

Inštitut za novejšo zgodovino
Ljubljana 2011



Inštitut za novejšo zgodovino

Maja Gombač

“MODNI PÊLE
MÊLE” SLOVENSKE
DRUŽBE MED
SVETOVNIMA
VOJNAMA

ZBIRKA

RAZPOZNAVANJA/RECOGNITIONES 13

Maja Gombač

“MODNI PÊLE MÊLE” SLOVENSKE DRUŽBE MED SVETOVNIMA
VOJNAMA

Urednik:

dr. Aleš Gabrič

Izdal in založil:

Inštitut za novejšo zgodovino

Za založnika:

dr. Damijan Guštin

Recenzenta:

dr. Žarko Lazarevič

dr. Tanja Petrovič

Oblikovalka naslovnice:

Barbara Kokalj Bogataj

Jezikovni pregled:

Irena Destovnik

Prevod povzetka:

Peter Altshul

Računalniški prelom:

Uroš Čuden, MEDIT d.o.o.

Tisk:

Fotolito Dolenc d.o.o.

Naklada: 500 izvodov

Izid knjige so podprli:

Javna agencija za knjigo Republike Slovenije

Mestna občina Ljubljana

CIP - Kataložni zapis o publikaciji

Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica, Ljubljana

391:050(497.4)“1918/1941”

050(497.4):391“1918/1941”

316.774(497.4)“1918/1941”

GOMBAČ, Maja

Modni pele mele slovenske družbe med svetovnimi vojnami / Maja
Gombač ; [prevod povzetka Peter Altshul]. - Ljubljana : Inštitut za novejšo
zgodovino, 2011. - (Zbirka Razpoznavanja = Recognitiones ; 13)

ISBN 978-961-6386-30-2

258134016

Pregled vsebine

PREDGOVOR	7
MODA, MEDIJI IN MODERNA DOBA	13
<i>Moda se "vtika v vse"</i>	15
<i>Modernizacijski proces</i>	24
<i>Množični mediji</i>	32
MODA – NEPOGREŠLJIVA MEDIJSKA VSEBINA	37
<i>Delitev dela med mediji</i>	39
<i>Tiskani medij in množično občinstvo</i>	49
<i>Modni tisk in žensko občinstvo</i>	52
<i>Elitno in popularno občinstvo modnega tiska</i>	57
MODNE STRANI: PONUDBA IN POVPRAŠEVANJE	67
<i>Pred prvo svetovno vojno</i>	69
<i>Obdobje med svetovnjima vojnama</i>	74
<i>Oblike pojavljanja</i>	93

<i>Avtorji</i>	107
<i>Uredniki</i>	125
<i>Občinstvo</i>	130
<i>Konkurenca</i>	139
MODNE STRANI: OD FORMALNIH PREPOVEDI DO SISTEMA MODE	143
<i>“Tuja”, “nora”, “nenravna” in “bolna” moda</i>	155
<i>Malce “zmešana” moda s katero si “preganjamo dolgčas”</i>	163
<i>Moda kot “navlaka”, “dekoracija”, “fasada” in “tipično kapitalistično blago”</i>	174
<i>Moda kot “gospodarica” in “vladarica”</i>	180
<i>“Moda”/”Moda za gospode”</i>	189
<i>“Meščanska moda”/”Moda za vse”</i>	212
<i>“Pariška moda”/”Dečva naša narodna moda”</i>	251
MODNE INFORMACIJE IN MODNA POTROŠNJA	277
<i>Kulturni posredniki</i>	298
“MODNI PÊLE MÊLE” ALI MODNI KRIŽ KRAŽ	307
POVZETEK	331
SUMMARY	339
VIRI IN LITERATURA	349
OSEBNO KAZALO	373

Predgovor

Pri svojem raziskovalnem delu izhajam iz predpostavke, da lahko o različnih kulturah sklepamo na podlagi razlik v oblačenju in odnosu do oblačenja, oz. kot zapiše kulturni zgodovinar Daniel Roche, “kodeks oblačenja razkriva kodeks kulture”.¹ Moda je lahko v kulturi ene družbe pravilo, v kulturi druge pa nenavadna, prepovedana in sankcionirana; v vseh primerih pa ji je pripisan nek pomen. Knjiga “*Modni pêle mêle*” slovenske družbe med svetovnimi vojnami, ki je pred vami, je primer predstavitve odnosa slovenske družbe do mode ter ugotavljanja in spraševanja, v kakšni meri je bila ta družba v obdobju med svetovnimi vojnami še tradicionalna oziroma že modernizirana. Ključni vir za iskanje odgovorov na zastavljena vprašanja so mediji in različne družbene prakse Slovencev.

Med mediji v širšem (tradicionalni mediji) in ožjem smislu (moderni mediji) je v knjigi posebna pozornost namenjena tisku, prvemu modernemu množičnemu mediju, s katerim je v obdobju med svetovnimi vojnami v slovensko družbo vstopala tudi moda. Razvoj mode in njene bistvene značilnosti so tesno povezane s pojavom in razvojem modernih družb. Moda je, podobno kot moderna, znanilka sprememb. Zato že sam pojav mode oz. modnih strani v slovenskem periodičnem tisku med vojnami kaže na kulturno modernizacijo. Kaže na povečano kupno moč slovenske družbe in vse večjo

¹ Roche, *The culture of clothing*.

popularnost tega modernega fenomena v njej. Drugi kazalci modernizacije so bili vidni v tehnoloških izboljšavah tiskarn, v množičnosti tiska, v pojavu elitnega in popularnega tiska, v povečevanju pomena vizualnega v tisku, itd.

Znanilec kulturne modernizacije je tudi povezava fenomena mode z ženskim spolom, z modernimi ženskami in njihovimi vlogami v slovenski družbi. Zato ni naključje, da ima knjiga v naslovu ime modne rubrike, ki je mesečno izhajala v ženski reviji *Žena in dom* (1930–1941). Omenjena revija je bila poleg druge konkurenčne revije *Ženski svet* (1923–1941) v obravnavanem obdobju med Slovenkami najbolj razširjena oz. najbolj brana. Obe reviji sta od začetka svojega izhajanja redno objavljali modne prispevke z aktualnimi modnimi smernicami, modnimi skicami, modnimi oglasi in modnimi kroji, ter tako skupaj z drugim slovenskim (npr. mesečniki *Vesna*, *Ilustracija* ali *Mladika*, tedniki, kot so *Domači prijatelj*, *Roman* ali *Svoboda* ter dnevnikoma *Slovenec* in *Jutro*) in tujim periodičnim tiskom slovenskemu občinstvu sporočali, kaj je moderno in modno in kaj ni. Ponujali sta nasvete o tem, kakšna naj bi bila zunanost oziroma videz sodobnikov in sodobnic in kako oz. na kakšen način ta videz doseči. S podobami (z modnimi fotografijami in s skicami), ki so te nasvete spremljale, sta ponudili tudi različne načine nošenja oblačil, gibanja v njih ter s tem ustvarjali tudi neko specifično podobo žensk in moških. Oblikovale so se specifične moderne identitete Slovencev, ki so vključevale tudi modo.

Toda s tem medijem se niso širile zgolj modne informacije (modne smernice), ampak tudi modi pripisan pomen. Skozi različna mnenja, poglede, zgodbe in razlage o modi v tisku se je slovenskemu občinstvu sporočalo, kaj je družbeno sprejemljivo in kaj ne. Prigovarjalo se je, kaj, kje in kako naj se troši ter komu je kaj namenjeno. Tisk je torej služil tako popularnosti mode, povečevanju njene potrošnje kot tudi moraliziranju in kritiziranju. Zato se zastavlja vprašanje, ali je bila v obdobju med svetovnima vojnama slovenska tradicionalna družba, za katero so bile značilne formalne in neformalne omejitve oz. prepovedi pri potrošnji, ki so jo regulirale tra-

dicionalne avtoritete in politika, dokončno premagana. Kateri tradicionalni elementi (npr. v obliki neformalnih prepovedi, kot so meščanska in religiozna morala) so se ohranili in kateri moderni elementi so se že kazali ter kako so se oboji reprezentirali v medijih. Kako so se nove avtoritete in nove moderne ideologije opredelile do mode. Kakšne posebnosti so bile znotraj ene idejne usmeritve ter katere so bile skupne točke in razlike med različnimi ideologijami v takratni slovenski družbi.

Knjiga je razdeljena na pet delov. Prvi del z naslovom *Moda, moderna in mediji*, je predgovor k študiji, kjer definiram pojme oziroma fenomene, s katerimi se ukvarjam v besedilu. Poleg definicij o oblačilni modi in moderni dobi obravnavam tudi medije, ki so, vse od začetkov pojavljanja mode, igrali ključno vlogo pri reguliranju modne potrošnje in druge modne komunikacije. Drugi del knjige je namenjen tiskanemu mediju, ki je v obdobju med svetovnima vojnama skupaj z nekaterimi drugimi mediji (radiom, filmom, fotografijo, izložbami, prižnico), s katerimi je tekmoval, igral pomembno vlogo pri regulaciji modne potrošnje tudi v slovenski družbi. V obravnavanem obdobju Slovenci niso imeli modnega tiska v pravem pomenu, se je pa moda v različnih oblikah (modnih oglasih, modnih besedilih, modnih fotografijah, modnih skicah, itd.) pogosto pojavljala na straneh slovenskega periodičnega tiska, ki jih imenujem modne strani. V tretjem poglavju knjige predstavim slovensko časopisno pokrajino pred prvo svetovno vojno in po njej, ter različne dejavnike, ki so vplivali na ponudbo (vizualno, verbalno) in povpraševanje (cena, jezik, izobrazba) modnih strani v tisku. Omenjam tudi različne z njihovim pojavom tesno povezane prakse (pisanja, tiskanja, slikanja, branja, gledanja) in dejavnike (avtorje/občinstvo). V četrtem, najboljšežnejšem delu knjige, kvantitativno in kvalitativno analiziram modne strani. Ta del je razdeljen na štiri sklope in se nanaša na temeljne idejne izbire Slovencev in njihove reprezentacije mode, ki so se gibale okoli spolne, slojne in nacionalne identitete, odnosa med urbanim in ruralnim, izdelave, distribucije in potrošnje mode oz. modnih izdelkov. Prvi sklop tretjega dela knjige skozi odnos do mode govori o delitvah vlog med spoloma, drugi sklop predstavi sloje-

vitost slovenske družbe. Posvečen je oblačilni proizvodnji – obrtniški, industrijski in domači (hišni) – na eni, in oblačilni potrošnji na drugi strani. Govori o prostorih potrošnje, nakupovalnih praksah in oglaševanju ter o prvi fazi potrošniške družbe, za katero so bile značilne jasne razlike med elitno in množično potrošnjo. V tretjem sklopu tretjega poglavja predstavim vlogo mode pri oblikovanju slovenske nacionalne zavesti, in obratno, vlogo nacionalne identitete in vlogo mest pri reguliranju modne potrošnje. V petem poglavju knjige s pomočjo drugih medijev, ki so odločilno vplivali na potrošnjo mode v slovenski družbi, opišem širjenje mode v obdobju med svetovnjima vojnama ter pri tem izpostavim vlogo t. i. kulturnih posrednikov, ki so bili tudi glavni akterji analiziranih modnih strani v tisku (novinarji, fotografi, ilustratorji, trgovci, obrtniki). Večino ugotovitev pa strnem v sklepnem poglavju.

Pri raziskovanju odnosa med modo, modernim, Slovenkami in Slovenci ter iskanju odgovorov na postavljena vprašanja sem uporabljala predvsem zgodovinske metode natančnega in poglobljenega preučevanja virov, čeprav na nekoliko drugačen način, kot ga uporablja “tradicionalno”² zgodovinopisje. Največ zaslug za preučevanje mode v okviru zgodovinopisja nosi kulturna zgodovina. Poudarila je namreč pomembnost definiranja kulture, prispevala je k t. i. “deelitizaciji” kulture oz. h kulturnemu obratu, ki je kulturo premaknil iz estetskega v antropološko razumevanje.³ Medtem ko bi modo po prvotnem definiranju “kulture” težko umeščali med kulturo, ji je bil zaradi spremenjenega pojmovanja vstop na prizorišče zgodovinopisja omogočen skozi glavna vrata. Predstave o spremembi in raznolikosti, ki jih razumemo kot sestavni del katerekoli opredelitve mode, se namreč skladajo z definicijo kulture kot načina življenja, ki se spreminja in se med različnimi družbenimi in ekonomskimi skupinami in znotraj njih razlikuje. Tudi izjave oz. diskurzi o modi, objavljeni v slovenskem periodičnem tisku, kažejo, da je imela različne pomene. Imeli so jo na primer za “gnusno zablodo” ali pa so jo

² Matajc, Spremnja beseda, str. 153–168.

³ Burke, *Kaj je kulturna zgodovina?*, str. 33.

primerjali z “alkoholom” in “norostjo”. Izjave o modi so se med seboj razlikovale takrat, kot se razlikujejo tudi danes, in so bile tudi drugačne, kot so danes. Povsod navzočih in fiksiranih pomenov namreč ni. Spreminjajo se od časa do časa in od kulture do kulture. Ker ni zakona, ki bi zagotavljal, da bodo imeli moda ali pa njeni potrošniki en sam pomen, ki se ne bo spreminjal v času in kulturi, lahko obstajajo le različne interpretacije pomenov. Pri procesu interpretacije preteklosti pa imamo zgodovinarji veliko moč in odgovornost, saj lahko spreminjamo vnaprej določene izide sporočil njihovih avtorjev.⁴

Glavni izbrani viri, takratni domači tiskani mediji, so dobro ohranjeni in na prvi pogled delujejo povsem transparentno, vendar pa ne odsevajo ali posnemajo takratne družbene realnosti v celoti. Zato se zastavlja vprašanje, koliko preteklosti odražajo. Nikoli namreč ne bomo izvedeli, kaj je bilo izpuščeno. Le ugibamo lahko, koliko so v njih objavljena besedila in podobe odraz uredniške politike ali naključij, kateri prispevki so bili zavrženi, kaj je bilo odvisno od financiranja časopisa in njegove ideološke plati, od avtorja oz. avtorice besedila, fotografije, od njegove/njene izobrazbe, življenjskega nazora, itd. Vprašanje je tudi, kako so na primer bralci in bralke oz. gledalci in gledalke objavljene izjave o modi ali podobe razumeli. O modnem dogajanju si bomo lahko vedno ustvarili le delno sliko, “mozaik dopolnjujočih se drobcev spoznanj”.⁵ Zgodovinarjem je namreč onemogočen “vstop” v preteklost, ogled prizorišča z lastnimi očmi, kjer bi na primer “brali” oblačila ali skušali razumeti, kako modna oblačila, modni diskurzi ali podobe “delujejo” na nosilce, bralce, gledalce, ali da bi poslušali pogovore o modi. V nobenem primeru ne bi bilo mogoče zajeti vseh odtenkov občutkov, sporočil. Navsezadnje pa ima časovna distanca tudi svoje dobre strani.

⁴ Hardt, *Vizualna kultura v kulturnih študijah*, str. 325.

⁵ Luthar, *Mojstri in muze. Kaj in zakaj je zgodovina?*, str. 14.

Povzetek

Knjiga *“Modni pêle mêle” slovenske družbe med svetovnima vojnama* se na primeru mode, znanilke modernih družb, ukvarja s procesom moderniziranja slovenske družbe v obdobju med svetovnima vojnama. Poudarek je na odnosu Slovencev do tega fenomena, ki je razviden z diskurzov, ki so bili objavljeni v takrat izhajajočem slovenskem katoliškem, liberalnem, socialističnem in drugem periodičnem tisku. Prvi del knjige je predgovor k študiji, kjer so predstavljene glavne definicije pojmov oziroma fenomenov kot so oblačilna moda, moderna doba in množični mediji. Drugi del se ukvarja z različnimi vrstami komunikacije, mediji v širšem (npr. slikarske umetnine, prižnice) in ožjem (npr. radio, film, fotografija) smislu, in njihovo vlogo pri regulaciji (pospeševanju/omejevanju) potrošnje mode v Evropi v medvojnem obdobju. Poseben poudarek je namenjen pomenu tiskanega medija, ki je hkrati tudi glavni vir knjige. O tem, kakšen je bil razvoj slovenskega tiskanega medija oz. periodičnega tiska pred in po prvi vojni ter kakšna je bila ponudba mode v njem, se ukvarja tretji del knjige. Konča se z ugotovitvijo, da je slovenski tisk v obdobju med vojnama v primerjavi z obdobjem pred tem, na področju mode dosegel očiten napredek. To obdobje sicer ni prineslo modnega tiska v pravem pomenu besede, vendar se je moda začela vse pogosteje pojavljati v različnih oblikah (modnih oglasih, modnih besedilih, modnih fotografijah, modnih skicah itd.) na vse številnejših straneh (t. i. modnih straneh)

slovenskega periodičnega tiska. Dejavnike, ki so vplivali na ponudbo (vizualno, verbalno) in povpraševanje (cena, jezik, izobrazba) tiskanega medija širše in posebej tamkaj objavljenih modnih strani, se predstavi skozi prakse pisanja, tiskanja, slikanja, branja oz. skozi vlogo avtorjev modnih strani (novinarjev, urednikov, ilustratorjev) na eni in bralnega občinstva na drugi strani. Sledi četrto poglavje knjige, kvantitativna in kvalitativna analiza modnih strani. Analiza se nanaša na osnovne idejne izbire Slovencev in njihove reprezentacije mode. Reprezentacije mode so se namreč v obravnavanem slovenskem periodičnem tisku največkrat razlikovale glede na politične usmeritve ali ideološko naravnost posameznega tiska. Gibale so se okoli spolnih in slojnih identitet, odnosa med urbanim in ruralnim ter so se nanašale tako na proizvajalce, posrednike kot potrošnike modnih izdelkov. Sklopi, ki sledijo, se zato nanašajo na različne oblike regulacije modne potrošnje. Nanašajo se na razlike med reprezentacijami ženskih in moških modnih potrošnikov, na razlike med "elitno" in "množično" modno potrošnjo, ki je razvidna skozi različne oblike modne proizvodnje (obrtiške, industrijske in domače (hišni)), oglaševanje in prostore potrošnje. Na eni strani se nanašajo na vpliv in s tem povezano vlogo modnih centrov (Pariz, New York, London), na drugi strani na vlogo slovenskih mest in slovenske nacionalne zavesti. Peto poglavje knjige odgovarja na vprašanje, kako je potekalo širjenje mode, kako so na ta proces vplivali različni mediji, katerih vloga je bila v domačih raziskavah doslej najmanj upoštevana, ter kakšna je bila vloga kulturnih posrednikov (novinarji, fotografi, ilustratorji, trgovci, obrtniki). Sklepni del prinaša sintezo razprave, ki dokazuje, da je skozi modne diskurze mogoče "vstopiti" v kulturo neke družbe, da si z modo lahko pomagamo tudi pri iskanju odgovorov na vprašanja, kot so "koliko je bila neka družba modernizirana oz. tradicionalna" in da so mediji, čeprav ne odsevajo ali posnemajo družbene realnosti v celoti pomemben, če že ne ključni element za analizo kulture.

Vloga medijev je bila vse od pojava mode v njih dvojna. Na eni strani so skrbeli za poenotenje v oblačenju, na njeno razširjenost in popularnost v družbah, na

drugi strani so mediji v rokah tistih avtoritet, ki si mode niso želele, skušali vplivati na njeno omejeno potrošnjo. S študijo slovenskega periodičnega tiska in analizo tamkajšnjih modnih strani sta se jasno pokazali ena in druga oblika regulacije (omejevanje/pospeševanje) modne potrošnje. Regulirale so jo stare in nekatere nove avtoritete oz. ideologije, ki so bile v tem času prisotne v slovenski družbi. Katoliška Cerkev je nastopala kot ena glavnih avtoritet na področju reguliranja, predvsem omejevanja modne potrošnje. V tem času je izražala tudi veliko željo po sodelovanju s politiko (politični katolicizem) ter skušala obdržati svojo tradicionalno vlogo moralnega nadzora v družbi. Katoliški tisk je v obdobju med svetovnjima vojnama ostal številčno nabolj razširjen slovenski tisk. Preko tiska je Cerkev pripisala zvečine negativne lastnosti tako modi kot tudi modnim potrošnikom, torej tistim, ki so pomenili, želeli ali povzročali spremembe v slovenski družbi. Vendar pa tudi katoliška Cerkev z vsem svojim delovanjem ni bila zgolj element zaviranja modernizacije. Znotraj katoliške religije so bili tudi taki elementi, ki so se novostim uspešneje prilagajali, kar je bilo opaziti tako na ravni oblikovanja novih strank in gibanj (krščansko-socialna), kot tudi na ravni objavljenih modnih diskurzov. V katoliškem tisku in katoliškem diskurzu so bili tako prisotni tudi elementi, ki so skrbeli za pospeševanje modne potrošnje.

Druga ideologija, ki je v obdobju med svetovnjima vojnama še regulirala oz. omejevala modno potrošnjo, je bila marksistična. V socialističnem tisku sicer modi niso namenili toliko pozornosti kot v katoliškem, prav tako socialističen tisk ni bil tako razširjen, vendar pa so modo v njem ostro napadli in jo v veliki meri odsvetovali. Medtem, ko so jo v katoliškem tisku napadali predvsem na račun npravnost oz. morale ter tudi na račun rušenja tradicionalnih oblačilnih navad, so se v socialističnem tisku lotili predvsem visoke cene (luksuzna dobrina) in s tem povezano pripadnosti različnim družbenim skupinam oz. sloju. Moda je namreč po tamkajšnjem modnem diskurzu proizvod meščanske družbe, meščanskega sloja, s katero naj nižji, delavski sloji ne bi imeli nič.

Reguliranje oz. omejevanje modne potrošnje na

točno določen sloj je bilo prisotno tudi v precejšnjem delu liberalnega tiska. Tamkajšnji modni diskurzi so modo zelo jasno namenili zgolj eni družbeni skupini, to je meščanskemu sloju. V liberalnem tisku so zraven pogosto objavili tudi izjave, da ni nič narobe, če so o modnih novostih obveščene vse, od nižje do višje družbene skupine. V teh primerih se je kot dejavnik reguliranja oz. omejevanja modne potrošnje pokazala meščanska morala oz. t.im. "razredna morala" (razredni etos), ki je segala preko posameznih idejnih izbir in je bila v obravnavanem obdobju prisotna tako med liberalci kot katoliki. O njej v svoji tezi govori Bourdieu, ki pravi, da se razredna morala zrcali v vrednotah, verovanjih, vsakodnevni praksi in vedenjskih vzorcih posameznega sloja/razreda. Pravi ji tudi t.im. razredni habitus, ki je neozaveščen in se kaže skozi posameznikove dispozicije, kot tudi skozi njegovo delovanje. Želja po izkazovanju drugačnega načina življenja meščanskega sloja od drugih slojev, katerega del je bila tudi moda, je bil v slovenskem prostoru, po diskurzih sodeč, še zelo močan in je predstavljal pomemben del pri regulaciji modne potrošnje.

Liberalna ideologija je bila glavna regulatorka pri pospeševanju modne potrošnje tako med samimi meščani kot tudi med drugimi skupinami. Veliko liberalnega, kot tudi nepolitičnega tiska, je namreč o modi pisalo pozitivno in je število objavljenih modnih strani z leti povečevalo.

Kot možni regulator modne potrošnje bi lahko nastopila tudi slovenska mentaliteta, za katero naj bi bila, kadar je bilo med Slovenci govora o modi, kot izvemo tudi iz modnih diskurzov, značilna "prirojena bojazen", "skromnost", "sramežljivost" ali previdnost. Nanjo je, kot tisto, kar ovira tako modno proizvodnjo kot modno potrošnjo, opozoril obrtnik in politik Mitja Kunc že konec 19. stoletja. V tisku med obema vojnama se je ta mentaliteta odražala tudi v izjavah, ki so spremljale prve objave modnih strani v nekem časopisu ali reviji; npr. "Naj nikogar ne moti, da smo sprejeli v svoj program tudi modo." S takimi in podobnimi izjavami so skušali slovensko občinstvo pomiriti, da ne želijo zbujati luksuza, ampak moderno, lepo in praktično oblačenje ter da

je potrebno pri oblačenju vselej "najti pravo mero". To je bila več ali manj skupna lastnost tako političnega kot nepolitičnega tiska v obravnavanem obdobju.

Skozi raziskavo se je sicer izkazalo, da tradicionalna družba sicer ni bila premagana, bila pa je v defenzivi. Ohranili so se namreč nekateri tradicionalni elementi v obliki neformalnih prepovedi, ki so delovali skozi medije. Toda ni se jih reprezentiralo zgolj kot meščansko moralo. Tudi nove idologije so se opredelile do mode in s tem tako ali drugače regulirale njeno potrošnjo. Vendar pa me je nekoliko presenetila sama vsebina reguliranja oz. modni diskurzi posameznih ideologij, predvsem podobnosti med starimi in novimi in razlike med njimi, kar sem izpostavila zgoraj.

Kljub reguliranju, predvsem omejevanju potrošnje, s strani medijev, je raziskava nakazala tudi na veliko verjetnost, da je potrošnja postala pomembna za skupnostna zaveznitva, za oblikovanje družbenih identitet in mrež, za vzpostavljanje razlik do drugih ter da je identiteta postala rezultat oz. konstrukt potrošnje, in ni bila več določena zgolj s statusom, ki ga je posameznik pridobil ob rojstvu, tako kot tudi identiteta posameznikov ni bila več odvisna od tega statusa. Potrošnja dobrin je torej tudi v slovenski družbi v obdobju med svetovnimi vojnama vedno bolj temeljila na sistemu hitrega in rednega obrata stilov, ki ga poganja želja po novem in domnevno drugačnem oz. jo obvladuje t.im. sistem mode, kar je tipična značilnost oz. element modernih družb. Razmerje moči v reguliranju modne potrošnje, (pospeševanje/omejevanje) je bilo v prvem obdobju obravnavanega obdobja sicer bolj na strani omejevanja, medtem, ko se je na koncu prevesilo na stran pospeševanja.

Vsaka družba, tudi slovenska, se je modernizirala na svoj način. V knjigi sem omenila številne znanilce modernizacije, ki so posredno ali neposredno povezani z modo in so v primerjavi z ostalimi zahodno evropskimi državami, nosilkami modernosti, k nam sicer prihajali z določeno zamudo, a so vendarle prišli. Z raziskavo na različnih področjih – v proizvodnji (obrtniško/industrijsko), prostorih (mesta/podeželje), ponudbi blaga (trgovine/veleblagovnice), ideologijah (katoliško/liberalno), medijih (prižnice/kino), oblačilih (narodna noša in

dečva/moda), potrošnji (zakoni/moda) – se je izkazalo, da je bila slovenska družba v obdobju med svetovnima vojnama, mešanica tradicionalnega in modernega. Proces modernizacije, deagrariacije, sekularizacije, detradicionalizacije, torej ni bil linearen. Začel se je že pred obravnavanim obdobjem in se je odvijal postopoma. Bil je specifičen, zelo odvisen od zgodovine.

Delež tistih, ki so se preživljali s kmetijstvom in obrtjo (60%) ter so živeli na podeželju, je bil v slovenskem prostoru v obravnavanem obdobju večji kot delež tistih, ki se je zaposlovali v industriji in je živel v mestih. Vendar je šel razvoj v smeri povečevanj slednjih. S procesom modernizacije so se mesta večala in množila ter se je večala njihove pomembnost, hkrati se je "krčila", zamirala in manjšala vloga podeželja. S tem se je brisala meja med njima, k čemur so prispevale tudi izboljšave v prometu (tramvaj in železnica), ki so omogočile vsakodnevno migriranje ljudi v mesto in iz njega.

Tudi značaj mest, ki so bila ponekod po Evropi ali Ameriki "epicentri modernosti" in "epicentri mode" (npr. Pariz, London, New York, London), se je spreminjal. Mesto Ljubljana je npr. v obravnavanem času namesto potez "tipičnega provincijalnega polkmečkega mesta" dobila bolj velemestni značaj. Skupaj s Trstom, Celjem, Mariborom ali npr. Kranjem odigrala pomebno vlogo pri procesu modernizacije, kot tudi v procesu širjenja mode, ki se je poglobil v obdobju med svetovnima vojnama.

Z modernizacijo so se manjšale razlike med meščani, mestnimi prebivalci in kmeti, podeželjani, kar se je kazalo tudi na področju potrošnje. Meščani oz. srednji sloj, ki so ga mnogi zgodovinarji in sociologi opredelili kot vodilni dejavnik modernizacije, so med vidni razpoznavni znak oz. v svojo kulturo vključili tudi ravnanje po (zadnji) modi. Posamezniki iz skupine, ki so bile nižje na družbeni lestvici in so želeli postati podobni tem iz višje, so posnemali tudi te oblačilne navade srednjega sloja. To so si lahko privoščili le redki (bogatejši kmetje, uspešnejše/sposobnejše delavstvo, samski ženske in moški) vendar so kmečki način življenja in kmečke navade postajali vse bolj podobni meščanskim tudi na področju potrošnje. Uveljavljanje mode na slovenskem podeželju, ki se je začelo že v drugi polovici 19. stoletja,

je tako sovpadalo z umikom, zmanjševanjem potrošnje noše oz. kmečkega oblačilnega videza ter tudi narodne noše.

V obdobju med svetovnjima vojnama so moderni mediji (tisk, fotografija, film) širili svoj krog občinstva tudi na račun bolj tradicionalnih medijev (prižnice, ilustracije, karikature, slikarske umetnine, freske). V tem času je postal tiskani medij resnično množičen in z njim je slovenski prostor dobil prve redne modne rubrike, prve modne priloge, prve objavljene modne fotografije in prvi modni katalog je omogočil nakup modnega blaga z doma. V 20. letih so Slovenci doživeli uprizoritev prve modne revije v živo, posneli prvi modni (reklamni) film. Moderni mediji so skušali modo prikazati kot muho enodnevnico. Prepričevali so občinstvo, da je vsa lepota videza v njegovem trenutku, da je modnemu oblačilu namenjeno le kratko življenje in da ga bo kmalu nadomestilo novo, drugačno od prejšnjega.

Poleg običajnih trgovin so Slovenci dobili tudi prve moderne prostore potrošnje (veleblagovnice). V ponudbi na trgu so bili tako industrijski (predvsem tekstil, obutev, srajce in perilo) kot obrtniški modni izdelki (predvsem oblačila). Vendar pa, kot so opozorile raziskave zgodovinarjev in etnologov, je odnos do samega modnega oz. nemodnega blaga (v mislih imam predvsem oblačila), ne glede na to, ali je bil izdelek rezultat obrtniške, tovarniške ali hišne produkcije, ostal tradicionalen. Oblačilo ali kak drug oblačilni kos namreč po tem, ko je prišel iz mode ali je postal premajhen oz. pretesen, niso zavrgli, temveč so ga ali podarili oz. sami predelali in ponovno uporabili.

Oblačila, ki so jih Slovenci nosili in so se pojavljala v medijih, so lahko v sebi nosila elemente tradicije (narodna noša in moderna različica t. im. "dečva") ali pa so bila značilna za moderne družbe (modna oblačila). V obravnavanem tisku (v samih reviji, v prilogi, oglasu ali na naslovnici) se je ena vrsta oblačil pojavljala poleg druge vrste oblačil. Moderno je tako živelo v sožitju s tradicionalnim, kar pa ni bila samo značilnost slovenskega prostora in slovenskega tiska.

O nadvladi principa mode pri oblačilni potrošnji Slovencev lahko v tem obdobju govorimo le v nekate-

rih primerih, saj imamo istočasno opravka z “zakoni” o oblačenju oz. predpisi, ki izhajajo iz religije in tradicionalne miselnosti. Odnos do mode je bil protisloven. Na eni strani se je širila pozitivna (povezovali so jo z lepoto, uspehom, bogastvom ali seksibilnostjo), na drugi strani negativna (nezanimivo, nepomembno, bolno, bogokletno) podoba mode. Poti v takratni slovenski družbeni zavesti so namreč vodile v različne smeri, tako v smer ohranjanja tradicionalnih vrednot kot tudi v smer liberalnih, modernih družbenih vrednot, v katerih je moda legitimni del vsakdanja. V celotnem obdobju med svetovnjima vojnama so bili tako znanilci modernizacije in tradicije skupno prisotni. Bolj kot z “modnim pêle mêle”, čeprav tudi s tem, imamo opravka z pêle mêl-om oz. “križ-em kraž-em” med tradicijo in moderno. Opravka imamo s tranzicijo ali prehodom med tradicionalno in moderno družbo, ki pa je zaradi intenzivnega političnega dogajanja v tem času na prvi pogled ostala v ozadju.

Summary

In the present book, the author uses fashion, as the harbinger of any modern society, to discuss the process of modernization of interwar Slovenian society. The emphasis is placed on the attitude that Slovenians had towards this phenomenon, which can clearly be observed in the texts and images (photographs, illustrations) published in Catholic, liberal, socialist and other periodicals of that time.

In researching the available historical sources, the author was interested mainly in finding out whether the Slovenian society of that time could be classified as being modern or still rather traditional, and whether fashion and the attitude of people towards fashion could be used to clarify this issue.

The book begins with an introduction, which presents definitions of ideas and phenomena such as clothing fashion, the modern age, and traditional and consumer society. It also presents the key theories of fashion and modernization which serve as the basis for the interpretation of the researched sources. In the second part of the book, a number of different forms of communication are discussed, media in the broader (e.g. the fine arts, columns) and the narrower sense of the word (e.g. radio, film, photography). The author attempts to establish the role that such media played in the regulation (i.e. promotion and restriction) of fashion consumption in interwar Europe. The importance of print media is specifically emphasised, as such media provided

the main source of information for the present book. The third part of the book outlines the development of print media and periodicals in Slovenia before and after the Great War, and there is also an observation of how fashion was featured in such media. It is established that in the field of fashion, the Slovenian print media of the interwar years made considerable progress when compared to the period prior to that. Although interwar Slovenia had no fashion periodicals in the true sense of the word, fashion was featured on the so-called fashion pages of a number of Slovenian journals of the time, mostly in the form of fashion-related advertisements, texts, photographs and sketches. In order to discover the factors that influenced the supply (visual, verbal) and the demand (price, language, education) for such print media and its fashion pages, the author studies the established practices of writing, printing, painting and reading, and even assumes the role of the authors of such fashion pages (journalists, editors, illustrators) on the one hand and the role of the reading audience on the other. In the fourth part of the book, the quantity and quality of such fashion pages are analysed based on the basic idea choices of the Slovenians and their representations of fashion. Differences in non-verbal (visual) and verbal (textual) representations of fashion in periodicals can be observed depending on the political leanings and ideology of each individual periodical. Representations of fashion varied depending on sexual identity and social class, the relations between urban and rural, and were designed for manufacturers, sellers and consumers of fashion. In the following chapters, different ways of regulating the consumption of fashion are described. Attention is drawn to differences in the representation of female and male fashion consumers, and also to differences between “elite” and “mass” consumption of fashion, which can clearly be observed through various types of fashion production (handmade, industrial and domestic), advertising, and places of consumption. On the one hand, there is the influence and the role of fashion centres (Paris, New York, London), and on the other hand there is the role that was played by the Slovenian towns and the Slovenian national consciousness.

These chapters also describe how fashion was being spread and to what degree such spreading was influenced by the media, whose role has mostly been overlooked in previous research. Also studied is the influence of cultural mediators who can be regarded as the main creators of fashion pages (journalists, photographers, illustrators, merchants, craftsmen). The conclusion includes a synthesis which demonstrates that fashion discourse or fashion images may serve as an entrance into the culture of a certain society, that fashion may be used to answer questions such as “to what degree was a certain society modern or traditional”, and that the media, though not reflecting or imitating reality in its entirety, can still be an important, if not crucial, element in cultural analysis.

Ever since fashion first appeared in the media, the media have played a double role. On the one hand, they helped to achieve a more uniform style of dress and enabled fashion to become more widespread and popular, but on the other hand, such media in the hands of those who did not want fashion aimed to restrict its consumption. In studying Slovenian periodicals of the time and analysing their fashion pages, one can clearly observe both forms of fashion regulation (restriction and promotion). Fashion was being regulated by the old and some of the new authorities or ideologies that were present in the Slovenian society of that time. The Catholic Church was one of the main authorities of regulation, mostly restriction, of fashion consumption. At the time, the Church manifested a strong ambition to collaborate with politicians (political Catholicism), and thus retain its traditional role as the society’s moral supervisor. In the interwar years, the Catholic press was the most widespread of the Slovenian print media. The Church used its press to attribute mostly negative characteristics to fashion and fashion consumers, i.e. people who signified, wanted or caused changes in Slovenian society. However, even the Church, with all its activities, was not always only an element of obstruction of modernization. There were elements within Catholicism that successfully adapted to novelties, which can be seen in the fact that new parties and movements were be-

ing founded (Christian Socialist) and that fashion discourses were being published. Thus, the Catholic press and its discourse also included elements that helped to promote fashion consumption.

The second ideology that restricted fashion consumption in the interwar years was Marxism. Although the socialist press paid less attention to fashion than the Catholic one and was also not as widely read, it did attack fashion in a very serious manner and for the most part warned its readers against it. While the Catholic press attacked fashion mostly for reasons of moral principle and on account of it being used to undermine traditional dressing habits, the socialist press was concerned mostly with the high prices of fashion products (luxury commodity), pointing out the fact that people were being divided into different ranks of social standing. According to socialist fashion discourse, fashion was a product of bourgeois society, which had absolutely nothing to do with the lower-ranking working class.

The restriction of fashion consumption to a particular social class can also be observed in a large part of the liberal press, where fashion was clearly attributed to one and only one social group, i.e. bourgeois society. Often, there were statements saying that there was nothing wrong with fashion news being distributed to all social classes, lower, middle and upper alike. In such cases, the element of regulation (restriction) was bourgeois morality or the so-called "class morality" (class ethos) that reached beyond the individual idea choices, and was known to the liberals and the Catholics alike. It was discussed in his thesis by Bourdieu, who said that class morality was reflected in the values, beliefs, everyday practices and behaviour patterns of each individual class. He also calls it "class habitus" which is not aware of itself and is shown through an individual's disposition and his actions. According to Slovenian fashion discourses, the desire to portray the idea that the lifestyle of bourgeois class was different from the lifestyle of other classes was still strong and was an important part of the regulation of fashion consumption.

Liberal ideology was the main regulator in increas-

ing fashion consumption both among the bourgeois and other layers of society. Fashion was presented in a favourable manner by a number of liberal and non-political publications, and the number of fashion pages published increased over the years.

The Slovenian mentality could also be a possible regulator of fashion consumption. As is evident from fashion discourses, whenever there was talk of fashion, Slovenians were characterized by words such as “in-born fear”, “modesty” and “shyness” or caution. Mitja Kunc, a craftsman and politician of the late 19th century, drew attention to this mentality and pointed out that it was obstructing both the production and the consumption of fashion. In regard to the fashion press he wrote that in matters of fashion and the fashion press, the prevalent belief among the Slovenians was that they “promote showiness and wastefulness”. In the interwar print media, such mentality could also be observed in statements accompanying the first publishing of fashion pages in a magazine. For example, the editorial board of Vesna magazine wrote “let no one be bothered by the fact that we chose to include fashion in our programme”. Such and similar statements were meant to pacify the Slovenian reading audience and ensure them that they were not trying to promote luxury, but merely to show a modern, pleasant and practical style of dressing, and that achieving “the right measure” was always needed when dressing up. This was more or less a common characteristic of political and non-political print media during the researched time period.

This is why I can only partially agree with the hypothesis on the regulation of consumption. Although the research showed that traditional society was not beaten, it was certainly on the defensive. It turned out that some traditional elements survived in the form of informal prohibition and that they were being active through the media, but were not considered to be merely bourgeois morality. The research also showed that new ideologies, too, sided with or against fashion and thus regulated fashion consumption in one way or the other. I was, however, a bit surprised by the content of the regulation and by fashion discourses of the individual ideologies,

mostly by the similarities and differences between the old and the new ideologies, as I indicated above.

Although the research showed that fashion consumption was being regulated, mostly restricted, by the media, it also indicated the probability that consumption was beginning to become of importance for community unity, for the forming of social identities and networks, and for establishing distinctions between oneself and the rest of the society. The identity became the result or the construction of consumption and was no longer determined merely by the status that a person acquired at birth, just as the individual's identity no longer depended on such status. As I predicted in my initial hypothesis, the consumption of goods in the interwar Slovenian society was increasingly based on the system of rapid and regular changing of style, driven by the desire of the people to acquire something new and presumably different. In other words, consumption was controlled by the so-called fashion system, which is a characteristic typical of modern societies. Based on some indicators, Slovenian society of the interwar years was a mix of traditional and modern, but managed to fatefully lean towards the modern. While more in favour of restriction during the first period of the interwar years, by the end of the period in question the regulation of fashion consumption had turned to promotion of fashion.

Societies, including Slovenian society, have their own individual paths to modernization. The research sheds light on a number of harbingers of modernization to which fashion is directly or indirectly connected, and which came to Slovenia with a bit of delay when compared to a number of Western European countries – the pioneers of modernization – but they did come. By researching a number of areas – production (trades/industrial), location (urban/rural), supply of goods (shops/department stores), ideologies (Catholic/liberal), media (columns/cinema), clothing (national costumes and dirndls/fashion), consumption (laws/fashion) – I was able to prove that the Slovenian society of the interwar years was a mixture of traditional and modern. Thus, the process of modernization, deagrar-

iarization, secularization, and detraditionalization was not a linear one, but started in the pre-war period and developed gradually. It was a specific process that very much depended on history.

In interwar Slovenia, the percentage of the rural population who lived off farming and craftsmanship (60%) was higher than the percentage of the urban population employed in industry, but this gradually changed as the percentage of the latter began to rise. With modernization, the number of cities increased, they became bigger and more important, while the countryside began to “shrink” and eventually its importance declined. The line between the rural and urban setting became less and less distinct, which might also have been due to traffic innovations (trams and railways) which enabled people to commute daily to and from the city.

Also changing was the character of the cities that were the “epicentres of modernity” and “epicentres of fashion” in Europe and America (such as Paris, London, New York). During the interwar period, the city of Ljubljana evolved from having features of “a typical provincial semi-rural town” to obtaining a more cosmopolitan character. Together with Trieste, Celje, Maribor and Kranj, the city of Ljubljana played an important role in the process of modernization of the Slovenian society and in the process of promoting fashion, which intensified during the time between the wars.

By means of modernization, differences between the urban and rural population were made less obvious, which was also reflected in fashion consumption. City-dwellers or the middle-class, who were perceived as the leading factor of modernization by a number of historians and sociologists, included behaviour according to (the latest) fashion in their culture and among their most distinguishing characteristics. Individuals of lower social class who wished to resemble those of higher social standing needed to copy the clothing practices of the middle class. Although only a few could afford this (wealthier farmers, successful/capable workmen, single women and men), the rural way of life and country customs also began to resemble urban life more and more in the area of consumption. The establishment of

fashion in the Slovenian countryside in the second half of the 19th century thus coincided with the withdrawal and decrease in the consumption of the national costumes and the rural way of dressing.

In the interwar years, the modern media (printing, photography, film) also broadened its audience on account of the more traditional media, such as columns, illustrations, caricatures, fine art and frescoes. The print medium became a mass medium, supplying Slovenians with their first fashion columns, fashion supplements, fashion photographs, and their very first fashion catalogue that enabled home shopping of fashion products. In 1920s, the Slovenians saw the staging of their first live fashion show and their first fashion ad film. Modern media tried to portray fashion as a fad and strove to convince the audience that the beauty of appearance was in its moment and that fashionable clothes had but a short time to live and were soon to be replaced with a new kind of life, very much different from the one before.

Besides regular shops, the first modern department stores were also being built. Slovenians could choose between industrial fashion products (mostly textiles, footwear, shirts and underwear) and tradesmen's fashion products (mostly clothes). Still, a considerable amount of historical and ethnological research has shown that the attitude toward fashionable or unfashionable goods (clothes) remained traditional, regardless of whether they were made by tradesmen, in a factory or at home. A piece of clothing was not discarded after it had gone out of style or became too small or too short, but was donated or remodelled and re-used.

The clothes that were worn by the Slovenians and that regularly appeared in the media could include elements of traditional (the national costume or its modern version, the *dečva*, or dirndl) or were typical of modern societies (fashionable clothes). The periodicals of that time (magazines, supplements, advertisements, or the cover) placed one kind of clothes next to the other. The modern thus lived in symbiosis with the traditional, which was not solely a feature of the Slovenian print media.

Thus there are only a few instances where we could talk of the supremacy of fashion principles in the consumption of clothes in interwar Slovenia, as we also have to deal with “laws” on clothing or regulations that were based on religion and traditional mentality. The attitude towards fashion was contradictory. On the one hand, a positive image of fashion was being promoted (connected to beauty, success, wealth, and sex appeal) and on the other hand there was also the negative image of fashion, where fashion was portrayed as uninteresting, unimportant, unwholesome and blasphemous. The paths of the Slovenian social consciousness were leading in different directions; one in the direction of retaining traditional values, and one in the direction of establishing more liberal, modern social values where fashion could be a legitimate part of everyday life.

During the whole of the interwar years, there was a certain coexistence between the elements of modernization and the elements of tradition. Rather than dealing with a “fashion pell-mell” (although that was present as well), we are dealing here with a “pell-mell” between tradition and modernization. What we are really dealing with is a transition from traditional to modern, but the whole process remained rather unobserved due to the active political situation of the time.

The crucial question in my book was the question of to what degree the Slovenian society was modernized or traditional and whether fashion or the attitude that the society of that time had toward fashion could be used to “measure” such states. I formed a hypothesis that differences in cultures could be based on differences in clothing and attitudes toward clothing, or as cultural historian Daniel Roche points out, “the code of dressing reveals the code of culture”. While concrete reality and fashion could be the rule in a certain society, they may be perceived as strange, prohibited and punishable in another. In any case, fashion was being given a certain importance. Although the media is not a reflective image of the world or a certain society, but merely represents it, it is nevertheless of crucial importance in the analysis of a culture. That is why I can confirm the above mentioned question.

The print media was a very important means of communication for fashion during the interwar years, but it was not the only one. The press spread opinions, views, stories and interpretations of fashion. It informed the Slovenian audience about what was modern and fashionable and what was not, about what was socially acceptable and what was not. It offered advice on what the people of that time should look like and how to achieve that look, making comments on what to buy, where and how to spend money and for what purpose. By publishing images (fashion photographs and sketches) that accompanied such advice, it shed light on different ways of wearing clothes, and ways of moving in them, and thus created a specific image of women and men. The print media not only spread fashion information (fashion instructions), but also a certain importance that was given to fashion. The creators of the texts and images and the editors who published them were able to convey their concepts, ideas and feelings of fashion, which did have its consequences. Specific modern identities of Slovenians were being formed and they included fashion. As to how much the media and its presentation of fashion and fashion consumers (published discourses and images), which varied from publication to publication and from one author to another, were indeed influential with respect to the actual fashion consumption of the Slovenians, we will never know for sure.