

STORIES ABOUT REAL AND IMAGINED LANDSCAPES: THE CASE OF SLOVENIAN ISTRIA

ZGODBE O RESNIČNI IN ZAMIŠLJENI POKRAJINI: PRIMER SLOVENSKE ISTRE

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PRIMOŽ PIPAN

Stories about real and imagined landscapes of Slovenian Istria are inseparably connected with its Mediterranean character and turbulent history.
Zgodbe o resnični in zamišljeni pokrajini v slovenski Istri so neločljivo povezane z njenimi sredozemskimi značilnostmi in pestro zgodovino.

Stories about real and imagined landscapes: the case of Slovenian Istria

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ABSTRACT: This paper presents the cultural landscape as an abstract concept and the result of a complex relationship between the natural environment and human society, and at the same time as a result of comprehension and personal views. A landscape is a story about the people that created it. The theoretical part establishes parallels between a landscape and the stories that this landscape has generated as well as their connection with geographical knowledge. This is followed by stories about real and imagined landscapes from Slovenian Istria, as ascertained through an analysis of extensive material using the ATLAS.ti software and taking into account the principles of grounded theory. This approaches a holistic view of the landscape, or understanding the landscape as a system of material and non-material elements and processes that direct them.

KEY WORDS: Slovenian Istria, cultural landscape, landscape comprehension, social notions about landscapes, landscape dynamics, ATLAS.ti software, grounded theory.

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»... The face of the water, in time, became a wonderful book – a book that was a dead language to the uneducated passenger, but which told its mind to me without reserve, delivering its most cherished secrets as clearly as if it uttered them with a voice. And it was not a book to be read once and thrown aside, for it had a new story to tell every day. Throughout the long twelve hundred miles there was never a page that was void of interest, never one that you could leave unread without loss, never one that you would want to skip, thinking you could find higher enjoyment in some other thing ... Now when I had mastered the language of this water and had come to know every trifling feature that bordered the great river as familiarly as I knew the letters of the alphabet, I had made a valuable acquisition. But I had lost something, too. I had lost something which could never be restored to me while I lived. All the grace, the beauty, the poetry had gone out of the majestic river! ...«
(Mark Twain, Life on the Mississippi)

1 Introduction: A landscape is not merely what we see, but also a construct of that world

The subject of this study is the landscape. This term has changed and its meaning has developed considerably since its creation several centuries ago. At the beginning of the 20th century, it denoted the part of a territory that can be seen with the naked eye (The Dictionary of Human Geography 2000) and it was introduced into geography as a visible expression of the human environment. The study of the cultural landscape initially focused on its forms. It is based on Carl O. Sauer's Berkeley school of human-environment geography and his paper »The Morphology of Landscape« published in 1925. Under these influences, Peirce F. Lewis wrote his frequently cited definition: »... Our human landscape is our unwitting autobiography, reflecting our tastes, our values, our aspirations, and even our fears, in tangible, visible form ...« (Lewis 1979, 12).



CARL WARNER

Figure 1: Thanks to the *landschaps* by the Dutch painters, since the 17th century the expression »landscape« has referred to the appearance of a particular territory or its representation in a painting. But what would we think about a picture in which food replaced the painter's colors?!

From Sauer onwards, the term has changed its substantive meaning and gained new dimensions. The initial »image« was supplemented with the processes and functions that created this image. Under the influence of humanistic and behavioral ideas, the study of landscapes transcended morphological analysis and became interpretative. The definition of a landscape as »a way of seeing« (Cosgrove 1984, 13) opened two new dimensions – that is, cognitive and empirical, which became the means and product of landscape dynamics, balance, symbolism, ideology, and identity (Terkenli 2001). Landscape is an abstract concept and as such a result of comprehension and subjective views; it is an open book, enabling us to penetrate into its interior and become familiar with its content. Reading it reveals many stories intertwined with the past, ideology, and people's lives, just like floating down the Mississippi.

A landscape is a story or stories about the people that created it. Stories about a landscape are closely connected with geographical knowledge of it. A tale or story that is understood as a narration and notion of both real and imagined places in the form of a text creates an important representation of geographical knowledge (de Leeuw 2003/2004). This knowledge enables the creation of new geographical knowledge, in which research and professional texts serve as a framework for creating a critical distance and placing perceptual comprehension into an objective sphere. Text and language are understood as a method of presenting the world and a method according to which the world sees itself as it is (Dwyer, Limb 2001).

A very useful approach to studying landscapes is to understand the landscape as a text. A landscape is a text written (or shaped) by society and read and interpreted by professionals (i. e., researchers) and those that use the landscape. The main idea behind this metaphor is that people imprint their thinking and values onto the landscape, similar to the way they pour out their feelings onto a piece of paper. Subsequently, a landscape can be read the same way as one reads a book. The works of Cosgrove (1984, 1989, 1990, 1992, 1993, 2002) and Duncan (1990) are characterized by the idea that deciphering landscape symbols reveals that primarily ideological and political messages are imprinted in a landscape or that these can be discerned from specific components. The main point of such comprehension is that the landscape is increasingly less concrete and visible, and increasingly more subjective because the physical and structural aspects are giving way to symbolic values. In this regard, a landscape is an external world as conveyed by a human experience (Whyte 2002). A landscape is not composed merely of what lies before our eyes, but also of what is in our heads (Whyte 2002) – that is, it is no longer what we see, but rather a construct of that world.

The parallels between landscape and text were further developed by Barnes and Duncan, who wrote that »... the notions of text, discourse and metaphor have emerged as powerful concepts over the last twenty years. Originally defined in terms of literary criticism, they now have much wider importance...« (Barnes, Duncan 1992, 5). According to these two authors, this broader meaning refers to landscape study, which is fundamentally connected with texts: »... the notion of the text ... includes ... maps and landscapes, as well as social, economic, and political institutions...« (Barnes, Duncan 1992, 5–6).

The connection between geographical knowledge and literary studies does not end with reading, but develops further through writing (Barnes, Duncan 1992). In reality, the word *geography* means 'describing the Earth' because ancient Greek *geo-* means 'earth' and *graph-* means 'write' (Duncan, Duncan 1988, 117). Literary creations and landscape analyses are thus interconnected. According to Crang (1998), literary narrations can reveal how space is arranged and how the attitude towards this space shapes social activity. Both geography and literature involve writing about places and spaces. They both represent a signifying process that ascribes meaning to places within a specific social context (Crang 1998).

Establishing the meaning of a landscape begins with studying how the local population sees the landscape, what meanings it ascribes to it, and how their »reading« contributes to the interpretation policy, which adopts or reorganizes social relations within the society (Duncan 1990). Here the issue of hermeneutics comes to the forefront, which includes the researcher's interpretation of what the landscape signifies to those that produce, reproduce, or reshape it. The hermeneutic approach acknowledges the historical, cultural, and intellectual frameworks of the references researchers use in their interpretations and the role these references play in historical research. In addition, it takes into account the »common sense« aspect – that is, values, beliefs, and explanations.

Local views on nature and the meaning of the landscape, which are part of a general cultural logic and rationalism, may differ within or between individual groups. Therefore it is always reasonable to anticipate opposing views. In addition, a local view must always be considered critically, which is an essential part of the scholarly approach. A view from the outside supplements the local view, which is like »raw

material« from which a hermeneutic interpretation is formed. A geographer's task is thus to demonstrate that a local story can be placed into a system of meanings connected with other elements of the cultural system, which is produced within a social order (Duncan 1990).

2 Analyzing the landscape through texts

In order to establish the comprehension and views of a landscape, the theory of social notions or representations was used and a qualitative method known as grounded theory was selected. The most important aspect of qualitative methods is that they see the society and world as something dynamic and constantly changing; as something that is continually being shaped by the mutual effects of cultural, economic, social, and political processes. On the one hand the emphasis is on political or ideological processes, and on the other the reaction to these processes – an interpretation of understanding the landscape and its common meanings.

The landscape was analyzed using texts. The basic criterion for their selection was the spatial component or their connectedness with the research area. The content-related criterion was that they discuss the border, its changes, and the effect on people's lives. The texts were identified using the Slovenian bibliographic system (COBISS) and an Internet browser. The keywords searched for included *Istra* 'Istria', *Istrani* 'Istrians', *s(S)lovenska Istra* 'Slovenian Istria', *Primorje* 'the Littoral', *Primorci* 'residents of the Littoral', *Koprsko primorje* 'the Koper Littoral', *Koprsko* 'the Koper Area', *o(O)bala* 'the coast', *Šavrinija* 'the Šavrin Hills', and their derivatives. In addition, the journals *Primorska srečanja*, *Annales*, *Acta Histriae*, *Brazde s trmuna*, and *Istrske teme* were systematically reviewed. In addition to research and technical texts, the analysis also included popular articles, prose, and poetry. Personal stories are also a good source of study because they are based on personal experience and memory formed in the real world.

The selected texts were analyzed following the procedures of grounded theory, also known as inductive theory (Mesec 1998). This is a research method used to develop a theory that is grounded in the data selected and analyzed. It is especially well-suited for studying complex phenomena – which a cultural landscape undoubtedly is – through ongoing searching and the study of connections between concepts in the data. It is directed towards discovering new elements and formulating a theory (Garau 2003); therefore, it can be understood as a method and theory at the same time (Willig 2001, cited in Garau 2003). It is based on constant cross-linking and interweaving of data collection and analysis.

In the past, the only tools used in this sort of analysis were scissors, a photocopier, and a pile of blank paper. Recently, a range of software has been available, facilitating and accelerating the mechanical aspect without threatening flexibility. This study used the ATLAS.ti program to analyze 147 texts, comprising a total of 3,344 pages or 6,189,564 characters. The basic analysis unit was the concept or term derived from the conceptualization of the data rather than from the data alone. The concepts (more than 1,000 were coded) were combined into groups or categories, from which nine conceptual networks comprising the concept of the landscape were developed.

3 Slovenian Istria as a story about a landscape

The result of an extensive text analysis was nine landscape categories that can be equated with stories that people developed based on their attitudes towards the landscape. These stories are the horizontal layers comprising the concept of the landscape. They are content-related layers that may also exist as individual layers (although in this case their understanding may be distorted) and at the same time as a constituent part of a whole.

The story about a landscape begins with the attitude towards the natural landscape, at the forefront of which was the arable land in addition to all of the natural landscape elements that enabled people to survive. The survival mosaic was closely intertwined with all the aspects of the environment because this involved a society that had close contact with nature. Adapting to natural conditions was of key importance. Despite (or perhaps precisely because of) the hard work, people respected and protected nature and established almost intimate contact with it, although the struggle for survival was extremely difficult. People also respected all the animals, not only those from which they benefited. They ascribed characteristics similar to their own to their domestic animals, with which they shared their misfortune.

Archaic rural society is also characterized by folk wisdom connected with natural conditions. Two aspects are highlighted in the texts: knowledge of or ascribing medicinal properties to specific natural springs and weather forecasting. It is interesting that the texts frequently state that Istria has a karst landscape, followed by hints of poverty.

After the Second World War, the importance of the concept of »the land« gradually weakened. The main reasons for this were emigration and abandonment of farming. Agriculture gave way to industry and other activities that provided a (better) income to the formerly rural population. The shift from nature and the changed relationship between human and nature caused changes in the natural environment. During this period the concept of afforestation is the most frequent in addition to the collapse of cultivation terraces, frost, natural disasters due to unsuccessful human activities affecting the environment, and pollution. Large-scale cultivation begins developing. The shift from the natural environment is also a result of an altered lifestyle. Needs for privacy and attractive views resulted in the construction industry greatly affecting the environment. Settlements spread from within their sharply demarcated boundaries to surrounding formerly agricultural areas. Dispersed construction significantly changed the image of Istria (Urbanc 2007).

Contacts with neighboring areas developed through population movements and innovations. In the period between the two world wars, the new political reality unleashed an extensive wave of migration, which represented a reaction to economic crisis and ethnic oppression. The desire to make a living and lead a better life was the most frequent reason people decided to emigrate. Migration flows were only characteristic of the Istrian countryside, in contrast to the coastal towns, which were still completely Italian at that time. Similar to before Istria's annexation by Italy, Istrians often traveled to Trieste because they had personal and economic ties there. At the same time, Trieste was a source of innovations that spread directly. However, not all members of society participated in these changes, but only selected individuals that were either privileged or forced into establishing and maintaining such contacts. Hierarchical contacts were mainly established through women that traveled to Trieste on a daily or weekly basis. They were the medium through which elements of a different culture were transmitted. Among the male population, this role was assigned to hay merchants and pack-animal drivers. Women that sold eggs performed the role of a double medium – that is, not only for their own society, but also for society in Croatian Istria.

The period after the Second World War began with a series of changes that reached a peak in the mid-1950s. Political insecurity, the changing administrative system, and tensions between Yugoslavia and Italy driven by ideological opposition and incited by hatred resulted in intense population dynamics. Due to deprivation, Trieste was the only way out for many people, especially the young. The towns on the Slovenian coast did not attract immigrants at that time because they were also experiencing an economic crisis, especially due to the dissolution of production and the transfer of industry further inland in Slovenia. Immediately after the Second World War, Trieste retained its role as an innovation center, but in line with the new state and administrative system its role was forcibly diminished. As an ideological barrier, the new border was supposed to create an obstacle to old fascist ideas and new Anglo-American capitalist ideas. Trieste's role was taken over by coastal towns, especially Koper as a regional center (Urbanc 2007).

The agricultural landscape is the story about the most distinct landscape, which connects all of the other stories. The role of agriculture is of key importance both in the formation of a cultural landscape and everyday life. Therefore, the concept of »agriculture« is connected with all aspects of culture. Its content is diverse, comprising many aspects: population, migration, folk and popular culture, ethnicity, the settlement network, the economy, politics, and agricultural activities.

The image of the agricultural landscape was shaped by land fragmentation, in some places unfavorable natural conditions, overpopulation of farms, lack of investments, changed market conditions due to political changes, and the measures imposed by official policy. Although Istria already exceeded the limit of maximum cultivation, it was still a completely agricultural landscape. Agriculture was characteristic of life in Istria; it influenced mobility, establishment of contacts, eating habits, folk medicine, wedding patterns, and architectural elements, and it defined an individual's social status, and the relationship between the towns and the countryside. Agricultural activities developed because of the favorable Mediterranean climate and relief. Terraced slopes were covered with vineyards and olive groves, and less favorable areas provided fodder for domestic animals.

The Second World War was followed by a demographic shock, which was accompanied by other factors. Agriculture lost its primary role and there was no longer a labor force to cultivate the land in the traditional way. Extensive areas in remote places that were difficult to access thus experienced depopulation.

lation and abandonment of farming, and with this a breakdown of the cultural landscape. On the other hand, the coastal area developed rapidly and was transformed into a multifunctional area in which various activities struggled to find space. Contemporary agricultural development in more favorable natural conditions tends to surpass the natural landscape diversity, which leads to homogeneity and large areas without any intermediate disruptive elements. At the same time, other elements of the cultural landscape are also changing, especially with regard to settlements and architecture (Urbanc 2007).

The main concept of **landscape as an affiliation** is topophilia, which is comprised of two concepts: sense of place and attachment. They are both based on special quality landscape elements upon which the human relationship to a place is built. Attachment can be understood as the relationship towards specific tangible points that make up a place: home, village, homeland, and land. Sense of place enables one's identification with a place and landscape. It is formed through the relationship to the place. The coding revealed four types of relationships: biographical, dependent, ideological, and narrative, which are difficult to distinguish due to their complexity. The most frequent is the biographical relationship, which refers to the personal history connected with a place. It is built on memories, creativity, ownership pride, and connection with the living environment and life experience. The dependent relationship was formed when Istria was annexed to the Kingdom of Italy and the homeland became foreign to ethnic Slovenians due to various restrictions and oppression. The narrative relationship is built upon the stories about a place that someone knows. A standard feature of all these stories is the history of Istria reaching back one thousand years, with all its invaders and the states that were created and then disappeared. The ideological relationship is based on conscious values and the notion about what kind of an attitude the people should have towards a place. It is connected with the dependent relationship and is some sort of response to it. In Istria, the ideological relationship has been formed on the basis of historical memory and experience, and therefore invaders, loss of the sea, and inappropriate land management are constant fears (Urbanc 2007).



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Figure 2: Along with the grapevine, the olive tree is one of the most iconic and frequent symbols of Slovenian Istria. It plays an important role in both the actual and imagined landscape.

In Istria, the main reasons for the **alienation from the landscape** are the ideologies of the socio-economic systems that have alternated in this area. An ideology itself does not cause alienation; alienation is a side effect of frequent changes. In the period between the two world wars, the new Italian state ascribed Istria an important role in implementing its nationalist policy. Italianization was directed towards three targets: the Slovenian language, various societies, and the intelligentsia. At the same time, Italy encroached upon the tradition of the Istrian countryside: it prohibited singing and promoted inappropriate crops, which caused the demise of many farms. Because of the close attachment to the land, it is clear that the demise of farms contributed to the feeling of alienation. The pride of ownership was replaced by bitterness about failure and wrath directed at the system, which they blamed for this unpleasant situation. This resulted in physical alienation from the landscape, or emigration.

After the Second World War, alienation was the result of the totalitarian Yugoslav regime and the attitude towards changes. The previous totalitarian regime was replaced by a new one with a new ideology that cut severely into the everyday traditional patterns. In some areas it cut even deeper because it encroached upon two important spheres: ownership relationships and agriculture in general, and mobility. Agricultural measures created a series of irregularities and injustices, which caused various traumas, bitterness, and hatred among people because they were alienated from their land or a different value was ascribed to their relationship with their land. Mobility refers to the fact that people could no longer use their usual routes because of the new border and ideology; this encroached on their personal freedom. In general, this period was characterized by political insecurity and violence, which prevented people from organizing their lives according to their wishes and needs. The ideology brought new (foreign and unintelligible) content into the environment, which raised fear and doubts among the people. At the level of personal strategies, all of this caused a feeling of alienation; people started abandoning farming and sought employment in factories. True physical alienation was caused by migration; people left and broke their contact with the landscape – one that was new and that they did not know, and did not want to get to know because it was no longer theirs. In addition, alienation was the result of the social and economic situation. At the end of the 1960s, the value system began to change: the younger population no longer considered the land as the center of their connectivity to the landscape. Agricultural areas started being overgrown by forest or were built up, causing a feeling of alienation and loss among older people. The world they had known and considered their home started disappearing (Urbanc 2007).

In the period between the two world wars, the story about the **landscape as a rural idyll** was based on compact villages and small stone houses in addition to cultivated land as tangible elements of the cultural landscape. These were the venues of community life. However, for forming an idyll the intangible part of landscape is much more important because it comprises social contacts, which build up a community, and the feeling of belongingness. In this, sociability – such as folk singing, celebrations, group work, and evening gatherings – plays an important role. In addition, an important aspect of the rural idyll was also the sense of community. The idyll in the countryside and life there were based on regular contact with Trieste. An idyll is connected with the inclusion of the desired, good, and respected, and the exclusion of the undesired and bad. Who or what was not included in the rural idyll – or, in other words, what distorted this idyll? First and foremost, this was the Italian authorities, which made the people's lives difficult by imposing numerous measures, especially in connection with ethnic oppression and economic policy. The authorities were represented by the national police, which were the »rural others« or outsiders (Sln. *forešti*), and thus excluded from social life in the village. The rural idyll was »reserved« exclusively for Slovenians.

In the texts describing the postwar period, the concepts of cultivated land and the co-op center can be found among tangible elements of cultural landscape. The first is not very frequent and is used indirectly as part of the nostalgia for and memories of the time gone by and the former landscape. The concept of the co-op center is frequently used, usually in connection with work by labor brigades. The co-op center became a new element that was supposed to provide a new definition of the village center and divert rural population flows. The intangible landscape elements include the concepts of sociability and sense of community. The latter was preserved from the prewar period and thus continued after the war, when the state deliberately developed it and thus gained people's support. Sociability comprises two concepts: group work and cultural events. What spoiled the rural idyll in this period? In terms of tangible elements, these were the decay of architectural heritage and afforestation. Among the intangible elements of cultural landscape, this was the authorities, which used various measures to interfere with the rural

structure, in which it is important to note that the representatives of authority were not locals. Numerous measures taken in connection with the regulation of ownership relationships, agricultural reform, and nationalization, to name only the most important, greatly agitated the countryside and interrupted the usual patterns of work and social life. The rural idyll was also spoiled by the modern lifestyle. Motorization and individualization do not help preserve and maintain sociability and connectedness, or take into account the rhythm of nature. At the same time, the introduction of machinery into agricultural production interrupted the tradition of group farm chores (Urbanc 2007).

The story about the **landscape of gender** is based on two main concepts: the female landscape and gender status. In the center of the first concept is the woman, who was responsible for earning additional income that was often crucial for survival. Female routes were characterized by three concepts: survival, hard work, and walking, which were the principle elements of their active lives. A landscape that accompanies the descriptions of their travels is a reflection of their lives and current mood. It became part of the women and they became part of the landscape. The other main concept, gender status, refers to women and their place in the landscape. The status of women was determined in advance. They led their lives in line with the expected social roles. Poverty forced girls to develop early and become emancipated; emancipation was necessary and valued at the same time because it enabled the girls to decide their own destiny. Traveling represented the highest level of emancipation because women were able to escape constant male supervision. When they set out on a journey, they entered the public sphere and thus acquired new rights. Their return home meant a return to the personal sphere, to their house and village with limited rights and clearly established boundaries of what was acceptable. Male rights exceeded female rights significantly. Sexual discrimination started at birth because sons were much more desired than daughters. Even in inheritance, women were clearly discriminated against. In addition, labor was also divided by gender. Male work covered only farming tasks, although the land alone did not enable survival. Even additional male chores were connected to land cultivation only, except for transport and crushing rocks (Sln. *delanje batude*) for gravelling the roads.

The postwar period brought many changes that affected the image of femininity within the context of spatial practices. After a period of the inertia, female activities from the prewar period were preserved,



Figure 3: One aspect of female landscape predominates: the egg merchants from the Šavriini Hills, known as *Šavrinke*. Because they had an exotic touch, they were an attractive topic for writers. The traveling women were ascribed a series of characteristics, especially decisiveness, vagrancy, and courage, because they traveled between different worlds, each having their own specific perils.

but their form changed and only lasted a short time. The only two activities that survived were growing and selling vegetables, which spread widely during the 1960s, when the border regime was relaxed. However, at that time this activity was no longer exclusively a female domain. This was probably connected with the mechanization of agriculture and its modernization. Manual production was replaced by the use of machines, in which men were at the forefront (Urbanc 2007).

Istrian society was extremely mobile and dynamic, which was connected with its hard struggle for survival. A **landscape as accessibility and mobility** is presented on the basis of three main concepts: the administrative system, traffic and communication, and flows of people and goods. The administrative system between the two world wars forced people into additional mobility because the new routes did not overlap with the previously used trade routes. The second group of concepts is connected with traffic and communications. Three rail lines and a shipping route connected Istria with the rest of the world. After the Trieste-Poreč rail line was abandoned, a bus line was also introduced, but it was expensive and therefore nearly inaccessible. Walking and riding on horse-drawn carts were thus the most frequent means of travel. Walking in particular was a way of life (walking with a donkey or carrying a basket on one's head). The distance from the towns and the amount of walking required to maintain contact with the towns were the main reasons for spatial differentiation, which had its own value system. Inhabitants of villages close to the towns ranked higher on the value scale than inhabitants of remote villages. The third group of concepts refers to the category of labor and trade flows. These were both directed towards the coastal towns, especially Trieste and Koper. The most important town for shopping was Koper, although the majority of trade contacts were established with Trieste. The majority of concepts in this section refer to the concept of selling. The sale of agricultural products was the main motive for mobility during this period. All of the sales channels led towards the coastal towns and Trieste; only the sale of bread deviated from this general scheme due to the electric-powered mills and bakeries in Trieste.

After the Second World War, the new boundaries cut into the essence of the Istrian society – that is, its mobility and maintenance of contacts. At the same time, this restricted mobility severely decreased the opportunities to make a living and thus caused great dissatisfaction among people. The formal reasons are connected with the administrative organization. The new demarcation defined new spatial connections; by being incorporated into the Municipality of Sežana, the inhabitants of northeastern Istria had to change some of their official routes (e. g., connected with the arrangement of documents, weddings, and so on).

The second group of concepts is connected with traffic and communications. Immediately after the war, the situation in this regard was similar to before the war or even worse. After 1954, when industry started developing in the coastal towns (especially Koper), traffic infrastructure also began to improve. Now accessibility by bus defined the value scale, which affected the landscape. Villages without a bus connection were affected by accelerated and more pronounced depopulation. Mobility and accessibility were newly defined by the development of passenger transport. Motorization is closely connected with roads. The incorporation of Istria into Yugoslavia and its isolation from Trieste resulted in the formation of new interregional connections. Motorization and abandonment of walking as a method of traveling long distances resulted in abandoned and overgrown walking trails. After the political crisis connected with the Free Territory of Trieste was over and the border regime relaxed in the early 1960s, the old trade routes, which had never been fully abandoned, started being used again. Trieste preserved its role, but on a smaller scale because the countryside was affected by strong depopulation and abandonment of farming. The majority of people found work in the towns on the Slovenian coast, especially in Koper, which developed into a regional center. Trieste thus provided additional opportunities for sales and unreported income, and was known as a shopping center where good deals could be made (Urbanc 2007).

The most important role of a town in the **town-countryside relationship** is to create opportunities or sources for making a living. Between the two world wars, the role of towns, especially Trieste, was even more important because this was a large and economically well-developed city, whereas the countryside was poor due to natural conditions (especially the fragmented land), unfavorable land ownership structure, backward property conditions, and outdated cultivation methods. The towns and the countryside were closely connected. Their activities were interconnected and complemented one another and thus facilitated people's lives in both environments. This interconnectedness created a well-functioning coexistence and stability. Towns influenced the economic and social development of the countryside and the formation and maintenance of social categories. Differences between the town and the countryside were based



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Figure 4: The village and the traditional Istrian house are important elements of the Istrian idyll, and their decline is creating a feeling of alienation.

on work activity and its scope, and subsequently also on lifestyle. Although they offer various opportunities, towns, especially Koper, are sometimes also understood as enemies or the personification of the authorities that wish to destroy the small Istrian farmer. The relationship between the town and the countryside reveals a further dimension; the relationship between the sea and its hinterland. The sea was connected with the towns, and therefore it was foreign, just as the towns (especially those that are Slovenian today) were foreign. In contrast to these towns, Trieste was considered an economic center and a city in which Istrians earned their living. In addition, Istrians felt better and more at home in Trieste due to its multi-ethnic and multicultural character.

The measures taken after the Second World War not only affected the direction and scope of this contact, but also the countryside itself. After all of Slovenian Istria as far as Trieste and eastern Istria were cut off from the towns on the Slovenian coast, the opportunities to make a living were reduced or completely eliminated. People experienced this as encroachment on their fundamental right to survive and make a better life for themselves. The issue was that someone »from above« that often belonged to »them« (in contrast to »us«) was striving to force people to adopt new mental patterns. With the absence of suitable alternatives, people naturally resisted. Therefore, the traditional attachment and life needs found their own paths and defined the town-countryside relationship anew. After 1954, the towns on the Slovenian coast once more created a uniform and connected space. The relationships were thus reestablished, although in a slightly altered form. Because of their economic development, towns attracted settlement by the rural population, which resulted in a concentration of the population in them. At the mental level, towns only became accessible to Slovenians after the Second World War. Previously they only represented the destination of a daily or weekly commute; however, now they became homes. Nonetheless, a negative attitude towards towns could still be perceived, although it was built on different grounds. Italians were replaced by Yugoslavs and non-Istrian Slovenians, and the sea was still not part of their cognitive map (Urbanc 2007).

4 Vertical stories about the landscape

Horizontal layers are cut through by vertical layers, which further elucidate the field of study. They show that the landscape is not merely what is seen, but primarily what is comprehended; that it is a story created in the minds of those that live there.

First of all, the **tendentiousness** or **prejudice** of the texts should be highlighted. Individuals' comprehension of any phenomenon is the result of their personal views and the cultural environment they come from. They select all the information and distort it according to their own personality and world views. Their landscape image is selective; it can be very close to reality or far from it. Let us assume that the most twisted was the image of the period between the two world wars and the role of fascist ideology. This can be confirmed by the use of the term »occupation« during this period, although the annexation of western Slovenia to the Kingdom of Italy was a completely legitimate act approved by internationally recognized agreements.

The second vertical layer is represented by the **imbalance of periods and contents**. Some topics and periods are covered in more detail than others. In some way, this layer is connected with the previous one and, at the same time, it is an important piece of information or indicator that reflects the attitude to a specific content or period and the recognition of its (in)significance.

The third vertical layer of the story about a landscape is the **idealization of the past**. Many texts analyzed describe the rural past or an attitude towards it. A trend of historicism has been present in Istria for decades now, although it seems that it has become stronger since Slovenia became independent. With chronological distance, the view of the past is changing as well. Istrians have always longed for the former regime and state, although it had many deficiencies and people were rather dissatisfied with it. In addition, specific concepts have lost their edge with distance. Poverty is frequently emphasized, but it seems as if it cannot or could not spoil the relationship between the people and the landscape.

The next vertical layer reveals a **discrepancy between the real and imagined landscape**. Changes in the real landscape occur faster than in the imagined landscape. People have not internalized these changes or marked them as negative (e. g., building on farmland, afforestation, loss of typical Istrian architectural elements, introducing new architectural elements, and abandoned terraces). The imagined landscape was sustained through romantic views that created an archetypal myth about the landscape. The romantic view equates Istria with a landscape. The attitude towards Istria is often expressed through the attitude towards the land. Most people considered a beautiful landscape to be a terraced landscape, crisscrossed with dry stone walls, neat pastures, and productive vineyards and orchards. This landscape myth is based on the past landscape. The past is comprised of youth, family and memories of one's home, and individual items on the itinerary of affiliation with the landscape. The past exists and is reproduced through numerous memories, which are about a small stone house, terraces, agriculture, family, tradition, holidays, and also hard work and a wild river. They all reflect a longing for times gone by and past landscapes. The attitude of people that still regard the landscape of the past as their intimate landscape is also connected with this. There is thus a discrepancy between the material changes and their comprehension.

5 Conclusion

This article summarizes a study in which a modern approach was selected to examine cultural landscapes and their dynamics. The researchers were not interested in the material aspects *per se*, but in people's comprehension and attitude to the landscape and its changes. The study was based on a postmodernist view, according to which a landscape is no longer merely a material reality, but a social and cultural document; reading it reveals the semantic layers and processes making up this document. In this case, this document is a border landscape resulting from a series of cultural, economic, and political interactions and processes that took place in the environment. Our understanding of the landscape is based on the relationship between two levels: the structure and form of the landscape, and the ascribed meaning and experiences that it has generated. A landscape is not neutral or passive, but continues to develop and be transformed through social and spatial relationships. Like any space, a landscape is thus also a product of cultural, social, political, and economic relations.

By using this method, which is a new approach in Slovenian geography, we sought to demonstrate and present contemporary methods of landscape study that are not yet known to Slovenian geography.

Our research proceeded from the essence of the cultural landscape – its complex nature and developmental dynamics – and relied upon the current idea of cultural geography; that is, understanding the landscape as a text. In order to establish the comprehension and ideas of landscape, the theory of social notions or representations was used. This further developed the established study of landscapes from the viewpoint of material elements. This article shows that landscapes can be also studied indirectly through texts that refer to their changes. This approach, which is based on the human comprehension of landscape, has expanded the selection of traditional content in cultural geography and provided an insight into the nonmaterial or intangible aspect of the landscape. The meanings that people ascribe to a landscape can undoubtedly compete with tangible landscape components in terms of their significance because people are its most important transformers.

The methodological approach selected and the method itself are suitable and appropriate for geographical study because they open an area that is becoming increasingly important not only in a theoretical sense, but especially a practical sense. They provide the opportunity to study attitudes towards the living environment and identification with the meanings of the landscape. This identification is the fundamental prerequisite for establishing a responsible attitude towards the landscape. The sense of belonging to a landscape, to which people ascribe a cultural and historical value and which they understand as the living space of their families and local community, is a guarantee that concern for one's own wellbeing will be joined by a concern for the landscape. Studying the attitude towards the landscape and taking into account the findings within development programs will enable the balanced development of the landscape and ensure its stability. In this area of Slovenian geography, there is still much room to maneuver because the realization that people's opinions are important is only now beginning to become accepted.

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Zgodbe o resnični in zamišljeni pokrajini: primer Slovenske Istre

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IZVLEČEK: Članek prikazuje kulturno pokrajino kot abstraktni koncept, kot rezultat ne zgolj zapletene odnosa med naravnim okoljem in človeško družbo, ampak tudi in predvsem kot rezultat dojetja ter subjektivnega gledanja. Pokrajina je zgodba o ljudeh, ki so jo ustvarili. Teoretičnemu delu, kjer vlečemo vzporednice med pokrajino in zgodbami, ki jih je ta pokrajina generirala, ter njihovo povezanost z geografskim znanjem, sledijo zgodbe o resničnih in zamišljenih pokrajinah iz slovenske Istre, kot so se izoblikovale po analiziranju obsežnega gradiva s pomočjo računalniškega programa ATLAS.ti in ob upoštevanju načel utemeljevalne teorije. S tem smo se približali holističnemu gledanju na pokrajino oziroma razumevanju pokrajine kot sistema materialnih in nematerialnih prvin ter procesov, ki jih usmerjajo.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: slovenska Istra, kulturna pokrajina, dojetje pokrajine, družbene predstave o pokrajini, pokrajinska dinamika, računalniški program ATLAS.ti, utemeljevalna teorija.

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»... Sčasoma je postala vodna gladina čudovita knjiga – knjiga, ki je bila nerazumljiva za neposvečenega potnika, ki pa je meni odpirala svojo dušo brez pridržkov in mi izročala svoje najbolj dragocene skrivnosti tako jasno, kakor bi jih pripovedovala na glas. In to ni bila knjiga, ki jo prebereš in potem vržeš proč, zakaj vsak dan je pripovedovala novo zgodbo. Vseh dolgih dvanajst tisoč milj ni bilo nikoli ene same strani, ki bi bila prazna, nobene strani, ki bi jo želel preskočiti, misleč, da boš na prihodnji strani našel kaj bolj zabavnega ali drugačnega ... Zdaj, ko sem obvladal govorico vode in sem spoznal vsak najmanjši obris na njenih bregovih kakor abecedo, sem veliko pridobil. Hkrati pa tudi izgubil. Izgubil sem nekaj, česar nismo mogle dobiti nazaj nikoli več v svojem življenju. Z mogočne reke je izginila vsa milina, vsa lepota in vsa poezija ...«

(Twain, 1961, 55)

1 Uvod: pokrajina ni zgolj tisto, kar vidimo, ampak je tudi konstrukt tistega sveta

Predmet našega preučevanja je pokrajina. Izraz pokrajina je od svojega nastanka pred stoletji do danes precej spremenil oziroma nadgradil pomen. V začetku 20. stoletja se je termin izoblikoval kot del ozemlja oziroma teritorija, ki ga oko lahko zaobjame (The dictionary 2000, 429–430), in bil kot vidni izraz človekovega okolja uveden v geografijo. Proučevanje kulturne pokrajine se je začelo s proučevanjem njenih oblik. Temelji na Sauerjevi berkeleyjski *pokrajinski šoli geografije* in na njegovi leta 1925 izdani monografiji z naslovom *The Morphology of Landscape* 'Morfologija pokrajine'. Pod njenim vplivom je Lewis napisal pozneje pogosto citirano definicijo: »... človeška pokrajina je naša nenamerna avtobiografija, ki v otipljivi obliki odseva naš okus, naše vrednote, naša pričakovanja in celo naše strahove ...« (Lewis 1979, 12)

Od Sauerja dalje je termin spreminjal vsebinski pomen in dobival nove dimenzije. Začetno »sliko« ali »image« so dopolnili procesi in funkcije, ki so to sliko ustvarili, in končno nadgradile ideje *nove kulturne geografije*, pod vplivom katerih naj bi proučevanje pokrajine preseglo zgolj morfološko analizo in postalo interpretativno. Pozornost se je usmerila na metaforične, ideološke, vrednostne in druge neoprijemljive kakovosti pokrajine. Kulturni pogled na pokrajino namreč pravi, da sveta ne moremo dojeti zgolj z objektivnim pristopom, ampak ga izkusimo in razumemo lahko edino s subjektivnim. Pokrajina se ne nanaša zgolj na fizično realnost, zlasti na okolje, ampak tudi na organizacijo in dojetanje družbenih, kulturnih, mislenskih, političnih in gospodarskih prvin človekovega obstoja. Tako je pokrajina tudi miselna institucija, simbol, odprta knjiga, ki nam omogoča, da prodremo v njeno notranjost in se seznanimo z njeno vsebino. Njeno branje nam odkriva številne zgodbe, prepletene s preteklostjo, ideologijo, življenjem ljudi tako kot plovba po Misisipiju.

Slika 1: Izraz pokrajina je od 17. stoletja dalje po zaslugi nizozemskih slikarjev *landschap* pomenil videz dolocenega ozemlja oziroma predstavo o sliki. Le kaj bi si mislili o sliki, kjer je hrana zamenjala slikarske barve?!

Glej angleški del prispevka.

Pod vplivom humanističnih in behaviorističnih idej je Cosgrove (1984, 13) pokrajino opredelil kot »način videnja«. S tem je pokrajina dobila novi dimenziji, in sicer kognitivno ter izkustveno, ki sta postali sredstvo in proizvod pokrajinske dinamike, uravnoveženosti, simbolizma, ideologije in identitete (Terkenli 2001, 201). Pokrajina je abstraktni koncept in kot taka rezultat dojetanja ter subjektivnega gledanja. Pokrajina je zgodba o ljudeh, ki so jo ustvarili. Vendar zgodba ni ena sama, zgodb je več. Zgodbe o pokrajini so neločljivo povezane z geografskim znanjem o njej. Pripoved oziroma zgodba, ki jo razumemo kot pripovedovanje in predstavo tako o resničnih kot zamišljenih krajih v besedilni obliki, ustvarja pomembno upodobitev in reprezentacijo geografskega znanja (de Leeuw 2003/2004, 20). To geografsko znanje omogoča ustvarjanje novega geografskega znanja, pri čemer znanstvena in strokovna besedila služijo kot okvir za ustvarjanje kritične distance in umeščanje zaznavnega dojetanja v objektivno sfero. Besedilo in jezik razumemo kot način predstavitve sveta in način, da se svet ima za takega, kot je (Dwyer, Limb 2001, 30).

Če pokrajino razumemo kot zgodbo, je navdse uporaben pristop za njeno preučevanje razumevanje pokrajine kot besedila. Pokrajina je besedilo, ki ga je napisala (oblikovala) družba. To besedilo berejo in interpretirajo tako strokovnjaki (znanstveniki) kot tisti, ki pokrajino uporabljajo. Ideja, ki je v ozadju omenjene metafore, je, da ljudje v pokrajino vtisnejo svoje mišljenje in vrednote prav tako, kot zlijejo svoja

čustva na papir. Posledično je pokrajino mogoče brati enako, kot je mogoče brati knjigo. Cosgrova (1984; 1989; 1990; 1992; 1993; 2002) in Duncanova dela (1990) preveva ideja, da dešifriranje pokrajinske simbolike pokaže, da so v pokrajino vtisnjena povsem ideološka in politična sporočila, ali pa je ta mogoče razbrati iz določenih pokrajin.

Bistvo dojemanja pokrajine kot besedila je, da je pokrajina vse manj konkretna in vidna ter vse bolj subjektivna, saj se fizični in strukturni vidiki umikajo simbolnim vrednotam. V tem oziru je pokrajina zunanji svet, kot ga posreduje človekova izkušnja (Whyte 2002, 17). Pokrajina ni sestavljena le iz tistega, kar leži pred našimi očmi, ampak tudi tistega, kar je v naših glavah (Whyte 2002, 7), torej ni več tisto, kar vidimo; je konstrukt tistega sveta. Pokrajina je zato družbeni in kulturni proizvod, način videnja, projiciranega na svet. Zato nas zanima, kako pokrajine doživljamo, interpretiramo in predstavljamo. Branje je odvisno od gledalca, od njegovega osebnega pogleda in kulturnega okolja, iz katerega izhaja (Whyte 2002, 188). Vsak posameznik ima svojo osebnost in pogled na svet, ki filtrira in izmaliči informacije, kar vodi v selektiven vtis, kako je pokrajina videti. Pogled je lahko zelo blizu resničnosti ali pa zelo oddaljen (Whyte 2002, 7).

Vzporednice med pokrajino in besedilom sta nadgradila Barnes in Duncan, ki sta napisala, da so se: »... pojmi, kot so besedilo, diskurz in metafora, začeli pojavljati kot močni koncepti v zadnjih dveh desetletjih. Prvotno so se pojavljali v literarni kritiki, sedaj pa imajo dosti širši pomen ... v vedah, kot je geografija ...« (Barnes, Duncan 1992, 5) Po njunem se ta širši pomen nanaša na proučevanje pokrajine, kar je v temeljih povezano z besedili, pri čemer trdita, da: »... koncept besedila ... vključuje ... zemljevide in pokrajine ter tudi družbene, gospodarske in politične institucije ... Na kratko, vse tiste poteze določujejo pokrajino ...« (Barnes, Duncan 1992, 5–6)

Povezava, ki jo Barnes in Duncan razpredata med ustvarjanjem geografskega znanja in literarnimi študijami, se ne konča pri vrednotenju pokrajine kot besedila. »Branje« po njunem ni edina vzporednica med geografijo in literarnimi študijami, ampak tudi »pisanje« (Barnes in Duncan 1992, 6). Izraz geografija dejansko pomeni »opisovanje Zemlje«, saj v stari grščini *geo* pomeni »Zemlja« in *graph* »pisati« (Duncan, Duncan 1988, 117). Literarne stvaritve in pokrajinske analize, ki so eden od načinov spoznavanja pokrajine oziroma njenega razumevanja, so torej medsebojno povezane. Crang (1998, 49) pravi, da literarne pripovedi lahko odkrijejo, kako je prostor urejen in kako odnos do prostora oblikuje družbeno delovanje. Tako geografija kot literatura obsegata pisanje o krajih in prostorih. Obe sta proces označevanja, ki krajem pripisuje pomen v določenem družbenem kontekstu (Crang 1998, 44).

Ugotavljanje pomena pokrajine se začne s proučevanjem, kako lokalno prebivalstvo vidi pokrajino, kakšne oziroma katere pomene pripisujejo pokrajini in kako njihovo »branje« pokrajine prispeva k politiki interpretacije, ki sprejema družbene odnose v družbi ali njihovo preoblikuje (Duncan 1990, 17). Tukaj nastopi vprašanje hermenevtike, ki vključuje raziskovalčevo interpretacijo, kaj pokrajina pomeni tistim, ki jo proizvajajo, reproducirajo ali preoblikujejo. Hermenevtični pristop priznava zgodovinske, kulturne in intelektualne okvire referenc, ki jih raziskovalci uporabljajo pri svojih interpretacijah, in vlogo, ki jo te odigrajo v zgodovinskem proučevanju. Prav tako upošteva vidik »zdrave pameti«, to je vrednote, prepričanja in razlage. Že Giddens (1976, 316) je rekel, da ti niso dodatek človekovim aktivnostim, ampak njihov sestavni del. Svoje razglabljanje nadaljuje, da laično mnenje sicer ni opis družbenega sveta, je pa kot organiziran proizvod človekovih aktivnosti dober temelj za oblikovanje tega sveta (Giddens 1976, 316).

Lokalno gledanje na naravo in pomen pokrajine, ki je umeščeno v splošno kulturno logično in razumsko področje, se lahko razlikuje znotraj posamezne skupine ali med njimi. Zato je vedno mogoče pričakovati nasprotovanja v gledanju. Poleg tega je lokalni pogled vedno treba jemati s kritičnostjo, ki je neobhoden del znanstvenega pristopa. Pogled od zunaj dopolni lokalni pogled, ki je kot »surovina«, iz katere oblikujemo hermenevtično interpretacijo. Delo kulturnega geografa je torej, da pokaže, kako se lokalna zgodba umesti v sistem pomenov, povezanih z drugimi prviniami v kulturnem sistemu, proizvedenem znotraj družbenega reda (Duncan 1990, 18).

2 Analiza pokrajine prek besedil

Za ugotavljanje dojemanja in predstav o pokrajini smo uporabili teorijo družbenih predstav oziroma zastopništev in izbrali kvalitativno metodo, imenovano utemeljevalna teorija. Najpomembnejši vidik kvalitativnih metod je, da vidijo družbo in svet kot nekaj dinamičnega in spreminjajočega se, kot nekaj, kar se nepre-

stano oblikuje zaradi součinkovanja kulturnih, gospodarskih, družbenih in političnih procesov. Poudarek je na političnih oziroma ideoloških procesih na eni strani ter na odzivanju nanje, interpretiranju razumevanja in skupnih pomenov pokrajine na drugi strani.

Pokrajino smo analizirali s pomočjo besedil. Temeljni kriterij njihovega izbora je bil, da imajo prostorsko komponento oziroma so na tak ali drugačen način povezana z območjem raziskovanja. Naslednji vsebinski kriterij je bil, da govorijo o meji, njenem spreminjanju in vplivu na življenje ljudi. Besedila smo iskali s sistemom Cobiss in spletnim brskalnikom. Iskalna gesla so bila: Istra, Istrani, s(S)lovenska Istra, Primorje, Primorci, Koprsko primorje, Koprsko, o(O)bala, Šavrinija in izpeljanke. Poleg tega smo sistematično pregledali sledeče revije in zbirke, ki se nanašajo na slovensko Istro: Primorska srečanja, Annales, Acta Histriae, Brazde s trmuna in Istrske teme. V analizo smo poleg znanstvenih in strokovnih besedil vključili poljudne članke ter prozo in poezijo. Tudi najbolj osebna besedila, ki opisujejo dogodke posameznika in njegov subjektivni pogled na svet, so ogledalo časa, v katerem so nastala. Življenje so zaznamovale politične spremembe, ideologija in s tem povezane gospodarske spremembe, te so najbolj neposredno (pri)zadele posameznika in družbo. Tako so tudi osebne zgodbe dober vir preučevanja, saj temeljijo na osebnih izkušnjah in spominu, ki se oblikujejo v realnem svetu.

Izbrana besedila smo analizirali po postopkih *grounded theory* 'utemeljevalne teorije', imenovane tudi induktivna teorija (Mesec 1998, 33). Gre za raziskovalno metodo, s katero razvijamo teorijo, ki je utemeljevalna v zbranih in analiziranih podatkih. Posebej je primerna za raziskovanje kompleksnih fenomenov, kar kulturna pokrajina zagotovo je, in sicer z nenehnim iskanjem in proučevanjem povezav med pojmi v podatkih. Usmerjena je v odkrivanje novega in v oblikovanje teorije (Garau 2003). Slednje jo loči od preostalih metod, saj temelji na neprestanem povezovanju in prepletanju zbiranja podatkov ter njihovega analiziranja. Utemeljevalno teorijo lahko razumemo kot metodo in kot teorijo sočasno (Willig 2001; povzeto po Garau 2003).

V preteklosti so bili edini pripomočki pri tovrstnem analiziranju zgolj škarje, kopirni stroj in kup praznega papirja. V zadnjem času pa je na voljo vrsta računalniških programov, ki omogočajo izpeljavo kvalitativne analize. V tej nalogi smo uporabili program ATLAS.ti. Najpomembnejša in tudi edina prednost uporabe programa je, da olajša in pospeši mehanični vidik analize podatkov, ne da bi pri tem trpela fleksibilnost. Program omogoča, da se raziskovalec lahko bolj sproščeno poglobi v ustvarjalni vidik oblikovanja teorije. S programom ATLAS.ti smo analizirali 147 besedil, ki skupaj štejejo 3344 strani oziroma 6.189.564 znakov. Temeljna enota analize je koncept oziroma pojem, ki izhaja iz konceptualizacije podatkov, ne pa iz podatkov samih. Koncepte – kodirali smo jih več kot 1000 – smo združevali v sklope, kategorije ter iz njih oblikovali devet vsebinskih sklopov (konceptualnih omrežij), ki sestavljajo pojem pokrajina.

3 Slovenska Istra kot zgodba o pokrajini

Rezultat obsežnega analiziranja besedil je razkril devet kategorij pokrajine, ki jih lahko enačimo z zgodbami, ki so jih ljudje izoblikovali v svojem odnosu do pokrajine: odnos do naravnih prvin pokrajine; pokrajina in stiki s sosednjimi območji; kmetijska pokrajina; pokrajina kot pripadnost; odtujenost od pokrajine; pokrajina kot podeželska idila; pokrajina spolov, pokrajina kot dostopnost in mobilnost in pokrajina kot odnos med mestom in podeželjem.

Zgodba o pokrajini se začne z **odnosom do naravne pokrajine**, ki vsebuje več podzgodb: ideja o naravi, življenje v naravi, prilagoditvene strategije in potrebe ter vrednostni sistem. Središče odnosa do narave med obema svetovnima vojnama je bila obdelovalna zemlja, poleg nje pa tudi vse prvine naravne pokrajine, ki so omogočale preživetje. Mozaik preživetja je bil namreč neločljivo prepleten z vsemi vidiki okolja, saj je šlo za družbo s tesnimi stiki z naravo. Prilagajanje naravnim danostim je bilo ključno. Kljub – ali pa ravno zato – garanju, kljub dejstvu, da je bil boj za preživetje hoja po robu in da je ena sama malenkost, naravna nesreča na primer, pomenila zdrsa, so naravo spoštovali in jo varovali ter z njo spletli skoraj intimne vezi. Prav tako so spoštovali vse živali, ne le tistih, od katerih so imeli koristi. Posebej cenili so domače živali, s katerimi so delili žalostno usodo. Pripisovali so jim podobne lastnosti kot sebi. Za arhaično kmečko družbo, kakršne je istrska nedvomno bila, je značilna tudi ljudska modrost; povezana z naravnimi razmerami. V besedilih sta izpostavljena dva vidika, in sicer poznavanje oziroma pripisovanje zdravilnih učinkov nekaterim vodnim izvirov ter napovedovanje vremena. Zanimivo je, da se pogosto navaja, da je Istra kraška, čemur sledi namig na revščino.

Po drugi svetovni vojni se je pomen koncepta zemlja postopoma manjšal. Glavna razloga sta bila izsejvanje in deagrarizacija. Kmetijstvo se je umikalo industrijskim in drugim dejavnostim, ki so nudile (boljši) kruh nekdanjemu kmečkemu prebivalstvu. Odmik od narave in spremenjen odnos med človekom in naravo sta povzročila spremembe naravnega okolja. V tem obdobju najpogosteje nastopa pojem zaraščanje, poleg tega še propad kulturnih teras, pozebe, naravne nesreče zaradi neposrečenih človekovih posegov v naravo in onesnaževanje. Pojavi se velikopotezno kultiviranje. Odmik od naravnega okolja je tudi posledica spremenjenega življenjskega stila. Potrebe po zasebnosti in razgledu so razlog, da je gradbeništvo močno poseglo v okolje. Naselja so se razširila iz svojih ostro začrtanih meja na okoliške, nekdanj kmetijske površine. Razpršena gradnja je precej spremenila podobo Istre (Urbanc 2007, 91–125).

Stiki s sosednjimi območji so se oblikovali prek migracij ter inovacij. V obdobju med obema svetovnima vojnima je nova politična stvarnost sprožila obsežen tok migracij, ki so bile reakcija na gospodarsko krizo in narodnostno zatiranje. Želja po preživetju oziroma boljšemu življenju je bila najpogostejši razlog za migracije. Migracijski tokovi so zajeli le zaledje Istre, ne pa obalnih mest, ki so bila takrat še popolnoma italijanska. Istrane so – tako kot do priključitve Italiji – zasebne in gospodarske vezi pogosto vodile v Trst. Trst je bil obenem tudi vir inovacij, ki so se širile brez posrednikov. Vendar prinašalci sprememb niso bili vsi člani družbe, ampak izbrani posamezniki, privilegirani ali prisiljeni v navezovanje stikov in njihovo ohranjanje. Hierarhični stiki so potekali večinoma prek žensk, ki so dnevno ali tedensko potovale v Trst. Bile so medij, s katerim so se prenašale prvine druge kulture. Med moškimi je ta vloga pripadla prodajalcem sena in tovarnikom. Jajčarice so opravljale vlogo dvojnega medija, ne zgolj za lastno družbo, ampak tudi za družbo hrvaške Istre.

Obdobje po drugi svetovni vojni se je začelo z vrsto sprememb, ki so vrhunec doživele sredi petdesetih let prejšnjega stoletja. Politična negotovost in spreminjanje upravne razdelitve ter napetosti med Jugoslavijo in Italijo, ki jih je gnalo ideološko nasprotje in podžigalo sovraštvo, so povzročili intenzivno gibanje prebivalstva. Prvi vzrok je bila velika revščina, ki je sledila svetovni moriji. Za mnoge, zlasti za mlade, je bil takrat Trst edini izhod. Mesta na današnji slovenski obali takrat še niso bila zanimiva, saj so ravno tako doživljala gospodarsko krizo, predvsem zaradi ukinitve proizvodnje in prenosa industrijske opreme v notranjost Slovenije. Takoj po drugi svetovni vojni je Trst obdržal vlogo centra inovacij, vendar se je v skladu z novo državno tvorbo in upravno ureditvijo njegova vloga začela nasilno manjšati. Nova meja kot ideološka ovira naj bi preprečila prehod starih fašističnih in novih idej anglo-ameriškega kapitalizma. Cilj je bila popolnoma nepropustna meja, ki ne bo dovoljevala nikakršnega prehajanja vplivov, idej in inovacij z druge strani. Vlogo Trsta so začela prevzemati obalna mesta, zlasti Koper kot regionalno središče (Urbanc 2007, 125–143).

Kmetijska pokrajina je zgodba o pokrajini, ki je najbolj izrazita in prepleta vse ostale zgodbe. Razloga sta dva. Prvi je v odločilni vlogi kmetijstva pri oblikovanju kulturne pokrajine. Drugi razlog je ta, da gre – vsaj do druge svetovne vojne – za izrazito kmetijsko pokrajino in zato pojem kmetijstvo seže skoz vse vidike kulture. Njegova vsebina je raznolika in obsega številne vidike: prebivalstvo, migracije, ljudsko in popularno kulturo, narodnost, naselbinsko mrežo, gospodarstvo, politiko in kmetijske dejavnosti.

Podoba kmetijske pokrajine so oblikovali zemljiška razdrobljenost, mestoma neugodne naravne razmere, agrarna prenaseljenost, pomanjkanje investicij, spremenjene tržne razmere zaradi političnih sprememb in ukrepi uradne politike. Kljub temu, da je Istra že prestopila mejo maksimalne obdelanosti, je bila to še povsem kmetijska pokrajina. Kmetijstvo je dajalo pečat življenju v Istri; vplivalo je na mobilnost, vzpostavljjanje stikov, na prehrabne navade, na ljudsko zdravilstvo, ženitne vzorce, arhitekturne prvine, določevalo je položaj posameznika v družbi, odnos med mesti in podeželjem. Kmetijske dejavnosti so posledica sredozemskega podnebja in reliefnih razmer. Terasirana pobočja so preraščali vinogradi in oljčni nasadi, manj ugodne površine so dajale hrano domačim živalim.

Drugi svetovni vojni je sledil pretres na prebivalstvenem področju, tega so spremljali še drugi dejavniki. Kmetijstvo je izgubilo prvenstveno vlogo, poleg tega ni bilo več delovne sile za obdelovanje zemlje na način, da bi se ohranjale tradicionalne prvine. Na istrskem podeželju se je zgodila diferenciacija; na eni strani so obsežna območja v odmaknjenih in težje dostopnih delih doživela depopulacijo in deagrarizacijo ter s tem propad kulturne pokrajine, na drugi strani pa se je obalni pas hitro razvijal in se preoblikoval v multifunkcijsko območje, kjer se prepletajo različne dejavnosti in se borijo za svoj življenjski prostor. Sodobni razvoj kmetijstva v naravno ugodnejših predelih teži k preseganju naravne pestrosti pokrajine, kar vodi v homogenost, v večje površine brez vmesnih motečih prvin. Odvisnost od naravnih sposobno-

sti postaja vse manjša. Obenem se hitro spreminjajo druge prvine kulturne pokrajine, še najbolj naselbinske in arhitekturne (Urbanc 2007, 144–185).

Osrednji koncept **pokrajine kot pripadnosti** je topofilija, ki ima lahko različne oblike. Je lepota in je edinstvenost. Topofilijo sestavljata dva koncepta, in sicer občutek kraja (ang. sense of place) ter navezanost. Oba temeljita na posebnih kakovostnih prvinah pokrajine, na katerih je zgrajen človekov odnos do kraja. Navezanost razumemo kot odnos do nekaterih ključnih oprijemljivih točk, ki sestavljajo kraj, to so dom, vas, domovina in zemlja.

Občutek kraja omogoča definiranje sebe s krajem in pokrajino. Oblikuje se z odnosom do njega; kodiranje je odkrilo štiri tipe odnosa: biografski, odvisen, ideološki in pripoveden, ki jih je pogosto težko ločiti, saj je odnos do kraja zelo kompleksen. Najpogosteje se pojavlja biografski odnos, ki obsega osebno zgodovino, povezano s krajem. Zgrajen je na spominih, ustvarjalnosti, ponosom nad lastništvom, povezanosti z življenjskim okoljem in izkušnjami. Odvisni odnos se je oblikoval z vključitvijo Istre v Kraljevino Italijo, ko je domovina zaradi številnih omejitev in zatiranja postala tuja. Pripovedni odnos je zgrajen na zgodbah, ki jih nekdo pozna o kraju. Stalnica vseh teh zgodb je tisočletna zgodovina Istre, z vsemi zavojevalci ter državami, ki so nastajale in izginjale. Ideološki odnos temelji na zavestnih vrednotah in prepričanju, kakšen odnos bi ljudje morali imeti do kraja. Povezuje se z odvisnim odnosom oziroma je odgovor nanj. Ideološki odnos v Istri se je izoblikoval na osnovi zgodovinskega spomina in izkušenj, zato je vedno pristen strah pred zavojevalci, pred izgubo morja in pred neustreznim ravnanjem z zemljo (Urbanc 2007, 185–206).

Slika 2: Poleg trte je oljka najbolj značilen in najpogostejši simbol slovenske Istre. Igra pomembno vlogo v tako v resnični kot tudi zamišljeni pokrajini.

Glej angleški del prispevka.

V Istri so glavni vzrok **odtujitve od pokrajine** ideologije družbenoekonomskih ureditev, ki so se tod menjavale. Ideologija določene ureditve sama po sebi ne povzroči odtujitve, marveč je ta stranski učinek pogostih preobratov. V obdobju med obema svetovnima vojnoma je nova država Istri pripisala pomembno vlogo pri izvajanju svoje nacionalistične politike. Italijanizacija je bila usmerjena proti trem »ciljnimi skupinam«: slovenskemu jeziku, različnim društvom in izobražencem. Obenem je Italija posegla tudi v tradicijo istrskega podeželja: prepoved petja in spodbujanje neustreznih kultur; slednje je vodilo v propad kmetij. Zaradi tesne navezanosti na zemljo je jasno, da je propad kmetij pripomogel k občutku odtujenosti. Ponos nad lastništvom sta zamenjala zagrenjenost zaradi neuspeha in srd nad sistemom kot krivcem za ta nezavidljivi položaj. To je vodilo v fizično odtujitev od pokrajine, v odseljevanje.

V obdobju po drugi svetovni vojni je bila odtujitev posledica totalitarnega režima in odnosa do sprememb, ki so bile generator razvoja in napredka. Prejšnji totalitarni režim je zamenjal nov z novo ideologijo, ki je bridko zarezala v utečene tradicionalne vzorce. V nekaterih področjih še globlje, saj je posegla v pomembno sfero, to je na področje lastniških odnosov ter kmetijstva nasploh in na mobilnost. Ukrepi v kmetijstvu so ustvarjali vrsto nepravilnosti, krivic, kar je pri ljudeh vzbujalo številne travme, zagrenjenost, sovraštvo, saj so jih odtujili od zemlje ali prevrednotili njihov odnos do nje. Mobilnost se nanaša ne prekinitve ustaljenih poti zaradi nove meje in ideologije; šlo je za kratenje osebne svobode. Nasploh je bilo obdobje zaznamovano s politično negotovostjo in nasiljem, ki ljudem nista dovoljevala, da bi si uredili življenje v skladu s svojimi željami in potrebami. Ideologija je vnašala v prostor nove vsebine, tuje in nerazumljive, te so v ljudeh porajale strah in dvome. Vse to je vodilo v proces, ki je na ravni osebnih strategij porajal občutek odtujenosti, opuščanje kmetijstva. Nekateri kmetje so zaposlitev v tovarni občutili kot fizično odtujenost. Pravo fizično odtujitev pa so povzročile migracije; ljudje so odhajali in pretrgali vez s pokrajino, novo pokrajino, ki je niso poznali in je niso hoteli spoznati, ker to ni bila več njihova pokrajina. Odtujenost je bila posledica tudi družbenih in gospodarskih razmer. Konec šestdesetih let se je začel spreminjati vrednostni sistem v samem kmetijstvu. Prebivalcem mlajše generacije, ki so se preživljali z kmetijskimi dejavnostmi, zemlja ni več pomenila središče povezanosti s pokrajino. Kmetijske površine so se začele zaraščati ali spreminjati v grajeni prostor, kar je v starejših porajalo občutke izgubljenosti, odtujenosti. Poznan in domač svet je izginjal (Urbanc 2007, 206–221).

Zgodba o **pokrajini kot podeželski idili** v obdobju med obema svetovnima vojnoma med otipljivimi prvinami kulturne pokrajine poleg obdelane zemlje temelji na strnjenih vaseh in majhni, kamniti hiši. To so bila prizišča skupinskega življenja. Za samo oblikovanje idile je neotipljivi del pokrajine pomembnejši,

saj obsega socialne vezi, ki ustvarjajo skupnost, in občutek pripadnosti. Družabnost, ljudsko petje, praznovanje, skupinsko delo in večerna srečavanja, igra pri tem pomembno vlogo. Pomemben vidik podeželske idile je bil čut za skupnost in umirjeno življenje, kjer sta čas opredeljevala zgolj menjavanje dneva in noči ter menjavanje letnih časov z vmesnimi mejniki, prazniki. Na dojemanje idile podeželja in življenja na njem so vplivali redni stiki s Trstom.

Idila je povezana z vključevanjem zaželenega, dobrega, spoštovanega ter izključevanjem nezaželenega in slabega. Kdo oziroma kaj ni bilo vključeno v podeželsko idilo oziroma kaj je popačilo idilo? V prvi vrsti je bila to oblast, ta je s številnimi ukrepi, zlasti na področju narodnostnega zatiranja in gospodarske politike ljudem grenila življenje. Oblast so predstavljali karabinjerji, ti so bili *rural others*, 'podeželski drugi' (drugačni) in zato izključeni iz socialnega življenja na vasi. Podeželska idila je bila tako »rezervirana« zgolj za Slovence.

Med otipljivimi prvinami kulturne pokrajine v besedilih, ki opisujejo obdobje po drugi svetovni vojni, zasledimo koncepta obdelana zemlja in združni dom. Prvi se redko pojavlja in še to ne neposredno, ampak posredno v nostalgiji in spominih na minuli čas ter nekdanjo pokrajino. Pojem združni dom se pojavlja pogosto, največ v povezavi z udarniškim delom. Tako so združni domovi postali nova prvina, ki naj bi na novo definirala središča vasi in preusmerila tokove podeželskega prebivalstva. Med neotipljive prvine pokrajine prištevamo koncepta družabnost in čut za skupnost. Čut za skupnost se je iz predvojnega obdobja ohranil v povojno, ko ga je država načrtno razvijala in tako pridobivala naklonjenost ljudi. Družabnost obsega dva koncepta, in sicer skupinsko delo ter kulturne prireditve.

Kaj je v tem obdobju kvarilo podeželsko idilo? V sferi otipljivih prvin sta bila to propad stavbne dediščine in zaraščanje. V sferi neotipljivih prvin kulturne pokrajine je bila to najprej oblast, ta je z raznimi ukrepi posegala v strukturo podeželja, pri čemer je pomembno, da so bili oblastniki nedomačini. Le ti so bili navadno, tujci in pogosto osovraženi med domačini. Številni ukrepi s področja urejanja lastniških odnosov, agrarna reforma in nacionalizacija, če naštejemo samo najpomembnejše, so dobobra razburkalo podeželje ter prekinili ustaljene vzorce dela in družabnosti. Podeželsko idilo je pokvaril tudi sodoben način življenja. Motorizacija in individualizacija nista v prid ohranjanju in vzdrževanju družabnosti, povezanosti in upoštevanju ritma narave. Uvajanje strojev v kmetijsko pridelavo je obenem prekinilo tradicijo skupinskih kmečkih opravil (Urbanc 2007, 221–230).

Zgodba o **pokrajini spolov** temelji na dveh osrednjih konceptih: ženski pokrajini in položaju spolov. V središču prvega koncepta je ženska, ki je bila odgovorna za pridobivanje dodatnih sredstev; ta so bila mnogokrat odločilnega pomena za preživetje. Vse dodatne aktivnosti so se razvile izključno zaradi bližine Trsta in rednih stikov z njim. Ženske poti so zaznamovali trije koncepti: preživetje, garanje in hoja, ki so rdeča nit njihovega aktivnega življenja. Prevladuje en vidik ženske pokrajine, in sicer jajčarice oziroma šavrinke. Zaradi pridiha eksotičnosti so bile hvaležna in privlačna tema za literarno ustvarjanje. Ženskam pótovkam so pripisovali vrsto lastnosti, zlasti pa odločnost, potepuštvu in pogum, saj so potovale med različnimi svetovi; vsak s svojimi nevarnostmi. Pokrajina, ki spremlja opise njihovih potovanj, ni nevtralna. Je odraz njihovega življenja in njihovega trenutnega razpoloženja. Poleg tega je pokrajina postala del žensk in one so bile del pokrajine.

Drugi osrednji koncept je položaj spolov. Nanaša se na ženske in njihov prostor v pokrajini. Položaj žensk je bil določen vnaprej. Njihovo življenje je potekalo v skladu s pričakovanimi družbenimi vlogami. Položaj žensk je izhajal iz dejavnosti, s katero so se ukvarjale in ki je prinašala tako zaželeno ter nujno potrebne italijanske lire. Gospodarski položaj Istre, zlasti revščina, je silil dekleta v zgodnjo zrelost in emancipacijo. Osamosvojitve je bila nujna in obenem cenjena, saj so dekleta s tem sama odločala o svoji usodi. Najvišja stopnja emancipacije je bilo potovanje; takrat se je ženska izvila izpod stalnega nadzora moškega, najprej očeta in nato moža. Ko se je podala na pot, je namreč prestopila v javno sfero in s tem pridobila nove pravice, saj so v tem svetu veljale drugačne družbene norme. Vrnitev domov pa je obenem pomenila tudi vrnitev v zasebno sfero, v dom in vas z omejenimi pravicami in jasno postavljenimi mejami sprejemljivega.

Moške pravice so močno presegale ženske. Spolna diskriminacija se je začela že pri rojstvu, saj so bili sinovi mnogo bolj zaželeni kot hčerke, zato so bile ženske pogosto pod velikim pritiskom pričakovanja moškega potomca. Tudi pri dedovanju je prihajalo do očitnega razlikovanja. S spolom je bila povezana delitev dela. Moško delo je obsegalo zgolj kmečka opravila, četudi zemlja sama ni omogočala preživetja. Tudi dodatno moško delo je bilo vezano na obdelovanje zemlje, razen prevozništva in »delanja batude«, to je dobljenja kamenja za nasipovanje cest. Sicer je bilo delo zunaj kmetije ženska obveznost.

Slika 3: V ženski pokrajini gre za izrazito prevlado jajčaric oziroma Šavrink. Zaradi pridiha eksoičnosti so bile privlačna tema za literarno ustvarjanje. Ženskam potovkam so pripisovali vrsto lastnosti, zlasti pa odločnost, potepuštvu in pogum, saj so potovale med različnimi svetovi; vsak s svojimi nevarnostmi. Glej angleški del prispevka.

Obdobje po drugi svetovni vojni je prineslo številne spremembe, te so vplivale na podobo ženskosti v kontekstu prostorskih praks. Ženske dejavnosti izpred druge vojne so se po inerciji sicer obdržale, vendar so trajale kratek čas in v spremenjeni obliki. Gojenje in prodaja zelenjave sta edina preživela in se razmahnila v šestdesetih letih, ko se je omilil mejni režim. Vendar takrat ta dejavnost ni bila več izključno v domeni žensk. Verjetno je bilo to povezano z mehanizacijo in modernizacijo v kmetijstvu. Ročno pridelovanje je zamenjala uporaba strojev, pri čemer so bili moški v ospredju (Urbanc 2007, 230–244).

Istrska družba je bila izjemno mobilna in dinamična, kar je povezano s težkim bojem za preživetje. **Pokrajino kot dostopnost in mobilnost** predstavljamo na podlagi treh osrednjih konceptov: upravne razdelitve, prometa ter komunikacije in tokov. Upravna razdelitev med obema svetovnjima vojnama je prisilila ljudi v dodatno mobilnost, saj se nove poti niso prekrivale z ustaljenimi trgovskimi potmi. Drugi sklop konceptov se povezuje s prometom in komunikacijami. Istra je bila s svetom povezana s tremi železniškimi progami in ladjo ter po ukinitvi proge Parenčane še z avtobusom, vendar je bila vožnja draga in zato skoraj nedostopna. Tako sta bili hoja in vožnja z vprežnimi vozovi najpogostejši način premagovanja ovir. Zlasti hoja je bila v bistvu način življenja; hoja ob oslu ali z jербasom na glavi. Oddaljenost od mest in količina potrebne hoje (truda) za vzdrževanje stikov z mesti sta bili povod za prostorsko diferenciacijo, ki je imela vrednostni predznak. Prebivalci vasi v bližini mest so bili višje na vrednostni lestvici kot prebivalci od mest oddaljenih vasi.

Tretji vsebinski sklop se navezuje na kategorijo tokovi; delovni in trgovski. Oboji so bili usmerjeni proti mestom na obali, zlasti Trstu in Koprju. Najpomembnejše mesto za opravljanje nakupov je bil Koper, kljub dejstvu, da je bilo največ trgovskih povezav s Trstom. Največ konceptov v tem poglavju je navezanih na pojem prodaja. Prodaja kmetijskih pridelkov je bila gibalna mobilnosti v tem obdobju. Vse prodajne poti so vodile v smeri obalnih mest in Trsta, edino prodaja kruha je odstopala od te splošne sheme, predvsem zato, ker so v tem času v Trstu zrasli električni mlinci in električne pekarnice.

Po drugi svetovni vojni je meja oziroma so meje zarezale v bistvo istrske družbe, v njeno mobilnost in gojenje stikov. Onemogočanje mobilnosti je obenem močno skrčilo možnosti za preživetje in zato vzbudilo val nezadovoljstva. Formalni razlogi so povezani z upravno razdelitvijo. Nova razmejitev je na novo definirala prostorske vezi; z vključitvijo v občino Sežana so prebivalci severovzhodnega dela morali preusmeriti del svojih formalnih poti, povezanih na primer z urejanjem dokumentov, porokami itd.

Drugi sklop konceptov se povezuje s prometom in komunikacijami. Takoj po vojni je bilo stanje podobno kot prej ali celo slabše. Po letu 1954, ko se je v obalnih mestih, zlasti Koprju, začela razvijati industrija, se je tudi prometna infrastruktura začela izboljševati. Dostopnost z avtobusom je tokrat opredeljevala vrednostno lestvico, ki je imela implikacije v pokrajini. Vasi brez povezave z avtobusnimi linijami je prizadela hitrejša in intenzivnejša depopulacija. Razmah osebne prometa je na novo opredelil mobilnost in dostopnost. Motorizacija je tesno povezana s cestami. Vključitev Istre v avnojsko Jugoslavijo in odrezanost od Trsta sta na novo oblikovali medregionalne povezave. Motorizacija in opustitev hoje kot načina premagovanja razdalj sta vodili v opuščanje pešpoti ter njihovo zaraščanje.

Po koncu politične krize, povezane s STO, in po sprostitvi mejnega režima v začetku šestdesetih let so se stare trgovske vezi, ki v celoti nikoli niso bile prekinjene, začele obnavljati. Trst je ohranil svojo vlogo, vendar v zmanjšanem obsegu, saj sta podeželje prizadeli močna depopulacija in deagrariacija. Večina ljudi je dobila zaposlitev v mestih na slovenski obali, še zlasti v Koprju, ta se je razvil v regionalno središče. Trst je tako nudil zgolj dodatne možnosti za prodajo in delo na črno ter bil center ugodnih nakupov (Urbanc 2007, 244–269).

Najpomembnejša vloga mesta v **odnosu med mestom in podeželjem** je v ustvarjanju možnosti oziroma virov preživetja. Vloga mest, še zlasti Trsta, je bila v obdobju med obema svetovnjima vojnama toliko pomembnejša, ker je bilo mesto veliko in gospodarsko dobro razvito, podeželje na drugi strani pa revno zaradi naravnih razmer, predvsem zaradi razdrobljene posesti, neugodne zemljiške strukture, zaostalih posestnih razmer in zastarelih načinov obdelovanja. Mesta in podeželje so bili tesno povezani. Njihove dejavnosti so se prepletale in dopolnjevale ter tako omogočale življenje ljudem v obeh realnostih. Ta prepletanost je ustvarila dobro delujoče sobivanje in stabilnost.

Mesta so vplivala na gospodarski in družbeni razvoj podeželja in na oblikovanje ter vzdrževanje družbenih kategorij. Razlike med mestom in podeželjem so temeljile tako na dejavnosti kot na obsegu dela in posledično na načinu življenja. Poleg številnih možnosti je mesto včasih razumljeno tudi kot sovražnik. Ljudje so ga včasih dojemali kot utelešenje oblasti, ki hoče uničiti malega istrskega kmeta. Odnos med mestom in podeželjem razkriva še eno razsežnost, in sicer odnos med morjem in zaledjem. Morje je bilo povezano z mesti in zato tuje, tako kot so bila mesta, zlasti današnja slovenska, tuja.

Slovensko istrsko podeželje je bilo povezano s štirimi mesti, Kopro, Izolo, Piranom in Trstom. Kljub določenim podobnostim je bila med Trstom in mesti na današnji slovenski obali precejšnja razlika, ne samo v velikosti, ampak tudi v njihovi strukturi. Kako so te razlike doživljali ljudje s kmečkega podeželja? Trst je veljal za gospodarsko središče, za mesto, v katerem Istrani služijo denar. Današnja slovenska mesta, še zlasti Koper, so dojemali kot središče oblasti, ki jih izžema. Poleg tega so se v Trstu počutili prijetneje, predvsem pa bolj domače. Domačnost in bližina sta temeljili na multietnični in multikulturni sestavi Trsta.

Slika 4: Vas in tradicionalna istrska hiša sta pomembni prvini istrske idile in njun propad povzroča občutek odtujenosti. Glej angleški del prispevka.

Ukrepi po drugi svetovni vojni niso prizadeli zgolj smeri ter obsega vezi, ampak tudi podeželje samo. Z odrezanostjo celotne slovenske Istre do Trsta in vzhodne Istre od mest na današnji slovenski obali so bile zmanjšane ali za del Istre popolnoma odpravljene možnosti za preživetje. Ljudje so jo doživljali kot poseg v svojo temeljno pravico do prizadevanja za preživetje in boljše življenje. Problem je bil v tem, da je nek do »od zgoraj«, ki je pogosto pripadal skupini »oni« (v nasprotju z »mi«), hotel prisiliti ljudi, da bi privzeli nove miselne vzorce. Ob odsotnosti ustreznih alternativ so se ljudje seveda upirali. Zato sta tradicionalna navezanost in življenjska nuja ubirali svoje poti ter na novo definirali odnos med mestom in podeželjem.

Po letu 1954 so mesta na slovenski obali ponovno tvorila enoten in povezan prostor z Istro, pa tudi državna meja med Italijo in Jugoslavijo se je sčasoma sprostila. Tako so se odnosi, sicer v rahlo spremenjeni in okrnjeni obliki, obnovili. Mesta so zaradi gospodarskega razvoja postala privlačna za naselitev podeželskega prebivalstva, kar je vodilo v koncentracijo prebivalstva v njih. Na mentalni ravni so mesta šele po drugi svetovni vojni postala dostopna Slovencem. Prej so bila samo cilj dnevne ali tedenske migracije, sedaj so postala dom. Kljub temu je še vedno mogoče zaznati negativni odnos do mesta, ki pa se je vzpostavil na novih temeljih. Italijane so zamenjali Jugoslovani in Slovenci – Neistrani. In morje še vedno ni del njihovega spoznavnega zemljevida (Urbanc 2007, 269–283).

4 Vertikalne zgodbe o pokrajini

Zgoraj omenjene zgodbe pokrajine so horizontalne zgodbe, ki kot plasti sestavljajo pojem pokrajine. So vsebinski sloji, ki lahko obstajajo kot individualni sloji – čeprav je v tem primeru njihovo razumevanje lahko okrnjeno – in obenem kot sestavni del celote. Vertikalne sloje sekajo horizontalni, ki dodatno osvetljujejo preučevano polje. So dokaz, da pokrajina ni zgolj videno, ampak predvsem dojeta, da je zgodba, nastala v glavah naseljencev.

Najprej bi izpostavili tendencioznost oziroma pristranskost besedil. Posameznikovo dojetje kate-regakoli fenomena je rezultat oziroma posledica njegovega osebnega pogleda in kulturnega okolja, iz katerega izhaja. Vse informacije selekcionira in izmalči glede na svojo osebnost in pogled na svet. Njegova slika pokrajine je selektivna; lahko je zelo blizu resničnosti ali zelo oddaljena od nje. Predvidevamo, da je najbolj popačena podoba obdobja med obema svetovnima vojnama in vloga fašistične ideologije. Potrditev tega najdemo v uporabi izraza okupacija za to obdobje, čeprav je bila priključitev zahodnega dela današnje Slovenije Kraljevini Italiji povsem legitimno dejanje, potrjeno z mednarodno priznanimi sporazumi.

Drugi vertikalni sloj v zgodbi o pokrajini je neuravnoteženost obdobj in vsebin. Nekatere teme in obdobja so natančneje pokriti kot drugi. Na nek način je ta sloj povezan s prejšnjim, obenem pa je to pomemben podatek oziroma pokazatelj, s katerim se odraža odnos do neke vsebine ali obdobja in priznavanje njene/njegove (ne)pomembnosti.

Tretji vertikalni sloj zgodbe o pokrajini je idealiziranje preteklosti. Veliko analiziranih besedil opisuje kmečko preteklost oziroma odnos do nje. Trend historicizma je v Istri prisoten že desetletja, čeprav se zdi, da je po osamosvojitvi Slovenije še posebej zaživel. Hkrati z distanco se spreminja pogled na preteklost. Istrani so vedno hrepeneli po prejšnji oblasti in prejšnji državi, čeprav je imela mnogo pomanjkljivosti

in so bili prej nezadovoljni z njo kot zadovoljni. Poleg tega so nekateri koncepti z oddaljenostjo izgubili ostrino. Revščina je zelo pogosto izpostavljena, vendar se zdi, kot da ne more oziroma ni mogla pokvariti odnosa med ljudmi in pokrajino.

Naslednji vertikalni sloj razkriva razkorak med resnično in zamišljeno pokrajino. Spremembe v resnični pokrajini so hitrejšje kot spremembe v zamišljeni pokrajini. Ljudje sprememb niso ponotranjili oziroma so jih ocenjevali negativno (pozidava plodne zemlje, zaraščanje, propad tipičnih istrskih arhitekturnih prvin, uvajanje novih arhitekturnih prvin, propad teras). Zamišljena pokrajina se je hranila s pomočjo romantičnega gledanja na Istro, ki je ustvarjalo arhetipski pokrajinski mit. Romantično gledanje na Istro je identično romantičnemu gledanju na pokrajino. Odnos do nje se pogosto uresničuje v odnosu do zemlje. Za večino je bila lepa pokrajina terasirana, prepredena s suhimi zidovi, lepo vzdrževanimi pašniki in plodnimi vinogradi ter sadovnjaki. Pokrajinski mit temelji na pretekli pokrajini. Preteklost pa so mladost, družina in spomini na dom, posamezne točke v itinerariju pripadnosti pokrajini. Preteklost obstaja in se reproducira skozi številne spomine. Govorijo o majhni, kamniti hiši, o terasah, kmetijstvu, družini, tradiciji, o praznikih, pa tudi o garanju in deroči reki. Iz vseh veje hrepenenje po minulih časih in minulih pokrajinah. S tem je povezan tudi odnos ljudi, ki za svojo intimno pokrajino še vedno štejejo pokrajino preteklosti. Prišlo je torej do zamika med materialnimi spremembami in njihovim dojetjem.

5 Sklep

Članek povzema raziskavo, v kateri smo se odločili za sodoben pristop preučevanja kulturnih pokrajin in njihove dinamike. Niso nas zanimali materialni vidiki *per se*, ampak dojetanje in odnos ljudi do pokrajine ter sprememb v njej. Izhajali smo iz postmodernističnega gledanja, ko pokrajina ni več samo materialna stvarnost, ampak družbeni in kulturni dokument, katerega branje omogoča razkritje pomenskih slojev in procesov, ki ta dokument sestavljajo. V našem primeru je ta dokument obmejna pokrajina kot rezultat vrste kulturnih, gospodarskih in političnih interakcij in procesov, ki so se odvijali v prostoru. Naše razumevanje pokrajine temelji na odnosu med dvema ravnema, kako je pokrajina sestavljena in oblikovana ter na pripisanem pomenu in izkušnjah, ki jih je generirala. Pokrajina ni nevtralna in pasivna, ampak se neprestano dograjuje in preoblikuje z družbenoprostorskimi odnosi. Zato je pokrajina kot vsak prostor proizvod kulturnih, družbenih, političnih in ekonomskih odnosov.

Z uporabljenimi metodami, ki je novost v slovenski geografiji, smo želeli pokazati oziroma nakazati sodobne in v slovenski geografiji še nepoznane načine preučevanja pokrajine. Pri delu smo izhajali iz bistva kulturne pokrajine, iz njene kompleksnosti in razvojne dinamičnosti ter se naslonili na aktualno idejo v kulturni geografiji, na razumevanje pokrajine kot besedila. Za ugotavljanje dojetanja in predstav o pokrajini smo uporabili teorijo družbenih predstav oziroma zastopništev. Tako smo presegli oziroma nadgradili doslej uveljavljeno preučevanje pokrajine z vidika materialnih prvin. V nalogi smo pokazali, da je pokrajino mogoče preučevati tudi posredno z besedili, ki se nanašajo na spremembe v pokrajini. Pristop, ki sloni na človekovem dojetanju pokrajine, je razširil nabor klasičnih vsebin v kulturni geografiji in odprl pogled v nematerialno, neotipljivo sfero pokrajine. Pomeni, ki jih ljudje pripisujejo pokrajini, se po pomembnosti zagotovo lahko kosajo z otipljivimi sestavinami pokrajine, saj so ljudje njen najpomembnejši preoblikovalec.

Članek lahko sklenemo z ugotovitvijo, da računalniško podprte kvalitativne analize besedil odpirajo vrsto možnosti tudi na področju geografije in sorodnih ved, še zlasti pri analiziranju obsežnejših odgovorov, intervjujev in leposlovja. Posebej primerne so za iskanje skritih pomenov. Njihova uporabnost vsekakor presega njihove pomanjkljivosti, kot so zamudnost digitaliziranja besedil, tako tiskanih kot zvočnih, kodiranja in oblikovanja konceptualnih omrežij.

Izbrani metodološki pristop in metoda sta ustrezna ter primerna za geografsko preučevanje, saj odpirata področje, ki postaja vse pomembnejše ne samo v teoretičnem vidiku, ampak zlasti v praktičnem. Nudita možnost za preučevanje odnosa do življenjskega okolja in identificiranja s pomeni pokrajine. Slednje je temeljni predpogoj za oblikovanje odgovornega odnosa do nje. Čut pripadnosti pokrajini, ki ji ljudje pripisujejo kulturno in zgodovinsko vrednost ter jo razumejo kot življenjski prostor svoje družine in lokalne skupnosti, je zagotovilo, da se bo skrbi za lastno dobro pridružila skrb za pokrajino. Preučevanje odnosa do pokrajine in upoštevanje ugotovitev v razvojne programe bodo omogočile uravnotežen razvoj pokrajine in zagotovile njihovo stabilnost. Na tem področju je v slovenski geografiji še veliko manevrskega prostora, saj se je spoznanje, da je mnenje ljudi pomembno, šele dobro začelo uveljavljati.

6 Literatura

Glej angleški del prispevka.