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# **THE INFLUENCE OF TOURISM ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ROGAŠKA SLATINA HEALTH RESORT**

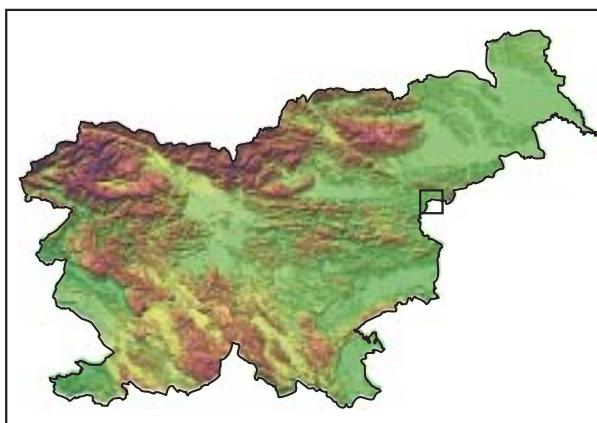
## **VPLIV TURIZMA NA RAZVOJ ZDRAVILIŠČA ROGAŠKA SLATINA**

Uroš Horvat



Health resort-tourist zone of Rogaska Slatina in 1999  
(photography Matevž Lenarčič).

Zdraviliško-turistična cona Rogaske Slatine leta 1999  
(fotografija Matevž Lenarčič).



Abstract

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# The influence of tourism on the development of the Rogaška Slatina health resort

**KEYWORDS:** tourism, tourist development, tourist area, health resort, Rogaška Slatina, Slovenia

The author uses the example of a health resort with a long history to discuss the effects of tourism on the development and structure of a settlement that developed in the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century into one of the most important tourist areas in Slovenia and went on to strengthen its role in a relatively poorly developed region through the development of industry and other urban activities. The first part of the article discusses the various phases of the health resort's development and the features of the tourist visits in Rogaška Slatina. The emphasis is on its dependence on tourist supply and demand as well as on changing economic, social, and political circumstances. The second part deals with the demographic, economic, and spatial development of the settlement. In as far as Rogaška Slatina is a multi-functional tourist area, the emphasis is on the influence of health and tourism-related activities as well as on industry, on the development and structure of employment, on the dynamics of population growth, and on the economic structure of the population and households. Individual functional zones in Rogaška Slatina are defined, particularly those in which tourism and recreation represent the dominant type of land-use.

Izvleček

UDC: 911.3:338.48(497.4 Rogaška Slatina)  
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## Vpliv turizma na razvoj zdravilišča Rogaška Slatina

**KLJUČNE BESEDE:** turizem, turistični razvoj, turistični kraj, zdravilišče, Rogaška Slatina, Slovenija

Avtor na primeru zdraviliškega kraja z dolgoletno tradicijo obravnava učinke turizma na razvoj in ustroj naselja, ki se je sredi 19. stoletja razvilo v enega najpomembnejših turističnih krajev v Sloveniji, nato pa z razvojem industrije in drugih mestotvornih dejavnosti še okrepilo svojo vlogo v razmeroma manj razviti pokrajini. V prvem delu so prikazane faze razvoja zdravilišča ter značilnosti turističnega obiska v Rogaški Slatini. Povdarjena je odvisnost od turističnega povpraševanja in ponudbe, pa tudi od spremenljajočih se ekonomskeh, socialnih in političnih razmer. V drugem delu je predstavljen demografski, gospodarski in prostorski razvoj naselja. Ker je Rogaška Slatina gospodarsko polifunkcionalen turistični kraj, je povdaren ypliv zdraviliško-turistične in industrijske dejavnosti na razvoj in sestavo delovnih mest, dinamiko prebivalstvene rasti ter ekonomsko sestavo prebivalstva in gospodinjstev. Opredeljene so posamezne funkcije cone v Rogaški Slatini, zlasti tiste, v katerih sta turizem in rekreacija poglavitni oblikti rabe prostora.

Translation by Nada Šabec

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## Contents – Vsebina

|    |  |     |
|----|--|-----|
| 1. | Introduction   | 123 |
| 2. | Most important periods of tourist development<br>in Rogaška Slatina              | 123 |
| 3. | Influence of tourism on the employment of the population<br>of Rogaška Slatina   | 129 |
| 4. | Influence of tourism on the demographic development<br>of Rogaška Slatina        | 132 |
| 5. | Influence of tourism on the spatial-functional development<br>of Rogaška Slatina | 133 |
| 6. | Other effects of tourist development on Rogaška Slatina                          | 137 |
| 7. | Conclusion   | 138 |
| 8. | Bibliography   | 139 |
| 9. | Summary in Slovene – Povzetek  | 140 |



## 1. Introduction

With a history of tourism that stretches back over several hundred years, Rogaška Slatina represents one of the oldest and most important tourist areas in Slovenia. Long years of tourist development had an impact on the shaping of specific social, economic, and functional structures of the settlement as well as on its physiognomic appearance.

Health resort activities and their accompanying related activities (catering, commerce, service activities) were the dominant factor in the development of this previously agrarian settlement throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the first quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The beginning of the modern era is marked by the development of industry (1927), which after World War II became the dominant economic factor. Great economic power attracted population and the growth of other urban activities. From a once distinctly tourist area, after World War II Rogaška Slatina developed into a multi-functional tourist center, in which tourism was just one of the important activities closely linked to central health resort section of the town.

## 2. Most important periods of tourist development in Rogaška Slatina

The thermal spring of mineral water in the valley of the Irski potok stream was first mentioned in the mid 12<sup>th</sup> century (Režek 1964: 49). By the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, mineral water from Rogaška Slatina had become well known throughout Central Europe. The market for it expanded, with the greatest quantities being sold in Vienna. From this period also comes the first mention of the water's medicinal effects, for example, Sorbait 1680 and Grundel 1685 (Mlacović 1995: 8–14).

At the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the springs were purchased by the provincial authorities headed by the governor of Styria, Baron Attems. With this began the systematic exploitation of the mineral water and the construction of a fashionable health resort that attracted numerous eminent guests from the Europe of the time. During the long years of tourist development the appearance of the town changed considerably as it transformed from a rural area first into a tourist health resort and later into an urban settlement.

There are two distinct periods in the tourist development of Rogaška Slatina.

The first period lasted until the end of World War II, which is known in the history of European tourism as the initial and developmental phases of tourism. The main characteristic of this period is that mostly only the upper classes engaged in tourist travel. Thus, during the summer seasons from the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century until World War I, Rogaška Slatina was an important gathering point for the elite and wealthy from the Austrian provinces of Styria, Croatia, and Hungary, and after World War I for those from present-day Croatia and Serbia, particularly from Zagreb and Belgrade. There were relatively few guests from the area of present-day Slovenia. Visits were limited to the summer season and only increased slowly, reaching peaks prior to World War I and World War II. A visible result of this period is the old core of the resort with its imposing hotel buildings in the middle of the then agrarian landscape and the well-maintained central resort park and its immediate surroundings.

The second period followed World War II and is known as the period of organized and institutionalized tourism. It is closely linked to economic development in the developed Western countries and an increase in the standard of living that fostered increased supply and demand in tourism. This brought about the development of the tourist industry, which made tourist travel available to the masses as well. Owing to a large increase in tourist traffic, this period could be labeled as the period of mass tourism.

In Rogaška Slatina this period was characterized by a large rise in the number of tourists initially based on state-supported health insurance. In the 1970's and particularly in the 1980's, the health resort began

to expand its services to cater to other target groups of guests as well. Thus at the end of the 1980's, its classic health resort offer was complemented by a recreational tourist offer. Open borders and a broader selection of available services as well as their high quality resulted in an increase in the number of guests from abroad. A visible reminder of that period is the expansion of the core of the health resort to include new facilities for the accommodation of guests, specialized health-therapeutic services, and facilities for sports, recreation, entertainment, and other service activities.

After 1800, the development of tourism in Rogaska Slatina can be sub-divided according to the development of accommodation and other facilities, the dynamics of the tourist flow at the health resort, and the related extent and characteristics of the tourist visits (Horvat 2000a). On the basis of these criteria, the following **developmental periods** can be identified:

- **1803–1840:** the acquisition of thermal springs by Styrian provincial authorities meant the start of the systematic exploitation of the mineral water and the operation of the health resort. In 1810, the first baths were built, and in 1813 the »first« Zdraviliški dom (Health Resort Center). In 1819, the oldest Tempel spring was encircled by twelve Ionic pillars. This is the center of the urban structure of the resort and is one of the most beautiful Classicist buildings in Slovenia. The area around it subsequently developed into the health-tourism zone. The extent of tourist visits remained modest until the first hotels were built (654 tourists came to Rogaska Slatina in 1823).
- **1841–1860:** this is a period of intensive construction of the hotels and other facilities that comprise the oldest core of the resort: Styria Hotel (1842), Strossmayerjev dom (Strossmayer Center) (1848), Zagrebski dom (Zagreb Center, 1852), and the »second« Zdraviliški dom (Health Resort Center, 1845 and 1858). This was also the period in which the health resort park was arranged that became the main area for spending leisure time and socializing among the guests. In 1860, the health resort had 405 rooms available that could accommodate approximately seven hundred guests. The number of annual guests ranged between 1,200 and 2,700. The resort was open from May through September with the peak of the season in July and August. Due to the visits of eminent figures of the time, the resort acquired an international reputation, which increased the tourist visits.
- **1861–1902:** the health resort saw no major construction. Smaller private hotels, bed-and-breakfasts, and villas with private rooms augmented the tourist offer. In 1886, the Styria spring was developed. Tourist visits (between 1900 and 3000 guests per year) stagnated.
- **1903–1914:** this is a period of renewed flourishing for Rogaska Slatina. With the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the health resort, the older hotels were modernized and new ones were built along with other facilities. These included the Ljubljanski dom (Ljubljana Center, 1904), the Soča Hotel (1906), the »third« Zdraviliški dom (Health Resort Center, 1912), and a modern Hydrotherapy unit (1904). In 1908, the largest spring was discovered and named »Donat.« The railway line between Grobelno and Rogatec (1903) made access much easier. Prior to the start of World War I, Rogaska Slatina had more than 650 rooms with approximately 1,100 beds, and rooms were offered in twenty-four private pensions and villas. A section of the local population already depended on jobs in the resort. The number of visits increased greatly, reaching a peak in 1912 (5,300 guests). The majority of tourists came from the province of Styria (39%), Hungary (26%), Croatia (14%), and Upper and Lower Austria (9%).
- **1914–1918:** World War I interrupted the resort's development. In 1917, the Invalidski dom (Invalid Center) was built (it was later renamed the Beograjski dom (Belgrade Center) and is now the Vila Golf).
- **1919–1940:** in the period between the two World Wars, the Park Hotel (1929) and the Slovenija Hotel (1938) were built in the central part of the resort. Two private hotels, the Boč Hotel (1933) and the Bohor Hotel (1935) were also built. In the spring of 1941, the resort administration had 1,515 beds available and around six hundred beds were offered by over forty private bed-and-breakfasts and villas. The private sector was strong enough to record one third of all overnight stays in 1938. The number of guests ranged between 5,000 and 8,000 per year, and the number of overnight stays between 70,000 and 123,000 per year. Tourist visits was distinctly seasonal in nature, and only the Belgrade Center was open in the winter of 1938. The peak of tourist visits occurred in July and August (71% of all overnight stays). The average length of a guest's stay ranged between 14 and 16.5 days. After World War I, the origin of resort guests changed. The majority of visitors came from within Yugoslavia (76% of the domestic guests were from Croatia and Serbia and only 15% came from Slovenia). The health resort employed between 230 and 250 people, most only during the season (Zorko 1992, 173–174).

- **1941–1945:** tourist development was interrupted by World War II.
- **1945–1965:** the renovation of accommodation facilities after World War II allowed the resort to operate throughout the year. Hotels and other facilities were nationalized and managed by the health resort administration, while the private sector retained only private rooms outside the health resort zone. The number of guests increased rapidly especially due to state-supported health insurance. By 1965, the number of guests had risen to 22,000 per year, and the number of overnight stays to 320,000 per year. On average, they stayed at the resort from 11.5 to 13 days. In the winter seasons (from January to March and from October to December), 30% of all overnight stays were recorded, while the main season expanded from June to October. Most guests came from Croatia (approximately 50% of overnight stays) and Serbia (10%). Guests from Slovenia accounted for only 20% of the overnight stays. After 1955, the resort attracted its first foreigners again (mostly from Austria), who accounted for 20% of all overnight stays in 1965. During this period, Rogaška Slatina recorded some 40% of all overnight stays in all the health resorts in Slovenia. During the 1960's, the Zdravilišče Rogaška (Rogaška Health Resort) company employed around 450 people while the Steklarna Rogaška glassworks employed around 900 workers and industry therefore became the most important economic activity in the town. Other activities also developed and altogether favourably influenced demographic growth and the spatial expansion of Rogaška Slatina and other settlements in the area.
- **1966–1973:** this is a period of decreased tourist flow caused by a change in the law concerning the entitlement of health insurance beneficiaries to use health resort facilities (who until then represented the majority of guests). With the stricter criteria, the number of guests remained around 23,000 per year while the number of overnight stays dropped to between 180,000 and 240,000 per year. Owing to the decrease in the number of domestic guests, the health resort focused on attracting foreign guests and their percentage rose to between 45% and 50% (the majority coming from Austria). Since Rogaška Slatina had no modern hotel facilities, the construction of a modern health resort began in this period. During the first phase of development, the Terapija (Therapy, 1965) and Pivnica (a mineral-water drinking hall, 1967) facilities were erected, which substantially improved the health care and therapeutic section of the resort. The next phase involved the construction of modern hotels.
- **1974–1990:** This is the period of the largest tourist boom. Two modern hotels, the Donat (1974) and the Sava (1982) were built, as well as other facilities. At the end of the 1980's, Rogaška Slatina had 1,578 beds, 90% of which were in the hotels, and the accompanying facilities included a sports center with outdoor playing fields, a sports hall with indoor tennis courts, a golf course, and the Beauty Center. The number of tourists rose to 44,000 (1990), while the number of overnight stays reached its peak in 1985 (385,000). The average stay in the resort ranged between nine and ten days, and at the end of the 1980's was eight days. Around 40% of the overnight stays were recorded in winter. Three seasonal peaks (July and August, May, January) are evident among domestic guests, and two among foreign guests (May, September). Until the mid 1980's, the largest number of guests came from other republics of the former Yugoslavia, the majority from Croatia with 35 to 45% of overnight stays. At the end of the 1980's, the number of tourists from former Yugoslav republics began to decrease while the percentage of overnight stays by visitors from abroad increased (35% to 40%, mostly from Italy and Austria but also from West Germany, Finland, and Israel). During this period, Rogaška Slatina was still the leading health resort in Slovenia according to the number of overnight stays (25% of all overnight stay), but with the accelerated development of other health resorts its significance began to decline.
- **after 1991:** This is a new crisis period for the resort. As a result of the wars in the Balkans, the changed tourist flow, tourist demand, and the condition of the resort itself, the number of tourists dropped considerably. By 1999, the number of overnight stays had dropped to 44% of the 1990 figures, from 356,000 to 199,000. The number of Slovene guests had dropped by 19% (however, these were now for the first time the most important group of tourists accounting for approximately 40% to 45% of overnight stays), and there were practically no guests from other former Yugoslav republics. In 1999, these guests accounted for only 7% of all overnight stays (compared to 44% in 1985). Only the number of tourists from abroad increased; the majority came from Italy (27.5% of all overnight stays in 1999), Austria (15.9%), Israel (4.1%), and Russia (6.2%). The average length of stay decreased to 5.7 days. This can be partly attributed to relatively high prices (at least in the opinion of guests who filled out a questionnaire), fewer guests being sent to the resort through the health insurance system, and a greater proportion of guests who came only for medical check-ups, short preventive health stays, or seminars. There were four seasonal peaks (March, May, August, and October) and two low points (December, January). This pattern is the

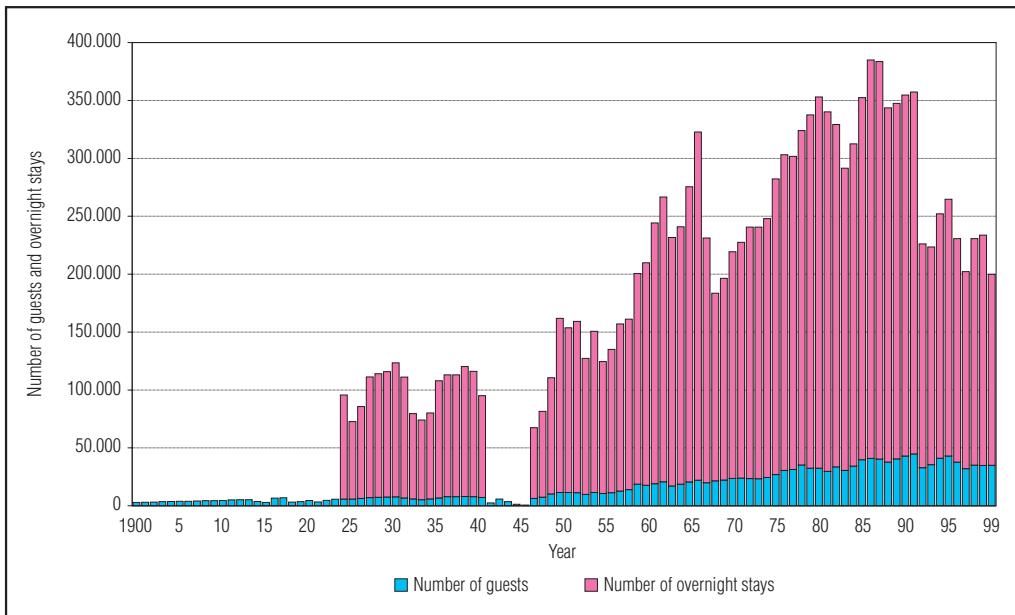


Figure 1: Number of guests and overnight stays in Rogaška Slatina between 1900 and 1999.

Slika 1: Število gostov in nočitev v Rogaški Slatini med letoma 1900 in 1999.

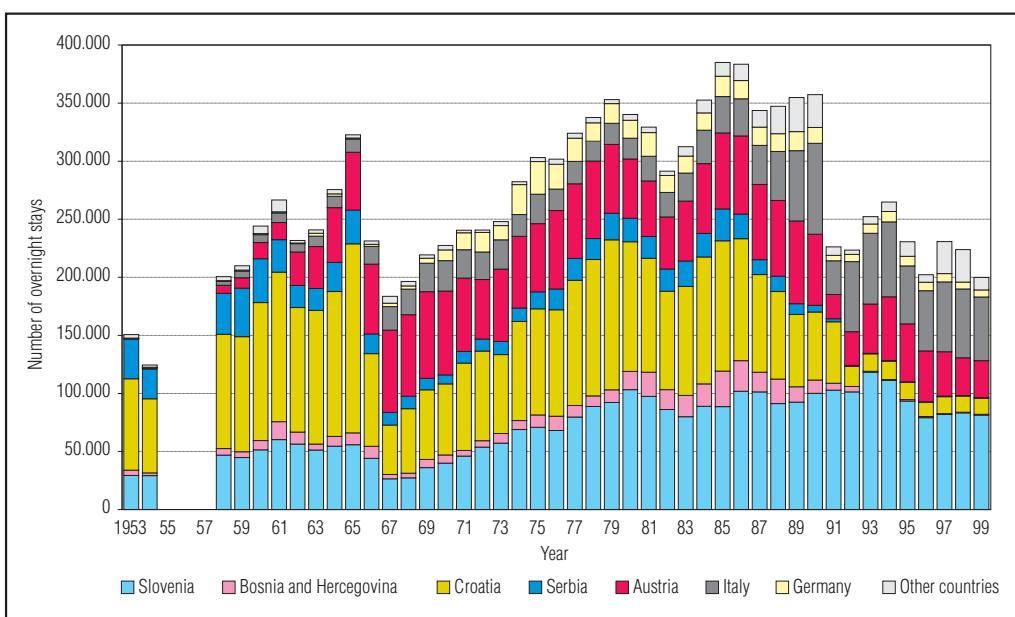


Figure 2: Number of overnight stays in Rogaška Slatina by country of origin between 1953 and 1999.

Slika 2: Število nočitev po državni pripadnosti v Rogaški Slatini med letoma 1953 in 1999.

result of foreign guests coming to the resort mainly in the spring and fall. Some 76% of all overnight stay are recorded at the Sava, Donat, and Slovenija hotels and at the Zdravilišče dom (Health Resort Center). Owing to low occupancy levels and the collapse of the Rogaška Health Resort company, several older facilities were closed or sold; the Beograjski dom (Belgrade Center) was converted into private

self-catering tourist apartments (Vila Golf), the Slatina Center into the Slatina Apartment Hotel, and the Turist Hotel into the seat of the new municipality. The Trieste, Soča, and Ljubljanski dom hotels have not been in operation for a number of years. In 1999, Rogaška Slatina offered only 1,130 beds, a 47.2% drop compared with 1983, and a 28.4% drop compared with 1991.

The development of other health resorts in Slovenia (which with the construction of modern sports and recreational facilities are oriented to a large extent toward recreational, holiday, and short-break tourism) is one of the reasons why Rogaška Slatina with its emphasis on the medicinal effects of its mineral water and medical-preventive services was no longer the largest health resort in Slovenia according to the number of overnight stays after 1900. It was overtaken in 1990 by the Čatež Thermal Spa, in 1995 by Moravske Toplice, and in 1996 by Atomske Toplice. In 1999, Rogaška Slatina recorded only 10.6% of all overnight stays in Slovene health resorts (compared to 41.9% in 1960 and 24.9% in 1985). The significance of Rogaška Slatina in Slovenia also diminished. Until 1990 it ranked among the five most important tourist places with the largest number of overnight stays, but in 1999 it dropped to ninth place.

This state of affairs is illustrated by the **curve of tourist development in Rogaška Slatina** (based on the index of fluctuations in overnight stays). Compared to the curve based on the **Butler model of tourist development** (Pearce 1995: 12, Haywood 1988: 158), the results show how tourist development in Rogaška Slatina passed through various phases of accelerated tourist development (phase 3 according to Butler) and consolidation of tourist traffic (phase 4) brought about by a new and renovated tourist infrastructure. These phases were interrupted by individual crisis periods (due to various political, economic, administrative, and other reasons) that led to stagnation (phase 5) and a greater or smaller drop in the number of overnight stays. Currently, tourist development is at phase 6 of the Butler model with the most intensive drop in the number of tourists since World War II. Without new investments, the renovation of existing tourist capacities, and the improvement and expansion of services that could attract new tourists to the resort, the present situation will continue.

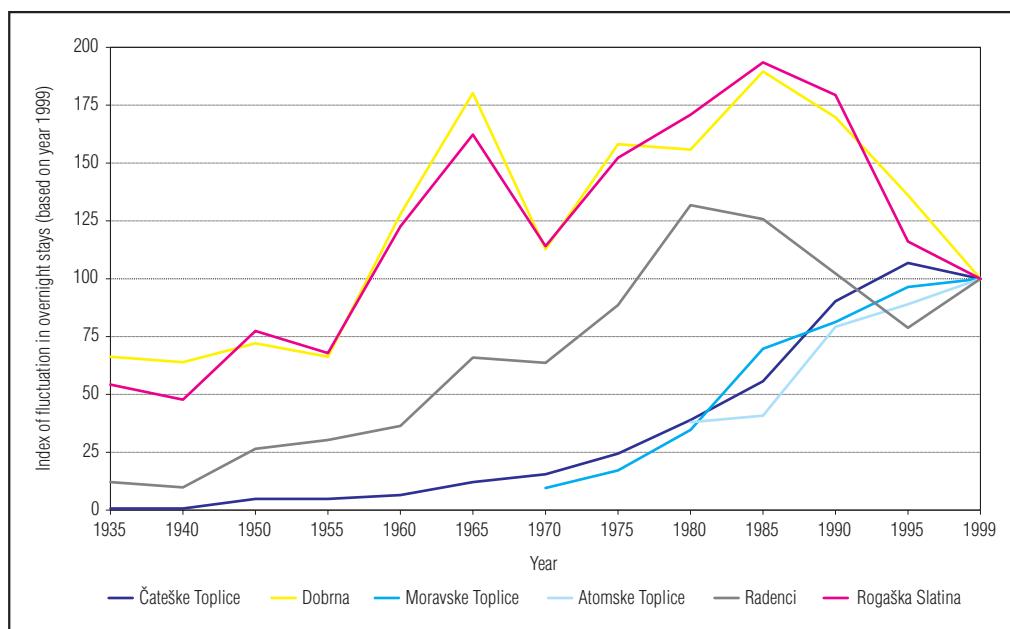


Figure 3: Index of fluctuation in overnight stays in Rogaška Slatina and selected health resorts in Slovenia between 1953 and 1999 (based on year 1999). The curve is based on the Butler model of the development of tourist areas.

Slika 3: Indeks gibanja števila nočitev (osnova je leto 1999) v Rogaški Slatini in izbranih zdraviliških krajih v Sloveniji med letoma 1953 in 1999 – ugotavljanje krivulje turističnega razvoja na osnovi Butlerjevega modela razvoja turističnega kraja.

Comparing selected health resorts in Slovenia, a similar situation is found in Dobrna and Radenci (Horvat 2000a: 189). Here also there were no major investments in accommodation facilities and no expansion of services during the 1980's and 1990's, which is why the curve turns downward after 1985. However, the number of tourists at Radenci has begun to increase since the completion of a new thermal swimming complex although at Dobrna, where the offer remains unchanged, the number of tourists has dropped to the level it was in the 1950's. In contrast, the Čatež Thermal Spa, Moravske Toplice, and Atomske Toplice are intensifying their tourist development. Development has brought a wider selection of tourist facilities and services that include non-health related activities such as holiday, recreational, and short-break tourism and to the construction of mostly non-hotel accommodation facilities.

The dynamics of tourist development in Rogaška Slatina show how the resort has passed through various phases of more or less distinct periods of tourist development (progress, stagnation, regression) that are a reflection of various **factors of tourist development**:

- natural resources have a significant influence on the growth of tourist visits and the composition and form of the tourist offer. Particularly important is the fact that the medicinal mineral water with a high magnesium content has retained a reputation as an effective healing agent until the present day. Together with the modern medical and therapeutic services offered, it represents the most important element of the tourist offer and a distinctive trademark that distinguishes Rogaška Slatina from other health resorts.
- the development of the tourist offer, particularly accommodation facilities. Each period of the construction of new facilities or the renovation of existing ones was followed by a period of increasing tourist visits (e.g., in 1841 and 1860, 1903 and 1914, 1950 and 1960, and 1974 and 1990).
- the development of other tourist services. The construction of facilities providing specialized medical and therapeutic services (1904, 1965, 1976) enabled expanded and improved activities and had an effect on the increase of tourist visits, especially in the case of guests who came to the resort primarily for special therapies. At the end of the 1980's, facilities for sports, recreation, and entertainment were added, and the health resort transformed from a classical to a multi-functional health resort and recreational center.
- tourist demand. This can be seen from the dynamics of tourist visits and in the motives and behaviour of the guests. According to the questionnaire responses of 1,300 guests gathered between 1994 and 1997 (Horvat 2000: 27), 48% of the guests came to Rogaška Slatina for medical treatment and 23% for the purpose of medical prevention. Changes in the tourist demand can be detected in the responses of 24% of the tourists who stated that they came to the resort on holidays, although only one fifth of these did not make use of the therapies on offer. The number of tourists staying in private rooms dropped considerably as well. Prior to World War II these accounted for more than 30% of all overnight stays, in the 1970's only 10%, and in the 1990's less than 1%.
- political influences. The political situation and changed national borders had an impact on the direction of tourist flow after World War I and also on the origin of visitors to the resort. Because of the changed political and social system following World War II, the number of foreign visitors decreased substantially but picked up again at the end of the 1960's due to the open border. The war in 1991 in Slovenia and in the territory of the former Yugoslavia also had a great impact.
- economic influences. Favourable economic conditions and a rising standard of living encouraged tourist development in individual periods (the construction of tourist infrastructure and superstructure) as well as domestic and international tourist visits. Similarly, unfavourable economic circumstances such as the economic crisis at the end of the 19th century and in the 1930's had a negative effect on the development of the resort.
- social influences (values, tradition, social policies). These were particularly important in the period following World War II. Particularly important was the social policy that encouraged people to visit the resort through the system of state-supported health insurance, which significantly contributed to the increase of tourist visits between 1945 and 1965. The change in the health insurance law brought about a decrease in the number of beneficiaries sent to health resorts after 1966, and for this reason the health resorts had to redirect their efforts into attracting new guests, particularly from abroad. A similar situation applied during the 1990's.

### 3. Influence of tourism on the employment of the population of Rogaška Slatina

Among the most direct effects of tourist development is the employment of people in activities that are directly linked to tourism. From the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century till the first quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, most people in Rogaška Slatina who were not farmers found employment in the resort (around 230 employees) and in related areas such as in shops, service activities, and the like. In 1927, the glass factory a in nearby Tržišče began operation and in contrast to the seasonal jobs in the health resort offered regular employment to around 250 workers.

The growth of employment possibilities in tourism was most intensive after World War II. The **Zdravilišče Rogaška** (Rogaška Health Resort) company employed 320 workers in 1950, 497 in 1970, 1,180 in 1986, and only 420 in 2000, the period of the sharpest decline in the number of visitors since World War II and following the disintegration of the former single company into several private companies. In general, tourism generates mostly less demanding jobs, but health tourism is an exception since it offers many jobs to those with higher education. In 1998, 11.9% of those employed at the Rogaška Health Resort had more than secondary school education, while 55.5% were qualified staff or secondary school graduates (in comparison, employees of industrial companies in Rogaška Slatina have a distinctly lower educational level with over half of the workers either unskilled or semi-skilled) (Horvat 2000a: 131).

The number of positions in the **tertiary sector** is also directly or indirectly related to tourism. Resort guests largely or exclusively make use of the resort's hairdressing salons, beauty salons, souvenir shops, exchange offices, newsstands, and the like. With the development of the market economy and private enterprise the number of such services increased greatly in the past ten years. There were seven hairdressing and beauty salons in 1972 (Došler 1971: 196), eleven in 1986 (Veronek 1987: 211) and fourteen in 1997, of which seven were in the center of Rogaška Slatina. In 1986, there were nine catering units, while in 1997 there were forty-six; twenty-four of these were located in the center of the town. There were also around forty shops in the center of Rogaška Slatina in 1997 selling mostly clothing, shoes, sports equipment, fashion accessories, souvenirs, and the like. Over half of these opened for business in the past six years. In this same area around thirty different service businesses also opened.

According to questionnaire responses by the employees, resort guests contributed significantly to the traffic in their businesses: in the immediate health-tourist zone over 80%, in the wider health-tourist zone from 20 to 50%, and in the supply-service zone from 10 to 30% on average.

For this reason, I believe that in addition to the approximately 450 jobs at the Rogaška Health Resort (in 1999), there are at least 150 other jobs in various tertiary activities that are more or less related to and dependent on tourism and various seasonal jobs in households with private rooms to let. In the 1970's there were forty such households, but in the mid 1990's only twenty.

It is difficult to determine the exact number of jobs linked to tourism. The statistical data of the Statistics Office do not classify jobs according to their dependence on tourism, with the exception of those that are primarily part of the tourist industry (Jersič 1991: 157) Thus the category of Catering and Tourism includes just those employed in catering companies and tourist agencies (which, for instance, are not all connected to the health resort services in Rogaška Slatina). At the same time, the Health category includes both those employed by the Rogaška Health Resort and others working in medical and social security services in the town that are not related to the health resort activities.

However, the data on the **number of jobs in Rogaška Slatina** reveals that tourism is not the dominant activity in Rogaška Slatina. Industry has been the dominant activity since the end of World War II. In 1991, there were 4,153 jobs in Rogaška Slatina occupied by Slovene citizens and another 900 occupied by citizens of Croatia. About 50% of all jobs belong in the secondary sector, 33% in the tertiary sector, and around 15% in the quaternary sector. Catering and tourism account for 13.5%, and health and social security 6.3%.

According to the distribution of jobs, Rogaska Slatina is therefore more of an industrial town than a tourist town. The largest industrial companies are the Steklarna Rogaska glass factory (1,840 workers in 1990 and 1,343 in 2000) and the KORS clothing factory (487 workers in 1990 and 310 in 2000). Also important is the Steklarska šola Rogaska Slatina (the company's glassmaking school) whose production workshop provided work to 90% of the 371 workers employed there in 2000. The absolute number of

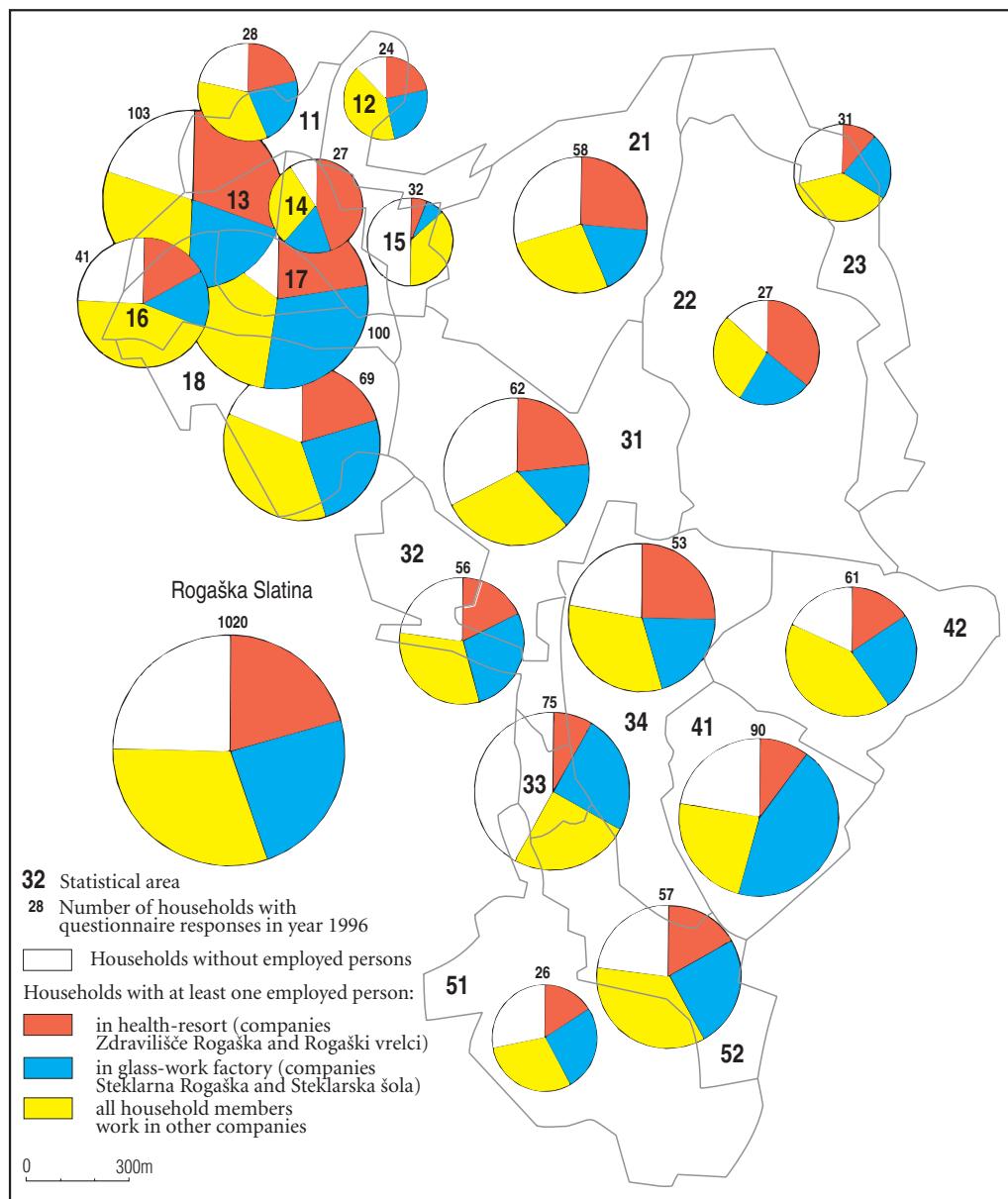


Figure 4: Households by type of employment (based on questionnaire responses for Rogaska Slatina in 1996) – relationship between households and the employment of their members in the health resort and glasswork activities.

Slika 4: Anketirana gospodinjstva po popisnih okoliših v Rogaski Slatini leta 1996 glede na zaposlitveni tip gospodinjstva – povezanost gospodinjstva z zaposlitvijo v zdraviliški in steklarski dejavnosti.

tourism-related positions was high, but owing to the multi-functional economic development these represent a relatively low percentage (until the mid 1990's only about 20% of all jobs in Rogaška Slatina, and after the disintegration of the Zdravilišče Rogaška company only around 10%).

The surplus of jobs causes intensive **daily migration to Rogaška Slatina**. In 1998, 75% of the workers employed at Steklarna Rogaška were daily migrant workers (29% of them commuted from Croatia), 74% at Steklarska šola (23% from Croatia), and 73% at KORS (16% from Croatia). Owing to the large drop in the number of jobs during the 1990's, the number of daily migrant workers at the Rogaška Health Resort company dropped considerably. In 1998, 25% of workers commuted from the vicinity of Rogaška Slatina, and 4.4% from Croatia.

Owing to the wide variety and the surplus of jobs, only a very small percentage of the local population is employed outside the town. Only 17.3% of the local residents worked outside Rogaška Slatina in 1991, and 14.5% in 1996 (according to questionnaire responses). Thus the **structure of the active population in Rogaška Slatina** more or less matches the structure of employment in the town. According to Statistics Office figures, a slightly lower percentage of the local population works in industry and a higher percentage in the tertiary and quaternary sectors.

Similar results are shown by the analysis of questionnaire responses provided by 744 households in Rogaška Slatina with at least one employed person in 1996 (Horvat 2000a: 145). The purpose of the questionnaire was to establish the **relationship between households and the employment of their members in the health resort and glasswork activities in the town**:

- in 27.2% of the households, at least one member of a household worked at the Rogaška Health Resort; in 8.9% of the households, all household members worked there. (Note: after 1996 the percentage of those employed at the Rogaška Health Resort dropped considerably, to between 10% and 15% of all households).
- the importance of the glass industry is shown by the fact that in 32.9% of all households at least one member worked at Steklarna Rogaška or at the glassworking school, while in 13% of the households all members worked there.
- the third category includes 44.6% of the households in which all members work in other companies and have no direct connection to the health resort or glassworks in Rogaška Slatina.

Rogaška Slatina is therefore a **multi-functional tourist area** whose development relies on industrial and tourist activities and recently as well on the rapidly developing tertiary and quaternary sectors.

In Slovenia multi-functional tourist areas developed into two types of towns. The first type developed in settlements such as Izola, Bovec, and Zreče where already developed non-agrarian activities were later joined by tourism activities due to the development of a tourist offer. The second type includes those settlements where tourism was the first non-agrarian activity and other non-agrarian activities only joined it later, particularly industry as was the case in Rogaška Slatina, Radenci, Dolenjske Toplice, and Bled. It is a generally held by researchers that tourist activities are among the activities that may trigger and enable the initial development of a general infrastructure and some service activities in the middle of an agrarian region. Owing to their improved infrastructure, such tourist areas become attractive for the location of other town-forming activities (for example, industrial and tertiary and quaternary activities) and for the expansion of residential areas. Thus, the majority of multi-functional tourist areas gradually grow into urban settlements with developed central functions.

The multi-functional orientation of a tourist area may be an advantage or a disadvantage. Economic activities and employment in mono-structured tourist places such as Kranjska Gora, Bohinj, Rogla, Portorož, Dobrno, Podčetrtek, the Čatež Thermal Spa, Moravske Toplice, and Šmarješke Toplice are entirely dependent on the dynamics of tourist visits, changes in the tourist flow, and various trends shaping tourist demand. Furthermore, monostructured tourist areas offer little choice to their residents in terms of employment (particularly those with higher education), and the presence of other options in the case of stagnation or the decline of a particular activity could alleviate social problems caused by growing unemployment. The presence of several types of activity helped alleviate the difficult economic situation in Rogaška Slatina

caused by the decline in the number of tourists after 1990 and drop in the number of jobs in various fields directly or indirectly related to tourism.

On the other hand, multi-functional economic development with the intertwining of tourism and industry may also have negative effects. There is a possibility of ecological problems caused by industry that clash with the expectations of those who want to preserve the cultural landscape that attracts tourists. There is also the possibility of conflicting interests regarding land-use and consequently limitations may be imposed on the expansion of particular activities. Finally, the greater variety of employment possibilities may result in a lack of willingness among the local population to work in tourism.

## 4. Influence of tourism on the demographic development of Rogaška Slatina

The demographic development of Rogaška Slatina is closely linked to its economic development. The great economic power of Rogaška Slatina constantly attracted people, and many moved there for employment. Rogaška Slatina thus became the largest settlement in the area of the hilly Upper Sotelsko region.

On the basis of the rapid development of the health resort in the first half and middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, we may conclude that its demographic development as expressed in the **changes of population numbers** must have been rapid as well. The 1869 census recorded 498 residents in Rogaška Slatina. After 1870, a period of stagnation in tourist visits followed, and consequently the number of residents grew very slowly until World War I (517 in 1910). Demographic development, which previously had been related primarily to the development of tourism, intensified after the opening of the glass factory in the period between the two World Wars (976 in 1931) and with the intensive industrialization and urbanization following World War II (1,583 in 1961).

In the 1970's, the administrative boundaries of the settlement expanded and the greater parts of the nearby settlements of Tržiče and Ratanska vas were incorporated in Rogaška Slatina. A wide variety of jobs became available and the urbanization of the outskirts resulted in a considerable concentration of the population in this period. The number of residents in Rogaška Slatina (4,904 residents in 1,638 households in 1991) therefore exceeded that of the residents in the municipality center of Šmarje pri Jelšah. The population increased mainly through immigration. In 1991, 19% of the entire population was made up of those who moved to Rogaška Slatina from other settlements within the municipality, 14% was from other municipalities in Slovenia, and some 15% had immigrated from former Yugoslav republics (mostly from neighbouring Croatia).

At the beginning of the 1990's, the **levels of natural and immigration growth** dropped. The birth rate declined in 1993, and in 1996 the number of deaths in Rogaška Slatina exceeded the number of births (the annual level of natural growth was -1.6 residents per 1000 residents). The new national border between Slovenia and Croatia limited the number of immigrants from Croatia after 1992, while the poor economic situation also resulted in decreased internal migration, especially from other parts of Slovenia. In 1995, 1996, and 1998, the immigration rate was negative (-6.6 residents per 1000 residents in 1998).

Among the most significant indicators that determine the relationship between the population of a tourist area and the tourist visits is **tourist intensity** (also strength of tourist traffic). This is measured as the number of overnight stays per permanent resident living in a tourist area per year. An increase in its value indirectly shows a corresponding growth in the influence of tourism. Areas with high values of the coefficient of tourist intensity (over 100 overnight stays per resident) are largely mono-functional tourist areas and highly tourist-oriented areas such as Kranjska Gora, Bohinj, Rogla, Portorož, Strunjan, the Čatež Thermal Spa, and Moravske Toplice. Areas with medium values of the coefficient (10 to 100) are multi-functional areas where the tourist role is intertwined with others, for example, Bled, Bovec, Izola, Piran, Rogaška

Slatina, and Radenci. In areas with low values of the coefficient (below 10) such as Ljubljana, Maribor, and Postojna, tourism is not a pronounced activity (not necessarily in terms of absolute numbers).

The coefficient of tourist intensity for Rogaška Slatina only rarely exceeded 100 overnight stays. Prior to World War II, its value fluctuated around 60 overnight stays per resident. In the 1970's, it was around 75 in spite of a large increase in the number of tourist visits (due to intensive demographic shifts), while in the 1990's, it dropped to 40 overnight stays per resident due to the decrease in tourist visits.

The decrease in the relative importance of tourism can also be seen in the fact that, with the decreasing number of tourists, the current supply and service facilities in the center of the town are too numerous for the needs of the residents of Rogaška Slatina and its surroundings.

## 5. Influence of tourism on the spatial-functional development of Rogaška Slatina

The spatial-functional development of Rogaška Slatina followed its demographic and economic development. By the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century, a health resort-tourist zone with accommodation and other facilities had begun to form around the mineral springs as the administrators of the health resort bought land and deliberately planned the development of the resort. The private sector had little influence in the immediate resort area since the accommodation facilities were always run by the health resort administration, which also set specific conditions for the rental of other premises. The resort also bought up nearby meadow and forest areas intended as recreational areas for resort guests. Thus, from the very start, the construction of other buildings was not permitted in the immediate area of the health resort.

The early development of the resort-tourist zone in the center of the settlement and the hilly relief dissected by valleys determined the **functional division of the settlement into four zones**.

- The center of the town is a Classicist park around which are located health resort and other buildings as well as a recreation area for guests. The **health resort-tourist zone** with new buildings extends into the valley of the Irski potok stream where well-maintained walking areas and a thermal swimming pool complex (Thermal Riviera) are located and into the eastern part of Celjska ulica (Celje Street). This zone is divided into three parts.

The **central (narrow) part** is quite functionally homogenous with the health resort park and facilities that are predominantly devoted to meeting the medical and tourist needs of the guests (i.e., dining, accommodation, and medical and therapeutic services). The hotels have individual specialized shops to cater for their guests (newsstands, shops with special items such as glassware, arts and crafts, jewellery) and personal services (hairdressers, beauty salons). There are also several stores for medium-term supplies. The majority of these shops were built after the construction of the Donat and Sava hotels and after 1990. Health resort guests account for over 80% of traffic in most of these shops.

In the **wider part** along Celjska ulica there is an interweaving of various functions since in addition to tourist activities (hotels, apartments, the thermal swimming pools) there are supply and service activities as well as public services (health center, cultural center) present. The number of residential buildings is being intentionally reduced as those remaining are old and poorly equipped, and the production units (bakery, laundry, bottling plant for mineral water) were deliberately moved out of this zone. In 1994, the new Sonce business-commercial center was built beside the Sonce Restaurant, and in addition to the area beside the bus station, it became a focus of service and supply activities in Rogaška Slatina. Tourists visit this area daily and, according to those employed here, make up 10% to 40% of the traffic (in some shops even more).

The third part is the **recreational area** that lies to the northwest, north, and east of the central part of the resort. The sports park and tennis hall, the golf course, and several well-maintained walking paths are meant for the recreation and relaxation of resort guests and are thus inherently linked to the central part of the health resort.

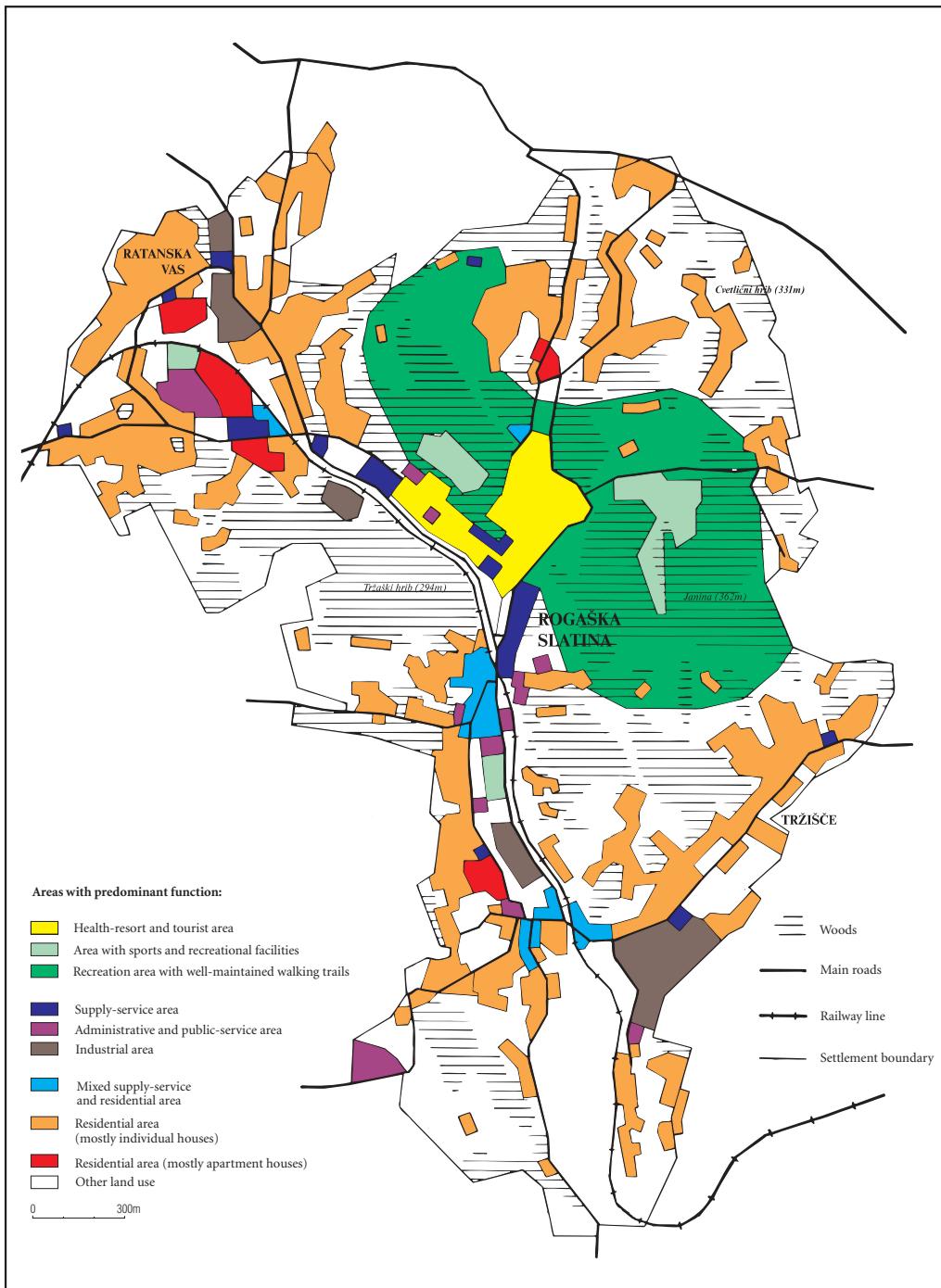


Figure 5: Functional division of Rogaška Slatina.  
Slika 5: Funkcijska členitev Rogaške Slatine.

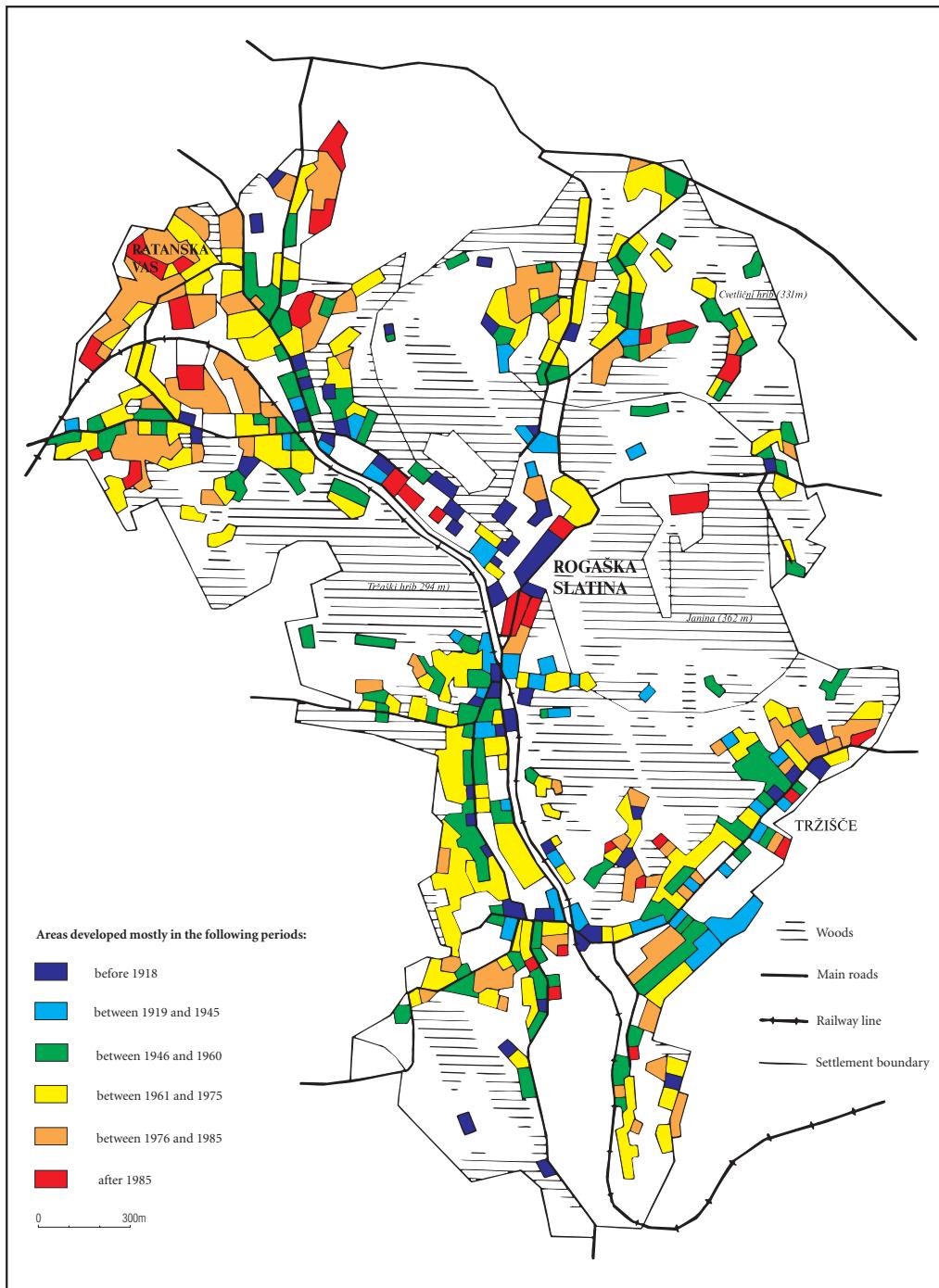


Figure 6: Spatial and time development of Rogaška Slatina.  
Slika 6: Prostorsko-časovni razvoj Rogaške Slatine.

- The **supply-service and administrative zone** continues southeast of the health resort-tourist zone along Kidričeva ulica (Kidrič Street) with the bus and railway station and the municipality administration building. The northern part of the zone is dominated by supply-service and quaternary activities, while the southern part is mainly residential. The major portion of the supply and service facilities began to operate following the construction and renovation in the 1980's and the beginning of the 1990's. The facilities are primarily intended for the use of the population of Rogaška Slatina and its surroundings (including Croatia), but they are also used by health resort guests who account for 10% to 30% of traffic (or less in some cases). The guests mostly use postal offices, banks, exchange offices, catering outlets, and some stores with special items, textiles, and footwear.
- **Industrial zones** are located in Ratanska vas in the northwestern part of the town (KORS clothing factory, Klasje bakery, Rultex textile factory), along Kidričeva ulica in the center of the town (Kolinska Rogaški vrelci mineral water bottling plant), and in Tržišče in the southeastern part of the town (Steklarna Rogaška glass factory, the production unit of Steklarska šola). The intensive development of these town quarters began with industrialization. The construction of residential areas along with the industrial zones began to reduce the influence of tourism on the development of the town.
- The largest zone is the **residential zone** (there were 1,667 residences in Rogaška Slatina in 1991). Its oldest section lies south of the narrow health resort-tourist zone of the settlement along the streets in Ratanska vas, Sv. Križ, and Tržišče. The construction of modern residential buildings reached its peak between 1971 and 1980 when some 65% of all the residences in Rogaška Slatina were built. With the construction of apartment blocks and individual houses, the town spread intensively, particularly on its outskirts. The configuration of the land resulted in four large residential areas.

The functional division of the settlement, the distribution of individual functions, and the percentage of traffic that resort guests make up in individual shops show that the spatial-functional effects of tourism do not apply to the entire town. In **functional and physiognomic terms, the health resort-tourist activities are limited to the central part of the town**. This is where all tourist accommodation facilities (with the exception of private rooms) are centered along with the health-therapeutic facilities and most sports, recreational, and supply facilities and services. The clear structural segmentation of the town into a smaller central health resort-tourist part (together with the supply-service part of Rogaška Slatina) and a larger industrial and residential part is evident. In the former the influence of tourism is direct, clearly pronounced, intensive, and narrowly limited while in the latter it remains fairly negligible.

This structural segmentation and the limitation of tourism's effect to the central part of Rogaška Slatina is the result of the specific development of the tourist area (the concentration of health resort activities) and also of the long-time focus on predominantly traditional health resort guests and their relatively narrow spatial mobility. Resort guests are bound by their daily therapeutic treatments and are therefore less mobile. Questionnaire responses confirm that they spend most of the day in the resort park or take walks in the immediate vicinity (the recreational and supply-services zone). Between 1994 and 1997, 45% of 1,300 responding guests reported they had not left the central part of the town during their stay at the resort. The only exceptions were specific excursions: 19% visited Atomske Toplice and 11% went to the factory outlet stores of Steklarna Rogaška and Steklarska šola.

The limited mobility of guests is also reflected in the percentage of traffic they comprise in individual catering and supply-services facilities. This is highest (more than 80%) in the immediate vicinity of the resort park and falls sharply toward the edge of the health resort-tourist zone (20% to 50%) and into the supply-service zone of Rogaška Slatina (10% to 30% or less). Tourists make up less than 5% of the traffic in shops lying outside the area between the Bellevue, Sava, and Donat Hotels, the Sonce Restaurant, and the bus station. Rogaška Slatina is no exception in this respect since the spatial mobility of guests is also typical of most other classic health resorts where the primary motive for coming is health treatment, rehabilitation, and medical prevention.

## 6. Other effects of tourist development on Rogaška Slatina

Other effects of tourist development on Rogaška Slatina are smaller. Since the hotels largely get their food supplies from wholesalers, there is hardly any effect on **agricultural production** in the area. There has also been no major **traffic in land and real estate** by non-residents. In 1990, only twelve hectares of land were owned by non-residents (6% of the land in the cadastral community of Rogaška Slatina; mostly meadows, orchards, and forests). Thirty-one residences were owned by non-residents (Horvat 2000a: 177) whose owners lived mostly in neighbouring settlements, had moved to other places in Slovenia, or had inherited properties. At the same time, only twenty **holiday residences** (1.2% of all residences in the town) registered in Rogaška Slatina according to the 1991 census.

This shows that in the majority of cases the health resort's natural potential and the development of its tourist services was not the primary motive for buying property in Rogaška Slatina, as is the case in some other tourist areas in Slovenia. In numerous tourist areas, particularly at the seaside and in the mountains, there is a high percentage of property owners who have permanent residences elsewhere. Among the outstanding reasons for buying land are the desire to build a holiday residence and real estate speculation (investing in tourist areas where the price of land is often relatively high but is expected to rise further).

Until several years ago, this was not the case with health resorts. The analysis of the data gathered by questionnaires from resort guests shows that these traditional guests are predominantly oriented toward the special and general therapeutic services concentrated in the narrow health resort-tourist zone. For this reason there has been almost no demand for private rooms in the past decade.

The phenomenon mentioned above of buying holiday homes has caught on in some other health resort areas in Slovenia such as the Čatež Thermal Spa, Atomske Toplice, and Moravske Toplice only in the last decade as a result of the development of tourist services for guests whose primary motives for visiting these resorts are vacations and recreation (in and along the water) rather than health. As this phenomenon has only just begun in Rogaška Slatina (e.g. apartment suites in Vila Golf), such interests have not yet gained in importance. Of course, the future of this trend also depends on the strategy of tourist development and spatial management of the settlement. In this respect, too, Rogaška Slatina has limited possibilities due to the spatial limitations in the health resort-tourist zone itself while the wider surroundings are heavily populated and urbanized and thus less suitable.

Only in the last decade have we been able once again to see a more deliberate influence of tourism on the **urban management of the central part of the town**. A by-pass road was built south of the town center, while the central part of the town along Celjska ulica was made into a pedestrian zone. A new regional road between Celje and Rogatec running through Spodnje Neganje was also constructed to reroute transit traffic.

The questionnaire filled out by 1,020 residents of Rogaška Slatina yielded some interesting results since we anticipated that most would be using the existing sports and recreational facilities in the health resort-tourist zone. However, with the exception of the tennis courts (used by 13% of local residents), only a very small percentage of local residents use the other sports and recreational facilities (less than 1% ski at Janina or use the golf course). The opening of the new thermal swimming pool complex probably increased their use of the facilities, since previously 7% of the residents of Rogaška Slatina often went to swim in nearby Atomske Toplice.

The results also showed no noticeable influence on the **development of tourism in vicinity of Rogaška Slatina** in spite its great potential for excursion activities by health resort guests and local residents. There was certainly an increase in the recreational use of forest and farm land by local residents, but there were none of the intensive or wider functional or physiognomic effects typical of areas around other larger tourist centers. This is particularly the case with mountain and seaside tourist areas with a very developed tourist infrastructure (tourist roads, walking trails, various sports and recreational facilities, ski lifts, entertain-

ment and catering facilities, etc.), superstructure (particularly smaller accommodation and catering facilities), and even the emergence of small secondary tourist sites in the vicinity. With the exception of Atomske Toplice, these processes are not typical in the vicinity of traditional health resorts with low guest mobility such as Rogaška Slatina, Dobrna, Laško, and Radenci.

## 7. Conclusion

Long years of tourist development in Rogaška Slatina influenced the formation of an internationally important health resort that with the development of industry and other urban activities and urbanization following World War II developed into a multi-functional tourist area with a modern urban settlement, and a municipality center in which tourist activities are concentrated in the central health resort-tourist zone. For many decades these activities have influenced and helped shape the overall social, economic, and functional structure of the settlement as well as its physiognomic appearance.

The intertwining of health resort-tourist activities with other activities resulted in the shaping of specific landscape structures as well as conflicts arising from various demands on the space. Since the majority of these activities are in competition with each other, the question arises of how to coordinate the future spatial development of the settlement to avoid conflict between individual users of space and to avert ecological problems.

While the introduction of natural gas heating and the regulation of emissions from technological processes significantly improved the ecological situation, the problem of the location and physiognomic appearance of the industrial zones remains. Although these zones are relatively distant from the central health resort-tourist zone (no direct visual contact), they may have a negative influence on further tourist development. A particular problem is that the vicinity of the health resort-tourist zone is heavily built up and therefore the resort can only expand into a very narrow valley to the north where the construction of a new hotel is planned. The spatial limitations of the present location also do not allow for the building of larger recreational facilities exploiting the thermal water, as was done in several competing resorts in Slovenia that have also increased the number of guests with less labour-intensive tourist services in apartment villages.

Owing to its spatial and current financial limitations, Rogaška Slatina is maintaining the present forms of »classic« hotel-oriented health tourism, which they have recently augmented with sports and recreational facilities and special preventive packages (e.g., the Wellness Program) to attract new target groups of guests and increase the number of visitors.

The question is to what extent the tourist offer of Rogaška Slatina should follow the example of other health resorts in Slovenia and elsewhere. Developments in tourist demand (in particular, the new demands of tourists that appear with ever increasing frequency) represent a new challenge for those responsible for tourist development and at the same time pose questions about the sense of constantly introducing innovations into the tourist offer for new groups of tourists whose interests may conflict with the interests of the traditional guests, who still comprise the majority of visitors to Rogaška Slatina.

Notwithstanding the developmental pressure to gradually augment the traditional health resort offer with new forms aimed at a sports and recreation-oriented target group, I believe that the health resort in Rogaška Slatina must continue to base its tourist offer on its natural assets and their exploitation, in particular on its mineral water whose unique curative qualities attracts guests from Central Europe and beyond. This has been the primary feature of this health resort that has distinguished it from other resorts for several hundred years.

It is the natural resources and modern medicinal-therapeutic treatments that allow Rogaška Slatina to focus on specialized medical and tourist services – particularly for Europe's aging population – and offer

possibilities for further development in the new millennium. In this way, I expect Rogaška Slatina to remain an important tourist destination in Slovenia, even though in terms of tourist visits it will lag behind other resorts with no spatial or other limitations on the expansion of their activities that oriented themselves in the last decade toward mass recreational health resort tourism on the basis of sport, recreation, entertainment, and special events. In this respect as well as from the viewpoint of globalization, more extensive cooperation between Rogaška Slatina and the nearby resort of Atomske Toplice would be recommended. The two resorts are not in competition but rather complement each other in terms of the services they offer and together they could follow modern trends in the development of health resorts in Europe.

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## 9. Summary in Slovene – Povzetek

### Vpliv turizma na razvoj Rogaške Slatine

*Uroš Horvat*

#### 1. Uvod

Rogaška Slatina sodi s svojo večstoletno turistično zgodovino med najstarejše in najpomembnejše turistične kraje v Sloveniji. Dolgoletni turistični razvoj je vplival na oblikovanje specifične družbeno-ekonomsko in funkcijeske strukture naselja ter njegov fiziognomski izgled.

Zdraviliška dejavnost ter z njo povezane spremiševalne dejavnosti (gostinstvo, trgovina, uslužnostne dejavnosti) so bile skozi celotno 19. in prvo četrtino 20. stoletja prevladujoč dejavnik razvoja do tedaj agrarnega naselja. Novo obdobje predstavlja začetek razvoja industrije (leta 1927), ki je po drugi svetovni vojni prevzela vlogo prevladujočega gospodarskega dejavnika. Velika gospodarska moč je privlačevala prebivalstvo ter druge mestotvorne dejavnosti. Iz nekdaj izrazito turističnega kraja se je Rogaška Slatina po drugi svetovni vojni razvila v polifunkcionalen turistični kraj, v katerem je turistična dejavnost le ena od pomembnih dejavnosti ter vezana na osrednji zdraviliško-turistični del naselja. Prepletanje različnih funkcij je vplivalo na oblikovanje specifičnih pokrajinskih struktur, pa tudi navzkrižj, ki izhajajo iz različnih zahtev po prostoru.

#### 2. Najpomembnejša obdobja turističnega razvoja v Rogaški Slatini

Vrelec mineralne vode v dolini Irskega potoka se prvič omenja v sredini 12. stoletja (Režek 1964, 49). Že ob koncu 17. stoletja je bila rogaška mineralna voda v Srednji Evropi dobro poznana. Njeno tržišče je bilo razvijano, največ pa so je prodali na Dunaju. Iz tega obdobja izvirajo tudi prvi knjižni zapisi o zdravilih učinkih, na primer Sorbait leta 1680 in Gründel leta 1685 (Mlacović 1995, 8–14).

Na začetku 19. stoletja je vrelce pod vodstvom štajerskega glavarja Attemsa odkupila deželna oblast. S tem se je začelo urejeno izkoriščanje zdravilne vode in gradnja mondenega zdravilišča, ki je privabljalo številne ugledne goste tedanje Evrope. Zaradi dolgoletnega turističnega razvoja se je močno spremenila zunanjina podoba kraja, ki je iz agrarnega območja preraslo v zdraviliški turistični kraj in nato v mestno naselje.

V turističnem razvoju Rogaške Slatine izrazito izstopata dve osnovni časovni obdobjji.

Prvo obdobje obsega obdobje do konca druge svetovne vojne, ki ga v zgodovini evropskega turizma označujemo kot začetno in razvojno obdobje turizma. Glavna značilnost tega obdobja je, da so bili v turistična potovanja vključeni večinoma le premožni sloji prebivalstva. Tako je Rogaška Slatina v času poletne sezone v obdobju od sredine 19. stoletja do prve svetovne vojne predstavljala pomembno zbirališče elitnega in premožnega prebivalstva iz takratnih avstrijskih dežel Štajerske, Hrvaške in Ogrske, po prvi svetovni vojni pa predvsem iz današnje Hrvaške in Srbije (zlasti iz Zagreba in Beograda). Gostov iz območja današnje Slovenije je bilo razmeroma malo. Turistični obisk je bil vezan le na poletno sezono in je le počasi naraščal; višek je dosegel pred prvo in pred drugo svetovno vojno. Vidni rezultat tega obdobja je staro jedro zdravilišča z mogočnimi hotelskimi objekti sredi tedaj agrarne pokrajine ter urejen osrednji zdraviliški park in bližnja okolica zdravilišča.

Drugo obdobje sledi po drugi svetovni vojni in ga označujemo kot obdobje organiziranega in institucionaliziranega turizma. Tesno je povezano z gospodarskim razvojem v zahodnih razvitih državah ter z zvišanjem življenjskega standarda prebivalstva, kar je omogočilo povečano turistično povpraševanje in

ponudbo. Razvila se je t. i. turistična industrija, ki je omogočila turistična potovanja tudi širšim množicam. V tem obdobju so z različnimi socialnimi ukrepi oziroma olajšavami omogočili vključevanje v turizem tudi razmeroma širokim množicam v nekdanjih socialističnih državah. Zaradi velikega povečanja turističnega prometa lahko označimo to obdobje tudi kot obdobje množičnega turizma.

V Rogaški Slatini je obdobje povezano z velikim povečanjem turističnega obiska, ki je v začetku temeljilo predvsem na socialnem in zdravstvenem turizmu. V 70., še zlasti pa v 80. letih je zdravilišče začelo širiti svojo ponudbo tudi na druge ciljne skupine gostov. Konec 80. let je dopolnilo klasično zdraviliško ponudbo z rekreacijsko-turistično ponudbo. Odprtost meja ter širjenje in visoka kvaliteta turistične ponudbe je vplivala na povečevanje mednarodnih turističnih tokov. Vidni učinek tega obdobja je razširitev zdraviliškega jedra z novimi objekti za namestitve gostov in specializirano zdravstveno-terapevtsko ponudbo, z objekti in napravami za šport, rekreacijo in zabavo gostov ter z raznimi oskrbno-storitvenimi dejavnostmi.

Glede na razvoj namestitvenih zmogljivosti in drugih turističnih objektov, dinamiko turističnih tokov v zdravilišču ter s tem povezanim obsegom in značilnostmi turističnega obiska (Horvat 2000a), lahko turistični razvoj Rogaške Slatine po letu 1800 podrobnejše razdelimo na naslednja **razvojna obdobia**:

- obdobje med letoma **1803 in 1840**: s prehodom lastništva vrelcev v roke štajerskih deželnih stanov se je začelo urejeno izkoriščanje mineralne vode in delovanje zdravilišča. Leta 1810 so zgradili prvo kopališče, leta 1813 »prvi« Zdraviliški dom. Leta 1819 so z 12 jonskimi stebri obdali najstarejši vrelec Tempel, ki stoji v središču urbanistične zasnove zdravilišča in predstavlja enega najlepših klasicističnih objektov v Sloveniji. Okoli njega se je v nadaljnjih obdobjih razvila zdraviliško-turistična cona. Do zgraditve prvih hotelov je bil obseg turističnega obiska skromen (leta 1823 je v Rogaško Slatino prišlo 654 gostov).
- obdobje med letoma **1841 in 1860**: predstavlja obdobje intenzivne gradnje hotelskih in drugih objektov, ki tvorijo najstarejše jedro zdravilišča: hotel Styria (1842), Strossmayerjev dom (1848), Zagrebški dom (1852), »drugi« Zdraviliški dom (1845 in 1858). V tem obdobju so uredili tudi zdraviliški park, ki predstavlja osrednje območje preživljanja prostega časa in druženja gostov. Leta 1860 je zdraviliška uprava razpolagala s 405 sobami z okoli 700 ležišči. Število gostov se je gibalo od 1200 do 2700 na leto. Zdravilišče je delovalo od maja do septembra, višek sezone pa je bil julija in avgusta. Zaradi obiska pomembnih osebnosti tedanje dobe, je zdravilišče pridobilo mednarodni sloves, kar je pospešilo turistični obisk.
- obdobje med letoma **1861 in 1902**: v zdravilišču ni bilo večjih gradenj. Turistično ponudbo so začeli dopolnjevati manjši zasebni hoteli, penzioni in vile z zasebnimi sobami. Leta 1886 je bil zajet vrelec Styria. Turistični obisk (1900 do 3000 gostov na leto) je stagniral.
- obdobje med letoma **1903 in 1914**: je obdobje ponovnega razcveta Rogaške Slatine. Ob 100. obletnici zdravilišča so modernizirali starejše in zgradili nove hotelske in druge objekte: Ljubljanski dom (1904), hotel Soča (1906), »tretji« Zdraviliški dom (1912), sodobno Hidroterapijo (1904). Leta 1908 so odkrili najmočnejši vrelec imenovan Donat. Železniška proga Grobelno–Rogatec (1903) je zelo olajšala prometno dostopnost. Pred začetkom prve svetovne vojne je bilo v Rogaški Slatini več kot 650 sob z okoli 1100 ležišči. Zasebne sobe je oddajalo tudi 24 lastnikov penzionov in vil. Del domačinov je že bil odvisen od zaposlitve v zdravilišču. Turistični obisk se je močno povečal in dosegel višek leta 1912 (5300 gostov). Največ gostov je prišlo iz dežele Štajerske (39 %), Ogrske (26 %), Hrvaške (14 %) ter Zgornje in Spodnje Avstrije (9 %).
- obdobje med letoma **1914 in 1918**: prva svetovna vojna je prekinila razvoj zdravilišča. Leta 1917 so zgradili Invalidski dom (kasneje imenovan Beograjski dom, sedaj Vila Golf).
- obdobje med letoma **1919 in 1940**: med obema svetovnima vojnama so v osrednjem delu zdravilišča zgradili hotel Park (1929) in hotel Slovenijo (1938), med zasebnimi hoteli pa hotela Boč (1933) in Bohor (1935). Spomladi leta 1941 je zdraviliška uprava razpolagala s 1515 ležišči, v privatni lasti pa je bilo še okoli 600 ležišč (v več kot 40 penzionih in vilah). Zasebni sektor je bil celo tako močan, da so leta 1938 v njem zabeležili tretjino vseh nočitev. Število gostov se je gibalo od 5000 do 8000, število nočitev pa od 70.000 do 123.000 na leto. Turistični obisk je imel izrazito sezonski značaj, saj je bil do leta 1938 v zimski sezoni odprt le Beograjski dom. Višek turističnega obiska je bil julija in avgusta (71 % vseh nočitev). Povprečna dolžina bivanja gostov je bila 14 do 16,5 dni. Po prvi svetovni vojni se je spremenilo gravitacijsko zaledje zdravilišča. Največ gostov je prihajalo iz tedanje Jugoslavije (76 % domačih gostov iz Hrvaške in Srbije in le 15 % iz območja Slovenije). V zdravilišču je bilo zaposlenih 230 do 250 oseb; večji del le v sezoni (Zorko 1992, 173–174).

- obdobje med letoma **1941 in 1945**: druga svetovna vojna je prekinila turistični razvoj.
- obdobje med letoma **1946 in 1965**: po drugi svetovni vojni je obnova namestitvenih objektov omogočila delovanje zdravilišča čez celo leto. Z nacionalizacijo so hotelske in druge objekte združili pod upravo zdravilišča, zasebni sektor pa je posedoval le še zasebne sobe izven osrednjega zdraviliškega dela. Turistični obisk je naglo naraščal, zlasti na račun socialnega in zdravstvenega turizma. Število gostov se je do leta 1965 povečalo na 22.000, število nočitev pa na 320.000 na leto. Gosti so povprečno bivali v zdravilišču od 11,5 do 13 dni. V zimski polovici leta (to je od januarja do marca in od oktobra do decembra) so registrirali okoli 30 % nočitev, glavna sezona pa se je razširila na obdobje od junija do oktobra. Prevlačevali so gosti iz Hrvaške (okoli 50 % nočitev) in Srbije (10 %). Gosti iz Slovenije so ustvarili le okoli 20 % nočitev. Po letu 1955 so v zdravilišče ponovno prišli tuji gosti (večina iz Avstrije), ki so leta 1965 ustvarili okoli 20 % nočitev. V tem obdobju so v Rogaski Slatini zabeležili kar 40 % vseh nočitev v zdraviliških turističnih krajih v Sloveniji. V 60. letih je bilo v podjetju Zdravilišče Rogaska zaposlenih okoli 450, v Steklarni Rogaska pa okoli 900 delavcev, tako da je industrija postala najpomembnejša gospodarska dejavnost v naselju. Razvijale so se tudi druge dejavnosti, kar vse je ugodno vplivalo na demografsko rast in na prostorsko širjenje Rogaške Slatine in naselij v okolici.
- obdobje med letoma **1966 in 1973**: je obdobje zmanjšanja turističnega obiska, ki ga je povzročila sprememba zakona, ki je zaostril kriterije glede pošiljanja zavarovancev zdravstvenega zavarovanja v zdravilišče (ti so do tedaj predstavljeni večino gostov). Število gostov se je zmanjšalo na okoli 23.000, število nočitev pa na 180.000 do 240.000 na leto (povprečne dolžine bivanja gostov so bile le 8 do 10 dni). Zaradi zmanjšanega domačega obiska, se je zdravilišče preusmerilo na tuje goste; njihov delež je narasel na 45 do 50 % (večina jih je prišla iz Avstrije). Ker pa v Rogaski Slatini ni bilo sodobnih hotelskih zmogljivosti, so v tem obdobju začeli z gradnjo sodobnega zdravilišča. V prvi faziji so zgradili stavbo Terapije (1965) in Pivnice (1967), kar je bistveno izboljšalo zdravstveno-terapevtski del zdravilišča, nato pa je sledila gradnja sodobnih hotelov.
- obdobje med letoma **1974 in 1990**: je obdobje največjega turističnega razcveta Rogaške Slatine. Z zgraditvijo modernih hotelov Donat (1974) in Sava (1982) (konec 80. let je bilo v Rogaski Slatini 1578 ležišč; od teh kar 90 % v hotelih) ter spremiščevalnih objektov in naprav (konec 80. let so zgradili športni center z igrišči na prostem, pokrito športno dvorano z igrišči za tenis, vadišče za golf in Beauty center) se je močno povečal turistični obisk. Število gostov se je povečalo na 44.000 (leta 1990), število nočitev pa je doseglo višek leta 1985 (385.000). Gosti so v povprečju v zdravilišču bivali 9 do 10 dni, konec 80. let pa 8 dni. V zimski polovici leta so zabeležili že okoli 40 % nočitev. Pri domačih gostih so v tem obdobju opazni trije viški turističnega obiska (julija in avgusta, maja ter januarja), pri tujih gostih pa dva viška (maja in septembra). Do sredine 80. let so največ nočitev ustvarili gosti iz drugih republik bivše Jugoslavije; večina jih je bila iz Hrvaške (35 do 45 % nočitev). Konec 80. let se je turistični obisk iz drugih republik bivše Jugoslavije začel zmanjševati, povečal pa se je delež nočitev tujih gostov (35 do 40 %; največ iz Italije in Avstrije pa tudi iz ZRN, Finske in Izraela). V tem obdobju je bila Rogaska Slatina po številu nočitev še vedno največje zdravilišče v Sloveniji (z okoli 25 % vseh nočitev), vendar pa se je s pospešenim razvojem drugih zdravilišč začel njen pomen zmanjševati.
- obdobje **po letu 1991**: je obdobje ponovne krize zdravilišča. Posledica vojn na Balkanu, spremembe turističnih tokov in povpraševanja turistov, pa tudi razmer v zdravilišču, je močno zmanjšanje turističnega obiska. V primerjavi z letom 1990 se je število nočitev leta 1999 zmanjšalo za 44 % (s 356.000 na 199.000 nočitev). Za 19 % se je zmanjšal turistični obisk iz Slovenije (vendar pa so domači gosti šele v tem obdobju prvič postali najpomembnejša skupina gostov z okoli 40 do 45 % nočitev), skoraj popolnoma pa je izpadel obisk iz drugih republik bivše Jugoslavije. Leta 1999 so ti gosti ustvarili le še okoli 7 % nočitev (leta 1985 okoli 44 %). Povečalo se je le število tujih gostov; največ jih prihaja iz Italije (27,5 % vseh nočitev v letu 1999), Avstrije (15,9 %), Izraela (4,1 %) in Rusije (6,2 %). Povprečna dolžina bivanja gostov se je skrajšala na 5,7 dni. Temu so pripomogle relativno visoke cene (vsaj tako menijo anketirani gosti), manjše število gostov preko zdravstvenega zavarovanja ter večji delež gostov, ki so prišli le na zdravniške pregledne, krašjo zdravstveno preventivo ali na seminarje. Pri sezonski razporeditvi nočitev je izpadel izrazit poletni višek. Obstajajo štirje viški turističnega obiska (marca, maja, avgusta in oktobra) in dva nižka (decembra in januarja). Razporeditev je posledica prevladujočih tujih gostov, ki prihajajo v zdravilišče predvsem v spomladanskem in jesenskem času. Turistični obisk se je koncentriral v hotelskih objektih (99 % nočitev). Kar 76 % vseh nočitev registrirajo v hotelih Sava, Donat, Slovenija in v Zdraviliškem domu. Zaradi nizkega deleža zasedenosti in razpada podjetja Zdravilišče Rogaska so bili

nekateri starejši objekti zaprti ali prodani; Beograjski dom je bil preurejen v zasebne turistične apartmaje (Vila Golf), Slatinski dom v apartotel Slatina, hotel Turist pa v sedež nove občine. Hoteli Ljubljanski dom, Trst in Soča že več let ne obratujejo. Leta 1999 je bilo v Rogaški Slatini le še 1130 ležišč, kar predstavlja zmanjšanje za 47,2 % v primerjavi z letom 1983, oziroma 28,4 % v primerjavi z letom 1991.

Razvoj drugih zdraviliških turističnih krajev v Sloveniji (ki so se z zgraditvijo modernih športno-rekreativskih objektov v veliki meri preusmerili v rekreacijski, počitniški in izletniški turizem) je vplival na dejstvo, da Rogaška Slatina (kjer turistična ponudba še vedno temelji pretežno na zdravilnih učinkih mineralne vode ter zdravstveno-preventivnih storitev) po letu 1990 ni več največji zdraviliški turistični kraj v Sloveniji (glede na število nočitev). Že leta 1990 so jo prehiteli Čateške Toplice, leta 1995 Moravske Toplice in leta 1996 Atomske Toplice. Leta 1999 so v Rogaški Slatini registrirali le še 10,6 % vseh nočitev v zdraviliških turističnih krajih v Sloveniji (za primerjavo: 41,9 % leta 1960 in 24,9 % leta 1985). Zmanjšal se je tudi pomen Rogaške Slatine v Sloveniji. Do leta 1990 je sodila med pet turističnih krajev z največjim številom nočitev, leta 1999 pa se je uvrstila na deveto mesto.

Takšno stanje prikazuje tudi **krivulja turističnega razvoja v Rogaški Slatini** (izdelana na osnovi indeksa gibanja števila nočitev), ki sem jo primerjal s krivuljo, ki jo prikazuje **Butlerjev model razvoja turističnega kraja** (Pearce 1995, 12; Haywood 1988, 158). Rezultati kažejo, da je turistični razvoj v Rogaški Slatini prehajal skozi različne faze pospešenega turističnega razvoja (3. faza po Butlerju) in utrditve turističnega prometa (4. faza), ki ga je prinesla novozgrajena ali obnovljena turistična infrastruktura. Ta obdobja so prekinjala posamezna krizna obdobja (zaradi različnih političnih, gospodarskih, administrativnih in drugih vzrokov), ko je prišlo do stagnacije (5. faza) ter večjega ali manjšega zmanjšanja števila nočitev (na primer med prvo in drugo svetovno vojno, med letoma 1967 in 1969 ter po letu 1990). Sedanji turistični razvoj se nahaja v 6. fazi Butlerjevega modela, saj je prišlo do najbolj intenzivnega zmanjšanja turističnega obiska po drugi svetovni vojni. Če ne bo prišlo do novih vlaganj, prenovitve obstoječih turističnih kapacetov ter širjenja in izboljševanja turistične ponudbe, ki bo v zdravilišče pritegnila nove turistične tokove, se bo sedanje stanje nadaljevalo.

V primerjavi z izbranimi zdraviliškimi turističnimi kraji v Sloveniji (Horvat 2000a, 189) podobno stanje izkazujeta tudi Dobrni in Radenci. Tudi tu v 80. in 90. letih ni bilo večjih investicij v namestitvene zmogljivosti in širjenje turistične ponudbe, zato je krivulja po letu 1985 obrnjena navzdol. Vendar pa se turistični obisk v Radencih po zgraditvi termalnega kopalnišča zopet povečuje, medtem ko se je v Dobrni (kjer se turistična ponudba ni spremenila) zmanjšalo celo na raven iz 50. let. Nasprotno pa se Čateške Toplice, Moravske Toplice in Atomske Toplice intenzivno turistično razvijajo. Razvoj je vzpodbudilo širjenje turistične ponudbe z nezdraviliškimi aktivnostmi (na primer dopustniški, rekreacijski in izletniški turizem) ter gradnja pretežno nehotelskih prenočitvenih objektov.

Dinamika turističnega razvoja Rogaške Slatine kaže, da je Rogaška Slatina doživljala različna ter bolj ali manj izrazita obdobja turističnega razvoja (napredovanje, stagnacija, nazadovanje), ki so odraz **vpliva različnih dejavnikov turističnega razvoja**:

- naravne danosti: imajo pomemben vpliv na rast turističnega povraševanja pa tudi na sestavo in oblike turistične ponudbe. Poseben pomen ima dejstvo, da je zdravilna mineralna voda z visoko vsebnostjo magnezija ves čas zadržala sloves uspešnega zdravilnega sredstva in še danes (ob sodobni zdravstveno-terapevtski ponudbi) predstavlja najpomembnejši element turistične ponudbe in njen prepoznaven znak, ki loči zdravilišče v Rogaški Slatini od drugih zdravilišč.
- razvoj turistične ponudbe, zlasti namestitvenih objektov: vsakemu obdobju izgradnje novih objektov ali prenovitve obstoječih je sledilo obdobje povečanja turističnega obiska (na primer med letoma 1841 in 1860, 1903 in 1914, 1950 in 1960, 1974 in 1990).
- razvoj druge turistične ponudbe: zgraditev objektov s specializirano zdravstveno-terapevtsko ponudbo (leta 1904, 1965, 1967) je omogočila razširitev in izboljšanje te dejavnosti ter vplivala na povečanje turističnega obiska, zlasti tistih gostov, ki jim je v zdravilišču primarna aktivnost specialna terapija. Konec 80. let se je turistična ponudba začela širiti tudi z objekti in napravami za šport, rekreacijo, zabavo ter se iz klasične zdraviliške ponudbe spremenila v večfunkcionalno zdraviliško in rekreacijsko ponudbo.

- turistično povpraševanje: se kaže v dinamiki turističnega obiska ter v motivih in navadah gostov. Glede na rezultate anketiranja 1300 gostov med letoma 1994 in 1997 (Horvat 2000, 27) zaradi zdravljenja prihaja v Rogaska Slatino 48 % gostov, pri 23 % pa prevladuje t.i. zdravstvena preventiva. Na spremembe v turističnem povpraševanju bi lahko kazalo dejstvo, da je 24 % gostov izjavilo, da so prišli v zdravilišče na dopust, vendar pa med njimi le petina gostov ni imela kakšne od terapij. Močno se je zmanjšal tudi obisk v zasebnih sobah. Pred drugo svetovno vojno so v njih registrirali več kot 30 % vseh nočitev, v 70. letih okoli 10 %, v 90. letih pa manj kot 1 %.
- politični vplivi: politične razmere in spremembe državnih meja so vplivale na preusmeritev turističnih tokov v obdobju po prvi svetovni vojni ter na spremembo gravitacijskega območja zdravilišča. Zaradi spremembe političnega sistema in družbenega reda, se je po drugi svetovni vojni bistveno zmanjšal obisk tujih gostov, ki pa se je konec 60. let (zaradi odprtih meja) začel zopet povečevati. Velik vpliv je imela tudi vojna v Sloveniji (leta 1991) in na območju nekdajne Jugoslavije.
- gospodarski vplivi: ugodne ekonomske razmere in zvišanje življenjskega standarda so v posameznih obdobjih vzpodbujale turistični razvoj (gradnja turistične infrastrukture in superstrukture) ter vzpodbujale domači in mednarodni turistični promet (na primer sredi 19. stoletja, v obdobju pred prvo svetovno vojno, sredi 70. let, konec 80. let), obenem pa so negativno vplivale tudi neugodne razmere (na primer gospodarska kriza konec 19. stoletja, sredi 30. let, razpad podjetja Zdravilišče Rogaska v 90. letih in podobno).
- družbeni vplivi (vrednote, tradicija, socialna politika): so pomembno vplivali zlasti v obdobju po drugi svetovni vojni. Zelo velik vpliv je imela socialna politika, ki je vzpodbujala socialni in zdravstveni turizem, s čemer se je bistveno povečal turistični obisk med letoma 1946 in 1965. S spremembo zakona o zdravstvenem zavarovanju, se je po letu 1966 omejilo pošiljanje zavarovancev v zdravilišča. Zaradi tega so se morala le-ta preusmeriti v pridobivanje novih gostov (zlasti iz tujine). Podobno velja tudi v 90. letih.

### **3. Vpliv turizma na zaposlenost prebivalstva v Rogashi Slatini**

Med najbolj neposredne učinke turističnega razvoja sodi zaposlenost prebivalstva v dejavnostih, ki so neposredno povezane s turizmom. Od začetka 19. pa do prve četrtine 20. stoletja so v Rogashi Slatini med neagrarnimi dejavnostmi prevladovale zaposlitve v zdravilišču (okoli 230 zaposlenih) in v dejavnostih, ki so z njim povezane: v trgovini, uslužnostnih dejavnosti in podobno. Leta 1927 je začela delovati steklarna v bližnjem Tržišču, ki je v nasprotju s sezonsko zaposlitvijo v zdravilišču, redno zaposlovala okoli 250 delavcev.

Razvoj delovnih mest v povezavi s turizmom je bil najbolj intenziven po drugi svetovni vojni. Leta 1950 je bilo v **Zdravilišču Rogaska** zaposlenih 320 delavcev, leta 1970 497 delavcev, leta 1986 1180 delavcev, leta 2000 (v času največjega zmanjšanja turističnega obiska po drugi svetovni vojni in po razpadu nekdanjega enotnega podjetja v več zasebnih podjetij) pa le še okoli 420 delavcev. Velja prepričanje, da turizem vpliva predvsem na razvoj manj zahtevnih delovnih mest, vendar pa so zdraviliški turistični kraji izjema, saj zaposlujejo tudi precej delavcev z višjo in visoko izobrazbo. Leta 1998 je imelo v Zdravilišču Rogaska 11,9 % zaposlenih več kot srednješolsko izobrazbo, 55,5 % pa je bilo kvalificiranega kadra in kadra s srednješolsko izobrazbo (za primerjavo: v industrijskih podjetjih v Rogashi Slatini je bila izobrazbena sestava izrazito nizka, saj sodi več kot polovica zaposlenih med nekvalificirane in polkvalificirane delavce) (Horvat 2000a, 131).

Neposredno ali posredno je s turizmom povezan tudi razvoj številnih delovnih mest v **terciarnih dejavnosti**. Gosti zdravilišča (pretežno ali izključno) koristijo usluge v frizerskih in kozmetičnih salonih, trgovinah s spominki, menjalnicah, kioskih s časniki in drugod. Z razvojem tržnega gospodarstva in privatnega podjetništva se je v zadnjih desetih letih število teh dejavnosti zelo povečalo. Frizerske in kozmetične storitve je leta 1972 nudilo 7 obratov (Došler 1971, 196), leta 1986 11 obratov (Veronek 1987, 211), leta 1997 pa 14 obratov; med njimi je bilo 7 obratov v osrednjem delu naselja. Z gostinsko dejavnostjo se je leta 1986 ukvarjalo 9 obratov, leta 1997 pa kar 46 obratov; med njimi je bilo 24 obratov v osrednjem delu naselja. V osrednjem delu Rogaske Slatine je bilo leta 1997 tudi okoli 40 trgovin, med katerimi so prevladovale trgovine s ponudbo tekstila, obutve, športne opreme, modnih dodatkov, spominkov in podobno. Več kot polovica jih je začela poslovati šele v zadnjih šestih letih. V istem območju se je nahajalo tudi okoli 30 obratov uslužnostnih dejavnosti.

Gosti zdravilišča so v teh obratih (po mnenju anketiranih zaposlenih) ustvarili pomemben del prometa; povprečno v obratih v ožji zdraviliško-turistični coni več kot 80 %, v širši zdraviliško-turistični coni od 20 do 50 % in v oskrbno-storitveni coni od 10 do 30 %.

Zaradi tega menim, da je poleg okoli 450 delovnih mest v Zdravilišču Rogaška (v letu 1999), s turizmom v naselju posredno povezanih (in bolj ali manj odvisnih) vsaj še okoli 150 delovnih mest v različnih terciarnih dejavnostih, ter nekaj sezonskih delovnih mest v gospodinjstvih, ki se ukvarjajo z oddajanjem zasebnih sob. V 70. letih se je s tem ukvarjalo več kot 40 gospodinjstev, v sredini 90. let pa le še okoli 20.

Natančno število delovnih mest, ki so povezana s turizmom, je težko ugotoviti. To ne omogočajo niti statistični podatki SURS-a, saj statistika ne razčlenjuje delovnih mest po njihovi odvisnosti od turizma, z izjemo tistih, ki so z njim primarno pogojena (Jeršič 1991, 157). Tako so v rubriko Gostinstvo in turizem zajete le zaposlene osebe v gostinskih organizacijah in v turističnih agencijah (ki na primer niso vse povezane z zdraviliško dejavnostjo v Rogaški Slatini), medtem ko so v rubriko Zdravstvo zajeti tako zaposleni v Zdravilišču Rogaška, kot tudi drugi v zdravstvu in socialnem varstvu (ki tudi nimajo opravka z zdraviliško dejavnostjo) v kraju.

Vendar pa lahko glede na podatke o **številu delovnih mest v Rogaški Slatini** ugotovimo, da turistična dejavnost v Rogaški Slatini ni prevladujoča dejavnost. Po drugi svetovni vojni je to postala industrija. Leta 1991 je bilo v Rogaški Slatini 4153 delovnih mest, ki so jih zasedali državljeni Slovenije, poleg teh pa še okoli 900 delovnih mest, ki so jih zasedali državljeni Hrvaške. Med vsemi (okoli 5000) delovnimi mesti se jih je okoli 50 % nahajajo v sekundarnih dejavnostih, okoli 33 % v terciarnih dejavnostih in okoli 15 % v kvartarnih dejavnostih. V gostinstvu in turizmu so zabeležili 13,5 % delovnih mest, v zdravstvu in socialnem varstvu pa 6,3 %.

Rogaška Slatina je torej po sestavi delovnih mest bolj industrijski kot turistični kraj. Največji industrijski podjetji sta Steklarna Rogaška (1840 zaposlenih leta 1990, oziroma 1343 zaposlenih leta 2000) ter KORS (487 zaposlenih leta 1990, oziroma 310 zaposlenih leta 2000). Pomembna je tudi Steklarska šola Rogaška Slatina, saj v njenem proizvodnjem obratu dela kar 90 % vseh zaposlenih (od 371 zaposlenih leta 2000). S turizmom je bilo sicer povezanih visoko absolutno število delovnih mest, vendar pa zaradi polifunkcionalnega gospodarskega razvoja le-ta v sestavi delovnih mest predstavljajo relativno nizek delež (do sredine 90. let okoli 20 % delovnih mest v naselju, po razpadu sistema Zdravilišče Rogaška pa le še okoli 10 %).

Presežek delovnih mest vpliva tudi na intenzivno **dnevno migracijo v Rogaško Slatino**. Leta 1998 je bilo med zaposlenimi v Steklarni Rogaška 75 % dnevnih migrantov (29 % zaposlenih je prihajalo iz Hrvaške), v Steklarski šoli 74 % (23 % iz Hrvaške) in v KORS-u 73 % (16 % iz Hrvaške). Zaradi velikega zmanjšanja števila zaposlenih, se je delež dnevnih migrantov v Zdravilišču Rogaška v 90. letih precej zmanjšal. Leta 1998 je iz okolice Rogaške Slatine prihajalo na delo okoli 25 % vseh zaposlenih, iz Hrvaške pa le še 4,4 %.

Zaradi široke ponudbe in presežka delovnih mest, se tudi domačini le v manjši meri zaposlujejo izven naselja. Leta 1991 je izven Rogaške Slatine odhajalo na delo le 17,3 % domačinov, leta 1996 pa (po rezultatih ankete) 14,5 %. Tako je **sestava aktivnega prebivalstva Rogaške Slatine** podobna sestavi delovnih mest v naselju, vendar pa so domačini z nižjim deležem zaposleni v industriji (po podatkih SURS-a v letu 1991 okoli 42 %, po rezultatih anketiranja v letu 1996 pa okoli 43 %) in z višjim deležem v terciarnih (okoli 32 %) in kvartarnih dejavnostih (okoli 21 %).

Tako stanje kažejo tudi rezultati anketiranja v 744 gospodinjstvih v Rogaški Slatini z vsaj enim zaposlenim članom v letu 1996 (Horvat 2000a, 145). Z anketiranjem sem ugotavljal **povezanost gospodinjstev z zaposlitvijo njihovih članov v zdraviliški in steklarski dejavnosti** v naselju:

- kar v 27,2 % gospodinjstev je bil vsaj en član gospodinjstva zaposlen v Zdravilišču Rogaška, v 8,9 % gospodinjstev, pa so bili tam zaposleni vsi zaposleni člani gospodinjstva. Opomba: po letu 1996 se je delež zaposlenih v Zdravilišču Rogaška močno znižal (na okoli 10 do 15 %).

- na pomen steklarske dejavnosti kaže dejstvo, da se je v drugo skupino uvrstilo kar 32,9 % gospodinjstev, v katerih je bil vsaj en član zaposlen v Steklarni Rogaska ali v Steklarski šoli. Gospodinjstev, v katerih so vsi zaposleni člani delali v Steklarni Rogaska ali v Steklarski šoli je bilo celo 13,0 %.
- v tretjo skupino pa so se uvrstila gospodinjstva, v katerih so bili vsi člani zaposleni v drugih podjetjih in niso imeli neposredne povezave z zdraviliško-turistično in steklarsko dejavnostjo v Rogaski Slatini. Takih je bilo 44,6 % anketiranih gospodinjstev z zaposlenimi člani.

Rogaška Slatina je torej **polifunkcionalni turistični kraj**, v katerem temelji razvoj na industrijski in turistični dejavnosti ter v zadnjem času na vse bolj razvijajočih se terciarnih in kvartarnih dejavnostih.

Polifunkcionalni turistični kraji so se v Sloveniji razvili v dveh vrstah naselij. Prva oblika se je razvila v naseljih, kjer so že bile razvite druge neagrarne dejavnosti, katerim se je kasneje (zaradi razvoja turistične ponudbe) pridružila tudi turistična dejavnost (kot na primer v Izoli, Bovcu, Zrečah). Na drugi strani pa so se razvili v naseljih, v katerih je bila turistična dejavnost med prvimi neagrarnimi dejavnostmi in so se še kasneje pojavile tudi druge neagrarne dejavnosti; zlasti industrija (kot na primer v Rogaski Slatini, Radencih, Dolenjskih Toplicah, na Bledu). Po mnenju raziskovalcev je namreč turistična dejavnost ena od tistih dejavnosti, ki sredi agrarne pokrajine sproža in omogoča začetni razvoj splošne infrastrukture ter nekaterih oskrbnih dejavnosti. Zaradi boljše opremljenosti postajo tovrstni turistični kraji privlačni tudi za lociranje drugih mestotvornih dejavnosti (na primer industrije, terciarnih in kvartarnih dejavnosti) ter za širitev bivalne funkcije. Tako sčasoma večina polifunkcionalnih turističnih krajev preraste v urbana naselja z razvitim centralnimi funkcijami.

Polifunkcionalna usmeritev turističnega kraja lahko predstavlja prednost pa tudi pomankljivost. Gospodarske dejavnosti in zaposlenost v monostruktturnih turističnih krajih, kot so v Sloveniji na primer Kranjska Gora, Bohinj, Rogla, Portorož, Dobrna, Podčetrtek, Čateške Toplice, Moravske Toplice, Šmarješke Toplice, so namreč popolnoma odvisne od dinamike turističnega obiska, spremembe turističnih tokov in različnih trendov, ki usmerjajo turistično povpraševanje. Poleg tega delovna mesta v monostruktturnih turističnih krajih ne nudijo dovolj izbire prebivalcem turističnih krajev (zlasti osebam z višjo kvalifikacijo), kot če so prisotne tudi druge dejavnosti, ki v primeru stagnacije ali upada posamezne dejavnosti lahko ublažijo socialne probleme, ki nastanejo s povečano brezposelnostjo. Prisotnost več vrst dejavnosti je tudi v primeru Rogiske Slatine nekoliko omililo težko gospodarsko stanje, ki ga je povzročilo zmanjšanje turističnega obiska po letu 1990 ter zmanjšanje števila delovnih mest v različnih dejavnostih, ki so neposredno ali posredno povezane s turizmom.

Na drugi strani pa ima lahko polifunkcionalni gospodarski razvoj, pri katerem se vzajemno prepletata turizem in industrija, tudi negativne učinke. Možne so ekološke težave, ki jih povzroča industrija in so v nasprotju s pričakovanom ohranjenostjo kulturne pokrajine, ki privlači turiste. Lahko prihaja tudi do nasprotnih interesov glede rabe prostora in s tem do omejevanja nadaljnjega širjenja območij s posameznimi dejavnostmi. Zaradi pestre ponudbe delovnih mest se lahko med krajani tudi zmanjša zanimanje za delo v turizmu.

#### **4. Vpliv turizma na demografski razvoj v Rogaski Slatini**

Z gospodarskim razvojem je tesno povezan tudi demografski razvoj Rogaska Slatine. Velika gospodarska moč Rogiske Slatine je vseskozi privlačevala prebivalstvo. Velik del prebivalcev se je zaradi zaposlitve tudi priselil v naselje. Rogaška Slatina je tako postala največje naselje na območju Zgornjesotelskega gričevja.

Na osnovi naglega razvoja zdravilišča v prvi polovici in v sredini 19. stoletja lahko sklepamo, da je bil tak tudi demografski razvoj, ki je izražen z **gibanjem števila prebivalstva**. Ob popisu prebivalstva leta 1869 so v Rogaski Slatini zabeležili že 498 prebivalcev. Po letu 1870 je sledilo obdobje stagnacije turističnega obiska, zaradi tega se je tudi število prebivalcev do prve svetovne vojne le počasi večalo (517 prebivalcev leta 1910). Demografski razvoj, ki je bil do tedaj povezan predvsem z razvojem turistične dejavnosti, se je intenziviral po začetku delovanja steklarne med obema vojnoma (967 prebivalcev leta 1931) ter z intenzivno industrializacijo in urbanizacijo po drugi svetovni vojni (1583 prebivalcev leta 1961).

V 70. letih se je razširila administrativna meja naselja in k Rogaški Slatini so priključili večja dela naselij Tržišče in Ratanska vas. Koncentracijo prebivalstva je v tem obdobju sprožila široka možnost zaposlitve in urbanizacija obrobnih delov naselja, tako da je imela Rogaška Slatina več prebivalcev (4904 prebivalcev v 1638 gospodinjstvih leta 1991) kot občinsko središče Šmarje pri Jelšah. Prebivalstvo se je večalo predvsem s priselitvami. Leta 1991 je bilo med vsemi prebivalci 19 % priseljenih iz drugih naselij v občini, 14 % iz drugih občin v Sloveniji in kar 15 % iz drugih republik bivše Jugoslavije (največ iz bližnje Hrvaške).

Na začetku 90. let so se stopnje **naravnega in selitvenega prirastka** zmanjšale. Nataliteta se je zmanjšala že leta 1993 in leta 1996 je v Rogaški Slatini umrlo več prebivalcev, kot se jih je rodilo (letna stopnja naravnega prirastka je znašala -1,6 prebivalcev na 1000 prebivalcev). Z nastankom državne meje med Slovenijo in Hrvaško, se je po letu 1992 omejilo priseljevanje iz Hrvaške, zaradi slabšega gospodarskega stanja pa so se zmanjšale tudi notranje selitve, predvsem priseljevanje iz drugih delov Slovenije. Leta 1995, 1996 in 1998 beležijo negativni selitveni saldo (leta 1998 je znašal -6,6 prebivalcev na 1000 prebivalcev).

Med najpomembnejše kazalce, ki opredeljujejo odnos med prebivalstvom turističnega kraja in turističnim obiskom, sodi t. i. **turistična intenzivnost** (tudi jakost turističnega prometa), ki je izražena s številom nočitev na stalnega prebivalca turističnega kraja v letu. Naraščanje vrednosti posredno dokazuje sorazmerno večanje vplivov turizma, s tem pa tudi spremembe, ki zaradi tega nastanejo. Kraji z visokimi vrednostmi koeficiente turistične intenzivnosti (nad 100 nočitev na prebivalca naselja) so povečani monofunkcionalni turistični kraji in v turizem močno usmerjeni (na primer Kranjska Gora, Bohinj, Rogla, Portorož, Strunjan, Čateške Toplice, Podčetrtek, Moravske Toplice). Kraji s srednjimi vrednostmi koeficiente (10 do 100) so polifunkcionalni turistični kraji, v katerih se turistična vloga prepleta z drugimi (na primer Bled, Bovec, Izola, Piran, Rogaška Slatina, Radenci). V krajih z nizkimi vrednostmi koeficiente (pod 10) pa je turizem neizrazita (ne nujno tudi v absolutnih vrednostih) dejavnost (na primer Ljubljana, Maribor, Nova Gorica, Postojna).

Koeficient turistične intenzivnosti je bil v Rogaški Slatini le redkokdaj višji od 100 nočitev na prebivalca. Pred drugo svetovno vojno se je gibal okoli 60 nočitev na prebivalca, v 70. letih je kljub močnemu povečanju turističnega obiska (a zaradi intenzivnega demografskega gibanja) znašal le okoli 75 nočitev na prebivalca. Ob zmanjšanju turističnega obiska v 90. letih pa se je znižal celo na 40 nočitev na prebivalca.

Zmanjševanje relativnega pomena turistične dejavnosti se kaže tudi v zmanjšanju prometa, ki ga ustvarijo gosti v oskrbno-storitvenih dejavnostih v osrednjem delu naselja. Te dejavnosti so ob sedanjem zmanjšanju turističnega obiska predimenzionirane za potrebe prebivalstva Rogaške Slatine in okolice.

## 5. Vpliv turizma na prostorsko-funkcijski razvoj Rogaške Slatine

Demografskemu in gospodarskemu razvoju je sledil prostorsko-funkcijski razvoj Rogaške Slatine. Že sredi 19. stoletja se je okoli izvirov mineralne vode začela oblikovati zdraviliško-turistična cona z namestitvenimi in drugimi zdraviliškimi objekti. Vodstvo zdravilišča je namreč z odkupom zemljišč in načrtno politiko razvoja zdravilišča v celoti prekinilo dotedanji stihiski razvoj. Zasebni sektor v ožji zdraviliški coni ni imel veliko vpliva. Namestitveni objekti so bili vedno pod upravo zdraviliške uprave, ostale objekte pa so dajali v zakup pod določenimi pogoji. Vodstvo zdravilišča je odkupovalo tudi travniške in gozdne površine v okolici (ki so bile pretežno namenjene rekreaciji obiskovalcev zdravilišča), zato že od samega začetka delovanja zdravilišča ni bila v okolici dovoljena gradnja drugih objektov.

Ta zgodnji razvoj zdraviliško-turistične cone v osrednjem delu naselja ter gričevnat relief z vmesnimi dolinami je pogojeval **funkcijsko členitev naselja v štiri cone**:

- jedro naselja predstavlja klasicističen park, na obrobu katerega se vrstijo zdraviliške stavbe in drugi objekti ter območje za rekreacijo gostov. **Zdraviliško-turistična cona** se z novimi objekti širi v dolino Irskega potoka, z ureditvijo sprehajalnega območja in izgradnjo termalnega kopališča (Termalna riviera) pa pridobiva na pomenu tudi območje ob vzhodnem delu Celjske ceste. Deli se na tri dele.

V osrednjem (**ožjem**) delu je cona funkcionalno izredno homogena, saj so ob zdraviliškem parku zastopane večinoma le dejavnosti za zadovoljevanje zdraviliško-turističnih potreb gostov (za prehrano,

prenočitev in zdravstveno-terapevtske storitve). V hotelih so tudi posamezni specializirani obrati za oskrbo gostov (trafike, prodajalne s specialnimi predmeti; kot na primer z izdelki iz stekla, zlata, z umetniškimi predmeti) in osebne storitvene dejavnosti (frizerski saloni, kozmetični saloni). Tu je tudi nekaj trgovin za srednjeročno oskrbo. Večina obratov je nastala po zgraditvi hotelov Donat in Sava ter po letu 1990. Gosti zdravilišča v večini obratov ustvarijo več kot 80 % vsega prometa.

V širšem delu cone (ob Celjski cesti) prihaja do prepletanja funkcij, saj so poleg turističnih dejavnosti (hoteli, apartmaji, termalno kopališče) prisotne tudi oskrbno-storitvene dejavnosti in dejavnosti javnega značaja (zdravstveni dom, kulturni dom), medtem ko se število stanovanj načrtno zmanjšuje. Stanovanja, ki so še ostala, so stara in slabše opremljena. Načrtno so iz cone selili tudi proizvodne obrate (pekarno, pralnico, polnilnico mineralne vode). Leta 1994 so ob restavraciji Sonce zgradili poslovno-trgovski center Sonce, ki je (poleg območja ob avtobusni postaji) postal središče oskrbnih in storitvenih dejavnosti v Rogaški Slatini. Turisti dnevno zahajajo v to območje in v večini obratov ustvarijo pomemben del prometa. Po navedbah zaposlenih skoraj v polovici obratov ustvarijo 10 do 40 % prometa, v posameznih obratih tudi več.

Tretji del predstavlja **rekreacijska cona**, ki se nahaja severozahodno, severno in vzhodno od osrednjega dela zdravilišča. Športni park in dvorana, vadišče za golf ter več urejenih poti za sprehajanje so večinoma namenjeni rekreaciji in sprostitti gostov zdravilišča in s tem neločljivo povezani z osrednjim delom zdravilišča.

- jugovzhodno od zdraviliško-turistične cone se ob Kidričevi ulici nadaljuje **oskrbno-storitvena in upravna cona** z avtobusno in železniško postajo ter občinsko zgradbo. V severnem delu cone prevladujejo oskrbno-storitvene in kvartarne dejavnosti, v južnem delu pa stanovanjska funkcija. Večji del obratov oskrbnih in drugih dejavnosti je začel delovati po izgradnji in preureditvi v 80. letih in na začetku 90. let. V večji meri so obrati namenjeni prebivalcem Rogaške Slatine in okolice (tudi iz Hrvaške), koristijo pa jih tudi obiskovalci zdravilišča, ki v večjem delu obratov ustvarijo 10 do 30 % prometa, v posameznih obratih tudi manj. Gosti zdravilišča uporabljajo predvsem usluge na pošti, v banki in menjalnicah, gostinskih lokalih ter v nekaterih trgovinah s specialnimi predmeti, tekstilom in obutvijo.
- **industrijske cone** so v Ratanski vasi v severozahodnem delu naselja (tovarna konfekcije KORS, pekarna Klasje, Rultex), ob Kidričevi ulici v osrednjem delu naselja (polnilnica mineralnih vod Kolinska Rogaški vrelci) in v Tržišču v jugovzhodnem delu naselja (Steklarna Rogaška, proizvodni obrat Steklarske šole). Intenziven razvoj teh mestnih predelov se je začel prav z industrializacijo. Ko so ob industrijskih conah nastali stanovanjski predeli, je začel nazadovati vpliv turizma na razvoj naselja.
- najobsežnejša je **stanovanjska cona** (leta 1991 je bilo v Rogaški Slatini 1667 stanovanj). Najstarejši del se nahaja južno od ožjega zdraviliško-turističnega dela naselja ter ob glavnih cestah v Ratanski vasi, Sv. Križu in Tržišču. Sodobna stanovanjska gradnja je bila najbolj intenzivna med letoma 1971 in 1980, ko so zgradili kar 65 % vseh stanovanj v Rogaški Slatini. Naselje se je z gradnjo večstanovanjskih in individualnih hiš intenzivno širilo predvsem na obrobju. Zaradi konfiguracije tal so nastale štiri velike stanovanjske cone.

Severozahodna stanovanjska cona (Ratanska vas) je najmlajša in največja. Leta 1997 je tu živilo 42,8 % vseh prebivalcev Rogaške Slatine. Večino stanovanj (77 %) so zgradili po letu 1971. Osrednji del predstavlja blokovske soseske ob Ulici Kozjanskega odreda, v Žiberniku in ob Župančičevi ulici, kjer (po oceni) živi okoli 50 % vseh prebivalcev Ratanske vasi. Zaključene celote predstavljajo tudi soseske eno- in dvo-stanovanjskih hiš, ki so nastale na obrobju doline ter se nadaljujejo po stranskih dolinah in na pobočjih bližnjega gričevja. Ob Celjski cesti se je razvilo lokalno oskrbovalno središče, novo storitveno in oskrbovalno središče pa je nastalo tudi na območju nekdanjega podjetja Ingrad.

Severovzhodna stanovanjska cona zajema območje Bellevueja, Ločendola, Cvetličnega hriba in Janine. Poselitev poteka ob robu doline Irskega potoka in na gričevju, ki dosega 300 m nadmorske višine. Zaradi konfiguracije terena in pretežno individualne stanovanjske gradnje, je gostota poselitev najmanjša med vsemi stanovanjskimi conami. Leta 1997 je tu živilo 11,7 % vseh prebivalcev Rogaške Slatine. Večino stanovanj (69 %) so zgradili med letoma 1950 in 1980. Razpršena gradnja pogojuje tudi slabšo opremljenost z infrastrukturno in z obrati oskrbnih in storitvenih dejavnosti, ki jih (z nekaj izjemami) praktično ni.

Osrednja in južna stanovanjska cona zajema območje južno od oskrbno-storitvene in upravne cone. Večinoma se širi na desnem bregu Rakovca in Ločnice, kjer stanovanjske stavbe prehajajo na bližnje gričevje. Leta 1997 je v tej coni živel 32 % prebivalcev Rogaške Slatine. Prevladujejo enostanovanjske hiše različne starosti in oblik (pred prvo svetovno vojno je bilo zgrajenih 8 % stanovanj, med obema svetovnima vojnoma 16 % in do leta 1970 44 %). Z zgraditvijo večstanovanjskih blokov sredi 60. let se je osrednji del naselja spojil z nekdanjo farno vasjo Sv. Križ (kjer je danes lokalno središče).

Jugovzhodna stanovanjska cona (Tržiče) zajema območje večinoma individualnih stanovanjskih hiš na desnem bregu Tržičkega potoka, ki so rahlo pomaknjene v prisojne lege južnega vznožja Janine. Večji del stavb ob steklarni in ob Kidričevi ulici je bil zgrajen pred in neposredno po drugi svetovni vojni, v 70. in v 80. letih pa se je zazidava začela širiti na vznožje gričevja in proti vzhodu. Leta 1997 je tu živel 13,4 % prebivalcev Rogaške Slatine. Kar v polovici vseh gospodinjstev je vsaj 1 član gospodinjstva zaposlen v bližnji Steklarni Rogaška ali v Steklarski šoli. V preteklosti je bila tudi ta stanovanjska cona izredno slabo opremljena z oskrbno-storitvenimi dejavnostmi, leta 1999 in 2000 pa so v vzhodnem delu Tržiča zgradili sodobna prodajna centra (KeRos in Jager) s trgovinami za kratkoročno, srednjeročno in dolgoročno oskrbo.

Funkcijska členitev naselja, razporeditev posameznih funkcij in delež prometa, ki ga v posameznih obratih ustvarijo gosti zdravilišča, kažejo, da se prostorsko-funkcijski učinki turizma ne kažejo v celotnem naselju. **Zdraviliško-turistična dejavnost je v funkcijskem in v fiziognomskem smislu vezana le na osrednji del naselja.** Tu so osredotočeni vsi turistični namenitveni objekti (z izjemo zasebnih turističnih sob), zdravstveno-terapevtski objekti ter večji del športno-rekreacijskih objektov in obratov oskrbno-storitvenih dejavnosti. Kaže se torej jasna struktturna segmentacija naselja na manjši osrednji zdraviliško-turistični del, ki mu lahko pridružimo tudi oskrbno-storitveni del Rogaške Slatine in večji industrijski in stanovanjski del. V prvem je vpliv turizma neposreden, jasno izražen, intenziven in ozko omejen, medtem ko v ostalih delih naselja ni opazen.

Struktturna segmentacija in omejenost učinkov turizma na osrednji del Rogaške Slatine je posledica specifičnega razvoja turističnega kraja (koncentracije zdraviliških dejavnosti), hkrati pa tudi dolgoletne navezanosti na pretežno t. i. klasične zdraviliške goste ter njihove razmeroma ozke prostorske mobilnosti. Gosti zdravilišča so namreč vezani na vsakodnevne terapevtske postopke in zaradi tega manj mobilni. Čez dan se večinoma zadržujejo le v zdraviliškem parku ali gredo na sprehod v bližnjo okolico (v rekreacijsko in v oskrbno-storitveno cono). To potrjujejo tudi rezultati anketiranja (1300) gostov zdravilišča med letoma 1994 do 1997. Kar 45 % jih je izjavilo, da v času obiska zdravilišča niso odšli izven osrednjega dela naselja. Izjema so bili le posamezni izleti (19 % gostov je bilo na izletu v Atomskih Toplicah) ter obisk industrijske prodajalne pri Steklarni Rogaška in pri Steklarski šoli (11 %).

Omejeno mobilnost gostov zdravilišča prikazuje tudi naglo zmanjševanje deleža prometa, ki ga ustvarijo v posameznih gostinskih in oskrbno-storitvenih obratih. Najvišji (več kot 80 %) je le v neposredni bližini zdraviliškega parka in se naglo zmanjšuje proti robu zdraviliško-turistične cone (20 do 50 % prometa) ter v oskrbno-storitveni coni Rogaške Slatine (10 do 30 % ali manj). V obratih izven območja med Bellevuejem, hotelom Sava in Donat, restavracijo Sonce in avtobusno postajo gosti ustvarijo manj kot 5 % prometa. V tem pogledu Rogaška Slatina posebej ne izstopa, saj je omejena prostorska mobilnost gostov značilna tudi za večino drugih klasičnih zdraviliških turističnih krajev, v katerih so prevladujoči motivi obiska zdravljenje in rehabilitacijo ter zdravstvena preventiva.

## 6. Drugi učinki turističnega razvoja v Rogaški Slatini

Drugi učinki turističnega razvoja so manjši. Ker hoteli nabavljajo hrano večinoma pri grosistih, ni opaziti vpliva na **kmetijsko proizvodnjo** v okolici. Tudi ni opaziti večjega **prometa z zemljišči in nepremičninami** s strani nedomačinov. Leta 1990 je bilo v naselju povsem v lasti nedomačinov le 12 ha zemljišč; to je 6 % površine katastrske občine Rogaška Slatina (pretežno travniki, sadovnjaki in gozdovi) ter 31 stanovanjskih objektov (Horvat 2000a, 177). Lastniki so bili večinoma iz okoliških naselij ter dedi-

či in odseljeni v druga območja Slovenije. Obenem so (po podatkih popisa stanovanj) v letu 1991 v Rogaški Slatini registrirali le 20 **stanovanj za počitek in rekreacijo** (1,2 % vseh stanovanj v naselju).

To kaže, da naravni potencial in razvoj zdraviliško-turistične ponudbe v večini primerov ni bil motiv in vzrok za nakup nepremičnin v Rogaški Slatini, kot je to primer v nekaterih drugih turističnih krajih v Sloveniji. Za številne turistične kraje (zlasti obmorske in gorske) je namreč značilen dokaj visok delež posetnikov, ki imajo stalno bivališče drugod. Med vzroki za nakup zemljišč izstopata zlasti želja po pridobitvi zemljišča zaradi zidave počitniškega stanovanja ali pa špekulativni razlogi (na primer nalaganje finančnih sredstev v turističnih krajih v katerih so cene zemljišč pogosto razmeroma visoke in še naraščajo).

Za zdraviliške kraje ta pojav do pred nekaj leti ni bil značilen. Rezultati anketiranja gostov v Rogaški Slatini ter analize podatkov namreč kažejo, da t. i. klasični zdraviliški gosti vse bolj težijo k storitvam specialne in splošne terapije, ki so koncentrirane v ožji zdraviliško-turistični coni. Zaradi tega v zadnjem desetletju skoraj ni več opaziti povpraševanja po zasebnih turističnih sobah.

Navedeni proces nakupa počitniških stanovanj se je v nekaterih zdraviliških turističnih krajih v Sloveniji (na primer v Čateških Toplicah, Atomskih Toplicah, Moravskih Toplicah) začel uveljavljati še v zadnjem desetletju, ko je v njih prišlo do spremenjanja turistične ponudbe za t. i. nezdraviliško skupino gostov, ki sta jim dopust in rekreacija (ob in v vodi) primarna motiva za obisk zdravilišča. Ker se je ta pojav v Rogaški Slatini komaj začela uveljavljati (na primer apartmajska stanovanja v Vili Golf), so navedeni interesi nepomembni. Seveda pa je nadaljnji potek odvisen tudi od strategije turističnega razvoja in prostorskega urejanja naselja. Tudi v tem pogledu ima Rogaska Slatina, zaradi prostorskih omejitev in sami zdraviliško-turistični coni, omejene možnosti, medtem ko je širša okolica že močno poseljena in urbanizirana in zaradi tega manj primerna.

Šele v zadnjem desetletju lahko ponovno zasledimo načrtnejši vpliv turistične dejavnosti na **urbanistično ureditev osrednjega dela naselja**. Južno od središča mesta je bila zgrajena obvozna cesta, osrednji del naselja ob Celjski cesti pa je bil spremenjen v sprehajalno območje. Zgrajena je bila tudi nova regionalna cesta Celje–Rogatec skozi Spodnje Negonje, na katero je bil preusmerjen tranzitni promet.

Zanimivi so tudi rezultati anketiranja (1020) prebivalcev Rogaške Slatine, saj je bilo pričakovati, da bo obstoječe športno-rekreacijske objekte in naprave v zdraviliško-turistični coni uporabljal večji del domačinov. Z izjemo igrišč za tenis (te uporablja 13 % domačinov) **domačini uporabljajo le majhen del športno-rekreacijskih objektov in naprav** (manj kot 1 % uporablja smučišče na Janini in vadišče za golf). Verjetno se je delež uporabnikov med domačini povečal z odprtjem termalnega kopališča, saj je do tedaj več kot 7 % prebivalcev Rogaške Slatine pogosto odhajalo na plavanje v bližnje Atomske Toplice.

Rezultati tudi kažejo, da kljub velikemu potencialu izletniške aktivnosti gostov zdravilišča in domačinov niso bistveno vplivale na **razvoj turistične dejavnosti v okolini Rogaške Slatine**. Povečala se je sicer rekreacijska raba gozdov in kmetijskih zemljišč (s strani domačinov), ni pa prišlo do posebej intenzivnih in širokih funkcijskih in fiziognomskih učinkov, ki so značilni na primer za okolico drugih večjih turističnih središč. V tem oziru izstopajo zlasti gorski in obmorski turistični kraji, v katerih se zelo razvija turistična infrastruktura (turistične ceste, sprehajalne poti, različni športni in rekreacijski objekti in naprave, žičnice, objekti za zabavo in kulturne prireditev in podobno) ter superstruktura (zlasti manjši prenočitveni objekti in številni objekti za prehrano gostov), v njihovi okolici pa nastajajo celo manjši sekundarni turistični kraji. Ti procesi v okolini tradicionalnih zdraviliških turističnih krajev z majhno mobilnostjo gostov (Rogaška Slatina, Dobrna, Laško, Radenci) niso značilni, med drugimi zdraviliškimi kraji pa izstopajo le Atomske Toplice.

## 7. Sklep

Dolgoletni turistični razvoj Rogaške Slatine je vplival na oblikovanje zdraviliškega kraja mednarodnega pomena, ki pa se je po drugi svetovni vojni z razvojem industrije in drugih mestotvornih dejavnosti ter urbanizacijo razvil v polifunkcionalen turistični kraj, moderno urbano naselje in občinsko središče, v kate-

rem je turizem osredotočen le v osrednji zdraviliško-turistični coni. Omenjene dejavnosti so več desetletij vplivale in sooblikovale celotno družbeno-ekonomsko in funkcionalno strukturo naselja ter njegov fiziognomski izgled.

Prav prepletanje zdraviliško-turistične funkcije z drugimi funkcijami je vplivalo na oblikovanje specifičnih pokrajinskih struktur, pa tudi navzkrižj, ki izhajajo iz različnih zahtev po prostoru. Ker so te dejavnosti večinoma konkurenčne, se postavlja vprašanje, kako uskladiti nadaljnji prostorski razvoj naselja, da ne bo prihajalo do konfliktov med posameznimi uporabniki prostora in do ekoloških problemov.

S plinifikacijo in ureditvijo emisij iz tehnoloških procesov se je znatno zmanjšala ekološka obremenitev območja, vendar pa ostaja problem lokacije in samega fiziognomskega izgleda industrijskih con. Čeprav so relativno oddaljene od osrednje zdraviliško-turistične cone (in ni neposrednega vizualnega stika), lahko to negativno vpliva na nadaljnji turistični razvoj. Poseben problem predstavlja tudi že sedaj močno pozidana oklica zdraviliško-turistične cone, tako da se zdravilišče lahko širi le v ozki dolini proti severu (kjer je v prihodnosti načrtovana gradnja novega hotela). Prostorska omejitev na sedanji lokaciji tudi onemogoča gradnjo večjih rekreacijskih objektov na osnovi termalne vode, kot so to storila nekatera konkurenčna zdravilišča v Sloveniji, ki so z manj intenzivno turistično ponudbo (apartmajska naselja) močno povečala turistični obisk.

Zaradi navedenih prostorskih in trenutnih finančnih omejitev v Rogaški Slatini vztrajajo pri dosedanjih oblikah t. i. klasičnega hotelskega tipa zdravstvenega turizma, ki pa ga v zadnjem obdobju kombinirajo s športno-rekreacijsko ponudbo in specialnimi preventivnimi in drugimi programi, s pomočjo katerih želijo pridobiti nove ciljne skupine gostov in povečati obseg turističnega prometa.

Ob tem se seveda zastavlja vprašanje, v kolikšni meri naj turistična ponudba v Rogaški Slatini sledi turistični ponudbi v drugih zdraviliških turističnih krajih v Sloveniji in širše. Razvoj turističnega povpraševanja (zlasti nove zahteve turistov, ki se pojavljajo v čedalje krajsih časovnih obdobijih) namreč postavlja pred nosilce turistične ponudbe vedno nove zahteve, obenem pa tudi dileme o smiselnosti nenehnega širjenja inovacij turistične ponudbe novim skupinam gostov, katerih interesi so lahko v navzkrižju z interesmi tradicionalnih zdraviliških gostov (ki v Rogaški Slatini še vedno predstavljajo večino obiskovalcev).

Ne glede na to, da je iz razvojnih teženj razvidno postopno dopolnjevanje tradicionalne zdraviliške ponudbe z novimi oblikami za športno-rekreacijsko naravnane ciljne skupine gostov, menim, da mora zdravilišče v Rogaški Slatini tudi v prihodnje temeljiti svojo turistično ponudbo predvsem na naravnih danostih in njihovem izkoriščanju, to je na edinstveni mineralni vodi, ki je zaradi svojevrstnih zdraviliških lastnosti eden glavnih elementov turistične ponudbe in privlači goste iz območja Srednje Evrope in širše. Obenem je tudi glavni prepoznavni znak tega zdravilišča (ki ga loči od drugih zdravilišč) že več sto let.

Prav posebne naravne danosti in sodobni zdravstveno-terapevtski postopki omogočajo usmeritev zdravilišča v Rogaški Slatini v specializirano zdravstveno-turistično ponudbo (za vedno starejše prebivalstvo Evrope) in nudijo možnosti za obstoj in turistični razvoj zdravilišča tudi v novem tisočletju. Predvidevam, da bo na ta način Rogaška Slatina tudi v prihodnje pomemben turistični kraj v Sloveniji, vendar pa bo po obsegu turističnega obiska zaostajala za drugimi zdravilišči, ki nimajo prostorskih in drugih omejitev za širjenje svojih dejavnosti, in ki so se v zadnjem desetletju usmerila predvsem v množični rekreacijski zdraviliški turizem na osnovi športne rekreacije, zabave in t. i. »doživetij«. V tem smislu bi bilo (tudi z vidika globalizacijskih procesov) priporočljivo čim večje sodelovanje zdravilišča v Rogaški Slatini s sosednjim zdraviliščem v Atomske Toplicah. Turistična ponudba obeh zdravilišč ni konkurenčna, temveč se komplementarno dopolnjuje in skupaj sledi obem sodobnim težnjam razvoja zdravilišč v Evropi.