The author may not have assigned certain values to individual professions; however, certain implications of his emphases were quite meaningful. The space intended for individual professions was allocated in favour of the humanist and social science disciplines. In the wide range of vocations within the technical professions, the author evidently emphasises the difficult and demanding nature of these studies as well as the more limited possibilities for employment in comparison with humanist and social science professions.

But despite his sober outlook on the world of education the author nevertheless dissuaded women from taking part in higher education, claiming that the abstract and theoretical emphases of the university-level studies were incompatible with the female way of thinking (emotional, vivacious, personal, concrete). In accordance with the prevailing social ideology, still insisting on the traditional composition of family and roles of genders in the society, a considerable part of the Slovenian human capital, represented by women, was renounced on principle. After all, the said manual on vocational orientation attests to that.

However, life also took another turn as far as this issue was concerned, since simultaneously with the aforementioned processes and phenomena a story of women's emancipation also took place, especially in the economic field. Industrialisation, albeit slow, defined gender relations anew. Until World War II Slovenia was a country with an unusually high percentage of women among the employed. This fact brought new dimensions into the society, influencing the

position of women in society as well as family. With the option of employment outside of their home and the possibility of ensuring permanent and stable source of income for themselves, not only did the social role of women change, but also or especially their economic role and consequently also family relations. Women also added the function of gainful work, which was by no means negligible, to their usual gender-related chores. These profound and long-term changes are reflected in the fact that, according to the statistics, Slovenia boasted a proportionally lower percentage of dependants. This had already been ascertained before World War I and also in the interwar period.

The high percentage of female workforce in the Slovenian industry was the result of various circumstances, especially the character of industrialisation. This depended on the branches that developed at the very beginning, and thus the structure of industry in Slovenia was also defined. Namely, in Slovenia the activities we know as labour-intensive industries had prevailed since the very beginning. These required a lot of somewhat literate workforce that could quickly be trained for simple jobs, which was demanded by the Fordist design of the work process. Due to agrarian overpopulation such workforce was abundant in Slovenia. Already in the first years of the 20th century women and girls represented more than a quarter of the employed in Slovenia. After World War I the percentage of women increased significantly. Textile industry came into focus, which is characteristic of the early stages of the industrialisation processes, and it employed mostly if not exclusively women. In the period between both world wars the Great Depression contributed to the steep increase of the percentage of women employed. In industry, women came very handy for replacing men, who as a rule received better payment. The already high percentage of women in the Slovenian industry increased to as much as 40 % before World War II.

As far as changing the human capital structure and quality was concerned, the University in Ljubljana played a major role. The founding of the University and the much more accessible study courses introduced a new dimension into the Slovenian space. As the technical studies and other social science disciplines outside of legal sciences strengthened, the composition of the educational level or the structure and quality of human capital started changing. The educational structure became more balanced in terms of professions. Thus in the academic year 1931/32, 30 % of all students of the Ljubljana university were enrolled into

technical programmes. The percentage of students at the Faculty of Arts and Faculty of Law was roughly the same. The percentage of the technical intelligentsia among the intellectuals became much more prominent, even though from the viewpoint of economic development and requirements for controlling the economic processes at the level of technology and managerial work the lack of technical staff was still noticeable.

In the interwar period the Slovenian technical intelligentsia also affirmed itself. Not only did the graduates of technical and social science studies gradually enter the Slovenian economy and take over the leading posts – their public role was also important. They entered the public space, introducing new emphases and new knowledge, unusual for the Slovenian environment. This breakthrough of the technical intelligentsia was made possible by both aforementioned elements: the University and better accessibility of education as well as industrialisation. Industrialisation played an especially important role – when it turned into an ongoing process, it needed a constant influx of properly educated and trained technicians and engineers, especially in order to achieve the transition to new technologies or implement more demanding technologies in the Slovenian space.

The vocabulary, intellectual framework and grasp of new professionals in the technical fields were different from the previous context – the established model in terms of contents, development priorities and hierarchy of social values, which the humanist intelligentsia – traditionally the most numerous group of intellectuals among Slovenians – identified with. The questions of culture and nation were no longer in the centre of their interests. The new professionals went beyond this and focused on technological issues, questions of implementing the technologies into the production processes, ways and manners of managing the technological and business processes, and the relationship between technology and society or their co-dependence. The conceptualisation and topics of their public appearances contributed significantly to the establishment of the new social atmosphere in the Slovenian public, which started recognising and accepting the dynamics and multi-layered processes of economic and social modernisation with more understanding.

The persistence of the technical intelligentsia in the fields of society and economy management technology with the purpose of achieving greater economy within the developmental dynamics introduced the need for new considerations of

the developmental strategies and practices in the Slovenian space. One of these intellectuals communicated the fundamental developmental dilemma in Slovenia to the Slovenian public without any embellishment. Quite provocatively he underlined that with regard to the efficiency of agriculture half of the peasant population was "redundant". The dilemma was clear: modernisation and technological efficiency or poverty. This may have been expressed in a technical manner, but it was effective and lucid, underlining an aspect completely overlooked until that time. Others tried to make sense of the Slovenian economic position in the Yugoslav state. They made the society think about the dilemma of how to restructure the Slovenian industry (economy) to ensure higher and more demanding levels of production, which required more knowledge, more complex technologies and capital. The completed analyses led them to conclude that the previous developmental model, involving the expected industrialisation of other Yugoslav regions, did not promise a permanent success.

These may have been small steps; however, they were very important in the Slovenian environment. The principle of the comprehensive co-dependence of society, economy and technology was introduced into the construction of social reality. The introduction of these concepts into the public space was also ensured with specialised magazines like *Tehnika in gospodarstvo* (Technology and Economy), *Misel in delo* (Thought and Work) and *Trgovski tovariš* (Commercial Companion), which brought together the humanist, technical and social sciences intelligentsia. It is also interesting that the first two publications were first published in the 1930s, during the Great Depression. That was the time when the majority of humanist intelligentsia focused on antidemocratic and anti-capitalist ideologies, ready to give up personal, political and economic freedoms without a second thought.

Because of that the expansion of the scope of the debate in the direction of a multi-disciplinary approach to the comprehensive analysis of complex developmental relations between the society, technology and economy was an important intellectual achievement for the Slovenian space. In the 1930s a special scientific institution was also established by the members of the technical and humanist intelligentsia: the Socio-economic Institute, working on the studies of various aspects of social and economic progress. The establishment of this Institute was important, since for the first time in Slovenian history the critical

assessment and consideration of possible strategies and practices of socio-economic development was finally institutionalised – admittedly on the level of a society, but nevertheless.