

Preživetje in gospodarstvo družine – socialna slojevitost in status

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Na začetku 20. stoletja je bilo v deželi suhe robe in lončarstva »čistih« kmečkih družin le peščica. Življenje posameznikov in družin na tem prostoru je bilo pretežno prepleteno s preživetvenimi strategijami, kot so kmetijstvo, gozdarstvo, lončarstvo, suhorobarstvo, zdomarstvo¹ ter zaposlovanje doma in v tujini. Tudi agrarna prenaseljenost in borna kraška zemlja sta povzročili kombinacijo kmetijstva z obrtjo.

Družina označuje osebe, ki so si v sorodu in živijo pod isto streho. K družini prištevamo tudi domače služabnike. V širšem pomenu gre za rodbinsko skupnost s hlapci, deklami, pestunjami, pomočniki in vajenci. Posamezniki, družine in skupnost so med seboj povezani tudi poslovno. Družinske skupnosti izkazujejo socialno in teritorialno endogamijo. Socialna mreža porok kaže, da so se velikokrat med seboj poročali pripadniki enakih socialnih skupin po izobrazbi in poklicu, največkrat so nadaljevali gospodarstvo svojih prednikov. Kmetijo je praviloma dedoval le eden izmed otrok, zato se je povečeval sloj malih kmetov, kajžarjev² in gostačev³. Srednje veliki in mali kmetje so se od redkih velikih kmetov razlikovali po načinu gospodarjenja in življenja. Domneva se, da so med družinami obrtnikov, izdelovalcev suhe robe in lončarstva ter družinami krošnarjev obstajale razlike v načinu družinskega življenja, ekonomije in življenjske ravni, prav tako so bile razlike med izobraženimi in vladajočimi posamezniki.

Na celotnem območju je bila prisotna razširjena patriarhalna družina z več otroki, kjer je bil oče gospodar, mati pa je imela v hiši glavno vlogo po čustveni in delavni plati. Kadar se je zgodilo, da je eden od njiju umrl, se je tisti, ki je ostal živ, zaradi lažjega preživetja po navadi še enkrat poročil. Domača obrt je bila večinoma prepletena s primarno kmetijsko usmeritvijo družine in je omogočila zaposlitev določenemu številu prebivalstva, še posebej v okviru družinske skupnosti. Do druge svetovne vojne je bila pravna urejenost domače obrti precej drugačna od današnje. Najpogosteje so jo opredeljevali kot rokodelsko obrt.

Family Livelihood and Economy – Social Stratification and Status

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In the early 20th century, the land of woodenware and pottery was inhabited by only a handful of 'pure' farmer families, whose only means of livelihood was farming. The lives of individuals and families in this area were largely intertwined with various livelihood strategies, such as agriculture, forestry, pottery, woodenware making, peddling¹, and employment at home and abroad. Agrarian overpopulation and unfertile karst soil also resulted in a combination of agriculture and crafts.

Family refers to persons who are related and live under the same roof. A family also includes domestic servants. In a broader sense, it refers to a family community, including hired farm labourers and maidservants, nursemaids, helpers and apprentices. Individuals, families and the community are also connected through business. Family communities exhibit social and territorial endogamy. The marriage-based social network shows that those who belonged to the same social group in terms of education and profession often married each other, thus usually continuing their ancestors' economy. As a rule, farms were usually inherited by only one of the children, so the social class consisting of small farmers, smallholders² and tenant farmers³ was growing. Medium-sized and small farmers differed from the few large farmers in the way they farmed and lived their lives. It is assumed that the families of craftsmen, woodenware makers, potters and pack peddlers differed in their family life-style, economy and standard of living, and there were also noticeable differences between educated and ruling individuals.

Extended patriarchal families with multiple children existed throughout the area; in such families, the father was the head of the family and the mother played a major role in terms of emotions and work. When one of the two died, the surviving spouse usually remarried for the sake of easier livelihood. The cottage industry was mostly intertwined with the family's primary agricultural orientation and provided employment to a certain number of people, especially within the family community. Up until World War II, cottage industry-related legal regulations were quite different from today's regulations. The cottage industry was usually defined as a handicraft.

Krajani in domači so si pri pridobivanju rokodelskih veščin med seboj pomagali. Največ pomoči so bili deležni tisti, ki so bili v dobrih sosedskih in sorodstvenih odnosih.

Po etnološki sistematiki družino uvrščamo med družbeno kulturo, ki je kompleksen pojem, s katerim označujemo različne sestavine vsakdanjega življenja, kot so sosedski odnosi, družinsko življenje, šege in navade, medsebojno pomoč, praznovanja, delo in še kaj.

Kar pomeni, da nas npr. ne zanima samo izdelava lesene ali lončene sklede, ampak v povezavi z družinskimi prihodki in stroški, njena uporaba in vpletenost v družbeno dogajanje. Ne zanimajo nas le kulturne prvine kot npr. tehnike izdelovanja in izdelki, ampak tudi premik k povezovanju le-teh z njihovimi nosilci (npr. od česa je bila odvisna delitev dela med družinskimi člani).

Suhorobarstvo, lončarstvo in zdomarstvo so bili predvsem dopolnilna gospodarska dejavnost temeljni družinski ekonomiji kmetijstvu, zlasti živinoreji in gozdarstvu. V kmetijstvo, posebej v nakup zemlje in kmetijskih strojev, so vlagali ves dohodek od rokodelstva in zdomarstva, s čimer so si nekatere družine znatno izboljšale življenjsko raven in se dvignile na družbeni lestvici. Ribniško gospodarstvo je bilo mešano, saj je bilo čistih suhorobarjev, lončarjev, zdomarjev ali kmetov le peščica. Donosnost vseh dejavnosti je bilo odvisna od globalnih gospodarskih trendov, ki so jih narekovale vsakokratne družbene razmere. Zato so bile v različnih zgodovinskih obdobjih omenjene gospodarske dejavnosti, med katere uvrščam tudi izseljevanje v tujino, v Ameriko in Nemčijo, različno donosne. Po drugi svetovni vojni, ko so se na tem območju začeli ustanavljati tovarniški obrati, so prebivalci postopoma začeli opuščati suhorobarstvo, lončarstvo in zdomarstvo ter se zlasti v zlati dobi socializma (70. leta 20. st.) začeli množično zaposlovati v obratih lokalne industrije, zaslužek pa so vlagali v takrat donosno živinorejo. Z osamosvojitvijo je veliko delavcev – kmetov izgubilo zaposlitev, izgubljal se je tudi pomen živinoreje, ki so jo posledično začeli opuščati. Ponovno je vzcvetel pomen trgovine in to na svetovni ravni. To nišo so nekatere družine s pridom izkoristile; vrnile so se k tradicionalnemu poklicu – predvsem suhi robi in zdomarstvu, ki jim tudi danes zagotavljata preživetje.

Družbena dejstva:

- Že v 19. stoletju je bilo »čistih« kmetov le še peščica – preživetvene strategije so se razlikovale glede na socialno pripadnost.
- Preživetje so si poleg kmetovanja tradicionalno zagotavljali z opravljanjem drugih tržno zanimivih dejavnosti: suho robo, lončarstvom, zdomarstvom, nabiralništvom, prodajo viškov prekupčevalkam, sezonskim delom, npr. gozdnimi deli.
- Pri vseh socialnih plasteh so soobstajale različne kombinacije načinov preživetja: kmetijstvo, domača obrt, krošnarstvo, izseljenstvo, po drugi svetovni vojni pa tudi zaposlitev v industrijskih obratih.

Locals and family members helped one another develop handicraft skills. Those who fostered good neighbourly and kinship relations received the most help.

According to ethnological classification, the family is part of social culture, which is a complex concept that describes various components of everyday life, such as neighbours' relations, family life, customs and habits, mutual help, celebrations, work and more.

This means that the focus of our interest is not only how a wooden or earthenware bowl is made, but in relation to family income and expenses, also the way it is used and integrated in social happenings. The topics of interest not only include cultural elements, such as handcrafting techniques and products, but also a shift towards connecting these with their bearers (e.g. what the division of labour between family members depended on).

Woodenware making, pottery and peddling were, first and foremost, supplementary economic activities practiced in addition to the families' primary economic activity, i.e. farming, especially livestock farming and forestry. People invested everything they earned through handicrafts and pack peddling in farming, i.e. they purchase land and agricultural machinery, which significantly improved the standard of living of some families, which thus improved their standing on the social ladder. Ribnica Valley's economy was mixed as there were only a handful of 'pure' woodenware makers, potters, pack peddlers or farmers. The profitability of all activities depended on global economic trends dictated by the social situation at the time. For this reason, in different historical periods, the aforementioned economic activities, including emigration to the USA and Germany, were profitable to a varying degree. After World War II, when factories started to be set up in this area, the local people gradually gave up woodenware making, pottery and pack peddling and, especially during the golden age of socialism (the 1970s), large numbers of them took jobs in local industries and invested their earnings in livestock farming, which was a very lucrative activity at the time. After Slovenia gained its independence from Yugoslavia, many workers-farmers lost their jobs and livestock farming was also less and less important and was thus gradually abandoned. Commerce became increasingly important on a global scale. Some families took advantage of this niche and once again took up their traditional profession – especially woodenware making and peddling, which have remained their source of livelihood up to this day.

Societal facts:

- As early as the 19th century, there were only a handful of 'pure' farmers – livelihood strategies differed according to individual social classes.
- In addition to farming, traditional sources of livelihood were other commercially interesting activities, namely woodenware making, pottery, peddling, foraging, selling surplus goods to resellers, seasonal work, e.g. forest work.

¹ Zdomarstvo je delo zunaj domačega kraja; ribniški zdomarji so s suho robo in lončenino krošnarili (prodajali) po svetu.

² Kajžar je lastnik zelo majhnega posestva, sprva je bil brez zemlje.

³ Gostač je do 2. svetovne vojne živel v najeti hiši; najem je lastniku odslužil z delom.

¹ Peddling refers to selling goods by going from place to place. Pack peddlers from the Ribnica Valley peddled their woodenware and pottery far and wide.

² Smallholders – owners of very small holdings, initially without any agricultural land.

³ Tenant farmers – up until World War II, they lived in rented houses, paying off the rent by working for the farm owner.