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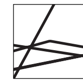

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BARCELONA 2018

Conference Proceedings Book

Oriol Moret (ed.)

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ICDHS 2018

The ICDHS

ICDHS is the acronym of the International Committee of Design History and Design Studies, an organisation that brings together scholars from Spain, Cuba, Turkey, Mexico, Finland, Japan, Belgium, the Netherlands, Brazil, Portugal, the US, Taiwan, Canada and the UK.

Since 1999, when the Design and Art History departments of the University of Barcelona organised the first edition of the ICDHS, a conference has been held every two years at a different venue around the world. These conferences have had two distinct aims: first, to present original research in the fields of Design History and Design Studies and, second, to include contributions in these fields from non-hegemonic countries, offering a speaking platform to many scientific communities that are already active or are forming and developing. For that reason, the structure of the conferences combines many parallel strands, including poster presentations and keynote speakers who lecture on the conferences' main themes.

Since Barcelona, the biennial conference has travelled across Latin America (Havana, Guadalajara, São Paulo), Asia (Istanbul, Osaka, Taipei) and Europe (Istanbul, Helsinki, Tallinn, Brussels, Aveiro). Ten books of conference proceedings have appeared in print or in digital form. From venue to venue, the conference themes have been as varied as the proposed strands and they are always seen as important for the furthering of the discipline globally, whilst simultaneously embracing the underlying and specific thematic outlook adopted by the ICDHS, the pluralism of history. Adopted as the title for the Istanbul conference, the slogan "Mind the Map!" clearly summarises the ICDHS's field of enquiry, which is to redraw and expand the world map of Design History fittingly to embrace current thinking. Also included are the various territories involved in the building-up of a common and easy way to share design culture. Lastly, conferences have explored the relationships between the global and the local and between local histories, thus turning the events into a worldwide touchstone.

Every conference has a theme which informs the tracks and strands that determine the presentation of papers. Each theme is chosen jointly by the Board and local organisers.

The conferences have also served to showcase the various scientific communities already active in the host locations and raise their international profile.

Each conference is an international event that strives to further the globalisation of the discipline.

BACK TO THE FUTURE

THE FUTURE IN THE PAST

(Starting Again: Understanding Our Own Legacy)

The 2018 event is rather special. The Taipei 2016 conference was the 10th edition and a commemoration of the ten celebrations to date. Returning to Barcelona in 2018 marks the end of one stage and the beginning of a new one for the Committee. The numbering chosen—"10+1"—also means that Barcelona 2018 is both an end and a beginning in the ICDHS's own history.

Consequently, several research lines proposed for strands refer to the legacy of these conferences, reminding new audiences of previous editions and areas of research already worked on. It is therefore a question of taking stock and exploring the real legacy of the conferences. This review represents a promise for the future and considers the conferences' continuity in the near future, looking ahead to themes and issues for upcoming editions.

Anna Calvera
ICDHS 10th+1 Scientific Committee

Foreword forwards

I, sobretot, no tinguis por d'equivocar-te.

(And, most of all, do not be afraid of making mistakes.)

"Good morning everyone and welcome to the ICDHS 10th+1 Conference, Barcelona 2018…". There is nothing particularly special in these opening words. They are intentionally clichéd, to keep the entertainment protocol going—though adapted to an academic audience. Yet almost everything surrounding this conference is rather special.

'Rather special' is how the original call text describes it (see previous pages): "The 2018 event is rather special". However, the specialness is also of a different kind. What is most obviously special about this conference is that she who wrote that text, she who launched this very conference and she who spearheaded the whole ICDHS venture is no longer with us. It is only natural then—if not obligatory—that the ICDHS 10th+1 Conference should be dedicated to her memory, so here's to Anna Calvera (1954–2018).

One need not be a historian to realise how two dates separated by an en dash in parentheses give an absolutely crushing sense of reality (I use 'parentheses' instead of 'brackets' to recall the root of being beside and beyond placement). In a gross, partial and simplified way, this is what written history is made of and everyone knows how offensively insufficient a dash can be in condensing anyone's life story. Of course the dashes themselves are not to blame, and any attempt to remedy or overcome the fact will end in failure. We can only be given the chance to dwell on the ridiculous fraction of time in an en dash.

It is with this thought in mind that the present foreword is written. Not to reflect on Anna Calvera as a person or scholar, which will be properly addressed in the following pages and throughout the conference, but to draw on a few details about her and us in the devising and setting up of the event (or maybe *designing*, though my bet is that she would have wisely rejected the word). Domestic matters will be avoided but please do not expect a typical presentation/introduction for a standard book of proceedings. Additional reasons are given at the end of the text; preliminary warnings are provided by Anna's own words in the opening quote.

This is what we had:

*

Anna was aware this would be her last ICDHS Conference and believed she would be able to see it through. Illness proved her wrong, but until the (very) bitter end she was determined to carry it forward. It is possible that illness only urged her more intently to reflect on the past and on legacy and it was surely illness that led her to hand over the baton to someone else who could secure her ICDHS role within the University of Barcelona. She had already set up a group of convenor friends to help her but it was indisputably Anna's conference. She'd had it planned her way. It can be said that it was 'well' underway, but of course there were still many loose ends—and, to any newcomer, it was a jigsaw puzzle.

The plan seems clear in the presentation lines for the conference (see above) and it has only gained in significance since Anna's demise. The end of one period, the beginning of a new one: a sudden pause for reflection (the em behind the en in the dash between two years) to look back on the ICDHS's legacy in order to move forward. The suspension of time was made evident by the alternative numbering that broke the sequence: 10th+1 ("It also works type-wise… It works!")—but who or what was the 1? Yet another ground-breaking challenge from Anna to all of us.

Being staged in Barcelona, where the first ICDHS conference was held almost twenty years ago, it was intended to be like going back home. 'Back' twice, the word was a must for the title. With the conference lemma *Back to the Future*—lemma in the sense of a heading that indicates the subject or argument of a composition—Anna resorted to a catchy play on words. That she quite openly nicked it from the title of Spielberg's 1985 production may also have been intended as a provocation: after all, serving out science fiction to design historians and scholars is a hard act to follow.

The lemma was followed by a sub-lemma that—forgive the pun—posed a *di*lemma: *The Future in the Past*. And it was clarified by a sub-sub-lemma, *Starting Again: Understanding Our Own Legacy*. This trained the focus on the ICDHS but, seen from a broader design perspective, also made it clear that the past carries the future and that, by the same token, design could be nothing less than a burgeoning force for future developments. This is its most crucial significance at present and for the present, retaining the sense of projection and going beyond present limits. Likewise with, and very much for, design history and design studies... but so too for the ICDHS?

If all this sounds like an elaborate but unnecessary textual detour, try changing the order: it will not work. *Back to the Future / The Future in the Past* encapsulated Anna's intention to come full circle. Arranged in symmetry (or reflection), the wording is also a nod backwards to the 1999 conference: it is curious how the past is peripheral, at both ends, and the future is central, at the core.

For the accompanying graphic motif, she had chosen a sort of felucca with a Latin rig-like sail, amply and deeply Mediterranean and also a most personal recollection from her beloved Catalan Costa Brava. At first glance, it was a bizarre motif for a conference on design history and design studies. All the same, she was happy with it: "Where do you think this boat is sailing? Is it going forwards or backwards?" So the boat echoed the vagueness and ambivalence of the lemma. Veering towards the literary and the symbolic, it opened up multiple interpretations (or at least more than one, which is thought-worthy enough).

Whether the boat 'was' Anna, the ICDHS, or any history (of design or whatever) is of less importance than what came with it: the sailing, the journey, the adventure of embarking, the network of links and exchanges, the flow (and deflow), and ultimately—one reckons—the *discourse* (because in our language boats *can* discourse).

The sails of serious discourse were set in the conference through themes and strands. Anna chose her conference themes with plain common sense, and even unexpected predictableness. They amounted to only three: Design History and Histories of Design, Design Studies, Open Session. The strands were quite a different story: the first theme had ten, the second had five, the third had 'only' one. They were customarily agreed with the ICDHS Board and included contributions from fellow researchers—but it all bore Anna's stamp. Sixteen strands in total happen to be too many, too much for most of us. True, they reveal the breadth and wealth of the discipline, but may lead to confusion, too. Intensive, excessive parcelling was probably done in order not to leave anything out but, in doing so, it somehow blurred a few boundaries between strands—not a bad choice when considering the inclusion of margins, but slightly hazardous in terms of taxonomy and organisation (ask authors how many boxes corresponding to strands they ticked when submitting their papers). Yet of course the parcels were specified in detail: most strands had long titles and long subtitles.

And serious discourse, wide enough in range, would be additionally guaranteed by a programme with four keynote lectures of Anna's choice: design/art research was to be covered by Freixa; Findeli would have his impro-turn on design studies and practice; design preservation and exhibition was to be showcased by Vélez, and Vukić would conclude the set as the delegate for the next venue.

This was enough to gain an insight into the matter. In all, the planned conference looked to be grounded in over-abundance and promised to be a monstrous patchwork. Let there be madness: we took the risk as a sign of respect; there was no other way to take it. It was early December. By then, papers were being submitted.

Once the submission deadline passed (10 January), the review process started. Then, in the midst of reviewing, Anna died (4 February). So the time had come to put her advice on mistakes fully to the test. She would have handled the conference her way; we had to juggle.

This is where we are, this is what we have:

*

From then on it seemed inevitable that setbacks would have to be gulped down whole in at least a seriously playful if not entirely joyful mood as a matter of course, taking a down-to-basics approach even as the situation pushed us to the limit, feeling that it was too late to change things now and finding the conviction to let things run their course. Indeed, it all converged on keeping to Anna's original plan as much as possible—and merely refereeing the game.

Therefore, no effort was made to balance the number of papers in strands. It was deliberately decided not to intervene here, but to let things flow 'naturally': the number of papers submitted for the strands was nothing more than a sign of the interest that they raised within the academic community at that particular moment. And so they must be left as they were. No matter how asymmetrical or uneven the resulting scheme might appear, this was reality again and it made the most sense. There was room for all, mainstream and marginal; it would not be up to us at this point to dictate how the papers or strands were to coexist or behave.

Only one strand was withdrawn due to low response. But even here we stuck to the original plan, if only to keep the overall numbering. (There were two extra departures: the posters section, which also fell short of submissions, and the promising Seminar on the Fringe, a very Calveric invention that was hardly feasible without Anna's presence.)

A similar decision was taken on printing the papers. Anna was slightly unclear about the issue in the published call and this forced a difficult arrangement. Ultimately, there was no going back on what she had 'promised' the

authors; her vagueness had decided it for us. There would be no further selection on that already made by the Scientific Committee: all accepted papers could be published in the proceedings book—a generous gesture from Anna to the authors, but a nightmare for book design and production.

And then, without Anna's leadership, it seemed appropriate to foster a joint work. The scientific coordinators she had chosen would step into the breach. Chairs were asked to arrange accepted papers within their strand sessions and write a short introduction to each strand. There were no editing formulae, only the prescription that chairs should do it in whatever way they found comfortable. Risky again, because this meant extra work for all, but it was believed to be worth it for the selected scholars to have their say and get involved in the whole process of making the conference a special one. Such a spirit would be captured in the proceedings book: printed alongside Anna's original call texts (written either by Anna herself or by her collaborators), these new, custom-made texts provide a richer dialogue with more give and take—a response to Anna's past challenge regarding updated information on actual papers.

That is why there is no mention of the content of the strands in this foreword. A simple listing would look useless here: the reader is best informed by checking the table of contents. And an overall description would be inconsiderate to the chairs: please go to their comprehensive introductory texts in the corresponding pages.

Now that the foreword is drawing to a close, a few words must be said on the conference's visual identity and its book of proceedings. Anna was keen—and proud—to entrust them as real commissions to our students; they were to be developed as final degree projects in the Bachelor's Degree in Design at the University of Barcelona. This was part of Anna's 'think big' philosophy, and once again it involved extra effort on all sides, working against the clock.

Anna had arranged an informal gathering with a few students (and tutors) at her charming home in Vallcarca in early December 2017. She gave them information, guidelines and advice. As a designer, she knew and accepted that the students' work would alter her own and, as an educator, she encouraged it. Two teams went to work: in one, a lecturer who teaches in our degree programme was in charge of monitoring the visual identity; in the other, a reliable former student of ours was recruited to assist and art-direct the proceedings book. It is a pity that Anna could not witness how the projects grew and one can only wonder what she would have made of them.

She—and others—might have been surprised at the boat being left to sail on in the background, but she definitely would have approved to see that its paths, the lines and links of connection traced through the years, had been brought to the fore, in clear reference to a real legacy. The enhancement and strengthening of links lay behind the plan for keywords in the proceedings book, too—which, by the way, was not deliberately decided upon, nor was it a happy coincidence: it just flowed naturally that the two projects happened to be linked by links.

And she—and others—might have been surprised that the proceedings book is so special it looks odd. Loosely based on the graphic models of polyglot bibles ("Best news this month; I do not need to hear more, you go ahead"), it aims to put together that jigsaw of disparate pieces, disguised in uniglot clothing but so diversely delivered, and to balance the complex constraints of overlong titles, excessive footnotes, tight word and page counts and reasonable greyscale figures (all this mentioned in passing to ask for the authors' understanding).

So here it is. The book brings together 137 papers delivered at the ICDHS 10th+1 Conference held in Barcelona on 29–31 October 2018. [The figures are as follows: 208 papers submitted, all double-blind peer reviewed by the 93 members of the Scientific Committee, who come from 27 countries; 170 papers accepted by 232 authors from 37 countries on 5 continents.] The papers are preceded by texts of the four keynote lectures and a written tribute to Anna Calvera from the ICDHS Board.

This is what hopefully will be:

*

The future is called to start, at the latest, on 1 November 2018.

*

Thanks go to everyone who made this special conference happen: attendees, authors, Scientific Committee, strand chairs, ICDHS Board, keynote speakers, co-convenors, Organising Committee, organising institutions, sponsors, students—please see the full list on the credits page. And, tough though it has been, our very special thanks to Anna.

Oriol Moret

TRIBUTE

Anna Calvera (1954–2018) and the ICDHS Legacy

ICDHS Board

Editor's note. Shortly after Anna's death, it was decided that the proceedings book should have some opening pages that recalled her and spoke to her importance within the ICDHS circle. The ICDHS Board members were invited to write short texts—scientific, personal or both—about Anna.

The idea was well received, though a single 'corporate' statement was preferred. Professor Woodham would write a draft (he overcame an initial feeling—his words—of the irony that he, an English-speaking design historian from very Anglophone traditions, should be chosen to write on Anna's tradition-challenging behalf, but irony was no stranger to her); members would then propose suggestions and corrections.

In the end, a compromise formula was agreed upon. The group statement would be open to and enlivened by remarks and notes in various languages from all members—as in a theatre play, a dinner conversation or a discussion around a board table—in order to encompass and reflect the diversity and (hi)stories that Anna encouraged. The final text includes e-mail responses to Anna's passing: far from a workaday selection, they add up to a many-voiced testament that seems to go well with the motley structure of the conference.

It is almost impossible to imagine the International Conferences on Design History and Design Studies (ICDHS) without the committed leadership and purposefulness, the quiet but pervasive sense of humour and the unflinching and generous encouragement of its founder and figurehead, Anna Calvera. For all who knew and worked with her through their hosting and organisation of the ten ICDHS conferences since the inauguration in Barcelona in 1999, it is a somewhat bittersweet return to the city for the 10th+1 Conference in 2018.

Around 1500 delegates have attended the biennial conferences in Barcelona, Havana,[PA] Istanbul, Guadalajara (Mexico), Helsinki/Tallinn, Osaka,[HF] Brussels, São Paulo, Aveiro and Taipei, all venues that have recognised the value of Anna's guiding but understated collegiate role over the years. Indeed, one of the noteworthy successes of the ICDHS has been its facilitation of the building of design history and design studies communities and networks in and beyond these host countries. It has also played a positive role in encouraging expert and emerging scholars and researchers from around fifty or so other nations that have attended and presented papers from 1999 onwards to network, make new and occasionally unexpected connections and share experiences.

Design-rich Barcelona was the city where Anna and Spanish colleagues brought the ICDHS to fruition at the 1st International Conference of Design Histories and Design Studies held in April 1999. Entitled *Historiar desde la periferia: historia e historias del diseño*, it provided an occasion to bring together a meaningful number of Spanish-speaking design practitioners, educators and design history specialists. Their collective ambition was to launch an alternative to the prevailing international domination of design history publication, content and cartog-

[HF] All of us are feeling very sad now.

I visited her at the end of October last year. Anna, Joan and I enjoyed ourselves in the very nice climate of Barcelona in late October.

When I was leaving Anna and Joan's wonderful house, I told her that we should meet again exactly one year later, hoping for her complete return to health.

Although we cannot really meet Anna now, we can meet her again in our memory when we come together this October.

Let's go *Back to the Future* with Anna and her colleagues in Barcelona.

(Haruhiko Fujita)

[PA] ***Anna Calvera: a personal reflection.*** The first ICDHS conference I attended was in 2000, when it was held in Havana, Cuba. I was fairly new to international conferences, but was taken from the start by Anna's insistence that design history needed to expand its remit to include those in 'the periphery'. It seems so obvious now that such an approach is absolutely necessary, but at the time, this to me, quite literally, unlocked a whole new world. In Havana, and at the conferences that followed, I had my eyes pleasantly opened listening to so many fascinating descriptions of how design practice had unfolded in places far outside of the then restricted roll call of design history narratives. Anna was clearly showing the discipline of design history where it should be, and in her inimitable way, leading by example. Anna's input and influence has changed design history for the better, making it so much more inclusive that it is very difficult to imagine the discipline in the form it previously held.

As an academic colleague and friend, I received so much encouragement from Anna's generous support over the years that it saddens me to think I no longer have the opportunity to repay her kindness. Her good humour and clear vision brought and bound the Board members of the ICDHS together. She will be a very hard act to follow.

(Paul Atkinson)

raphy by a worldview seen through an Anglo-American lens, albeit moderated by way of an infusion of European modernism. However, something of the 'edginess' of an alternative post-colonial and pluralist panorama was perhaps lost in the translation into English of the first part of the original conference title: *Historiar desde la periferia*. Rather than the phrase 'Design History Seen from Abroad', an alternative translation such as 'Design History Seen from the Periphery' or '...from the Margins' might have suggested a more progressive outlook and more accurately indicated the path that the ICDHS would follow until 2018, when the 10th+1 Conference addresses the theme *Back to the Future / The Future in the Past.*[OM] That the current conference is dedicated to the memory of Anna Calvera is both timely and fitting, as she has spoken informally about the future of the ICDHS on many occasions, in Taiwan and elsewhere, an outlook acknowledged in the 2018 theme subtitle 'Starting Again: Understanding Our Own Legacy'. The implications of '10th+1', important to Anna,[FF] provide an excellent opportunity for members of the ICDHS Board, together with speakers and delegates from all parts of the globe, to participate in, and contribute to, a reflective process that will inform a strategic mapping and articulation of the ICDHS's future and legacy.

A number of the original objectives embraced by the 1st International Conference of Design Histories and Design Studies have been met, at least in part, by building on the foundations of that initial gathering of a galaxy of Spanish-speaking participants drawn mainly from Spain (almost 90%),[JGM] but with representation from Argentina, Mexico[OSF] and Cuba, and a small number of others from Portugal, Italy, France and the

[FF] Anna was such a welcoming and inspiring personality.

It is indeed a tremendous loss and we will miss her greatly at the ICDHS.

I was not as close to Anna as many other members of the Board, but she always made me feel most welcome as a friend and as a colleague. I'll cherish the memories of my encounters with her.

(Fredie Floré)

[JGM] Anna means so much for design history in Spain. As a young design student wanting to become a design historian, I was always intrigued by that Anna Calvera who was behind almost every publication and exhibition. I am happy that I got to know her and take part in some of her projects. Her legacy is massive and ongoing.

(Javier Gimeno-Martínez)

[OM] It is true that something was lost in translation. Anna knew this but, toying with her *traduttore/tradittore* role, made the most of vagueness and double meanings, as she later did in the 2018 lemma.

Looking back almost twenty years now to that infant period of globalisation, one can only wonder how 'periphery' would have been (dis)considered by Anglo-American history-of-design-builders. 'Periphery' gave an internal feeling of rebellious belonging (somewhat reminiscent of Benedetti's "The South Also Exists"?) that nonetheless was best concealed when addressing externals at their centre.

I bet this was Anna's strategy, her cunning and dry humour: 'from abroad' gave a neutral, pleasant and sweet air, like going on holiday. And not only that: 'seen' smoothed it out even more. The peripherals only saw from afar; they did not act, did not intervene, everything could go on as usual.

Therein lay the 'trick'. There was no need to be inflammatory, at least not in that first round; it was advisable to start debate on friendly terms—though still unequal ones—to ensure inclusion and expansion. This of course was no crude confrontation or airing of hard feelings, but time would tell what was abroad, who was peripheral —and where was the centre, if any, to be found next. As Anna pinpointed, it would start to happen three years later, in 2002, when the 3rd ICDHS Conference satisfied her fondness for witty meaningful slogans by warning participants to 'Mind the Map'.

If that eventually happened, it may have been because 'the periphery' went abroad to show discomfort at 'the' history of design. Expanding on that, it turned out there were too many peripheries for only a single history. This had already been stated in Barcelona in 1999 by aptly referring to 'histories' in plural—though that may have been a bit lost in translation, too: the word for 'histories' in Catalan and Spanish also calls to mind plain stories.

(Oriol Moret)

[OSF] Escribir sobre Anna Calvera me lleva necesariamente a recordar a mi entrañable amiga, con la que siempre estuve conectado seguramente porque sufríamos del mismo mal, una monomanía que nos ligaba a observar lo que significaba el diseño al paso del tiempo, y a interpretarlo en nuestra práctica profesional cotidiana.

Anna, con esa visión dialéctica que no se conformaba con la medianía que con frecuencia se impone en un entorno poco ambicioso, siempre buscó nuevas respuestas, y con ellas, supo construir un amplio circulo que trasciende fronteras y enlaza objetivos. De ahí surgió el ICDHS y posibilitó nuestra amistad y complicidad profesional para impulsar un Encuentro donde se construye una visión renovada del devenir del diseño y el amplio entorno con el que interactúa en el complejo mundo de nuestros días.

Por eso creo que la figura de Anna seguirá presente en la concepción de nuestros futuros Encuentros.

(Oscar Salinas-Flores)

UK. This soon resulted in the formation of meaningful networks across the Spanish-speaking world via conferences in Mexico and Cuba. Later, post-Istanbul 2002, many other scholars and researchers from other parts of the world began to feel that they had found a 'home' where they could present new knowledge and research and participate in an inclusive network that had a place for margins, peripheries and the remapping of the design world. The impetuses for the development of emergent inter-relationships in East Asia,[TSL] the maturing of Portuguese[HB]/Brazil[PF] cross-continental networks, and the rethinking of particular facets of European and other distinctive pluralist design understandings were part of this process.

We all deeply appreciate Anna Calvera's key role in moving the ICDHS forwards through an organic and very humanising process in determining the location of future conferences. At times perhaps a little serendipitous, this involved the membership of the ICDHS Board, which has continually grown in size and experience: the organisers of each biennial conference are invited to become members of the Board and continue to contribute their individual expertise to this collaborative international enterprise with the passing of time. Naturally, all members of the ICDHS Board have their own personal, collegiate and academically oriented experiences of the organisation and all recognise Anna's enduring commitment as key to its sustainability. However, the ways in which the word 'board' or 'committee' are used become increasingly significant as the future beckons. For many, the word 'committee' implies rules and constitutions, something that some delegates in the past have felt was lacking in the ICDHS, unlike the protocols of many other academic organisations. Anna and other ICDHS Board mem-

[TSL] I'm deeply saddened to hear this. I first met Anna in 2014 in Portugal and she was always very encouraging and supportive. Her kindness and love strengthened my willpower to make 2016 in Taipei successful with Yuko[YK] and Wendy.[WW] She is certainly missed.

(Tingyi S. Lin)

[YK] I'm deeply saddened by the news on this cold day. It is hard to think of the ICDHS without Anna.

Anna fue una gran inspiración para mi personalmente e intelectualmente. Fue su entusiasmo y sus amables palabras las que nos motivaron cuando organizamos el ICDHS en Taipei en 2016. Allí sentimos la solidaridad entre mujeres y la voy a extrañar enormemente. Con cariño, Yuko.

(Yuko Kikuchi)

[WW] I too am saddened by Anna's passing. I can't believe the news, and can't imagine the ICDHS without Anna.

(Wendy S. Wong)

[HB] ***Anna uma força da natureza.*** A Anna sempre foi uma pessoa extraordinária, e que me dizia sempre—'fala português'.

Em 1999 tive o prazer de conhecer a Anna, que empaticamente sempre se revelou como uma pessoa atenta, dedicada, preocupada a nível pessoal e profissional. Ao olhar para o passado permanece a sua presença no presente pelo exemplo a seguir de alguém que era impossível ficar indiferente. Inspirada pelas diferenças a Anna procurou trazer à luz através do ICDHS e por tantos outros meios o seu manifesto. Sempre dotada de um dinamismo incalculável, imprimiu influências profundas ao nível do pensamento, marcando, notavelmente, a sua forma de pensar e agir. A sua pró actividade e energia sempre caracterizaram a Anna como uma força da natureza conforme lhe dizia muitas vezes. São memórias fortes e inesquecíveis, abrindo espaço para a presença da eterna saudade. Um beijinho grande para ti, Anna.

(Helena Barbosa)

[PF] A realização do oitavo congresso ICDHS em São Paulo não apenas incentivou o amadurecimento das relações transatlânticas entre Brasil e Portugal no campo da história e dos estudos em design, mas também a ampliação e fortalecimento de uma rede entre instituições e grupos de pesquisa latino-americanos neste campo. A realização desta edição no continente sul-americano (a única, até o momento, no hemisfério sul) foi estrategicamente incentivada por Anna. Ela mobilizou seus muitos amigos, estudantes e colegas na Península Ibérica e nas Américas, colocando-os em contato e promovendo intercâmbios que floresceram e continuam sendo essenciais para a consolidação do campo acadêmico do design nestas regiões até hoje. Poliglota e fascinada por diferentes culturas, transmitia a certeza de que diferenças de idioma não eram um problema para discussões de alto nível. Ao me sentir hesitante em relação a um convite seu para atuar como *Presidente del Tribunal de Doctorado* na Universitat de Barcelona, Anna me respondeu, com sua habitual graça e autoridade de quem, como dizemos no Brasil 'tem muitos anos de praia': o idioma oficial aqui é o catalão, mas falamos também espanhol e português—por que não falaríamos em portuñol?

(Priscila L. Farias)

[VM] I too am saddened by Anna's passing and also surprised since she was so active until only recently. Anna was a kind and supportive person as well as a productive scholar. She was hospitable and very gracious to her colleagues, including myself. She will certainly be missed as a force in the ICDHS, and, as has already been mentioned, she started these meetings with the first one.

(Victor Margolin)

[TB] I am speechless. Anna has always been a wonderful friend, always considerate, supportive, creative and encouraging from the first day that I met her in Barcelona in 1999, almost 20 years ago. I was shocked when I learned of the sad news. I cannot imagine an ICDHS without her and I believe Anna will live on forever in the ICDHS.

(Tevfik Balcioğlu)

[PK] I collaborated with Anna from the late nineties in many educational and research platforms, not only the ICDHS. For me she epitomised the strong design culture of Catalonia and Barcelona. Her warm, energetic personality I will miss deeply, and so too her soft laughter from behind the smoke of a cigarette.

(Pekka Korvenmaa)

bers have generally been less enthusiastic, favouring a more organic collective approach sustained by conversation, discussion and a commitment of time, energy, knowledge and experience. But as the ICDHS has grown older alongside its early Board members, who have been participating in the organisation for almost two decades, the question of legacy has become increasingly significant. 'Where we have come from' and 'where we are now' are positions that have been relatively widely considered, though not always uncritically; the underlying question of 'where are we going?' was very important to Anna and continues to be so now since, for the first time, we need to consider notions of 'legacy' and the ICDHS's future without her considered and important input.[VM / TB / PK]

Perhaps one of the most important 'failures' of the ICDHS has been the inability to gain UNESCO's recognition for Design as a new discipline, a significant early ambition addressed in 1999 through the publication of a collective manifesto, *The Barcelona Declaration*, endorsed by delegates at the 1st ICDHS Conference in 1999. It was felt at the time that the "lack of a UNESCO identification code for a discipline causes a situation of discrimination against that discipline. This is the case of design at the present time" (28 April 1999). Many relevant issues were carefully addressed and persuasively formulated in the *Declaration* and its concluding section proposed to UNESCO a series of codes for Design and its sub-disciplines that was subsequently turned back. Since then, over the past two decades, there have been many changes in the wider positioning of design and its social, economic, political, historical and educational significance, whether through the dramatic proliferation of reports across the world on national design policy (in marked contrast to their rather sporadic implementation), the comparatively recent European take-up of design policy and innovation at European Commission level or the launch of the UNESCO Creative Cities Network in 2004. This period has also seen the self re-titling of professional design organisations such as the metamorphoses of the former

[JMW] ***Anna Calvera: a personal note.*** On a personal and professional level, I will miss Anna a great deal. Having got to know her as a fellow academic traveller since the early 1990s, I have also enjoyed and benefitted from many dimensions of her personality, friendship and intellect: amused, amusing and inspiring; personable, purposeful and persuasive; charmingly idiosyncratic but with a sharp—but ultimately subtle—'edge'. Her ICDHS initiative, launched in 1999, did much to open many people's eyes (including mine) to a range of alternative ways to address and understand the complexities and pluralities of design around the world, moving away from what was perhaps (and to some extent still is) the globalisation of a relatively singular view of design, design history and design theory. It was perhaps no accident that this venture unfolded at a time when the political, social, economic and cultural face of Europe changed with the disintegration of the Eastern Bloc. But it was also important to me, at that time a researcher associated with a number of the negative characteristics that Anna associated with the Anglo-American domination of a particular world design narrative, to have had the academic equivalent of a bucketful of cold water splashed across my face.

What is perhaps my biggest regret is saying to Anna many years ago that I would like to deliver an ICDHS conference paper in Spanish in homage to its Spanish origins, support and initial impetus. Although something I have never done, I had intended to try to do something of the sort at Barcelona 2018 to surprise her and other Spanish-speaking ICDHS friends, but the wind has been taken prematurely from my sails and heightened by this particular failure. Carpe diem.

(Jonathan M. Woodham)

International Council of Societies of Industrial Design (ICSID) and of the International Council of Graphic Design Associations (Icograda) into the World Design Organization (WDO) and the International Council of Design (ico-D), respectively, as well as many billions of digital and analogue words, advocating from a variety of perspectives the place of and possibilities for design across the world.

Anna Calvera was always highly committed to the issue of recognition of the potential importance of the history of design and design studies.[FV] She was also keenly devoted to historical pluralism and advocated the importance of 'regions', 'peripheries' and 'margins', ideas that are worth reconsidering, redefining and readdressing in 2018 in terms of '10th+1' and the ICDHS's 'legacy'. Co-authored with Lucila Fernández,[LF] Anna's deliciously concise essay on 'Historia e historias del diseño' for *Experimenta: Diseño, arquitectura, comunicación* (2007), included on the ICDHS website, not only makes for inspiring reading but eloquently restates the enduring aims and objectives of the ICDHS more than a decade after it was written.

That the 2018 conference is dedicated to the memory of Anna is a privilege for all members of the ICDHS Board, who have enjoyed the benefits of her friendship and enduring commitment to the aims and objectives of the early years. The Board has also benefitted from the enduring support that Anna stimulated from key Barcelona researchers, curators and organisers since 1999, represented by the 2018 Chairs and Convenors of the Scientific and Organisational Committees drawn from the University of Barcelona's Research Group on History of Art and Contemporary Design (GRACMON) and from the UB's Faculty of Fine Arts, the Fundació Història del Disseny and the Museu del Disseny de Barcelona.

Let us help shape the future legacy of the ICDHS in ways that Anna Calvera would have recognised and appreciated. We will remember her in many ways in seeking to do so.

JMW:[JMW] written on behalf of the ICDHS Board, 2018

[FV] I remember Anna as being dedicated to her mission on both a personal and professional level, and as a colleague who was fully committed to inspiring others. During a coffee break at the Aveiro conference in the hot summer of 2014, we briefly discussed an area of interest addressed by some as a profession. At that time, she was re-reading Clive Dilnot's *The State of Design History* and was deeply convinced that only through constant redefinition would this area evolve, since it is occupied by a theoretical approach to a creative discipline that is constantly changing. Four years later, when I was reading her first draft of the topics and subtopics to be addressed at the Barcelona 10th+1 Conference, I could only conclude that this was the latest piece of the fine legacy that Anna had left for us all.

(Fedja Vukić)

[LF] Cuando pienso en mi querida amiga Anna, me vienen a la mente unos hermosos versos de nuestro poeta José Martí: «La muerte no es verdad / cuando se ha cumplido bien la obra de la vida.»

(Lucila Fernández)

KEYNOTE LECTURE #1

Industrial Arts *vs* Arts and Crafts: Parallels and Contrasts Between Catalonia and Great Britain in the 19th and 20th Centuries

Mireia Freixa
Universitat de Barcelona

This paper proposes a revision of Applied and Decorative Arts in the Catalan Art Nouveau or *Modernisme*, focusing on their relationship with Great Britain. I want to present it as a tribute to Anna Calvera. On one hand, by taking as a starting point one of her best known papers—"Cuestiones de fondo: la hipótesis de los tres orígenes históricos del diseño"—in which she defended that Art Nouveau was one of the first origins of Contemporary Design. And, on the other hand, by remembering the atmosphere of William Morris and the Arts and Crafts Movement, which was the subject of her doctoral thesis, directed by her beloved and respected José M. Valverde.

We start with the origins of the debate about the dignity of the Decorative Arts in the mid-19th century, recalling the trip of Salvador Sanpere i Miquel to England, in 1870. Then we continue by reviewing the local—and particular—reception of John Ruskin's and William Morris' ideas in Catalonia. Later we discuss the role played by Catalan intellectuals—such as the architect Lluís Domènech i Montaner, and the artists and craftsmen Alexandre de Riquer and Apel·les Mestres—at the turn of the century. We finish in the early 20th century, with the movement called *Noucentisme*, quoting a short comment about the English Section of the V Exhibition of Fine Arts and Industrial Arts in Barcelona of 1907.

In memory of Anna Calvera

Ladies and gentlemen, friends and colleagues,

It is a great honour for me to be able to speak to you today. Anna asked me to give the lecture when we were starting the organization of the conference as a testimony of her relationship with our research group GRACMON. She also wanted, in some way, to recognize that it was one of my last acts in the University, before my retirement. Her loss and the pain accompanying it have changed our roles and the text that will be included in the proceedings has been written in her memory.

In this very short space of time I will give a brief presentation about the recovery of the arts and crafts and the creation of modern industries during the Catalan movement known as Modernisme.

1. The origins of Design in Catalonia and Modernisme

In "Cuestiones de fondo: la hipótesis de los tres orígenes históricos del diseño",[1] one of Calvera's best known papers which she published in Editorial Designio in 2010, Anna defended the idea that the origins of contemporary design may be found in the emergence of three different concepts: chronologically, the first of these was "design function", which in the eighteenth century underpinned Wedgwood or the Catalan *indianes* and therefore sprang directly from the creation of the factories and the desire to create an object that was different and valuable ("luxury" items, as they were commonly called); the second, which Anna described as the "design factor", came in Art Nouveau, Liberty or Modernisme and could be described as the resolution to do something aesthetically important; and the last of these concepts, which she places at the beginning of the twentieth century, involves the professionalization of the designer.

But Anna also suggested that the relationship between these three concepts might vary from one country to another, according to the circumstances of each, and that they could even occur simultaneously.

In this section I will try to describe the deeper sense of Catalan Modernisme—in other words, Anna's second concept, "design factor"—and try to describe the parallels and contrasts between individuals and movements as diverse as Henry Cole and the Royal Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce, William Morris and his various companies, the Arts and Crafts movement in general and, of course, John Ruskin. And at the same time, it will become clear that we cannot establish chronological limits between the emergence of the three concepts and must instead appreciate them as forming part of a gradual process.

But first of all I would like to explain the main aspects of Catalan Modernisme, and I apologize to all those colleagues of mine who are very knowledgeable in this field. The movement we know as Modernisme—the leading exponent of which was undoubtedly Antoni Gaudí—was not merely the Catalan version of the movement known internationally as Art Nouveau.[2] The principal characteristic of Art Nouveau was the desire to create an international architectural style which reflected the cosmopolitan culture that dominated fin-de-siècle thought. It is true that Catalan Modernisme and Art Nouveau share this international outlook and cosmopolitan spirit. But

[1] In VVAA, *Diseño e historia. Tiempo, lugar y discurso*. México: Designio, 2010, pp. 77–78.

[2] See *Barcelona and Modernity. Picasso, Gaudí, Dalí, Miró*. Cleveland, New York: The Cleveland Museum of Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2006–2007.

the Catalan Movement presents a clear paradox by attempting to hold on to its roots while defending the most radical modernity. In Catalonia, the new forms, the sinuous line and the stylization that left historic styles behind sought to preserve the roots and traditions of Catalan art based on medieval forms of mainly Gothic origin. Also the iconographic forms—the patron saint of Catalonia Saint George or the mountain of Montserrat, for example—are closely linked to local tradition. The cosmopolitan spirit was manifest in Catalonia as a general sense of modernity, but modernity that sought to project the country towards the future by tapping its deepest roots.

This sense of modernity—which was at once both cosmopolitan and indigenous—is what best defines Catalan Modernisme while providing common ground for all the cultural activity of the period: architecture, applied and decorative arts, painting and sculpture, and even the desire to recover the literary use of the Catalan language in all its forms. Architecture and the applied arts were undoubtedly the most spectacular languages created in this style, but it is worth emphasizing the unified nature of a movement that affected all human activity. All over Europe, this end-of-the-century movement was to adopt a variety of names, but it would always have certain features in common, one of which was the debate between art, architecture and industry.

The city block on Barcelona's Passeig de Gràcia which, in a form of wordplay recalling Eris's golden apple in the Judgement of Paris we call the *Mançana de la discòrdia* or "block of discord" (note that the Spanish *manzana* means both apple or block of houses),[3] is an excellent example of the architecture of Barcelona at the turn of the century. On this block we can see examples of domestic architecture by each of the three leading Modernist architects, Antoni Gaudí, Josep Maria Puig i Cadafalch, and Lluís Domènech i Montaner: the Casa Batlló by Gaudí, the Casa Amatller by Puig i Cadafalch and, a little further to the south, the Casa Lleó Morera by Domènech i Montaner. The Casa Amatller, built at the end of the century, shows Puig i Cadafalch's taste for history and medievalism and is representative of the period that we define as Primer Modernisme or the First Period. The neighbouring Casa Batlló (1905–1906) and Casa Lleó Morera (1905) are, on the other hand, both exponents of Alt Modernisme, or High Modernisme, and were built after the Paris World Exhibition of 1900 that had an enormous influence on the generalization of Art Nouveau style throughout the world.

First, I would like to focus on the particular features to be found in some of the buildings belonging to the First Period, which provide the clearest example of the links between Nationalism and Architecture. The Casa Amatller is probably the best example. It highlights the architect's interest in Catalan ideas and medieval history. Its neo-medieval style is quite strange and archaic (I stress the word "quite"), yet original and creative. Built mostly during the 1890s, it is a revival of the Gothic, founded on a free interpretation of the style that led to the acceptance of elements from other periods in history and other cultures. At the same time it makes extensive use of the new possibilities offered by modern construction techniques—in particular, cast iron. You can see the difference with the house next door, Casa Batlló, and the influence of international Art Nouveau on some of its features.

How did Catalan architects come to be involved in such a strange form of architecture that was so out of step with all other developments at this time? We should not forget that in the rest of Europe a new international style was being forged: Victor Horta was building the Hôtel Tassel (1893) in Brussels, while in Glasgow, Charles Rennie Mackintosh was working on the Glasgow School of Art (1897–1899). However, the Catalan architects were still involved in late revivals of historic models. It seems that these expressed the romantic sentiments inspired by the conviction that a new national conscience was in the process of being born. And, it's clear that there were several connections with the British Arts and Crafts Movement: most notably in this insistence on the use of the archaic.

After 1900, in the period we call High Modernisme, architecture became heavily influenced by Art Nouveau and tended towards abstraction. Models changed and the styles of the past gave way to those of nature. In contrast, there were certain constants, such as the iconography, the function of a piece of furniture and, most notably, the materials used in the decorative and applied arts, which were related to indigenous traditions. In the first years of that century, Gaudí designed the two apartment buildings in Passeig de Gràcia: the Casa Batlló and the Casa Milà, also known as La Pedrera. Domènech i Montaner also produced his most representative work during this period: the Palau de la Música Catalana and the Hospital de Sant Pau, where he combined the latest construction techniques (unlike Gaudí, who always looked to the past for inspiration) with an attention to minute ornamental detail. Meanwhile, Puig i Cadafalch turned to politics and dedicated less time to architecture.

It is here, in the distinctive nature of fin-de-siècle Catalan architecture and applied arts that we begin to identify the boundaries of Catalan Modernisme. Art was to be more than just an added extra and was to become an intrinsic part of the object or structure being created. We must not forget that the main objective was to create a "new culture" that was both national and modern at the same time. Of course it was important to defend Catalonia's own architectural styles, iconographic elements and building techniques, but a sense of modernity was always sought in European models of the day. Certainly, the most important influence was France—travelling to Paris was essential at this time for architects, artists and craftsmen—but ideas also arrived from other countries. The fact is that we can find in Barcelona a combination of all the European movements: from France came French Symbolism, the taste for the sinuous line of Art Nouveau and the stylized Japanese motifs; from Germany came Wagner and his new concept of Total Art; and from Britain came the aesthetics of the Pre-Raphaelites, Ruskin and Morris's philosophy, Henry Cole's ideas about innovation in industrial design and also the interest in the Arts and Crafts Movement.

[3] Judith Urbano (ed.). *La Mansana de la Discòrdia*. Barcelona: UIC, 2015.

The Art *vs* Industry debate: Salvador Sanpere i Miquel

To understand the origins of the debate, we have to go back to the mid-19th century, when the discussion was particularly heated in Catalonia. At that time, Catalonia and the Basque Country were the only territories in Spain that could be said to form part of the Industrial Revolution in Europe—and even so, they lagged somewhat behind the other countries. Industrial exhibitions were held in Barcelona throughout the nineteenth century between 1826 and the Universal Exhibition of 1888.

In 1870, in order to learn how the application of art in industry was being promoted in Great Britain by the people who were producing this work in that country's new decorative arts museums and schools, Barcelona's Diputació Provincial sent Salvador Sanpere i Miquel (1840–1915) to London. (Note that, in common with many of his contemporaries, Sanpere refers only to "England" in his writings on the subject). A sociologist and republican politician, Sanpere wrote a number of articles during his lifetime, many with a markedly social character, and also translated Herbert Spencer's book *The Study of Sociology* (1874) into the Spanish *El Universo Social: Sociología general y descriptiva*, which was published in the early 1880s. But he was also an enthusiastic historian who completed important research on the history of Barcelona, and one of Catalonia's first medieval art historians. He became a great defender of the arts as applied to industry and can be considered the Catalan Henry Cole.[4]

Sanpere travelled from Barcelona to Great Britain between the months of July and September 1870. The trip was made possible by a grant from the Diputació Provincial (at that time, the regional government) and Sanpere's objective was to study how industry and the fine arts could be fruitfully reconciled. Thanks to the records kept in the archives of the Diputació, Sanpere's stay in London can be documented in detail. From a letter written in London on 16 September 1870, we know that he visited one of the "Annual International Exhibitions" (the full name of which was the "Annual International Exhibitions of Selected Works of Fine Art (Including Music), Industrial Art and Recent Scientific Inventions and Discoveries") and that he was personally introduced to Major-General Henry Scott, secretary of the Exhibitions and one of the architects of the Royal Albert Hall. Sanpere described to Scott the state of the movement for the renewal of industrial art in Spain and, more specifically, in Catalonia. In a second letter, dated 27 September, he writes that Sir Francis Philip Cunliffe-Owen, who had been asked by the director Henry Cole to receive him, had escorted him around the South Kensington Museum. Sanpere visited the various departments in order to study the way in which the museum was organized. In the same letter he speaks of having visited a number of art schools and the great library affiliated to the museum, the present-day V&A National Art Library. He returned from London via France but was forced to cut his visit short and cancel the trip he intended to make to Central Europe because of the Franco-Prussian War.

In 1872, the results of Sanpere's research were published in the Spanish work *Aplicación del arte a la industria. Las escuelas inglesas para la enseñanza del dibujo*,[5] in which the author revealed the extent to which he had been seduced by British systems of education. He also wrote a full report of his trip that, after various requests, was made available in 1875. But the report was never published and none of the three copies that were made have survived; however, in 1880 he entered an abridged version of the report in a Catalan literary competition held in a small industrial town just outside Barcelona, Sant Martí de Provençals, which today has been absorbed by the city. This version, only 40 pages, was published the following year in Catalan by the printers of the Catalan nationalist newspaper *La Renaixensa*.[6]

By the beginning of the 1880s, then, Sanpere had substantially broadened his knowledge of the industrial arts in Europe. The Spanish government had sent him to the World Exhibition in Vienna in 1873, and this had given him the opportunity to visit France, Austria, Germany, Denmark, the Northern Countries, Sweden, Norway and, finally, Russia. Yet, having studied the various European systems and after undertaking a comparative analysis, he continued to extol the virtues of the system operating in Great Britain.

As mentioned, the report published by *La Revista de España* and *La Renaixensa* in 1881 is the text that best captures Sanpere i Miquel's ideas about the models that needed to be followed in order to produce industrial objects of artistic value and to ensure the proper training of professional artists and artisans in Spain. Sanpere's proposal was to provide Catalonia with the same systems for promoting the industrial arts that were at that time operating in England. His first idea was to build museums that could fulfil a range of objectives organized around educational goals. And he stressed the importance of "traveller exhibitions"—he uses this expression originally in English—which he considered more important than national or international exhibitions, as they could raise the awareness of much broader segments of the population. Finally, in a number of extracts he examined the basic principles of teaching drawing and of teacher training.[7]

This was the first official move towards favoring the application of art in industry.

The year 1888 is also an important date because a Universal Exhibition was held over the remains of the demolished citadel that the Spanish government had built after the Catalan defeat in 1714. But we don't need to talk about that because it is a well-

[4] Mireia Freixa, "Salvador Sanpere i Miquel, a Traveller at the End of Nineteenth Century: From a Utopian Vision of Industry to a Pragmatic Interpretation of History" in Anna Calvera (PR), *From Industry to Art: Shaping a Design Market through Luxury and Fine Crafts (Barcelona 1714–1914)*. Barcelona, Gustavo Gili, 2011, pp. 97–112.

[5] *Revista de España*, 1872, XXIX, n. 114 pp. 239–264

[6] *Aplicació de l'art a la industria: principis a que deurien subjectarse les institucions d'aplicació en Espanya*. Barcelona: Imprenta La Renaixensa, 1881.

[7] Pilar Vélez, "Les arts industrials a Catalunya entorn el 1898", in *Entre la crisi d'identitat i la modernització*. Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 2000.

known subject in academic circles. Following the success of the 1888 Universal Exhibition, Barcelona City Council set in motion a policy to develop the city's museums by making use of the buildings in the Park de la Ciutadella—the setting, in fact, for the Exhibition itself. The council purchased many of the objects exhibited in the Exhibition (as it had done in England after the 1851 Exhibition and the creation of what came to be the V&A). Over the next few years, new museums were opened, the Museum of Fine Arts (the old Museu Martorell, founded in 1882), The Museum of Art Reproductions (the first of its kind in Spain) and the History Museum.[8] In 1902, the History Museum and the Museum of Art Reproductions were merged to form The Museum of Decorative Arts and Archaeological Art. Their collections were housed in the former Arsenal of the Citadel, the gardens of which were used for the Universal Exhibition of 1888.

Sanpere i Miquel saw another of his dreams come true: with the organization of several decorative arts exhibitions in the last years of the 19th century, in particular the National Exhibition of Artistic Industries and the International Exhibition of Reproductions (1892), one of the objectives was to facilitate the purchase of pieces for the local Reproductions Museum.[9] As the catalogue noted, the exhibition sought to glorify what it called the "industrial fine arts", whose main characteristic was that they were the work of a team of professionals: the designer, the modeler and the manufacturer, who all depended on each other to produce the finished work. Some years later, in 1896, an exhibition of Fine Arts and Artistic Industries was held in Barcelona for the first time, and these two previously estranged fields finally came together (Fig. 1). There were more exhibitions in the fin-de-siècle period, one of particular importance in 1907, which we will discuss later. These exhibitions were aimed at boosting local production and artistic industries, and they served to acquire pieces for the Museum of Barcelona, not only paintings and sculptures, but also drawings and pieces of applied art.

During that period Catalonia was, quite evidently, in a situation that was parallel to Great Britain's—with the consequent chronological imbalances this involved—with regard to the second concept defined by Anna. But the other problem is our need to analyze the scope of the Arts and Crafts movement in Catalonia and the reception of the thoughts of John Ruskin and William Morris.

[8] Andrea Garcia Sastre, *Els Museus d'Art de Barcelona: antecedents, gènesi i desenvolupament fins l'any 1915*. Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1997, pp. 323–361; Maria Josep Boronat i Trill, *La política d'adquisicions de la Junta de Museus 1890–1923)*. Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1999, pp.1–35.

[9] Maria Ojuel Solsona, *Les exposicions municipals de belles arts i indústries artístiques de Barcelona (1888-1906)*. PhD thesis. Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 2013; http://diposit.ub.edu/dspace/bitstream/2445/53190/13/08.MOS_8de11.pdf.

Fig. 1 Alexandre de Riquer / J. Thomas i Cia (production), *3.ª Exposición de Bellas Artes e Industrias Artísticas*, 1896. 95 × 150 cm.

The reception of William Morris (1896) and John Ruskin (1900)

How were philosophers like Morris and Ruskin received by Catalonia or by Spain, whose design culture was at the edges of their own? To analyze this problem, we have searched the publication of reviews and books, and consulted the editions of their works in Spanish and Catalan in design and architecture libraries. Anna and myself have studied these characters in parallel and, with her customary irony, Anna once observed that the two men agreed on their premises, "Ruskin from the right and Morris from the left". Indeed, we both agreed that their ideas were far less widely-known than is commonly supposed and that they were adapted to accommodate the primary objectives of Catalan society at the time, which placed

greater importance on its social and political doctrines than on its views of aesthetics.[10] Catalan intellectuals were striving to define new social ethics and wanted to establish new parameters in the field of sociology and education, particularly for the instruction of women.

The great intellectual value of Ruskin's thought is considered to stem from his radical formulation of ethics on the nature of the relations between human beings and their environment. This formulation, however, came to overshadow Ruskin's more highly prized contributions to aesthetics and art history and his role in vigorously promoting a new culture of architecture, design and ornamentation.

Our conclusion is that Ruskin was largely unknown until the years immediately after his death, in 1900, when he was finally "discovered". At that moment, the influential Modernisme journal *Joventut* published an article entitled "*Ruskin pontifex de la bellesa*" ("Ruskin, Pope of Beauty'') by the original, pseudo-philosopher Pompeu Gener "Peius".[11]

But the main promoters of Ruskin and Morris's ideas were two brothers, Manuel and Cebrià de Montolíu. Both were refined aristocrats and intellectuals ahead of their time as well as translators and music lovers. Cebrià in particular was extremely knowledgeable about Ruskin's theories and published a highly-acclaimed translation of fragments of *Modern Painters* under the title *Natura. Aplech d'estudis i descripcions triats d'entre les obres de John Ruskin* (Fig. 2).[12] But I should stress that with the exception of the Montolíu brothers, most intellectuals would have only known of Ruskin's social theories thanks to their French translations; in particular that of Robert de la Sizeranne and later, of course, by way of Marcel Proust.[13]

A similar case can be made for William Morris, as Anna showed in the article that I just quoted.

But what must be emphasized is the survival of this ideology among the intellectuals of the new generation Noucentista, a *modern* generation whose objective was to create a modern Catalonia by taking advantage of a favorable political circumstance: the creation of Catalonia's first Mancomunitat (government), which lasted from 1913 to 1923. In this period the new political party called the Lliga Regionalista held sway among the Catalan bourgeoisie and made the promotion of culture a priority. From this perspective we have to understand the success of the translation by Cebrià de Montoliu's brother Plàcid, in 1909, of Ruskin's *Of Queen's Gardens*, a lecture delivered by the Englishman in 1865 on the education of the ideal woman as queen of the household. The work achieved great success as model of feminine education in the new Catalonia in the Mancomunitat period. Furthermore, the movement's leader Eugeni d'Ors promoted the Catalan version of *News from Nowhere, Noves d'enlloc* (1918), translated by Cebrià de Montoliu who also wrote, as an introduction, a biographical portrait of William Morris (Fig. 3).[14] This edition caused serious problems for him with the very conservative senior officials of the Mancomunitat who considered the work quite simply "indecent".

However, the peripheral nature of this reception did not mean that the two Englishmen's work—and especially Morris's—did not influence other channels, such as the knowledge of pre-Raphaelite painting, the illustrated magazines and the factory managers and designers who travelled to London or Paris.

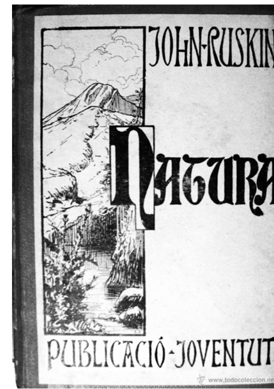

Fig. 2 John Ruskin, *Natura*. Barcelona: Publicació Joventut, 1903. Translated by Cebrià de Montolíu.

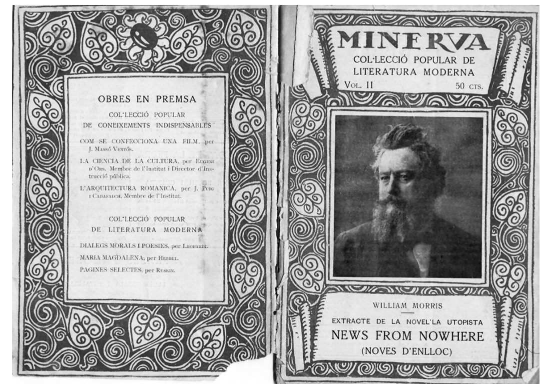

Fig. 3 William Morris, *Extracte de la novel·la utopista News from Nowhere (Noves d'enlloc)*. Barcelona, Minerva, 1918.

[10] Anna Calvera, "Acerca de la influencia de William Morris y el movimiento Arts & Crafts en Cataluña. Primeros apuntes y algunas puntualizaciones", *D'Art*, 23 (1997), pp. 231-252; Mireia Freixa,"La recepción de John Ruskin entre los modernistas catalanes. *Lilies: Of Queens's Gardens* como modelo de educación femenina", in Felipe Serrano Estrella (coord.), *Docta Minerva. Homenaje a la profesora Luz de Ulierte Vázquez*. Jaén: Universidad de Jaén, 2011, pp. 179-185. See also, Mariàngels Fontdevila, "Anglaterra, 'mestra i protectora de les arts'" and Francesc Quílez Corella, "La incidència del moviment Arts & Crafts en l'art gràfic a Catalunya", in *William Morris i Companyia: el moviment Arts & Crafts a Gran Bretanya*. Madrid, Barcelona: Fundación Juan March, Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, pp. 185-205.

[11] *Hispania*, 43 (1900), pp. 51-54.

[12] Barcelona: Biblioteca Joventut, 1903.

[13] Robert de la Sizeranne, *Ruskin et la Religion de la Beauté*. Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1897.

[14] William Morris, *Extracte de la novel·la utopista. News from Nowhere, Noves d'enlloc*. Barcelona: Ricard Duran i Alsina, 1918.

An emblematic example of this influence is Alexandre de Riquer, who is the subject of the next part of this paper that we are going to discuss next.

Alexandre de Riquer's influential journey to Britain in 1893: Apel·les Mestres. The man with the most complete first-hand knowledge of the Pre-Raphaelite School and also the Arts and Crafts Movement was Alexandre de Riquer (1856–1920). For those of you who wish to know more, Riquer is the subject of a definitive 1988 study by Eliseu Trenc Ballester and Alan Yates called *Alexandre de Riquer (1856–1920): the British Connection in Catalan Modernisme.*[15] Riquer was a central figure in Modernisme: a poet, painter, draftsman and art collector as well as an art critic. His elegant work embraced a wide variety of fields, including bibliophilia (cover design, vignettes, illustrations), posters as an artistic vehicle for advertising, decorative mural painting, and the ex-libris or bookplate, the field in which his own creativity took flight. He contributed to the decor of the Biblioteca Arte y Letras, founded by Lluís Domènech i Montaner[16] and to the Biblioteca Universal.

Between May and June 1894, Alexandre de Riquer travelled to Britain. It was not his first visit, but it became his most important in terms of how it established connections between the two cultures. It seems likely that his journey was made in relation to his activity as an art collector and merchant. In England, he encountered a highly innovative artistic atmosphere at that time: first, the Pre-Raphaelites, and Burne-Jones in particular, offered him examples of renewed interest in medievalism; and then, William Morris and the Arts and Crafts Movement provided him with a doctrine that could justify his hitherto disparaged efforts as a decorative artist. Riquer subsequently took out a subscription to the journals *The Studio* and *The Yellow Book* and collected a number of very important American and English books that are now housed in the Biblioteca dels Museus d'Art de Barcelona: these include works by both Ruskin and Morris but also works by Walter Crane and Charles Holmes, a biography of Dante Gabriel Rossetti by H. C. Marillier (1899), many books of poetry and an important collection of bookplates, which altogether comprises a library of almost two hundred items (according to Trenc and Yates's study). Above all, it was Riquer's work in the field of the ex-libris that kept him in contact with England and, in 1910, his publication of a study of the artist Robert A. Bell.

Riquer himself was also quite well known in England. We can find references to his work in various books and journals dedicated to posters and bookplates and Volume X of *The Studio* devoted an entire article to him (April 1900).[17] The author of this article was the poet Fernando de Arteaga y Pereira, who moved to England in 1883 and was a Taylorian Teacher of Spanish at the University of Oxford. Arteaga came from an erudite family from Barcelona which Riquer had known for many years, perhaps through the friendship they shared with another artist, Apel·les Mestres.

Alongside Alexandre de Riquer, I wish to make a brief reference to Apel·les Mestres (1854–1936). The son of a well-known neo-gothic architect—Josep Oriol Mestres—Mestres never visited England but would probably have known about English culture through Riquer and the Arteaga family. He was also well acquainted with Japanese prints. A practitioner of 'the religion of art' as opposed to 'the religion of commerce', he produced an extensive and varied oeuvre as an art critic, draftsman, playwright and composer and was active over a period of some sixty years.[18]

Another place which connected Catalonia with British modern art was the 1889 Paris World Exhibition where the Pre-Raphaelite paintings were given pride of place in the English Hall. Alexandre de Riquer, for example, was among the visitors, as was the most prestigious art critic in Catalonia at the time, Raimon Casellas. Casellas wrote an article entitled "Burne-Jones y el preraphaelisme" in which he states, "A great feeling of expectation, a deep curiosity of the senses and the intellect attracted me... to the devotion to the old masters, the fundamental principle of the brotherhood, it was natural that one of my most cherished affections should be added... the love, adoration and idolatry of the truth of nature, which constitutes the most permanent background to the Gospel according to Ruskin".[19]

If we examine Catalan production at this time, we can see that if the quality of the objects made by the local manufacturers was quite good, the value attached to the design work was even more important. The most important manufacturer, *Indústries Artístiques Francesc Vidal i Javelí*, was founded in 1878 with the aim of setting up a workshop for producing all the items needed for decorating the home, from fine furniture to the simplest decorative elements (Fig. 4).

And this point is extremely important: industry was always seen as being compatible with hand-made manufacturing. The rich local artisan tradition was incorporated into the possibilities offered by the industry. And we can see multiple uses of this. For example, Hijos de Jaime Pujol i Baucis, who were one of the biggest manufacturers of pottery and ceramics, hand-painted their tiles rather than using oven-bake painting processes. The same can be said of the stained glass companies such as Rigalt, Granell & Cia., which incorporated new techniques but maintained traditional practices. In the case of hydraulic cement, the paving stones that Modernisme made so emblematic were manufactured using new methods in the pressing of the tiles, but the painting was done manually. Many businesses, however, used an advertising and sales system that

[15] Anglo-Catalan Society in 1988. Eliseu Trenc, "Alexandre de Riquer, bibliòfil, "connoisseur" i col·leccionista", Bonaventura Bassegoda, Ignasi Domènech (eds.), *Agents del mercat artístic i col·leccionistes. Nous estudis sobre el patrimoni artístic a Catalunya als segles XIX I XX*. Barcelona: Edicions de la Universitat de Barcelona; Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Servei de Publicacions; Universitat de Girona, Servei de Publicacions; Edicions i Publicacions de la Universitat de Lleida; Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya; Museu Nacional de Catalunya; Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2017, 157–180.

[16] Borja Rodríguez Gutiérrez, "Noticias de la Biblioteca Arte y Letras (Barcelona, 1881–1898)", *Cuadernos de Investigación Filológica*, 35–36 (2009–2010), pp. 105-137.

[17] Fernando de Arteaga i Pereira, "A Spanish painter. Alejandro de Riquer", *The Studio*, 85, (April 1900), pp. 180–187.

[18] Cèsar Calmell, *Apel·les Mestres, músic de la cançó, del dibuix i de la poesia*. Barcelona: Reial Acadèmia Catalana de Belles Arts de Sant Jordi, 2006.

[19] Published in Raimon Casellas, *Etapes estètiques*. Barcelona: Societat Catalana d'Edicions, 1916, pp. 97–123.

was typical of companies today. On the other hand, other businesses such as locksmiths or cabinetmakers maintained their traditional organizational system of workshops, regardless of their level of industrialization.

In the same way, they avoided over-valuing individual pieces and we can see that the same models were made with different techniques and in different patterns or shapes, such as the popular marquetries produced in the workshops of Gaspar Homar.

The English Section of the 5th Exhibition of Fine Arts and Industrial Arts in Barcelona, 1907

The survival of British influence over time can be found in local exhibitions, especially in 1907, when Alexandre de Riquer played an outstanding role as commissioner of the English Section at the 5th Exhibition of Fine Arts and Industrial Art in Barcelona.[20] During these years he had settled in the city and worked from his studio in the Gothic Quarter with its magnificent views over the cathedral. Here he created an aesthetic paradise in which young artists were always welcome. The artists gathered for musical soirees, poetry readings or simply to admire his valued collection of artworks. He was very much in demand for his design work and he traded heavily in artwork and antiques. He was the first art director and art critic of the prestigious journal *Joventut* and he wrote columns for other publications including the idealistic Spanish journal *Luz* and the religiously conservative journal *Montserrat*. Riquer was also one of the promoters of the Catholic guild the Cercle Artístic de Sant Lluc, which was quite clearly modelled on the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood.

Fig. 4 *F. Vidal y Cia. Talleres y almacenes*. Barcelona. Commercial advertising.

Thanks to Riquer, then, the English Section at the 5th Exhibition of Beaux Arts and Industrial Art was magnificent. Together with the painter Josep Maria Tamburini, who was a member of the Exhibition committee, Riquer had visited England in 1906, from the end of November until Christmas. Through Robert A. Bell and other acquaintances the two Catalans had met some of the leading artists of the day, including Arthur Rackham and his wife, Léon-Victor Solon, Walter Crane and Frank Brangwyn.[21] They had also made contact with William Morris's Kelmscott Press. Riquer himself decorated the English Hall for the Exhibition following Frank Brangwyn's plans. Unfortunately these were not preserved after the exhibition. Indeed, most of the works displayed were put on sale in the Paris *salons*. Thanks to the personal copy of the catalog unearthed by Eliseu Trenc, we know that Riquer was responsible for the sale of the work by British artists. Some pieces were acquired by the Diputació, the City Council and the Barcelona Museum of Art and Archaeology (now in the MNAC), including various objects of ivory, silver, ceramic and enamel (Alexander Fisher), numerous engravings, and some oil paintings and watercolors and drawings, including a beautiful red pencil sketch by Burne-Jones (Fig. 5). Finally, other works were purchased by private collectors.

Epilog: the Royal College of Art as the model for the Escola Superior de Bells Oficis

As I have observed earlier, British institutional models were key in the organization of the teaching of artistic trades in Catalonia during the period of the Mancomunitat. Indeed, the inspiration behind the Barcelona art school known as the Escola de Bells Oficis, which was founded in 1914, was partly thanks to a visit to London's Royal College of Art in 1913 by the historian Joaquim Folch i Torres while Folch was still a young art critic, as Folch's biographer, Mercè Vidal, has explained.[22] However, this was now a new era marked by a different school of thought, the cultural movement known as *Noucentisme*, which goes beyond the subject of this paper. I will therefore conclude simply by saying that this movement adhered to the same Catalan nationalist objectives but in a more practical and institutional manner.

[20] Manel Garcia Clavero, *La V Exposició Internacional de Belles Arts i Indústries artístiques de Barcelona*. 1907. Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona. MA thesis, 2015–2016.

[21] "Frank Brangwyn" in Alexandre de Riquer, *Escrits sobre Art*, 2017, pp. 76–80.

[22] *Joaquim Folch i Torres, Llibre de viatge (1913–1914)*. Edited by Mercè Vidal i Jansà. Barcelona: Gracmon. Publicacions i Edicions de la Universitat de Barcelona, Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2013.

Fig. 5 Edward Burne-Jones, *Estudi de cap femení*, 1894, 38,4 × 27,7 cm. Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, Catalogue number 027061-D.

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keynote lecture #2

A Tentative Archeology of Social Design

Alain Findeli
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Nesrine Ellouze
Tunis University and Université de Nîmes

The lecture proposes a tentative archeology of social design, in Foucault's sense of the term, emanating from three sources. First, we suggest a definition of social design borrowed from László Moholy-Nagy's aphorisms, as a way of indicating that the Bauhaus may be considered a forerunner of current social design. We then stay with the Bauhaus to insist on the most fundamental, dualistic/Manichean, metaphysical stance of its utopian project; a project that must indeed be considered historically unfinished. What we now call social design is considered a metamorphosis, therefore a continuation in a different form, of the original Bauhaus endeavor. At the end of the 1960s, the three pillars of our archaeology emerged simultaneously on the design scene: the epistemological, the ethical, and the environmental. The core of the lecture consists of a description and development of these three intellectual/philosophical influences of social design as it is practiced today. Our conclusion deals with the possible, indeed necessary, evolution of social design if the aim is to improve, or at least maintain, the habitability of the world on all levels of human experience: material, psychological, social, and cultural/spiritual. The Egyptian project Sekem will be used to illustrate our proposal.

For Anna, amb afecte

In her 2016 keynote lecture delivered at the Swiss Design Network Winter Summit, Anna Calvera presented a model she had developed earlier to better describe and understand local histories of design. The model was based on the hypothesis that there are "at least three different origins of design", Catalonia being an exemplary case: craft, aesthetics, and professionalization (Calvera, 2016: 91). We understand Anna meant that these were three possible and alternative, not necessarily confluent, historical origins. The model of the origin of social design presented in this lecture is also based on three origins. However, in this case, the three sources are considered confluent and complementary.

The title of the lecture is drawn from Michel Foucault's methodological concept of archeology, itself loosely borrowed from Friedrich Nietzsche's genealogy, insofar as it tries to emphasize the influence of the intellectual, political, and theoretical contexts of three distinct but almost contemporaneous streams that emerged at the end of the 1960s and that irrigate and support the values and methods of social design as it has been practiced and taught since about the start of our century. Indeed, it would be presumptuous and immodest to claim that a comprehensive archeology of social design could be outlined within the limits of such a lecture. We will therefore merely posit the basic concepts and argument of the model and try to establish its congruity with what can be observed today in the field of social design, concluding with some thoughts about its possible future development.

Incidentally, the 50-year timespan of this archeology happens to parallel and embrace the main author's own career as design educator and researcher, successively at the universities of Montréal and Nîmes, so that the resulting model is strongly flavored by his own intellectual biography (hence the many self-quotations), a bias he decided to take responsibility for rather than try to dismiss.

1

The lecture consists of four parts. Firstly, a definition of social design will be proposed. Not that we lack definitions for it (just hit Google), but our choice of definition is borrowed from some famous aphorisms of László Moholy-Nagy, the visionary Bauhaus Meister and founder/director of the Chicago New Bauhaus. In the very last chapter, entitled "a proposal" (lower case original), of the book he finished writing from his hospital bed in 1946, Moholy-Nagy sketched the concept and the master plan of a future "parliament of social design" (*id.*) that—and these were his very last written words before his untimely death—"could translate utopia into action" (Moholy-Nagy, 1947: 359–61). Two aphorisms may still serve to characterize social design today: "Designing is not a profession but an attitude", and "Not the product but man is the end in view" (Moholy-Nagy, 1930). By the way, two other aphorisms, "*the* key to our age—*seeing everything in relationships*" (Moholy-Nagy, 1947: 68, his emphasis) and "the future needs the whole man" (Moholy-Nagy, 1930) are relevant to Part 3 and the conclusion (Part 4) of the lecture, respectively. The title of Part 1 is: "*If social design is an attitude, what does this attitude actually consist in?*"

2

A further and main reason why the Bauhaus is mentioned constitutes the topic of Part 2, titled: "*Concerning the spiritual in design, in particular in social design*", a paraphrase of Wassily Kandinsky's *Über das Geistige in der Kunst, insbesondere in der Malerei* (*Concerning the Spiritual in Art, in Particular in Painting*) (1910). As mentioned earlier, our archeology of social design is grounded in the 1960s, but the emergence of the three confluent sources that will be described in Part 3 is considered a metamorphosis (in the Goethean phenomenological sense) and an expression of what must be considered the most fundamental metaphysical principle of the Bauhaus: its dualistic/Manichaean premise and worldview, first expressed by Walter Gropius at the important 1923 exhibit: "Kunst und Technik: eine neue Einheit" ("Art and Technology: A New Unity" [Findeli, 1989–90, 1991–92, 1999–2000]). Surprisingly enough and somewhat intriguingly, Gropius stated in 1920, the year after the founding of his famous 'avant-gardist' institution, that "[he was] going to prove that the Bauhaus [was] a further development of, and not a break with, tradition" (quoted by Findeli, 1989–90: 56). The tradition he referred to was that of the medieval cathedral builders and of their knowledge, which was kept secret in the lodges. Indeed, the phenomenon known as design as we practice and know it today is fundamentally dualistic, since at its very roots lies the cardinal polarity of theory/practice that all designers, design educators, and design researchers constantly struggle with, don't they? This archetypal metaphysical polarity has taken various forms throughout its long history (mind/matter, good/evil, light/darkness, freedom/determinism, immanence/transcendence, etc.; for more see the androgyne metaphor in Findeli, 2016). It was considered heretic especially in Western Christian culture and has therefore been kept hidden by its adopters and adepts (Gnostics, Templars, Cathars, Renaissance esotericists and, more recently, Anthroposophists). It surfaces from time to time throughout history, then becomes silent for a while, although remaining uninterrupted. Indeed, non-Western spiritual traditions also comprise dualistic worldviews, like Sufism in the Muslim tradition, which is also being persecuted.

The practice/theory polarity mentioned above is but one possible expression of the metaphysical stance of the Bauhaus. Another is the following, depicted by architecture historian and critic Joseph Rykwert as "The Dark Side of the Bauhaus" (Rykwert, 1968 and 1982) and presented elsewhere as its esoteric part (Lübcke, 2005; von Beyne & Bernhard, 2009). In fact, parallel to the official purpose of the institution to train and educate future designers and architects, there lies another project, which is much less publicized because of its social/political/anthropological activist character and agenda (see for instance Findeli, 1989–90). And it is precisely the presence of this second, much more fundamental and long-lasting project that confirms and justifies our proposal to consider the Bauhaus as the historical, archetypal source of social design. In this respect, the Bauhaus can be considered as, to borrow Jürgen Habermas' terms, "an unfinished project" (Habermas, quoted by Findeli, 1989–90).

3

After these two preliminary but necessary parentheses comes the central part of the lecture, Part 3, titled: "*The three origins and theoretical pillars of social design*". These will be developed, illustrated, and discussed as follows:

1. The epistemological thread, with high priority given to the theory of complex dynamic systems, is represented by Ludwig von Bertalanffy's *General Systems Theory* (1968) and Buckminster Fuller's *World Game* (1961) followed by his *Synergetics* (1975, 1979). Systems theory was later developed in design by authors like Ranulph Glanville and Wolfgang Jonas.
2. The ethical thread is radically instigated by Viktor Papanek's *Design for the Real World* (1971). Nigel Whiteley's *Design and Society* (1993) may well count as one of the first inspiring analytical essays in this thread.
3. The environmental thread is triggered by Buckminster Fuller again with his *Operating Manual for Spaceship Earth* (1968) and irreversibly confirmed by the Club of Rome's report *The Limits to Growth* (1972) followed by Gro Harlem Brundtland's report *Our Common Future* (1987) and its tripolar model of sustainable development (Profit/Planet/People or Economics/Environment/Society).

These three threads that all emerged at the end of the 1960s may be considered the central values of social design today. Notice that the above tripolar model of sustainable development includes a social pole, the interpretation of which remains unclear and disputed. We propose a critical redesign of this model to make it more relevant and instrumental for the conduct of social design projects.

4

The fourth and last part of the lecture deals with the possible and necessary evolution of social design as it is practiced and taught today. Its title is: "*The metamorphosis of the designer, a prerequisite to future social design*". In what is known as the *Bremenmodell* of the eclipse of the object in design theories (Findeli and Bousbaci, EAD Conference Keynote, Bremen 2004, published 2005), we asked ourselves what the next stage of design theories would be, following the 'Object/Esthetic', 'Process/Logics', and 'Actors/Ethics' successive historical stages. The hypothesis that will be developed here is a consequence of the redesign of the tripolar model of the previous part. It can be summed up as follows. Up to now, the activity of design, including social design, has been focused on the transformation of the outer world through the introduction of new products, devices, or services. In Herbert Simon's terms: "[Design] is about devising courses of action for changing existing situations into preferred ones". The extreme complexity and human vulnerability of social design situations and problematics implies that the standard project approaches and methodologies are no longer adequate. If we adopt our definition that the purpose of social design is to improve or at least maintain the habitability of the world of our fellow citizens, then we need a more insightful and phenomenological approach to understand what this habitability is about on all levels of human experience: physical, psychological, social, and spiritual/cultural. The metamorphosis mentioned in the title of Part 4 implies that future designers will learn to engage themselves, not only in the outer, but also in the inner, experiential, world, and thus not only in their beneficiaries', but also in their own inner world. Otto Scharmer's Theory U (Scharmer, 2008) is an important and convincing step in this direction. The impressive Sekem project in Egypt (Abouleish, 2005) will be illustrated to suggest what future social design might sound like.

To sum up, the lecture will cover:

A tentative archeology of social design

1. *If social design is an attitude, what does this attitude actually consist of?*
2. *Concerning the spiritual in design, in particular in social design*
3. *The three origins and theoretical pillars of social design*
4. *The metamorphosis of the designer, a prerequisite to future social design*

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KEYNOTE LECTURE #3

The Museu del Disseny de Barcelona: Heritage, a Resource at the Service of Knowledge, Debate and Social Challenges

Pilar Vélez
Director of the Museu del Disseny de Barcelona

The Museu del Disseny de Barcelona (Design Museum of Barcelona) is a museum devoted to the arts of the object and design. Its collections are the result of merging four former museums, dedicated to the decorative arts, ceramics, textiles and clothing, and the graphic arts, into a single but flexibly-organised museum project. The singular nature of the new Museum lies in its integration of historic decorative arts and contemporary auteur arts collections with design heritage from the 20th and 21st centuries. The common denominator in the collections is the concept of design understood in its broadest sense (idea, project method, innovation, manufacturing process and so on). Today, Barcelona and design are inseparably linked and design is a key value in the city's cultural offering, economy and international profile.

The Museum's Documentation Center also houses a library devoted to the arts of the object and design, as well as a historic archive that conserves private and corporate documents relating to the designers, craftspeople and industrialists who are, generally speaking, represented in the collections. The aim of the archive is to help visitors understand and reconstruct the processes by which the objects conserved in the Museum's collections were designed and produced. The collections and the Documentation Center are the main pillars of the Museum.

The Museu del Disseny de Barcelona

The new Museu del Disseny de Barcelona, which was officially opened in December 2014, is the culmination of work carried out by different specialist teams and reflects society's interest in heritage, the public investment that has been made and, above all, recognition of the notable role in history played by Barcelona and Catalonia in the applied arts and artistic trades and design. Today the two terms Barcelona and design are inseparable, and design as both a conceptualising process and a force behind production are key values in the city's cultural offering, economy and international profile.

The Museu del Disseny de Barcelona brings together collections from four former museums, which were devoted to the decorative arts, ceramics, textiles and clothing and the graphic arts. Its uniqueness stems from its integration of historical decorative arts and contemporary designer arts with designer collections from the 20th and 21st centuries. In fact, what sets the Museum apart from any other centre or institution dedicated to design is its focus on heritage. The Museu del Disseny is a museum of object-oriented art and design whose collections provide a global vision of our society and the innumerable artefacts that it has created and that explain its various ways of life.

The Museum's collections are all united under the concept of design. Design is the common denominator that brings them together, understood in its broadest sense (idea, project method, manufacturing process and so on.) This paper looks at the history of the Museum and explains how this accounts for its holdings and its approach for exhibiting these.

History

The Museu del Disseny de Barcelona (Fig. 1) is a public museum in the city of Barcelona whose history goes back a long way. The original idea of creating a design museum was first mooted back in the 1990s. A debate was then started about the feasibility of having a series of Barcelona museums that kept notable collections of object arts and their possible links to design; at the same time there was also debate on the need to incorporate industrial design into the city's heritage, as this had not been represented in any of the collections until then. Before we continue, however, we should consider the current Museum's origins. If we are going to speak about the Museu del Disseny we will have to speak first and foremost about the Museu de les Arts Decoratives.

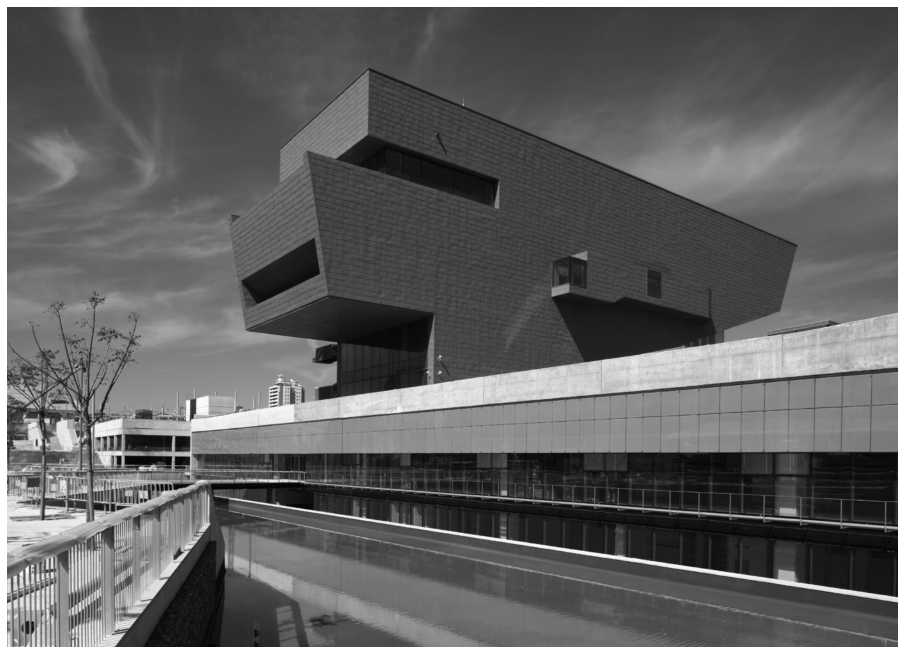

Fig. 1 Museu del Disseny de Barcelona (The Barcelona Design Museum). Photo Lourdes Jansana.

The Museu de les Arts Decoratives is the precursor to today's Museu del Disseny, and its history is complex. The first museum to be given this name was officially opened in September 1902 but within a few months it was already being referred to as the Museu d'Art Decoratiu i Arqueològic. Decades later, on 18 December 1932, a new Museu de les Arts Decoratives was officially opened in the Palau de Pedralbes, a good part of it the result of citizen's contributions—collectors, producers, artists and so on—and notable acquisitions made by the country's government institutions for the city, an outstanding example of which had come that very year from the collection of sugar magnate Lluís Plandiura.

The Palau was seized under the Franco dictatorship in 1939 and the Museu installed in the Palau de la Virreina in 1949, in the heart of Barcelona's Rambla. The Museum's rapid growth in the 1950s and 1960s led to the creation of two separate monographic centres, the Museu de Ceràmica (1966) and the Museu Tèxtil i d'Indumentària (Clothing), which combined the Museu Tèxtil (1962) and the Museu d'Indumentària–Col·lecció Rocamora (1969), as well as the Museu de les Puntes (Embroidery) (1978), which was finally incorporated in 1982.

A new industrial design collection covering the period 1930–1990 was presented to the public in 1995 in the Museu de les Arts Decoratives, which had recently officially reopened in Palau de Pedralbes. At an institutional level, this was the first official acknowledgement of the importance of Barcelona's industrial design heritage. It was likewise the first step towards furthering an understanding of the incorporation of decorative arts into design, and the social and cultural transformations which made that possible. In 1999, under its Strategic Culture Plan, Barcelona City Council considered it to be imperative for the city to have a design museum that would finally unite all the collections held at the Museu de les Arts Decoratives, the Museu de Ceràmica, the Museu Tèxtil i d'Indumentària and Museu de les Arts Gràfiques, which today constitute the new Museu del Disseny's heritage collections.

The new Museu del Disseny de Barcelona brought together the respective collections of these museums as part of a new and plural approach to design which it promoted in its public programmes, thereby making the Museum an active cultural centre in the city.

The Museum's uniqueness

A museum is based on its collections. There can be no museum without a collection and any such institution might be considered a cultural centre, but never a museum. Museums are heritage centres that preserve and disseminate their heritage.

Because it aims to be a benchmark institution for production in the fields it covers, the Museu de Disseny makes a concerted effort to regularly add to its collections, which it is able to do thanks to its involvement in the numerous sectors its holdings represent. For this reason we can say it is a heritage centre in constant growth, although the Museum has a rigorous collections policy for selecting only the most representative examples in each design area.

As explained above, the Museu del Disseny conserves design heritage in two fundamental ways: through its collections and its Documentation Center, which contains a document archive. The collections and the archive are the pillars of the museum.

The item collections: a triple heritage

The Museum not only provides an overview of design from the industrial and post-industrial eras but also shows the creativity of the past centuries. The various collections of the decorative arts—including furniture, ceramics, metals and textile arts—cover the creative tradition of trades over the centuries and link it all to contemporary design. It is here that the decorative arts can be considered the cultural forefathers of design (Fig. 2).

The Museum's holdings constitute a triple heritage coming mainly from collectors and the involvement of numerous actors linked to the Museum, including professionals, design companies and individual artists. The first heritage area is historical decorative arts, which has a European focus that is above all Hispanic and Catalan, and which covers the period up to the start of the 20th century. The second is product, graphic and fashion design within the Spanish State, especially in Catalonia, in the 20th and 21st centuries. The third heritage area, which is also the area most closely linked to Barcelona, is 20th- and 21st-century designer arts.

Fig. 2 Compact cabinets with furniture from the Product Design Collection, Museu del Disseny de Barcelona. Photo Aniol Resclosa.

The historical collections cover the period from the 3rd to the 20th centuries. The most modern items are from the first quarter of the 20th century, from the Art Deco period, and are

culturally and aesthetically connected to the first items in the Product Design collection.

As explained in the literature (and also the Museum's own presentation),[1] once Art Deco had come to its end, after its apogee in the first third of the 20th century, various writers began to talk about the death of the decorative arts. It was from the end of the First World War that the spread of modernism, typified in the work of Le Corbusier, the *Esprit Nouveau* and the Bauhaus, advocated a new relationship between form and function, rejecting gratuitous ornamentation and championing standardisation and ethical commitment in design, which in turn gave rise to the birth of industrial design. At the same time, it was also in the first quarter of the 20th century, from Art Nouveau onwards, that various decorative arts began to enjoy a status comparable to that of the fine arts.

On the other hand, the contemporary "designer arts" represented a new field within the arts of the 20th century and had their own name. Once the boundaries of artistic creation were broken down, artists became free to explore this field. Specialities such as ceramics and glass, enamel or jewellery work were based on ancient techniques that 20th-century artists made their own.

Both design and these designer arts shared their name, whose identification and dissemination was their creator's , using that name in a matter-of-fact way rather than exceptionally, as had occurred in previous periods of history. For this reason we can assert that new guidelines in the realm of creativity were forged at the start of the 20th century and developed through the channel of design or art or even both. And, ultimately, they are a reflection of the great social and cultural transformations that were experienced throughout the 20th century and that are brought together at the Museu del Disseny.

The Documentation Center: the document collections

The Museum's Documentation Center (Fig. 3) is a library dedicated to the arts of the object and design as well as a historical archive of private and corporate documents relating to the designers, craftspeople and artists generally represented in the Museum's collections. The Center aims to help visitors understand and reconstruct, as far as possible, the processes by which the objects conserved in the Museum's collections were designed and produced. Notable among the many archives are the ones donated by graphic designer Yves Zimmermann, industrial designer Miguel Milá, the Vinçon shop and Sala Vinçon (a benchmark in design culture in Barcelona), the glass-window company Rigalt, Granell & Cia., furniture maker Joan Busquets and designer Carles Riart. The Center also houses several notable libraries including the seminal Juli Capella collection on Spanish design and the Andreu Vilasís collection on international enamel work. Mutual commitment between the professionals and the Museum is the foundation of this archive, as are a good part of the item collections. Both heritages are totally complementary.

Besides its function as a library and complementary archive of the item collections, the Documentation Center is also a venue for various events run by the Center or the Museum. These include a number of master's degrees, talks, workshops, and face-to-face and online services on design-related topics, all aimed at serving the professionals of the various related sectors.

A flexible museography of its own

From the point of view of museography or museum practice, the Museu del Disseny has opted to do away with the concept of traditional permanent exhibitions and replace these with a more flexible format, where exhibitions change every four or five years so that the public can see more of the Museum's holdings. Such flexibility, albeit much more demanding on the Museum itself and ultimately a challenge to its operations, allows more readings of and reflection on items than are possible in conventional permanent exhibitions. It is here that the highest possible yield has to be drawn, since today, more than ever, we need to know how to read the ideas held and generated by museums and go beyond merely admiring a few of their items or works.

What museums mean in the second decade of the 21st century can no longer be the same as what they meant in the 19th century or even the 20th, however far their goals remain unchanged. As in the past, today's museums also need to educate. Only reflection and research can bring knowledge and consequently educate, which is the mission of such institutions. For all their holdings, museums can only educate if they help the public to draw useful readings: from a cross-cutting and multidisciplinary perspective, but also without forgetting the specific focus on a theme, technique or collection, which are two necessarily compatible and complementary lines. An objective, then, centred on knowing how to ensure the world of our everyday environments (domestic, employment, leisure, etc.), so typical of our material culture, is appreciated, and draw from it all possible lessons, thanks to a flexible and customised system of museum practice.

Thus, instead of adopting a chronological approach based on a single itinerary with a selection of items from all the collections, which together comprise over 80,000 items, the Museu

[1] Pilar Vélez, "The Barcelona Design Museum, the Museum of object arts and design", *100 Glimpses at the Collection.* Museu del Disseny de Barcelona, Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2014, pp. 11–29.

Fig. 3 Documentation Center, Museu del Disseny de Barcelona. Photo Xavier Padrós.

del Disseny has opted to make the most of its exhibition spaces according to the plural and flexible format described.

The Museum officially opened with four exhibitions of its collections, each organised according to its own expositive discourse.

The product design collection can be seen in the first-floor exhibition entitled *Del món al museu. Disseny de producte, patrimoni cultural* or "From the World to the Museum: Product Design, Cultural Heritage" (Fig. 4). This exhibition appraises the consideration granted to design, in just the last few decades, as a form of cultural heritage. It asks why certain mundane objects become museum items because of their material, technical or functional contribution to everyday life or because of their particular social and cultural resonance.

The second-floor exhibition *Extraordinàries! Col·leccions d'arts decoratives i arts d'autor. Segles III-XX* or "Extraordinary! Collections of Decorative and Author-Centered Arts, 3rd–20th Centuries" proposes a chronological tour through the Museum's most notable holdings, including its ceramics, textiles, furniture, clocks, miniatures, fans and wallpapers, while also displaying some thirty unique items encapsulating the decorative arts in Catalonia. The tour finishes in the 20th century with a sample of "designer arts" (ceramics, jewellery, enamel work) mostly by Catalan artists and with two notable ceramic collections from Picasso and Miró, donated by the artists themselves in 1957 and 1981, respectively.

The third-floor exhibition *El cos vestit. Siluetes i moda (1550-2015)* or "Dressing the Body: Silhouettes and Fashion (1550–2015)" is another of the Museum's highlights. It shows how the shape and appearance of the human body has been altered over the centuries by clothes design, which has alternately lengthened, extended, compressed, covered up or highlighted the human profile. The exhibition features a special collection of underskirt structures, including crinolines and bustles, and undergarments such as suspenders and corsets. Several acquisitions have been added to the exhibition since the official opening, enriching and expanding the expositive discourse.

Last of all, the fourth-floor exhibition, which was originally entitled *El disseny gràfic: d'ofici a professió (1940-1980)* or "Graphic Design: From Trade to Profession (1940–1980)", records how poster designers and advertising artists from just after the Spanish Civil War took the leap towards professionalisation, becoming graphic artists and subsequently graphic designers, as they are known today. This exhibition originally ended with an area called *Continuarà* ("To Be Continued"), which since 8 June has been filled by a new exhibition dedicated to the period 1980–2003, entitled *Dissenyes o treballes? La nova comunicació visual 1980-2003* ("Do you Work or Design? New visual communication 1980–2003"). Work is currently under way to add new items to these product design and decorative arts exhibitions (Fig. 5).

The Museu del Disseny's expositive approach, discourse and lines of critical reflection

The Museu del Disseny is a museum of objects to be experienced; in other words, of objects that are a product of our human capacity to create artificial environments according to the needs and the social and cultural framework of each historical era.

The Museum bases its expositive approach on four basic principles. First, it considers the items in its collections to belong to the world of 'artefacts' and material culture, as *artificialia*, cultural products and creations of homo sapiens across history.

Second, it organises its exhibitions to centre on the items to be experienced, on the product of a process rather than on the process itself or intermediate products. The document collections for understanding the processes by which objects were made and disseminated and gained social and cultural impact are kept in the Documentation Center.

Third, the values the Museum intends to promote and make understood are innovation and creativity, from past to present. Part of the Museum's potential lies in knowing how to discover, analyse and disseminate innovation from the past and reveal the paths innovation takes today, which can become true cultural heritage. The objects themselves can be the product of *auteurs* or anonymous craftspeople; they can be unique or mass produced. Whatever the case, the Museum considers that designer items have dominated the scene since the 20th century in the fields of both design and art.

Fourth, the basic disciplines addressed by the Museum are design history and art history—specifically, the history of the arts related to the creation of objects. At the same time, however, it also understands the importance in its exhibitions of economic history, the history of technique, anthropology, sociology and economics, among other subjects.

Bearing in mind these four principles, the lines of critical reflection currently launched by the Museum are reflected in its debate about two issues in particular. The first, entitled *The role and responsibility of design today*, relates to the Museum's aim to continue monitoring the increasingly varied current state of design and all its most sophisticated technological advances while paying attention to everything required by global society and the sustainability of the planet, and reflecting on what the true roles of design and designers should be today. The Museum aims to play a key role in disseminating knowledge of good practices in design and the potential these have to improve our lives when they make design sustainable and accessible to all of society at a global level.

Fig. 4 Exhibition *From the World to the Museum.* Product Design, Cultural Heritage, Museu del Disseny. Photo Aniol Resclosa.

Fig. 5 Exhibition *Do you Work or Design?*

The second, entitled *Channels of Creativity and Innovation in Art, Crafts and Design: Relations, Parallelisms and Divergences,* takes as its point of departure the fact that, throughout history, the creation of objects has been based on crafts—that is, on traditional trades that help to give form to a need. This premise can help us analyse various contemporary scenarios in the design world and understand the present links between the three frameworks described and the contribution of design to craft forms.

The Museum's location and facilities

The Museu del Disseny de Barcelona is housed in a new building in Plaça de les Glòries—an emerging cultural area in Barcelona—that was expressly designed for use as a heritage centre by MBM Architects (Martorell, Bohigas, Mackay, Capdevila and Gual).[2]

The building is divided into two parts: the basement floor, which is the result of the change in ground level caused by the remodelling of the square, and the building proper, which starts at street level. It is in the building proper, a free-standing, four-storey structure with a surface area of some 3,000 sq m, that the Museum displays its holdings in four exhibitions. As explained above, these are temporary, each programmed to last for about five years. This means the public can visit different exhibitions at the same time and the readings the Museum creates can be unique to each or cross-cutting or specific, and therefore more enriching. Finally, this system of temporary exhibitions also allows the Museum to rotate the display of its many holdings on a more regular basis.

The Museum's surface area can be divided into separate sections to suit a variety of events, including chamber exhibitions and educational workshop and laboratory spaces. The basement floor's 2,000 sq m houses the reserve collection rooms or storage rooms, which are compact in structure, and the Museum's Conservation–Restoration Department. It also has spaces expressly designed for use as educational workshops by the Museum's Outreach Department, as well as the Documentation Center, library and archives described above. Finally, the basement floor is also where the Museum has its offices and a series of multi-purpose rooms and technical services. The building's fourth floor has an auditorium equipped with the latest technology and seating for 320 people.

A new joint project with the BCD and the FAD

The Museum shares its premises with the Barcelona Centre de Disseny (Barcelona Design Centre, BCD) and the Foment de les Arts i el Disseny (Organization for the Promotion of the Arts and Design, FAD), two benchmark institutions in Catalan design whose common goal is to disseminate the arts and design. The BCD does this by promoting design in business circles and industry, while the FAD acts as an umbrella organization for a number of professional associations related to design: the Associació de Disseny Industrial (ADIFAD) for industrial designers; the Associació de Directors d'Art i Dissenyadors Gràfics (ADGFAD) for art directors and graphic designers; the Associació per al Foment de la Moda (MODAFAD) for fashion designers; the Associació Interdisciplinària de Disseny de l'Espai (ARQUINFAD) for architects; and finally, the Associació d'Artistes i Artesans (AFAD) for craftspeople.

The connections between these different organizations helps sectors, associations and institutions in the world of design to network, increasing their visibility and generating new joint ventures and partnerships. Sharing premises with the FAD and the BCD in what is effectively the gateway to 22@, the neighbourhood that Barcelona City Council is currently promoting as its innovation and creativity hub, also means that the Museum can participate in defining and promoting industrial and professional actions relating to design.

In fact, even though museums are defined by their work in the conservation, documentation, research and dissemination of their heritage, they have to promote other lines of work as well. The Museu del Disseny provides a meeting platform for all the actors in the sector, from creators, studios and businesses to schools, universities and social and cultural associations concerned with design.

Conclusion: an inspiring and committed museum

The Museu del Disseny, which officially opened almost four years ago, is beginning to establish itself as the city's new cultural facility. Conceived as a point of confluence for people from all walks of life, it simultaneously engages in a variety of activities: it promotes and arranges visits to its temporary and chamber exhibitions; it deals with a diverse range of queries regarding its collections, in person and online, including consultations about items in the collections or documents in the archive; its Documentation Center offers a variety of services; it runs design activities for families; it organises events, specialist courses, educational workshops, festivals and international conferences on design-related subjects; and finally it organises the use of certain leisure spaces and a cafeteria.

Fruit of the involvement and generosity of many actors and organizations, the Museum aims not only to be a source of knowledge for students and researchers but a model for the designers, artists and craftspeople who constitute today's creators, with a view to the future assets which the Museum itself will have to select and conserve. Schools and universities, with whom the Museum is involved in all kinds of projects, play an important role here as trainers of future creators.

Today's museums certainly have to boost the social dimension and contribute to tackling the main social and cultural challenges we face, demonstrating their commitment to the society they serve.

The Museu del Disseny is working to become a stimulus for the communities it serves, striving to give them some kind of return in the form of plural knowledge while at the same time enhancing itself through citizen participation.

Pilar Vélez is the director of the Museu del Disseny de Barcelona. A doctor of Art History and member of the Royal Academy of Fine Arts of Catalonia, she has authored over thirty books on various subjects including design and the decorative arts. Ms Vélez has curated numerous national and international exhibitions in cities including Barcelona, Madrid, Paris, Venice and New York.

[2] The Museu del Disseny also manages preventive conservation, operational museography and guided tours of Dwelling 1/11 of the Casa Bloc, one of the leading examples of Republican rationalist architecture (1932) located in Barcelona's Sant Andreu neighbourhood.

KEYNOTE LECTURE #4

A Theory Good Enough for Design Practice?

Fedja Vukić
Full Professor, Sveučilište u Zagrebu (University of Zagreb)

A historical overview of theoretical concepts on design practice (both as method and the final result of the process) points to the fact that virtually the entire history of the discipline has been characterized by a conceptual reflection on its social and technological viability that strives to "see" the future and be flexible as a platform for design practice. If this is relevant, if the creation of something new comprehends the cognitive basis of design quality seen within the process of creating or using the object designed/produced, throughout the user–object relationship, then are there not certain arguments in favor of the need for constant theoretical innovation in design and for design, today perhaps more than ever before in the history of industrial modernization? Theoretical and methodological discussion on design in the context of large scale and free enterprise economic systems has created a variety of stimulating critical insights and ideas. The paper reviews some of the theoretical design concepts of the past in order to look ahead to the new ones. Today, within a dynamic reflection of a given context, the value of the design profession is generally recognised; but what kind of changes are needed for design practice today to be viable for tomorrow?

Introduction

In a world characterized by continuous online communication, constant economic change, an increasingly threatened natural environment and a questionable social future, sustainable design practice frequently arises as a vital objective. Understanding design as "a tool for creating or removing obstacles" in discussions in which the concept of "material objects" (Flusser, 1999: 58) is analyzed might help establish a new position regarding the theory behind design as practice.

Flusser, it seems, highlights the cognitive quality of the object, as the result of the design process, which therefore raises the question of design practice and social justification in the material production process. Consequently, huge challenges in the natural and cultural environment give rise to issues related to the cognitive and creative dimensions of the design profession, which already has a history that has been studied and written about through institutional and research platforms. Design could perhaps be evaluated through the past and recreated as the basis for new concepts, as a kind of "theory of change" (Walker, 1990: 89–92).

Certainly, the general value of the design profession, within a dynamic reflection of a given context, has a standard recognition, but what kind of change is needed to ensure that today's design practice is viable tomorrow? A historical overview of theoretical design concepts points to the fact that virtually the entire history of the discipline has been characterized by a conceptual reflection on such viability that strives to 'see' the future and be flexible as a platform for design practice.

There is a general understanding that the context of industrial modernization provided a setting for theoretical design concepts, in terms of both "the factory aesthetic" (Banham, 1960: 79–88) and "the machine aesthetic" (Sparke, 1986: 45–49), and certainly as way of striving for "good form", adequate for production process technology and market conditions, but at the same time instilled with values from traditional fields of art. As expressed in perhaps the first comprehensive book on design theory, "a clear understanding, not only of the processes of modern production, but also of the nature of art" (Read, 1938: 1) is a prerequisite for any design activity.

If this is relevant, if the creation of something new comprehends the cognitive basis of design quality that Bolz sees as the process of using the object designed/produced, throughout the user-object relationship (Bolz, 2001: 105), then are there not certain arguments in favor of the need for constant theoretical innovation *in* design and *for* design, today perhaps more than ever before in the history of industrial modernization?

Recognition of the Importance of Theory

At the very beginning of the global crisis affecting the large-scale economy model and the social system of nation states, Margolin claimed that

> the boundaries around these problem areas have begun to collapse due to the influence of technology, management strategies, social forces, and new intellectual currents. As a result, the old divisions of design practice now appear increasingly inadequate and ineffectual. This situation has caused an intense rethinking of the designer's role by users of design services (Margolin, 1995: 78-92).

A few years previously it was noted that future designers will be "more and more concerned with exploring the role of design in sustaining, developing, and integrating human beings into broader ecological and cultural environments when desirable

and possible or adapting to them when necessary" (Buchanan, 1992: 5–21). Twenty-five years later, that future has definitely arrived. Of course, this does not mean that the activities described by Buchanan are already a globally widespread activity, but it is quite clear that this was the direction that design practice and theory had to move in as an eventual aspect of the sustainable development model. As indicated above, the resulting need for a new design method is evident, since the very context of design and visual communication, as products and services for mass production and consumption (which up until now has formed the basic framework for the historical origins and development of the professional practice of design), is experiencing a crisis that is certainly not superficial, but rather structural.

After a long period in which artistic and scientific disciplines have been developed separately, it seems that it is gradually becoming necessary for seemingly heterogeneous fields to be integrated, due to the availability and sophistication of IT tools. Design thinking and design creation are widely thought to be at the center of this integration. Bearing in mind that the widest context of the global crisis is, of course, the ultimate threat of ecological disaster, Margolin accurately identified opposition to two basic directions taken by the development of (Western) civilization: the "sustainability" and the "expansion" models of the world (Margolin, 1995: 81). Of particular interest is the following observation:

> In opposition to the sustainability model, most businesses and many consumers operate in relation to what I will call an expansion model of the world. According to this model, the world consists of markets in which products function first and foremost as tokens of economic exchange (Margolin, 1995: 81–82).

It is quite obvious that professional design (as it is now conceived) adds legitimacy to the existing expansion model of social development. Margolin reasons that "the two agendas for social development [...] are not only in conflict, they are on a collision course" and then observes that

> this is evident in the widening gaps between rich and the poor in both global and local terms, the development of an information infrastructure that privileges some and excludes the others, and an array of precarious environmental situations that are beginning to permanently damage the planet (Margolin, 1995: 82).

Would it prove useful to demonstrate the ways in which the theoretical concepts of design, from the beginnings of the mechanisms that consolidated mass production and consumption up to a few decades ago, helped to examine sustainable design practice in the midst of economic, political and cultural change? This paper assumes that theory is an inevitable and vital aspect of design practice.

Early Modern Theory on Design

In the context of the Second Industrial Revolution and the spread of the liberal economic model in the late 19th century, the issue of artistic methods applied to serial and machine production arose. The right (or sustainable, as seen from today's perspective) and justified methodology and the aesthetics of art creation for a new machine-based era were first addressed by William Morris, the great opponent of the production of utilitarian objects, as based on the inconsistent and formal usage of historical rhetoric.

> Morris was the first artist to realize how precarious and decayed the social foundations of art had become during the centuries since the Renaissance, and especially during the years since the Industrial Revolution (Pevsner, 1936: 21–22).

By challenging the Renaissance concept of the artist as a born genius, responsible only for his own music and completely immune to the utilitarian needs of the time, Morris wanted to affirm the practical and philosophical settings of medieval art, where the artist, whatever his discipline, worked collectively with all guilds and craft cooperatives, including a number of assistants and artisans, in a social hierarchy of equal participants. However, instead of the resurrection of arts and crafts cooperatives, Morris and partners founded the company Morris, Marshall, Faulkner & Co in 1861, adding to that official name the words "Fine Art Workmen in Painting, Carving, Furniture and the Metals", and thus underlining the paradox of the dichotomy of their theory and practice. Indeed,

> Morris preaches: 'I don't want art for a few, any more than education for a few, or freedom for a few,' and he asks that great question which will decide the fate of art in our century: 'What business have we with art at all unless all can share it?'" (Pevsner, 1936: 22).

It was so close to the principles of early socialism (in the spirit of the philosophy of Thomas More and Karl Marx), and he intended to develop modernization programs with extremely traditional methods and refused to exploit the improvements in production technology. Although philosophically stimulating, Morris's agenda was therefore somewhat weak, as

> We owe it to him that an ordinary man's dwelling-house has once more become a worthy object of the architect's thought, and a chair, a wallpaper, or a vase a worthy object of the artist's imagination" (Pevsner, 1936: 22).

However, another important achievement was Morris's theoretical proposition that "it is not possible to dissociate art from morality, politics, and religion", which is to say that the activity of art was gradually becoming regarded as the direct result of the socioeconomic context of the time, and the political and ideological hierarchy of society.

The Introduction of Industrial Culture

The idea of humanizing industrial objects and symbolic content through the integration of art and science in order to uncover their proper aesthetics and functionality for the modern era occurred in

the United States and Germany in the early 20th century. In Germany, this occurred first at the innovative furniture-manufacturing business established in Dresden in 1898, the Deutsche Werkstätten Hellerau, which used the British model and employed various experts, including architects, artists and designers, to identify the most suitable method for manufacturing mass production pieces quickly and inexpensively, while retaining a high level of quality. For the first time, artists were actually involved in the industrial production process. When Hermann Muthesius returned to Germany from London, the foundations were laid for the Deutscher Werkbund (German Arts and Crafts Society) and the work of the association. However, the methodology was disputed. Muthesius noted:

> To help form recover its rights must be the fundamental task of our era; in particular it must be the content of any work of artistic reform embarked upon today (Muthesius, 1912: 89, trans. Michael Bullock).

Nonetheless, the goal of the Werkbund was not only the enrichment of the human-material environment.

> Far more important than the material aspect is the spiritual: higher than purpose, material, and technique might be beyond criticism, yet without form we should still be living in a crude and brutal world. Thus we are ever more clearly confronted by the far greater, far more important task of reviving intellectual understanding and reanimating the architectonic sense (Muthesius, 1912: 90, trans. Michael Bullock).

This ambitious target addressed much more than the mere economic production of objects or the affirmation of a new design aesthetic, or designs that used automated machine tools. Moreover, the role of a prominent artist in achieving the goal of responsible industrial production involved the transformation of society as a whole and the development of an entirely new awareness of beauty and function among the wider public, which no doubt included a key role for education and the unconditional collective action of artists, architects, engineers, craftsmen and other professionals, thereby leading to the development of a different, distinctive and characteristic national product. The thesis concerning materials conditioned by spirituality is the foundation of such a vision.

> Without a total respect for form, culture is unthinkable, and formlessness is synonymous with lack of culture. Form is a higher spiritual need to the same degree that cleanliness a higher bodily need. Crudities of form cause the really cultivated man an almost physical pain... (*Ibid.*).

Long before the Bauhaus school opened, Peter Behrens, one of the founders of the Deutscher Werkbund, understood industrial civilization as a "new nature" and a platform for the sensual and perceptual reorganization of human consciousness, which called for "a new form of environment" (Anderson, 2000: 161–162). According to Behrens, it meant a new means of relating to industrial manufacturing and its products (objects and meanings) that he had found in culture and art. Viewed as widely available cultural content, this has become a new horizon for industrial culture.

Development of Interdisciplinary Education as a Social Mission

A few years after the Werkbund discussions had begun, one of Behrens's former collaborators, Walter Gropius, noted in the Bauhaus Manifesto and Program that "the ultimate goal of all art is the building!" Overall, the Program represented a complete break from the former tradition of arts education.

> Today, [the visual arts] exist in complacent isolation, from which they can only be salvaged by the purposeful and cooperative endeavors of all artisans [...] Architects, sculptors, painters—we all must return to craftsmanship! For there is no such thing as 'art by profession'. There is no essential difference between the artist and the artisan. The artist is an exalted artisan. [...] But the foundations of proficiency are indispensable to every artist. This is the original source of creative design. So let us therefore create a new guild of craftsmen, free of the divisive class pretensions that endeavored to raise a prideful barrier between craftsmen and artists!" (Gropius, 1919: 97).

The concept of a teaching structure in which apprentices and assistants had the opportunity to put their knowledge and skills into actual practice during their studies, by working with masters in different fields and projects, was a quantum leap at the time. Bauhaus cherished the idealistic spirit of unity between artists, assistants and apprentices who jointly participated in many 'extra-curricular' activities that were actually very carefully positioned in the general curriculum with the aim of enriching students' culture and developing their sensitivity for different forms of creative expression. In his discussion of the principles, Gropius observed the importance of

> Mutual planning of extensive, Utopian structural designs—public buildings and buildings for worship—aimed at the future. Collaboration of all masters and students—architects, painters, sculptors—on these designs with the object of gradually achieving a harmony of all the component elements and parts that make up architecture [...] Encouragement of friendly relations between masters and students outside of work; therefore plays, lectures, poetry, music, costume parties (Gropius, 1919: 99).

At a deeper level, Gropius's philosophy advocates a radical movement away from traditional arts education and from the perfect imitation of historical styles and their application in a given context. Instead, the school is closer to the idea of synthesis and cooperation between different creative professions. Based on the specific teaching concepts of Waldorf and Montessori, it shifted towards a wider area of creativity, with a view to developing a creative ability to produce materials and the spiritual growth of human beings (Naylor, 1985: 55–56). Finding the best possible solution for an innovative arts education curriculum paved the way for the global invention of higher education in design.

Environment Design and Sustainable Development: Lessons from the Ulm School. The Hochschule für Gestaltung Ulm was founded by the brother-and-sister Scholl Foundation with the aim of educating individuals within "the union of professional qualifications, the formation of culture and political issues" (Frampton, 1974: 131). Although the original idea was to establish a school for social studies and natural sciences, former Bauhaus student Max Bill persuaded the founders to establish a school for design, rather than the humanities and social sciences. This was underpinned by his belief in architecture, industrial design and visual communication as disciplines with the power to integrate various scientific and artistic fields of expertise in a project that could offer a tangible platform for industrial, cultural, and thus political renewal.

The Ulm School therefore became the first institution to offer an interdisciplinary curriculum for design, originally based on a four-year model, with an initial year of preparation and then the option to choose one of four departments: Product Design, Industrialized Building, Visual Communication and, particularly relevant at the time, Information (which was unfortunately discontinued soon afterwards). The aim of the initial preparatory year was to introduce students to the basics of a universal methodology for subsequent work—either two-dimensional or three-dimensional—and provide them with a basic understanding of the cultural and social changes that occurred after the Industrial Revolution, and lastly to equip them with the precise scientific and mathematical tools that are so essential to design for industry.

However, the main original mission of the Ulm School, in which Max Bill was enthusiastic about continuing the Bauhaus tradition, was the purposeful and robust integration of the three levels of design for the human environment in the industrial era, that would conform design culture: the built environment (architecture and urban planning), the environment of objects (industrial design) and the symbolic environment (visual communication). If, despite his rational constructivism, Gropius and his followers still believed in craftsmanship as a necessary component of education for designers, the Ulm School had identified adequate requirements for the new industrial age in which mass production and international businesses were playing an increasingly important role, and also promoted science—mathematics, physics, chemistry and social sciences—as the basis of the logical and efficient methodology for the design industry.

According to Maldonado, it became clear that aesthetics represented just one of the factors involved in product creation, but by no means the most important: "the productive, constructive, economic factors—perhaps, too, the symbolic factors—also exist. Industrial design is not an art, nor is the designer necessarily an artist" (Maldonado, 1958: 62, trans. Ulmer Museum archives). This quote directly supplements the following:

> During the first phase a designer was a constructor, an inventor and draughtsman. Ford himself was a major designer of his time. During the second phase, the designer was an artist, whether his contribution was 'aesthetics for the few' or 'aesthetics for the many'. In the third period, the designer will be a coordinator (Maldonado, 1958: 62, trans. Fedja Vukić).

Regardless of the method used by present and future designers to express their creative impulses, whether close to engineering or to artistic skills, Maldonado's maxim holds true today: designers must be aware of the social processes that surround and shape design so that they can influence and change them with knowledge of their specific professional field. These designers can develop only through education that cannot be limited to certain aspects of particular disciplines.

In 1966, Maldonado dedicated himself to detecting problems in the design discipline in his paper "Towards Environmental Design". This had a less upbeat flavor, thus suggesting that the Ulm School, despite its best efforts, had not met all its objectives. The visual landscape of the human environment (i.e., culture) in relation to the somewhat conservative and rigid 1950s had changed and, in relation to industrial designers, Maldonado ruefully concluded that designers had never been so greatly needed and yet so infrequently used (as explained in Maldonado, 1966: 203). At the same time, he also recognized the importance of the original utopian project of modernism, observing that all designers had to do was look at the types of task currently invested with their energy and the best of their ability, and they would see that these tasks were the opposite of all that had been programmatically brought by pioneers of modern architecture forty years earlier (as explained in Maldonado, 1966: 204) All in all, his words constituted a critique of the ironic, even cynical, post-industrial standpoint of the social and economic status quo.

With such a legacy, the ideas that emerged from the Ulm School are only today gaining strength and becoming fully clear. Gui Bonsiepe later advocated the concept of design as an "interface", and thus the design education as a flexible framework, with designers as actors within creative teams without a leader, but in a collaborative practice of creating optimal solutions to various problems, discreetly present in the material and symbolic culture (Bonsiepe, 1999: 29). This was an early preconception of the later idea of "metadesign", a concept of collaboration not only between designers, but involving all users.

With regard to the whole new field of culture that is seemingly opening up and should also ensure the freedom to communicate and share symbolic meanings—the world of the Internet and international networked digital culture—this concept of design as "interface" as well as the coordination, planning, and involvement in a variety of areas in the humanities but also in computer sciences will play an increasingly important role in the daily creative work of designers. The important question is whether existing design institutions are able to train future professionals to do so.

The Science of Design

Buckminster Fuller's comprehensive scientific and philosophical system was devoted primarily to the study of major problems associated with human existence in our entire civilization and the biosphere. He created outside of discipline boundaries with no reference to outdated political ideologies that essentially

represent the other factor in the growing segmentation of human knowledge for the accumulation of profit and are undoubtedly slowing down the development of the world's sustainable models. Essentially, Fuller was an idealist who based his optimism on a denial of dominant anthropocentrism; his projects envisioned man's position in the broadest possible context of the physical, chemical and mathematical laws and not in terms of ephemeral and temporal political changes.

Therefore, Fuller's understanding of the Industrial Revolution is optimistic, since he perceives it in a context of the overall progress made in technologies applied to the use of natural resources, within the process to develop a social system from feudalism to "industrialization", which, according to him, has the potential to fulfill the basic life needs of all people on board "Spaceship Earth". Fuller reduced resources to three simple, limitless categories, which form the basis for sustainable and responsible industrial production: energy and mass, contained in the atoms of 92 known chemical elements in the periodic table; energy as radiation and gravity, continuously available from the hypothetical infinite inventory in space, and energy as the human intellect, which increases interactively with use. According to Fuller, the future development of industry and technology should focus on coordinating the use of exhausted resources (in terms of recycling) and on assimilating and processing other energy types, which are not only from renewable sources, but are virtually inexhaustible. The third category, meanwhile, has to continue to promote the development of a different education system to educate people on the principle of sustainable synergies as interaction of the two or more shared actions so that the total effect is more than the sum of two or more independent effects.

Fuller did not have a conventional understanding of either industrialization or the designer's role in the process. On the contrary, his concept of the "comprehensive designer" was based on a visionary interdisciplinary education, which was not present anywhere back in 1949, when he published the article, and even today is not present in the form in which it was originally conceived by Fuller. Fuller saw such a designer as "an emerging synthesis of artist, inventor, mechanic, objective economist and evolutionary strategist" (Fuller 1949: 243) and he argued that one of the designer's first tasks is to "provide new and advanced standards of living for peoples of the world". (Fuller, 1949: 246). Fuller's language in itself, his original poetic, scientific, intuitive and rational discourse, is a synthesis of synergy theory in essay form, and thus constituted the basis for a new way of thinking which remains just as relevant today.

What is particularly interesting in his idea of "design science" is the way he approached former artistic practice as an experimental but also scientifically measurable human activity, which creates theories, patents and innovations for everyone, according to the principle of free distribution. This is in stark contrast to the present trends whereby the flow of relevant information and intellectual property is restricted, thus slowing this flow and preventing such information from being shared freely.

Design Activism

Adopting the holistic world view of Fuller, Victor Papanek defined design more broadly than the context in which it was originally established as a professional practice. Thus, he confirmed the interdisciplinary nature of design as a crucial feature of his theoretical and practical work. In his theories, design is understood as a modus operandi that has the power to integrate dispersed knowledge in the process of finding innovative tools for sustainable development. This led Papanek to sharply criticize the existing production systems, analyse the relationships between producers and consumers and attempt to define the needs and rights of the latter (in line with various social theorists such as Erich Fromm and Herbert Marcuse). These thoughts are systematically laid out in his book *Design for the Real World*, which he wrote in 1971.

> Design is basic to all human activities. The planning and patterning of any act toward a desired, foreseeable end constitutes a design process. Any attempt to separate design, to make a thing-by-itself, works counter to the inherent value of design as the primary, underlying matrix of life. Integrated design is comprehensive: it attempts to take into consideration all the factors and modulations necessary to a decision-making process. It attempts to see trends-as-a-whole and continuously to extrapolate from established data and intrapolate from the scenarios of the future which it constructs. Integrated, comprehensive, anticipatory design is the act of planning and shaping carried on across all the various disciplines, an act continuously carried on at interfaces (Papanek, 1971: 322).

What was Papanek's concept of sustainable design? He based any future design research and creation on the following questions, which are universal to all of humanity, but which in particular local contexts should encourage different interpretations of seminal material and spiritual production:

> What are the optimal conditions for human society on Earth? What are the parameters of the global ecological and etiological system? What are the limits of our resources? What are the human limits? What are the basic housekeeping rules for human life on the planet Earth? And, finally, what don't we know? (Papanek, 1971: 340).

According to Papanek, this should be achieved in at least two ways:

> designers and design offices immediately begin turning at least one-tenth of their talents and working time towards the solving of those social problems that may yield to design solutions. Furthermore, it means [...] that designers refuse to participate in work that is biologically or socially destructive [...]. Just this would be a gigantic step towards the common good (Papanek, 1971: 341).

Papanek also envisioned the structure of experimental design schools, which he described as open, democratic institutions with a limited physical and human capacity, organized according to the principle of work community and focused on developing smaller projects relevant to

the immediate environment. Schools would be funded by state and private subsidies and incentives by selling their products. Profits could only be returned to schools to guarantee the development of teaching and further projects. Papanek speculated on how such a small network of institutions in different local environments, and ultimately around the world, would lead to student mobility and connect international teams of specialists dedicated to solving specific problems in the local community. It would involve a non-linear diagram of global education in design and related arts and sciences, in which state institutions and NGOs would have an interest by immediately benefiting from design. The critical complexity of such a system derives from the complexity of the problems that require solving, a process yet to be implemented. New social concepts such as the "small-scale economy" and "fair-trade", as alternatives to the large-scale economy, could eventually represent a more productive context for the development of Papanek's revolutionary ideas.

A Cognitive and Creative Alternative: Towards Comprehensive Design? Theoretical and critical thinking about design, especially with respect to theories applied to design practice and education, provides opportunities to grasp that historical examples are deeply involved in the formation of design concepts, professional methods and even curricula, within the context of industrial modernization. Due to the popularization of a systematic approach to the creation of material objects and symbolic structures, "design" has become globally recognized as a cognitive and creative practice, or as a "form of intelligence"; a skill that "everyone has" (Cross, 1995: 111–112; 115–116). If design becomes a teaching method even in education systems beyond higher education, is there an opportunity to make changes for the better in the higher education design curriculum?

Is it possible to create a design practice concept in which the circumstances of the natural and social environment could be identified, at the meeting point between the previous and current industrial revolutions? Is long-term planning for the number of educated professionals in a social context still possible? At what level of social needs, how, through what social actors and according to what parameters? Based on what type of development strategy? In general education, and in design education in particular, to paraphrase Margolin, there is a clear need for interaction, according to his critical analysis of the relationship between the designed material object and design as social actor. The remarkable evolution of mass communication platforms and virtual social networks and the rise in the use of artificial intelligence systems since the mid-1990s have proved this thesis.

However, there is no longer a need to recognize interaction as a technological, machine/service-user relation only; it can now be viewed at a much broader level of human civilization, mostly due to the crisis experienced by the Western European large-scale economy model, based on the idea of economic growth at any price. The key lesson of the abovementioned examples of theoretical reflection on design concerns the exceeding of disciplinary limits.

One possible approach to the development of new education curricula may be a model of education that has already been proposed: education "on design" and education "for design" (Vukić, 2011: 138), an approach that combines "design-based learning" in primary and secondary schools with specialist education at the higher education level.

With lessons learned from historical examples of innovative thinking on design practice, the question arises of whether it could be restarted with a new approach to the "process, result and a value" of a profession that matters a great deal in terms of productive change (Dilnot, 1984:249–250). Theoretical and methodological discussions concerning design in the context of large-scale economies and free enterprise have created a variety of interesting critical insights and ideas, even in social contexts ideologically opposed to the liberal economic model (Vukić, 2017: 212–216).

Within design practice, the emergence of new theoretical attitudes similar not only to Fuller's "comprehensive" vision, but to an even earlier observation by Muthesius as "from sofa cushion to urban design" (Muthesius, 1912:16), would eventually be complemented by including both the physical and the virtual domain and embracing technology, but also involving users in the process more than ever before. In this regard, the traditional position of the artistic component of design could perhaps not be redefined "until we have reduced the work of art to its essentials, stripped it of all the irrelevancies imposed on it by a particular culture or civilisation" (Read, 1938:1). The "comprehensive" approach could perhaps introduce the designer as "Co-creator: contributor to collaborative and interdisciplinary teams; Generator of new design knowledge; and Developer of, and contributor to, creative cultures" (Wilson and Zamberlan, 2015: 3–16). Bearing in mind the huge changes imposed on societies and economies by the rapid change in machine usage, perhaps the old dilemma posed by Cedric Price ("Technology is the answer, but what was the question?") is more relevant than ever before in the context of industrialized cultures.

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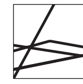

1 Design History and Histories of Design

1.1 Territories in the Scene of Globalised Design: Localisms and Cosmopolitanisms

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Globalisation, a phenomenon that concluded at the turn of the 21st century, is threatening old cultural issues and concepts such as cosmopolitanism. Today, our preoccupation with the physical preservation of our planet as "a home for all" is forcing us to consider every discourse or story about cultural phenomena, including design, from a global perspective, as something that affects humankind as a whole. On the other hand, when historical research addresses very local situations and events, it almost always chances upon cosmopolitan ideals and models. The turn of the 20th century and the subsequent modernist movement highlighted the essential universality of design and the design profile user through standardisation. This took place against a backdrop characterised by equality for all individuals according to what would eventually become the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Papers and reflections that address the essence of cosmopolitanism in several local, national or regional design topics will be welcomed in this strand, which focuses on the comparison of universalist ideals that have been historically active in different places and at different times.

1 Design History and Histories of Design

1.1 Territories in the Scene of Globalised Design: Localisms and Cosmopolitanisms

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INTRODUCTION

1.1 Territories in the Scene of Globalised Design: Localisms and Cosmopolitanisms

Globalisation, a phenomenon that concluded at the turn of the 21st century, is threatening old cultural issues and concepts such as cosmopolitanism. Today, our preoccupation with the physical preservation of our planet as "a home for all" is forcing us to consider every discourse or story about cultural phenomena, including design, from a global perspective, as something that affects humankind as a whole. On the other hand, when historical research addresses very local situations and events, it almost always chances upon cosmopolitan ideals and models. The turn of the 20th century and the subsequent modernist movement highlighted the essential universality of design and the design profile user through standardisation. This took place against a backdrop characterised by equality for all individuals according to what would eventually become the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Papers and reflections that address the essence of cosmopolitanism in several local, national or regional design topics will be welcomed in this strand, which focuses on the comparison of universalist ideals that have been historically active in different places and at different times.

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The papers in this strand present localities around the world and transnational relations that crisscross the globe. Most represent Mediterranean cases from Spain to Turkey, East Asian cases from Japan and South Korea and Latin American cases. However, they involve engagements far beyond these areas, as they link local conditions, resources and traditions for cultural appropriation with discussions of Western avant-garde, imperialism and global trading. They reassess the dichotomy in the usual perceptions of modernist design as a universal language and craft as a local language. They also study the mechanisms underlying integration, harmonisation and homogenisation, as well as clashes in local encounters. The cases also reveal the differing degrees of exchange or site-specificity in different design types, from fashion and graphics to crafts, interiors and architecture.

By combining these widespread cases we hope to trigger discussions about common denominators—historical perspectives, global conditions and universal ideals—to map the territories in the globalised design scene. This could reveal how design plays a role as a carrier or an expression of some sort of modern-day cosmopolitanism, at a time when global economics, media technologies, the climate challenge and steady urbanisation are both forcing and enabling increasing numbers of people across the globe to adopt a metropolitan lifestyle.

Anders V. Munch

From Local to Global:
Roca Corporation's First 100 Years.
The history of a company producing bathroom fittings and goods to spread comfort, hygiene, wellbeing and salubriousness worldwide

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Company Roca Sanitarios / Roca bathrooms / Bathroom design / Transnational companies / Design policy / Design culture

In 2016, the Spanish company Roca, producing heating and bathroom fixtures, reached 100 years of uninterrupted activity. The 100th anniversary, celebrated in 2017, was an opportunity to verify how its values have remained constant and enduring. Research on Roca's history, focusing on design performance, has revealed the emergence of a latent corporate heritage that has contributed to the reinforcement of the brand in a significant manner. The project has benefited employees and stakeholders in better knowing the company they are working in and for, discovering its longstanding values and ways of practice, while raising awareness of Roca's own entrepreneurial culture.

During 2017, the Spanish company Roca celebrated its first century. A variety of exhibitions, meetings, seminars, special publications and events took place in Barcelona, where the company has its headquarters, as well as in many other towns around the world. Among the planned publications, a book about Roca's history of design over these first one hundred years, *Roca. 100 Years Design by Design* (Benenti, Calvera and Campi, 2018), is especially important. The project required a major research effort that was carried out by a team of eleven historians, experts in various fields of design and technology.[1] During more than a year they researched in parallel, supported by staff responsible for managing an archive in progress and the task of publishing the book. The method included the study of 100 years of catalogues, handbooks addressed to technicians tasked with installing the products, journals and in-house publications, collections of leaflets, photographs, films and videos, together with visits to public archives and the recording of many oral testimonies in interviews—including past and present managers, engineers, heads of the design departments, designers and communication managers, marketing technicians, and so on. The task consisted in exploring the production of the company, localizing documents that had been lost (like some advertising campaigns designed for the press) and then selecting the most interesting items in design terms, whatever the reason for valuing them might be. The research was also useful for documenting other events, such as product and visual communication exhibitions presented throughout 2017 as well as (being a minimum objective) improving the company's knowledge of itself both internally and externally. Research we comment on in this paper is thus part of a set of activities aimed at reviving the memory of the company and celebrating the anniversary at the same time. It has therefore constituted an important investment in the field of design knowledge from the point of view of a manufacturing company.

From local to global and beyond: introducing the company
The birth of Roca in 1917 has precedents dating back almost three generations, though in a very local profile. It was an iron casting workshop located in the small town of Manlleu, in a valley between Barcelona and the Pyrenees where the textile industry was expanding. This early workshop manufactured machinery for the textile factories, first, and then small series of stoves and radiators. In 1917, the four Roca Soler brothers and their families moved to Gavà, near Barcelona, to set up a new factory so as to enter the growing heating market. Their idea was to dedicate a well-known technology—cast iron—to a new sector of production-consumption. Conceiving heating as comfort for people at home, Roca then set about to emphasise cultural understanding of heating. The new firm Talleres Roca S.A. was born in 1917, building two plants alongside the train facilities and the seaport. Having in mind mass-production and mass-consumption, the factory was set up to combine craftmanship and industrial processes to substitute the making of machine-tools (that is, capital goods) with the making of consumer goods. The fact of choosing a corporate organization (*Sociedad Anónim*a in Spanish) as the firm's business formula, hints at the underlying intentions of the new firm and its awareness of the economic changes going on at the time, i.e. the arrival of the neo-capitalist stage in the industrial system. At the beginning, Roca's natural marketplace was obviously Spain; however, the underlying approach was already international. They were aware of technical innovations emerging out of countries such as France and Germany, often visited by the Roca brothers themselves. The company thus adopted many entrepreneurial procedures that were already modern abroad: fashion and decorative styles at home, ways of living and consuming and technically and scientifically-driven innovation, together with the improvement of means and procedures in production.

The arrival of the bathroom itself was a sign of these new modern ways of living, together with the piping system to channel water to houses. In 1926, Talleres Roca started the

[1] The researchers involved and respective assigned tasks were: Francesc Barca (heating and air conditioning); Teresa Navas (tiles); Pilar Cano and Isabel del Rio (bathroom fittings); Josep M. Fort (faucets); Santi Barjau, Esther Rodríguez and Anna Calvera (advertising, graphic design and communication policies); Anna Pujadas (events and design culture); Isabel Campi (company's entrepreneurial deeds and chronologies); Beppe Benenti (catalogue and archive management); and Sonia Amores and Sandra Fonseca (uniting and organizing the archive concerning design). The team was coordinated by Isabel Campi, Anna Calvera and Beppe Benenti.

production of cast-iron bathtubs, thus entering into another market. Two years earlier, in 1924, the company had already bought a German enamel license for bathtubs that was harder and whiter than the standard in Spain. The first model, the Majestic bathtub, was launched in 1927 and remained in catalogue until 1971, a considerably long period. During the early years, Roca adopted modern ways of marketing as well, publishing catalogues of its products to distribute amongst sanitation plumbers. The first one appeared in 1927. It was already a sort of technical handbook addressed to plumbers, builders, architects and technicians dedicated to heating fittings.

2 BUENOS CONSEJOS

ELIJA UN BUEN INSTALADOR

El lampista o fontanero le prestará servicios de un valor inapreciable: conoce bien qué aparatos sanitarios puede recomendarle por su buena calidad; sabrá surtirle de agua pura incontaminada, fría o caliente, para las múltiples necesidades higiénicas, y librará su hogar de las aguas residuales, sin cuya perfecta eliminación no podría Vd. vivir con salud y comodidad. Por su labor sanitaria – de máxima trascendencia – el fontanero es un eficaz protector de la salud y el bienestar.

EXIJA SIEMPRE LA MARCA "Standard"

Los aparatos sanitarios "Standard" – ya sean de porcelana vitrificada, ya de porcelana esmalte – son fruto de una técnica perfecta sometida a severísima inspección. Para evitar la fácil sustitución o imitación de nuestras etiquetas, la marca "Standard" va siempre grabada de un modo imborrable sobre cada aparato, para garantizar que es de porcelana y que resistirá el más duro servicio sin romperse ni cuartearse.

EL BAÑO MODERNO

El baño es el elemento más esencial del hogar moderno. Creado apenas hace treinta años, se ha convertido en la más característica aportación de nuestro tiempo al vivir cotidiano. Por su excepcional importancia, exige y logra mayor cuidado que cualquier otra habitación; no en vano crea diariamente salud, belleza y bienestar; no en vano es la habitación cuyos elementos fijos no pueden alterarse o cambiarse sin gastos considerables. El baño en cada vivienda es contemporáneo de la radio, del avión, del automóvil, y es un símbolo de modernidad, ya que el no tener baño marca toda la diferencia entre una casa anticuada y un hogar moderno. Deseando acrecentar el formidable desarrollo que el saneamiento está alcanzando en nuestro país, al que tanto han contribuído los aparatos sanitarios "Standard" de nuestra fabricación, exponemos en este prospecto las modernas tendencias sobre el baño y sobre los aparatos que lo integran.

Baño con aparatos en color Rojo Tang, a base de bañera MAJESTIC y lavabo CHESTERTON. Decoración clásica, simplicidad moderna, riqueza sin ostentación

Fig. 1 1931 Roca catalogue's cover with advice for plumbers and consumers. Highlights are the use of the Futura typeface and a layout designed following German New Typography principles. Source: Roca Historical Archive.

New catalogues appeared in the thirties that were well printed and illustrated, combining lithography, engravings and well-composed typography. Conceived as long leaflets, they often were dedicated to a single product, such as a bathtub model. The whole story focused on the bath as a domestic room and also showed the different fittings, appliances and fixtures necessary to make it work. In supporting dealers, these catalogues were addressed to plumbers, installers and sellers. The end customers were largely well-off women seeking to put together a complete bathroom at home for the first time.

A hundred years later, at the turn of the 21st century, Roca was clearly a multinational corporation, without having lost its family character. In 2000, Roca had 16,500 employees and 65 factories across the world; it produced 14,700,000 items per year. Roca still produced radiators and domestic boilers.[2] The firm had a huge production of bathroom wares providing all the fittings, fixtures and complements usually needed to put together a bathroom. Its general catalogue included more than 300 items. At the end of the 20th century, product designers centred the debate around household goods, at a time when the Design Department of Roca was working with external designers and architects, either national or international, to try out new solutions and seek out novel concepts, whether for the private and domestic field or for public buildings.

Since the seventies, business internationalization has been an ongoing trend at Roca. The company was firmly decided to act in the global market since 1979, when it bought a ceramics company in the Dominican Republic. At present, Roca has 78 factories situated in Europe, Latin America (seven in Brazil), Turkey, North Africa, Russia, East Asia and India. In 2008, it opened the first '0 Waste' production factory in Brazil, which reuses all industrial waste. It is present and active in 170 marketplaces and has 22,600 employees. In 2010, Roca production was at 35,000,000 pieces per year (Roca, 2017).

Significantly, these latter two decades have demonstrated that the global market is not necessarily uniform. On one hand, standardization, as a clear and dominating trend in relation to modernism and modern ways of life, is present worldwide. On the other hand, behaviour related to personal privacy and intimacy demonstrates the imposing presence of an older cultural tradition. The Roca Design Centre and the Design Management team have worked hard to grasp and understand all these peculiarities of local markets, and so manage cultural diversity along with global trends. They call this sort of performance 'glocalization' and it opens up the latest stage within a long process experienced by a company born looking at the Spanish market, which then turned into a transnational company, eventually becoming a multinational corporation active globally and worldwide.

Let's review the history in context, focusing on actual design practices and concerning ourselves with design concepts that have evolved while fixing entrepreneurial values over decades.

1st Stage 1917–1950s: thinking of long-lasting solutions. After World War I, in 1919, a conflictive period began in Catalonia, characterised by a very dire local economic crisis (caused by the dramatic fall of exports) and class struggle unrest, which had reached its sharpest and most violent apex. Activity was not easy for recently-born companies. In 1923, a military coup d'état left Spain in the group of southern countries governed by dictatorships. With regard to social manners and tastes, the war revived earlier modernization in Spanish towns, thanks to the arrival of an early Art

[2] All contemporary data has been collected from Annual Reports and books about the history of the family and the company (Colomer i Roma, 2009).

Deco style in home decoration, illustrations for fashion magazines and newspapers, and many imported products from abroad. To live in a "modernistic" way became a fashionable trend. Technical appliances, such as heating, sanitation equipment and electric devices, were among these modern products, whether made in Spain or imported. In that period, many growing, foreign mass-production companies entered into the Spanish market, acting often in association with local ones. For instance, in 1929, just after the fusion of the American companies American Radiator and Standard Sanitary Corporation, Roca became its Spanish delegation, adopting a new name and brand: Compañía Roca Radiadores, SA. The new trademarks taken up were *Ideal Classic* for heating and *Standard* for bathroom wares. The cast iron heating products were made in Gavà, while it is likely that bathroom fittings made of porcelain were imported from the United States.

The association brought benefits to both members. The American one adopted technical and manufacturing innovations already used at Roca, and Roca learned many marketing and communication strategies. A logotype was then adopted for the first time. Regarding product design, two trends were already noticeable. The first one was in relation to products such as boilers and radiators, whose main values depend on the machine-like look used to enhance technological quality. Research clearly demonstrated that the design of those products did not change significantly over the decades. Once technology established the typological aspect of a product, its form and structure remained stable, and it lasted until a new material made it advisable to make structural changes. At Roca that happened quite late: in 1970 a flat steel sheet radiator was launched. Smaller and lighter than the older cast-iron typology, it was called a 'panel', referring to the sheets or the flatness. It bequeathed its shape and design to the radiator made of aluminium, appearing in 1990.

A similar story can be told about boilers. From a very machine-looking tool made of iron to make heat, boilers changed their design as mechanical procedures were altered, thanks to the arrival of fuel and gas at home. Once this machine-tool was taken out of dark, haunting cellars, as was common with entire blocks of flats, it became a device belonging to individuals (one per flat) and so entered the kitchen or the laundry room. The gas boiler acquired the new look of an electrical device and took on the style of other 'major appliances' reserved for kitchens and other housekeeping rooms. For a design change such as this, new materials were needed (a variety of steel sheets) and new techniques and means of manufacturing as well, usually developed by technological innovation. Since the sixties, cast iron boilers, having to be adapted to different energy sources (gas or fuel), had already changed their appearance, adopting a steel sheet chassis to protect the whole apparatus, with colour used to set out the different parts and functions (red and black surfaces).

As mentioned above, Roca started the production of porcelain goods in 1936. It is worth reminding ourselves that during the thirties, Roca's behaviour regarding product design was dependent on its being the brand subsidiary of the Ideal Standard trademark. Due to this association with the American company and the use of its trademarks, Roca's approach to industrial design at that time was similar to the international mainstream, i.e., in the search to find answers to mass production requirements. Fordism was the prime trend in the milieu. It meant a constant search for the right form, for one that could be improved without changing its main nature, and that would at least result in a perdurable design as it fits and benefits from technical processes, new materials and situations of use. On the other hand, as said above, the thirties were stylish years, and styling arrived to adapt the design of machines, devices, appliances and tools to decorative fashion. Designing goods addressed to future mass-consumption made it necessary to seek a balance between both trends, between essential form and stylistic language.

The link with American Radiator & Standard Sanitary Corporation ended in 1944, after the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939) and while World War II was still going on (1939–1945). Roca regained all the company shares that year and faced the challenge of selecting its own catalogue. Many models marketed under the Standard trademark were then made as Roca items, as their commercial names were converted into Spanish words. Among models of sanitary goods that meet these criteria it is possible to mention the series of bathtubs known as *Majestic* (launched 1927) and *Excelsa* (1943), the sink model called *Carmen* since 1946 (advertised highlighting its 'purity of

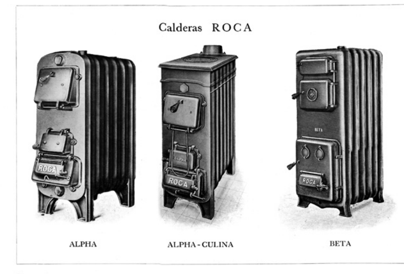

Fig. 2 Several examples of boilers showing how the design concept evolved. 1917 Alpha & Beta models, cast iron boilers fuelled by coal, Roca trademark. Source: Roca Historical Archive.

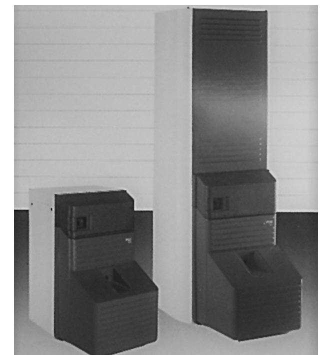

Fig. 3 1995 Laia Boiler by Benedito Design, Silver Delta ADI FAD. Source: *Catalogue of the Exhibition on Roca's Communication, Una vida contigo*, no publisher, held in Barcelona, Summer 2017.

lines', suggesting a very early understanding of aesthetic values in design) and the *Continental* toilet (1936), which became the *Peninsular* model in the forties. All these items clearly represent a kind of design that strives for the essential form, while still able to target popular demand within economical ranges. With very few changes they were produced for more than forty years. Later, during the forties and fifties, new products appeared. They reveal a way of designing based on the search for new functions. Innovation itself was a practice widely dependent upon the discovery of new uses to satisfy, or just in recognition of the physical differences existing among users. The procedure to discover totally new functions involved specialising older functions.

Roca made its decision to be active in the range of mass production manifest, providing basic goods and tools in setting up a dignified everyday life for the general population. In this regard, the product highlighting this approach is the *Bañaseo*, launched in 1945 and produced until 2011. It is a synthesis meant to solve the daily bath requirements both of children and adults living in small homes. Although it is a bathtub it has the size of a shower tray, with the handrails of a bathtub and a seat made of cast iron.

2nd Stage 1960–1985: design as a self-affirming activity inside and outside the company. In Barcelona in 1961, several associations of professional designers were founded. Design concepts, language and culture were adopted in the city through different activities, including design awards ceremonies, stands at several trade fairs, the opening of new, mostly private, schools of design (although the public ones tried to adapt some existing workshops to design content and methods) and a number of technical journals that started to publish articles about design, although not yet systematically (Calvera, 2014). Roca was among the local companies participating very early in the design milieu of the city. In the late fifties, Roca's Technical Office decided to update its sanitary fixtures series, always moving between ranges of mass-production. The successful *Lorentina* set, launched in 1958, marks the turning point. A very early taste for Pop, as seen by the mixing of colours and rounded geometry for shapes, was the most inspiring trend. Promotional leaflets revealed the intention to master the visual language of design as well. In fact, the job was tendered to a graphic designer who was one of the founders of the designer associations. It was later developed by the internal advertising department, imitating the burnt out style common in pop photography.

Fig. 4 *The Bañaseo fixture*, 1945, an essential form of the post-war years. Source: Roca Historical Archive.

During the sixties, Roca published *Clima*, an in-house publication devoted to cultural news that featured important articles about industrial design, written by architects and designers involved with the emerging associations. After some previous attempts, in 1964 an Industrial Design Department for the sanitary division of the company was organized. Apart from starting the creation of Roca's faucets, an important challenge was on the table: to create a bathroom set that would be both modern and popular, conceived for those middle classes inhabiting larger homes that were characteristic of the suburbs. The *Victoria* set (the name also means "Victory, we've done it!", after the product's hard-earned success), was launched in 1982.

3rd Stage, 1985–2005: the normalization of design means experimentation and singularity. Another important stage in Roca's design policies started around 1985 and continued until 2005. It can be called the experimental period. It is typified by the partnership of external designers, either national or international, and collaboration with architects that constructed unique buildings, providing products designed by them as well—Belén and Rafael Moneo, Carlos Ferrater, Alvaro Siza, Herzog & De Meuron, Chipperfield. The list of external designers is very long, though deserving of mention because of such longstanding collaborations: Benedito Design, Magma Design, Giugiaro Design, Giorgio Armani, Josep Puig, Schmidt & Lackner, and so on. In that extended period, meanwhile, the company, which was already transnational, was becoming fully multinational. Its design policy was based on a design concept focused on single and very specific projects, very innovative in spirit but quite unconnected from one to the other. Design language was considered a factor in giving products a unique quality, along with personality; yet design was also seen as a procedure to seek out and find totally new product concepts, a factor for innovation. The language and laws of form were thus available to experiment on new proposals and push the technological possibilities available to the limit.

It was therefore a natural consequence that the number of items fashioning Roca's basic catalogue grew dramatically. There were many items that could easily be considered icons of that period, making it particularly difficult to select which of them most deserved to be present in the book. To get a design award was a helpful criterion of selection; length of time in production was another.

In these years what was at stake was product design in search of uniqueness and personality, so that functional benefits might emerge as the natural complement to a piece's attractiveness. A huge effort was made in the wellness division, designing many different mechanisms and devices to add pleasant sensations using water. Shower trays and cabins, spas in bathrooms, hydro-massages and integrated faucets constituted an available supply of items to turn the domestic bath into a thermal centre.

2005 and Onwards: ethical reasoning informs innovation and design. The most recent stage in Roca's design policy has been dominated by the ethical approach to design practices, but without abandoning other aspects relevant for design: aesthetics; func-

tional benefits; technical quality; and appropriate, high quality materials. Ethical reasoning always comes with the will to 'return to order', after such a richly experimental period as the previous one. An important decision targeting the sustainability of production procedures was the decrease of items in the company's general catalogue, as it sought to add more value and select those products that would be able to remain current for a long time. On the other hand, a key focus of activity, research and innovation is in water saving, a *leitmotif* central to Roca's design in sanitary fixtures and bathroom culture. Since the eighties, the Roca Design Centre has promoted and plumbed the toilet tank with a dual flush option; since the seventies they have been researching how to drastically reduce the consumption of water at home, in public spaces and at hostels, hotels and restaurants.

Probably the most famous and important outcome of this line of research is the W+W toilet, launched in 2010, which was to become an icon of the period. It was born in the Innovation Lab, a design department created in 2006 and active until 2016, whose aim was to search for totally new concepts when it came to products and future consumption scenarios. It is a fusion of a sink and a toilet, where the tank of the toilet is fed by use of the sink.

Fig. 5 A design icon of the period: *The Veranda set,* designed by Schmidt & Lackner in 1999, which sought to introduce digital controls. Roca Historical Archive.

In Conclusion: the company's main outcomes and features

- During its first four decades in the twentieth century, Roca supplied a very backward Spain with products in the areas of hygiene and heating.
- During the last four decades of the twentieth century, Spanish taste was more sophisticated and Roca contributed to that trend from the bottom up, providing bathroom fixtures and devices for personal hygiene and comfort.
- In the 21st century, Roca has sought to set worldwide trends in the area of bathing. Its challenge is to take advantage of cultural diversity as it deals with privacy and intimate behaviour and attitudes.

Roca's main features, as emerging through this study:

- **Added Comfort**: At present Roca is not merely a company making radiators, bathtubs, taps or ceramics. Rather, it is a company whose main task is to bring comfort to the home. Comfort, hygiene and healthiness, along with pleasant wellness, are its principal aims.
- **Reliability**: Roca's products are durable and technically impeccable, and have an optimal quality-price relationship.
- **Quiet Design**: Roca habitually works to practice and foster calm, serene and affordable design, ever-willing to shun extravagance.
- **Good Service** is provided to users, dealers and prescribers.
- **Technical Know-how**. Although in its origin Roca was remarkable due to the foundry technologies used, over the years the factory has added a great variety of techniques. At present it dominates many different techniques, and is identified as a company of technical quality.
- **Water Saving**: Having been founded in a Mediterranean country where water is particularly scarce, this background and know-how in managing water has allowed Roca to readily connect with a global trend.
- **Internationality**: The company has always searched for the best beyond its borders and previous area of influence. Indeed, Roca was an exporting pioneer in Spain.
- **Communication & Branding**: Roca has always been in contact with the general public, using many different media and methods, such as conventional advertising and Internet, company shops and showrooms, shop windows, pavilions, stands and corners.
- **Design Concept & Management**: Roca understands design both as a business function and a form of culture.

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The Emergence of a Field in a Local Context: The Initial Steps of Interior Architecture in Turkey

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Interior architecture / Design history / Historical documentation / Oral history / Turkey

This study focuses on the historical documentation of interior architecture and the emergence of the discipline in the local context of Turkey. The lack of documentation regarding the field of interior architecture in Turkey, as well as in the world, has led to this study. The method of oral history was used for historical documentation, which is one that stands out among history studies, and in which face-to-face interviews with witnesses of events are conducted and analyzed within a particular framework, aiming to reach specific viewpoints and experiences. Historiography related to space analyzes the realities that depend on form alone, looking at the external factors related to actors who have created those spaces, as well as their production. The product of interior architecture is often considered within the context of material culture; however, intangible culture also has great effects on the identity of the production of interior architecture. Interviews were conducted with interior architects, who were the pioneers of the field either in practice or in education, and the gathered documentation helped shed light on the understanding of the field in the past, today, and in the global context.

Introduction

Due to the ephemeral quality of interior spaces, it is a challenging task to write the history of their coming to life, if there is no documentation. The same can be stated for creators of interior spaces, and the stories that surround them leading up the place and definition of the interior architecture profession. Although the field of interior architecture struggled to be recognized globally, in Turkey it began under even more demanding times as the emergence of the field also coincides with the modernisation of the country. This parallel modernisation enables the comprehension of a contextual look at interior architecture, as it developed with interactions with not just architecture and the arts, but also politics, economy, and overall the general identity of the country. In order to fully understand the beginnings, especially two areas need attention: interior architecture education and the formal development of interior architecture as a profession. However, information on these two areas is scarce, since the history has not been written except for a few accounts, the drawings have been preserved by the owners only in a few cases, and photographs are limited, are in private collections, and often without a story if found. In the few written accounts, the produced works are mostly in Turkish, preventing the sharing of this knowledge with a wider audience and limiting any transnational comparisons. Thus, the aim of the study was to reach local stories and help develop the history of interiors, interior architects, and the interiors profession in Turkey through oral history.

The Oral History Method

History written through oral means is a history that aims to reach information from the main source, as well as a history of experiences that cannot be reached otherwise. Via oral history, there are advantages to obtaining information that is acquired directly and first hand. Portelli states that oral sources inform us not only about what others have done, but also about what they believed in doing at the time, and what they now think about what they have done. Subjectivity is a matter of tangible realities, and in the creation of space, it is about opening existing design discourse to different perspectives (Portelli, 2001).

With the oral history method, the aim is to obtain direct information from designers and witnesses of the time filling the lack in the literature, going beyond historical facts, trying to comprehend the motivations, stories behind the curtain, and personal reflections. Oral history studies are realized in order to comprehend one person's story with historical narrative. Although interior architecture differentiated itself from architecture as a new area of research and practice from the 19th century on, the historical documentation related to the field is quite recent. At the end of the 19th century, following the emergence of the profession of interior "decoration", the recognition of interior architecture as a separate field from architecture is a 20th century phenomenon (Gürel and Potthoff, 2006). The discussion of the history of interior architecture presents certain difficulties, as there exists no clear notion regarding what comprises this field (Beecher, 1998). The European Council of Interior Architects (ecia) states the lack of historical information, stating that the field is young and delicate (ecia, 2018). Because interior spaces are created and recreated continuously according to demands of the time, documentation regarding the field is lacking, and several valuable designs and designers have been lost and forgotten due to this.

In this study, the information regarding designers' productions was collected through interviews conducted with pioneers of the interior architecture profession in Turkey

aiming to shed light on the establishment of the field in Turkey. Sadun Ersin, Nimet İlmen, Muammer Narin, Sacit Atıs, Vedat Fer, Önder Küçükerman, Gözen Küçükerman, and Nurten Ünansal, all over 75 years of age, interior architects who took on active roles in establishing and legalizing of the organization of the profession were interviewed (Fig. 1). Ersin had also worked actively in education and has had a profound effect on interior architecture education in Turkey, and therefore interviewing him gave significant information about the beginnings of the field in Turkey. While Narin had significant influence in the formation of the Chamber of Interior Architects in Turkey (CIAT), Ersin and İlmen had worked on the Grand National Assembly of Turkey (GNAT) interiors and furniture project, as national competition winners. The interviews showed that the development of the educational program for interior architecture was parallel to the progress around the world, and the education at the aforementioned two schools were avant-garde.

Fig. 1 Oral history project, 2017–2018 (Authors' archive).

Education

Regarding the acceptance of interior architecture as a recognizable field in education, it might be meaningful to mention that it began with the establishment of the Academy of Fine Arts (today's Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University) Decoration Department in 1923 (Gürel, 2014). The beginnings of the Academy were even earlier, in 1882, when Osman Hamdi Bey was appointed director of the *Mekteb-i Sanayi-i Nefise-i Şahane* (The Great Fine Arts School) or *Sanayi-i Nefise Mekteb-i Âlisi* (The Supreme Fine Arts School), by Abdülhamit the second, the 34th sultan of the Ottoman Empire. Abdülhamit wanted to know who were the creators of the fine arts of the Ottoman period. He wished to open a school in which the artists would shine once more (Küçükerman, Küçükerman and Ünansal, 2018). While the Academy was established under French, and then Italian influence, the State Applied Fine Arts School was established in 1957 with a Turkish-German cooperation, and thus was under the influence of Bauhaus. Both schools were in İstanbul, and often mentioned as competitors. In the time that has passed since the establishment of the first school—almost a century—there have been few resources that have been produced about interior architecture and interior architects in Turkey.

Ersin, İlmen, Koz, Fer, Atıs and Küçükermans graduated from the Academy, while Ünansal and Narin graduated from the Fine Arts School (Fig. 2). European professors were appointed to help shape the education with their international perspective to both schools. French, German, Austrian, Polish, and Turkish professors in both schools built the students' self-confidence by requiring work of the highest standard. At the State Applied Fine Arts School, working with wood, leather, and textiles to manufacture the designs enabled the students to have hands-on experience (Zeytinoğlu, 2003; Nicolai, 2011). The Academy, according to İlmen, had a rich library in which there were European books and journals that had a large influence on the students' designs. İlmen stated that she was accepted to the Academy at 13 years old in 1946. It was the only year that the school accepted students that young. The Academy, according to İlmen was "heaven", and in those days was a break from the rigid education in government schools, providing a free environment in which art could flourish. There were four majors then—interior architecture, fashion, textile design, and poster design. Students learned about aesthetic illumination, ceramics, painting, sculpture, Turkish paper marbling from Turkish and foreign artists of the time. After graduation, she opened a design company with three of her classmates, in which they designed everything from cotillions to arts and crafts work. This was possible due to the multidisciplinary approach to design and arts education at a school where painting, sculpture, metal work, wood work, technical work would all take place at the same time (İlmen, 2017). The interdisciplinary environment enabled students to draw figures drawn in Florence at the time, but following this, they would also take several courses in traditional carpet symbolism and weaving, aesthetics, law, economics, cultural resources, production techniques, traditional tiles, and the human body from prominent doctors of the time (Küçükerman, Küçükerman and Ünansal, 2018). Ersin was a student, research assistant, head of department and Dean at the Academy, always aiming to bring the education to the global standard with this enriched intellectual understanding (Ersin, 2017).

The production atelier was a significant part of both the Academy and the Fine Arts School. While each student was required by Ersin himself to master carpentry skills and get to know the tools and materials used in manufacturing furniture and fittings at the Academy (Ersin, 2017), a similar approach was applied at the Fine Arts School, realizing all designs made throughout the year at the workshop with materials such as wood, textiles, and leather, obtained by revolving funds (Narin, 2017). This approach enabled students to get accustomed to production techniques and detailing, as well as getting to know especially the types of wood and how to work with each one. Ash, oak, and alder trees were the ones that were used the most, although classical furniture was mostly made with trees from Europe (Fer, 2016).

Ersin, upon his return from Italy, noticed that interior architecture education at the Academy was not progressing as expected. Therefore, he put forward the necessity of integrating new courses to the program, and with the assistance of

Atıs, they were able to strengthen the education at the Academy, bringing it to a modern and international standard. Several interior architecture departments in Turkey still follow a program that is based on this modernized program of the Academy, that put an end to interior architecture seen as an extension of the decorative arts (Ersin, 2017).

Although this was the case, there was much to learn from the arts, as the close

Fig. 2 Students of the Fine Arts Academy. Above: 1950s; below: 1960s (İlmen and Küçükerman archives).

and interdisciplinary relationships between the departments helped to achieve a more comprehensive, creative, and courageous understanding and approach to interior architecture. At the Academy, students experienced the realization of a large scale sculpture, for instance, which to aspiring eyes was a rich and inspirational experience, with know-how that could be transferred to interior architecture (Ersin, 2017; İlmen, 2017). Meanwhile, at the Fine Arts School, painting and model making were helpful in helping the designs of young interior architects. Moreover, students were able to experience multiple perspectives from their Austrian, Polish, and Turkish professors who all brought a different approach to the same topic (Fer, 2016; Narin, 2017). Interior architecture education was being transformed from several sources, in search of a state-of-the-art and unique definition of the field.

Formal Development

In Turkey, the interior architecture profession was recognized through the establishment of its chamber in 1976, and the findings showed that, contrary to popular belief, the beginnings of the official development of the profession are in the beginning of the 1950s. Rather than an organized approach, it seems to be more of a passionate endeavor, led by a few avid interior architects. First, the *Dâhili Mimarlık Cemiyeti* (Interior Architecture Association) was formed with the efforts of interior architects who were mostly from the Academy (Fig. 3). İlmen, Ersin and Atıs, who were among the founders, stated that they encountered some difficulties because their association was seen as a violation of the architects' domain (İlmen, 2017; Ersin, 2017; Atıs, 2018).

Documentation, regarding especially the formation years of the Interior Architecture Association, which can be seen as the predecessor of CIAT (Chamber of Interior Architects of Turkey) is next to none. In the later years, this information was difficult to trace, as most interior architects who took part in the formation have passed away or are in their elderly years.

1 Şubat 1958

Türk dahili Mimarlar Cemiyeti

Türk dahilî mimarlarını temsil etmek, günün icap ve şartlarının tabiî neticelerine göre dahilî mimarların meslekî yetki ve meslek adlarının resmen tescili ile münhasıran varlığı kanun hükümleri ile tâyin olunan bir meslekî teşekkülün kurulmasını sağlamak ve san'at hareket ve yeniliklerini takip, neşriyat ve konferans ve sergilerle üyelere ve umumî efkâra duyurmak üzere, Türk Dahilî Mimarlar Cemiyeti adile bir teşekkül kurulmuştur.

Mensuplarına bir çok faydalar sağlayacağı muhakkak olan bu teşekkülün kurucuları arasında dahilî mimarlık işlerinde isim yapmış Baki Aktar, Nimet Akyol, Sacit Ateş, Fahir Aysu, Metin Birsun, Aydın Burtaçene, Necil Enön, Solmaz Enön, Günseli Erk, Sadun Ersin, Ruzin Gercin, Hayati Görkey, Hikmet Köseoğlu, Türkân Ongan, Perihan Önce, Rıza Özdikmen, Feridun Sırmacevher, Tahsin Şaylan, Zeki Tezcan, Orhan Yumak bulunduğu öğrenilmiştir.

Türk Dahilî Mimarlar Cemiyetine candan muvaffakiyetler dileriz.

DARiO MORENO

Filmleri ve şarkılarıyle milletlerarası bir şöhreti olan Dario Moreno 30 Ocaktaa Tksim Gazinosunda verilen Basın balosunda şarkı söylemiş ve büyük takdir toplamıştr.

Dario Moreno İzmirde doğmuş, askerliğini yaptıktan sonra bir ara Hukuk Fakültesine girerek avukat olmağa niyetlenmişse de, güzel sesi, kendisini başka sahaya çekmiştir. Bilâhare Parise gidenDario, kısa zamanda kendini tanıtmışı bilhassa "Adieu Lisbon" şarkısıy-

Fig. 3 News about the founding of Turkish Interior Architects Association, February 1st, 1958 (İlmen archive).

Although the association was founded in İstanbul at the time, it was not a member of the Union of Chambers of Turkish Architects and Engineers (UCTAE), and therefore, was not considered to be at the strength of other associations that were members, like the Chamber of Architects (İlmen, 2017; Atıs, 2018). This convinced interior architects graduated from both schools to establish CIAT. Narin states that the architects he worked with were part of a community and identity. Therefore, in 1967, he visited his interior architect friends to talk about a need to form a chamber. Hulusi Gönenli, Sadettin Yıldız, and Orhan Esen were the first interior architects he had visited. They met regularly at a pastry shop, and in 1969 with the help of Kadir Şengül from the Academy, included graduates of the Academy as well. One of the main issues discussed was regarding the lack of possible positions at various institutions for interior architects, which were mostly either for decorators or engineers. Ersin and Narin's paths first crossed to discuss the reports they had written about the legalizing of the profession, and then when Narin and friends had to first close the Interior Architects Association to be able to establish the Chamber of Interior Architects in 1976. Narin still visits CIAT headquarters regularly and believes there is much more to do regarding the profession (Narin, 2017). The chamber has now become an internationally recognized association, also becoming a member of IFI (International Federation of Interior Architects/Designers) in 2011.

A significant event that influenced the state of the profession in Turkey was about one of the professors at the Academy, Hayati Görkey, and architect Nezih Eldem organizing a competition for the furniture to be designed for the GNAT at the end of the 1950s. This would enable the best designs that were in line with the international style to be chosen for a building that represented the nation's identity, and Ersin and İlmen were both chosen (Ersin, 2017; İlmen, 2017) (Fig. 4–5). According to İlmen, a significant clause in this competition was an important step in the recognition of the profession. This clause stated that only

interior architects could take part in the competition and architects could only take part alongside interior architects (İlmen, 2017). This small requirement that enabled interior architecture to be recognized at the national level could be reached only through personal stories. There were both individual and collective efforts that helped elevate the state of the profession at the time.

Fig. 4 Interior Architect Nimet İlmen in front of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, 1960s (İlmen archive).

Another significant staple that needs to be mentioned concerning the recognition of the field is the first interior architect staff position in the government in the 1950s. Atıs and two of his friends were commissioned as technicians at İstanbul Technical University, however, their efforts to change the "technician" positions to "interior architect" were worthwhile, and these and two other positions at the new radio in Ankara were the first in the government (Atıs, 2018). In the following years, Gözen Küçükerman achieved the first interior architect position in Sümerbank, a remarkable state institution that served as a bank as well as a textile firm starting at the Early Republican period.

As a final example of interior architecture works in Turkey that have helped gain national and international recognition, the fair pavilions for the İzmir International Fair in Culture Park-İzmir, need to be mentioned. The Culture Park, built in 1936, was envisioned in the first era of the Republican regime in Turkey in the 1920s, and this idea for its establishment and identity was developed from 1920 to 1930 (Kayın, 2015). Set at the center of İzmir, one of the most Western cities both geographically and ideologically, the aim was to create a symbol of modern living, international transactions and expositions, as well as an example to live up to, for the common visitor. The fair existed only in İzmir at the time, and the city had a production potential to realize a project from June to the opening in August. Therefore, the İzmir fair played a significant role in the development of interior architecture in Turkey (Küçükerman, 2018). Hosting representatives of several modern designs by Bruno Taut, M. Gauiter, Ferruh Örel, and Cahit Çeçen, it was planned as an environment with well-designed landscape, which continues to hold various large-scale cultural, artistic, technological, and touristic events (Biçer, 2010). Within this framework, the often temporary pavilion designs of interior architects reflected the advancements in these areas, showcasing the modern ideals for both the Turkish people, and for the world at large. Sadun Ersin, Vedat Fer, Fikret Tan, Gözen

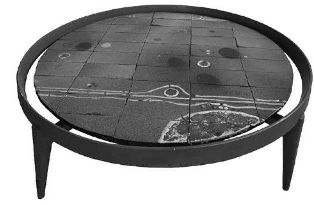

Fig. 5 Coffeetable and bench design for Grand National Assembly of Turkey by Interior Architect Prof. Sadun Ersin, late 1950s (DATUMM archive) (Ceramic tabletop of the coffetable by Cevdet Altuğ).

Küçükerman, and Önder Küçükerman were some of these designers who showed what the modern citizen should aspire to become. They were also simultaneously setting an example for interior architects, showing the finest in interior style, detailing, and material use (Fig. 6).

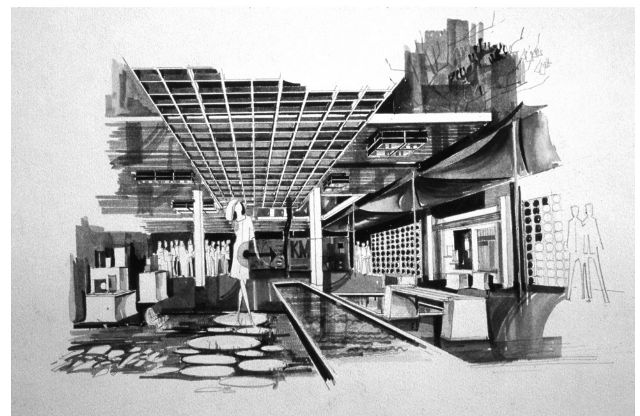

Fig. 6 İzmir International Fair, a pavilion design for a petrol company by Interior Architect and Industrial Designer Önder Küçükerman and Interior Architect Fikret Tan, 1966 (Önder Küçükerman archive).

Conclusion

The study aims to shed light on the personal stories behind interior architecture in Turkey and hidden aspects regarding the development of the field, with respect to both educational and professional aspects. The study also revealed information about international educational staff and professional designers who came to help build and develop the identity of the schools and country with modern ideals. Education and formal development of the field are parallel, nourishing one another, and a modern and visionary approach can be seen in both. The actors of the time were well-educated and had worked with international designers commissioned at the two significant schools of the time—the Academy and the Fine Arts School. Some, like Ersin, had the chance of also travelling extensively, reflecting his worldview directly to the students. Just like international relations, an interdisciplinary approach, especially with the arts was influential. Experimentation with new materials and techniques as well as innovation of new products could be seen extensively at the time. Production ateliers in both schools helped students achieve a hands-on experience, and be immersed in materials, techniques, and creative detailing, which could be seen in their professional works. The aim was to separate the name of the field from decoration or ornamentation, and to define it within the design realm. The significant style of the time could be defined as modern, with functional designs that had eliminated the decorative ornamentation of the previous decades. Therefore, there was also a new style being developed with the use of Turkish materials and techniques.

All actors felt a strong sense of responsibility to the field, in terms of defining and elevating it to the highest level, both in terms of education and formal development. Founding of The Chamber of Interior Architects in Turkey was a milestone in this respect, in the recognition of the field in Turkey. It continues to be one of the oldest organizations of the field in the world, and has recently become an active member of the International Federation of Interior Architects/Designers (IFI), securing its international position for the future.

Interiors from these formation years have not been documented with photographs, as this was not a common practice at the time. The same is true about documenting technical drawings of the spaces being created, which are not preserved in a common archive, but are more likely to be found in personal collections that are difficult to reach. Moreover, new names that came out from the interviews enabled interior architecture history in Turkey to be enriched with the actors who created significant spatial works. The methods helped uncover these lost and fragmented archives, and illuminated parts of interior architecture history that had not been written previously, and were perhaps almost lost forever.

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The Development of the British Avant-Garde and Print Media in the Early 20th Century: In Reference to Vorticism

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British avant-garde / Print media / Vorticism / Blast

This paper explores the development of design within British avant-gardism in the context of advancements in print media between 1910 and 1920. Specifically, it focuses on print media and Wyndham Lewis's ideas and his journal *Blast*. Vorticism has been repositioned in early 21st century England as another trend of Modernism in terms of an avant-garde art movement with a manifesto. In fact, the development of print media promoted their avant-gardism, which could be found in their unique expression in works within various publications. Firstly, we examine the design in the Vorticist journal, *Blast*. Secondly, we reconsider Lewis's idea of design as well as his actions to understand his attitude towards mechanical reproduction through the parallel relationship between his pictorial composition and editorial design. It was believed that Vorticist avant-gardism could be found in not only visual experiments at a superficial level, but also in the prevailing attitude toward those productions. To these ends, the study shows that Lewis was conscious of the issue of mechanical technology including mechanical reproduction in the midst of the Vorticist art movement–before the observations on medium/media of his contemporary theorists such as Walter Benjamin and Marshall McLuhan.

Introduction

This study focuses on Vorticist printed materials, including *Blast*, in the early 20th century and aims to explain the development of design within British avant-gardism in the context of advancements in print media between 1910 and 1920.

Unlike traditional artists, avant-garde artists generally needed to unveil a 'manifesto' to disseminate their ideas, beyond creating artwork. Wyndham Lewis (1888–1957) was one example, turning to magazines as a sounding board to present Vorticist ideas. Other art movements such as Russian constructivism and Futurism were already using magazines to appeal to public interest. Indeed, such magazines were the publication medium for new ideas, but were also artwork. Artists thus considered the formal aspects of this medium—table of contents, layout, typeface, and so on—to be of crucial importance. They must have had knowledge of printing techniques and were able to demonstrate they understood the differences between an original work of art and its printed copy. Hence, the artists' intentions should be considered: did they steer towards graphic works based on the premise that they would be printed, strongly affirming the differences between the two? Or, did they use them because the printed version retained features of the original, denying the differences? Through our examination of print media with a focus on Wyndham Lewis's ideas and his journal *Blast*, we reconsider technology in the context of modernist thought.

Vorticism and its journal *Blast*

When it comes to British Modernism, we tend to recall the Bloomsbury Group inspired by French post-impressionists, but Vorticism has been repositioned in early 21st-century England[1] as another trend of Modernism in terms of an avant-garde art movement with a manifesto. In fact, the development of print media promoted their avant-gardism, which could be found in their unique expression in works within various publications. Firstly, we examine the design in the Vorticist journal, *Blast* (Fig. 1).

Vorticism, which was a specifically British avant-garde art movement, was born in London in 1914 at the outbreak of World War I. This movement, established by the American poet Ezra Pound and Rebel Art Centre artists like Lewis, Edward Wadsworth (1889–1949), and Henri Gordier-Brzeska (1891–1915), was known for its radical discourse and experimental works, embodying the word 'rebel'. Vorticists published two issues of *Blast*, but the movement only endured for about two years.

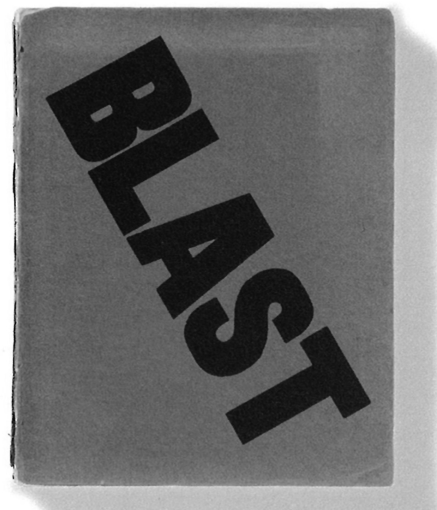

Fig. 1 Cover of *Blast* no.1, 1914 (by kind permission of the Wyndham Lewis Memorial Trust (a registered charity)).

[1] Large-scale retrospective exhibitions of Wyndham Lewis, who advocated for Vorticism, were held in London in 2004 and 2008. The former showed mainly his drawings in two places: Courtauld Gallery and Tate Britain, while the latter displayed paintings and photos of his portraits in the National Portrait Gallery. 'Picasso and British Modern Art' was held at Tate in 2012, attempting to reposition Vorticism on British Modernism with relation to Picasso. 'Rebel Visions' showed the war art of CRW Nevinson at the University of Birmingham in 2014. The comprehensive exhibition of Vorticism as an avant-garde art movement was held at the Imperial War Museum in Manchester in 2017.

Despite the short lifespan of the movement, the journal definitely made a great impact on domestic and overseas artists of that time. It had an initial print run of 3100 (Leveridge, 2000: 22). This was considered a large circulation for the beginning of the 20th century and eventually actual readership of the journal was estimated at about 45,000 because those interested would often share copies (McAllister, 2018). For example, the Russian designer El Lissitzky (1890–1941) brought back a copy to his country and later wrote about what he saw in the design of *Blast* in 1926:

> In England during the war, the Vortex Group published its work BLAST, large and elementary in presentation, set almost exclusively in block letters; today this has become the feature of all modern international printed matter (Lissitzky-Küppers, 1968: 358).

In 1920s Russia, there were no collaborations between books of poetry and painters and the country had a low literacy rate. Lissitzky created the book *For the Voice* in 1923 with poet Vladimir Mayakovsky to reflect what one intuitively perceives through the act of looking. The book design betrayed the influence of *Blast*.

As Lissitzky remarked, block letters were characteristic of *Blast*. This style has come to be known as the Grotesque No. 9 typographical font. The editor of *The Tramp*, Douglas Goldring, whom Lewis asked about finding a printing company, stated:

> As Blast was designed to be totally unlike any previous publication in its typography and layout, he [Lewis] required a printer humble enough blindly to carry out his instructions. After making inquiries I found him a small jobbing printer in the outlying suburb of Harlesden, who seems to have done what he was told to do (Goldring, 1943: 67).

This printing firm was Leveridge & Co. located in northwest London. The sans-serif typeface and diagonal layout of the firm's name in the poster may have attracted Goldring. Its design was inspired by the cover of *Il Manifesti del Futurismo*. According to the grandson of the printer William Leveridge, it would influence *Blast's* cover design (Leveridge, 2000: 22).

Although it partly originated from Futurist design, the first issue of *Blast* that begins 'Long Live the Vortex!' has striking typographical features and does not look outdated, even today. The Gothic bold letters BLAST are typed diagonally across the fluorescent pink of the cover design, and mostly attributable to the printer William Leveridge who agreeably delivered the job that his customer requested (Leveridge, 2000: 22). This layout demonstrates a kind of antagonism against traditional images (found in the neoclassical style like the Royal Academy of Art) and a break from contemporary images (found in impressionistic styles such as the New English Art Club). It seems to have attempted to convey the ideals of Vorticism as well as revolt against Victorian decoration.

Looking inside *Blast*, Gothic capitals and lower-case letters are laid out alternately. On each page, there are various justifications: centred, right-aligned, and left-aligned, 'a graphic equivalent to a machine gun's report' (Heller, 2003: 46) (Fig. 2). The art director of *The New York Times Book Review* Steven Heller pointed out that *Blast* resembled Marinetti's 'Words-in-freedom', but Lewis's composition was more legible because it was disciplined as if it were a military alignment or marching formation. The typeface of body texts was set in bold and sans serif and Gothic headlines signalled the start of a battle on a page. In meeting Lewis's demand, the printer Leveridge & Co. had:

> Succeeded in printing a magazine which shouts out the rebel manifesto like a loud-hailer, isolating each expletive so that its typographical format curses at the reader, and dividing up the pages into the abstract blocks, lines, and dissonant fragments of a Vorticist picture (Cork, 1976: 250).

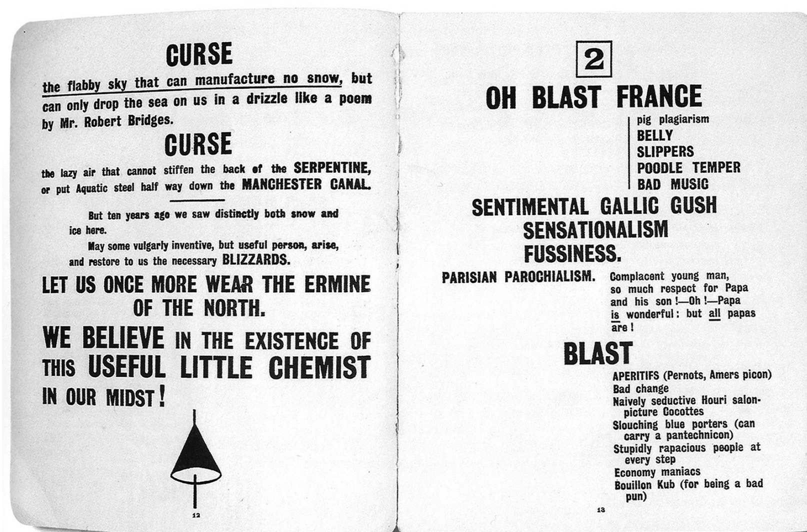
CURSE
the flabby sky that can manufacture no snow, but can only drop the sea on us in a drizzle like a poem by Mr. Robert Bridges.
CURSE
the lazy air that cannot stiffen the back of the SERPENTINE, or put Aquatic steel half way down the MANCHESTER CANAL.
But ten years ago we saw distinctly both snow and ice here.
May some vulgarly inventive, but useful person, arise, and restore to us the necessary BLIZZARDS.
LET US ONCE MORE WEAR THE ERMINE OF THE NORTH.
WE BELIEVE IN THE EXISTENCE OF THIS USEFUL LITTLE CHEMIST IN OUR MIDST!
2
OH BLAST FRANCE
pig plagiarism
BELLY
SLIPPERS
POODLE TEMPER
BAD MUSIC
SENTIMENTAL GALLIC GUSH
SENSATIONALISM
FUSSINESS.
PARISIAN PAROCHIALISM.
Complacent young man, so much respect for Papa and his son !—Oh !—Papa is wonderful : but all papas are !
BLAST
APERITIFS (Pernots, Amers picon)
Bad change
Naively seductive Houri salon-picture Cocottes
Slouching blue porters (can carry a pantechnicon)
Stupidly rapacious people at every step
Economy maniacs
Bouillon Kub (for being a bad pun)

Fig. 2 Interior pages of *Blast* (by kind permission of the Wyndham Lewis Memorial Trust (a registered charity)).

In July of 1915, *Blast* no. 2 was published as a special war issue (Fig. 3). In the first issue, Lewis wrote that machinery is 'the greatest Earth-medium: incidentally it sweeps away the doctrines of a narrow and pedantic Realism at one stroke' (*Blast*, no. 1, 1914: 39). He also attempted to set Vorticism apart from Futurism, which still exhibited a blind faith in machinery, by writing 'I will point out, to begin with, in the following notes, the way in which the English VORTICISTS differ from the French, German or Italian painters of kindred groups' (*Blast*, no. 2 1915: 38). More linear and diagrammatic Vorticist drawings and block prints appeared in the second issue compared to the first. In this respect, Vorticist expression is quite similar to that of the Futurists or Cubists and we cannot observe Vorticism's uniqueness as emphasised by Lewis, as *Blast*

Fig. 3 Cover of *Blast* no. 2, 1915 (by kind permission of the Wyndham Lewis Memorial Trust (a registered charity)).

uses the most rudimentary and simplest geometric figures to represent skyscrapers, machinery, and modern soldiers.[2] Although Lewis criticised machinery, he employed the 'machine' as a motif and instrument. Therefore, we should rethink what is exactly meant by 'machine' in terms of his design thought and print media.

Lewis's idea of design and print media

In this section, we examine Lewis's idea of design as well as his actions to understand his attitude towards mechanical reproduction through the parallel relationship between his pictorial composition and editorial design. It was believed that Vorticist avant-gardism could be found in not only visual experiments at a superficial level, but also in the prevailing attitude toward those productions.

Lewis wrote about 'medium' in *Blast* no. 1. The traditional medium of oil paint had been forsaken by the emerging 'orchestra of media' or 'the more varied instruments' of its time. He clarifies in the next paragraph that the latter referred to 'manufactured goods, wood, steel, glass etc.'; the former likely included mixed media works such as *papier collé* (pasted paper), or assemblage even though Lewis mentioned nothing about it. Although this is not a painting, *Rock Drill* (1913), made by Vorticist sculptor Jacob Epstein, could be considered a proper example of what Lewis refers to. It looked like a sculpture of a driller straddling the drill machine, but it was entirely mixed media, combining an American rock drill, a tripod, and a plaster figure. Epstein's work reminds us of Marcel Duchamp's artwork such as *Bicycle Wheel* (1913); he called it a work of art (after which it became known as ready-made art). Vorticist ideas seem to be embodied in Epstein's creation.

According to Julian Murphet, we can observe a special and effective link between avant-garde art and printed media in Lewis's experiments in *Blast* in the mid-1910s (Murphet, 2009: 77). He pointed out that 'as painting moved away from representation and towards abstraction, literature [...] desired to become a 'thing' in a media ecology in which painting, photography and literature all shared paper' (Hammill and Hussey, 2016: 40). A 'thing' might mean the materiality of the medium and Lewis's advanced attitude toward medium/media can be found at the centre of his creation. As Murphet described:

> *Blast* [...] is one of the avant-garde's great attempts to materialize the word and dematerialize it simultaneously, in undecidable relationship to painting that is really profound ambivalence toward the 'orchestra' of new media pushing literature and painting both toward an uncomfortable relationship with the industrial world (Murphet, 2009: 124).

It is clear how 'advanced' his attitude was compared to the formalist idea of medium in the mid-20th century. As is well known, Modernist concerns about medium split in two directions after the 1950s. One direction is reflected in Greenbergian discussion. American art critic Clement Greenberg supported Abstract Expressionism. He thought of Modernist art history as the purified process of self-criticism and in this purification, paintings and sculptures become gradually eliminated as non-essential elements of each medium until they reach the limitation specific to each medium. Greenberg regarded 'flatness' as an essential element in a painting. Thereby, art achieves autonomy and purity in such a reductionist process. For literature, the argument for purity of medium—in which the objective of art is to make things alienated and un-routine; its practice is to make our perception difficult and uncomfortable—is often linked to Russian Formalism, which emerged in the mid-1910s and emphasised form rather than narrative content. Greenbergian formalism could be recognised in the innovative Vorticist typography and editorial design that separated meaning from letter form.

On the other hand, another direction, toward 'post medium', is epitomised by the ideas of Rosalind Krauss, who is renowned as an editor of *October*. Krauss said that it is impossible to theorise about the 'medium specificity' of 'art-in-general'. This perspective arose after the mid-20th century against the idea of 'medium specificity', that art should be destined for purification as proposed by Greenberg:

> For photography converges with art as a means of both enacting and documenting a fundamental transformation whereby the specificity of the individual medium is abandoned in favor of a practice focussed on what has to be called art-in-general, the generic character of art independent of a specific, traditional support (Krauss, 1999: 294).

By contrasting the two ideas as mentioned above, Krauss attempted to think of medium as 'a set of conventions derived from (but not identical with) the material conditions of a given technical support' (Krauss, 1999: 296). In the post medium condition, any of the former mediums of art could be re-invented as a new medium. That is to say, medium re-differentiates itself in medium.

[2] The author tried to differentiate between Vorticist paintings' 'architectonic form' and Cubist paintigs' 'analytic composition' in 2014. The former structure, which William Roberts or Edward Wadsworth formed the architectural framework piling up repetitively in their works, differs widely from Cubist composition, which is divided into multiple planes in a surface. As Lewis said later, Vorticist abstraction included 'the pictorial architectonics at the bottom of picture-making' (Edwards, 1989: 248).

It is interesting that Krauss's notion refers us to Vorticist experiments of over half a century ago: the page design printed by metallic type and woodcut block in *Blast*; and the new media such as *Rock Drill's* combination of ready-made production and a human-made work. Vorticists considered a 'machine' as an element of organisms. Could we describe this as human beings adjusting to mechanical media and as a new machine changing a living thing? Or could we say that both cease to be isolated physical beings, synthesising toward a general idea? Lewis proclaims that 'every living form is miraculous mechanism'; and in a world whose entire surface has become 'inorganic', all machines are now themselves 'organisms' (Murphet, 2009: 132):

> What directly raises the issue of the medium of the fine arts in modernity and makes it unavoidable is the extension of the newer mechanical media throughout more and more of the modern *Lebenswelt*—to the point that it ceases to be a life-world altogether and becomes instead a kind of all-embracing techno-sphere (Murphet, 2009: 125).

If Murphet's analysis is correct, Lewis was conscious of the issue of mechanical technology including mechanical reproduction in the midst of the Vorticist art movement—before the observations on medium/media of his contemporary theorists such as Walter Benjamin.

Conclusion

Lewis had several changes of expression in his design over the course of his career, particularly between the 1910s and 1920s. This is thought to be due to his experience in war. Paul Edwards stated that Lewis provided a reservoir of creative dreaming for society mediated by Vorticist art before WWI, and he did not want to improve on our life unlike Futurists (Edwards, 2013). Lewis did not completely accept Marinetti's romantic admiration of machines since the machines that substituted for human skill would produce a world in which human beings would subjugate themselves to those machines, and his art communicated elements of discord and 'ugliness' (Lewis, 1914: 142). The concept of 'dehumanisation' appears repeatedly in certain works by Lewis around 1920. Since the end of WWI, he abandoned revolutionary experiments and pictorial production in his painting and editorial design. Consequently, he began to make satirical works that were featured in his journal, *The Tyro*. The typography of his magazines changed from highlighting visual language to that of standard design.

In the 1930s, however, 'Lewis began to think that, instead of adopting such a critical approach, culture at all levels—even avant-garde culture—was simply replicating the contemporary society's tacit ideology of fatalistic mechanical change' (Edwards, 2013). He realised that media itself had already contained ideology and he should understand the sources of his ideas. Here, we find him having such thoughts in advance of Marshall McLuhan (1911–1980), who was profoundly affected by Wyndham Lewis, and in agreement with Krauss's notion. As explored in the previous discussion, we have discovered its conceptual emergence in *Blast*.

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Mediterranean Design. Background and References of the Barcelona-Design System

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Mediterranean / Design / Barcelona / System / ADI–FAD

The paper presented is a journey through those aspects that have shaped the identity and characteristics of what we could call the Barcelona-Design system. The itinerary starts with the most general aspects until it reaches the specific and local ones, but focuses on those elements of permanence that, although not often evident, are constituted in permanent references used both in the design and in the production of objects and spaces, without being questioned by those who use or even design them.

The paper comments on them briefly, understanding that the most important aspect is how they interrelate and update periodically, over time and within the geographical, social, economic, productive and cultural spheres of Barcelona and Catalonia, shaping its identity. From this point on, some products are presented and commented as examples, illustrating how certain objects convey social values, recognizable by the cultures in which they are located, in this case, the Mediterranean.

Mediterranean Design. Background and References of the Barcelona-Design System. If we understand the activity of designing as the configuration and construction of the inhabited environment including all scales, from territory to small objects, it is clear that in a certain way of understanding design is linked to the characteristics and conditions of the physical context in which it occurs. The present proposal raises an overview of design within the Mediterranean context, to which both the city of Barcelona and Catalonia belong. It reviews the fundamental aspects that have influenced the configuration of the design and construction of objects in that specific context and, at the same time, observes to what extent these aspects are shared or coincide in the general framework of the geographical and cultural Mediterranean scope.

The existence of a cultural context with points in common within the Mediterranean area is due to several factors. The Mediterranean basin is elongated, extending in the East–West and with a relatively little climate variation between its northern and southern longitudinal sides. That is to say, it has a climatic homogeneity. It is significant to see how the growth areas of olive trees, for example, coincide with the areas of greatest human implantation, in the form of towns and cities.

On the other hand, the topography of the land that we observe at the shore contour has continuity in the seabed. There is not a constant sea depth with a flat bottom but a complex underwater topography. This fact, with variations in both air and water temperature, generates some main stable maritime currents, which determine and facilitate certain dominant navigation routes. These routes are what favour the relationship between certain specific points of the Mediterranean shore. Although they may be physically more distant than others, for navigation purposes certain points and cities are comparatively closer in terms of travel time. For all these reasons, we can understand the whole of the Mediterranean community as a network that shares social, cultural and economic aspects, which has developed over the last 10,000 years. Barcelona and Catalonia are part of it.

Mediterranean cultural development, on the other hand, has occurred simultaneously at general and local levels, through nearby areas of influence. At a general level, we find organizations such as the Roman Empire, which linked not only the areas that physically surrounded the sea, but also established connections with other more distant areas, such as India. Thus, and within that context, cities such as Tarraco (Tarragona) or Barcino (Barcelona) were developed locally but also under the influence of commercial relationships with distant lands, which conditioned their configuration and subsequent growth.

In the case of Barcelona, the expansion of Catalonia by Jaume I (1208–1276) and the crown of Aragon throughout the Mediterranean gave way to the creation of the Consell de Cent (1238), which was the first parliament in Europe. This promoted the development of a permanent naval communication network among all the member territories of the crown, scattered throughout the Mediterranean and in many cases communicated only by sea. This network was extended to the east through the Silk Road, connecting the port of Barcelona with India, where many textile products came from, among other kinds of goods.

The consequences of these commercial networks and the constant exchange of products had an obvious and important impact on both the objects of common use and the built environment, in all aspects. As a whole, however, it gave rise to an economic and productive system based on a multitude of handcraft workshops and small producers, which were grouped into guilds, usually linked to a certain craft sector and material. These guilds, on the other hand, were not only local and isolated entities, but had relationships, often of international range, supported by the Mediterranean maritime transport network. Design, production, marketing, and distribution were developed by each of the artisan workshops, but the guilds helped to share those parts of the process that were excessively costly or complex to be taken on individually.

It is not surprising that, from there and within the Catalan economic sphere, these relationships went even further in order to obtain the greatest possible benefit, both for producers and consumers. This process gave rise to the appearance of the "Llotges", auction and product hiring organizations. The main ones, located in Barcelona (1352), Palma de Mallorca (1426) and Valencia (1482), consolidated a maritime triangle and an ad-

vanced economic system which unfortunately was destroyed by the Bourbon monarchy attack and following invasion of Barcelona in 1714, and its successive attacks on the whole Catalan countries (Calvera, 2013). Was at that moment when the Ciutadella of Barcelona was built, from where the city could be controlled and, if it was considered necessary, attacked by the Spanish occupation forces.

In spite of this, and based on the experience of the previous "Llotges", the one of Barcelona continued gathering those responsible for the productive activity that, with the progressive increase in printed fabrics coming from India, saw textile production become viable in the city itself. Those textile workshops produced what was called "Indianes", in reference to the origin of the fabrics they replaced, and production had great growth to the point that in 1784 there were more than 80 workshops of "Indianes" in Barcelona, with 9000 workers and 2,000 looms.

A significant consequence of that was the creation of the "Escola de la Llotja", in 1775 (Vélez, 2004). It was the first School of Design in the city, and it was responsible for training professionals capable of responding to the new needs posed by the industry. The city had gone from manufacturing to industrial, beginning an exponential growth that turned Barcelona, enclosed within its walls due to political reasons imposed by the Spanish monarchy, into one of the most densely populated cities in the world.

In that situation, it is not strange that social tension increased and conflicts broke out. That lasted until the mid-nineteenth century when, after the bombing of Barcelona by General Espartero (1842) and General Prim (1843), the walls were demolished and the Ildefons Cerdà Plan allowed the expansion of the city through the Eixample. The industries moved from the old city to the Poble Nou of Barcelona, and industrialization spread throughout Catalonia. Initially, the industry developed along the areas of the Llobregat and Besòs rivers and then spread to the rest of the country thanks to the application of the steam engine to the factories. The textile sector was the engine of economic growth, but the construction of the Eixample and the impact of the "Colònies Industrials", disseminated throughout the territory taking as a reference the British company towns, promoted industrialization in all productive areas. On the other hand, the economic expansion gave rise to a new social class, the bourgeoisie, which had economic capacity, interest in culture and awareness of belonging to Catalonia, understood as a country and with a different culture from the Castilian—or Spanish—one.

This cultural vocation highlighted an important characteristic of Catalan design, such as its desire to be at the same time traditional and innovative. This occurred initially through Modernisme (Catalan Art Nouveau), with figures such as Antoni Gaudí, Josep M. Jujol, Domènech i Montaner and Puig i Cadafalch, among others; and later with the progressive implementation of the principles of the Modern Movement, with members of the GATCPAC, such as Torres Clavé and Josep Lluis Sert as members, among others (Calvera, 2014). In both cases, all the sectors related to architecture and the city were involved, linking the technological and productive tradition of the past with the incorporation of new technologies, materials and formal approaches. The fact that many industry owners valued culture, arts, and knowledge as fundamental aspects for the progress of society as well as for the benefit of their own companies is a specific characteristic of the Catalan industrial circle, as well as a clear commitment to design, in general (Giralt Miracle, 1988).

The impulse and personal participation of businessmen as Jury in the Floral Games of Catalan poetry, for example, shows to what extent they considered culture as an inseparable part of society. This spirit can also be seen in the two Universal Exhibitions held in Barcelona. In the first one (1888), located in the spaces liberated thanks to the demolition of the Ciutadella, Catalonia's industrial products were placed at the top international level; in the second one (1929), located in the mountain of Montjuïc—where the German Pavilion designed by Mies van der Rohe was built— the companies and their products linked with the modernity of the 20th century, at the highest level.

Unfortunately, the Spanish Civil War cut short this trend and the long period of the General Francisco Franco dictatorship, who forbade the creation of companies in Catalonia for some decades, blocked the Catalan economy. Despite this, design and production found their ways. During the Franco period, all the knowledge on the industrial production structure was dormant, appearing periodically in the form of different products, such as the Montesa motorcycles (1944) or the Biscuter micro-car (1950) among many others. A subsequent and progressive opening led eventually to the construction of large factories, such as SEAT (1957), giving way to a new period of expansion.

The appearance of ADI (Association of Industrial Design) in 1960, within the FAD (Promotion of Decorative Arts, founded in 1903), was linked to a slow recovery of the innovative spirit that had impregnated the Catalan Republic, prior to the Civil War. The characteristics of economy and austerity—both technical and formal—that had been present in the Catalan products since long before, were further developed. One of the activities of ADI–FAD that allows us to observe these distinctive features in Catalan products are the Delta Awards of Industrial Design. The first Delta Awards were announced and displayed at the 1961 stand of the Hogarotel trade fair, designed by Miguel Milá and Rafael Marquina (Fort, 2007).

The 1961 edition of the Delta Awards was somewhat atypical. Given that ADI–FAD was a relatively new and private association and that this was the first time it organized an event of this nature, the competition rules did not receive wide dissemination. As a result, association members had to advance potential products. Following on from these proposals, a group of ADI-nominated delegates made a selection of items after visiting different retail stores and it was only after a product had been identified and selected that its manufacturer was invited to submit the item to the competition. This unusual procedure gave rise to a truly representative selection of the products that, at that time, were found in the market.

By analysing some of the award-winning products, we can observe how, in spite of major material and economic constraints, designers knew how to turn the limitations into opportunities. One of the Gold Delta products, the floor lamp "TMC" designed by Miguel Milá and produced by the company Tramo in 1961, combines in a balanced way its material austerity with its conceptual wealth and complexity. The vertical support is formed by two parts—one chrome-plated and the other painted—that fit into each other seamlessly. On the back of the upper part, there is a series of equidistant holes for the pin of the sliding mechanism holding up the shade. This makes it possible to vary the height of the source of light. The lamp shade, which is made of plastic, can be easily detached from the vertical support. An ingenious device links the switch with the electric wire, which means that to turn it on, all you need to do is pull. From this explanation, we can understand its physical configuration, the parts that compose it and, probably, its operation but this does not explain the whole product in its complexity.

The author designed the lamp at the request of a relative and made it using the elements and materials that he found in the hardware stores of a small and very limited geographical area. That links the object with its time and place. Even so, from the beginning of being on sale, sales have not stopped rising and it can still be found in many stores today, 57 years after its design. What makes it so special? It is a fact that most users do not know who the author is or do not know that the product has won several awards. In addition, due to the fact of dealing with a domestic product, we can say that the object has to attract new users not massively but one by one. We can find an explanation for this by observing how people approach the TMC. They first observe it and then they get closer, and usually start manipulating it. Initially, people do not find the switch until they discover that the electrical thread illuminates the light. Often they activate the handle to raise and lower the shade and, if there is a seat close, they sit to see how the light is like for reading or doing any other manual activity. That is to say, TMC is not just an object, but a set of everyday situations implicit in a lamp which, in addition, has the ability to suggest these situations to the users—or future users.

These characteristics can be observed also in many other products within the same Delta Award (1961). Together with Milá's TMC lamp, Marquina's cruet set was possibly the most outstanding product entered into the first edition of the Delta Awards. Marquina sought to come up with a bottle form whose outer surface was not soiled by dripping oil. The problem was solved through the use of a drip-pan around the nozzle head, with a hole placed at its lowest end through which the liquid returns to the interior of the container. This drip-pan is also used as a funnel to fill the bottles, eliminating the need for a traditional stopper and having to hold it while pouring the liquid. Outer cleanliness made it possible to do away with a handle, the bottles being held by their long neck. The general form of the bottles evolved from the initial solution of the nozzle and funnel, passing through a series of successive versions. This product has been imitated and copied ad nauseam. A usual situation again, particularly in those lands where olive oil is a fundamental element of the diet, the Mediterranean diet.

In subsequent editions of the awards, we find many more examples of this attention to the situations associated to the product. Taking the case of the aforementioned Montesa motorcycles for example, the motorbike "Impala" designed by Leopoldo Milá and winner of a Gold Delta in 1962, is an innovative design for a comfortable, sturdy and affordable two-stroke engine bike that has a high fuel tank and a single, continuous seat whose form is reminiscent of a guitar. After the first phase of production, it was once again launched into the market a few years later, incorporating a new tire and rim design and several technical improvements, but conserving its characteristic seat and overall image. In the course of time, it has become a cult object in motorbike-lover circles.

In addition to that, new products were also designed responding, no longer to the existing situations, but to the future desires of potential users. Designed also by Leopoldo Milá, the motorcycle Montesa Cota 247, winner of a Silver Delta and the Critic's Award in 1968, incorporates the idea of the off-road vehicle in the motorcycle sector. According to the minutes,

> the jury values the formal expressivity attained by this product, faithfully reflecting a use that no longer views motorcycles as a means of transport, but as an instrument capable of bringing us closer to nature, helping to define an image that corresponds to a new way of life. Achieving this expressiveness with a machine seems to us to be of utmost interest and it is in these terms that we have understood the piece (Fort, 2007: 108).

The Critics' Award, awarded by the attending public to the event, was especially significant on this occasion.

With the arrival of democratic elections, Catalonia gradually incorporated design and industrial production at the highest European level, and with the Olympic Games of Barcelona (1992) its products were recognized for their particular identity: an image close to the user, with concern for a correct functionality but understanding its formal and cultural content as one of its functions. Throughout the last years of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century, the consolidation of the Barcelona brand, as a synonym of good design, has been evident. Now the challenge lies in the need to continue advancing, responding to the emerging issues that are posed to societies in a globalized world, but without renouncing the accumulated experience, the idea of materiality, the emotional bond between people and objects, and a complete and updated idea

of functionality. It is Mediterranean design but impregnated with a reality and a local mood, which allows identifying it within a global context.

In that sense and as it was said so many times, only the local can offer a clear identity that is shown and understood globally, associated with a certain place. If we look at some of the Catalan companies with the greatest international projection, we will see how they try to maintain a delicate balance between historical references and the latest advances and innovations, in any aspect. In urban furniture companies such as Escofet (founded in 1886), for example, we find this double reference in both the formal and cultural aspects and the technologies used.

The Lugomare product by Escofet illustrates it. It is unclassifiable from the typological point of view, as part of a catalog of urban concrete furniture, since it cannot be called either with the name of a bench, or a lounger or, possibly, that of a seat. On the other hand, both technically and commercially, it is a challenge. Due to its weight, shape, and size, it is difficult to manufacture and transport. Also, its implantation in the place is complex, for accessibility, evacuation of the rain water and the modifications of the environment that it introduces. In regard to the user, the object draws attention. It is full of references. It reminds us of the desert dunes or the ocean waves, but both located in an urban space or in a natural environment, it appears as an overlay object that seems to float above the ground. It recalls the metaphor of the flying carpet, an image of the lost paradise which remains latent in all the inhabitants of the Mediterranean area, but which is also identifiable for those who do not belong to it. That is its deepest cultural root.

It is interesting to point out that the *Trébol* tile, produced by Escofet, has been awarded with the Gold Delta Award 2018 in the category of Outdoor Habitat. According to the Jury verdict, the product has been awarded: "For a Mediterranean and organic design that is identified as a barcelonian neomodernism and that shows the relevance of decorative pavement use in urban furniture".

Beyond countries and times, the spirit of the Mediterranean impregnates objects and places with myths and metaphors, transmitting a memory that, often unconsciously, its inhabitants have reproduced and disseminated beyond our geographic, social and cultural scope, over the years.

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Japanese Concepts of Modern Design in the 1950s: With Special Reference to Isamu Kenmochi and Masaru Katsumie

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Postwar Japan / Isamu Kenmochi / Masaru Katsumie / Japanese modern design / Good Design

In the 1950s, Japanese concepts of modern design were characterized by the arguments of two leading persons of the Japanese 'Good Design' Movement, Isamu Kenmochi and Masaru Katsumie. Having been inspired by new technology and materials, Kenmochi, a designer, respected traditional Japanese design, especially bamboo works, in order to humanize the functionalism which spread in Japan from the 1930s. By promoting the Good Design movement in Japan, Kenmochi struggled to develop Japanese Modern Design as the realization of *Qualitätarbei.* On the other hand, Katsumie, a design critic, pointed out the limitation of modern functionalism because it had not established a critical style in the twentieth century. Then, Katsumie suggested that modern art and science had visualized new structures and orders of nature, in which designers could discover new sources of design or the poetry of space. After organizing a committee to promote the Good Design movement with Kenmochi, Katsumie described the history of modern design from the 1850s until the 1950s, and required Japanese designers not only to strictly base their works upon principles of international modern design but also to newly use Japanese traditions in order to establish a Japanese modern style unifying all realms of design.

Introduction

According to Eiichi Izuhara (1929–2006), a leading Japanese design historian, the idea of functionalism was fundamental to modern Japanese design including architecture in the 1950s (Izuhara, 1989). Indeed, in his book published in 1947, when Japan as one of the Axis nations was occupied under the Allied forces, Ryuichi Hamaguchi (1916–1995), a representative Japanese architectural and design critic, emphasized that the postwar Japanese should build real modern architecture based on functionalism in order to achieve an architecture for the general public technologically and beautifully (Hamaguchi, 1947). According to Hamaguchi, functionalism was the ideal approach to building a new democratic and industrial country, for in postwar Japan many factories had been destroyed and dismantled, and daily necessities were in short supply. Hamaguchi's book was widely read at that time. On the other hand, however, critical comments on functionalism appeared in Japanese design journals after 1951 when Japan restored sovereignty. Considering a designer to be a 'human engineer', Isamu Kemmochi (1912–1971), a representative Japanese designer, pointed out that functionalism should be humanized. Advancing modern design instead of applied art, Masaru Katsumie (1909–1983), the most influential Japanese design critic, pointed out the limitation of functionalism. Through their arguments, both Kemmochi and Katsumie, who were leading persons of the Japanese Good Design Movement, discussed the direction that postwar modern Japanese design should take nationally and internationally.

1: Towards the Warm Design of the 1950s

Kenmochi, a member of the Kogei Shidosho (Industrial Art Institute) founded by the Japanese government in 1928, and Katsumie, a design citic, criticized the cool designs of the 1930s that were based on functionalism through their articles published in the design journal *Kogei Nyusu* (Industrial Art News) in about 1950. From a technical point of view, Kenmochi insisted on the necessity of humanizing functionalism to export original and mass-produced furniture from Japan. From a historical point of view, Katsumie remarked upon the limitation of functionalism, and insisted that modern design should supersede applied art through the discovery of new ornamental elements.

1.1: From the 1930s to the 1950s: The humanization of functionalism

In his article published in 1951, Kenmochi defined a designer as a 'human engineer' whose profession was to create a cultured living environment for the people (Kenmochi, 1951). According to him, designers of the 1950s should humanize the functionalism that had spread in Japan from the 1930s; he and his contemporaries criticized functionalist design for lacking human feeling. In order to oppose the cool design of the 1930s with a warm design, Kenmochi insisted that designers of the 1950s should turn their eyes to warm forms of Scandinavian, Japanese, and Chinese designs which used wood and plant materials, especially to Japanese traditional forms that had, in an elementary fashion, inherited simplicity. The feeling expressed by wood, bamboo, bamboo screening, and tatami, Kenmochi wrote, was full of the humanistic element that designers of the 1950s were trying to restore. Kenmochi, however, considered that the restoration would be not going back to old decorative designs before the 1930s, but going ahead of the simplicity of 1930s designs. Thus, he sought not the beauty of ornament but the beauty of texture, in other words, the beauty of the feel of the material of the surface, which was made by traditional techniques as well as new technologies. At the time, Kenmochi researched molded plywood furniture, e.g., chairs, tables, and shelves for mass production and export by using new technologies, especially high frequencies to process wood (Kenmochi, 1950: 23–29). He insisted that there could be no new kind of design without technological innovation. For Kenmochi, new technology would enable not only the use of laminated construction or molded plywood construction but also the design and mass production of furniture with an extremely simple structure.

On the other hand, finding that the fashion of the Japanese taste for bamboo had become common in American contemporary lifestyle, Kenmochi rediscovered simplicity as an international modern element in Japanese traditional architecture and designs, which Bruno Taut (1880–1938) had clearly pointed out in the 1930s (Kenmochi, 1949). Kenmochi had studied the German design principle, *Qualitätarbeit*, under Taut at the Kogei Shidosho in the 1930s, and had turned his eye to the Japanese tendency to simplicity in traditional design through the lessons of Taut.

Kenmochi, however, got a great shock when helping Isamu Noguchi (1904–1988) work on a bamboo chair at the Kogei Shidosho in 1950. In Noguchi's works, he felt a Japanese taste that was entirely different from what he had learned from Taut and Charlotte Perriand (1903–1999) who had visited the Kogei Shidosho in the 1940s (Kenmochi, 1950: 19–23). Kenmochi's idea of humanizing functionalism in the 1950s was more closely related to Noguchi's creation of the 1950s than Taut's and Perriand's works.

1.2: From applied art to modern design: Beyond the limitation of functionalism. In an article published in 1952, Katsumie pointed out that functionalism, which had been fundamental to design movements in the twentieth century, had a limitation because it lacked the human element, especially style, with which many people would be satisfied, and he suggested that postwar designers should turn their eyes to new forms expressed by their contemporary artists because he considered painting and sculpture to be the native land of all designers (Katsumie, 1952: 5–8). According to him, based on an idea expressed by a famous phrase, 'form follows function', functionalists of the 1930s tried establishing a style called the International Style, from which ornament was eliminated (Katsumie, 1952: 27–29). While functionalists, Katsumie wrote, investigated their cool design from technological points of view, postwar designers should explore rich style and gentle ornament, which Katsumie named 'the poetry of space', in order to realize a warm design with human feeling. Therefore, Katsumie advised his contemporary designers to find from an artistic point of view new sources of design in structures and patterns visualized by modern scientists, e.g., crystal structures, Lichtenberg figures, and Lissajous patterns with pendulums. The investigation of new ornament, however, did not mean a regression to applied art and decorative art, which had been at the highest of its prosperity in the nineteenth century.

From a historical point of view, Katsumie insisted that the modern design of the 1950s should become independent of applied art, and new styles and ornaments should be further studied in a different way from applied art. In his article published in 1953, Katsumie wrote a short history of British design movements from William Morris (1834–1896) to the 1930s, in which he not only thought highly of the motto 'fitness for purpose' of the Design and Industries Association (DIA) in Britain, but also sympathized with Herbert Read (1893–1968) who strongly rejected the idea of applying art to industry (Katsumie, 1953). The rejection of applied art would stay with Katsumie over the years.

In addition, Katsumie defined a designer as an artist whose ability was to arrange visual elements of private and social life in general (Katsumie, 1951). In this meaning, Katsumie required that Japanese designers turn their eyes to traditional Japanese design inherited from their ancestors in order to not only overcome functionalism but also realize the sound modernization of Japanese daily life.

2: Japanese Modern Design and Good Design

In 1953, a non-official organization named the International Design Committee (changed to the Good Design Committee in 1959, and to the Japan Design Committee in 1963) was formed in Tokyo, in order to promote the realization of international good design in Japan through communication with organizations and societies of foreign countries and participation in international conferences and exhibitions (Katsumie, 1977). Having been affected by Good Design Movements in foreign countries, especially the Good Design Show in the United States, which was jointly sponsored by the Museum of Modern Art in New York and the Merchandise Mart in Chicago, Kenmochi and Katsumie, along with other members of the committee,[1] played an important role in popularizing the correct understanding of Good Design in Japan.

2.1: Excluding the Kitsch: Japanese Modern Design as Japanese Good Design. Being dispatched by the Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI) to the United States in 1952, Kenmochi saw the Good Design Exhibition in New York. And travelling in the United States to attend the international design conference in Aspen in 1953, he attended the Good Design Show in Chicago. He reported his experiences of the exhibitions in detail for the *Kogei Nysu*. According to his reports, there was no modern Japanese design which could equal Swedish, Danish, or Italian modern design on the basis of good design selection: eye-appeal, function, construction, and price (Kenmochi, 1954: 10–15). In addition, he found many Japanese antique shops in New York but could discover no modern Japanese design store comparable with European modern design stores. Therefore, he considered that it would be the best to hold the Good Design Exhibition in Japan.

Kenmochi, however, had confidence that Japan could create designs to compete with European modern designs that would attract praise in the United States because there were many Japanese native crafts and well-designed goods in the exhibitions held in New York and Chicago.

After returning to Japan from the United States, Kenmochi tried designing some model rooms including bamboo, lacquer,

[1] The founding members were as follows (Katsumie, 1977): Kenzo Tange, Kiyoshi Seike, Takamasa Yoshizawa (architects), Sori Yanagi (industrial designer), Isamu Kenmochi, Riki Watanabe (interior designers), Yusaku Kamekura (graphic designer), Yasuhiro Ishimoto (photographer), Taro Okamoto (painter), Shuzo Takiguchi, Ryuichi Hamaguchi, and Masaru Katsumie (critics).

wood, and metal products, which were called 'Modern Japanese Style' (*Kindai Nihon Cho*), for export, and showed them in the exhibition entitled Design and Technique, held in Tokyo in 1954. With regard to his designs, Kenmochi explained that Japan too needs original design that was based on its regional and traditional techniques and could live in the present, and he expressed his strong will to create Japanese Good Design (Mori, 2004). His designs, called Modern Japanese Style, were received with high acclaim from overseas but were criticized in Japan. Masataka Ogawa (1925–2005), a newspaper reporter, commented that Modern Japanese Style was based not on the idea of raising the standard of Japanese people's living standards, still low because of the war, but the idea of exporting products of traditional Japanese taste to foreign countries, especially the United States (Ogawa, 1954).

In an article published after the exhibition, Kenmochi used the phrase 'Japanese Modern Design' to refer to Japanese Good Design instead of 'Modern Japanese Style' (Kenmochi, 1954:2–7). He found *Qualitätarbeit* in Swedish, Danish, Italian, and German modern designs, and thought that the Japanese could do it in the same way as the Europeans. By the phrase, 'Japanese Modern Design', he would clarify his idea of creating not only the beauty of simplicity which Taut considered as an essential part of the standard visual language in Japan, but also the true things rooted in the earth, not foreign taste or antique taste or the quaint or the curious. In this meaning, he excluded cheap and poor products, which Taut had called *Kitsch*, from Japanese products, and denounced not only the American fashion design called Japonica Style that took advantage of Japan to create a foreign sense, but also ways of thinking that reduced tradition to following traditional styles. For him, the realization of *Qualitätarbeit* was not the establishment of a new specific style but the creation of Japanese Modern Design as Japanese Good Design.

2.2: Quelling the confusion: Good Design as Japanese Modern Style. In his article published 1957, when the 'Good Design' selection of MITI had started for the purpose of enlightening the public on Good Design and to counter the design piracy problem that spread in Japanese industrial products in the 1950s, Katsumie, a member of the Committee of Design Promotion, an advisory body for MITI, considered the Good Design Movement to be a manifestation of humanism, and insisted that Good Design should be 'good' for the general public and society (Katsumie, 1957). According to him, in Japan, there was then controversy between realistic design and avant-garde design, between the technological and the artistic, between the functional and the poetic. For him, the Good Design Movement seemed to be able to be a foundation common to various Japanese designers.

At that time, Tsutomu Ikuta (1912–1980), an architect, translated the book *What is Modern Desig*n? written by Edgar Kaufmann Jr. (1910–1989) into Japanese in 1954. Katsumie wrote a serial article, 'Design movements in the last hundred years', in the journal *Ribingu Dezain* (Living Design) in 1955, the last chapter of which was entitled 'Good Design and public design education', to introduce the British and American Good Design Movements into Japan, and he translated with Taiji Maeda (1913–1982), an art historian, the book *Art and Industry* written by Herbert Read (1893–1968) into Japanese in 1958. These publications increased the public interest in Good Design in Japan.

Katsumie, however, pointed out that while the term Good Design spread widely in Japan, it was increasingly hard to answer a simple question: 'What is Good Design?' (Katsumie, 1958). Remarking the present confusion of arts and culture caused by the contradiction between the nostalgia for the tradition of Japan and a longing for modernity found in Western culture, he accepted that various criteria for Good Design could coexist. For the time being, he wrote, we have no choice but to go through an arduous and repetitious process of selection and rejection in our pursuit of Good Design. In this meaning, Katsumie rediscovered the aesthetic ideals of old Japan.

In an article published in 1954, introducing the artistic activities of Max Bill (1908–1994) to Japan, Katsumie wrote one installment in which Bill showed an old Japanese comb, *Tsuge no Kushi*, to Kenmochi at the international design conference in Aspen in 1953 and Bill said, 'This honest form! I loved it' (Katsumie, 1954). And Katsumie pointed out that 'the Japanese had a deep love for the honest form and functional space of this sort in ancient times everywhere'. And he found in Bill's works the aesthetic ideals of old Japan, clarity, purity, and simplicity, which Taut evaluated with intimacy in the 1930s. In addition, he emphasized that 'we must look back upon our traditional treasures and bring them to life again'.

Katsumie respected the Japanese style in tradition but rejected Japonica Style. In 1980, he recollected the 1950s as follows:

> I remember how at one time we argued furiously among ourselves about the comparative merits of 'Japanese Modern' and 'Japonica' […] When we send material to be displayed at international exhibitions we continue ad nauseam to choose objects executed in traditional Japanese techniques, which can easily be recognized as Japanese in style. If you ask me, this is essentially an expression of the same attitude as is manifested in the calculated exoticism of souvenir-shop 'Japonica'. We are still searching for a 'Japanese modern style' (Katsumie, 1980).

And he believed that, when Japanese designers conceived a design in an international context but unconsciously adopted a Japanese approach, the result was something worthy of the description 'Japan Style'. For Katsumie, the search for Good Design meant the search for Japanese Modern Style as the unity of all Japanese arts and design.

Conclusion

Based on humanistic thoughts on design, both Kenmochi and Katsumie tried to overcome the functionalism of the 1930s, and, not only respecting old tradition in the Japanese arts but also rejecting Japonica Style, they searched for a Japanese Good Design of the 1950s. Excluding the Kitsch from Japanese products, especially exports, Kenmochi as a designer struggled to realize *Qualitätarbeit* and to create Japanese Modern Design as Good Design. On the other hand, Katsumie as a design critic was content to establish Japanese Modern Style as Good Design, and he was convinced that the postwar Japanese needed to realize the unity of all realms of design in order to quell the confusion of arts and culture in contemporary life. One of the most important problems for postwar Japanese designers to solve was how to rediscover in old things new elements of beauty and utilize them in creating new designs to meet the needs of the time (Abe, c. 1960). Through their arguments of the 1950s, Kenmochi and Katsumie discussed effectively not only this problem but also the direction that postwar Japanese Modern Design should take both nationally and internationally.

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From Developmental Design to *Design by Itself.* Modernity and Postmodernity in Colombian Design

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Colombian history of design / Latin American history of design / Modernity / Development / Postmodernism

About 20 years ago the modern paradigm that fueled the intentions of the professionalization of design in Colombian universities was replaced as it gave way to a postmodern and post-industrial model of society. The rapid settlement of social forms derived from such a model allows us to show with some clarity how some academic programs have been modified in response to the demands of the context for a disciplinary update. In that order, first we will talk about the professionalization of design in Colombia as a process where the State and its developmental spirit meets: with the desire of those who believed that industrial design would help the country achieve its cultural and economic autonomy by means of the production of objects strongly linked to local needs. Secondly, we will focus on changes in the focus of design-related careers, particularly in the proposal of Los Andes University (Bogotá), in response to post-industrialism and the positioning of the interdisciplinary, experimental, creative and immaterial.

1.

Understanding professionalization as "an exercise of the specialization of knowledge that takes place on the university scene, and that is promoted by a group of individuals that coincide, among other things, in their perspectives of the duty of society" (Buitrago, 2012: 35), those responsible for the first design programs in Colombia undertook the work in dialogue with the industrialization policies promoted by the Colombian State, while they approached the rationalist postulates of modern architecture and the stylistic currents that arose from some artistic movements—both things from the United States and Europe. This was done by trying to build an argument as a frame of reference for the formulation of a new discipline—different from art and architecture—that would flirt with the State's goal of promoting and diversifying exports of finished products. Invoking "social creativity" as an exercise in creation in accordance with the problems of the national context (2012: 64), these subjects considered that the material culture of the country should, ideally, foment development from the resource to diversity and difference: a reactionary and highly political gesture from the founders of design, just at a time when foreign interventionism was high in Colombia.

That being the case, industrial design emerged in the 1970s in the midst of industrial modernity, and its definition paid tribute to the disciplinary, academic and political sensibilities of its main proponents: most of the architects from the National University of Colombia, trained during the 1960s and with complementary studies in Europe or the United States (2012: 107–108). In that academic program, in addition to the modernist ideals of the discipline, these citizens were trained with the first generation of Colombian architects who in turn maintained direct contact with the doctrine and with several of its renowned priests: Le Corbusier, Walter Gropius, Mies van der Rohe, Frank Lloyd Wright, among others.

During their student years, there was a heated political environment in the National University of Colombia, one of a vindictive nature. Colombia was experiencing the fullness of the National Front, a political agreement signed by the two traditional parties of the country, which tried to appease the violence unleashed during the 1950s. While the National Front encouraged the cessation of this violence, it also allowed the State to concentrate on several of its postponed modernization projects; it also engendered a systematic process of political exclusion of all those actors that it was shaping—which were neither liberal nor conservative. They too, lacking possible representation, were excluded from political life and violently persecuted.

Such problems resonate permanently in the National University, the most important public university in the country. From support for the National Front's goals—apparently very few—all the way to those who support institutional strengthening as a way to achieve "progress for all" in modernization, the anarchists, and those who see the revolution as the only way to align the national project, all these currents were present in the National University and were part of the student agenda between the 1960s and the end of 1970s.

Among the many actors present at the National University at the time was the emblematic priest, Camilo Torres. Chaplain of the University and a sociologist by profession, "Camilo" was a charismatic figure. Because of his different social and cultural contacts, Camilo felt that the role of the Church should be on the side of all those who had been separated from the national project of modernization. He defended the foundational postulates of the Theology of Liberation which professed the existence of a Church for the people; that is, for the ones marginalized by that process: the peasants, the workers and the indigenous people. In the villages truth could be found and the concept of sin—in this theology—was extended to the preservation or perpetuation of poverty. All intellectual exercise should be done with the ultimate purpose of impacting the needs of the most disadvantaged:

> With a corrective measure such as investigation [defended Camilo Torres in 1964], we could really achieve to adapt all the professorships to the national reality. If we could get all the professors of the National University to investigate. Their professorships would not be limited to the production of manuals or theories [but] the elaboration of a new science based on the investigation of the problems and needs of the country, we would

have niches of academic guidance fundamentally adapted to national realities (Aguilera, 2002: 78).

In the National University Camilo founded a movement that sought to realize projects of social intervention in the different slums of Bogotá. Its name was MUNIPROC (University Movement of Community Promotion), becoming a group in which different students of the University wound up involved, among them several architects that came to dialogue with the modernist precepts of their discipline. For different reasons, Camilo saw his political options frustrated one after the other, which led him to join the ranks of the National Liberation Army (ELN). In his first fight against the Colombian army, he died and his image became crystallized as that of the Guerrilla Priest. Many students followed him on his "road to the mountain".

In a way, this idea about the conditions of the less favored seems to blend with the modernist fundamentals of architecture that were studied in those years, and based on the function of said fusion, these ideas are used as a reference by the founders of design—in a vivid dialogue with social circumstances—as an input to define the disciplinary jurisdiction of the young profession.[1] From that exercise of argumentation, the framework of their professionalization, professional determination and occupational control is displayed with disciplinary, closed and systemic academic programs. From the university—the social institution that possessed the monopoly of knowledge—it was formulated that design should work in favor of the needs of the context and its users, and that the industrial designer should study the three-dimensionality and materiality of artificial forms, those that functioned as determined containers of fixed and stable contents.

2.

The conceptual framework that led to this definition was clearly anchored in the expectations about the industrial, urban and social modernization of which the progressivist classes dreamed in Latin America. In that kind of utopia, the State was the center of the system, providing all kinds of accompaniment and services, as well as bearing the responsibility of all initiative: it mediated in worker–employer confrontations; administered economic decisions; censored cultural content—from educational to entertainment; stimulated what it considered correct and punished what was not decorous, etc. It was everything from the promoter of that modernization to the agent of cooptation of spontaneous initiatives, by way of its referee. In a way, maybe for that reason, among most progressive intellectuals, it became synonymous with future and realization, stability and possibility.

Responding to the corporatism that reproduces that image, it is possibly through the anxiety of certain sectors to seek 'their approval' at different times during those decades (1940 to 1970). With the respective exceptions and in different bureaucratic ways, the search for approval of the State and attachment to it is a goal in certain circuits of intellectuals in Latin America, and Design was no exception.

However, the global crisis of the economic model—visible in the 1980s—meant the entry of Latin America in a system of administration of perverse effects, where the priorities changed order. This new era was a system in which the relationship with the Metropolis was based on the payment of the external debt: the most perverse of all forms of relationship, as Cavarozzi (1995: 460–485) laments. The different facets of neoliberalism entered a region that had dreamed and even believed that it had touched full development: the illusions were present along with their respective disappointments during that Latin Americanized "Fordist modernity": from the suggested Argentinian triumph of the late 1940s, going through the Brazilian miracle of the 1950s and the Mexican miracle in 1970. Each one of those climbs in illusion brought an inversely proportional jolt in the fall, above all, in the event that marks the before and the after in Latin America, that is, the crisis of 1982.[2]

In that year the line of development for the region breaks down. Mexico is unable to comply with its obligation to the debt, given the events of the last five or six years of consumption and indebtedness. From then on, the goal for development went to the background, changing by the recipes to solve the chaos. The once powerful State cracked before the stunned look of progressives swollen with illusion and the greed of international banking that negotiated directly with it.

And, of course, along with the sustained fall in commodity prices, the obvious failures of the industrialization projects and the pressures to comply with international obligations, it was expected that it would be necessary to reduce the size of the State, by that time seen as stagnant, anachronistic, corrupt and inefficient.

Thus—just as normal—everything that it condensed dissolved in thin air. In different ways, the fiscal adjustment policies as means for the search for efficiency materialized by the same way in Latin America and in Colombia. The need to train citizens to participate in the Nation construction project—a fundamental precept of the developmental nationalism of the years of the 1940s—was simply replaced by the need to entertain a disoriented youth, as García-Canclini (2015) ironizes. Seen as an attractive market, education now targets provision of a service for a consumer seeking an incomprehensible promotion—the idea of social rise was tied to the nationalist-developmentalist imaginary—and that is trained—in the worst ways that Marx could even ironize—for qualified work, in a labor market which does not really know how much is needed. A cycle that not only seems to put on the board the segmented gains it produces, but it manifests the gigantic paradoxes of the so-called "Knowledge society".

[1] We do not imply that the theology defended by Camilo was the conceptual basis on which the foundational arguments of Colombian design are constructed. However, it is important to understand in this type of ideas, communicating vessels of meaning that sensitize the most diverse corners of the country and of Latin America as such.

[2] The expression "Fordist modernity" is used from the approach of David Harvey. For him, this meaning encompasses a more or less homogeneous period in the history of capitalism of the twentieth century, marked between "the great depression" and 1973. See Harvey, D., 2014.

1982 then, marks a breaking point for Latin American development. Colombia does not suffer the same consequences as Mexico or Brazil. Certain economic policies protected the country from the intensity of the impact received by these and other countries in the region. However, both the collapse of the regional crisis, as well as the internal processes themselves—such as, for example, paper economy based on the rise of the drug cartels—direct the effects towards the same place: the collapse of the State and the need to readjust all that it meant. Put another way: opening a new phase of the economy, less interested in development and much less pending an industrialization process that had been in any case half done. It is not exactly a revolution, but the depth of the crisis poses a force in changes of economic models, which simply puts new expectations and demands on the table.

> The processes of trade liberalization and economic integration mark the end of a "development model", that of import substitution, and the birth of another, that of open economies. Hopefully, with time this will translate into more diversified economies, more productive and more flexible against external shocks (Lustig, 1995: 93).

3.

In the first decade of the twenty-first century, analogously to the 1970s, another group of subjects, also in their own circumstances, rethought design permeated by a particular political, economic and sociocultural climate, as we described earlier. In this case, it is about postindustrial postmodernity in relation to open, flexible and disjointed professional training, for which the design program of the University of the Andes can be the paradigm. The transformation of the industrial design program was in default, among other things because its graduates were hardly absorbed by the national industry. Often, despite the fact that the emergence of design coincided with the process of industrialization of the country, the academic community in general insisted on the haze that settled on the skills and competencies of the designer, making their work incomprehensible, which led the industry to close in on itself and become reluctant to face the incorporation of the design professional. True or not, the need to train individuals prepared for the contingencies of the context, plus the disciplinary and academic sensibility presented by the supporters of the new program of the Andes, at the end of their postgraduate studies in European and North American schools, put on the table the question of design in Colombia, still faithful to the developmental agenda of its early years, just when in other parts of the world it looked so restless and renewed.

For those who wanted to address this issue, it was necessary to use the contemporary vision of design promoted by international references—in the form of a bibliographic text, a consulting firm, a design study, an academic program, etc.—to understand that the world was changing and that therefore the design disciplines would have to adapt their objectives. The design thinking applied to the redefinition of the new program helped them to combine local demands and installed capacity, with the premises of a world defined by post-industrial logic. The result was, in broad strokes, the design of a more flexible curriculum—without surname or specialty—and the creation of three designer profiles: the developer, the author and the strategist. Both the curriculum and the future designer gave an account of interdisciplinary hybridization as a mechanism to give shape, value and meaning to products, experiences and strategies.

Far from focusing exclusively on the needs of the user, the *design by itself* responded to the wishes and aspirations of the consumer, the design student being the "pilot" of that reflexive exercise who, thanks to a program with 47% of eligibility, would take the reins of his training and customize the curriculum, so that he learned, by simulation, how to move in an uncertain and changing world of work, not before having designed a profile for himself according to his tastes and aspirations. The university understood that flexibly trained subjects would be able to use diverse tools and to play a role according to any type of scenario. In that sense, defending at all costs the integrity of the fields—graphic, industrial, interactive media, photography, animation, audiovisual or fashion—would go against contemporary challenges. Through the two career emphasis—product design and communication design—the designer would overcome the three-dimensionality and materiality of the products, once having understood the dynamics imposed by the means of production, to intervene between individuals, groups, collectives or organizations through actions whose effects were largely immaterial—on behavior, emotions, attitudes, for example. Unlike what was defended in the previous century, here objects were considered undetermined contenders of flexible and changing content.

The change of perspective, visible in the proposal of the University of the Andes, is not only not "novel", nor surprising in the conditions in which the so-called "flexible postmodernity", of which Harvey (2014) speaks, is manifested. It is not new in the sense that several academic programs in Colombia—without clearly knowing why—were making such adjustments while dialoguing with the complexities of the 1980s and 1990s, given, among other things, the demands and challenges that appeared in the socioeconomic horizon under the umbrella of neoliberalism. On the other hand, it is not surprising, since it responds more or less organically to the demands that the rupture with the developmentalist model had incorporated since 1982. For the logic prior to that year, the professional was first of all a citizen who would contribute to the national project. He was committed to contextualizing the discussions in the terms of modernity, with encouragement and the use of creativity to satisfy the needs of third parties—especially those in conditions of need; with the productive serialization of their conceptions, with the rational idea of a project whose agency is ontologically prefigurative and begins with a specific need and concludes with a formal and material intervention. For what comes next, this professional is the first client of a

service offered by a corporatized university, urged by financial returns, and then is skilled in increasingly specialized labor, trained for an amalgam of requirements that are still not very clear. A subject that ends up adjusting to the circumstances and that works around the pompous and empty idea of 'innovation', mainly, to find ways by means of which it can overcome the inclemencies of what Harvey already predicts as a new phase of slavery, one, he says, such as the West lived in the nineteenth century. A new average age as Umberto Eco predicted?

4.

Now, according to Guy Julier (2010), there is a problem of standardization of design practice that could not be solved despite its professionalization. While it is true that professional training provides individuals with "minimum levels of knowledge, intellect and skill", design lacks institutional elements that link, or at best match, the professional exercise with epistemologies and ontologies, which he has insisted on existing. Then, as long as it does not have "its own discursive structures to develop its own professional culture", design will not cease to be the object of indetermination, interference and (inter)disciplinary submission. This sheds light on the paradox that emerges from the transit that occupies us here—from design to professionalization: the close relationship of design with the modern project and its affiliation with the national narratives erected on progress and development, then its adaptation to the "post"-industrial, modern, humanist—and neoliberal society, where the celebration of entrepreneurship, professional/labor eclecticism, the emergence of the new "orange" economy and the third sector, raise the status of creative work and the practice is assumed as a way of life; in no case has the mist that motivated the programmatic interventions been dispersed, on the contrary, this seems to reaffirm itself as part of its ethos.

At this point, we venture to point out that both developmental design and *design by itself* have been, at least in the global south, a consequence of the cross-cultural expansion of the Eurocentric ontology of the North, so that their practices remain rooted in the structures of colonial and imperial imposition. Design was not only an agent of that modernity, as we present it in the Colombian case; globalization, the operational terrain of capitalism and the extension of modernity, has it as an ally of the utopia of uncontrolled consumerism. Producer par excellence of the unsustainable and reproducer of the inequity that is at the center of the epistemological, ontological and political split between North and South, design seems to be, once again, requiring a radical restructuring that does not sympathize with the historical deployment of several universal and universalizing modernities and that, on the other hand, recognizes that modernity and colonialism are indivisible and that it has participated thoughtlessly in its global project. The current challenge for design—from the South—is to create a break with Eurocentric thinking that, as Tony Fry (2017) warns, can't be total; this rupture would imply a critical and selective appropriation of the Western legacy and a redirection in the production of knowledge towards the relational, a knowledge entirely committed to the complexity of the current era.

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The Acceptance of Ornament in Modern Design: Kineticism and the Vienna Workshops in the 1920s

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Ornament / Modernism / Viennese Kineticism / Vienna Workshops / Franz Čižek

By analyzing the design works of Viennese Kineticism (ca. 1920–1924) and the Vienna Workshops (1903–1932) in Austria, this study aims to explore local practices of modern design and shed new light on the relationship between ornament and modernism.

Kineticism is an artistic tendency whose foundation lay within the course on the Theory of Ornamental Form by Franz Čižek at the School for Arts and Crafts in Vienna. Rhythmic sequences of movement and resemblances to contemporary international art tendencies are characteristic of its paintings, sculptures and graphic works. These features are based on Čižek's ideas and lessons on ornament.

Around 1907, the Vienna Workshops shifted into a luxury design enterprise. While strict geometric style was characteristic during the early period, later Workshops' designs featured ornamentation. Some of their design patterns bear similarities to concepts seen in the contemporary avant-garde arts.

At a time when Vienna was at the crossroads of East and West art movements, Viennese designers adopted the formal language of avant-garde arts and through its application continued to deploy ornament in the modernist period. Avant-garde arts and ornament merged and expanded as an original design tendency. This was a local development of modern design, often distinguished by its universal ideal.

1. Introduction

By analyzing the design works of Viennese Kineticism (*Wiener Kinetismus*, ca. 1920–24) and the Vienna Workshops (*Wiener Werkstätte*, 1903–32) in interwar Austria, this study aims to explore a local practice of modern design, which is distinctive for its universal ideals, and shed new light on the relationship between ornament and modernism.

Viennese Kineticism was founded within the frame of the course on the Theory of Ornamental Form taught by the art pedagogue Franz Čižek (1865–1946) at the School for Arts and Crafts (*Kunstgewerbeschule*) in Vienna (Fig. 1). As Sabine P. Forsthuber points out, Viennese Kineticism was not an art "movement", but rather a new method of teaching and a didactic process practiced by Čižek (Forsthuber, 2006: 89). Members of Viennese Kineticism were his students and Čižek remained a mentor of the group. Čižek did not create any of the artworks himself, despite his studies at the Academy. Many of the works of the Viennese Kineticists approach fine arts, but since the group was based within the School for Arts and Crafts, and its members produced commercial artworks (posters, flyers, book covers as well as stage design), Viennese Kineticism can be seen as having a connection with the local design activities of the period in Vienna.

Fig. 1 Exhibition at the Kunstgewerbeschule's premises in Fichtegasse 4, June to September 1924 (Wien Museum).

The Vienna Workshops, which played a leading role in the Austrian modern design movement in the early 20th century, was founded in 1903 by the Vienna Secession artists Josef Hoffmann and Koloman Moser. Inspired by the British Arts and Crafts movement, their goal was the beautification of all aspects of people's lives through high quality products, carefully made by artists and craftsmen. By the 1920s the Vienna Workshops had gained an international reputation as an exemplary company of luxury commodities in Austria.

Due to the discontinuation of the Theory of Ornamental Form course following the school's curriculum change in 1924, and the emigration of the main artists in the late 1920s, Kineticism came to an end, and was forgotten until the 1970s, when Bernhard Leitner first published his article on Čižek's class in 1975 (Leitner, 1975). Although Kineticism remains less well known in the field of art and design history, its concepts and works have been progressively revealed through important exhibitions and publications since the 2000s.[1] It is interesting to note that Kineticism and the Vienna Workshops were not merely contemporaries, but also both exhibited the characteristic of ornament in design. Hence, in this study I will focus on aspects around the use of ornament by the two groups, and explore their practice of modern design, which was often distinguished by their utilization of a decontextualized formal language.

2. Kineticism and Franz Čižek's lessons on ornament

Čižek's Theory of Ornamental Form was integrated into the General Department of the School for Arts and Crafts in 1920. There had already been kinetic tendencies in art, for example in the works of Naum Gabo or László Moholy-Nagy, in the early 1920s. Contrary to the general understanding of the term of kinetic art, no works in motion are to be seen in Viennese Ki-

[1] One of the most important exhibitions was the "Kinetismus: Wien entdeckt die Avantgarde" (Kineticism: Vienna discovers the avant-garde) held in the Wien Museum in 2006. It was the first comprehensive exhibition on Viennese Kineticism held after the 1920s. Platzer, M.; Storch, U. (ed.) *Wiener Kinetismus. Wien entdeckt die Avantgarde*. Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz Verlag.

neticism (hereafter Kineticism). Čižek himself defined Kineticism as an art which splits motion processes into rhythmic elements and utilizes them for the construction of pictures (Platzer, 2006:18). Rhythmic sequences of movement are actually characteristic of the paintings, sculptures and graphic works by leading Kineticist artists Erika Giovanna Klien (1900–1957), Marianne (My) Ullmann (1905–1995) and Elisabeth Karlinsky (1904–1994). Moreover, these works bear resemblance to contemporary international art tendencies. These features are not predicated by art education, but are based on Čižek's ideas and lessons on ornament.

Čižek recognized the essential significance of ornament in art, in an era when ornament was deprecated in the name of rationality. He considered desire for ornament to be a human instinct, and, at the same time, associated ornament with advanced logic. Čižek credited the study of ornament and ornamental composition for his tremendous insight into composition, construction, architecture and the tectonics of planes and solids. He believed that solely an immersion in the process could allow the artist to acquire the orientation in their rhythmic sense of order, as well as training of mind, logic and taste (Čižek, 1990: 247).

As an educational principle, Čižek put a high value on the realization of individual creativity. By the mid-1910s, as part of his course, Čižek carried out exercises in which students reconstructed objects through simplification and free formation after detailed observation of nature. In this period, flat, linear patterns, close to the Vienna Secession style, were dominant in students' works. Čižek had already placed great importance on rhythmization training in his classes, and after 1918 introduced new methods into his teaching, by adopting the artistic techniques of contemporary expressionism, cubism and futurism. As evident in *Anger* (1918) by Olga Stahlberger (1889) and in Karlinsky's *Cold* (ca. 1921)—both of which are expressionistic drawings of abstract ideas—the atmosphere in the class took a sharp turn towards artistic radicalism. Employing these techniques, Klien's drawing *Head. Awake* (1921–22) (Fig. 2) and Ullmann's *Figure with head resting on the hand* (1923) demonstrate that these new methods led to the development of the stylized expression of movement found in Kineticism.

Fig. 2 E. G. Klien, *Head. Awake*, 1921–22 (Wien Museum).

Kineticism's connection to ornament is also referred to in *The Contemporary Will to Create in the Applied Arts* (1922) by L. W. Rochowanski, who was a Kineticist artist, poet, and critic. Rochowanski pointed out that the mental basis of rhythmic formation was re-established in Čižek's class for the first time, and that the ornament of this era arose from such crystallizations of lively rhythms (Rochowanski, 1922: 9). Furthermore, Rochowanski stated that it was not arts and crafts, but the application and utilization of rhythms gained from expressionism, cubism, and Kineticism, that mattered in the class (Rochowanski, 1922: 50). This statement suggests that Čižek's experimental training focused on the utilization of rhythms for the purpose of creation of ornament as a goal.

3. Contemporary motifs in the Vienna Workshops' design. Around 1907, the Vienna Workshops shifted from an arts-and-crafts style company to a luxury design enterprise.[2] Both the style and scope of the products changed afterwards. While strict geometric style was characteristic during the early period, later the Workshops' designs featured elegant ornamentation. The range of products was widened from furniture, dishes, leather products and book binding to graphic works, textiles, fashion items, ceramics and more.

In 1916, a new section called "Artists Workshops" (*Künstlerwerkstätte*) was opened inside the Vienna Workshops. This section was distinct in the sense that no similar workshops were seen in other European modern design groups at the time. In these "workshops", young artists could produce whatever they liked, or conduct technical experiments, using equipment and materials free of charge. Artists received compensation when their works were estimated as valuable and inserted into the commercial catalogue of the Vienna Workshops (Schweiger, 1995: 98). The combined aims of the establishment of the Artists Workshops were the activation of arts and crafts[3] and the improvement of the company's management in the period of wartime depression.

However, the fact that artistic products from this section strengthened the elegant image of the Vienna Workshops became as

[2] Serious financial problems of the company led to conflicts between Koloman Moser and Fritz Waerndorfer, who was also a founding member of the Vienna Workshops as a patron. After Moser left the company in 1907, the Workshops became more sensible to economic realities, and its design styles, products and markets were expanded.

[3] Letter from the Vienna Workshops to the Austrian Museum of Art and Industry, November 3rd, 1916, archive of the Austrian Museum of Applied Arts, Vienna.

significant as the short-term financial effect of the section. The range of products varied from necklaces, broaches, purses, laceworks, corsages, enamel works and similar items. The drawstring purse (ca. 1919) (Fig. 3) created by Maria Likarz (1893–1956), one of the main designers of the Workshops, is a typical product amongst them. The motifs depicted on the purse are of fancily dressed couples and there are colourful bold stripes at the bottom, added as a decorative element. The purse is entirely made from beads, which lends it a luxurious and romantic air. Such colourful beaded drawstring purses were popular items in the Workshops' later period.

Fig. 3 M. Likarz, drawstring purse, ca. 1919 (Iwami Art Museum).

This delightful ornamental style flourished even further after the end of World War I, and the name of the Vienna Workshops became representative of Austrian Art Deco in the 1920s. And, as in Kineticism, it was female designers who played a leading role in the Vienna Workshops, including Mathilde Flögl (1893–1968), Felice Rix (1893–1967), Hilde Jesser (1894–1985) and Vally Wieselthier (1895–1945) alongside others. Among the variety of design patterns of the Vienna Workshops in the 1920s, some bear similarities to expression in the contemporary avant-garde arts. Such patterns are especially notable in textile designs and fashion items, which are more susceptible to changes in trends.

The textile *Kremlin* (ca. 1912) (Fig. 4) by Felice Rix is a well observed work and evinces typical characteristics seen in her later designs. The material is fine silk and its motif is of stylized geometric houses in vivid yellow, orange, red, blue and black. The thin fabric and colour boundaries, which are blurred in some parts, lend the artwork a sensitive and poetic air. The textile/dress *Enos* (ca. 1926) (Fig. 5) by Max Snischek (1891–1968) looks strikingly modern, with pink, grey and blue flat rectangles against a black background, partially studded with curving lines and asterisks. Despite its constructivist appearance, the rectangles have slightly pliant outlines and seem to be swaying. In addition, the use of pastel colours reduces the strictness, and undermines the rational image of constructivism, evoking an almost romantic impression. The fabric is as thin as that of Rix's *Kremlin*.

Fig. 4 F. Rix, *Kremlin*, ca. 1912 (Iwami Art Museum).

However, despite the similarities, the Workshops' designers seem to have kept their distance from arguments regarding isms as well as particular art movements of the time. In addition, their designs do not display extreme radicalism. When elements of avant-garde arts appear in designs by the Vienna Workshops, they are simply ornament rather than experimental forms. By flexibly integrating the latest art tendencies into their design works, the designers converted avant-garde arts into ornament.

4. The artistic situation in Vienna in the 1920s

Viennese designers' interest in avant-garde arts also seems to be connected with the cultural situation in Vienna. This was the so-called "Red Vienna" period in the 1920s, when the Austrian Social Democratic Party led the municipal government. In the midst of radical political changes following the collapse of the Habsburg Monarchy, there were attempts made towards the internationalization of Austrian art. Art critic Hans Tietze (1880–1954) played an important role in this movement. He organized the Association for the Promotion of Modern Art (*Gesellschaft zur Förderung moderner Kunst*) in 1923. The Association organized exhibitions of Anton Hanak (1923), Béla Uitz (1923), the International Art Exhibition (*die Internationale Kunstausstellung*) (1924), the International Exhibition of New Theatre Technique (*die Internationale Ausstellung neuer Theatertechnik*) (1924) and others. The International Art exhibition was particularly significant, for more than 180 modern artworks by contemporary European artists including Picasso, Klee and Lissitzky were exhibited. Mayor Karl Seitz thought it was the duty of the city to hold these exhibitions, and supported the association so that Vienna could flourish in field of art (Bogner, 1983).

Fig. 5 M. Snischek, *Enos*, ca. 1926 (Iwami Art Museum).

Moreover, there were exchanges of international artists which contributed to an experimental atmosphere in art and culture in Vienna. Most important among them were the activities of the Hungarian Constructivism group MA. Artists of MA were exiled to Vienna following the collapse of the Hungarian Soviet Republic in 1919. Lajos Kassák, Béla Uitz and László Moholy-Nagy organized exhibitions and published magazines and books, amongst them the *Book of New Artists* (1922). The MA was responsible for spreading the ideas and works of international constructivism in Vienna.

Johannes Itten lived in Vienna between 1916 and 1919. He opened a private art school and taught art education, in which he emphasized rhythm and movement (Wick, 2011). Some students such as Friedl Dicker-Brandeis (1898–1944) studied under both Čižek and Itten. In 1919, Itten exhibited his works in the building of the "Free Movement" group (*Freie Bewegung*). "Free Movement" was one of the modernist artists' groups in Vienna in the 1920s. Itten's exhibition was organized by Viennese modern architect Adolf Roth. However, although Itten socialized with Viennese artists and critics, and had similar didactic interests to Čižek, it is unknown whether the two had any personal contact.

In June 1924, Kassák visited Čižek's class' exhibition. Filippo Tommaso Marinetti, Enrico Prampolini and Theo van Doesburg visited Čižek's classroom with Austrian constructivist Frederick Kiesler on the occasion of the International Exhibition of New Theatre Technique in October 1924 (Markhof, 1993:166). In the time when Vienna was at the crossroads of East and West art movements, the formal language of international avant-garde arts was adopted by Viennese designers and artists. However, as mentioned above, both Čižek and the Vienna Workshops did not actually participate in avant-garde movements. Čižek stated in 1944 that Kineticism was a re-education of art, and that it was wrong to evaluate Kineticism as one independent art tendency, because it was only a part of the total creation (Markhof, 1985:16). This statement suggests that Čižek's interest was focused on the fundamental reform of art through education. As for the Vienna Workshops, on one hand they were an enterprise rather than a genuine artists group, who presumably saw avant-garde motifs partly through the lens of commercial interests, as possible sources for a variety of ornamental products, which the designers had to update continuously. On the other hand, the founder and leader of the Vienna Workshops, Josef Hoffmann, personally valued the joy of ornament in design. When the Art Exhibition 1920 (*Kunstschau* 1920), which exhibited arts and crafts works and was directed by Hoffmann, was criticised for its inappropriateness to the serious mood of the period, Hoffmann replied:

> But characteristic of Vienna Arts and Crafts lies in its kindness, in its works' lightness and grace. Should these advantages, which give Viennese art its personal nuance and special place in world markets, be destroyed, in order to graft it to something foreign, and to match the "seriousness of the period"? Let us instead celebrate our young artists, keep their joy and interest towards the beautiful "Dinge an sich" (thing-in-itself), despite danger and death, despite hunger and misery, no matter if it serves an aim. Let us strive to keep them having this, and not to antagonize (Tietze, 1920: 50).[4]

It is assumed that there was a positive attitude towards ornament among the designers of the Vienna Workshops, not only from a commercial perspective, but they may also have enjoyed ornament as part of their individual expression rather than participating in the isms of the avant-garde arts.

5. Conclusion

In interwar Vienna, the designers of Kineticism and the Vienna Workshops were active in the field of graphic, textile and fashion design. Despite their differing characteristics—the former deploying progressive expression and the latter elegant taste—they had a common connection to ornament. Reflecting the influences of diverse art movements and political events, the majority of European modern design groups made increased use of industrial technology in order to realize an ideal life for a wide variety of people, whereas the dominant principle was rational functionalism. Where other designers abandoned ornament as something outdated, the Viennese designers continued to deploy ornament in the modernist period. Furthermore, avant-garde arts and ornament merged and expanded as an original design tendency. This was a local development in modern design which was distinguished by its universal ideals. The design works of Kineticism and the Vienna Workshops reveal strong connections between modern design and ornament, under the particular social, cultural and artistic circumstances of Vienna in the 1920s. This signifies genuine diversity within European modern design movements. Further research on the persistence of ornament throughout the modernist period is needed.

[4] Hans Tietze quoted this statement in his article anonymously. But from the context it is highly certain that this is an answer from Hoffmann to Tietze's criticism.

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Local Encounters with Glass: Material Intensities in Sanaa's Architecture

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Material / Modernism / Intensities / Glass / Relations / Body

A few years ago, the Japanese architects Sanaa were invited to create a temporary intervention in the Barcelona Pavilion originally designed by Mies van der Rohe. The intervention consisted of a transparent acrylic curtain in the shape of a spiral, centrally placed in the pavilion. Although the spatial encounter between the two modernist design practices bridged a gap of around 80 years it framed Mies' and Sanaa's shared fascination of creating space and movement with the use of glass, transparency and material reflections. But what is Sanaa's contemporary contribution to modernist architecture's persistent desire towards glass? Based on on-site experiences of Sanaa's Glass Pavilion in Toledo and informed by anthropological and historical sources, the paper investigates what encounters with materials can do. This is based on the proposition that the glass in Sanaa's design becomes bodily and relational as much as visual. Considered as intensities and counterpoints of movement and modulation, this particular articulation of modernism's universal ideas of glass architecture and transparency creates a potential for becoming local.

An encounter with Mies van der Rohe

When Sanaa, led by the two architects Kazujo Sejima and Ryue Nishizawa, were invited to create a temporary, spatial intervention in the Barcelona Pavilion[1] it was also a symbolic encounter between two architectural practices. As this paper will show, Mies and Sanaa represent two generations of modernist architects with a shared interest in creating spaces based on simplicity of form and a richness in material expressions. Ludwig Mies van der Rohe's design for the German Pavilion for the Barcelona International Exhibition in 1929 shows an architectural composition of different elements that together create a dynamic space.[2] As the plan drawing tells us (Fig. 1), the different elements such as the freestanding walls, the columns, the two pools, the outdoor bench and even Georg Kolbe's sculpture in the smallest pool together create a spatial flow. The composition is carefully planned to encourage movement. The movement through the pavilion's space is initiated the moment the visitor enters from the stairs that lead up to the pavilion's podium. In the materials' reflecting surfaces we find a different type of visual movement caused by the vibrations of light, reflections and transparency.

Sanaa chose acrylic to make a transparent 'curtain' installation in the pavilion (Costa, 2010). The installation in the shape of a spiral (Fig. 1) was placed centrally in the pavilion around the significant onyx wall. The curtain stood on the floor and formed a directed movement towards and around the wall. In Sanaa's words the curtain 'softly encompasses the spaces within the pavilion and creates a new atmosphere. The view through the acrylic will be something different from the original with soft reflections slightly distorting the pavilion' (Costa, 2010).

In several examples of both Mies' and Sanaa's architectural work, we find this strong interest in exploring the spatial and visual expressions of transparency and reflection as properties of the chosen building materials. Some remarkable examples are Mies' projects for glass skyscrapers in the early 1920's, his collaboration with Lilly Reich in developing the Glasraum for the Werkbund exhibition in Stuttgart in 1927 and the much later Farnsworth House, built between 1945–1951. More recently, Sanaa has developed a number of projects where glass and other reflecting materials such as aluminum have been key to the expression and construction of the building. For example the 21st Century Museum of Contemporary Art, Kanazawa from 2004, the Dior flagship store, Omotesando Avenue, Tokyo from 2004, the Serpentine Gallery Pavilion, London from 2009 (Jakobsen, 2012) and the Louvre-Lens from 2012 (Jakobsen, 2016). Transparency and material reflections are recurring themes in the mentioned works. As this paper will show, Sanaa's Glass Pavilion in Toledo provides a particular framework for exploring the properties of glass.

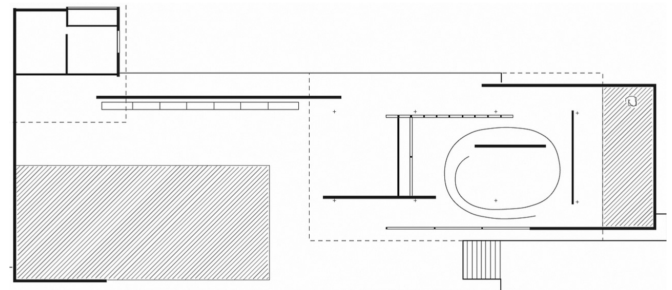

Fig. 1 Sanaa's spiral shaped installation in the Barcelona Pavilion by Mies van der Rohe. Drawing by the author.

The architectural historian Adrian Forty places the term transparency at the heart of modernism, however not limited to the *literal transparency* of glass. Literal transparency, the properties of glass allowing one to look into a building through the glass wall, creates a visual effect of the wall's disappearance

[1] Sanaa's intervention was shown in 2008/2009 and in 2011/2012. http://miesbcn.com/project/sanaa-intervention/, last accessed 15/06/18.

[2] The Barcelona Pavilion was constructed for the International Exhibition in 1929 in Barcelona as a place for events and official receptions. After the exhibition the pavilion was demolished. In 1986 it was reconstructed at the original site in Barcelona.

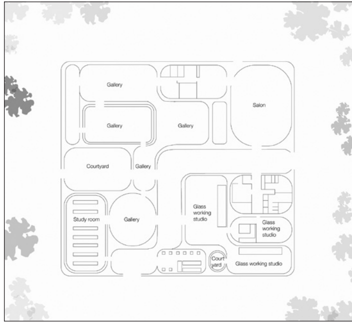

Fig. 2 Plan of the Glass Pavilion, the Toledo Museum of Art. Drawing by the author.

Fig. 3 Interior, the Glass Pavilion. Photo by the author.

combined with reflections of light and mirror effects (cf. Forty, 2013). According to Forty, this is only one of three important understandings of transparency as it unfolds in modernist architecture. The second understanding mentioned by Forty is the *phenomenal transparency*. As opposed to literal transparency it concerns the apparent depth and simultaneity between objects or elements perceived as a spatial phenomenon. This meaning of transparency has been thoroughly discussed by Colin Rowe and Robert Slutzky (Rowe & Slutzky, 1963). The third understanding of transparency in architecture is a *transparency of meaning*, which regards the experience of things as they are in themselves. This third understanding of transparency is according to Forty particularly relevant to the understanding of Mies' architecture. In 1933 Mies described his own professional view on glass in a short text based on a question: *What would concrete, what would steel be without mirror glass?* (Neumeyer, 1991). The text reveals that Mies regarded glass as a means to achieving this effect: 'The glass skin, the glass walls alone permit the skeleton structure its unambiguous constructive appearance and secure its architectonic possibilities'. He continues the praise of glass walls in architecture and mentions new spatial possibilities, for example the potential of creating a close relationship with the landscape. A relationship he would later explore quite radically in the Farnsworth house. He writes about glass walls that:

> They permit a measure of freedom in spatial composition that we will not relinquish anymore. Only now can we articulate space freely, open it up and connect it to the landscape. Now it becomes clear again what a wall is, what an opening, what is floor, what ceiling. Simplicity of construction, clarity of tectonic means, and purity of material reflect the luminosity of original beauty (Neumeyer, 1991: 314).

The Glass Pavilion, Toledo

The properties of glass continue to be interpreted globally by architects who owe much of their inspiration to the early modernism, not least to Mies' work. It is therefore important to examine how the architecture of today finds new ways to create spatial and experiential dimensions through the use of glass. The contribution of this paper is to study glass as a *relational* material, which is more than visual, more than optical reflection and more than literal transparency. The paper considers the use of glass in Sanaa's Glass Pavilion at the Toledo Museum of Art in Ohio as exemplary and particularly relevant to this discussion. By activating the temperatures and affects of the glass as part of the spatial experience, continuously changing relations between the visitor's body and the architecture are formed. Considering the encounter with the Glass Pavilion as a relational and bodily experience the local environment becomes part of the 'mix'.

The Glass Pavilion at the Toledo Museum of Art was inaugurated in 2006. It is placed in the green surroundings of a small park across the street from the main museum building. The name refers to a lot more than the building material. The pavilion functions as an exhibition space for collections of glass products and glass art, and the publicly accessible glass workshop is centrally placed and provides classes and glassblowing demonstrations for the visitors. It is also a professionally functioning workshop for artists in residency. Toledo Museum of Art was founded at the beginning of the 20th century by Edmund Drummond Libbey of the Libbey Glass Company. The idea behind the pavilion is therefore grounded in the historic glass industry of Toledo, where Libbey since 1888 was a key figure in the production of glass products such as finer glass tableware, bottles, glass fiber, and flat glass plates for use in buildings and cars. The museum's glass collections are now exhibited in the Glass Pavilion together with temporary exhibitions of glass art, etc.

Looking at the plan of the pavilion (Fig. 2) we see a structure which is both very simple in its geometry and, at the same time, refined and complex in its variations. The plan reveals that the building and the interior spaces are based on rectangular shapes all with soft, rounded corners. As the dominant material for the exterior and interior walls is glass, it is possible to look across the gallery spaces and the workshop through different intensities of transparency and opacity (Fig. 3). The pavilion is horizontally oriented and rises only one level above ground. The roof and the load bearing construction is made of steel, while the facades are constructed of glass panels in full height.

Intensities of glass

Sanaa's architectural relationship with Mies is underlined by the architectural historian Beatriz Colomina, who in an analysis of the Glass Pavilion characterises Kazujo Sejima as 'the ultimate Miesian, leaping beyond transparency into a whole new kind of mirage effect' (Colomina, 2009: 84). Whereas Colomina in her analysis focuses specifically on how glass is used to create an optical blurring and intensification of the space, it is the aim of this paper to present a relational understanding of the material where the intensities of glass are felt more than they are seen.

Glass can be formed and transformed through changes in temperature. A certain resistance towards touch is embedded in the material, whether hot and liquid or cold and stable. From previous experience or knowledge, we are aware that it would be unhealthy to place a finger in the hot, liquid glass mass – and simply uncomfortable to lean against a cold glass window. Most of us are certainly aware of not getting too close to the fragile material and be the cause of valuable or beautiful glass breaking in thousands of pieces. In the Glass Pavilion in Toledo the temperature differences are immanently part of the glass experience. Spanning between the hot, fluid glass in the workshop over the cold surface of the glass plates to the fragile, exhibited glass objects, the visitor's body is heated, cooled down or simply kept at a distance by showcases or podiums that protect the collected glass objects.

The material coldness and the fragility are intensified by the experience of heat in the glassblowing workshop (Fig. 4). The switch from cold to hot when one enters the workshop is dramatic. The body temperature is immediately affected and presents itself as a change in the experienced relation to the space. These examples of intensive encounters with glass show that it is a living material with qualities and properties related to the specific situation and condition. The properties of the material affect and are affected by how the relations with people and with the surroundings unfold.

Fig. 4 The workshop space in the Glass Pavilion. Photo by the author.

In the Glass Pavilion glass performs and is presented as much more than an optical material, which we would be able to relate to the idea of literal transparency. And it surpasses our understanding of transparency of meaning although the pavilion clearly creates a close connection between form and content, which is considered one of the strongest characteristic of modernist architectural design (Forty, 2013: 288). Colomina is right to emphasize that the pavilion could be considered the perfect example of transparency of meaning because it is: '[…] an all-glass pavilion, for all-glass objects, in the glass city. In this sense, Sanaa has inherited the Miesian tradition of radical transparency' (Colomina, 2009: 78). But instead, Colomina prefers to consider the layers of glass walls as intensifying optical effects that work against the focus of the view: 'Its objective is not for the viewer to discover the inner secret of the building, but to be suspended in the view itself.' (Colomina, 2009: 84). This seems an accurate description of what happens in terms of viewing. Compared to Mies, who created the ultimate literal transparency between the interior and the landscape in the Farnsworth House, the park that surrounds the Glass Pavilion is barely noticed when inside. Different intensities of transparency and opacity create a fascinating interior glass landscape to be suspended in. However, as we have already noticed, the experience of the Glass Pavilion is much more than visual. Consequently, Colomina's use of the term 'viewer' must be addressed. It is too reductive when it comes to describing the visitor's architectural experience. The entire body is involved. As whole visitors in the pavilion we are more than eyes.

To understand how the relations between bodies, glass and environment are created, it will be useful to consult sources with a processual approach to materials. The anthropologist Tim Ingold claims that to experience or perceive the surroundings, in general, is to enter into a relation with the material flows and movements, which constitute the continuous development of form (Ingold, 2011: 88). Ingold distinguishes between the *material* aspect of the specific encounter and the theoretical and conceptual reflection of the *materiality*. We live with the material, as he expresses it, and: "Like all other creatures, human beings do not exist on the 'other side' of materiality, but swim in an ocean of materials" (Ingold, 2011: 24). Returning to our case in Toledo, the function of the glass workshop plays an important part in creating this type of experience. Feeling the body's temperature being affected by the glass temperature in the Glass Pavilion is a very concrete experience of 'swimming in an ocean of materials'. In this fluid space, it is not a question of perceiving or looking at something, which we are separated from, but to perceive *with* as we align our movement to the modulations of other lines, movements and bodies in a relational formation. It is the dynamic relation between bodies, in the broadest sense, which creates continuous becoming in an ongoing movement. In Ingold's words:

Fig. 5 Gallery and courtyard, the Glass Pavilion. Photo by the author.

> Thus, far from inhabiting a sealed ground furnished with objects, the animal lives and breathes in a world of earth and sky – or becoming earth and becoming sky – where to perceive is to align one's movements in counterpoint to the modulations of day and night, sunlight and shade, wind and weather. It is to feel the currents of air as it infuses the body, and the textures of the earth beneath one's feet (Ingold, 2011: 87–88).

Relations with the environment

Ingold suggests that the properties of a material should not be considered as static essences, but instead as relational and continuously changing. The properties of a material must be described through what happens with and in the material when encountering something other than itself. Ingold's understanding of materials as constantly moving and changing in encounters (with other bodies) is clearly in line with the continuous process of becoming, which is central to Gilles Deleuze's and Felix Guattari's thinking (for example in Deleuze & Guattari, 2004). The properties of materials, Ingold writes, 'cannot be identified as fixed and essential attributes of things, but are rather processual and relational' (Ingold, 2011: 30). The properties of materials or of an environment are experienced as we practically engage with them. As we live with them. This is why a material's properties are neither simply objective or subjective. Instead they are unfolding in relation with those who live with them. To learn more about the properties of materials, Ingold inspires us to look closer and to '[...] tell the stories of what happens to them as they flow, mix and mutate' (Ingold, 2011: 30). As when Sanaa, in a few words, tell us their version of what happens in the acrylic curtains installation in the Barcelona Pavilion, which softly creates a new atmosphere.

Becoming local

During this author's visit to the Glass Pavilion on a day in October, Toledo was quiet, autumn cold and windy and seemed to be an almost deserted city. From the hotel to the Glass Pavilion the taxi drove by a large number of closed down shops, workshops, and warehouses – but only a few people were seen in the streets. The museum park with all the trees, squirrels, green grass, and the Glass Pavilion itself was not enough to make the impression of the city's emptiness and the feeling of sadness go away. On the contrary, it was as if the atmosphere, the feeling, and the cold glass surfaces mixed with and intensified the experience. This material experience corresponds well with what Ingold suggests, namely that in perception we live *with* the movements and modulations that influence us. Through the experiences and the analysis of the Glass Pavilion, this paper has shown how glass can be used as a visual, bodily and affective material. It leads to the concluding proposition of the paper that Sanaa's architecture and use of materials primarily work through intensities, which modulate views, temperatures, distances, and movement.

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From Avant-garde to Regionalism: The Strange Case of Rationalist Architecture in the Canary Islands

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Rationalism / Regionalism / Rural architecture / Modern style / Design on the periphery

The presence of rationalist architecture in the Canary Islands is undoubtedly unique, as everything often is on our archipelago – which remains the southernmost territory in Europe, as well as the Spanish region most afield from the seat of our government. Such factors did not prevent rationalist architecture from thriving in the 1930s with a surprisingly vast number of works of a generally high quality. However, this golden age of modern architecture in the Canary Islands did not last long. Rooted in a period of great political instability, the dream of modern architecture on the Islands ended with the disbanding of the Second Republic, which was to give way to a period of regionalist architecture tailored to the Franco Regime, specifically by some of those architects who had pioneered the brilliance of rationalist architecture.

This paper aims to shed some light on its protagonists, its works, the influence of politics on architecture, and in particular on the debate surrounding modern design and the implications following its destruction, which have influenced the promotion of tourism in the Canary Islands, in addition to the creation of a unique, rural architecture.

The Canary Islands lie 1,700 km from Madrid, separated from Cádiz – the closest Spanish port, by almost 1,300 km of Atlantic Ocean. In 1930, the Atlante, the fastest and most modern steamboat of its era, would take almost two days to cover the distance from Cádiz to Santa Cruz de Tenerife, much less than most of the brigantines that operated on this route. News, just like information, would take much longer to reach the Islands. It was not possible to undertake studies in architecture, and prior to the appearance of the magazine *Gaceta de Arte* in February 1932, it was difficult to access any information on the avant-garde architecture that was flourishing in Europe and elsewhere in the world. This did not stop, however, a rich and innovative rationalist architecture from flourishing in the Canary Islands in the 1920s and 1930s, a treasure that has not been given sufficient credit, and as a result, has survived quietly until the present day.

This paper deals with the architects who played a leading role in this history, starting with Miguel Martín Fernández de la Torre, brother of the famous painter Néstor Martín, whose role in the birth of the Modern Movement in the Canary Islands we intend to explore. It will also deal with José Enrique Marrero Regalado, José Blasco Robles, Domingo Pisaca, Tomás Machado and Richard Ernst Von Oppel, a shortlist of exceedingly active architects who were able to take a chance on modernity with a view to push back on obsolete urban policies, succesors to the eclectecism of the 19th century, such as those of Antonio Pintor, who headed the technical office of the Council and brought them forward in Santa Cruz de Tenerife.

Society and politics played an important role in the construction of the Canary Islands' modern cities. As in the rest of the world, the artwork could draw inspiration from the revolution of the avant-garde, in addition to the echoes of the accomplishments of Soviet architecture, but also from issues relating to the local bourgeoisie's change in taste. In the Canary Islands, the bourgeoisie was also abandoning Art Nouveau, which was typical of the more traditional sectors of society, in favour of modern airs and graces that were coming from the great metropolises. And consequently, in the main cities we find rationalist concepts, as much in the luxury residential homes as we do in blocks of social housing, subject to the positioning of the architects and the demand of the clients. On the one hand, Miguel Martín and Marrero Regalado, who were at close quarters with the spheres of power before and after the Second Republic, left a legacy of institutional buildings and strictly rationalist semi-detached housing, state-of-the-art in terms of its style, such as the House of Adolfo Carrillo, constructed in the Rambla of Santa Cruz de Tenerife in 1928, or the Insular Council of Gran Canaria in 1929. Whereas others, such as Blasco Robles or Pisaca, aligned themselves with the artistic and intellectual avant-gardism of the Canary Islands and were forced to develop distinctly modern social housing. Robles headed the technical office of the Council of Santa Cruz and joined the *Gaceta de Arte* magazine upon being put in charge of the architecture section of the Círculo de Bellas Artes ("Circle of Fine Arts") in Santa Cruz de Tenerife.

It was precisely *Gaceta de Arte* that was responsible for spreading the achievements of the artistic avant-gardes and modern architecture among the society of the Canary Islands, which served to reinforce the German influence that can be seen in some of the buildings that possess a more rationalist-European style. The magazine's director, Eduardo Westerdahl, used the publications to popularise the works of Gropius, Le Corbusier, Van der Rohe, Sartorius and more broadly, the fathers of modern architecture, throughout the Canary Islands. Thanks to the University of Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, the 38 issues that were published between 1932 and 1936 can be accessed online (Westerdahl, 1932). His clear preference for the works of Central Europeans (which was linked to the friendship between Miguel Martín and German architect Richard Ernst von Oppel, with whom he collaborated in various projects), as well as Martín's journey through Germany and Austria, influenced the development of a rationalist style with clear German influences. This constituted the first of two trends that emerged in the rationalist architecture of the Canary Islands in that period, which was followed by the work of other architects, such as Blasco or Pisaca, who were more inspired by projects

that were being developed on the other side of the Atlantic, namely in Cuba and Miami. The Art Deco district in Miami, for example, bears an interesting resemblance to the works of social housing that were built in the Las Mimosas district in Santa Cruz de Tenerife, or those in the Ciudad Jardín neighbourhood in Las Palmas de Gran Canaria.

On architecture, tourism and lies

The extraordinary rationalist period of the Canary Islands was very short-lived. It began in the mid-1920s, but ended abruptly with the fall of the Republic. The end of the Spanish Civil War also marked the collapse of this period, which was so intense that within barely a decade, it had successfully left a striking legacy. The war shut down *Gaceta de Arte* (which included the despicable killing of one of its more prominent members, the poet Domingo López Torres, executed in 1937), and cast most of its members aside, such as in the case of Westerdahl who continued to live in the Canary Islands, or Blasco Robles who left the Islands in 1945 to take up a position in the National Institute of Industry (INI) in Madrid.

Futhermore, the circumstances of the new post-war phase brought on a series of changes in Marrero Regalado and Miguel Martín, who aligned themselves with the new regime rather than assume a position that would grant them enough power and priviledge to carry out their more ambitious projects. The case of the architects, most notably that of Marrero, shows how politics and the Modern Movement were also tightly linked in the Canary Islands.

In 1939, Marrero Regalado was named Provincial Attorney of Housing (the most relevant position for an architect at the regional level), as well as Deputy Sheriff and President of the Association of Insular Councils in the Province of Santa Cruz de Tenerife, both of which bore huge political weight. Under the power that these appointments conferred upon him, he published some regulations for the construction of housing, aimed at city councils, quantity surveyors and landowners. It consisted of a series of diagrams with regulations concerning the decorations that one had to use; this marked the direction to take for architecture in the years to come. Rationalism was disappearing and was replaced by a unique, albeit overdue eclecticism, a spectacular brand of architecture that offered the new regime an image for the Canary Islands that generated tourist interest: one which presented the Canary Islands as an integral part of regionalist Spain and was supported by "the typical", which contributed in creating an external image that extended long beyond the years of prosperity for the tourist industry. Thanks to architecture, Franco's regime was able to construct a distorted and fanciful regional identity.

In this regard, it is fundamental to understand the role of brothers Néstor and Miguel Martín Fernández de la Torre. In Gran Canaria, the other great cosmpolitan island of the Canary Islands, Miguel embarked on the path of submission to the regime, (just as Marrero had in Tenerife), and took charge of continuing Néstor's legacy, who had passed away in 1938. Thus, he was able to fulfill his brother's duty entrusted to him before the war, which was to design a tourist promotion strategy for the Islands also based on regional character.

According to Navarro (Navarro Segura; Medina Estupiñán, 2011: 27), in 1934, the Provincial Board for Tourism to which Néstor belonged (and in which he served as an active member) agreed to undertake substantive work in Las Palmas and Santa Cruz de Tenerife in what they termed a *campaign for the revaluation of regional charm*. The campaign was launched in the recently-created head office of the Tenerife Casino on the 25th of March 1935, and under this strategy a series of projects were launched in Las Palmas, aimed at promoting tourism as a main source of generating wealth. Between 1934 and 1937 the Syndicate of Tourist Initiatives came into operation, in addition to the Pavilion tourist office in Santa Catalina Park, Parador Cruz de Tejeda and the museum *Pueblo Canario*. Additionally, in 1943 the restoration and expansion of Hotel Santa Catalina was finalised, which created a luxury tourist complex in association with the strategy devised in the years of the Republic. Everything culminated in 1949 with the inauguration of *Museo Néstor*, located precisely within *Pueblo Canario*.

In terms of the construction of infrastructure, it must be added that in those years a string of popular festivals were created that the people of the Canary Islands today consider traditional, which have also been declared of tourist interest. Ever since the 1950s, the regime promoted a string of popular festivals across the Canary Islands, such as the Corpus of La Orotava, the May Festivals of Los Realejos, and the carnivals of Santa Cruz de Tenerife (which under censorship were only allowed to be called *Winter festivals*). In the city of Las Palmas in Gran Canaria a series of festivals also came into being, all aimed at celebrating regional charm, which functioned as a testing ground for the tourist strategy that Néstor had designed.

According to Navarro (*op. cit.*), the tourist model that was to be created and institutionally implemented by Martín after the death of his brother was based on five aspects, which were subsequently promoted across a series of public events: the first and most important was *the defence of the typical*, which imitated the tourist model of Madeira. Secondly, it planned to recuperate some aesthetic aspects that had been overlooked, such as the use of white in architecture, the colour that Néstor considered *historical* in Gran Canaria as opposed to the colours that were being used, which he considered *foreign*. He also proposed planting exotic flowers. As for the more social aspects, the plan advocated friendliness towards visitors and suggested the mandatory use of typical dress in the services sector (docks, markets, retail and hospitality), along with the realisation of educational campaigns for children, which were based on similar experiments that were being developed in Germany and Italy. The fourth point proposed the restoration of popular art by way of handicrafts that were on the brink of extinction. Finally, Néstor spoke of *my collaboration*, consisting of a series featuring the highlights of his personal endeavours, such as the design of Gran Canaria's typical dress.

Fig. 1 Rationalist housing on the island of La Palma, built in the 1950s adjacent to housing from the 18th century.

However, Néstor's proposals for regional character were far from being realistic. Navarro and other authors (Santa Ana, et. al, 2004: 59) agree that in reality they were a mishmash composed of turn-of-the-century European regionalist architects, the Californian style that caught on in Spain due to the Iberian-American Expo in Seville, and the Hollywood scenery that represented the South of the American border. His own *Pueblo Canario*, built in the centre of Las Palmas in Gran Canaria next to the luxury hotel Santa Catalina, was inspired by the open-air architectural museum *Poble Espanyol* from the Barcelona World Exhibition in 1929 with the intention to offer visitors a friendly albeit artificial image of the Canary Islands.

Fig. 2 Various detached houses in San Antonio de Breña Baja (La Palma) (photo Alfonso Ruiz).

This, however, did not stop the proliferation of a truly unique phenomenon: the appearance of a rationalist-style rural architecture, which we might today consider traditional in the Canary Islands. The reasons behind this phenomenon are unclear, but we know that on the Islands, rationalist architecture flourished in the countryside at the same time as it gained importance in the cities. Already by the 1930s, the staunch conservative Antonio Pintor considered the fact that rural housing was being built with a modern style as a symptom of the "seriousness" of the extensiveness of this modern Canary Islands phenomenon. In the rural areas of the Canary Islands it is commonplace to see families coming together on the weekend to build a neighbour's or a family member's house as a community. It is likely that this popular culture of self-construction rapidly adopted the building formulae of modern architecture, which was much simpler and cheaper than the traditional one. They were made from cement and bricks, as opposed to the traditional houses that were made of stone and tiles, and it was thanks to this simplicity that this culture was passed down to future generations. In any case, from the 1930s and well into the 1970s, rural housing in the Canary Islands was rationalist. Given that the true demographic expansion in the smaller islands and outside the capitals of the main islands took place after the 1950s, it is not unusual to find entire towns with this style.

However, this rural expansion of modern architecture rapidly saw itself tainted by the housing construction regulations imposed by Marrero Regalado in the earlier years of Franco's regime. In order to meet these regulations, wooden balconies (called "Canary Islands balconies"), rows of roof tiles, ornamented doors and certain other elements were fitted onto the rationalist geometric structures, which had a lethal effect on this style's uniformity.

It is worth taking a moment at this point to introduce a series of myths that form part of the regional character of the Canary Islands, which had important consequences in the years that followed. In terms of the architecture, they include: the typical balconies of the Canary Islands, the use of roof tiles and false colours, such as the colour white that César Manrique created for Lanzarote, or that which Néstor attempted to introduce in Las Palmas as a *historical* colour. They have created an artificial landscape, but it has been embraced as much by the local population as by the tourists, inspiring postcards, souvenirs and multiple buildings across the Islands. Much of what is currently considered typical dress is almost contemporary, such as Néstor's design for Gran Canaria. Many traditional festivals do exist, but the majority of them came into being quite recently: the most pop-

ular ones with the greatest tourist outreach, such as the *Romerías*, the Carnivals or the Corpus of La Orotava, were designed in the latter half of the 20th century to be celebrated almost exactly as we know them today, even popular festivals of Post-modern origin, such as *Las Burras* in Güímar, devised in 1992, which is today advertised as a renowned example of Spanish traditions and festivals.[1]

These myths have even had environmental consequences. As a result of the introduction of decorative plant species in the 1940s, the Islands' ecosystems today are currently severely threatened by some invasive species, which have proliferated uncontrollably. The most serious and notable case is that of the *Pennisetum setaceum*, also known as the *cat's tail*, a species which currently inundate the islands and wreak havoc, in Tenerife and La Palma in particular, whose erradication is practically impossible. Continuing with the theme of botany-related myths, the tourist brand of the Canary Islands used a flower named *Strelitzia reginae* as a symbol in the 1990s, which was sold as a souvenir and can now be found in many gardens on the Islands. The flower is not indigenous. In fact, it originated from South Africa.

Mariano de Santa Ana (Santa Ana, et al., 2004: 55) shows us that the tourist model of the Canary Islands, like all tourist models, is a hybrid of modernity and tradition, simultaneously progressive and reactionary, a product of as much the years of democracy as of those of dictatorship. Architecture, namely rural architecture, has consequently become a characteristic element of the architectural landscape of the Canary Islands, making it even more unique, if that is at all possible. This presents a paradox, that one of the elements which most contributed to creating a unique tourist image for the Islands (its unique and pioneering rationalist architecture) has been destroyed by the very elements that were designed to contribute to the creation of that same tourist image.

Néstor's projects for *Pueblo Canario*, as well as Marrero's for the Nuestra Señora de África Market, demonstrate that architecture, tourism and ideology go hand-in-hand. Both projects were infrastructures created for tourism in which the population and architecture were conceived in a theatrical manner. Architecturally speaking, both projects are based on the idea of the open-air architectural museum named *Poble Espanyol* from the Barcelona World Exhibition of 1929, which brought much success and was broadly imitiated in other shows and exhibitions (such as the Belgian Pavilion in the New York World Fair of 1939, for example). There also exists a similarity between these projects and the involvement of César Manrique in the urban planning of Fuerteventura, though in Manrique's case, the tourist approach was not based on regional character. We can even find a Post-modern version of the phenomenon: during the 1990s, with the shift that turned the tourist industry in the direction of lavish hotel packages, some architects chose to pay tribute to Néstor and Miguel Martín's *Pueblo Canario*, as well as to the local tradition of rationalist architecture. They did so by deconstructing the style and decontextualising it, but by keeping some acknowledgements which are still clearly evident, like the requirement for employees to wear typical dress. This, fifty years later, formed a link between tourist and architectural strategy in the Canary Islands and the Modern Movement through Néstor Martín's legacy.

The works of the architects most attuned to the system (primarily those of Miguel Martín and Marrero Regalado) boast a number of studies and an important bibliography, mostly thanks to the dedication of professor María Isabel Navarro at the University of La Laguna, who has also contributed to creating a historical account of 20th century architecture in the Canary Islands (Navarro Segura; Ruiz Rodríguez et al., 1992), (Navarro Segura; Medina Estupiñán, 2011), and also thanks to others, like José Antonio Sosa (Sosa Díaz Saavedra, 2002). However, it is necessary to continue researching, above all to clarify issues like the role of more social architects, notably José Blasco Robles, and to determine the origin of the American-influenced style that lived alongside quintessentially European architecture. It is also necessary to clarify the causes of rationalism's expansion in the rural areas of the Canary Islands, including the contamination caused by regionalist influence and the debate over whether a traditional Canary Islands architecture truly exists.

The final request of this work is not only to bring these issues to light, but moreover to show their current state and to propose a series of lines of action that may be of use for future researchers. To conclude, I will put forward a series of themes which I believe can be addressed from the perspective of the studies and history of design. Given the interdisciplinary nature of them all, it would be desirable for designers, as well as historians, sociologists and anthropologists specialised in tourism, to unite forces in order to focus on the multiple facets of this problem together.

It is necessary to work on the validation of rationalist architecture that exists in the Canary Islands in order to make adequate and responsible use of this heritage in regards to society and tourism. The declaration of many of these buildings as Goods of Cultural Interest allows for their guaranteed conservation, and therefore it is necessary to make them known as such. In 2016, the Council of Las Palmas in Gran Canaria edited a brochure which enabled a self-guided route through the districts of Vegueta and Triana, which have the greatest concentration of buildings from the golden age of style in the Canary Islands. The project, however, has not prospered. I am aware that Santa Cruz de Tenerife has a similar idea underway.

Another pending matter is to draft a heritage map, predominately a rural one, the contents of which remain undiscovered to a large extent. Studies on the heritage of the cities exist, but there is barely anything published on the influence of rationalism in the rural areas of the Canary Islands. These studies

[1] See http://www.tradicionesyfiestas.com/fiesta/las-burras-de-guimar/ (last accessed 11/06/2018).

should be extended to the rural housing of the 19th century, which could very well form part of the tradition of the Proto-functionalisms, and could also extend to their influence in the consolidation of rationalist architecture outside the cities. Another pending task is to establish the relationship between the architects of the 1930s with Miami and Cuba, two cities with significant emigration from the Canary Islands whose Art Deco buildings bear a striking similarity to the rationalists ones of the period from 1925 to 1939 in the Canary Islands.

It would also be advisable to establish a catalogue outlining false regional features, like typical dress, the *faldón* roof-tiling or the Canary Islands balcony, in order to establish once and for all their origin and their effects. Finally, restoring the character of those architects who during Franco's regime stayed silent or were simply obscured by those who held power, remains a pending task for historians of design and architecture. Research on the work of architects like Domingo Pisaca or José Blasco Robles will help restore a historical memory which in Spain would be claimed in earnest.

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Glocal Design in Spain. Challenge and Opportunity

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Glocal design / Globalization / Tradition / Handmade / Crafts

Since the 1990s, with globalization, different cultures, tastes, and traditions seem to dissolve into the same thing. Soon the benefits and efficiency of the globalizing system were questioned, a new concept appearing, *glocalization*, which exalts local capacities to compete globally and presents itself as a new way to run the economy, market, production, and design.

This paper presents a reflection on the concept of Glocal Design, exploring its antecedents and putting it in relation with other movements or concepts of the history of design. Several manifestations of Glocal Design in Spain will be analysed, through different examples and facts, which put the accent on issues such as cultural exploration to recover or renew dormant traditions, the awakening of local ecological awareness through an object, delving into our roots looking for an emotional approach, or the use of traditional materials and ways of making crafts.

The emblematic objects shown underline the capacity of the local to overcome barriers and embrace a global market without losing its territorial identity and uniqueness.

The Momentum of Globalization

The 1990s were presented as a time of change that continues up to the present, in which globalization became a key word in any sector: political, economic, social or even artistic. Limits lost strength to let flow the phenomena that had arisen in a place to transcend the rest of the world. "The world as a whole" (Robertson, 1992) seems to be the metaphorical proclamation of this moment.

In the field of design, international spaces and objects are created reducing those ethnological or national properties with the aim of reaching an international audience. Nevertheless, this globalizing phenomenon is not something new in design. The process of unification and standardization of product design can be found in the foundation of the Modern Movement, sometimes called "International Style". That was, precisely, the name of an exhibition held at MoMA in 1932 (Hitchcock, 1984), where a selection of architectural works sharing the most pure formal characteristics were exposed. The school of the Bauhaus, in Germany (1919–1933), represented a key moment both in the creation of the profession of the industrial designer, as well as in the universal language that tried to impregnate the products, with the aim of investigating their functional essence and freeing them from any accessory gesture.

Nowadays, the transnational phenomenon has revitalized globalization. The innumerable electronic networks around us make it possible to produce, develop, manufacture, sell and consume thousands of kilometres away, without apparent interpersonal connection. Massive and immediate production is consolidated as a key condition in the new industry. Everything seems to be homogenized.

Glocalization as Alternative

In this expanding globalizing panorama, there is a longing for distinction among many consumers, who begin to reject massive standardization in some products, and manifest it by personalizing certain serial products, or by looking for unique objects.

On the other hand, with the predominance of the Western lifestyle in the process of globalization, there are great social differences between countries that barely satisfy their basic needs and the countries leading this phenomenon. Evidently, the continuous flow of products, goods, knowledge, and powers in those countries are held by economic reasons. Multinational companies are benefited against national or local ones.

Therefore, at the end of the twentieth century, an anti-globalization movement began to question the way to carry out this process, its effectiveness, and its benefits. The process of confluence of the global with the local received the name of "glocalization". It can be summarized with the well-known maxim "think globally, act locally", by the sociologist Patrick Gueddes. Glocalization is presented as an alternative to globalization, replying to the user's identity desire. It does not pretend to replace globalization, but to coexist with the local identity.

One of the main causes in which Glocal Design has been based is cultural globalization, understood from a negative view, in which there is an annulment or dissolution of local cultures, and from a positive vision in which cultures are transformed and adapted to new times. There is a phenomenon of adaptation of local cultures to the global culture (Rodríguez, 2007: 77).

"Glocal" can be defined as 'the territory of interactions, conflicts and relations between the local or particular and the global or general' (Guayabero, 2006: 105). The term was presented for the first time at the Global Change Exhibition in Bonn, in 1990, exposing its meanings and opening them to debate. The glocal vision proposes to face the shortcomings of globalization through the exaltation of local capacities to compete globally: "Global design with local inspiration". Despite the apparent novelty of the concept, certain moments in the history of design cannot be forgotten, in which related reflections emerged. For example, the Arts and Crafts movement, led by William Morris, emerged in Britain at the end of the twentieth century to respond to the massive production that the Industrial Revolution was imposing, claiming a quality of work and a unique product that ennobled the artisan and the user. In addition, if we could find antecedents of Globalization in the first Modern Movement and the Bauhaus's standardization aspirations, we must remember that the last phases of the Modern Movement would begin to claim identity in design. Post modernity, on the other hand, would give greater prominence to the communicative and affective value of design to the detriment of functionality and seriation. We see, then, how the debate between the Global and the Glocal resembles the old dilemma between Modernity and Post-modernity, the first understood as a universalizing project and the second as a "counter project" (Gual, 2010: 382).

More and more authors are claiming this Glocal Design trend. Among the "concepts and design for a change of the century", Óscar Guayabero includes "Glocal". He affirms that before the standardization of the global market, a search for an objective biodiversity is imposed. If our objects are part of our culture, any tendency to homogenize the object universe around us means losing our cultural richness (Guayabero, 2006: 27). Moreover, he is not the only one to underline the importance of maintaining the "cultural biodiversity". In *La estrategia del Colibrí: la globalización y su antídoto*, the Italian sociologist Francesco Morace emphasizes this plurality as a richness that belongs to everyone and resorts to the Latin expression "genius loci" to value the talent of a place (Morace, 2009).

Strategies and Manifestations of Glocal Design in Spain

Local nuances can be expressed in products assuming benefit. Los Hermanos Campana in Brazil, Emiliano Godoy in Mexico, Hella Jongerius in Germany, Marcel Wanders in Holland, Toord Boontje in England and Boca do Lobo in Portugal… are well-known designers for their work on this concept on the international scene.

Spanish designers work also with this concept. Several manifestations of Glocal Design in Spain will be analysed next, through different examples and facts.

Cultural exploration

The Glocal Design object is recovered as an expression of our culture, acquiring emotional and narrative values. We can find some designers and companies that review our traditions and reinvent them in a creative and personal way.

La Siesta jug, created by Héctor Serrano, Alberto Martínez and Raky Martínez, in 1999, is probably the product that best summarizes Glocal Design in Spain and encompasses several of the aforementioned manifestations or traits, although it underlines the exploration in our culture and the passion for the outdoor life (Fig. 1). The new product comes from formally merging two objects of the same use: the traditional Mediterranean *botijo* (that keeps the water fresh by the capillarity and thermal inertia of the material) and the current plastic water bottle. It is made in white terracotta and produced by the Valencian Company La Mediterránea by artisanal methods. The ingenious reinterpretation of the *botijo* takes the best of the water bottle, its proportion (for better handling and fitting in refrigerators) and its fluted profile (to facilitate the grip).

Another important Spanish designer, Martín Ruíz de Azúa, who proposes with his *Rebotijo* a fusion of the traditional Spanish botijo and the tetra brick container, originally from the Nordic multinational Tetra Pack, also uses this simple way of cooling

Fig. 1 Héctor Serrano, Alberto Martínez and Raky Martínez: *Botijo La Siesta*, 1999 (™ Martínez–Serrano–Martínez).

water. Marketed by Aguadé, *Rebotijo* is made of baked clay, and due to its dimensions, it is easily handled.

These objects, beyond being born of ingenious hybridisations of products and their symbolic allusion, defend a long life of the product as an alternative to the unstoppable consumption of plastic containers and, therefore, help to promote ecological awareness in users.

Ecological awareness

Several Glocal Design objects are designed for users aware of the ecological values of the planet. In this sense, we can highlight several designs of Azúamoliné (2003–2006), where two of the greatest Spanish industrial designers have collaborated: Gerard Moliné and Martín Ruiz de Azúa. Their work in Glocal Design has opened the way for other designers. A good example is the *PVC bag dispenser*: a ceramic container that allows storing plastic bags and invites us to reuse them.

Glocal Design considers both in materials and production the ecological expenditure of an object. The expense involved in transporting consumer goods from Asia to the West, or the other way around, is of such a magnitude that, however cheap the product, its environmental price results as high. Some brands, such as Banana Republic, are already incorporating ecological tracking systems for

their products, to raise awareness in society. Through a code and its website, users can check where each of the pieces has been purchased and its environmental impact.

In response to decentralisation of production, exploitative, cheap and speculative, Guillem Ferrán has created a series of objects titled "*Not Made in China*", to draw attention to issues around recycling, local resources and production, and the world financial and ecological crisis. The project pays attention also to social reintegration, because he collaborates with the project "I am useful", led by the Jeroni de Moragas Foundation, which aims to employ people with disabilities.

Social cooperation

It is usual to find certain social purposes among the products of local design. Like the previous initiative, *Bossa Catalana*, created in 2004 by Azuamoliné, born of the Neorural exhibition (2004), is marketed in collaboration with CIRE (Centre d'Iniciatives per a la Reinserció) for its production, which aims to integrate prisoners in the workplace. It is a cross bag, like a backpack, which recovers the use of the traditional Catalan handkerchief for 'bales'.

Specific local gestures

Thus, *Bossa Catalana* responds to the cultural exploration that was initially exposed, underlining a specific cultural gesture through the updating of its use and design. Another product that uses a similar strategy is the *Cesta Motxilax*, designed by Martín Azúa and handmade by the artisan Beatriz Unzueta, which recovers the use of the chestnut basket in the rural areas of the Basque Country due to its strength, lightness, and durability, to give it a contemporary urban use.

In addition, the container to drink soup, *Salda*, refers to the Basque culture; it was created by Zoocreative studio in Bilbao. It shows the habit of drinking soup, a typical activity in some cold villages in Euskadi. The peculiarity of this ceramic stackable container lies in the ease of holding it with both hands, a gesture that avoids the handle and makes it possible to warm the users' hands simultaneously.

The balcony table *Manuela* designed by the Madrid studio NIMIO, initially for small urban balconies, portrays well the Spanish habit of having a beer or a "tapa" on the balcony. Inspired by the Madrilenian area of Malasaña (from which its name was born: Manuela Malasaña), it is an L-shaped steel structure that easily rests on the balcony railing and a support surface with two hydraulic tiles treated for exterior use.

Emotional roots and connections

All these objects denote that Glocal Design claims objects with roots that link people to a place, a tradition and, even, a time. As Eleonora Fiorani says, "Objects are also made to be anchoring points of memory and roots, and this is even more important in nomadic deterritorialization, when forms of belonging are missing" (FIORANI, 2001).

Seeking to delve into these roots, emerges the eloquent name *Where memory used to sit* for a project designed by Guillem Ferrán for the Valencian company Casa Constante. It is a set of elements, created in pine wood and bulrush, which revive the traditional chair, an icon in popular culture fallen into disuse, through the design of new types that are born as mutations of the traditional chair, creating a collection made up of a range of stools, a chair/coat rack, a lamp chair and a footrest. The way in which it is advertised on the internet, showing the whole process of creation, highlights the craft values of this project that, as Jaume Gual emphasizes, has nuances close to the poem-object of Joan Brossa (GUAL, 2010: 427).

Glocal Design objects provide a creative value giving the object a unique character. All this causes an emotional bond generated between the individual and the object, which is not so evident in mass-produced objects. In this way, "livingthings", a publishing house of products for the home and its environment, from Girona and Andorra, aspires to arouse emotions through objects that are created with care and respect. A good example is *Voltasol*, 2014, by BAG Disseny Studio, a flowerpot specially designed to move with the sun, which explains its peculiar inclination, to facilitate the orientation of the plants and help them to grow better (Fig. 2); it was awarded with the Red Dot Design Prize 2015 for the best product. It has a semi-conical base, avoiding the static nature of conventional pots, thereby creating a slight movement that can be generated spontaneously. It is handmade with terracotta from la Bisbal d'Empordà, Girona, in different base colours and sizes, aiming to be, according to its creators, "one of those unique and endearing creatures that are just part of the emotional landscape of the family" (MORA, 2015).

Fig. 2 BAG Disseny Studio, *Voltasol*, 2014 (™ Livingthings).

These objects cause a slow look and an enjoyment of everyday things. The accelerated pace of life, caused in part by the growth of cities to the detriment of rural populations since the 1970s, makes some sectors of society claim a calmer rhythm, in relation to more traditional lifestyles. Social movements such as Slow Down, which advocates the return to a more relaxed life based on traditional values and products adapted to modern times, which have been widely recognized in the media, have also led to the development of Glocal Design (Rodríguez, 2007). This design strategy tends to a recovery of crafts to find a more leisurely lifestyle, as well as the revaluation of popular wisdom. In this context, the unique product is appreciated, over the products manufactured in large series.

Recovery of crafts

Wicker, bulrush and esparto are materials that recall the Mediterranean warmth and symbolize a rustic character, which seems to be in "extinction" in the global age of large masses. However, Glocal Design recovers them, showing a varied collage of prints, materials, finishes and traditional references, in which popular handicrafts are interpreted; such as the use of braided raffia, in the numerous products designed by the studio Doble Coco, based in Barcelona, or the use of crochet, as in the well-known collection *High Tech Crochet Rugs* designed by Patricia Urquiola in collaboration with the Italian Eliano Gerotto.

Thus, the most common trend within Glocal Design seeks a revaluation of what is handmade, of what can transmit the culture of a place, often done by using vernacular materials.

Huguet tiles are a good example. Since its foundation in Campos, Mallorca, in 1933, the Huguet family has continuously manufactured their tiles in the traditional way, using three hand-made layers. In the 1960s and 1970s with the boom in construction, the use of traditional tiles fell into disuse in Spain, beginning to be appreciated, instead, by Germans who settled in Mallorca. Since the 1990s, the handcrafted hydraulic tiles have begun to recover their prominence as a decorative element and the initial modernist motifs have been joined by contemporary geometric creations of renowned designers such as Sybilla or great architects such as Herzog & de Meuron, Carme Pinós, Martínez Lapeña and Elías Torres, or Lluis Clotet. *Catalina*, the mosaic designed by the latter, part of a turquoise blue background inspired by the coves of Mallorca, plays with circumferences alternating with crosses and smooth tiles, to provide a design of great simplicity that seems to belong to the origins of this decorative art (Fig. 3).

Fig. 3 Lluís Clotet, *Hidraulic Tiles Catalina* (™ Huguet).

Another good example can be found in Expormim, a company born more than 50 years ago in Mogente, Valencia. In its origins, it was dedicated to the manufacture of wicker baskets, but in the last four decades, it has managed to become a solid company specializing in outdoor furniture. The increase in the price of natural fibres that occurred in the 1980s, led the company to stop working with wicker and rattan, and start doing it with synthetic materials. However, in 2012, the company wanted to return to its origins using the rattan in its collections, and review and update some of its most emblematic pieces. They have collaborated with renowned designers and architects such as Óscar Tusquets, Mut Design, Benedetta Tagliabue, and Jaime Hayón, to make it possible. The results are pieces in which wicker and rattan move away from their traditional use to create visually light and contemporary structures. Likewise, the great Spanish industrial designer Miguel Milá, and his son Gonzalo, have contributed with their pieces for this company: *Gata chair* and *Gres stool* (Fig. 4). The name of the first one is a tribute to the artisans from Gata de Gorgos, Alicante, from whom Milá learned to work the cane many years ago (as shown by *Blanes*, *Gres* and *Salvador* chairs, from 1974). *Gata* is a rattan chair, simple and functional, made to last. *Gres stool*, meanwhile, is the reissue of a piece from 1962, built formally from the set of tangencies between the four organic frames that form the structure and these with the seat. It is a timeless piece that responds to the glocal objective of the company, creating products with a strong Mediterranean spirit and a great tradition.

Fig. 4 Miguel and Gonzalo Milá, *Gata chair* and *Gres stool* (™ Expormim).

The artisanal industry of espadrilles has also resorted to renowned designers, throughout its history, to update their designs. The origin of the espadrille in Spain dates from the fourteenth century. Made of braided rope and canvas, they were the main footwear of the sea and the Spanish countryside. The use of espadrilles spread through different regions, becoming the characteristic footwear of the typical costumes of much of Spain. In the mid-twentieth century, espadrilles stopped serving only workers and were incorporated into fashion. The manufacturers were forced to reinvent the traditional espadrille with more sophisticated designs. Currently, Spain has a large industry of espadrilles. Generally, they are small family businesses that have inherited their artisanal technique generation after generation. Some of them supply espadrilles to other national companies, like the Italian Manebí, whose espadrilles are made in La Rioja. Other brands, such as Castañer, based in Banyoles, Girona, trade their own products. They began in 1776 with craft manufacturing, and in 1927 industrialized the manufacturing process. They reinvented themselves in the 1950s, and known actors popularized their use during the 1960s. In those years, the French designer Yves Saint-Laurent revolutionized the world of the espadrille with the appearance in his fash-

ion show of the first esparto wedges. The company soon expanded internationally. *Castañer by Manolo Blahnik*, 2018, is the result of the joint work between the mythical signature of espadrilles and the genius shoemaker. They share not only their passion for footwear, but also Spanish roots and love for our customs. The elegance of the stylized shoes of the designer joins the characteristic lacing to the ankle and the use of jute of Castañer. Handmade, then, has double importance, because it means an unmistakable hallmark (Fig. 5).

Fig. 5 *Castañer by Manolo Blahnik*, 2018 (™ Castañer).

In the last few years Martín de Azúa designed several carpets, which are made by craftswomen from Murcia, using *esparto* and consequently making them 100% natural and characteristic of the Mediterranean. The *Trepitjada* rug proposes several footprints of esparto united causing an image between poetic and funny.

Between the poetic and the ludic

We see a last strategy of Glocal Design that gives the objects a certain ludic character, playing with the traditions or iconographies usually assigned to a place, provoking suggestive images. Thus, *Coporrón* (2005), designed by Azuamoliné, emerges as a fusion of two products, *copa* (standardization) and *porrón* (tradition). It was part of the exhibition *Foodjets*, curated by Azúa in Washington, 2009, where ingredients, objects and utensils characteristic of Spanish cuisine were shown.

Another Spanish company that has an international reputation for its elegant products and artisanal production techniques is Lladró, from Valencia. It has been producing porcelain pieces since the 1950s, and in recent years has relied on the prestigious Spanish brand CuldeSac, with the initiative *Recyclos*, and on Jaime Hayón, to update their collections and support their international projection. The *Fantasy collection*, designed by the latter, shows the perfect fusion between the artistic quality of the Spanish porcelain brand and the play and the fantasy the designer gives to his works. The *Equus collection*, created by Bodo Sperlein for Lladró, which comes from the exploration of the company's historical identity, also introduces a playful sense, but with an almost surreal result. Legs, heads, and helmets of the classic horses of Lladró become handles, composing a cutlery set that brings a sense of humour to the table.

Glocal Design: Opportunity and Challenge

Fortunately, there are many designers and manufacturers who strive to enhance the value of the identity and tradition of the objects that thousands of people consume every day, promoting that the consumer must know the origin of the product, its material, its creator, or its history. At this point, a new design challenge arises, where local values take on their meaning and aim to face up to a depersonalized society. Diversity and plurality have a place in the world of design. The global and the local do not have to be at odds. The artisan and the designer must see globalization as the opportunity to expand their work, the opportunity to disseminate their values: commitment to the world of work, sustainability, the environment, socialization, dignifying the product and its designer, manufacturer and producer.

The objects shown above, examples of Spanish Glocal Design, underline the capacity of the local to overcome barriers and encompass a global market, from a non-massive production, without losing its territorial identity and uniqueness.

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Cutting and Sewing East Asia in British Art Deco Fashion

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Japonisme / Chinoiserie / Art Deco fashion / British consumer culture / Oriental design

This paper examines British Japonisme and Chinoiserie fashion during the Art Deco period, especially in the 1920s, through an investigation of ready-made clothing (created by fashion designers and sold by merchants) and handmade clothing sewn by ordinary British women. In Japonisme fashion in Britain, kimono-based designs in Western-style garments became popular during the early twentieth century. British designers adopted the form of kimono called kimono sleeves in Western-style clothing, such as coats and frocks. By contrast, Chinoiserie fashion in the 1920s contained new Chinese elements (mandarin coats and the game of mah-jong) unlike in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Comparing the two Asian inspirations in fashion reveals how the practical consumption of Asian inspiration took place in the British Art Deco period: it can be argued that in addition to the shapes, colours, and materials, the accessibility to handmade sewing was a key to expanding the range of consumers.

1. Introduction

From the nineteenth century to the 1920s, designers in Britain were very keen to use Asian images, such as plants, animals, and architecture, in motifs, patterns, and embroidery. In the early twentieth century, British women's magazines, such as *The Queen* and *British* Vogue, ran articles, photographs, and illustrations of clothing influenced in particular by Japonisme and Chinoiserie tastes. Leading department stores, such as Harrods and Liberty in London, also sold such garments. Because of their readership of such magazines and frequenting such stores, it is considered that the major consumers of such clothing were the upper middle class.

This paper discusses the two main inspirations from East Asia in British Art Deco fashion: Japonisme and Chinoiserie, and examines what British fashion imported from Japan and China during the Art Deco period. The paper seeks to identify the differences between Japonisme and Chinoiserie in British consumer culture. Japonisme and Chinoiserie in fashion have been discussed from the perspectives of fashion designers, fashion houses, and department stores that dealt with goods inspired by East Asia. This paper attempts to build on such discussions. It focuses on the fact that haute couture or ready-made clothing with Asian inspirations was designed and sold by fashion designers or fashion houses; it also examines how sewing patterns of clothing with Asian influences, such as kimono dressing gowns, were sold through fashion magazines and sewing pattern magazines.

2. Japonisme fashion

Japonisme fashion in the Art Deco period can be characterized by two items. The first is 'kimono'; this includes kimono coats, frocks with kimono sleeves, and kimono wraps. The second is 'Japanese parasol'; this was used as a practical object to block sunlight or as a fashionable item, which means that it served as a status symbol, especially in resort areas, such as beaches, and at social meeting places, such as racecourses. The use of kimonos and Japanese parasols in the nineteenth century can be classified roughly into two categories. Initially, they were used as picturesque motifs for art and interior decoration, and they often appeared in works by such painters as Dante Gabriel Rossetti and James McNeill Whistler. However, in the twentieth century, Western fashion made a shift in its use of kimonos. In the nineteenth century, kimonos were sold and worn as dressing gowns, and in Art Deco fashion they continued to be popularly used informally as dressing gowns. But during the early twentieth century, kimono-based designs had become popular in Western style. This led to Japanese fashion design having become hybridized. The partial form of the kimono was adapted in the design of Western garments, such as kimono sleeves and obi belts.

British designers and fashion houses, such as Redfern and Burberry, combined kimonos with Western garment designs. For example, a Burberry coat with 'semi-kimono sleeves' was introduced in an article in *The Queen* magazine titled 'Some of the Newest Models That Give a Practical Foreshadowing' (*The Queen*, October 14, 1922: 495). Thus, this coat, which partially adopted the form of a kimono, was introduced as a kind of novel, practical apparel, and British consumers had come to think of kimonos as practical Western clothing. Moreover, kimono-inspired frocks and dressing gowns frequently used Japanese silk. The Japanese parasol, another popular Japan-inspired object, was made with Japanese silk and used by British women.

The popularity of kimonos in Art Deco fashion was demonstrated in *Harmsworth's Household Encyclopedia: A Practical Guide to All Home Crafts*, first published in 1923–24. It explained kimonos as follows:

> The kimono is a loose gown worn in Japan, whence it has been introduced into Great Britain. It has wide sleeves which are cut in one piece with the rest of the garment which opens down the front, is gathered in at the waist by a sash and is embroidered with characteristic designs. *See* Dressing Gown (*Harmsworth's Household Encyclopedia*. 2009: 2342).

This indicates that by the 1920s, the kimono had become so popular that it was a household word, and recognition of kimonos as dressing and rest gowns was firmly established.

Harmsworth's Household Encyclopedia also mentioned kimono sleeves in explaining the term 'fashion' as follows:

> Good taste nowadays rejects the ungainly crinoline, the latest revival in Victorian furnishings with waxed flowers under glass cases, … It retains

Fig. 1 *Vogue Pattern Book*, Spring, February–March, 1928, p. 33.

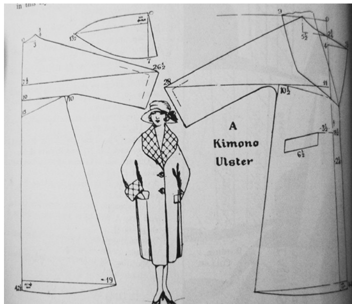

Fig. 2 *Women's Wear Patterns and Fashions*, June 29, 1922, p. 354 (©British Library Board).

> indefinitely such useful and practical fashions as the short skirt, the blouse, the sports coat, the raglan and the kimono sleeves' (*Harmsworth's Household Encyclopedia*. 2009: 1576).

From this, there is no doubt that kimono sleeves came to be regarded as practical and of equal rank with other categories of Western clothing. The merits of using kimono style had gone beyond exoticism. One reason for kimonos having become incorporated into practical fashion in Britain may be related to its simple structure and cutting, which will be discussed in section 4.

To summarize Japonisme in British Art Deco fashion, kimono-inspired clothing in the 1920s in Britain was consumed at the very practical level; it was not limited to the leisurely, conspicuous consumption of exoticism. In addition, the items were made of silk. Thus, the rising demand for Japonisme taste in British Art Deco fashion, which was motivated by class consciousness, especially in ready-made clothing, increased together with the demand for silk as a material. Furthermore, it is considered that the simplicity of the kimono helped this form of dress become a household word. These characteristics are notable when compared with those of another East Asian style, Chinoiserie.

3. Chinoiserie fashion

Japanese goods were mainly purchased for their materials and designs, such as kimono sleeves; however, Chinese goods seem to have been consumed from a different perspective. In the 1920s, clothing with printed Chinese motifs made by British fashion merchants and designers, such as the willow pattern[1] (a typical Chinoiserie pattern popular from the end of the eighteenth century in England), became used for frocks and overalls (*Drapers Record*. March 4, 1922: 577; April 8, 1922: 77). In addition, two characteristic outer garments in the Chinoiserie style appeared often in the 1920s. One representative Chinoiserie fashion was the mandarin coat or jacket. A mandarin coat has been defined as a 'straight, loose coat traditionally worn by Chinese officials. Often richly embroidered, the jacket has a small standing collar and fastens in front or across the shoulder' (Callan, 2008: 170). Thus, the coats originated from clothing that male Chinese officials and the aristocracy, called mandarins, wore during the Qing dynasty. However, in the context of British Art Deco fashion, mandarin coats, except as fancy costumes, were worn only by women. It is noteworthy that gender in using mandarin coats made a change from China to Britain.

Mandarin garments had in particular a characteristic standing collar. Garments designed with a mandarin collar by such French designers as Lanvin, Paquin, and Alice Bernard were introduced in *The Queen* and British *Vogue*. Thus, it may be said that with regard to Chinoiserie fashion, Britain was strongly influenced by French designers during the Art Deco period. Britain historically tended to import Chinoiserie fashion from France, and that tendency continued in the 1920s.

In addition, Chinoiserie in British Art Deco fashion was inspired not only from Chinese official and traditional styles, such as mandarin clothing; it was also inspired by new leisure products, such as mah-jong, which became popular among the upper and upper middle classes in Britain. The description of the upper and the middle class man and women having a 'Mah Jong party' can be found in the English novel written by Agatha Christie, *The Murder of Roger Ackroyd* (Christie, 2016: 150–176).[2] The game was publicized through fashion magazines, business magazines and department store catalogues of the time; as well as leisure activities, it also influenced the names of clothing. In British *Vogue* of 1924, an advertisement for a mah-jong coat can be found (*Vogue* [British Edition], late March, 1924: xxxvi) and Harrods also sold jumpers and tea coats called 'Mah-jong' (*Harrods News*, July 28, 1924: 5 ; May 24, 1924: 10).

It is interesting that although both items employed embroidery inspired by Chinese motifs, the other features of these garments were Western in style: they just used exotic names for fashion products.

To summarize, in Chinoiserie fashion during the British Art Deco period, the collar of the mandarin coat, based on a Chinese official's coat, was added to otherwise Western-style garments with a trasformation of gender. Some items of clothing demonstrated exoticism by using the name 'Mah-Jong'. Although the Japanese kimono was practically incorporated within British fashion design, the Chinese influence existed as additional elements. As to

[1] Based on several Chinese original designs, willow pattern was domesticated and evolved by English potters such as Thomas Minton and Josiah Spode around the late eighteenth century (Beddoe, 2008: 32–36).

[2] *The Murder of Roger Ackroyd* was first published in 1926.

what caused such a difference in consumption, it is necessary to turn from the ready-made consumer culture to the area of handmade clothing.

4. Trends in handmade clothing through sewing patterns.

In the 1920s, the electric sewing machine became more common in urban homes in Britain. Thus, pattern companies were forced to compete to attract home sewers by making their patterns easier (Emery, 2014: 99). Therefore, it is also important to study the consumption of sewing patterns when researching the fashion of the 1920s and see how Japonisme and Chinoiserie fashions were made at home by hand.

I examined sewing patterns in the following magazines. First, I investigated *Women's Wear Patterns and Fashions*, which was published by the John Williamson Company.[3] Second, *Vogue* is also integral to research into paper patterns because it was very active internationally; the British edition began publication in 1916, and it promoted Vogue Patterns. *Vogue Fashion Bi-monthly* (later *Vogue Pattern Book*), which specialized in introducing clothing with sewing patterns, started in around 1924. Third, *The Queen*, a popular women's magazine with an upper middle class readership, also sold sewing patterns.

The price of many patterns was on average 1 shilling 5 pence to 2 shillings. The prices of the magazines was as follows: *Vogue* and *Vogue Pattern Book*, 18 pence; *The Queen*, 1 shilling; and *Women's Wear Patterns and Fashions*, 3 pence. The price of a women's magazine for the lower middle class, *Home Chat*, 'the first paper to give free dressmaking patterns to its readers' (Hackney, 1999: 77), was 1 penny, and *Harmsworth's Home Dressmaker* was 3 pence; thus, it is fairly certain that *The Queen* and *Vogue* were for the upper middle class and *Women's Wear Patterns and Fashions* was for the lower middle class. In the 1920s, the demand for sewing patterns increased greatly, and many British sewers at home could obtain sewing patterns and make fashionable handmade clothing. As well as *Home Chat*, women's magazines for the lower middle class that sold at around 3 pence, such as *Women's Wear Patterns and Fashions* and *Harmsworth's Home Dressmaker*, contained free patterns.

It is evident that many patterns for clothing were adopted from kimono forms. Among the paper patterns in *The Queen*, there are no items with sleeves labelled as 'kimono sleeves'; however, with some clothing the similarity in the form is clear, and they were introduced as 'easily made' clothing. Many frocks with kimono sleeves appeared among popular patterns sold in the 1920s *Vogue*. For example, a frock with 'short kimono-cut sleeves' was sold as a pattern in *Vogue Pattern Book* (Fig. 1) (*Vogue Pattern Book*, Spring February–March, 1928: 33). *Women's Wear Patterns and Fashions* also showed many Japonisme influences, such as a 'kimono camisole', 'kimono blouse jumper', 'ladies' kimono overcoat', and 'kimono dressing jacket by Simple System' (*Women's Wear Patterns and Fashions*. February 12, 1920: 92; April 29, 1920: 240; November 24, 1921: 640; November 9, 1922: 624).

Many such patterns emphasized the simplicity of sewing. For example, there is the diagram of 'Dressing Jacket' explained as follows: 'We present this week for reproduction a very smart dressing jacket in Kimono style. This garment will appeal to most of our readers, being simple to make (*Womens' Wear Fashions, February* 21, 1924: 18)'. Besides, the diagram of 'A Kimono Ulster' (Fig. 2) has the following explanation: 'The Kimono style of garment is just now extremely popular. Blouses, jumpers, coat-frocks, jackets and ulsters are all being made in this style, and they have a very easy character about them, it is probable they will retain their popularity for some time' (*Women's Wear Patterns and Fashions*. June 29, 1922: 354). Thus, the popularity of the kimono style of clothing is clear. It would appear that in addition to being fashionable, one reason for its popularity was its simplicity of style and ease with which it could be made.

Unlike with Japonisme sewing patterns, few used Chinoiserie. However, the influence of Japonisme is evident in Chinoiserie patterns. One blouse is an example of Chinoiserie clothing and was sold as a Vogue Pattern (Fig. 3), and it came with this explanation: 'This blouse with its mandarin sleeves is of printed georgette crêpe'(*Vogue* [British edition], early June, 1922: 72). However, the sleeves have deep armholes and the form is square; so their appearance is like kimono sleeves rather than the sleeves of authentic mandarin robes.

A diagram of a 'Chinese Mandarin Costume for Boy or Girl' (Fig. 4) was described as 'a simple one to make, and consists of a long loose kimono tunic with wide sleeves [...] The neck is finished with a stand collar' (*Women's Wear Patterns and Fashions*. January 1, 1920:

[3] The John Williamson Company is famous for gentlemen's fashion and art journal, *Tailor & Cutter*, which contained pattern drafts from the end of nineteenth century (Emery, 2014: 8–14).

Fig. 3 *Vogue* (British edition), early June, 1922, p. 72 (©British Library Board).

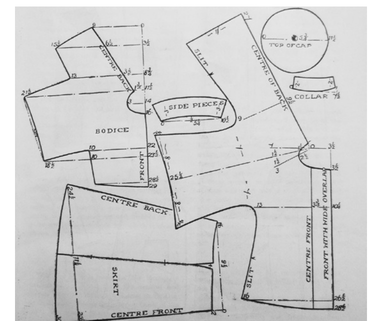

Fig. 4 *Women's Wear Patterns and Fashions*, January 1, 1920, p. 9 (©British Library Board).

8–9). The sleeve shape of a mandarin coat is similar but different to that of a kimono. We may assume that the kimono sleeve was used in this mandarin jacket to save the sewer from having to sew sleeves.

In *Vogue Pattern Book*, there is no Chinoiserie clothing patterns, but Chinoiserie embroidery patterns can be found: dragon motifs and designs that are somewhat monogram in Chinese character. There are some Japonisme styles with Chinese motifs, such as a frock with both kimono sleeves and Chinese-style embroidery. Chinese embroidery patterns on Japonisme-style frocks or handkerchiefs appeared several times in *Vogue Pattern Book*. Arguably, Chinoiserie-style garments were more difficult for consumers to make than Japonisme-style garments; that could be one reason for the former being less conspicuous in magazines of the time.

It would be wrong to believe that Chinoiserie was less popular than Japonisme. The people who made clothing from sewing patterns were not couturiers but usually ordinary women. Therefore, clothing created from sewing patterns had to be sufficiently easy for anyone to make. A mandarin coat that was representative of Chinoiserie fashion 'has a small standing collar and fastens in front or across the shoulder' (Callan, 2008: 170); it was sometimes decorated with buttons. On the other hand, the kimono sleeve represented Japonisme fashion, a sleeve cut in one piece with the body of the clothing. Making a kimono sleeve clearly did not require such an excessively high skill level or amount of effort compared with making a mandarin collar. That is to say, simple cutting and seaming of kimono-inspired forms was amateur sewer-friendly.

From the above, it is clear that home sewers were not necessarily concerned with the authenticity of Japonisme or Chinoiserie fashions. Japonisme elements were easy to incorporate in Western-style as well as in Chinese-style garments owing to their simplicity in cutting and sewing. The simplicity of Japonisme sewing patterns helped the practical consumption of Chinoiserie sewing patterns. As well as the trend in ready-made fashion culture, the demand in handmade activities at home nurtured the hybridity and cross-cultural aspect in the consumption of Japonisme in the British Art Deco period.

5. Conclusion

Japonisme fashion in 1920s Britain, such as kimono coats, was created and sold by mainly British designers and fashion merchants. Furthermore, British magazines sold sewing patterns of Western clothing that adopted the kimono form; thus, we can assume that many British women sewed the garments at home. By contrast, Chinoiserie fashion in Britain was strongly affected by French designers during the Art Deco period. This situation may be connected to the different historical backgrounds of Britain and France. In Europe, France was the first country to introduce Chinese arts and designs into new fashions; Britain employed Japanese arts and crafts in its own designs earlier than any other European country.

Japonisme fashion in British Art Deco incorporated mainly kimonos, worn generally by females. Ready-made Chinoiserie fashion was not inspired from aspects closely connected to a Chinese woman's life: it was adapted from the uniforms of Chinese male officials and the game of mah-jong. Chinoiserie fashion was partly exotic decoration with embroidered textiles, or bearing the name of a leisure pursuit. Additionally, in handmade Chinoiserie clothing, sewing patterns incorporating the simple structure of Japonisme styles were consumed more than authentic Chinese-style garments. It can be argued that the trends inspired by East Asia during the British Art Deco period resulted in Asian fusion and hybrid consumption. The simplicity of the kimono sleeve is a fundamental factor for kimono-based designs having been adopted and becoming popular in both ready-made and handmade clothing with British sewing patterns. Asian inspirations were consumed in the form of fashion media as well as sewing patterns.

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American Potters' Interventions with the Tea Bowl: Using Thing Theory to Problematize Cultural Appropriation

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Craft / Ceramics / Thing Theory / Cultural appropriation / Japan

Contemplating things according to subject–object relations and presence offers a basis for analysis of objects that embody particular values. For potters in the United States today, the tea bowl is generally understood as an idiom of strong symbolic and aesthetic significance. This analysis considers the trajectory of tea bowl discourse in the US, in which the tea bowl was regarded as a model form and an embodiment of values intrinsic to post-World War II American studio pottery. These values included the importance of recording process, privileging effect over functionality, and conceiving of clay as an artistic medium. Complicating this history are questions of cultural appropriation. The works of Warren MacKenzie, Paul Soldner, and Peter Voulkos exemplify how for American ceramists the tea bowl has conveyed a sense of thingness.

Introduction

Traceable to Kant's dualism of the 'thing-in-itself' versus 'the thing for us' and Heidegger's description of a thing as 'something that possesses something else in itself', recent inquiries into thingness have sparked interest amongst scholars from a number of disciplines (Heidegger, 1967: 5, 33). Bill Brown's seminal essay "Thing Theory" describes 'the story of objects asserting themselves as things' as 'the story of how the thing really names less an object than a particular subject–object relation'. Brown argues that things have two aspects—'the amorphousness out of which objects are materialized by the (ap)perceiving subject' and 'what is excessive in objects, as what exceeds their mere materialization as objects or their mere utilization as objects—their force as a sensuous presence or as a metaphysical presence, the magic by which objects become values, fetishes, idols and totems' (Brown, 2001: 4–5). Contemplating things according to subject-object relations and presence offers a basis for analysis of objects that embody particular values.

For potters in the United States today, the tea bowl is generally understood as an object type of strong symbolic and aesthetic significance. As Arthur Danto described:

> For a great many ceramists, the tea-bowl, as the distillation of Zen, has served as a model and measure for their own work. As a ceremonial vessel, the tea-bowl implies a metaphysics, a code of conduct, and a mode of life, as well as a reduced and austere aesthetic, and in making the tea-bowl focal, these artists have sought to make their own an entire set of attitudes and values (Danto, 1996: 24).

How did the tea bowl earn such prominence in the US? What are the tea bowl's metaphysics, and what values does it embody? How can we best interpret the processes and facets of cultural appropriation for this object type? This paper will explore how the thingness of the tea bowl offers insights into particular subject-object relations, presence, and values within the American discourse of tea bowls.

Bowls for Tea: Use and Form

The generally accepted definition of the tea bowl (in Japanese, *chawan*) is that it is a vessel roughly the size of two cupped palms pressed together, without handles, to hold hot tea. One of the earliest extant mentions of tea bowls is by eighth-century Chinese scholar-official Lu Yü, who wrote that utensils for preparing tea should only be used for tea (Benn, 2015: 18). Although a tea bowl is a rather universal vessel form, a *tea bowl* is for tea. By the late nineteenth century, Americans could sample Japanese-style powdered green tea from tea bowls at international expositions. Collectors such as Isabella Stewart Gardner, who visited Japan in 1883, chose a nineteenth-century Kenzan style tea bowl for her collection (Fig. 1). It bears a boldly brushed, abstract motif of cormorant fishing in iron pigment on a cracked and repaired form—the effect highlights the breakage and aging properties of the medium. Gardner's friend and author of the popular *Book of Tea*, Okakura Kakuzo, might have used it at tea ceremony gatherings at her home. He described *chanoyu*, or the ceremonial drinking of tea codified in sixteenth-century Japan, as 'a religion of aestheticism' (Okakura, 1906: 1).

Fig. 1 Style of Ogata Kenzan (Kyoto 1658–1716), Tea Bowl (chawan), 19th century. Ceramic with cobalt and iron pigments under clear glaze and repaired with gold-sprinkled lacquer, 6.35 x 12.8 cm. Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum.

Although many American art potters in the early twentieth century were influenced by Japanese design, their tea bowl production was limited. One of the earliest US-based cera-

mists whose works reference tea bowls was Charles Fergus Binns, known as the 'father' of American studio pottery for his role as founder of the New York State School of Clay-Working and Ceramics (now the New York State College of Ceramics at Alfred University). His interest in Chinese Song dynasty forms and glaze effects extended to making dark brown 'hare's-fur' glazed bowls that reference Jian ware tea bowls. Like many of his contemporaries in the US and Europe, Binns's pursuit was one of aesthetics and technique, not functionality according to the structure of *chanoyu*. Warren Gilbertson, who studied in Japan in 1938–1940, likely also made tea bowls within his study of raku. A fast firing process in which pots are removed from a hot kiln rather than left to slowly cool, raku dates to sixteenth-century Japan where it is associated with highly coveted red or black tea bowls of the family lineage named Raku. In the late 1940s, Gilbertson's study at Alfred University overlapped with that of ceramist Robert Turner who, according to his later colleague Daniel Rhodes, made 'at least a hundred variations on a small tea bowl, searching for the form which would be "just right". The "right" form… had the most subtle turn imaginable from base to lip. He is still producing this shape. Turner's pots are always characterized by harmony and the subordination of the parts to the whole' (Rhodes, 1957: 15). Tea bowls by Binns, Gilbertson, and Turner were thus springboards for dedicated explorations of form.

Later potters continued to see the tea bowl as a formal exercise. Kenneth Ferguson, who received his MFA from Alfred in 1958 and travelled in Japan in the 1970s, said, 'I make teabowls as an exercise. They're a lot of fun to play with, just to get some ideas out' (Kleinsmith, 1984: 26). Over the course of his career as Executive Director of the Archie Bray Foundation for the Ceramic Arts and Professor of Ceramics at the Kansas City Art Institute, Ferguson influenced an extraordinary number of students. Ceramist Andrea Gill, a student of Ferguson's in 1972–73, recounts that his tea bowl assignments were meant to train aspiring potters in judging a pot's balance, form, and weight (Gill, 2018). In workshops throughout the country such as one at a California community college in 1984, he would begin the event by demonstrating how to make tea bowls on the wheel (Kleinsmith, 1984: 25).

Beauty, Presence, and Zen

Post-World War II tea bowl discourse in the US emphasized Japanese aesthetics and Zen Buddhism. In 1946, Americans had access to Bernard Leach's *Potter's Book*, the most influential book in the history of Euro-American studio pottery. Leach, who took up pottery in Tokyo, described the Japanese ceremonial drinking of tea as 'harmonizing life and beauty' (Leach, 1991: 8). The book featured images of a seventeenth-century red raku bowl by Dōnyū, two seventeenth-century raku bowls by Hon'ami Kōetsu, and three stoneware tea bowls by modern folk craft movement potter Hamada Shōji. Although tea bowls were not discussed at length in the book, Leach's views on them came forth in 1950 when he demonstrated tea bowl throwing techniques to Alfred students. Among them, Susan Peterson noted that Leach said Japanese people 'couldn't be bad… because they came from a long history of aesthetic concerns and ceramic appreciation' (Peterson, 1981: 57–59). Such a comment made during the ongoing US Occupation of Japan must have been particularly memorable for the many veterans of World War II enrolled at Alfred at the time.

A presence perceived when *handling* tea bowls was also of note. Ceramic sculptor Ken Price, who studied at Alfred in the late 1950s, recounted one particular Japanese black raku tea bowl:

> [It] set a standard for me… [with its] nice form with lift and a good, inside shape, a waxy surface, nice tong mark and stamp, good weight, a great foot and that eccentric drip glaze… Holding this bowl for the first time ran a chill down my back and made my neck hairs stand up. It has real presence when you hold it (Higby, 1993: 38).

Daniel Rhodes, who taught at Alfred University from 1947 to 1973 and had researched pottery in Japan in 1962–63, wrote in his widely-read 1976 book *Pottery Form*:

> In Japan the tea bowl has the status of an art form… Bowls used for tea are not merely pots to be bought, used, discarded; they are symbols of nature, time, beauty, feeling, friendship, and hospitality… [Tea bowls] represent the quintessence of the Japanese sensibility and their genius for investing a simple object with an inner mystical spirit… Of all the world's pots, the Raku bowl is perhaps the most inviting to the touch (Rhodes, 2004: 128–133).

Rhodes's positioning of the tea bowl as a complex aesthetic and social object with a spiritual quality transformed the object from vessel to *thing*.

The tea bowl has often been discussed as connected to Zen, which has further increased its perceived metaphysical attributes. In his 1938 book *Zen and Japanese Culture*, Daisetz Suzuki described tea drinking as 'a momentous event that leads directly up to Buddhahood and its absolute truth' (Suzuki, 1959: 293). Danto described the tea bowl as 'a lesson in applied Buddhism… [that] connects us to the abstract background of what Oriental philosophy designates as the Way' (Danto, 1996: 25). There could also be a conflation between 'master potters' and 'Zen masters'. Ceramist Hal Reigger wrote, 'while most raku potters in America do not assess their pots in the same manner as a Japanese Zen master, there are aspects of a good ceremonial tea bowl that apply and are indeed valuable for the Western potter to understand and assimilate' (Reigger, 2009: 4–5). As Morgan Pitelka has argued, although the first tea bowls brought to Japan were in association with Zen monks having traveled in China, the connection between Zen and tea bowls is 'inconsistent and historically contingent' and 'drinking tea from a bowl may indeed trigger satori, but for others, a bowl is just a bowl' (Pitelka, 2017: 70).

Warren MacKenzie, Paul Soldner and Peter Voulkos

Warren MacKenzie, who trained with Leach in 1949–52, influenced a large number of American potters infusing their functional wares with Japanese-style forms and processes. Over the course of his career he made bowls sometimes

labeled by gallerists and collectors 'tea bowls', and often with Japanese style glazes (Fig. 2). According to MacKenzie:

> I know I've been accused of making pots which are very Japanese. They're influenced by Japanese qualities, but they're certainly not Japanese pots. In fact, I think Japanese would find—the Japanese, let me say, are unusually chauvinistic about pottery, and they believe, and perhaps rightly so, that Japan is a very important ceramic nation. But they are also jealous of the fact that people, in a sense, imitate Japanese pottery. I don't imitate Japanese pottery, and the Japanese people who I've known are well aware of this fact. They say, "Oh no, your pots are American pots; they're not Japanese pots," even with a strong influence (Warren MacKenzie Oral History Interview, 2002).

Fig. 2 Warren MacKenzie (1924), Tea bowl. Stoneware with glazes, 8.6 cm. x 10.2 cm. Alfred Ceramic Art Museum.

While observers may describe them as 'tea bowls', it is clear that MacKenzie has not sought to copy Japanese tea bowl models directly, but reflect their fluid forming processes on the potter's wheel and gestural glazing.

Like those of MacKenzie, the 'tea bowls' of Paul Soldner (Fig. 3) and Peter Voulkos occupy a realm outside of aesthetic or formal mimesis, but both were Japanophiles. Three years Peter Voulkos's senior, Soldner was Voulkos's first student at the Los Angeles County Art Institute (now Otis Art Institute) beginning in 1954, and both shared a love of Japanese pottery. Voulkos had observed Hamada Shōji's throwing method in 1952 at the Archie Bray Institute. Their interest was further kindled by trips to Los Angeles's 'Japanese town [to] check out the pottery'. Soldner imagined he 'had spent past lives as a Japanese peasant potter' (Berman, 1983: 2–3). Voulkos similarly mused, 'I had a vision once that I was a potter out of Kyoto someplace, dressed in those weird robes and stuff. The year was about 1250 AD. I swear to Christ that I was around at that time. The Kamakura period' (Berman, 1996: 14). In 1953, Voulkos taught a summer course at Black Mountain College where John Cage lectured about Zen and art. Voulkos's later emphasis on materiality and recording processes of clay manipulation relates to what Cage had observed about Hamada—the process of wheel throwing was the primary pursuit (Perchuk, 2016: 32).

Their tea bowls have not been the most critically evaluated works in their oeuvres, but the tea bowl clearly was an important thing for Soldner and Voulkos. While his early tea bowls in the 1950s conformed to the requirements of utilitarian vessels, Voulkos's later versions defy function with holes, tears, and sharp edges—he irreverently called them 'tooth chippers' (Balistreri, 2018). Like his larger scale 'ice buckets' and 'stacks', his tea bowls of the 1970s–1990s were fired in wood-fueled kilns that produced natural ash glaze in a manner recalling that of medieval Japanese pottery. For Voulkos, the tea bowl served as reference not only for the works he labeled 'tea bowls', but also for his larger scale 'stacked' sculptures. Voulkos called attention to the thingness of his vessels by making them defy function and highlight the process of grappling with the material—in doing so he was seen as having elevated the ceramic pot to art object status. Process itself could be the 'thing' when performed at workshops, where Voulkos would often execute several types of pieces simultaneously to allow them to dry sufficiently (Balistreri, 2018).

Similarly, works like Soldner's 1964 tea bowl (Fig. 3), fired in a raku kiln, emphasize the idea of the tea bowl more than a promise of function. For him, making tea bowls went hand in hand with raku firing, a technique he popularized in the US. Inspired by Leach's instructions in *A Potter's Book*, Soldner first publicly experimented with this method in 1960 at the Lively Arts Festival in Claremont California (Levin, 1991: 18). Soldner's 1964 tea bowl, however, is not a copy of a Japanese Raku bowl, but rather an embodiment of reverence for the object's throwing and glazing processes—an homage to Raku bowls.

Fig. 3 Paul Soldner, Tea bowl, 1960s. Earthenware, 13.97 x 12.7 cm. Los Angeles County Museum of Art.

Voulkos and Soldner clearly held the tea bowl in high esteem. When asked 'If you had a chance to own any piece of art in the world, what would it be?' Voulkos replied, 'I do love the old Japanese tea bowls. Millions of bowls were made to get to

that one. It takes them days and days and days, just like me workin' on a stack, to get the whole universe in a tea bowl' (Berman, 1996: 14). Soldner said:

> When you look at a tea bowl… you can look at it and say, well, it's just a bowl to hold tea, period; that's the only reason it exists. But if somehow or other the person making it was able to imbue other qualities, aesthetic qualities that others recognize, then I think it becomes an art object, not just a tea bowl. And it's confusing sometimes to beginners… because sometimes when they look at it and all they see is a rough surface, I mean a blemished surface or even a crack running down through it, and they're confused as why it's worth $50,000, and, of course, the problem is they have not grown their own aesthetic appreciation, understanding of what makes that tea bowl different from an ordinary tea cup. They're both made of the same material, but one transcends the making and the material and all of that and gets recognized by a tea master as being aesthetic or an art object, more worthy of protecting and only using for special events like a tea ceremony than commonplace in the kitchen (Paul Soldner Oral History Interview, 2003).

Soldner notes his appreciation of the aesthetics of imperfection, the elevation possible from pot to art, and, importantly, valuation. How important is monetary value in the tea bowl's thingness? As Karl Marx stated, when an object becomes a commodity 'it is changed into something transcendent' (as quoted in Mitchell, 2005: 111). Such a sense of tea bowls' transcendence was reinforced when the Japanese government in the 1950s designated eight tea bowls as national treasures. American potters were well aware of high prices paid for Japanese ceramics. Of his solo exhibition in 1956 at Bonnier's in New York City, Robert Turner remarked, 'I realized I was getting about a tenth of the price on my floor, the first floor, as compared to what somebody from Japan was getting up on the second floor' (Miro and Hepburn, 2003: 76).

Cultural Appropriation and Things

Tea bowls by the makers mentioned above, and others, are subject to analysis that considers cultural appropriation and Orientalism. These objects fall into the category of what James Young terms 'content appropriation' in which 'an artist has made significant reuse of an idea first expressed in the work of an artist from another culture' (Young, 2010: 6). But do they result in—as how Bruce Ziff and Pratima Rao have described, referencing Orientalism—examples of 'cultural damage through the flawed rendering of the Other'? Should ceramists and artists avoid removing objects and practices from their 'original setting'? (Ziff and Rao, 1997: 12). These and other questions arise when contextualizing tea bowls against the backdrops of World War II, Japan's surrender to the Allies, and the US Occupation of Japan. Voulkos, Soldner, MacKenzie, Ferguson and others who rose to prominence in the postwar American ceramics field served in the US military, and for MacKenzie and Ferguson in Japan itself.

Unlike other highly contentious forms of cultural appropriation, American ceramists' naming of their vessels 'tea bowls' has not been the subject of widespread public debate. Should it? In a 2012 roundtable discussion published in the Japanese ceramics journal *Tōsetsu*, the well-known author and curator Inui Yoshiaki said, 'Westerners praise tea bowls, but really none of them truly understand them… Tea bowls all look the same to Westerners, since Japanese aesthetics are so different. If Japanese people do not touch, drink, and use [tea bowls], it is no good'. Ceramist Morino Taimei added, 'In the West, one looks only with one's eyes, but in the East, it is not only the eyes, but the five senses' (Inui, 2012: 33). Related is a commonly heard comment by American ceramists who studied at university ceramics programs in the 1950s–1970s—that exposure to Japanese ceramics occurred mainly through photographs reproduced in books.

This brings us to a final point—is something a 'tea bowl' if it is not *used* for tea? What is the identity of the object if it is removed from a perceived 'original' context? Since a bowl is a universal form, *naming* is key to the thingness of the tea bowl. In a recent exhibition catalog, Solder's bowls are irreverently labeled 'tea bowl (peanut bowl)' (Jenkins, 2009). This naming suggests an awareness of the inherent expectation of the audience to treat the object with reverence—see it as a *thing*—if it is labeled 'tea bowl'. More broadly, if we see the tea bowls discussed above by MacKenzie, Voulkos, and Soldner operating primarily as things, not copies, we may grasp their embodiments of underlying values such as the importance of recording process, privileging effect over functionality, and conceiving of clay as an artistic medium.

Conclusion

This study has addressed the place of the tea bowl within contemporary American ceramics discourse by considering its complexity beyond processes of cultural appropriation or copying of particular forms or styles. Writ large, tea bowls in American pottery discourse rose in prominence in part through attempts by makers to position the ceramic medium such that it embodied their contemporary values. Ceramists required a means to convey the presence, the thingness, of the objects they were making. For students, amateur practitioners, and experienced ceramists alike, to distinguish a primordial bowl form from a 'tea bowl' opens up a wider field of perceived aesthetic and spiritual gravitas. For many American ceramists, tea bowls are *things* with values for studio pottery and ceramic sculpture praxis, manifest most clearly by the naming of objects as tea bowls.

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Design as Mediator in the Process of Commodification of Vernacular Artifacts in Brazil

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Design / Vernacular handcraft / Social actors / Luxury market / Decolonization

Since 1995 the governmental Brazilian Handicraft Program is subordinated to the Ministry of Development, Industry and Foreign Trade and to the Special Secretariat for Micro and Small Businesses. From that moment, the state addressed points to the creation of the artisan-entrepreneur, an entity supported by development agencies that enabled the insertion of handicrafts into the market. To accomplish that, they use designers' services to adapt the artisanal objects according to the preferences of the client. Once these designers are well connected with the specialized media, such traditional objects have a determined destination in the luxury market. Besides carrying the signature of a famous designer, they present characteristics aligned to the legitimating discourse of this market, which is rareness: they are products available in low quantities, for which the workforce is specialized since the know-how has been improved for generations and comes from remote places, usually rural zones across Brazil, perfect for the construction of a territorial imaginary to be embedded in the pricing of these products. Taking this context into consideration, this article outlines conclusions from the authors' research that maps a complex network of exchanges between the aforementioned social actors: artisan communities, design and luxury markets, and three different artisan communities of the northeast of Brazil.

Introduction

The vernacular Latin American handicraft, unlike the European one, has an urgency characteristic. It is a consumer good and made with raw material available on a local basis. Such vernacular handicraft may be found in the harvest basket, made with the straw of the carnauba tree of the Brazilian Northeast Region. It may be found in the canoe carved in a single trunk of the great trees from Amazonas, or in the great variety of seeds that adorn bodies in different religious rituals spread throughout the continent, or in the poncho made with wool of alpaca from the Andes, and so forth.

The dialogue between local territorial experiences and global practices has been constantly discussed by different scholars under the hybridization concept, which can be defined as social-cultural processes that exist in isolated ways and generate "new structures, objects and practices" whenever combined (Canclini, 2013: xix). Both Argentinian anthropologist Nestor Garcia Canclini (2013: 213–14) and the German designer of strong presence in Latin America, Gui Bonsiepe (2011: 63), emphasize there are theoretical groups that defend conservative positions, assuming that traditional cultures must be preserved from external influences, and those who believe that the contact with contemporary productive practices helps to keep the existence of an active traditional vernacular knowledge, in the extent that it reinvents or reinterprets it.

In Brazil since 1995, the state guideline that deals with Brazilian handicraft, the so-called Brazilian Handicraft Program, is no longer ruled by the Social Action Ministry and it is currently subordinated to the Ministry of Development, Industry, Foreign Trade and Special Secretariat of Micro and Small Businesses. After this change, the figure of the artisan businessman was created, initiating a new field of market operation in the national scene. Ever since, there were different mediating institutions, which sometimes employ design services that carry out different actions in order to foster the interaction between handicraft and market.

Since the Brazilian Handicraft Program does not define how the approach of such actions must be, the performance enacted by mediating institutions privileged the market and were discrepant when it came to cultural and social interests of artisan communities. Although the sociologist Mark Granovetter (2007), under the concept of immersion, claims that the market is subject to social relationships, thus, encompassing performances that sub socialize relationships, he believes that markets take their own gains to the extreme, by super socializing them, and making them exist at the mercy of internalized standards of socialization, which does not disclose the complexity of economic behavior studies.

With such considerations in mind, this article demonstrates that the relationship between handicraft and market mediated by design is connected to a system of considerations and counter considerations among social actors. Such exchanges among social actors are unveiled by means of anthropological, sociological, and philosophical studies as well as studies that deflect those fields to design theory.

The concept of gift by anthropologist Marcel Mauss (2017) and through French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (2011) is introduced, as the gift results in symbolical capital: honor and prestige.

It is also demonstrated from studies by Bourdieu (2011) that in societies divided into classes, cultural legitimizing agents are in charge of consecration in-

stances of a product. In the case submitted here, this agent is the designer, who legitimizes the handcrafted artifact so it can circulate in the luxury market through a constructed discourse and by a formal adaptation of products provided by artisan communities.

Observing design interventions in handicraft, Bonsiepe (2011) points out that, depending on the way it is made, those interventions can increase dependency scenarios rather than contributing to the emancipation of artisan communities, and Néstor Garcia Canclini (2013) emphasizes that such interventions can deepen a scenario of chronic poverty.

The Ecuadorian economist Alberto Acosta (2016) shows other lifestyles that are not located in central zones. He emphasizes that there are living civilizations that, through reciprocity and solidarity, reinvent their knowledge. In this context, vernacular knowledge, those intimately connected to the territory, according to the Latin American post developmentalist scholar Arturo Escobar (2016), when considered in projects, can contribute to the resiliency of original communities. Under such a perspective, Brazilian educator Paulo Freire (2015) claims that one of the grounds on which to construct community autonomy is local cultural acknowledgment. Thus, the solutions to local problems are no longer false.

This article is part of the result of extensive research which observed three different design actions in three different traditional artisan communities (Nicoletti, 2018). After theoretical contextualization, it will examine a case study of one of those artisan communities, which received design interventions so that their artifacts were inserted in the luxury market.

Unveiling the exchanges among social actors. Although design intervention projects are justified with the objective of valuing handicraft, increasing its projection in the market to dignify the work of original communities, it is naive to think this is the only intention intended by such actions. Such actions are included in a structure of considerations and counter considerations that connect all social actors involved in this system. Although in such actions, both market and design suggest a philanthropic posture of donation, Bourdieu (2011) states that gift accumulates prestige, resulting in symbolical capital that can subsequently be transformed into effective capital. In the same way, those actions benefit the receipt of symbolical resources to organizational agents, and they also benefit both designers and market.

As a material culture programmer, the designer has a prestigious place (Flusser 2007: 182; Bonsiepe 2011: 18) in a society that employs legitimizing agents that have the power of original creation applied to material culture, which Bourdieu (2013: 116–153) elucidates as an autonomous production of cultural goods with characteristics of symbolic domination. This is how the honor logic in contemporary society that has in its core the domain of culture and art is constructed. Therefore, the designer, possessed with the power of cultural legitimation, converts vernacular artifacts that meet local demands into erudite products to circulate in specific markets.

The designer, as cultural legitimizer, has the capacity of dislocating original functions of artifacts intimately connected to the original territory, to meet the demands of other societies. Thus, although the handcrafted artifact traded in this other society seems to carry its productive discourse, it can be easily projected by the designer in a fictional way to meet the demands of consumers (Appadurai, 2008: 42). For this purpose, using territorial aspects provides spectacularized artifacts to a consumerist society. Thus, it is possible to infer the crucial role of the image of a designer's trademark to insert products of artisans in the global trade circuit.

Upon opposing art for art's sake, in Bourdieu's words, or also displacing handicraft from its usual purposes of a village to be consumed at a global level, is placed the cultural legitimacy within power and money, acknowledging that such transference is of market interest. Although both products have the same origin, the one used in the routine of a village and the one used in the society of cultural goods, they are established by symbolical cultural legitimation in an uneven way. Such hierarchization of power corresponds to domination systems by a society divided into classes from which this competence is imposed by an elite that has the legitimizing factors (Bourdieu, 2011: 142–143).

Therefore, the legitimizing factors are always grounded on their culture notions, either of ethnographical, historical character or also verted by social interactions by its target audience. Once legitimized, such products of handcrafted origin, displaced to cultural goods markets, are established, obtaining a type of aura and, consequently, the permission to circulate in the luxury goods market: rareness and collection.

Initiated by commodification of handcrafted goods and their insertion in luxury markets, the collection of such objects has been leveraged on a global scale. As it was pointed out by Boltanski and Esquerre (2016: 46), this process derives from a rescue movement for artists inserted within certain traditions that had their works neglected, especially in emerging countries, as in the case of Brazil. As such goods are legitimized in the cultural way, they will be presented in a hybrid way, as cultural and commercial goods. It is even possible that such goods are used as markers of national identities, being in international markets interested in collecting exotic art.

Gilles Lipovetsky (2005: 22) claims that before luxury takes over the material culture, it was a cultural act ruled by the "expense spirit", affirming the capacity of domain of human transcendence over animalism. On the other hand, Marcel Mauss (2017: 199) states that obtaining honor and prestige by ceremonial gifts, such as feasts and parties, demonstrates authority and power to expend wealth. In a more extreme way, it indicates the destruction of one's own accumulated wealth with the purpose of increasing social prestige, always in a rivalry tone with the other components of society. Therefore, luxury is conceived through accumulated prestige, being defined not only by possession of material wealth, but by its consumption.

The consumption of wealth to obtain

prestige permeates social values in different configurations, still as gifts. For instance, the organizational gift (Steiner, 2017) intends to provide sponsorships of different causes where the philanthropic content is presented, where social and political, public and private areas are mixed.

Thus, inserting traditional handicraft in a luxury market, under the pretext of gift, embeds it in a logic of considerations and counter considerations among its agents. The luxury market has power and domain in order to obtain prestige and honor.

As design actions are carried out by different approaches, the exposure of the territory to form the pricefixing of products is always carried out in different ways. There are those that praise the harmony vibe enjoyed by artisan communities and that the purchase of their artifacts would contribute to maintain this scene. There are others that suggest improving lives without perspectives of future through work. There are even those that show a scenario of misery and dismay and that inserting their handicraft in a global market could change this situation. In this regard, Gilles Lipovetsky states that:

> The 'authentic' has a tranquilizing effect over our sensitivities: The 'old fashioned' products, associated with an imaginary of proximity, contact, good old times (the village, the artisan, love of the craft) exorcize the anxiety of obsessed neo consumers (Lipovetsky, 2004: 90).

The approaches of design in vernacular handicraft that impose a narration and disregard their real lifestyles confirm their invisibility and ignore the fact that they are living civilizations that exist through their knowledge, work and territories. Such approaches, as mentioned by Bonsiepe (2011: 63), often reinforce the dependence of artisans rather than contributing to their emancipation.

As discussed by Canclini (2013: 238–242), the way of adjusting to capitalist development is determinant to consequences caused by the entrance of traditional communities in modernization scenarios. Such consequences can be 'a simultaneous source of economic prosperity and symbolical reaffirmation', although the contact with new configurations of the market often deepen the scenario of chronic poverty, increased by 'labor exploitation' and 'educative inequality'.

A solution from the territory: design to emancipation

The design intervention actions in vernacular handicraft are commonly grounded on developmentalist concepts: they cite the low HDI of communities, shortage of jobs, dependency of governmental resources, indicate lack of basic resources, such as sanitation, asphalt and precarious communication means. The discourses often make clear the posture that discriminates against cultures that are not located in geo-political centers and other ways of life, which can be solidary, collaborative and connected to knowledge of territory.

Alberto Acosta (2016), an Ecuadorian economist, explains about Buen Vivir as a way to be followed, an alternative to overcome the common development concept, suggesting a society collectively built in 'caldrons of long historical, cultural and social processes', especially in the indigenous world of countries in the Andes and Amazon, emphasizing that they are living civilizations that face colonial modernity, introducing values grounded on reciprocity and solidarity to 'build production, exchange and cooperation relationships that provide sufficiency'. Thus, Buen Vivir is to overcome the current state of predatory appropriation with which we relate to what is around us, but it is not an invitation to a temporal regression finding a fantasy and utopic primitive world. It is actively constructed by citizens, in a collective way and democratically within the community.

It is into this scenario that vernacular knowledge is inserted, as specific comprehensions found from local requirements and that employ available raw material. Thus:

> In such contexts, "vernacular" no longer indicates a strict traditionalism, but a space of possibilities that could be connected to creative projects that integrate vernacular ways, places, concrete landscapes, ecological restoration and environmental and digital technologies to face serious support problems, at the same time that they restore the communities. (...) The vernacular ways can also be particularly relevant when they participate in drawing projects intended to strengthen community autonomy and resilience (Escobar, 2016: 5.6)

To be apart from imposed developmentalist discourse, it is required that vernacular knowledge is not marginalized. The colonized mentality only considers an artifact when it has a potential exchange value, whenever it has a speculative potential. The Latin American handicraft has vernacular character because it was developed in a specific context where it is often the result of a clear situation of its socioeconomic development. Such vernacular knowledge is over in its functions, and requires the displacement of its meanings so that they acquire some value in the market. Therefore, the marginalization of handicraft born from the vernacular is constantly created in technical-productive arguments.

To construct a true emancipation scenario, Brazilian educator Paulo Freire (2015) suggests the acknowledgment of cultural identity as one of the central subjects to foster the emancipation of being. Thus, seeking solutions starts to have a correspondence to their own original territory and are no longer false.

Therefore, an emancipation design, that privileges the construction of healthier, freer and more autonomous systems, is mandatorily not established from a mentality that works towards the market. Furthermore, if the developmentalist concept of discourse in effect is ended, it is possible there is the acknowledgment of value of vernacular, including handicraft, to create a less predatory society, favorable to construction of local emancipations.

Observation in the territory

The research from which this article was originated observed three different artisan communities that had their artifacts traded (Nicoletti, 2018). Below one of them is shown to facilitate the comprehension of this theoretical scenario.

The artisan community of Várzea Queimada has around 900 dwellers, it is located in the

Brazilian semi-arid region, 7 km distant from the road and 400 km distant from Teresina, which is the capital of Piauí state. The ochre landscape is covered by thin green vegetation and on the background carnauba palm trees appear vertically. An intermittent watercourse crosses the village. The agriculture is dedicated to subsistence cultivation due to the low pluviometric index of the region and therefore the income sources of the village are scarce and the handicraft made by braiding the carnauba fiber generates income for many women who live there.

The women from Várzea Queimada have the tradition of making goods with the straw of carnauba palm trees, which are abundant in the region. The act of braiding the straw is used as a social unifier, being usual the meeting of women around long braids of fiber. During their childhood, they learn how to braid it and throughout life, they learn how to sew those braids, which become baskets to transport and keep the harvest, mats and domestic utilities that were usually sold individually at local markets in the region.

With the purpose of making possible the local handcrafted production, between 2008 and 2010 an initial group of 23 women of the village founded the Association of United Women of Várzea Queimada. Their articulation as associates enabled them to participate in handicraft fairs throughout the country, which gave them projection in the labor market of the group.

In February 2012, with the support of Sebrae, a design office of the city of São Paulo, financial hub of the country, chose the Association of United Women of Várzea Queimada to implement a project. The office, together with invited designers, students and local population, forged a collaborative process, by developing a line of 30 products made with carnauba fiber to be produced by women of the Association. The project also constructed a community space for handicraft activities. This opportunity attracted other women of the village, who were not part of the Association before, forming a group of 58 women.

The design office was in charge of creating a trademark that was called TOCA in addition to publicizing products through catalogues, publicity campaigns and design competitions. The dissemination was also through printed and digital media national and internationally.

Although the office that made the intervention had it clear in its discourse that actions do not have the power to make direct changes to infrastructure problems of that territory, which are the responsibility of the state, it adopts a strategy of exposing them under the denounced point of view. At the same time, it uses such scenarios to construct the imaginary that is the art of design intervention, and, consequently, the valuating of products resulting from the action:

> It can be said this is a community that still lives as people did two centuries ago. There is no sanitation, there is shortage of water, children work in plantations, but at the same time there are incredible people, talented, there is raw material. I think that with vision, working to exchange experiences, information, integration, we can take development to this place. This is our great challenge. [2]

The philanthropic characteristics of the action means the designers obtain honor and prestige for themselves before the market. The discourse used to interfere in the traditional community is grounded on central developmentalist values that ignore other lifestyles.

On the other hand, design action, through collaborative design, provided methodological instruments of creation that were absorbed by the artisan, who constantly creates new products. An artisan transformed a small basket into a lamp. Another, observing that smaller handicraft

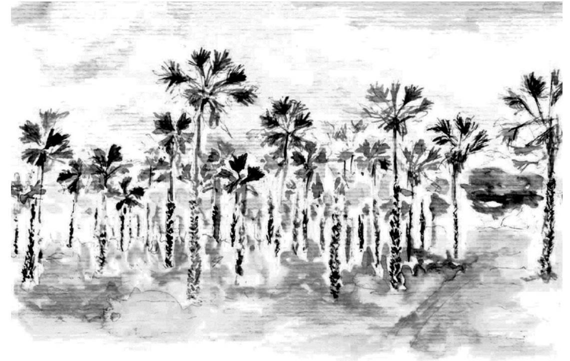

Fig. 1 Illustration of a plantation in the territory of Várzea Queimada of the carnauba tree (*Copernicia prunifera*) that provides raw material to local handicraft.

Fig. 2 Illustration of a meeting of women to produce handcrafted artifacts.

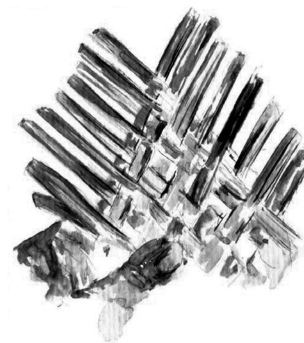

Fig. 3 Illustration of a braid made with the fiber of palm trees that originates the handcrafted artifacts.

[1] The Brazilian Service of Support to Micro and Small Businesses (SEBRAE) is an institution kept with funding by great companies with the objective of developing and making micro and small companies become competitive.

[2] Statement of the chief designer of the intervention action in an interview. *Época*, 17/01/2012, "We want to make the Brazilian artisan enter the people's houses".

Fig. 4 Illustration of a store kept by an artisan.

was more easily sold, reduced the size of some artisanal artefacts she produced. In addition to sending to store owners throughout the country, they also kept in the village a store for occasional visitors.

Although they were not guided by design interventions to promote their own products in the market, direct contact with the artisan community has been easier and easier due to increased access to the internet, which makes communication become more dynamic, enabling to slowly overcome the dependency on other agents to negotiate the products. Thus, women from Várzea Queimada get to resist in their original territory through their knowledge and traditional works, fostering community cooperation.

Conclusion

The theoretical investigation showed that the exchanges among social actors, shown herein, intensively happens in the field of symbolic exchanges. The honor and prestige obtained through gifts, obtained by the luxury market, reinforces its dominator image. The case study demonstrated that obtaining symbolic capital by the market through design as a legitimizing agent, takes place through philanthropic discourses constructed under a narration forged in an imaginary of the artisan community.

On the other hand, the artisan community, as it has its living social organization constructed from solidarity and community cooperation, seeks support in its own territory, its knowledge and skills—its venacular—to be kept in the global circuit of trade. Thus, they reinvented themselves to resist.

To avoid wrongful honors, it is crucial to disclose the role of each social actor and make it explicit according to the existing exchanges among such actors in the commodification process of vernacular handicraft artifacts. Whilst a pricing narrative for such goods is grounded on a scenario where artisan communities are inserted in social emergencies, the power taken by such communities over their own powers will be intentionally disconnected.

It was evident in this article that there is no unbiased act when the market handles handicraft through design. In such cases we intend to strengthen more collaborative and less predatory lifestyles, such as designers. What should be our contribution so that the intense flow exchange among actors connected to such a mesh is fair?

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The Meaning of Integrated Fonts in a Local Standpoint – Between Harmonization and Homogenization

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Integrated typography / Noto fonts / Noto CJK / Harmonization / Homogenization

In 2014, Google and Adobe Systems released Noto Sans CJK, an open-source font available for use by the 1.5 billion people in China, Japan, and Korea. The aim of the Noto Fonts Project, which developed Noto Sans CJK, was to develop a multipurpose digital font to provide both an efficient and beautiful reading experience for all the supported languages.

Through the integrated font project of these massive global companies, the following issues are discussed: first, the field of typography design changed from domestic industries centered on local culture to global and transnational industries. Second, the new technology introduced for collaboration by many global companies has changed the traditional perception of characters, which in turn requires changes in design education. Third, typography designed by certain criteria can be homogenized under the banner of harmony and efficiency.

This project is a specific and practical example of the global integration of the design practice. Through the three points of view written above, we can see both the present situation of the '2010s' and the upcoming future in a symptomatic manner.

On July 16th, 2014, Google and Adobe Systems made public an open source font, Noto Sans CJK (Google name: Noto Sans CJK, Adobe name: Source Han San) to be used by about 1.5 billion Korean, Chinese and Japanese people in common.[1] It is an East Asian version of the Noto Project for developing a common font merging languages of the world.

This project was the first free distribution of a unified font that integrates a single cultural area. It has an impact beyond imagination in that it is freely distributed by a mega-corporation which encompasses digital platforms. Industrial globalization was the topic behind the planning of this megaproject. Now transnational products are being produced based on IT industries and consumed beyond national boundaries. As such, in a condition where a variety of languages are loaded into a single product and juxtaposed with each other, new requirements are raised. These languages are not to be broken (not to be 'tofu') when they meet in a digital environment and fonts of different languages are to be harmonized visually when they are juxtaposed. Certainly, it is a requirement to be considered for efficient and unwearied reading. Hence, staff of the Project researched even non-Latin characters including Tibetan, Bengali and Cherokee, which attract less attention, and revived their unique beauty.[2] 'No more tofu', 'Beautiful and free fonts for all languages'. These slogans of the Noto Project show the intention of the Project in two sentences.

Besides, it is noteworthy that companies from many nations are making their know-how public and cooperating with each other. Google took full charge of funding and Adobe Systems displayed their expertise in design accumulated from their development of graphic tools. In addition, Korean Sandoll Communications, Chinese Sino Type Technology and Japanese Iwata, specializing in font design in their nations, undertook the design work. Following Noto Sans, 'Noto Serif'' was developed and launched (on April 4th, 2017). It consists of 42 fonts in seven weights fit for mobile and printing environments with 65535 glyphs including local archaic characters and special characters to encompass the regional individuality of each language.

The above is the objective and official information provided by Noto CJK. On the other hand, for integrated fonts based on use of Chinese characters and strokes of calligraphy,[3] what design and social interpretations could be done and what symptoms could be read about what is coming?

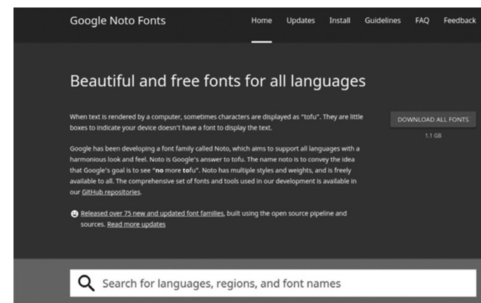

Fig. 1 All languages in one font 'to harmonize various languages': the slogan of Noto sans project.

Font design – From Local Culture-based Domestic Industry to Global and Transnational Industry. We can see that the traditional meaning of the font industry changed through the Noto Project like the 'Tower of Babel' of languages. The existing fonts could be distributed within the same linguistic and cultural area. Fonts expressing a language have something to do with the unique form and morphological characteristic based on the history and culture of a pertinent region. Under such a premise in the 1930s, the Nazis utilized the Black Letter Type to pursue fascist intentions and to establish national

[1] 'Let me introduce a new Pans–CJK (汎韓中日) font of Google', *Google Developers*. http://googledevkr.blogspot.kr/2014/07/cjkfont.html; 'Introduction of Source Han Sans) : Open source Korean-Chinese-Japanese Integrated Font ', *Adobe typeki blog*. http://blog.typekit.com/alternate/source-han-sans-kor.

[2] 'More than 800 languages in a single typeface: creating Noto for Google'. *Monotype*. https://www.monotype.com/resources/case-studies/more-than-800-languages-in-a-single-typeface-creating-noto-for-google/.

[3] Korean font center (2000). *Han-geul font Glossary*. Seoul: Seoul: Korean font center.

identity and unity.[4] The sense given by character type was thought to be communicated properly only between people sharing the same history and culture.

In modern society, development of transportation and communication technologies allowed sensation by experience and memory to be shared with the 'global' memory and experience beyond units of village and nation. The font industry, which had been the 'industry for domestic demand' mainly distributed within a regional linguistic area, had difficulty in escaping from a conventional cognitive frame of the existing fonts. In the case of Han-geul (the Korean alphabet), national identity intervened in the logic for production and it is a fact that uniqueness and individuality of Han-geul have been emphasized. Kwon Kyung-seok, a designer of Sandol Communications, said, '(the font is) an artificial matter, but it is already a cultural and socially promised symbol, so we need to maintain balance, harmony and consistency within its limits'.[5] This indicates the conservative nature of font design. In other words, fonts have built on the cultural and social internal logic of a particular linguistic area. Compared with awareness in production and use of fonts above, the birth of Noto Project was a great turning point in that the perspective on fonts turned from the quest for the internal toward solidarity and harmony with the external. Now fonts came to have an extended concept containing the sensation about our connection with the outside and the formative logic of such a sensation by pursuing visual harmonization between distinct languages rather than a cultural product containing 'our' identity.

It seemingly shows the effect of breaking the structural hierarchy of characters centered on the Latin alphabet established as the global notation system since the 20th century. In the past, the font industry was based on the Latin alphabet. For example, when using Han-geul font, we can write in English without changing the font. This is because most Han-geul and English fonts are manufactured as a set. When designing using Han-geul fonts, designers have been solving design problems by selecting local fonts that don't go against the aesthetic standard of English fonts. It is safe to say that such fonts are used as design outputs and our visual environments are formed by such a sensation. According to Google, in principle integrated fonts should preserve the font uniqueness of a particular cultural area, including archaic characters, to have a distinct direction in using and accepting a font. When developing Latin fonts, the Noto Project made an effort to reflect the aesthetic sense of each character rather than applying its logic and type to non-Latin fonts to complete the assortment so font companies within a nation came to collaborate with one another. Now we can expect the internationalization of the font industry mentioned above, and sharing and evolving of font culture that has been understood as an independent cultural area, in particular, an area of typography.

Technological Change – Cognitive Change – Educational Change?

Another important point raised by the development of the Noto font may be shown from the collaboration process. In the case of the Noto font CJK, a tool to design the three nations' characters was shared to conduct an efficient collaboration. It is TWB, a font production program used by Adobe that provided the technological knowhow. In this process, an understanding of each character was established not by the internal logic but by the sharable logic. In the case of Han-geul, it was segmented into elements having no sound or meaning and graphemes having the minimal sound value which had been recognized as a minimal unit of Han-geul production to be designed using this program.[6] The disassembled element is analyzed by cases of the minimum and maximum values and then recombined. Besides, a grapheme type fitting for the character is organized by the median.

In manufacturing character types, such a change of input method means a changed frame of awareness in seeing the structure of Han-geul fonts. Han-geul is a featural alphabet in which each character has a phonetic feature. In other words, the minimum unit required for recognizing a shape of a character is a phoneme. When developing Noto CJK, Han-geul was disassembled not into 'phonemes', the minimum unit of the sound values under the principle of its creation 600 years ago, but into a horizontal, vertical or diagonal 'element'. The reason why the collaboration between companies was needed is that the collaboration between companies needed the unification of technological and communicative modes. Under the technological requirements for manufacturing collaborative

[4] In the pre-modern era, blackletters were thought to be the real German style and best suited to German than any other language, eventually becoming one of the leading symbols of German unity and nationalism. Heller, S; Fili, L. (2011). *Typology: Type Design from the Victorian Era to the Digital Age*. Translated Park, Sung-eun. Seoul: Seoul: Biz and Biz.

[5] 'Font special: MS - Apple - Google, Why Pay Attention to Korean Font?', *ZD Ne Korea*, http://www.zdnet.co.kr/news/news_view.asp?artice_id=20110816155556&type=det&re=

Simplified Chinese	朝辞白帝彩云间
Traditional Chinese	朝辭白帝彩雲間
Japanese	朝に辞す白帝彩雲の間
Korean	아침 일찍 구름 낀 백제성을 떠나
English	At daybreak I leave Baidi

Fig. 2 A harmonious combination of letters having different aesthetic senses and structures.

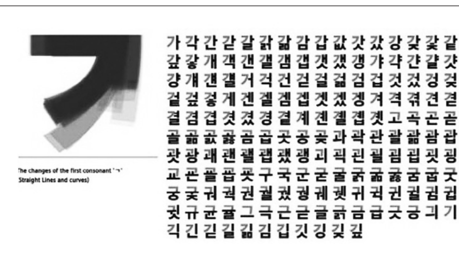

Fig. 3 Deriving of Korean alphabet 'ㄱ' through TWB.

[6] 'A record on struggle for developing 3 nations, Korean-Chinese-Japanese fonts 65000', *ZD Net Korea*, 23th, Sep., 2014. http://www.zdnet.co.kr/news/news_view.asp?artice_id=20140923092423&type=det

fonts, the traditional and customary frames for seeing and dealing with characters of a single culture was broken. Another broken custom was the traditional formative design education. In Noto fonts, the shape of Han-geul is not drawn by the hands of a designer. Designers drew the shape of a character with their hands while considering the balance of the entire characters in the past, but in Noto fonts, a 'physical sense' by their hands does not engage in character types. Han-geul has a system of arranging and combining up and down, left and right under its own unique logic for creation. The consonant 'ㄱ' was designed differently when it is up or down the character space. Hence, designers had to draw every type of 'ㄱ' and many other designs that fit each position. However, related articles show that designers create a shape by inputting a potential figure for a character type and combining elements, having such figures on the computer, by judging conformity-nonconformity of the final type. In other words, the design was completely changed from the traditional design by creating a shape through their skill and sense of aesthetics.

To this day, it is true that design education is based on the formative education under the influence of the educational model of Bauhaus, emphasizing the physical sense of a designer and the curriculum of the Ulm School of Design passing down such a principle. A lot of design schools offer curricula about understanding and processing of material physical properties or media characteristics designers have to handle, including "2-dimensional design", "3-dimensional design" and "Observation and Expression". However, in the meta-relation between technological development and human cognition/sense of life, design was expanded beyond the traditional formative category. A shape is no longer created only by the creativity of a designer. Artificial intelligence and the popularization of 3D printers are changing the role of the designer into one who constructs the design. As such, in a 'disruptive' situation where designers educated for the 20th century have to adapt themselves to a changed society of the 21st century, demand for 'design where skilled physical sense and intuition are not intervened' raises complex questions, both essential and specific, including what range the design area has, what capability and role designers have, and what education should be provided in this period.

Risk of Harmonization and Unification – Homogenization of Characters

As for the case of Noto CJK, CJK is a unit combining three neighboring East-Asian nations, China, Japan and Korea into a zone. The three neighboring nations have interacted closely in history, influencing and being influenced politically, philosophically and culturally, so it is safe to say that they share cultural values though details are different. However, despite a common characteristic in calligraphy culture, the linguistic systems of the three nations have completely different features. Each Chinese character has a sound and a meaning and was made using forms or symbols of objects.[7] Japanese Kana characters are both a phonogram and syllabic writing where a letter expresses a syllable. However, they were not modeled from forms. Like Kana, Han-geul is phonogrammatic but as phonemic writing it has a characteristic identical to Latin characters. Also, it is not hieroglyphic.[8] As such, overall, the three languages have very different characteristics but the project for the integrated font tied them into one to develop fonts having a unified sense. It was Dr. Ken Lunde, a computer engineer from Wisconsin and Adobe chief researcher in the development of Korean-Sino-Japanese-Vietnamese fonts who was in charge of font development. In addition, unity of Korean, Chinese and Japanese characters was created based on the Japanese kozuka gothic. Kozuka gothic is a font made by Adobe and loaded into a Japanese digital environment.

Unity needs a standard so such features outside the standard are refined. Selection of the standard and refinement should be done very carefully. Features are reduced or excluded depending on the way the standard is applied. What became the standard is likely to continue functioning as the standard, and a feature classified as the 'trivial' is likely to be dealt with as the trivial in another situation. Each character may have the homogeneity in cultural areas of 'a pen (brush)' in the way of expression but has different roles of each element within a character, connection between elements, and the logic of connection. Such difference indicates that each character has a different point of identity, or an important characteristic that makes it such a character. A guide of Noto font does not give an explanation on the setting of the standard and refinement process, so we cannot know what characteristic of kozuka gothic functions as the aesthetic standard unifying the three nations' characters. To analogize, it is like the alignment of English, French and German forms based on Adobe Cyrillic alphabet fonts. Excluding the a case of Chinese characters that the three nations' languages share,[9] can the form of kozuka gothic embrace logical and philosophical frames and an aesthetic sense? On the contrary, what relation does Noto font Han-geul have with Noto font Kana characters? It must be examined whether three alphabets having different linguistic character-

Fig. 4 Original sketch of Nisizuka Ryoko, the Japanese font designer of Adobe.

[7] Such Chinese characteristics are defined as syllabic writing and ideogram, and the creation principles of Chinese characters referred to as pictograph and self-explanation.

[8] Even the three languages belong to different language families. Chinese is classified into the Sino-Tibetan language family along with Myanmarese, Han-geul into the Altaic language family along with Mongolian and Turkish, and Japanese into the Japonic language family independently.

[9] Chinese characters are used in three nations commonly but their forms are a little different according to the history and a unique aesthetic sense of each nation.

istics can be taken as 'a set' without any doubt based on the inattentive perception of the other that their cultures are similar to one another. Besides, our attention is drawn to the fact that it is accepted as a single, convenient and inoffensive, basic and standard font in the digital environment, through Google, that is seizing the platform. Alphabets may be homogenized under the banner of harmony, efficiency and communication.

It may not be reasonable to generalize the future of design, which is diverse but ambiguous, by a single case of the Noto Project. However, by making an attempt at the extension of the area by borrowing concepts of engineering and business administration, design is currently in a confusing state, due to its unstable position in the industry and its attempt at constructing experience design and service design as unique areas through 'coining' and adding design to intangible values. The development of Noto fonts visually show an example of global integration in a specific and practical area rather than vague and conceptual internationalization (paradoxically advocating the protection of regionality) and disappearance of traditional design in a developmental process and also mixing and homogenization of the past and the present, one culture and another in the pursuit of collaboration, communication and harmonization. Hence, it can be seen as an important case showing both the present situation of the 2010s' and the upcoming future in a symptomatic manner.

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Design as Mediator Between Local Resources and Global Visions. Experiences of Design for Territories

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Design for Territories / Strategic design / Social innovation / Territorial identity / Cultural heritage

Cultural, economic and social issues which arose by the end of Modernity and Post-modernity periods affected not only human beings but also places, which –as a consequence–have been dealing with identity, isolation and fear problems. As a reaction to the globalisation phenomenon, new localisms appeared. Design can have a role of mediator which is able to valorize the positive aspects and capabilities of local resources, answering to global issues, and tuning them according to wider and foresighted visions. In our paper, we propose to use the approach of Design for Territories, which considers the territorial valorisation as a synergic, strategic and collaborative system of actions on various levels (productive, social, environmental, cultural). To explain this approach, we are going to present several case studies, chosen in light of different issues, where the relationship between local and global, tradition and innovation is always delicate and controversial.

1. Framing the Concept of Design for Territories

Modernity and Post-modernity left a very important legacy on territories, such as the crisis of their identity, the precariousness of life of their citizens, the closure and fear for personal security of certain groups of people.

Therefore, territories needed (and still need) to re-think themselves with various and sometimes contrasting results.

Because of the fact that *grand* collective narratives (Lyotard, 1984) were substituted by individualism and uncertainty (Bauman, 2000), the need for new certainties and for a renovated sense of community emerged, giving shape to a new local sense of belonging. However, these dynamics, if from one side were able to re-build the importance of communities and personal relationships, from the other side can generate that closure and fear previously mentioned.

How can design help to make this shift in a positive way?

In order to answer this question, we are going to look at the different approaches which design has had towards territories. In this field of research and action, capabilities of listening and mediating between local resources and wider issues of environmental, economic and social sustainability are particularly needed.

The relationship between design and territory has developed over time mainly in two main fields: the connection with artisan or industrial local productions; the development of communication and promotional activities, through place branding and strategic brand management. Today these two approaches are included in a wider process of Design for Territories, which considers the territorial valorisation as a synergic, strategic and collaborative system of actions on various levels (productive, social, environmental, cultural) (Parente et al., forthcoming).

This is a relatively recent field, which is very relevant in this historical period of transformation and shift towards new economies and social arrangements. Several territories are looking for new identities and a new equilibrium between the protection of elements of distinction—à la Bourdieu (1984)—and the openness towards more inclusive (and sometimes homogenized) visions.

In these contexts design still uses its original approach but it has been improving local craftsmanship thanks to innovation in terms of style, technique, products, and processes; for example, following the teaching of designers such as Giò Ponti, to whom we owe the birth of *Made in Italy* based on local craft know-how, or Ugo La Pietra, who from the late 1980s travelled through the Italian peninsula in order to preserve the local knowledge, innovating typical and traditional local productions in the sign of a new 'Territorial Design' (*Genius Loci* project, 1987/2000 in La Pietra, 2015).

Today, these initiatives are generally linked to wider strategical visions, aimed at building a virtuous local system, which acts positively both on the economic and productive levels, on meanings and relationships of a certain context, inside and outside the territory. In our opinion, these elements are able to define what we define as 'Design for Territories': a design thinking strategic approach focused on local empowerment, the creation of a solid local system, the identification of common values and goals, able also to be recognized from the outside, at a global (or at least national and international) level (Parente and Sedini, 2016).

In this paper we are going to deepen Design for Territories holistic approach in light of different case studies, in order to better explain what we mean with this concept; we are going to focus on the cross-fertilization between tradition and innovation, which often is oriented to the intersection between local and global. As Manzini and M'Rithaa state (2016), nowadays what we define as local is profoundly influenced by and connected with globalized trends and (also) favoured by networking possibilities, which new technologies have been giving us. The relationship between universalism and localism is interestingly explained by Manzini (2004a, 2004b, 2005, Manzini and M'Rithaa, 2016) with the concept of 'Cosmopolitan Localism', referring to what Wolfgang Sachs proposed in 1992.

We can say that the problems which territories are facing are global and shared (with different levels of relevance and seriousness); Design for Territories tries to imagine solutions to these problems which can profit through local resources and capabilities.

These case studies are emblematic of some emerging territorial questions and of how the design approach can propose solutions, which go beyond a precise answer. Among these: how to renovate the traditional (and static) local production, finding a balance between local values and global markets? How to make recognizable a portion of territory, which is similar for cultural, productive and environmental vocations, but politically and governmentally fragmented? How to re-orient the identity of a place, which is in a period of recession of its historically well known local production? How to go beyond a solid local attitude of isolation and protection of its own territorial context, which could originate serious depopulation phenomena?

2. Local Knowledge and Cultural Heritage

The relationship between local productive traditions and culture, both in terms of historical heritage and contemporary production, can constitute an opportunity for a territory to enhance very specific resources closely linked to the context, but at the same time to look at wider, contemporary and universal futures.

Two examples clarify this concept.

The first concerns the small Ligurian town of Albissola, known for its historical ceramics manufacturing and the presence, even today, of qualified companies. The notoriety of Albissola is linked above all to the relationship between craftsmanship and the art world, developed by charismatic figures such as Tullio d'Albissola, ceramist, artist and writer, who managed to gather a large colony of Italian and foreign artists; starting from the 1950s, these artists transformed Albissola into a privileged place for meeting, discussion and artistic production. The presence and activity of experimentation of artists such as Lucio Fontana, the Danish Asger Jorn (whose dwelling on the hills of Albissola, today a house-museum, represents the most evident example of a fruitful osmosis between art and territory), the Group Co.Br.A., Wifredo Lam, Agenore Fabbri and many others, helped to influence a period of great cultural liveliness and international visibility for the entire territory.

Today Albissola, even if invested by a general decline in the ceramic sector, continues to cultivate knowledge and local skills not only educating new generations, but above all keeping alive the dialogue between tradition and innovation, in the wake of artistic experimentation and languages that have always characterized its identity.

In this context, there are many research collaborations with the University of Genoa and the Politecnico di Milano,[1] in the meantime also collaboration with some artists and designers, such as Giulio Iacchetti and Gum Design, continues.

With the research conducted in 2006 by the Department of Sciences for Architecture of the Faculty of Architecture of Genoa, as part of the III Biennial of Ceramics in Contemporary Art, the experimentation of the relationship between craftsmanship and the new 3D production technologies has been started; thanks to this experimentation, designers identified ways and phases in which it is possible to imagine mixed production techniques. Three-dimensional virtual models are used for the development of complex shapes; then, with rapid prototyping techniques, models for the handmade production of gypsum molds can be derived, as in the case of the "3 sfere" (three spheres) vase designed by Alessandro Mendini (Fig. 1): a possible and collaborative dialogue between different knowledge and processes that opens the way to new perspectives of development.[2]

Fig. 1 *Tre Sfere* vase prototype, designed by Alessandro Mendini.

The second example concerns the city of Pompei, whose archaeological site is a UNESCO World Heritage Site since 1997, visited by about 3.5 million visitors in 2017. Here the relationship between local culture and global values is more complex, because the boundary between local and universal values becomes subtle. The remains and in particular the objects and works found in the excavations show a material and cultural history which displays both the specific place and a universal heritage. The interesting exhibition Pompei@ Madre, at the homonymous Museum of Contemporary Art in Naples (November 2017 – September 2018), has well shown the capability to transcend space and time of these remains, through the display of the dialogue between archaeological finds and works of our contemporaneity.[3]

Similarly to Albissola, Pompei and the neighboring Vesuvian municipalities have a strong manufacturing tradition in the ceramic sector. The work "Pompei: New Merchandising" by the designer Marcello Panza, exhibited in the Museo Temporaneo di Impresa di Pompei (December 2017), explores the expressive skills and antiquities, reinterpreting them as contemporary icons, where the ceramic material, the relationship with earth, water and fire become the common thread between ancient and current knowledge, between local and universal cultures (Fig. 2). An example of strategic collaboration between territorial local production and cultural values that amplify the peculiarity, the sense of belonging and the meaning of a collection of products that well interprets the concepts of recognition and of 'cosmopolitan localism' previously mentioned.

[1] Among the collaborations carried out with the Politecnico di Milano and POLI.design, we highlight the research conducted with the Brand of Territorial Systems Course and the Master in Strategic Design in 2011 for the promotion of the identity of the territory and the feasibility study for an "Ecomuseo dei Molini da Colore". See Parente, 2012: 58–65.

[2] See Casiddu Niccolò, "Innovazione tecnologica e artigianato ceramico", in: http://www.attesedizioni.org/progetti_speciali/11/index.html (last accessed 15/06/18).

[3] See: http://www.madrenapoli.it/en/pompeimadre-materia-archeologica-le-collezioni/ (last accessed 15/06/18).

Fig. 2 *Pompei: New Merchandising* exhibition by Marcello Panza, Pompei 2017.

3. Belonging and Diversity

Italy, probably more than other countries, is the homeland of diversity, of traditional recipes which vary in several ways, of accents and dialects which differ one from the other even a few kilometers apart. So much diversity is certainly a resource, of stories, values, artifacts, and skills. Therefore, the idea of "being Italian" is constituted by the sum of small and diverse elements, whose glue is a sense of cultural belonging. This speech could lead us to tackle very complex issues related to the construction of national identities; but in light of the touristic strategies for the enhancement of the territories, the extreme fragmentation in small areas competing with each other, in a global market, risks damaging the visibility of individual promotion and supply strategies.

We faced these issues during a didactic experience carried out in 2008 in a specific area of the Puglia region.[4] This area, that hasn't a specific name, is located between the most well-known and organized sites of Gargano and Salento. In addition to that, it is administratively divided into three different provinces and it is composed by 21 municipalities, some of which are very popular, such as Ostuni and Alberobello. Therefore, this is a unitary territory from the morphological and environmental point of view, yet divided into many entities, without a name that can recognize it as a homogeneous whole. The request of local administrations was very clear: how to be recognized as a whole, to have greater visibility in an international market, without renouncing its specific peculiarities.

Among the strategic communication hypotheses developed by the participants in the "BST – Brand dei Sistemi Territoriali" course, the "Quinte Mobili" project (Mobile Wings) (Fig. 3) proposes a platform for the offer and the choice of one's personal visit experience. The user can choose through a thematic menu of services (entertainment, sport, food and wine, culture, etc.), graphically represented by and linked with a portion of landscape; in this way, the area isn't associated to a name, but to an evocative image and its cultural and environmental peculiarities, as if they were the wings of a theatre stage. Similarly to what happens in theatre with scenography, also the designed brand becomes dynamic and customizable, according to the experiences that you want to have, and that you select from the website. This project plays with the metaphor of richness and diversity of available offers, the sense of belonging and recognition within a broader and collaborative territorial system.

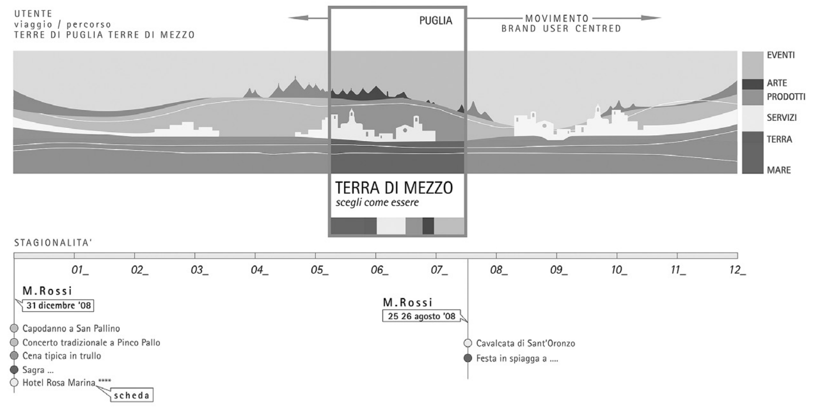

Fig. 3 *Quinte Mobili* project by Daniela D'Avanzo, Silvia Libera, Gisella Martinazzoli, 2008.

4. The Crisis as an Opportunity for Rebirth

The change of economic, development and social models are modifying the identity and the survival capabilities of some territories. We are witnessing phenomena of smaller center depopulation, of economic contraction, and as a consequence of functional emptying of large portions of the city. The industrial crisis has for some time imposed on the great European cities to initiate processes of urban regeneration and identity repositioning, as in the case of Barcelona and Turin, and today we carefully observe the transformations of Milan, after EXPO 2015, which is interesting in the field of application of new urban practices. We are going to analyze two case studies very different from one other: Biella, a rich and flourishing town in the Piedmont region known for wool manufacturing, and the tiny village of Topolò, on the border with Slovenia, almost uninhabited.

The crisis in the textile sector of Biella has led to the closure of many small and medium-sized enterprises and to a significant reduction in contracting, while the most important luxury companies remain. For the first time, the city was forced to emerge from its isolation, to rethink its model of development. For this reason, the city set up a strategic plan focused on: restoring the meaning of its historic center emptied of commercial activities, converting many abandoned buildings, and facing the escape of younger generations. These are the weak-

[4] First edition of "BST – Brand dei Sistemi Territoriali" Higher Education Course of POLI.design, a consortium company founded by the Politecnico di Milano, in collaboration with Puglia Region, the tourism body of Brindisi and some local companies. See: https://www.polidesign.net/bst/ (last accessed 15/06/2018).

nesses, but there still are many strengths, such as the excellence of its most important companies, the legacy of a productive past, the local know-how and the entrepreneurial spirit of its inhabitants; in addition to that, very important are the processes of reconversion towards the world of contemporary art, culture and the agri-food sector.

We were invited by local administrations to reflect on the future of Biella, both with an edition of the BST course in 2015 and with the subsequent research collaboration for the preparation of a feasibility study in 2016. Some possible scenarios of development were proposed, starting from the identification of potential resources that can be found in the territory. Among the various hypotheses, we mention here only the project "CYCLE: Connecting Young Communities in a Local Experience", because it focuses on the theme of regeneration of spaces and places with the goal of enhancing people's quality of life. This project, strongly oriented to the younger generation, restores and re-imagines values and places, being based on environmental and sustainability principles (Fig. 4). A physical regeneration of abandoned spaces, but also a rehabilitation of meanings that reconnect the past with the present through new ideas and ways of doing business in fashion, art, agribusiness and creative communities.

Fig. 4 CYCLE project by Dario Cavaglià, Marco Errica, Michela Galletti, Rosalba Porpora, 2015.

Topolò, a small hilly village in Friuli–Venezia Giulia on the border with Slovenia, represents the case of a 25-year hard challenge. The village was based on a rural economy and had undergone migratory phenomena since the late twentieth century; in the period of the Iron Curtain after the Second World War, it suffered massive depopulation, because it became an inhospitable land. Topolò has a symbolic and hopeful value. It represents a virtuous example of bottom-up design, carried out by some intellectuals who wanted to give back to Topolò, and to the whole valley, a place in the world. In 1994 Moreno Miorelli and Donatella Ruttar started the project "Stazione di Topolò" (Topolò Train Station), a cultural event and a laboratory of ideas that became a standing appointment every July, repopulating the small village with inhabitants of the world: an international community of about 6,000 people which cyclically meet, transforming the suspicious attitude of the 24 inhabitants into a new form of hosting and sharing (Fig. 5). In these years, inhabitants who had left the village returned and they recovered the building stock and turned the town into a scattered hotel, a place of international meeting and experimentation. Art has played an important role in the interpretation of the local spirit, the mediation and the renewal of places and storytelling. This was possible thanks to participation and collaborative processes, which have been crucial for its success and its rebirth. Today Topolò, from being a place of abandonment and oblivion, has overcome the negative historical identity to become an example of successful renewal that has positive effects throughout the area (Parente and Medeiros, 2015).

Fig. 5 Stazione di Topolò project. Moreno Miorelli and Donatella Ruttar curatorship.

5. Conclusions

In this short contribution, the cases presented were to give an idea of the possible plans of action of Design for Territories, which deals with very different problems, scales, and objectives using always a strategic approach aimed at building relationships and synergies for the integrated valorization of territorial systems.

In the case studies, Design for Territories was aimed at:

- rethinking the relationship between local, productive and cultural heritage, and the demands of present times, in search of a dialogue between local specificities and global values;
- re-framing the identity of a territory and tuning it with contemporary challenges and possibilities, working for the creation of new meanings and relationships between existing and potential resources;
- putting at the core of strategic actions several positive values, such as openness, conviviality and sustainability;
- developing new, small and local narratives, to be shared with new and old citizens.

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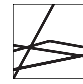

1 Design History and Histories of Design

1.2 Designing the Histories of Southern Designs

In recent years, efforts to construct local design historiographies have flourished in regions such as Latin America, South Asia, Africa and the Middle East. There have also been attempts to establish a design culture and design studies and research in those regions. Many of these efforts, however, have gone largely unnoticed by the wider global community of design scholars and researchers. One of the reasons for this is that many significant conceptions and ideas have circulated only within the authors' native language sphere. This strand aims to help diffuse such proposals and their consequences and spark discussion.

The strand welcomes papers that examine issues such as transnational, transatlantic and transpacific exchanges, transculturalism and creolisation, designs in and for the Global South and the Southern Hemisphere.

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Back to the Future
The Future in the Past

ICDHS 10th+1 BARCELONA 2018

Conference Proceedings Book

Oriol Moret (ed.)

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1.2 Designing the Histories of Southern Designs

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INTRODUCTION

1.2 Designing the Histories of Southern Designs

In recent years, efforts to construct local design historiographies have flourished in regions such as Latin America, South Asia, Africa and the Middle East. There have also been attempts to establish a design culture and design studies and research in those regions. Many of these efforts, however, have gone largely unnoticed by the wider global community of design scholars and researchers. One of the reasons for this is that many significant conceptions and ideas have circulated only within the authors' native language sphere. This strand aims to help diffuse such proposals and their consequences and spark discussion.

The strand welcomes papers that examine issues such as transnational, transatlantic and transpacific exchanges, transculturalism and creolisation, designs in and for the Global South and the Southern Hemisphere.

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The strand 'Designing the Histories of Southern Designs' was devised with the aim of attracting papers that examine issues related to the construction of design cultures and design histories, not only in the Southern Hemisphere, but also in the so-called Global South. The call for papers indicated that appropriate approaches to such studies included transnational, transatlantic and transpacific exchanges, transculturalism and creolisation. The call resulted in the submission of 27 abstracts, all of which presented some kind of contribution to local design historiographies. Although the majority focused on Latin America, particularly Brazil, contributions relating to Southern Europe and Asia were also submitted.

The recurring topics addressed by the 21 proposals selected for presentation are local histories of design; regional industrialisation processes; education; modernism; identity; and print, visual and material culture. Some of the authors focus on specific designers to draw our attention to the significance of their contribution, but most of the papers include much broader accounts spanning wide geographic areas or periods and that sometimes shed light on anonymous but still significant artefacts.

As revealed by the substantial and qualified response to the call for papers and the collection of articles selected for this strand, design studies in the Global South represent a lively scene that is crying out for the wider dissemination of its original ideas and research results.

Priscila L. Farias, Wendy S. Wong, Tingyi S. Lin

ALADI (Latin American Design Association) as an Interpretive Community

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Latin America / History of design / Latin Americanism / ALADI / Territories

The characteristics that shaped ALADI—in Spanish: Latin American Design Association—in 1980 let us glimpse the functioning of an Interpretive Community. Passionate beings, coinciding in experiences and ways of seeing and criticizing the world, that are capable of building projects that dream of a promising future. This community is clearly fuelled by an emotive Latin Americanism, which has been traveling since the nineteenth century, mixing, blending and updating itself with different discourses, utopias and challenges. I can affirm that this Latin Americanism enters into a "resonance box"—as perhaps Serge Gruzinski would say. In this, gradually, a diverse amount of critical lines were entering, mixing up, producing and amplifying new conceptions. Giving color and particular ways of seeing reality, as well as forming the base of a group of conceptions that debate what is, what should be and where the design made in Latin America should go. Beyond an association, ALADI must be seen as a community, one that interprets and constructs in heterogeneous ways in Latin American conditions and for Latin American conditions.

1.

After a two-year process, ALADI (Latin American Design Association) was founded in Colombia in November 1980. Nine delegations from Latin American countries met in the city of Bogota and in the town of Santandercito to create an associative body that would stimulate independence in the conception and exercise of Latin American design... an independence, of the so-called "cultural centers". These delegations came from Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Ecuador, Guatemala, Mexico and Puerto Rico.

In the inaugural speech of the association, design was seen as technology, this being conceived as the most efficient and necessary tool for the conquest of the industrial, economic and cultural autonomy of the region with 'the metropolis'. In the years to come, several aims and nuances were developed from that conception.

ALADI was born as the promise to protect itself from "those who did not want Latin America to create its own reality", as expressed by Oscar Pamio (1981)—representative of Costa Rica in the founding process—in a press article published in the magazine *Módulo* in March of 1981, three months after the inaugural assembly in Colombia.

With variations in tones and emphasis, the majority of those present in Colombia in 1980 coincided with the same way of seeing design, its role in Latin American societies—which they clearly considered different from others—and the promise that the young profession held for the longed-for and attempted social change in this 'worn out', 'painful', but equally 'promising Latin American land'.[1]

The speech was clear and forceful in the founders of ALADI. Almost from one end of the continent to the other: from the Rio Grande on the border of Mexico with the United States, to the Chilean-Argentine Patagonia, most of them agreed to gather the same type of experience as designers in their respective countries; in general they criticized the social reality in the same way, or paying tribute to the same conceptual matrices—demands to be more precise; they usually underlined the same problems in their own scenarios and relatively defended the form of the nationalist ideals themselves, which almost automatically ended in reflections on a united Latin America.

In this context, a very particular way of understanding the jurisdiction and the discretionality of design appears, giving a particular form to its conception. Among other things, in their different interventions, the delegates present at the foundation of ALADI in Bogotá in 1980 presented three large blocks of ideas in which they dealt with this type of issue. In such blocks, they presented what they understood by the design function; they delineated the field of their academic and professional discretionality, stating what is not, or better, what design should not be; and they expressed what they conceived as the designer's professional competences. Function, field and competences seen against the light of the Latin American circumstances.

To mention it briefly, the different delegations agreed to see design as a tool to solve the social needs manifested by specific populations of the region, as well as the best mechanism to support technological development, and with this resolve the industrial needs satisfying the appetites of an economic strengthening that should seek autonomy. Coupled with this, those present in Bogotá also agreed on the idea that design is the most appropriate instrument to strengthen indigenous technological development—considered and applied in local rural circumstances—as well as the need to contain the very serious problem of the marginalization of Latin American cities, stimulated and reproduced by the heterogeneous processes of industrialization and urbanization that the countries of the region experienced since the 1940s.

[1] In the discourse that crosses the region since the 19th century, the different intellectuals who claim the 'Latin American essence', defend this type of ideas about the region. Both sore and abandoned, as fertile, promising and destined for utopia. One of the speeches that most lucidly gathers these principles may be the text read by Gabriel García Márquez, the day he received the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1982.

Within the right proportions, the delegations also shared both the form and the sense of construction of the disciplinary geographies. In this, the statements debated coincidentally around two main axes. The first one tried to differentiate the design of crafts and/or techniques. Given the particularities with the language, the Brazilian case may be the most notorious in this professional claim exercise, when it tries to make the difference between drawing—*desenhar*: action that anyone can achieve—and projecting—a skill acquired after long and costly processes in academic centres. The second axis wanted to make the difference between design and old occupations and/or disciplines, showing itself as the profession that could really respond to the problems that afflicted society, something—among other things—that its predecessors had not achieved. On the latter, the debate against art, architecture and somewhat against engineering and advertising are the most recurrent points.

Both the functions and the geographies of design were possible, when establishing what we would today call 'designer competences'. For that moment, according to the statements of the papers presented in Bogotá, those skills for the Latin American designer would be linked to Utopia: at that time, to embody social change, in a region that had come to see how poverty and misery passed through the decades and centuries since the so-called 'discovery of America'. In this way, the designer had to acquire the ability to perceive and know the economic, social and technological reality of the context, from a rigorous critical stance. Only with that clarity, the Latin American designer would be able to see—among other things—the ways in which the siege of "savage capitalism" in the region was manifested; and seeing it could both denounce it, as well as fight against the great threat that it posed to the identity and therefore to the autonomy of these countries. To such a political call, the Latin American designer would be arriving, neither more nor less, as the very incarnation of utopia… as the main actor of social change, 'the same designer signing his presence as a new man and contributing to the consolidation of Industrial Design as the vital discipline for the development of society for the well-being of peoples' (Leiva, 1980: 4).

The statement of Leiva, beyond its eloquent levels of abstraction, reflects for me the greatest sense of the claims expressed in the foundation of ALADI in Bogota. However, with that I do not want to say that the different delegations expressed exactly the same that he defended. As in most Latin American processes, there are nuances, complementary and even opposed perspectives. In any case, regardless of whether some were fully coincidental or not, even if some were more general and others more concrete, I can affirm that in the ideas expressed in the foundation of ALADI there was a convergence in the Latin American statements that gravitated around these principles exposed. At that point, the wording of the first political objective of the Association is clearly the manifestation of a common place:

> Based on the recognition of a problem common to our countries, ALADI promotes at the Latin American level the application of design as an indispensable discipline […] oriented towards the pluritarian needs of our peoples […] the assembly of ALADI approved the following objectives […] To promote the rupture of the economic, technological and cultural dependence to which our peoples are subject, by encouraging the application of technologies, objectives and visual communication systems of their own (ALADI, 1980: 1).

2.

Where does that sensitivity come from in each of them? What basis supports it and projects it? But above all, how can we explain the notorious coincidence of thought among subjects who barely know each other during the founding process of ALADI and who have built their respective lives away from each other, in fact, totally scattered in a region that doubles the size of Europe and practically triples the United States?

The coincidence in the group of arguments justified by ALADI suggests the existence of at least one system of circulation of ideas, or better, and to use the words of Serge Gruzinski (2012), of a "resonance box". That system—that resonance box—clearly gathered, digested, mixed, updated, disseminated and amplified a certain type of ideas in relation to national identity; with concerns about the original inhabitants of the region; about the place of our countries in a scenario of tension between "the local" and "the cosmopolitan"—which had worried groups of intellectuals in the region; it manifested the dilemma between the modernist pretensions in crisis with the nineteenth-century traditions; ideas that were interpreted by people with certain social and cultural capitals, and who sculpted in a special way a way of seeing the world, which also turns out to be quite particular. Those ideas gave voice to a Latin Americanism so old, as alive and passionate for that moment. A Latin Americanism that fed the most varied range of cultural projects in the region since the 19th century, and that was clearly fuelled by each of these cultural projects at the moment in which it seems to be 'updated'.[2]

Linked to the exercise of justification of design in the region, the designers gathered at the foundation of ALADI usually claim identity elements of their respective countries, which in a relatively organic way were rising to the proportions of Latin America. From the configuration of statements written in the different papers presented in Bogotá—and also from the different complementary documents that the delegations submitted, as well as from the documents written during the two years of ALADI's foundation—going through the different articles published in various magazines and newspapers of the time, or the memories of several of the attendees, even to the materialization of the graphic

[2] In what could be called the discussions between structure and individual action, Roland Barthes (2005) coined the expression 'actualization' to describe the way clothing is put into operation in the daily act of dressing.

pieces of the congresses, a vindicating spirit of the difference and the Latin American autonomy crosses the imaginaries of those involved.

'We are substantially different', 'children of a promising land' that is permanently related to the idea of the "Earthly Paradise"; this image, configured from the very first contacts of Europeans with the continent, in the 15th century. Born in these lands is the son of the territory in which the lost caravel was anchored, the sense of the magical, the image of the future. In opposition to Europe, America was always considered as the future. In this perspective, the different Latin American intellectuals have felt that they are part of a unit that expresses the difference itself and that clamour breathes in the core of ALADI's vindication:

> As a basic motivation [ALADI seeks] to take care of the interests of Latin American designers, who have a series of common interests precisely because of their common geographical and cultural characteristics, distinct from the characteristics of the European countries traditionally represented in the ICSID (Redig, 1980: 4).

As with the founding intellectuals of ALADI, there is a long line of claims around that identity since at least the 19th century. Updating in particular ways that essentialism transits from the very recreation of the original inhabitants of the territory—as happens with the different facets of indigenism—going through expressions of afro heritage in Cuba or Brazil—but also in Colombia and others—the Mexican, Colombian, Ecuadorian or Chilean peasant demands and the workers in Argentina and/or Brazil. All of them, as intellectual exercises through which it pretended to be randomly trapped in identity... take hold of what is substantially its own and clearly different from others.

Just as it is essentialist, that eagerness for the construction of identity is also circumstantialist. It understands as a principle of this difference, that the issues that occur within the territory are the spring of those who inhabit it. The formulation of the problems, their diagnosis and above all their resolution is mainly due to the circumstances in which they are produced and clearly, to the possibilities that the circumstance offers to solve them. It is not possible to resolve local issues based on matrices developed in other contexts... in other circumstances. Leopoldo Zea said in 1953: 'in politics no; our world of observation and application is here [...] To appeal to the authority of European thinkers is to introduce anarchy and confusion into the solution of our questions' (Cancelli, 2003: 56).

It is more or less expected that the vindication of these principles around the essential identity and the defence of respect for the circumstances end up generating an anti-imperialism as vivid, as intense and colourful. In conflict with the expansive strategies of the United States since the beginning of the 19th century—and which will stimulate the very creation of Latin America as a concept—the 'essential' search and the 'circumstantial' clamour become strategies to configure the contours of autonomy. In this way, the fusion of regional preventions with respect to the expansive American movements on Central American territories, joins the need of the Latin American elites to participate in the metropolitan process of modernization, and in that it finds an enormous dilemma: to Europeanize the culture and defend the territory of the overwhelming Anglo-Saxon spirit.

The 19th century advances giving rise to the complexities of the 20th century. Over the course of the decades and the gradual settlement of a republican project for most of the countries of the region, these principles gravitating around autonomy, acquire different facets depending on the dialogue that they establish with each social expectation that is emerging. Concerns about industrialization put a particular colour on the social debate, and different ways of understanding it puts different conceptions and bets on the table. That essential search, as well as the circumstantial clamour and anti-imperialist struggle, not only do not die out, but also feed on such expectations. Put another way: they come alive and also make sense.

That is, just as it is not the same to think about the problem of industrialization in Latin America compared to Asia, it is also not possible to standardize the expectations of what is sought with industrialization in the first two decades of the 20th century, in comparison with the way of understanding its principles and challenges during the 1940s in the region. And it is not that it is only imprudent to homologate them for the time being and the historical gap that it would imply. It is necessary to understand that in the first 20 years of the 20th century, some stakeholders—exceptionally motivated by their perspectives, and looking for their specific interests—ventured almost in an isolated and relatively extraordinary way about the problems of the so-called "artificial industries". The pioneering of certain Italian immigrants in Argentina, as Veronica Devalle (2009) puts it, or the early initiative of other migrants in São Paulo, and even in Ecuador, as Love (2011) defends, place a strain on the place where regional elites have been accumulating capital and power, around what they called "natural industries". Already in the 1940s, in the midst of the circumstances posed by World War II and highly fuelled by the practical and intellectual experience surrounding Latin American industrialization, both circumstantialism, as well as a certain part of essentialism and a certain version of anti-imperialism, feed the perspective of regional industrialization, as the only way to break the dependence of our countries with the metropolis; or to say it as Raúl Prebish conceptualized it since the 1930s and formally postulated since 1944: 'in the structural relationship established between the Center and the periphery of the system' (Love, 2011).

The topic of industrialization is a single example of how an "American task" is stimulated, updated and prolonged, as Juan Carlos Mariátegui claimed in the 1920s (Cancelli, 2003: 57). In its respective proportions and formats, this same hybridization took place in the most diverse social and cultural fronts in the lives of intellectuals in the region. Different expressions of literature, the visual arts, including architecture, show the imbricated fabric that is densifying a

latinamericanist discourse, as the years and decades pass in the region. That tangle… that fabric is what entangles the most diverse quality of discourses about the Latin American future, being the basis, or better, making the resonance box that Gruzinski talks about, which is the contraption that explains that in a territory of such proportions there is both an idea of unity, and above all, for what interests me to defend here, that the illusion of community can be configured to be shared in certain categories of reality. Individuals geographically isolated and ideologically—and strategically I would say—twinned and differentiated from others, "we need to feel that we are 'someone' different to commit ourselves… a common identity is built from the history that you and I share" (Sennett, 2012: 313).

3.

Coming from the 19th century, this discourse seems to give enough courage and encouragement to create and maintain the size of such an organization in those obviously so particular years. ALADI was big—huge—in the sense that it brought together a region with the territorial proportions that I already mentioned and that it did so during very complicated years for the history of our countries: the 1980s were called by economic and social criticism "a lost decade" due to the deep crises that simply dismantled the social, political and economic model of Latin America. However, and in spite of these conditions, ALADI not only started its operation and strengthening, but also managed to be recognized by the UN as a consulting entity for the region in May 1989 (Ayoub, 1989).

That Latin American ideas nucleus is the one that feeds those perspectives on a special, perhaps exclusive, conception of Latin American design, made for Latin America and in the conditions of Latin America within ALADI. As ideas, they conform and were conformed by an Interpretive Community, in the sense that Stanley Fish (1980) presents. A community that establishes as such during the 1980s—at least—a forum of permanent debate, in which the discretionality and the jurisdiction of design were emotionally discussed and configured. The Community becomes one of the social elements that explain the founding of ALADI as a social fact: it was created by intoxicated and committed people to certain ideals of social change in the 'exotic Latin America', revolving, clearly, from the principle of common identity.

This community adopts, in very different ways, statements and postulates coming from the "cultural centers", of course they do; in a scenario of latent globalization, it is hardly expected that this will happen. However, the different ways of suffering those latinamericanist claims that I mentioned, give nuances to that dialogue, producing in most of the cases completely different senses to 'the originals'… it is a clear process of anthropophagy, as perhaps Oswald de Andrade (1978) would say in the São Paulo of the 1950s. But just as ideas are placed in motion while many others are digested in different ways, it is hardly clear that there are dense innovations that arise from the conditions in which the different experiences are lived in Latin America. In this way, not only, for example, it seems to me that the "center-periphery" thesis needs to be relocated as a Latin American innovation for world criticism, but also several conceptions of design, such as the different matrices that relate it to social and cultural development.

4.

The heterogeneous coincidences, creations, as well as the tentative stability of a project like ALADI in front of its own circumstances, hints at the functioning of the idea of an Interpretive Community. Only passionate human beings, coinciding in experiences and ways of seeing and dreaming the world, are able to construct projects that allow us to conceive a sweetened sense of promising future, in addition, in the territorial proportions of a region like Latin America and in the conditions of the so-called "lost decade". And it seems that only the resonance boxes idea of Gruzinski is enabled to give place and amplification to those common senses in geographically and even chronologically distant individuals. In that box came—from ancient times, in the 19th century, and intensely—a diverse number of critical lines such as modernist criticism of architecture, liberation theology and development theories. This box stirs up these and other senses, after which it produces—vomits, in the sense expounded by Andrade (1978)—and amplifies new conceptions, which not only give colour and particular ways of seeing reality, but, depending on that premise, configures the base to a group of conceptions that emotionally debate 'what is', 'what should be' and 'where should go' design in Latin America. Beyond an association, ALADI—at least the one that starts in 1978 and, let's say, reaches 1993—must be seen as a Community; one that interprets and constructs heterogeneous forms in the conditions of Latin American reality and consequently sculpts a conception of both design and the designer for its particular conditions… one that seeks to break the dependence of the region with the metropolis… one that defends the bulwark of that nineteenth-century Latin Americanism: autonomy.

> We are now drawn beyond the just by the influence of Europe, to whom—while we take advantage of its lights—we should imitate in the independence of thought. Andrés Bello, 1848 (Ferrari, 2012: 15).

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Globalization and National Identity in Mexican Design

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Globalization / National identity / Mexican design / History of Mexico / Nationalism

Globalization is continuously challenging our concept of national identity—which seems to be losing its binding capacity within a society bombarded by external stimuli—and that leads to questioning its validity and effectiveness, moving away from the reality experienced every day, to become merely a discourse, of which a specific sector of design in Mexico decides to take advantage.

That is why the author considers it necessary to perform a retrospective analysis of national identity, which allows us to know its origin and its adoption within the Mexican context, as well as its effects on the design of products in this country.

Identity and nationalism

Identity is the source of meaning and experience for people.[1] Like any cultural element, identity is an artificial construction, a product of social friction. This construction uses materials taken from different sources—history, geography, biology, collective memory, power apparatuses—and it is the individuals and their societies who are responsible for processing and reordering those materials as they see fit, for their own spatial and temporal context.

Manuel Castells proposes a distinction between forms and origins of identity building (Castells, 2010: 8). We are particularly interested in legitimizing identity and resistance identity. The first one is introduced by the dominant institutions of society to extend and rationalize their dominance over the social actors. The second one is generated by those actors who are in positions or conditions devalued and/or stigmatized by the logic of domination, thus building trenches of resistance and survival by principles different from, or opposed to, those permeating the institutions of society.

Broadly speaking, the concept of a nation is a form of political organization that entails the physical demarcation of a territory, a constant population and a sovereign government, with distinctive symbols—anthems, flags, coats of arms—based on history and traditions of its inhabitants, with the purpose of being recognized by other nations.

However, it is necessary that we understand and assimilate nation and nationalism more as a cultural phenomenon, rather than an ideology or political apparatus. That is, nationalism, ideology and movement must be closely related to the concept of cultural identity, a multidimensional concept that includes a specific language, feelings and symbolism (Smith, 1991: 79).

Nationalism not only plays a role at the local level, but it also arranges international relations. It is our cover letter to the world regarding who we are and how we want to be perceived. In design terms nationalism constructs the identity discourse of objects; the values that impregnate our concept of nation will be the same that identifies the exterior and that, added to their own opinions, will gradually generate stereotypes or paradigms, which by definition are difficult to break. This situation is shown in the international dynamic, where it is common for the attributes of each nation to be exacerbated—for good or for bad. Throughout design history, we can recognize the national idiosyncrasies of Swiss and German '*gute Form*' design, Italian rationalism, contemporary Japanese minimalism, as well Chinese massive poor quality production.

It is important to point out that nationalism is a conception appropriately conceived in the West and exported to the rest of the world, mainly to geopolitically unify different regions of the world and to facilitate the relations between them. In this regard, British historian Elie Kedourie points out:

> Nationalism is a doctrine invented in Europe at the beginning of the nineteenth century [...] Briefly, the doctrine holds that mankind is naturally divided into nations, that nations are known by certain characteristics that can be checked, and the only legitimate type of government is national self-government (Kedourie, 1960: 9).

National identity is considered the product of this cultural phenomenon called nations and nationalism. In this sense, nationalism is linked to a cultural dimension of design even when at first glance it may seem like an exclusively political phenomenon (Gimeno-Martínez, 2016: 9).

[1] Manuel Castells defines meaning as the symbolic identification made by a social actor of the objective of his action. See Castells, 2010: 6.

Nationalism and its link with design

It is valuable to take the concept of national identity into the field of design history, to the extent that it links disciplines that are not directly related, such as political science and sociology.

Gimeno-Martínez highlights the work of political scientist Anthony D. Smith mainly on three aspects: the particular attention paid to the role of symbols in the construction of national identities, the implicit use of design and its reflection on the consequences of the relationship between national identity and globalization (Gimeno-Martinez, 2016: 9). Smith observes that national symbols and ceremonies are so rooted in the world in which we live 'that, for the most part, we take them for granted' (Smith, 1991: 77).

Additional to the obvious patriotic symbols, Smith proposes a list of all those distinctive customs, traditions, practices and ways of acting and feeling shared by the members of a community of historical culture that extends to aspects such as arts and crafts, architectural styles, urbanism, national recreations, countryside, heroes and folk tales, social protocols, legal procedures and military codes. Although the term design is not explicitly mentioned in this count, it does mention a large number of designed objects. In fact, it is the potential symbolic value of design that makes it suitable for producing symbols of nationhood (Gimeno-Martínez, 2016: 10).

Creating a national past

According to the theories of Smith, the success of any nationalist movement is given by three factors: first, a worthy enough common antiquity; second, the discovery and creation of appropriate myths and traditions, and third, the construction of an appropriate ethnic community. The return to the ethnic past is not only necessary to 'build the nation'; the process of forming a nation creates a past in its own image (Smith, 1990).

Europe's Enlightenment had strong repercussions on the American continent; it laid the foundations for independent movements, which began in 1783 with the separation of the Thirteen Colonies from Great Britain. Subsequent decolonizations brought with them new adherents who, avid for sovereignty, did not hesitate to join the concept of nation and at the same time began the prolonged search for a unified and autonomous national identity, on the return to the vernacular culture and ethnic antiquity. This search acquires a special meaning within those regions where cultural identities were simultaneously recent and of great antiquity as is the case of Mexico.

The origins for vindicating/glorifying the pre-Hispanic heritage of this nation can be found in the work *Ancient History of Mexico* (1781), a historiographical work by Francisco Xavier Clavijero, who was inspired by the literature of Fray Juan de Torquemada, *Monarquía Indiana* (1613); he undertook the task of fighting and dismantling the ignorant vision that Europe had about America and its inhabitants back then. He was followed by the works of Servando Teresa de Mier, Carlos María de Bustamante, as well as José María Morelos and Pavón himself, who concluded that the Mexican nation possessed a separate identity and required unity and autonomy. It may seem paradoxical that, when Mexico consolidated its independence, it undermined these concepts only to unearth them a hundred years later.

In the early twentieth century, the Mexican Revolution left a violated, disordered and severely confused country, so it was urgent to raise the question of national identity again. In 1920, President Álvaro Obregón installed José Vasconcelos—who had previously served as the ninth rector of the National University—as Minister of Education. Vasconcelos is a fundamental character in the new Mexican cultural narrative. A humanist in nature, he openly criticized the positivist doctrine, mistrusting reason as the only means to know the existential reality and reclaimed the role of the senses, intellect, imagination, and emotions as faculties for obtaining knowledge. He focused his production on three fundamental works: *Treaty of Metaphysics* (1929), *Ethics* (1932) and *Aesthetics*, this being his most relevant work. The proposal of Vasconcelos can be summarized as follows (Sosa, 2006: 9):

> The faculties by which we obtain knowledge are the senses, the intellect, the imagination and the emotions. [...] In the aesthetic state, which is the highest state of consciousness, the image recreates the perceived object; the image is a representation that enriches the object. The philosopher, *'an artist of the whole'*, uses his imagination when ideas are insufficient to organize his experiences [...] true knowledge is in itself aesthetic. (Sametz de Walerstein, 1991: 66–67).

Vasconcelos' search for a reevaluation of the indigenous situation came, in large part, from the writings of the Mexican anthropologist and archaeologist Manuel Gamio, who devoted himself to the study and research of the ethnographic and archaeological composition of the city of Teotihuacan, before the conquest. In Gamio's work *Forjando Patria* (1916), he narrates the misery of indigenous people concentrated around cultivated lands that belonged to a small elite of landowners, as well as the suppression of their uses and customs after the Conquest, and peculiarly as a result of the reforms promulgated in 1859. Gamio advocated the incorporation of the natives to the modern era; he considered that his handicraft production and folkloric arts were the results of an old life, but he did not reject his originality, beauty and symbolic value. Precisely these attributes would stimulate the imagination of Mexican muralists, as is the case of Diego Rivera. The latter, in 1921, along with other artists and writers, joined a tour—organized by Vasconcelos—through various parts of the national territory, but it is precisely in Tehuantepec, Oaxaca, where he is captivated by its indigenous life and culture. One could say that Diego Rivera is the first to ennoble and idealize the pre-Columbian past through objects since he not only set out to collect a large number of artifacts from that time but also studied Toltec and Olmec sculpture in depth. His contribution lies in the fact that the intimate contact he had with the indigenous culture had a profound effect, not only in the artistic sphere but also in the vision we have of Mexico to this day.

The abovementioned is a clear example of legitimizing identity, in which we can recognize how the artists and intellectuals of the post-revolutionary period, served as generators and suppliers of a cultural nationalism that the Mexican government sought to raise, an ethnically composed nation that has its roots in an indigenous past in order to provide Mexico with a genuine national identity.

Globalization

Globalization[2] represents a significant challenge for the configuration and continuity of the national identity. The development of distinctive nations coupled with the parallel growth of global culture presents a particular combination of heterogeneity and homogeneity, each revealing the weak points of the other (Smith, 1995). Therefore, the tensions and contradictions between these two are directly reflected in cultural production and consequently in design. Its extension, intensity, speed, and impact, have made the process of globalization, as a destabilizing agent, a factor that disturbs everything that we take for granted and is presented as unquestionable about who we are.

Globalization accentuates diversity, which makes us consciously or unconsciously contrast ourselves incessantly with other societies, regions or countries, engaging in the arduous quest to find those elements that make us particular, different and unique in front of others. On the other hand, the constant exposure to the mass media, as well as the immediacy of response, means that the limits between that which we borrow and that which we consider ours vanish. Faced with this clouded judgment, some individuals craving to awaken from a bad dream become entrenched within common topics, which makes them more vulnerable to falling into idealizations or stereotypes, while others syncretize all the stimuli around them which makes them susceptible to transculturation.[3] Internet—*par excellence*, the catalyst for the spread of globalization—has developed tools that contribute directly or indirectly to the creation, strengthening, deformation or destruction of what the collective imaginary understands as national identity. The great servers and search engines, blogs, websites as well as mainly social networks—Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, Pinterest or Tumblr—allow the search of texts, images, and videos through one or several words concatenated. In this way, it suffices to write the name of a country or region, to obtain a whole display of diverse information instantaneously, apparently related to a generalized feeling.

With globalization, humanity is going through a period of cultural expansion whose acquired inertia is practically impossible to tackle. It is a complex term that brings with it a permanent relation of opposition, contradiction, and polarization of concepts that continually reject each other and consolidate as antagonistic opposites; it represents the constant struggle between everything that on the one hand seems to want to homologate and alienate us, but in reality, it only ends up dividing us and accentuating our differences. The development of distinctive nations and the parallel growth of the global culture appears before us as a combination of heterogeneity and homogeneity, each revealing the weak points of the other. The tensions and contradictions between these two become evident in cultural production.

Detected problems

On the debate about the peripheral countries and the central countries, the renowned design historian, Victor Margolin, maintains that one of the problems of historical marginalization is competition between nations. He points out that nationalism goes beyond the symbolic representation of national products and in many cases, it is the origin of the communication products and instruments on which we affirm national identity (Margolin, 2005: 235–243).

However, the identity component in design, especially when it is nostalgic, is a slippery subject. According to Anna Calvera, on the one hand, identity is necessary to delimit the regions or countries one wants to study, but on the other hand, there is a danger of falling into the vernacular, forgetting the modern cosmopolitanism thanks to which old traditions have been forgotten (Calvera, 2000). The dilemma lies in the fact that it is not ethical to force a culture to preserve its traditions with the sole purpose of offering them to the contemplation and consumption of Western tourism, but neither is it to modernize them by force as colonial powers have generally done (Campi, 2013).

[2] British academics Held & McGrew define globalization as 'the process or set of processes that incorporate a transformation in the spatial organization of social relations and transactions—evaluated in terms of their extent, intensity, speed and impact—generating transcontinental or interregional flows and networks of activity, interaction and the exercise of power'. By *flows* they mean movements of physical artifacts, people, symbols and information through time and space (Held & McGrew, 1999: 16).

[3] *Transculturation* is the neologism coined by Fernando Ortíz, described as the process of transit from one culture to another and its social repercussions of all kinds.

As we had pointed out at the beginning, nationality is a legitimizing identity; in this case, it is the Mexican state that adopts the role of a dominant institution to extend and rationalize its authority to the population. Achieving this required both a popular and an intellectual base that managed to weave an image of the nation creating a good collective past and discovering appropriate myths, symbols, and traditions. This is important since the legitimacy of a nation often requires an appeal to a precedent: the return to a common past arises from the urgent need to mobilize the popular masses by resorting to their atavistic emotions and feelings. Here it is the bourgeoisie or the intelligentsia that incites the people to collective action and violence against everything foreign (Smith, 1991). The historian Mary Matossian adds that the nostalgic and archaic tendencies of so many regimes in the Third World arose from the need to invoke ethnic traditions in order to reinforce and legitimize the many social changes that these regimes insisted on carrying out in the presence of considerable resistance (Matossian, 1958).

Therefore, when the nationalist rhetoric praises the popular masses as 'the authentic people', really in practice there is no intention to defend them, let alone mobilize them, as this would imply the social outbreak that would put at risk the status quo in which we live. This explains the fact that the 'authentically national' popular classes have been kept at bay by praising them only in artistic expressions such as painting, music, film and, of course, in objectual production.

Something similar happens within the national design scene, where some designers (consciously or unconsciously) participate intensively in the legitimating national identity discourse, mainly those that are devoted to the generation of objects for a lavish lifestyle and the production of art-object, as the ubiquitous use of terms rooted in Nahuatl, Maya or Otomi to name expensive pieces of furniture, utensils that allude to popular cultures, to the kitsch or that what is already called Mexican curious or to the objects that result from craft collaboration so applauded both within and without the country, as if all this would legitimize or reconcile the marginal and poverty conditions in which the lower strata of the Mexican population—indigenous and mestizo included—stands nowadays.

Finally, it is necessary to mention that most of the artisans in Mexico, still belong to the description that Gerardo Murillo—better known as Dr. Atl—made of them in 1922:

> They are extremely poor, have a wonderful resistance to fatigue, show an extraordinary sobriety and have an innate characteristic artist feeling of the Mexican people (Dr. Atl, 1989).

In conclusion

This reflection has gone through the following points:

1. *The nation as a premeditated construction.* The concept of a nation, like every cultural element, is an artificial construction that is the product of social friction. Gestated in Europe at the end of the 18th century, it was the search by the new bourgeois class for a form of political grouping that framed the ideals of the Enlightenment and that therefore helped reconcile the popular classes—urban and peasant—that came from a situation of extreme poverty and constant abuse by the aristocracy and the clergy. This concept was exported to the rest of the world, thus becoming the primary form of government. The construction of a nation implies being able to relate with the native population, so it is necessary to appeal to certain elements that can provide a common ethnic origin, grounded in a worthy collective past, as well as in myths, symbols, and traditions. In this way, a distinctive aesthetic is generated around those values where the art and design of that nation can be appreciated.
2. *Mexico as a mestizo country.* Basing the discourse of national identity on the indigenism runs the risk of increasing the gap with our Western heritage, generating antagonisms that seem unable to reconcile. At the same time, it is an incongruous and to some extent paradoxical discourse, since the Mexican national reality does not differ much from the caste system established in the colonial era, a form of racist social stratification that prevails even in our globalized days. Even so, a large part of the production of objectual design in Mexico continues to appeal to this identity concept, since its semiotics underpins the vernacular and the folkloric and although there is great admiration and interest for artisan production, it has not correlated with the situation in which their producers find themselves, a marginalized guild that we assume carry with them, intact, the myths and memories of that past in which our identity rests.
3. *Nationality as the primary form of collective identity and its oscillation between legitimating identity and identity of resistance.* The implementation of a nation project in post-revolutionary Mexico by the government in turn, for the regeneration of the national identity in a country where uncertainty and violence reigned, required binding with the lower strata, as this was the base of the social pyramid, alluding that the essence of the nation was rooted in an indigenous past and popular myths and traditions. This concept permeated and took root actively within the collective imagination, in such a way that it has not changed much since then and it has become the official banner of those who oppose resistance to the cultural homologation that globalization brings.
4. *Nationality as a factor of marginalization.* Nationality has a categorizing role since its function is to delimit a region to distinguish it from another. The above presents two types of conflicts. The first is that by physically delimiting a region, it is also culturally delimited; this is, that we have a form of social grouping that, far from coming from organic cultural processes, are rather the result of political-economic standardizations, independently of whether they seek to legitimize themselves socially and culturally; hence, for some individuals, nationality is something given or acquired, rather than something properly generated. On the other hand, this standardization demands a series of values and adjectives that denote the qualities of the nation. Applied to design, Mexico, by tak-

ing refuge in a distant past and vernacular culture, reinforced the international expectation of finding curious, kitsch and colorful handcrafted objects, leaving no room for any other aesthetic proposal that contradicts this expectation.

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Historiography of Industrial Design in Colombia

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Industrial design / History of industrial design / Historiography of design / Approaches to the historiography of design

This paper is an analysis of the historiography of Colombian industrial design, where the writing of the history and the different approaches used for that purpose were studied. Certainly, this research is appealing to use its outcome as a tool to encourage the creation of new perspectives for the writing of Colombian design history.

It seems important to start the research about the usual focus points in design history from Europe and the United States, because this allows us to understand the historiographical discussions regarding industrial design and its development. Afterward, the parameters employed in Colombian design historiography are studied and introduced, in this process the characteristics of the Colombian approaches were identified, exposing their weaknesses and strengths, showing that these approaches must be complemented in order to broaden the perspectives with which the development of industrial design in Colombia is being studied.

Contrasting the European and American positions previously analyzed with the approaches used in Colombia allows us to see that there are some differences and similarities; however, what is even more important is that the context determines the way to embrace and analyze the development of industrial design, even though this concept is global.

Introduction

Design is everywhere; and to understand it in a comprehensive manner, it is convenient to know its historical evolution. Besides the objects and products, it reflects the production and life forms of a society. That's the reason why history of industrial design is an important research topic. Nevertheless, there is not only one model or approach of writing this history. As in any other discipline, the historiography of design also constantly raises the question of how the history should be written. In this debate, new methodological considerations of history are outlined, and as a result, the design historiography has developed a variety of approaches to be considered as new aspects of design.

I consider important starting the research about the usual focus points in the design history from Europe and the United States, because this allows the understanding of the historiographical discussions regarding industrial design and its development. Afterward, the parameters employed in Colombian design historiography are studied and introduced. During this process, the characteristics of the Colombian approaches were identified, exposing their weaknesses and strengths, showing that these approaches must be complemented in order to broaden the perspectives in which the development of industrial design in Colombia is being studied.

Contrasting the European and American positions previously analyzed with the approaches used in Colombia allows the recognition of differences and similarities between them. However, what is even more important is how the context determines the way to embrace and analyze the development of industrial design, even though this concept is global. Lastly, the perspectives and orientations are presented as an opportunity to continue investigating and reconstructing the history of industrial design in Colombia.

The research was done through an examination of important publications not only about Colombian design history, but also about European and United States design history, as these publications are relevant because of their contribution to the use of new approaches in design historiography and are continuously mentioned in the discussions about that topic. Furthermore, these publications are considered important references in the libraries of design faculties in Colombia. On the other hand, some articles such as Clive Dilnot, *The State of Design history* (Dilnot, 1984) and John Walker's book *Design history and the history of Design* (Walker, 1989) about design historiography were instrumental to filter the European and United States' approaches. These do not appear to be a scientific consensus but should represent the effort to identify the guidelines used so far to write the history of industrial design.

Approaches

One of the first and most common approaches is the typological one, which deals with the objects of design history that can be grouped into a class or series. One of the better examples of this approach are the furniture encyclopedias (Walker, 1989: 135). Nevertheless, another way to write the history of industrial design is from the history of industrial and decorative arts, which is understood as an extension of the history of arts and crafts of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Dilnot, 1984: 13). The central element of this view is mass culture; in addition, the detailed analysis of the relationship between craft and design processes plays an important role.

Another approach that has broad acceptance in different parts of the world and has been used for a long time is that which describes the works and persons, as well as the styles and models of each period; this approach is characterized by the influence of the history of art but at the same time the designers and their works are the most important guiding principle. On the other hand, there is an approach that attempts to oppose this type of "heroic" narrative, showing the history of design as a nameless history and presenting a social perspective, in which new aspects such as technology and the impact of scientific advances in design are considered. Following this line where it is sought to have society as a central element emerge approaches that consider the interaction of design with

society a fundamental issue in history, the principle of these proposals is to show to what extent design has an impact on society and society in turn on design.

An important perspective from which the history of industrial design is analyzed, which must also be mentioned, is the structural construction of design and design processes; here it is explained how the work of the designer has changed over time in the industrialized nations, with this aim, the subject of the "division of labour" and the "manufacturing processes" are also discussed, as well as the profitability of design processes.

As can be seen there are many guidelines for writing the history of industrial design; which of these models should be used? It depends on the aims of the research. The question of how the history of design should be written is a constant argument, indeed in these discussions new approaches emerge that seek to adapt to the changes of society and consequently to the evolution of design (Fallan, 2010), which are not pertinent in this research because these move away from the main objective of study that is Colombia.

Colombian Approaches

In Colombian publications there are approaches that somehow reach out to some of the propositions used in Europe and the USA, although there are approaches from abroad that have not been used yet in Colombia, and others that are inadequate because their characteristics cannot be adapted to the conditions of the historical and cultural development of the country.

In Colombia most authors focus on the social, political and economic context, describing the beginning of industrialization, social, technological and economic development, as well as the political situation in Colombia, and these are understood as important circumstances for the development of industrial design. In this approach, the idea that the development of the discipline has always depended on industrial and economic development can be clearly recognized, but the focus is on the large production of intermediate or semi-finished products, and not on the way these are transformed as a product for society. The development of new products is somehow ignored. The orientation of this approach is an attempt to classify the history of design in its social, political and economic context: the authors have the tendency to focus more on describing social events than on addressing the role of design in society; in this I refer not to design as an academic discipline, but design as a material result.

Some authors have tried to complement this discourse by deeper study in the development of the professionalization and institutionalization of industrial design in Colombia, in which some universities of Bogotá are presented and analyzed—considered the first to open the industrial design program in the country—and their programs of industrial design and their founders. Bogotá appears to be the centre, where industrial design began to form and consolidate. However, there are cities such as Medellín, where parallel to the development in Bogotá it was also experiencing institutional transformations. Also the school of art and decoration, which was being restructured in order to de adhered to the *Universidad Pontificia Bolivariana* and consolidate its design program. These kind of dynamics in other regions of the country are not in a record or there is no deep investigation that could complement the already written history of industrial design in Colombia.

On the other hand, other approaches that are interested in tradition, handicraft and national identity could be found. They review the structures and standards of crafts in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Here, the notion of traditions and, above all, the traditional practices of crafts in some regions of Colombia are discussed, as well as the relationship between the processes of handicrafts and design processes. On the other hand, we also find approaches that deal with the industrial and day-to-day products, and the technification of manufacturing processes in the country. However, in these publications and in those that study that tradition and craftsmanship, the aesthetics and form of a product are not considered or are not described in detail, likewise there is a lack of research on the meanings and effects of these objects in society.

According to the analysis of the Colombian publications on the history of industrial design in Colombia, it can be said that most of the approaches focus on the social, political, economic and academic contexts, as well as being mainly concentrated in the city of Bogotá, although some publications mention the department of Antioquia. These approaches have allowed the understanding of the development of industrial design from the academic and institutional context; but not from a formal and material point of view, since the analysis of the configuration of the objects, the design processes, the use, the aesthetics, among other aspects of design have very little relevance.

New Perspectives

The results of this research portray the way in which the history of design in Colombia has been written. Where the different methodological aims of the authors who are engaged with the historical development of Colombian design are reflected. Although the Colombian authors describe properly the social context and moreover consider different aspects, they don't address the formal and material sides of design sufficiently. This raises the question, why the history of industrial design in Colombia was written in terms of social, political and economic development but not in aesthetic and formal terms? There are still no great debates and thoughts within the country about how to approach the history of industrial design and what would be the relevant guidelines. Even though industrial design is a relatively new discipline in Colombia, it would be worth investigating why new and different approaches to writing the history of design have not been discussed. To open a discussion on this topic, the starting point is to analyze these new approaches, not only among designers, but also among other disciplines in order to enrich the work already done by Colombian authors.

By understanding and studying what has been written so far on the history of industrial design in Colombia, it is possible to emphasize some considerations in which the historiographic debate of the country could be opened.

Even though Colombia is not a great industrial nation, there take place economically relevant production processes. Therefore, it would be interesting to study the changes in industrial design activity and the design processes developed or used in the country, related to the context previously described by other authors. In addition, the analysis of industrial design itself understood as a creative medium and pointing out the importance of objects in Colombian culture, would be an interesting viewpoint. Therefore, studying the products and objects made by the people and institutions that have intervened in the development of industrial design in Colombia, could complement the history already written.

Another important consideration is that industrial design is a global issue, and in order to understand the interpretation that has been given in the country it is necessary to continue with the study of day-to-day and anonymous objects, as well as with the study of crafts and the industrial arts developed in Colombia. This is considered and analyzed in the same context, taking industrial design as a global concept. In this way, it will also be possible to define how important the aesthetic and material influence of traditional and non-academic practices has been in the development of industrial design in Colombia.

Every time the importance of studying aesthetics, formal and material development of industrial design in Colombia is emphasized; it is in an integral sense, considering all aspects of this, since there is an incessant mutual influence between the designed object and its use, production and consumption, in social conditions that are always new or slightly changing. For this reason it is useless to describe objects as ugly or beautiful, but these must be seen as expressions of a historical context of production, distribution, appropriation, enjoyment, and experience of retroactive use in the unlimited world of contemporary objects and spaces, perceptions and interpretative possibilities, which in their broadest sense form the historical-aesthetic continuity of a daily culture lived and experienced collectively (Seller, 1987: 7). With this we could say that the context must be reviewed in such a way that it allows people to identify the relationships between the agents and elements that interact in it.

Analyzing aspects such as the promotion, production and distribution of industrial design in Colombia should be an important consideration to continue with the construction of the history of industrial design in the country. In relation to these issues, it is also important to examine how the manual work developed in the town, region or city behaves and how it is linked to the concept of industrial design.

In other issues, it can be assumed by the historical background and the socio-economic development of Colombia that there are many products in the country that are "copies"—considering that the copy also has its own dynamics and aesthetics—and it is interesting to understand which processes encouraged this activity to be so common in the country; this behavior has been a pursuit to seem modern and to be at the international vanguard, always looking towards the most developed industrial nations without regarding the context where the work is being carried out. That could be related in some way to the discourse that has been used in industrial design as a tool of reach modernity, and if so, then we would have to begin to address other issues that arise from the aesthetic and formal, because, what is actually being modern in a country like Colombia? This question, of course, doesn't want to be suggested as a problem or to point out a negative way; instead to encourage it as a subject of analysis of its formal and socio-cultural aspects. Another important subject to be analyzed is the exoticism that can be perceived in the chores of some institutions in Colombia, which tends to incorporate into a product of "design" forms and styles of cultures and traditional groups of the country; sometimes based on popular techniques or crafts, and in many cases with a purely commercial purpose. Here it would be interesting to acknowledge the role of design; in which processes it takes action; in which ways, and how these institutions have handled the concept of industrial design.

While it is important to consider design as a process within the dynamics of society—as most Colombian authors have done—and not segregate design from these dynamics, it seems advisable to design history to deal only with a part of the general social process, since the history of design must prove the relative autonomy of design within society (Walker, 1989: 155). The central point of study must be designed, in which activities, movements, styles, tendencies, and ideologies that are developed clearly within a society should be no-

ticed. These events are not simply secondary consequences of a changing society. Design may have been influenced by economic, political, cultural conditions, among others, however in its development its own peculiarities appear and must be studied by design historians.

Another process that must be also considered to continue with the construction of the history of industrial design in Colombia, is the creation of an inventory or a record of academic and anonymous projects in Colombia. Thus providing the basic material to identify the existing phenomenologies in the development of industrial design and thus initiate an investigation. Previously to that consideration, it would be significant to ask to what extent the existing museums in the country are committed to the industrial design in the country, and what are their collection strategies and purchasing policies. It would be also necessary to know to what extent they participate in research on industrial design through exhibitions and publications.

In general, it can be concluded that the analyzed historiographical approaches depend on the context and objective of research. In this sense, it is expected that in the future there will be no more talk about “a history of industrial design” in Colombia, but “several stories” that describe different aspects of the discipline; and the wide field of action of design gives rise to the historiography of design also becoming a broad and especially adaptable discipline. It is necessary to make a contribution and stimulate reflection on the aesthetic and material culture of Colombia.

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National Design and *Desenho Industrial*: Brazilian Issues in Historical Perspective

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Design history / Design concepts / Planning and designing / Brazil

Today, there is a mismatch between the practice and the understanding of 'design' inside and outside Brazil. While the meaning of the term began to expand from the 1960s onwards across the world, the effects of a semantic and conceptual restriction are constantly challenging the very notion of 'design' in Brazil. This is quite evident due to differences between Brazilian design research and the international debate on design issues. There are multiple and complex causes for this phenomenon. In any case, we must return to the time when the activity in its modern way was established in the country in the 1950s. That was a period of intense industrial expansion associated with nationalism, identified as 'national-developmentalism'—and the arriving of 'industrial design' as *'desenho industrial'*. This return to a historical time seeks to understand not only the translation of the American industrial design and the influence of the German model of Ulm in the creation of the first Brazilian institutions of design education, but also the singularities and difficulties encountered since then. Also in the 1950s, following an international trend, planning practice emerges in public and private spheres, affecting the broader understanding of the field of design (or *projeto*).

In Brazil, the noun 'design' does not have the same meaning as in other parts of the world. At the international level, in the last 40 years, debates on design deal with a productive *activity*—that is, mainly, a *verb*—capable of altering the future state of things according to predetermined goals. Having emerged from the practice of trades and ranging from the casting of graphic types and printing to the increasing needs imposed by the transformations in the productive processes of the 18th century, today design, as an expanded field, is a practice and knowledge shared by professionals in multiple areas, and its dissemination inside organizations and in the establishment of public policies is growing, leading to an intense diversity of actions. In contrast, the understanding of design in Brazil has changed very little since the 1960s. In fact, in the Brazilian context, "design" still means, at its very best understanding, a distinct professional practice—that is, a *noun*—set apart from other design activities, such as architecture and engineering.

A Brazilian Story

The reasons for the peculiar meaning of design in Brazil are diverse. It is certain, however, that a study of the possible causes of this mismatch leads to the arrival of the notion of industrial design in the country in the 1950s. This is a key moment in Brazil's shifting towards a new role in the global economy, precisely when the presidency of Juscelino Kubitschek promoted a policy for industrial modernization known as national-developmentalism (*nacional-desenvolvimentismo*). Kubitschek's Goals Plan (*Plano de Metas*) can be seen as the culmination of a long process of modernization and industrialization initiated in 1930, with the arrival of Getúlio Vargas to public power. Milestones of this process are the founding of Companhia Siderúrgica Nacional in 1941 and Banco Nacional de Desenvolvimento in 1952. Announced in 1956, the Plan followed the general guidelines of CEPAL, initials for Comissão Econômica para a América Latina e o Caribe (Colistete, 2001), and established high goals for production in several sectors. It is after all mostly successful (Lafer, 2002: 27), regardless of inflation (Lessa, 1981: 10).

In cultural terms and through the arts scene, 1951 is the year of the first International Art Biennial of São Paulo held by the Museum of Modern Art of São Paulo (MAM–SP). In the same year, the São Paulo Museum of Art (MASP) presented the first international retrospective exhibition of the work of designer, architect and sculptor Max Bill, with a huge reverberation specially among graphic designers such as Alexandre Wollner e Antônio Maluf, who integrated an art group named 'Ruptura'. This is a Portuguese word for 'disruption', for they were practicing an abstract art immediately linked to Concrete Art, as named many years before by Van Doesburg. Five years later, the National Contest for the Pilot Plan of Brazil's New Capital, Brasília, was won by the architect and urban designer Lucio Costa. By then, modern Brazilian architecture was gaining a definitive international recognition and the practice of planning expanded to other territories, beginning to guide actions in politics and public administration,[1] at least in a modest way.

In a time of internationalization of the term 'design', Italy and Brazil are examples of countries where industrial design settled definitively only after the Second World War: in the first case, the American model was a real reference, in the second case, the German one. The Hochschule für Gestaltung in Ulm (HfG–Ulm) served partially as a model for the founding of Escola Superior de Desenho Industrial (ESDI) in Rio de Janeiro in 1962, and henceforth to other design education institutions in Brazil. However, it must be said, Brazilian design education was not strictly mastered by the notion of design as professed by HfG–Ulm, where students were severely taught methodologies.[2] Quite differently, Brazilian education was firstly organized around professional practice and a certain style in the arts derived from Concrete Art.

At the founding of ESDI, '*desenho industrial*' was already the translation in use for 'industrial design'. At that time, debates

[1] Roberto Campos, "A experiência brasileira de planejamento", in Simonsen, 1976: 47.

[2] As Tomás Maldonado puts it, citing Charles Sanders Peirce, HfG–Ulm could be transformed into a "university of methods" (Maldonado, 1966).

about 'design' and its translation difficulties were aborted (Niemeyer, 2007: 26–27), and only surfaced again in 1988, first by a national committee of school representants (Canasvieiras, 1989) and then at the 5th National Meeting of *Desenhistas Industriais*. Following the suggestion made by practitioners and educators, the Brazilian State sanctioned the term 'design' as the official denomination of the professional activity. However, no discussion on the change of meaning took place. In effect, 'design' still means exactly the same as '*desenho industrial*' as understood in the 1960s.

Things could be different if the suggestion of the neologism '*projética*', conceived by Brazilian philologist Antonio Houaiss in the 1970s,[3] was adopted. It pointed to a broader understanding of the activity and tried to offset the sense of 'drawing' present in '*desenho*', which may have led to an excessive identification of *desenhistas industriais* with visual artists and technical draughtsmen. A result of that misconception is that, until nowadays, Brazilian designers are seen by others and by themselves as a distinct professional class, in spite of the close historical relations between architecture, engineering, fashion and all others forms of art and production, and the recent broadening of the term, now in use also by managers and policy-makers. For all intents and purposes, 'design' in Brazil still refers mainly to the practice of product and graphic designers.

[3] This was suggested by Antonio Houaiss in a letter to Brazilian designer Aloisio Magalhães, in the early 1970s.

Post-War Management and Planning

At the time of the arrival of modern design in Brazil, we witnessed the establishment of the concept of planning at the international level.

After World War II, the consolidation of the European and American welfare state was accompanied by the rise of large multinational corporations, driven by the wide supply of high-quality industrialized products and investment in technological development. Industrial complexes, no longer dedicated to the war effort, adapted to a new consumer society. This was also the moment when the greatest expression of modernity in architecture and the arts—the *urban planning* promulgated by groups such as CIAM[4]—loosed space for another character of planning: *strategic planning*. In this type of *planning*, strategies should result from a formal and controlled process, divided into distinct steps, delimited by checklists and supported by techniques (Ahlstrand, Lampel and Mintzberg, 2001). The 1960s watched the remodeling of administrative theory founded at the beginning of the century by Frederick W. Taylor and Jules Henri Fayol.

[4] CIAM: "Congrès internationaux d'architecture moderne"–an organization founded in 1928 by European architects, among them Le Corbusier, Gerrit Rietveld, the Russian artist El Lissitsky and the historian Siegfried Gideon.

One of the second-generation exponents of management theory was Herbert A. Simon. His studies both on decision-making and the sciences of the artificial prepared the ground for future understanding of design in the context of organizations (Simon, 1996). Simon's early work, *Administrative Behavior* (1997), mainly concerns the behavior of large organizations, exploring decision-making processes as a method to determine better satisfying courses of action. Nevertheless, the end of the 1960s also represented a deadlock for the logic of vertical and centralized planning, as economic and social policies find resistance from the arising civil movements. Horst Rittel and Melvin Webber broadcasted a new understanding of planning problems as they articulated the inner contradictions of problem-solving when social patterns were presented in a fragmented and constantly litigated manner and named "wicked" the problems of a new order of complexity (Rittel & Webber, 1973).

In the early 1970s, the world was almost knocked-down by a major economic crisis, accentuated by the oil embargo of 1973. The model of social welfare was placed under intense debate concerning its eco-

nomic, social and administrative dimensions. The Weberian bureaucratic model of the state gradually declined, leading to the adoption of managerial standards in public administration more common to the private sector, such as performance reviews, subcontracting and competition (Abrucio, 1997). This approach between these sectors established an ideological movement based on managerial precepts: the New Public Administration (npm), which mirrors structures of the private sector (Osborne & McLaughlin, 2002). In this context, the fragmentation of the design processes was intensified through the multiplication of numerous specialized services.

Managing Design and Managing as Designing

The 1970s consequently watched the ascent of design management as a competitive resource, grounded in marketing principles amidst the global transition to a service economy (Julier, 2010). Example of that is the work done by Robert Blaich for Herman Miller and Philips beginning in the 1960s (Blaich and Blaich, 1993). From the 1990s onwards, design institutions such as the British Design Council move away from the purely industrial design concept, addressing issues of public interest as the role of design in health, education and the provision of public services. The relationship between design and management evolves over the following decades and brings forth the idea of "managing as designing" (Boland et al., 2004). This was accompanied by the concept of new orders of design, surpassing those defined historically by product and graphic design (Buchanan, 1992). Richard Buchanan refers to the design of systems and environments as the 'fourth order of design' (*Idem*).[5]

In this scenario, the image of the designer as an artist attached to industry and follower of the Modern Movement is bound to rethink his own social position. What role can this new professional play in organizational decision-making and planning structures? What training should he receive and which skills does he need to develop? No longer a hierarchical art professional —entitled to dispatch orders to executive bodies—this new designer conception can now perform an integrative role in organizations (Buchanan, 1992), linked to collaborative processes and able to take on diverse functions in different decision-making bodies.

From *desenho industrial* to *projeto nacional*

In contrast to the state-of-the-art of design research, the adoption of the name 'design' in Brazil throughout the 1970s and 1980s was based on media coverage and discourse (Canasvieiras, 1989). In this context, 'design' corresponds most of the time to an adjective attributed to a certain class of products. And in spite of the multiplication of design educational institutions throughout the whole national territory,[6] the prospect of updating the professional activity to the new economic and social circumstances practiced broadly and intensely on the international scene takes no hold in Brazil. In this sense, the framework for redesigning design practice needs to be accompanied by a critical revision of the process of the emergence and consolidation of the concept of design in the country. This review brings us immediately to the heyday of the *projeto nacional de desenvolvimento*, that is, a national development design in the 1950s.

In general terms, a 'national design' amounts to a capacity to *collectively* define and put into effect plans and designs. It depends fundamentally on the agreement on ideas, values and policies enabled by a *culture of planning and designing* shared by a plurality of social agents. We can notice the first manifestation of this culture between the 1930 and 1980, when the country enjoyed high rates of economic growth (Bresser-Pereira, 2014: 9). The recovery of the larger sense of a national design—and from which no peripheral country can shirk from in the face of constant global rearrangements—offers a fresh perspective to the debate on design and planning in Brazil. That being said, a 'national design' is fundamentally *a design for the nation*, i.e., a process for determining its future or so-called "destiny" (Souza Leite, 2017: 9). This process concerns not only technological and economic development, but it is also of a political and social character.

Considerations Regarding Future Studies

What we propose is a conceptual-historical investigation of the development of the concepts of design and planning in Brazil, considering a possible new role for design professionals in the world of organizations, whether public or private. What initially encourages this research is the sign of a growing gap between the debates inside and outside the country on the meaning of design. Unlike previous times, however, we do not intend to simply import theoretical and educational models, but to provide a sounder theoretical basis to the creation of a Brazilian sense of design in concert with a renewed culture of planning and designing. And doing so, this debate proposition can be of good help to improve in some measure the models of design education usually in practice throughout the country.

[5] Buchanan (1992) formulated the idea of 'four orders of design' as disposed through time, where "The first order of design is communication with symbols and images. The second order of design is design of artefacts as in engineering, architecture, and mass production. In the middle of the 20th century we realised that we can also design activities and processes. […] That's the third order of design. […] The fourth order of design is the design of the environments and systems within which all the other orders of design exist".

[6] There are circa 750 design courses in Brazil, and still one cannot note its capacity and, one can say, will to promote change in Brazilian society.

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Redefinition of the Origin of the History of Industrial Design in Argentina

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Design / History / Technology / Industry / Production

Design historicizing poses methodological problems that require us to review the concept of what design is considered to be. This, in turn, requires a review of the field's frontiers, since the borders of the overall historical activity are in constant movement. Argentina has not yet reformulated the established valid knowledge as regards the historical view of the origins of the discipline. The purpose of this paper is the inclusion of various products manufactured by two state factories: IAME (after the Spanish initials for Industrias Aeronáuticas y Mecánicas del Estado—State Aeronautics and Mechanical Industries) and FADEL (after the Spanish initials for Fábrica Argentina de Locomotoras—Argentinian Freight Locomotive Plant). These products have not been mentioned—so far—in the diverse histories of design in Argentina. In addition, the development of these products has been overshadowed with that of other products included in above-mentioned histories.

The various productions of "artefacts" in the 1950s made it possible to develop two lines of action concerning design: the pragmatic one, and the academic one.

In addition, this paper analyzes the emergence of a joint organization: the CIDI (after the Spanish initials for Centro de Investigación de Diseño Industrial—Industrial Design Research Center), comprised by state and private enterprises. The CIDI materialized as a political idea the state proposed to integrate design function in companies; while the private companies involved adopted design as their banner.

The early stages

In the History of Design, two disciplines converge: History and Design. Defining or characterizing design is difficult enough, but even more difficult it is to provide a precise, comprehensive, and closed definition of what the History of Design is. The borders of design will always be in movement, and they will be blurred and debatable as well.

In Argentina, the accounts of the different histories of Industrial Design usually introduce a first valid antecedent: the creation, in 1938, of the BKF chair by the architects Antonio Bonet Castellana, Juan Kurchan, and Jorge Ferrari Hardoy. This conception is assumed by the academic histories that propose a functionalist-rationalist approach as a cornerstone value. Tomás Maldonado's article (1949), the first one on Industrial Design in Argentina, makes it possible to visualize the relationship between the Movement of Concrete Art and the precepts of Modern Design; and later on, the relationship with the formalization of the teaching criteria precepts that Max Bill would propose for the future HfG of Ulm. One can ask whether this is the real beginning of Industrial Design in Argentina.

As a historical precedent, it is worth mentioning that in the same year that the BKF chair was created, the company HAFDASA (after the Spanish initials for Hispano Argentina Fábrica de Automotores Sociedad Anónima—Spanish-Argentinian Automobile Manufacturers Limited Liability Company) started to produce two trucks, and introduced the prototypes of diesel and gasoline cars. The production was cancelled in 1939, due to the restrictions on exports of strategic goods imposed to the belligerent countries since the onset of the Second World War.

Other precedents that were not taken into account were the products manufactured during the second postwar by the SIAM di Tella factory (founded in 1910), or by two State enterprises: FADEL and IAME. They were both invisibilized by political positions opposed to the government of Juan Domingo Perón right after its overthrow.

SIAM, HAFDASA, FADEL and IAME products are not, so far, included in the histories of Industrial Design. If the attempt to include them is made, a question will arise: what is Industrial Design? Therefore, which products integrate the realm of Industrial Design? This leads to other concerns expressed in the theoretical basis of the discipline support.

If there are products out of the scope of design, logically, they are not considered design products. This fact makes it necessary to expand the borders of design so as to include part or all the products of the above-mentioned factories.

Other areas of knowledge should be integrated to be able to explain part of the changes in the conditions that originated the different areas of design.

The baseline of this paper is that the existence of industry is the basic structure on which the discipline is supported.

Claudio Bellini (2017) mentions the following stages in the Argentinian industrial development: the first one (chapter 3) analyzes the impact of the Great War and its results on industrial growth, the consequences of migrations, and the changes in the social fabric in the 1920s until the great crisis in 1929—which made impact in Argentina in 1930. The second stage (chapter 4) studies what happened between the above-mentioned crisis and the conditions previous to the Second World War until its end, including the effects that caused on industry development by the Import Substitution Industrialization (ISI). Finally, the third stage (various chapters) takes place in the second half of the 20th century: the role of designers and the field of design as an autonomous discipline were consolidated in both, Industry Design and Graphic Communication Design.

The reason why there are different products that were not taken into account in the diverse histories of design in Argentina is that these accounts were written under the conception that such products had not been manufactured following the premises of modernity. Another reason is that those who conceived these products were not within the possible accepted universe—either designers or morphologies. This happened

Fig. 1 *Siam 75* refrigerator ca 1942. SIAM Di Tella.

Fig. 2 Steam locomotive *Presidente Perón* 1949. Livio Dante Porta.

Fig. 3 *Locomotive CM1* Justicialista 1951. Pedro Celestino Saccaggio.

because of the functionalist assumptions existing in the environment where designers were trained, originally architects and artists belonging to the ideologized, non-representational avant-garde.

By way of comparison, why the *Chrysler Airflow* is considered a design product and this is not the case for the six-cylinder *Sedan Redondo*. This automobile was designed by Fortunato Francone, coach bodywork builder.

Something similar occurs with Raymond Loewy's refrigerator *Coldspot*, and the *Siam 75* refrigerator (Fig. 1), which is first heard of in 1942.

Raymond Loewy's, Henry Dreyfuss' or Misha Black's locomotives are valued as design products. However, this is not the case of those manufactured in Argentina, such as the steam locomotive *Presidente Perón* (Fig. 2), designed in 1949 by the engineer Livio Dante Porta, or the *CM1 Justicialista* (Fig. 3), designed in 1951 by the engineer Pedro Celestino Saccaggio.

Likewise, the Rastrojero (Fig. 4) manufactured at IAME was the intersection among a political proposal, an adequacy of important pre-existing knowledge on the part of highly qualified professionals performing their roles in the project, aircraft construction, and the creation—in the case of automobiles—of shapes considered as beautiful by different social groups.

The fact that the shapes were adjusted to the beauty parameters of the *Streamline* can also be verified in the *Sedan Justicialista* (Fig. 5), since the model taken was that of the American cars. The *Sedan Justicialista* was made after the 1951 *Chevrolet Fleetline*.

It can be said that, initially, HAFDASA and SIAM were private companies and the locomotives and automobiles were manufactured by two state companies.

As regards this, Facundo Picabea and Hernán Thomas (2015) comment the following: 'At the beginning of the 1950s, Argentina played the mail role in the first Latin-American serial automotive production of its own design'. These authors did not include the HAFDASA automobiles. This company manufactured the already-mentioned *Redondo*, as well as a diesel four-door sedan, a petrol microcupé, and two trucks with a diesel engine: the six-wheel-drive *Criollo Grande* and the *Criollo Chico* with a 90 hp engine.

The designer of the *Redondo* was a coach bodywork builder who had an avant-garde vision. These vehicles were produced in a factory which was somewhat more advanced than a workshop and there exists no information as regards planned productions and amount of vehicles delivered. It cannot be associated to a Fordist type of production. There is a break in the information, but—according to available news—it can be stated that by 1939 the production stopped due to the fact that the imminence of the Second World War made major countries stop delivering strategic materials, such as iron and rubber.

The HAFDASA production system was different from the one used for the *Rastrojero* and the various automobiles manufactured by the IAME, which did embark on serial production, although not comparable to the capital intensive production of American or European factories.

IAME

Because of the crisis caused by the 1949–1950 drought, president Perón dispatched a government representative to have a meeting with the Detroit Big Three: Chrysler, Ford, and General Motors. The task was to offer advantageous conditions which would be enacted if an agreement was reached and the companies settled in Argentina. The proposal was based on the fact that Perón noticed, in the framework of the political reconstruction process in the post-war era, that the European countries considered the automotive industry as an important economic multiplication factor.

It is uncertain whether the refusal of the above-mentioned companies was caused by the reasons claimed: the market was not important enough and the necessary auto part infrastructure was inexistent. The refusal might have been generated, on the other hand, by the fact that Argentina was considered a supporter of the Axis forces and the country had adopted a nonintervention policy during the war. For this reason, in 1943, the United States decreed the blockade to Argentina and froze the funds that this country had in the Banco Nación and Banco de la Provincia de Buenos Aires of the United States. The blockade was lifted in 1949, but the situation remained unchanged until General Eisenhower came to the presidency of the United States in 1953.

In view of the refusal of Chrysler, Ford and General Motors to settle in the country together with the fact that the European countries were in the reconstruction process, Perón's government aimed to found an automotive factory. This resulted in the creation of the IAME.

In an attempt to develop automotive production, between 1951 and 1952 the FMA (after the Spanish initials for Fábrica Militar de Aviones—Military Aircraft Factory) was transformed into the IAME.

The prototypes should be ready for May 1st, Labor Day. On that date and in the premises of YPF (after the Spanish initials for Yacimientos Petrolíferos Fiscales—National Oilfields) the units to be produced were exhibited. It is worth mentioning that the prototypes exhibited were not only the *Rastrojero* (Fig. 4) and the *Sedán Justicialista* (Fig. 5), but also other products produced at IAME: the *Justicialista Pickup* and the *Justicialista Rural Pickup*.

The production forced the aeronautical engineers and technicians that worked on plane manufacturing to resignify their knowledge to adapt it to serial automotive production.

The method used in IAME was: 'We make the prototype, we call the auto parts makers, we give them the parts, and we agree on the production to adjust it to the existing needs and possibilities, returning the tested parts'.

It was a mainly pragmatic method.

Fig. 4 Prototype of Rastrojero 1952. IAME.

Fig. 5 Sedán Justicialista 1952. IAME.

FADEL

The knowledge and pragmatism was also reflected in the design and construction of state locomotives, and the later creation in 1952 of FADEL.

In 1949, engineer Livio Dante Porta produced a steam locomotive which he named *Presidente Perón* (Fig. 2). It was a steam locomotive made when the intention to dieselize railway traction already existed. The image approach of this locomotive was that of the *Streamline*; since it had the accepted and socially legitimized morphology, and the collective imaginary associated it to speed and—in this case—to industrial power.

Porta was one of the pioneers of gas and coal locomotives in Argentina, and made great contributions to achieve more efficient steam locomotives. The parts were manufactured in the General Roca railway workshop in Tolosa, near La Plata city, and by the General Ports Administration in Rosario city—Province of Santa Fe.

On the other hand, Pedro Celestino Saccaggio, an Italian immigrant who started working at the age of 12 for the Central Argentine Railway—owned, at the time, by English companies—changed the use of steam energy for locomotives to an electric system. In 1929, he developed mobile power stations through diesel engines linked to the functioning of electric generators, so as to provide the passenger cars with heating and lighting. Later, he used this system (diesel engines and electric generators) to create the diesel-electric locomotives.

The prototype of the *CM1 Justicialista* locomotive (Fig. 3) designed by Saccaggio was constructed in 1951 within an important manufacturing project that would be useful to construct 610 diesel locomotives that would be manufactured in the 1952–1958 period. The prototype construction began at the Liniers

workshops belonging to the Domingo Faustino Sarmiento Railways. This locomotive was composed of two bodies coupled together; with a diesel engine and a main electric generator per body. Once constructed, testing began.

After test drives where the *CM1* performed successfully, Perón announced that a diesel-electric locomotive factory would be founded in the state area. For this purpose, he created FADEL in May 1952 though it did not have an assigned location, or machinery, or personnel.

In that same year, but not in FADEL, it was decided to construct a second twin locomotive of the *Justicialista*: the *CM2 Argentina*, which varied very little from the *CM1*; grills and ducts were added to improve the ventilations of engines and generators. The *CM1* and the *CM2* were the two base prototypes from which the *Standard* locomotives would be designed and constructed.

Later, FADEL was relocated in the Province of Mendoza. In spite of the fact that finally a physical location and a budget were assigned, the factory did not produce any locomotive. The construction of four units of the *Standard* model was started and should be finished in 1953, but it was interrupted. That project, instead, was replaced by the one of importing locomotives with the loans granted by the United States. Thus, the possibility to generate a production and a design layer was disrupted. The decision was made on the basis of economic needs and the possibility of access to loans.

As a partial conclusion regarding IAME and FADEL's products, it can be stated that:

- IAME counted on the necessary and highly qualified human resources to project and construct the vehicles made, since The Military Aircraft Factory manufactured airplanes and engines. Their existing professionals had had to transform their knowledge and adapt it to the requirements of serial production.
- FADEL also had highly qualified professionals and technicians, as they had been working for the railways from the times these railways were English. They were nationalized in 1948. As soon as the state was in charge, special technical schools were created within the railways' infrastructure.
- IAME had the political will to continue working on the production of vehicles. However, FADEL did not. That was the reason why the possibility to develop was retracted with the access to external loans to buy rolling stock.

It is worth mentioning that there is considerable difficulty to do historical research, due to the almost impossibility to find direct and/or primary sources. These were, in most cases, destroyed after the coup d'état against Perón in 1955. Moreover, the participants and witnesses are no longer available, making it very difficult to test sources and news on these two state factories.

On the other hand, what were the variables used in the analyses made to be able to be considered design products? Namely:

- **The technological variable**. The possibility of Argentinean development of high complexity manufacturing product industries in the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s was analyzed. The country joined the third wave of industrialization. Since this happened in Argentina, a dependent country, the situation required the use of new concepts to term and analyze the technologies used. The concepts of possible or available technologies could be discussed, as well as the adequacy criteria. There were few examples of the existence of R&. From this standpoint, it was possible to notice different ways of access to the necessary technologies for production, both in state and private companies.
- **The economic variable**. This variable is considered the one that makes it possible to develop the productive forces through a social as well as a market structuring. It also considers the characteristics of the intervening companies.
- **The morphological variable**. It can be analyzed through other sub-variables:
  1. The esthetic one. To develop this variable, it is necessary to include the concept of social imaginaries seen from different versions, just as Baczko (1991), Castoriadis (1993) and Taylor (2006) have. These conceptions lead to the concept of beauty as a social construct.
  2. The geometrical generation one. It involves an analysis of the geometries that generated the development of the whole and of the parts of the products and its relationship with the materials and technologies used.

In addition, it is proposed to analyze the field of History of Design in the 1950s so as to consider it the start of design as an autonomous field in Argentina.

Two differentiated streams were considered. The first one, a pragmatic current explained above. It was developed by qualified technicians and professionals that acted directly on the inclusion of artifacts in the productive sector; making use of the available technologies and the morphologies accepted and considered as beautiful in each time. The other stream is the academic one, mainly developed by professionals lining up behind the rationalist-functionalist projects and by artists belonging to abstract, ideologized avant-gardes. This stream started to express on design in different ways since the article published by Maldonado ([1949] 1997): publications on specialized design magazines, groups of professionals proposing a change in the concept of the discipline, such as the OAM (after the Spanish initials for Organización de la Arquitectura Moderna—Modern Architecture Organization), and creation and participation of institutions to spread design and operation with the State and enterprises such as the CIDI.

CIDI

The magazine *Nueva Visión*, founded in 1951 by the visual artists Tomás Maldonado and Alfredo Hlito and the architect Carlos Alberto Méndez Mosquera, was a publication aimed at promoting design. Later, the members of OAM joined in.

The perspective shown in the different areas of graphic and industrial design was that initially proposed by Max Bill, who was already working on the Ulm program, which Maldonado joined in 1954.

Argentina had already committed to the rationalist ideology in a number of fields of design. It was the prevailing stream that—from different institutions in which the state participated—proposed awards such as the *Good Design* one, in line with the German *Gute Form*.

An expression of this was the CIDI, created in 1962, under a political, economic, and social proposal called Developmentalism. It was developed during the government of Dr. Arturo Frondizi —from 1958 to the coup d'état that overthrew him in 1962. The CIDI was a mixed entity developed through agreements between the State (through the INTI— after the Spanish initials for Instituto Nacional de Tecnología Industrial—National Institute of Industrial Technology) and private enterprises. The objective was to promote design in the industry. Its proposal was guided by the concepts of rationalism and Good Shape derived from the concept of *Gute Form* from Max Bill and the HfG of Ulm. It worked during two periods: from 1962 to 1974, and from 1976 to 1988, when it closed down.

The CIDI was integrated by a number of state organizations, such as the Faculties of Architecture and Engineering from the University of Buenos Aires, the CONET (after the Spanish initials for Consejo Nacional de Educación Técnica—Council for Technical Education), and the following enterprises: SIAM di Tella, Industrias Kopers, Muebles Eugenio Diez and Rosenthal, among others that joined later.

The CIDI was one of the most important institutions where the industrial designer's and the graphic designer's activities were legitimized.

As a part of its goal to spread design, the CIDI organized exhibitions, seminars, promotions of products, database elaboration, and the label *Good Design* was instituted.

Since the second opening of the CIDI in 1976, a completely contradictory situation arose. On the one hand, the military government called Proceso de Reorganización Nacional (National Reorganization Process), which had overthrown a constitutional government in March 1976, took extraordinary measures to reduce the productive industry in Argentina. On the other hand, with the opening of the second period of the CIDI, there was an attempt to incorporate design into industry. That is to say, while Argentina was being a victim of deindustrialization, the CIDI tried to integrate design into industry to contribute to its development.

In 1978 it was possible to note the constitution of a field of industrial designers which had been developed from the foundations of the courses of studies of Industrial Design in the Province of Mendoza in 1958 at the National University of Cuyo, and in 1961 in the city of La Plata—Province of Buenos Aires, at the National Universality of La Plata.

Conclusion

The area of design of the state productive enterprises during the Peronist government was not incorporated to the histories of design in Argentina. It was in IAME and FADEL where complex design products were developed in a context having the technological possibilities, the formal decisions and the symbolic imprints that were different from the products design according to the commands of modern design, which had a differentiated ethical and formal proposal.

It must be made clear, in addition, that the layer called pragmatic diluted with time as the field of design was formed by professionals usually graduated from the teaching institutions that had been created.

The history of design from that moment on, is another matter.

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Challenges for a Project Education: Art-recycling and Popular Expression in Brazilian Material Culture

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Art-recycling / Crafts / Design / Project education

In the light of design research, the precariousness of technical and craft formation in Brazil proves to be one of the gaps in Brazilian design education, often unable to deal with the complexity of the country's problems. Crafts, out of the official models of education in Brazil, has been relegated to informality, depending on the spontaneous actions of individuals and groups that learn, teach and produce outside the main economic, cultural and educational systems. Often, this craft is produced from the reuse of natural or industrial materials, discarded and reused, generating what is recognized as "art-recycling". A symptom of a society that, in general, does not master the technical and craft knowledge necessary for its own development and, faced with needs and opportunities, finds subjective ways of designing. Based on the author's personal experiences, this paper considers art-recycling as an alternative resource for design education, where the properties of the materials and the needs involved in each situation serve as delimiters of the projective practice, in terms of modeling, morphology, ergonomics, aesthetics, taste and culture.

Introduction

This text aims to discuss the relationships between crafts and design, starting with the observation of the practice known as art-recycling, understanding it as an alternative and independent way for people to express themselves and act on their material culture. Seeking solutions to problems related to daily life and aesthetic needs, art-recycling operates in the field of production of meanings, signs, meanings and symbols, revealing important cultural aspects in understanding design conditions in Brazil.

I write based on bibliographical research and also from my personal experience. *Making* has been, since my childhood, a place for experimentation and learning, through drawing and crafts. Formal education contributed little to my training to make things, except for isolated moments. The stimulus I received from my family and my personal curiosity were what, in fact, allowed me to construct an apprenticeship, spontaneously and informally. Professional performance, as a designer, artisan and art-educator, has given me much of the practical knowledge, in crafts and design.

In 2005 I joined, through marriage, a completely popular artist and craftsman who deals daily and intensively with reuse and recycling of materials, such as wood and tires. Intuitively, he manages issues related to form, taste, ergonomics and culture, searching for solutions to everyday needs, based on the limitations imposed by the material and the project, according to previous experiences and his own creative processes.

Artisanal production, present in an imposing way in our routine, allowed me to observe, participate and reflect on the conditions and processes of Brazilian crafts, in this area, known as art-recycling. It means the use of recycled materials to produce objects and utensils, where the term "art" refers to a way of acting creatively, adding aesthetic and symbolic aspects to the process of reuse. Thus, art-recycling is something done through recycling, "with art". The following article is the result of observations and personal experiences in art-recycling. It is based on the belief that the association between *making* and *thinking* would be a potential transforming element of our condition of dependence on autonomy, individually and collectively. Observing the art-recycling process, based on real experiences, provides important data for a diagnosis of the condition of know-how in Brazil and, more, to think about new education projects that contemplate making practices.

About Crafts in Brazil

Generally, in Brazil, the learning of the craft trades occurs through informal transmission and self-learning. There are few institutional initiatives in formal education in this sense. In our historical process, there were no relevant policies and practices for systematizing the transmission of artisanal knowledge in public education. This initiative comes from isolated educators and a few private schools that value *making* in their curricula.

Although the law that regulates Brazilian basic education establishes the importance of relating education to work, there is no specification on how this relationship occurs in practice. There are no public policies in Brazil that guarantee the learning of crafts in schools. A few, but important, advances have occurred since the beginning of the 21st century in terms of technical education at secondary and higher education.

Comparatively, in Europe, there are significative examples of countries that have implemented education policies which act on taste and secure national productive capacity in cultural and industrial terms, especially on the turn of the 19th to 20th century. In the newly industrialized European nations, the main artistic movements raised in this period had different aesthetic orientations, but reflected common concerns: the continuity of crafts and the dissemination of art in the daily life of people, facing the growing industrial context.

In Scandinavia, the educational system Slöjd, systematized by Otto Salomon in 1892, had as its principle to develop the individual's skills and competences through artisanal work and tool-handling, associating theory and practice in education of children of all ages. Its advocates claim that craft-oriented practice can develop pleasure and respect for work, habits of independence, sense of order, discipline, precision and attention, as well as health and physical strength. Above all, Slöjd wanted to integrate three skills in crafts: the power of observation (eye), the power of execution (hands), and the mental capacity (brain). Slöjd became an international phenomenon, forming an important part of the pioneers of modernism.

In Germany, Hermann Muthesius, influenced by the English Arts and Crafts movement, became a promoter of a new idea of education, connected to crafts and architecture, which sought to relate artistic culture to industrial society. This process is connected with the creation of the Deutsche Werkbund and the Bauhaus.

In the Brazilian trajectory, however, no policies for an education in trades are identified, nor are policies that bring the project activities closer to scientific analysis and procedures. Effectively, we don't have an education system that contemplates crafts or design.

For a Project Education

In the 1970s, Bruce Archer said that the "time for a revolution in art and design education" had come. For him, "material culture" encompasses all human activities that result in "products" and, therefore, should be observed, classified, given a conceptual coherence, and finally set towards a new and broader field in terms of education and research. He claims that the intellectual life of all Western society is divided between two main cultural languages: the sciences and the humanities. This division is, according to Archer, the main obstacle to solving world problems, since these ecological problems and quality of life in cities require the competence of a high level of awareness of the issues of material culture. Letters and numbers are fundamental, but they do not account for the need for many of the skills involved in *making*, and thus keep the human capacity to understand and solve complex problems incomplete.

Archer proposes a third area in education, related to the activities of making and conceiving things. An idea, nothing new, in his own words, reminiscent of the path that connects William Morris to Plato.

The sciences and humanities would be in the world of learning, and the third area, in the world of action, in two strands: the operational arts and the creative arts. This third area could be called the *arts*, but this term has been used synonymously with the humanities. Archer then chooses to name it as *design*. The language of design is modeling, whereas the language of humanities is writing and the language of science is mathematical notation.

The language of modeling includes the creation of models, that is, sketches, technical drawings, schematics, models, prototypes and all kinds of resources capable of representing the project in a concrete way. It resides in the field of action, it is a language of making that is made possible by the education and practice of the hands, in connection with the brain, basically developed through drawing and crafts (Sennett, 2015).

We can deduce that, more broadly, a lack or non-existence of the teaching of this language affects the development of competences related to thinking, logic, discipline, mathematics, geometry, spatiality, sculpture, architecture, construction and engineering, for example.

A more subjective, yet important, aspect is the state of physical, mental, and emotional sanity contained in making, from the principle of *joy in labor*, and which gives the individual a sense of completeness and capacity for fulfillment. Although not always absolute, joy in labor is a kind of primitive and basic state for the human being inherent in the creative act. Pleasure to create and feeling of ability to make something lead to a freer and more autonomous condition of thought and action on reality.

In addition to few governmental efforts, we find also many social and cultural aspects that contribute to a rejection of manual practices in Brazil. The period of long slavery left deep marks in the country. Among them, a progressive departure from *making* as a legitimate form of physical and intellectual work, a disconnection between the head (brain) and the hand, where the brain was a privilege of the colonizer and the hand the only right of the poor and oppressed classes. These aspects reveal what Richard Sennett called the "critical point in the problem of empowerment", where brain and hand are not only intellectually, but also socially separated (Sennett, 2015: 57).

Art-recycling and popular expression

According to Lina Bo Bardi, "the craft as a social body never existed in Brazil; what existed was a thin immigration of Iberian or Italian artisans and, in the nineteenth century, manufacturers. What exists is a sparse domestic pre-craftsmanship, craftsmanship never" (1994: 12).

Popular craftsmanship, made from the use and reuse of elements of national and universal culture is what, in fact, represents us. To assimilate this reality is fundamental to reintegrate the different components of the country's culture, aiming at a real social, cultural, environmental and economic development.

Brazilian craftsmanship, for revealing many of the precarious conditions that build our reality and, agreeing with Lina Bo Bardi, is a necessarily popular practice. In this way, it ends up forming a kind of opposition to the erudite cultural system, chosen and imposed by the national elites. This relationship has been occurring throughout our history by domination, whether through silencing or appropriations. And handicraft,

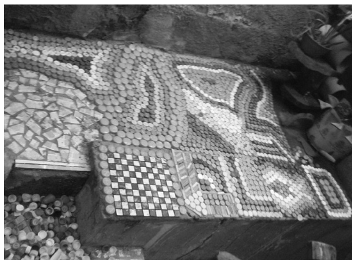

Fig. 1 Plastic caps mosaic.

as well as a whole chain of knowledges related to making, does not obtain expressive attention by the national public power in terms of educational, cultural or economic policies. If Brazilian crafts have not received attention or investments, it is not possible to guarantee the transmission of knowledge involved in the processes of making. Then we are known as the "gambiarra republic", where the development of popular problem-solving strategies runs, in disorder, on the fringe of formal education systems. Far from considering *gambiarra* as a laudable aspect of our creativity and inventiveness, what we want is to discuss it, and our crafts, as symptoms of a society which had its craft knowledge relegated to informality.

However, since these forms of creation, based on improvisation and adaptation, are already part of our material culture, it is important that they can be understood and assimilated consciously. In this way, it is possible to extract important learning in terms of design with the processes of production of art-recycling. The limitations of the materials and the needs involved in each situation serve as delimiters of the design practice, composing an alternative resource for design education in terms of design education, modeling, morphology, ergonomics, aesthetics, taste and culture.

Fig. 2 Inner floor construction.

From the point of view of methods, art-recycling is shaped by the circumstances of each project. From a first observation of general circumstances, the artisan seeks to understand the properties of the materials available, the needs and the environment of the project. What, roughly speaking, is to define *what* will be done, *how* it will be done, *where*, *why*, for *whom*, *when*. This process can occur in multiple ways, intercalating moments of data analysis, sketching, prototyping, observation, testing, modeling and remodeling. The project is its own guide, and the process is built from the craftsman's personal experiences, impressions and choices.

My six years experience as an art educator in public schools and social movements allowed me to use art-recycling as a pedagogical resource to encourage creativity and the search for solutions. Starting with simple proposals, such as the construction of flowerbeds and vegetable gardens or the production of games and toys with recycled material, children started to deal with all the issues related to design, learning about forms and materials, about usages and customs, about creative techniques and processes. And the activities, though simple, provided them with a sense of seminal ability, which soon encouraged them to teach others what they had learned empirically. I finally could think about design, taught in basic education, associated with numbers and letters, expanding the ability of creating and modeling, by training eye, brain and hand.

The house-atelier or the house-experience

My house is an atelier whose artistic and craft production is based on the reuse of materials. In the house I live in with my husband and our daughter, besides a dog and a cat. We define our residence as home-atelier or home-experience, given its subordination to the constant process of creation and experimentation that we promote and that serves as much of experience for us, its residents, as for all those who seek to experience the making of crafts. The house is an ongoing handcraft experience field and remains open to visits and events.

Many visitors are amazed to realize that virtually all environments and furniture were created and executed by the residents, based on the reuse of discarded materials obtained through collection. We used tires, glass bottles, plastic bottles, tree trunks and branches, tiles, plastic covers and other elements in the process of enlarging and setting the house. Some basic necessities like collecting rainwater, roofs, kitchen gardens and wood stoves were also built from the reuse of materials. In a constant process of creation and transformation, each project is thought, executed, tested and refurbished, according to wishes and needs. Valuing the experience of transforming, to the detriment of the monotony of stability, the house remains active and under construction, which widens its pedagogical reach.

There are always one or more projects open, ready to add new factors, subject to the discovery and obtaining of new materials and to the interference of the visitors, purposely requested. In about four years of this experience, we have acquired some independence in the construction of necessary household artifacts, without ignoring aesthetics, ergonomics, culture and sustainability, with a cost near to zero.

Fig. 3 Joints of tires rubber strips.

The pedagogical proposal of the house consists in the fact that, in seeking the solution of problems through authorial and experimental projects, we act, in the breaking of certain paradigms. One of them would be the belief in the incapacity of the contemporary urban human being to construct, himself, his furniture and objects of daily use. Another is resistance to the reuse of materials, processes and / or craft aesthetics. A third is the attachment to ways of living that disregard individual needs and preferences in the name of a style imposed by the interests of industry and commerce.

Constant experimentation leads to technical improvement. In this way, the physical, moral and aesthetic qualities of the house's projects indicate that the artisanal making is able to meet the main demands of everyday life, developing a sense of autonomy and protagonism through the situations that present themselves.

As examples, we can take two projects recently developed in this place: the floor tiles and plastic caps experience and a compact and integrated furniture system for the living room built with pallets. First case refers to the experiments performed in terms of coating the exterior and internal floors of the house. The external floors required leveling and coating, with the objective of better drainage of rainwater, as well as cleaning and renovation of the environments, originally covered with cement. For the ladder and the floor of the entrance of the house broken tiles were used, collected from the disposal of a store. For the lateral floor, and of a higher level, plastic covers were used in order to compose varied colored mosaics. In this space, the project was opened to other participants who were invited to create a graphic pattern in a certain space (Fig. 1). And, like many Brazilian Indian drawings made with colored beads, the areas were covered with graphic patterns and colors determined by their creators, composing a heterogeneous and coherent set, in view of the nature of the material.

The transformation of the inner floors was driven by the creative attitude and desire for experimentation. The original ceramic tiles of the first room and the kitchen were covered with rubble from two walls knocked over in the house, in order to raise the floor level. Over the rubble, the cement mass was applied to receive pieces of wood from reused tree trunks and tiles. The trunk slides give direction and convey comfort. The tiles complete the mosaic giving contrast to the composition in terms of tone and texture (Fig. 2). The total cost of the projects was approximately 20 euros, spent on cement, sand and grout.

In the second case, the project arose from the opportunity, when faced with a great amount of discarded wooden rods. Faced with the desire for an environment that could be transformed according to the needs of use in our living room, we started to think of a furniture project that would work as a sofa, bed or stage, and that would still allow the use of a table and a bank. It was necessary that this environment suited varied situations like a party, a musical group rehearsal, watching a movie or having family meals. One solution was to create movable elements, such as a bench and a table, that are assembled or folded with the help of rubber strips from tires forming joints (Fig. 3). In two days of work, at a cost of about 4 euros, spent on screws, and using hand tools such as drill, screwdriver and saw, the environment was thought, designed, assembled, disassembled and reassembled. This process involved only the residents of the house and served as a field of learning, experimentation, work and entertainment. The first model was tested for about two months, until it was recreated for a second model, which was used for another three months, until it was converted to the third and current model (Fig. 4 and 5).

Fig. 4 Integrated furniture system for the living room: banks.

Fig. 5 Integrated furniture system for the living room: sofa, bank and table.

The house develops other projects, within the principle of art-recycling. Stairs and flower beds made with tires and logs in the backyard, kitchen enlargement from the construction of a brick wall and glass bottles, construction of reclaimed beds, chairs, tables, cabinets and shelves. The goal of the house is artisanal intervention in all its environments, so that it can meet the needs related to functionality, comfort, beauty and sustainability. And also, that the experiences in the house can serve as an inspiration to use craft and reuse as a creative and fulfilling possibility. In creation and modeling of each project, we deal with specific limitations, constraints and opportunities, which allows us to constantly develop new techniques and methods. The conceptual basis acquired in the experiences of the house also allows a better relationship with external situations and challenges, reflected directly in our professional practices and design research.

Final considerations

Our objective here was to discuss the possibilities of art-recycling as a design language. For this, we considered the social and cultural conditions of production of this practice in Brazil, based on the example of the house-atelier. We seek to present art-recycling as a symptom of complex issues related to the precariousness of Brazilian social conditions, to the training of craftsmen and designers, to popular processes of production and knowledge, and to aspects of material culture. By observing and understanding it as a meeting point for problems involved in these spheres, it is possible to think of ways to incorporate it into project teaching as a pedagogical resource capable of reporting on the needs, constraints, urgencies, and choices in handcrafted production.

Associated with formal education, art-recycling practice could be configured as a real and ample possibility of experimentation, given the low need of financial resources involved. Guided by projects of proven utility and consistency, art-recycling provides methods and favors the development of the language of modeling, while revealing real aspects and facts of our social, cultural, and economic condition. Given the wide range of materials discarded daily in domestic and commercial wastes in Brazil, coupled with the lack of solutions to basic problems of sanitation, housing, health, urbanization, education among others, art-recycling is a possibility for artisanal production, and education in *making*, both within and outside schools. As a pedagogical tool, it aligns the manual to the application of theoretical concepts and the design conditions, allowing the desired reconnection between hand and brain.

With this reconnection as their agenda, public power and society can finally start a process of technical and craft training that moves us towards a sense of autonomy. An autonomy that permeates the individual, social and economic spheres of the country. To know is to know how to do. And to know how to do is an essential condition, in the near future, to overcome the condition of dependency and coloniality.

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Material Culture in the State of São Paulo, Brazil, through Memorable Household Artifacts

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Trans-culturalism / Cultural identity / Material culture / Memorable artifacts / Household artifacts

Artifacts are symbols of a culture and correspond to the memory of a particular group of people in a historical and sociocultural context. Studying their characteristics is a way to understand the values, customs and traditions of that group. When talking about popular culture, many of these artifacts can be seen as resistance of their cultural values in a situation of economic and social submission. Accordingly, a study was developed about material culture through a number of domestic artifacts found in residences of families of rural origin in São Paulo state, that are also present in the memories of the adult population whose childhood experiences occurred in this context in the second half of the twentieth century. Their aesthetical, pragmatic and semantic attributes were analysed and, as a result, it was possible to identify a regional language of these popular household objects according to the usage characteristics, perception and meaning. In addition, it was verified that this identity is closely related to its social history of colonization and intense migration at the beginning of the last century. This essay presents some semiotics aspects of the analysed artifacts and the relation with their social history.

Introduction

The theme of this research comes from the discussion about cultural identity and its relation with memories and material culture in the design field. Its objective was to contribute to the studies of the Brazilian material culture regarding the possibility of regional identities of the popular Brazilian object, from a design perspective, through a semiotic study of a number of domestic and memorable artifacts[1] (Damazio, 2013) found in residences in the interior of São Paulo state.

The artifacts in this study can be seen as signs of a culture that survives, sometimes overcoming, sometimes adapting, to social and historical factors since the exploration of the territory of São Paulo by the Portuguese expeditions to imprison natives in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the abolition of slaves in the late nineteenth century and the arrival of foreign immigrants, until the rapid growth of the population in the first decades of the twentieth century, industrialization, expansion of communication and the increase of education. In the second half of the twentieth century, this culture was faced with the change in the economic dynamics of the globalized market and a cultural growth amplified by the telecommunications and information technology. In this context, the production processes favoured large-scale production and also the homogenization of aesthetic references in order to achieve the necessary quantity of consumer markets.

Despite this phenomenon, the artifacts of this study were kept alive in the affective memory of a large part of the adult population in this region and preserved in the daily life of the elderly people of rural origin, inside their houses.

Based on that, we defined three parameters in order to choose the objects for the study. First, they should be considered memorable artifacts for a number of adults from São Paulo, and be related with their childhood memories.

Second, they should have to be popular objects, which means to be representative of the most significant portion of the original society of São Paulo state, families of rural origin formed by Brazilian small farmers, descendants of indigenous people, who were the original inhabitants, with Portuguese colonizers; immigrants—mainly Italians—that came to the region to work in the coffee plantations in the early twentieth century and, in a smaller number, African descendants, who were brought to Brazil as slaves in the colonial era.

Thirdly, they had to be seen as ordinary objects, which means to be part of the private and daily lives of families with the characteristics mentioned above, in order to be eventually found in a field research.

To do so, it was initially conducted a number of interviews and informal testimonials of a selected adult population, between 27 and 58 years of age, within this context, that resulted in a list of 77 memorable artifacts.

Then, a field survey was carried out in 20 residences of elderly persons of rural origin, in nine cities spread throughout the state and 54 of those artifacts were found more than three times, a parameter adopted to validate the representativeness of the sample. Photographs were made for registers and interviews with the users were conducted to understand their relationships with the selected household objects.

The analysis

Assuming that the phenomena are composed by codes and people build a network of meanings based on those codes, the artifacts were analysed with a focus on semiotics and the theoretical definition was based on Morris (1976) and Bense (Nöth, 1971).

Morris (1976) divides semiosis into three dimensions according to dyadic relations: the syntactic dimension (relations of the sign with other signs), the semantic dimension (relations of the sign with its object), and the pragmatic dimension (sign relations with the interpretant).

In turn, the syntactic dimension of Morris, Bense (Nöth, 1971) calls a technical or constructive dimension; the semantic

[1] According to Damazio, memorable artifacts are those “that give pleasure to remember” (Damazio, 2013: 43).

dimension, he calls dimension of the form; the pragmatic dimension is called the dimension of use and he adds a fourth dimension to the object, to what he calls material dimension. Accordingly, Niemeyer (2003) says that the material dimension should not constitute a separate category in a study of semiotics applied to design, arguing, 'material properties are only considered when articulated with the other dimensions because it is not the chemical composition here, durability or other similar characteristics of the material' (NIEMEYER, 2003: 50). The material dimension in this case refers to the material that constitutes the product and is therefore objective and capable of influencing the other dimensions, because each material carries different meanings, which modifies the reading, according to the interpreter.

However, once the question of how people relate to objects has also been widely discussed in psychology, we also used the approach proposed by Norman (2008) regarding emotional design and its classification of aspects of design according to the relationship of individuals with the artifacts that surround them in their daily lives.

The classification proposed by Norman (2008) considers that objects can be evaluated in three aspects: visceral, behavioural and reflective. The visceral aspect refers to the physical attributes of the object, to its first impact on the user. For example, it refers to the appearance of an object that catches your attention on the store shelf. It is possible to establish a parallel with the aesthetic function and the syntactic dimension of the object. The aspect that the author calls behavioural concerns the use, objectively to its function and its effectiveness, as it is related to its usability from the functional point of view, the ease and pleasure of operating it, which are the characteristics of the pragmatic dimension and practical function of the object. Finally, the reflective aspect of the object concerns the subjective character, the relation of meanings that we attribute to the object; it includes cultural and individual particularities, affective memory and other intangible aspects (NORMAN, 2008), attributes of its symbolic function or the semantic dimension of the object.

Finally, we were interested in looking at the issue from a design perspective, because of its ability to drive the functions of the artifacts in relation to their users. However, among the analysed objects there were both industrial products and crafts, or even natural artifacts.[2]

Thus, we seek Löbach's (1981) classification on the functions of objects focusing on the role of design in the human–object interaction, and adopted a method of analysis commonly used in the industrial design area as an intentional approach for the study analysis, regardless of the production process.

The author proposes to classify the basic functions of objects and their interrelationships with users according to three categories: practical function, aesthetic function and symbolic function. It is understood by practical function the physiological aspects of use. This function is related to the suitability of the product to the physiological needs of use such as ease of use, comfort, safety and effectiveness of use. It is understood that the practical function has close relation with the pragmatic dimension of the object, since it is linked to its use.

Aesthetic function 'is the relationship between a product and a user at the level of sensory processes. [...] The aesthetic function of products is a psychological aspect of sensory perception during its use' (LÖBACH, 2001: 59). It is subordinated to cultural aspects such as the repertoire, the knowledge and the experiences of the user. Closely linked to the principles of Gestalt visual organization, it is possible to establish a parallel with the syntactic dimension of the product.

[2] We adopted the term artifact to refer to objects of this study based on the notions that 'objects made or modified by humans are clumped together under the term artifact' and also that 'artifacts constitute the only class of historical events that occurred in the past but survive into the present' (PROWN, 1993: 2).

The symbolic function is when 'the spirituality of man is stimulated by the perception of this object, in establishing connections with his previous experiences and sensations. [...] The symbolic function of the products is determined by all the spiritual, psychic and social aspects of the use' (LÖBACH, 2001: 64).

In this way we grouped the approaches described in three categories used for the analysis of the 54 artifacts, based on the images and testimonies collected in the residences during the field research. The categories were called:

- *Usage*: related to pragmatic dimension (Morris), dimension of use (Bense), practical function (Löbach) and behavioural aspects (Norman);
- *Perception*: related to syntactic dimension (Morris), technical or constructive dimension (Bense), aesthetic function (Löbach) and visceral aspects (Norman);
- *Meaning*: related to semantic dimension (Morris), dimension of the form (Bense), symbolic function (Löbach) and reflective aspects (Norman).

As a result of the analysis, we could identify some similarities but also a number of individual occurrences that may characterize a regional identity.

Material heritage

Following are some examples of objects and their cultural signs associated with the historical heritage of the formation process of the rural society of São Paulo.

Regarding the category of perception, analysing from the point of view of materials, we find both rustic and handcrafted artifacts from the indigenous culture, such as a bamboo sieve or wood pestle, until cast iron objects, European heritage, such as pans and grinders of grain or meat (Fig. 1).

Fig. 1 A bamboo sieve and a wood pestle, rustic and handcrafted artifacts from the indigenous culture; cast iron pans and grinders of coffee or meat, from European heritage.

The lack of resources and material goods, characteristic of the culture of the nomadic people descended from the miscegenation of Portuguese and natives in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as well as the immigrants who came to work on coffee plantations at the beginning of the 20th century, deprived of land ownership and forced to survive with what Candido (1987) has called *vital minimums*, can be recognized nowadays.

We could see this heritage in relation to the economy of certain resources, that can be understood by both *usage* and *meaning* bias, into the habit of not throwing anything away (including old calendars that are hanging overlapping), not wasting materials or leftovers and reuse of old objects for the production of new ones. A daughter's dress that no longer fits the girl now is used as a cover to disguise the gas bottle. The coffee strainer had its fabric replaced with a scrap of cloth as well as quilts and cushions that are also made from scraps of leftover fabrics (Fig. 2).

Fig. 2 A cushion of fabric leftovers; a coffee filter whose fabric has been replaced by a piece of cloth and a gas bottle cover made with a daughter's dress that no longer fits the girl: a historical habit of not wasting materials and old objects for production of new ones.

On the other hand, there was a kind of compensation for difficult times faced by their ancestors: as opposed to the vital minimum, we find plenty, especially in relation to activities and utensils for food preparation, and this is a discussion related to the *meanings*. Figure 3 shows a pestle with the *Urucum* seed that will give rise to the seasoning, used by the Indians for colouring the food and also to paint the bodies in the past. The preparation of the *Urucum* takes time and is laborious, therefore, when the plant supplies the seeds a great amount is produced and distributed between neighbours and relatives. Figure 3 also brings the housewife's pans, perfectly clean and exposed, ready for use. This much of pots are clearly excessive for a lady who lives only with an adult daughter. These tasks are considered compensatory and full of extrinsic *meanings*, seen as a sign of love both by the elderly respondents and by the accounts of the adult respondents' memories.

Fig. 3 Plenty on food preparation activities: a wood pestle with a large amount of urucum seeds to be distributed between neighbors; many pans in a house where only two women live.

The family can still be understood as an autonomous unit of production, inherited from the rural districts far from the centre and the villages, a situation characteristic of the beginning of the last century that survives to the present day (De Queiroz, 1973). As a practical-oriented solution, the houses have gardens and flowerbeds for growing vegetables, medicinal plants, teas and seasonings. A wide variety of objects are still produced inside the houses, like straw brooms, and the manual skills are transmitted on to future generations to ensure the knowledge preservation (Fig. 4).

Fig. 4 A flowerbed for growing vegetables and a straw brooms production are examples of the autonomy of the houses.

The family house as an autonomous unit can also be recognized with the maintenance of the domestic religious ritual (Fig. 5) with altars and relics dedicated to saints. Often these altars exhibit more than one saint, candles and flowers offered and portraits of deceased relatives to whom the prayers are offered. These domestic altars were analysed from the standpoint of the three categories but what predominates is their *symbolic* function, the field of *meanings*.

Fig. 5 Domestic religious ritual also reflects the autonomy of the houses.

Most of the domestic activities continue to be the responsibility of women exactly as it happened with their ancestors. The dedication and competence with which they carry out these tasks, such as a crochet point of difficult execution or food recipes that only the grandmother knows how to make, are recognized only among women through praise and some reverence but this is not recognized as a value in her family. The situation about women, the work systems and family structure of Italian immigrants in coffee farms in São Paulo state at the beginning of the 20th century can be verified on Stolcke (1994) reports.

Peasant practices among neighbours of small farmers can be observed, but no longer in dealing with the land, since the work in the

field has become salaried. But mutual help among women in a particular community, buying hand painted dishcloth in the church bazaar just to help raise funds for some cause they considered valid was a good example of the community spirit that survived the passage of time.

Final considerations

Despite the fact that today the state of São Paulo is characterized by large urban areas and is one of the largest cities on the planet with more than 12 million inhabitants, until the 1950s the majority of the population in the state lived in the rural area (Setubal, 2004), which justifies a study of the popular artifacts associated with families of rural origin.

The characteristics of *usage* and *perception* of these artifacts, as well as the *meanings* attributed to them, indicate an identity in terms of design closely related to its socio-cultural, therefore historical origin.

This materiality was the result of the historical heritage of the peoples and the process of formation of rural society in São Paulo added to the poverty of that region at the beginning of the colonial era, associated with the process of exploitation by the colony, the miscegenation of Portuguese and Indigenous which resulted in a nomadic population without the possession of the land, and the coexistence with the European immigrants who came to the region to work in the plantations under conditions analogous to slavery after abolition. As pointed out, several aspects found in the study indicate that these artifacts represent the heritage of the native culture mixed with the culture of the immigrants who lived together and still live inside the people's houses until the present.

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Editor's note. An author asked us to withdraw her five-page paper at the last minute. It had already been laid out and typeset with the rest of the book. We wanted to maintain the order and sequence of papers that the strand chairs had devised, but re-setting the remaining pages would be too difficult at this point. We hope that you will understand.

Designing the Historical Construction of Design Culture and Visual Communication from the South: The Development of a Design Field in Uruguay from a Historical-Critical Perspective

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Design culture / History / Uruguay / Episodes

The configuration of a field and a culture of design in Uruguay is expressed by means of a scattered set of artefacts, documents and public and private projects. Historical and, even more so, historiographic production is scarce. Design in Uruguay and its historization have been addressed from different perspectives, both limited and partial. One look on this process confirmed the existence of unifying threads, recurring actors, long-running lines, questions, hypotheses, all of which demonstrated the need to formulate a wide conceptual platform allowing to link and denaturalize these partial products and include others. The main strategy consists in addressing the historical construction through what we refer to as episodes. We propose to detect the local and regional specificity in the study of the material and immaterial networks configuring the production, distribution and consumption processes, by means of which agents from different places came into contact and legitimized their activities in order to account for the discipline displacements inherent in the historization of Design and problematize the 'historiographic artifice' committed to its characterization as a design discipline based on four episodes: the Círculo de Bellas Artes, the publications of the Architecture School, the Caviglia project, and the brand Uruguay Natural.

Introduction

The configuration of a field and culture of Design in Uruguay is expressed in a dispersed set of artifacts, documents, and public and private projects. Historical and historiographic production is scarce. The subject of Design in Uruguay and its historization has been focused from many limited, partial perspectives. A look at this process demonstrated the need to formulate a wide conceptual platform which enabled to link these partial products and include others, making explicit the conception of Design used to attempt their analysis and interrelation.

In this context, our proposal—which is part of a long-term research project—aims mainly at addressing historical construction through four episodes: Círculo de Bellas Artes, the Caviglia Project, the editorial policy of the School of Architecture, and the Uruguay Natural brand.

The operative category of episodes is used to denominate those processes, documents, projects, events and institutions linked to Design that we selected as study objects, which constitute a unit that may be isolated for critical analysis in concrete historic-cultural conditions. Therefore, they are of interest in themselves and acquire other senses in their relation to others and as part of a group which allows to elicit mutual impacts and imbrications.

This interpretation platform aims to, on the one hand, problematize an acritical projection of models which render invisible the distinctive features of the various histories of Design of Latin American countries constructed from the South. On the other hand, the repercussion of the episodes in documents and texts face us with some of the challenges and methodological problems involved in the organization of historically variable cartographies whose visualization may contribute information both about the emergency conditions of one field of Design in Uruguay and about its precedents when the discipline did not exist as such.

Conceptual platform

In our contemporary culture, graphic design and visual communication design[1] (name which, we believe, seeks to widen the horizon of the former and evidences the hypermediations as a typical operation of the culture of contemporary design) participate in practically all instances where knowledge is made public, in the production of multiple modes of visualizing information and, therefore, in the configuration of the context from diverse conceptions of the real. In that context, the high degree of autonomy achieved by design disciplines in general and Visual Communication Design in particular imply a new problematization, as many of the episodes that we identified have been investigated by the academic community from a great diversity of disciplines and considering political, economic, social and cultural policies, not from the specificities of visual communication design.

We share the notion of Design Culture as proposed by Guy Julier since, from a critical perspective of the proposals of Visual Culture and Material Culture to study the history of Design, it outlines a renewed interpretation of those approaches. Based on a questioning of a history of Design constructed as professionalization of its practice, Julier recommends laying greater emphasis on the study of the networks and interactions shaping production and consumption processes, both material and immaterial, by means of which the creators from different parts get connected, communicate with each other and legitimize their activities. The Design Studies denomination posed, among others, by Victor Margolin allows us to take into account the disciplinary shifts inherent to Latin American Design; the characterization as design discipline which has led Renato De Fusco to propose a history based on a historiographic artifice permits to analyse the location of a project in its interdependence with other factors.

[1] Although research revolves around visual communication design, on assuming a historic-critical perspective it is inevitable to allude to other disciplines of Design, especially for those times when the notion of Design as such did not exist, but also because the historicity of the characterization of Design is considered.

We believe that the notion of field, as understood by Pierre Bourdieu, enables the detection of local specificity based on the study of a set of events and agents from various circles which correlated material and visual repertoires with different degrees of cohesion through political, economic, technological and industrial visualization strategies in which the practice of Design, from a contemporary viewpoint, take centre stage. Moreover, it makes possible the problematization of those agreements and disagreements between design disciplines and the like, whose mutually affected trajectories were expressed in spaces, points of view, exchanges and institutions even when Design degrees were not on offer at the Uruguayan public university.

In this way, we seek to generate a type of narrative which may go beyond the biographies of pioneering, heroic characters and the Great Works of Design, and yet may express, on account of the specificity of the design of visual communication, the historiographic debates there have been in the discipline and the long-term lines visible in the articulation of the different episodes. A historiographic look at the constitution of the disciplinary field highlights that a great deal of the effort by its historians and theoreticians along the last few years has centred around producing a shift from legitimizing, non-problematizing historic and theoretical narratives of the discipline when articulating objects (which objects are designed, the texts) and practices with their narratives.

In assuming this perspective, we aspire to the progressive denaturalization of the study objects of Design history in Uruguay, enabling a relativization of essentialist, normative, teleological outlooks of productions which admit diverse, co-existing, opposing, complementary interdisciplinary theorizing and historization. It will allow to problematize certain characteristics of Design which blur local and regional particularities when inappropriate industrialization models are projected; when defining Design as the projection of industrially produced objects, i.e. machine-, mass-made, they left out of historic accounts the experiences of countries with very sophisticated Design cultures, but ones which did not answer to that form of production, or in which the handcraft–Design relationship was paramount, as is the case with Uruguay and other Latin American countries. Likewise, since the 1990s the expression of postmodernism in Design made it possible not only to question the universality of some principles of visual communication unquestioned until then, but also to enhance the specific ways in which the Arts and Design were interwoven in Latin America.

The proposal of the existence of a Design field in conjunction with a relational approach does not entail overlooking the material qualities which Visual Communication Design objects have been assuming. Rather, it presupposes that those qualities cannot be deduced from any feature or individual agent of the social structure, but that they acquire their own productivity inasmuch as Design is regarded as a social, political, economic actor within a field of forces in tension, and as an articulator of social relations.

From the South

As mentioned before, we base our paper on four episodes. Given their diverse nature, the analysis of each will centre on the dimensions specifically relevant for the historiographic construction of Design: historical (local, regional, global, reticular, etc); material (archive generation, collection of scattered material); institutional (transversalization produced by the change from the School of Architecture to School of Architecture, Design and City Planning), among others.

The choice of episodes is justified, among other reasons, by the contribution they may afford to the problematization of these aspects, as well as by detecting the differential modes characterizing Visual Communication Design as a Design discipline with respect to Architecture, Textile and Clothing Industrial Design, especially in the devices used in the production of knowledge. The strictly functional arguments are ever further from constituting the fundamental aspect of Visual Communication Design in favour of their symbolic, institutionalizing value.

The Bellas Artes Circle

In 1905, the Círculo de Fomento de las Bellas Artes was founded in Montevideo on a private initiative of a group of professionals and intellectuals, and the industrial and business sector with the aim of training artists and craftsmen skilled in the design of styles and in plastic conception applied to the decorative arts, in the hope of obtaining benefits for the budding domestic industry.

Its activity has been especially studied by Art History and noted early on by authors like Argul[2] as the institution which marked the defence of the new trends in art in Uruguay ever since its foundation up to Torres García in 1934. However, this paper regards it as an episode which allows to transcend its condition of first Uruguayan institution devoted to training in Art and, thus, to make visible the role it played in a possible protohistory of Design.

Its platform included the training of artisans in evening courses and a programme of “art applied to industry”. These lines of action pulsating the limits of the fine arts were due to a Uruguayan scenario which backed industrialization, together with Batlle y Ordoñez, as a way to achieve economic independence. This alignment with official policies was made apparent when a note to Batlle y Ordoñez, who was in Paris in 1910, expressed ‘the pleasure elicited by the statements made in his political platform as presidential candidate regarding an increase in national art’.[3] Again, when his second presidency comes to an end in March 1915, they thank the ‘determined, effective protection given to the Círculo’.[4]

[2] José Pedro Argul, *Pintura y escultura del Uruguay. Historia crítica*, (Montevideo: publication of the magazine of the Instituto Histórico y Geográfico del Uruguay, Imprenta Nacional, September 1958), 87.

[3] Archivo Círculo de Bellas Artes. Actas, 28 October 1910.

[4] Archivo Círculo de Bellas Artes. Actas, 11 March 1915.

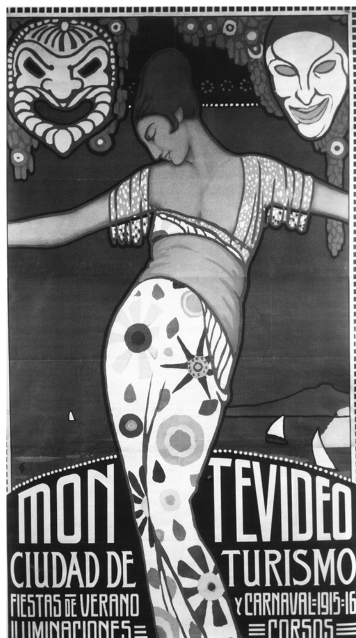

Fig. 1 Castellanos. Círculo de Bellas Artes, 1916.

Fig. 2 World Exhibition of Milan of 1906. IHA FADU archive.

Fig. 3 Caviglia's visual identity caption. IHA FADU archive.

The networks established with Batllism—between its own protagonists (strangely enough, the first boards had few artists) and with the other education institutions, such as the School of Architecture, la Escuela Industrial and the Foto Club—place the Círculo in the spotlight of the art–handcraft and industry debate in early twentieth century Uruguay. Between 1917 and 1923, in the words of Peluffo (Peluffo, 2000: 91–94), a reorientation took place both at the Círculo and at the Escuela Industrial, which had Blanes Viale as its main figure—who worked at the Consejo Superior de Enseñanza Industrial (Higher Industrial Education Council) since Figari's resignation and at the direction of the Círculo—and Luis Caviglia, in charge of the furniture area, member of the Commerce Chamber and President of the Consejo de Enseñanza Industrial (Industrial Education Council). As the Círculo gradually reduced its artistic programme linked to the industry, the School leant towards a more technical form of teaching.

This apparent search for specificity must be understood in the climate of disagreement with Figari and his walking away from the School and must be nuanced in the light of some facts. The School eliminated the Live Model course established by Figari in 1917, but he directed his students to attend those taught by the Círculo. Some Circle artists continued to work as teachers at the School, building bridges between the 'pure Art' of the Círculo and the 'artistic industry' of the School (Peluffo, 2000: 93).

The material production of the Círculo in the field of Visual Communication Design should not be ignored. Diplomas, medals, posters (Fig. 1) (for which contests were organized) were requested repeatedly by various institutions and businesses, prominent among which were Automovil Club, Federación Rural, Agua Salus and the Town Council. This work contributed to expand the Modernist esthetic codes in Uruguayan visual culture thanks to artists like Baroffio, Castellanos and Milo Beretta.

Since 1923 the successive managements were mostly integrated by artists, which may explain the growing loss of interest in linking Art to industry. In 1943 the Escuela Nacional de Bellas Artes was created, and the institution became a secondary actor in Uruguayan artistic education, occasionally emerging through some of its distinguished figures.

The Caviglia Project

What we have called the Caviglia Project evidences the role of immigration in the shaping of innovating elites in South America in general and Uruguay in particular.

Buonaventura Caviglia was a multi-faceted actor who participated simultaneously as head both of the Italian Chamber of Commerce of Montevideo and of the Banco Italiano of Uruguay. In that setting of densification of the social fabric—in the words of Alcides Beretta, who articulated politics, agriculture, industry, architecture, art, publicity and design—this Italian immigrant ran Caviglia's Furniture Store together with his brothers. It could be considered a cultural initiative with explicit intentions to shape subjective esthetics, in the sense posed by Juan Acha, as it combined standardized production sold at the furniture store with objects designed by the most salient Uruguayan architects of the day, and a publication, *Hogar y Decoración* (1938–1950), distributed in Uruguay, Colombia and the USA which acted as an organ that condensed and connected the different dimensions and scales on which it interacted with the other agents addressed in the three other episodes analysed in this paper.

The entries for the World Exhibition of Milan of 1906 (Fig. 2), where he obtained two gold medals and 'a desk in Paris were but a part of the Exchange project in the constant attempt to prove that Caviglia S.A.' lives the present 'with the latest technological advances and the new materials: 'naturally modern, our current conception of life'. His expansion programme included hiring European art directors and technicians, importation of materials, training of Uruguayan Design specialists and a very open visual identity system (Fig. 3). This policy made an impact on the configuration of taste with highly diversified activities: sections of the *Hogar y Decoración* magazine approaching photography[5] as an object in its own right in decoration and as intermediary in the perception of local and international architecture and other designed artifacts, from the reproduction of film settings of the day to catalogue sale (Fig. 3), as well as the creation of an art gallery where artists such as Pedro Figari and José Cúneo exhibited their work, among others.

[5] Notes by Augusto Turenne, Foto Club Uruguayo, Carlos Surraco, Paysee Reyes.

Cultural defence and affirmation: a look at the publications of the School of Architecture and their impact on the creation of a design culture in Uruguay. Relating two periodical publications of the School of Architecture from the second half of the twentieth century, *Revista de la Facultad de Arquitectura* —as institutional voice— (Fig.4) and *Trazo*, produced by the Students' Centre allows us to approach the mediations that brought to the fore ideas, debates and editorial proposals from these two enunciators with an impact on the field of Design.

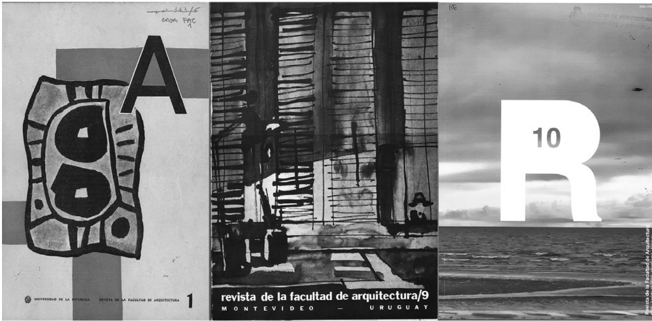

Fig. 4 *Revista de la Facultad de Arquitectura.*

On the one hand, they debated the training of Design professionals, widening the functions of the University with a strong social and local commitment. On the other hand, they wondered about the ways in which to revitalize the waning cultural presence of Design in order to face the profound transformations experienced in the transition from dictatorial to democratic governments. Further, the production and publishing contexts, the modes of enunciation, the tone and the sections which organized each one of them gave voice to a group of agents committed to the culture of Design under way in Uruguay.

The magazine appeared in 1958 amid a conflicting, fermenting revision process of the organic law at the Universidad de la República. Until 1972 eight issues were published with an outstanding graphic quality and the participation of renowned Uruguayan artists, like Miguel Pareja and Vicente Martín. The sections of the magazine were a taxonomy of the structure of the School, showing open-mindedness and inclusiveness. With a manifest interdisciplinary vocation, it intended for both contents and design decisions to express the objectives of an institutional publication associated to a notion of design culture as a form of action: a "way of doing things" which transforms practice, a design associated to values (Julier, 2010: 21).

With the advent of dictatorship and intervention at the University in 1973, the Magazine is discontinued until the advent of democracy in 1986 with the publication of Issue 9. This issue welcomed democracy and the manifestation of diverse visions on one topic. From the graphic point of view, the relevance afforded by photographic images is noteworthy. The magazine underwent another long interruption until 2012 when it was published again, in a context where Visual Communication Design and Industrial Design were incorporated as degree courses in 2009.

Born of a very different political junction, *Trazo* started life in March 1981 during the military regime as the voice of the students. It was published continuously yet irregularly until 1999; in 2010 there was an attempt to republish it, but only one issue saw the light. Political contents and a political interpretation of the phenomena of architecture filled the early issues; at first, covertly, then more explicitly, it became a protest medium defending democratic principles and one more civil actor contributing to the dying throes of dictatorship.

Trazo 16, published in June 1986 with a new design, was awarded a prize at Quito's Architecture Biennial, which meant a turning point. In a politically democratic university and context, it started to include more disciplinary contents. As a students' magazine and with an anti-establishment yet proactive spirit, *Trazo*'s relations between text and image throughout its history show a constant search for the expression of irreverence and freedom when it came to changes in its design.

It is inevitable to link the redesign of *Trazo* with the reappearance of the magazine in October 1986. There seemed to be an awareness of the capability of graphic design to express the wish for differentiation of the students' fresh and experimental platform of the reborn institutional publication. Beyond the visual aspects, the two publications generated editorial devices which channelled a School committed with the medium from its discipline, comprising between them a system of multiple, complementary relations, filling up vacuums, generating non-explicit alliances and giving voice to diverse actors.

The Uruguay Natural Brand and the transformation of the territory imaginary through Design. This episode problematizes the implementation process of the Uruguayan country brand system, a phenomenon which does not yet have an agreed-upon global definition as to its scope, characteristics, strategies and limitations. Instead, there exist several perspectives both in its implementation and in its analysis. Uruguay has not been alien to such a trend, and even though since 2002 the government has promoted the country under the brand "Uruguay Natural", we believe that the history of this syntagm and its institution as country brand poses differences with respect to the identity markers of the region's countries.

It arose relatively by chance in 1992 due to a nautical project by the national Navy and private sailing clubs in order to raise funds for a sailing boat to be the first Uruguayan boat to participate in the *Whitbread* international regatta. When such support was not forthcoming, the organizers of the project identified the need to solve it in the communicational arena, so that the boat, which they decided to name "Uruguay Natural", was turned into a communication platform presenting Uruguay to the world and constituting a way of expanding opportunities for the country.

Luis Chabaneau, head of the project, claimed that they had to have a solid marketing stunt and capture the attention of local businesses to finance the project. 'One day [Vanzini, the *skipper*] saw at the port a shipment of oranges which had been stamped with "Naranjas Uruguay Natural". Then, we started to see how Uruguayan things were promoted in the world'.[6] Fernando Aztoitya, of the Anelo agency, created the brand identity for the ship. Interest for the use of the "Uruguay Natural" concept as country brand was resumed ten years after its birth during the administration of Luis Batlle. In 2001 an Identification Programme bid was won by the Color 9/ i+d company: 'not only did they look to attract tourists, but also investors; to give everything that came out of Uruguay a brand capital'.[7]

The identity for the country brand created in 2002 presents completely new characteristics; it maintains some design criteria, like the use of the national colours and the allusion to patriotic symbols, as well as some typographical criteria.

The brand became official with a decree which provides that the Central Administration must use the brand "Uruguay Natural", in accordance with the Regulation of Elements of Visual Identification since it is advisable for Uruguay as a country brand to generate a clear, solid, coherent message and to that effect it is deemed necessary to make the use of such brand uniform in all of the Central Administration, particularly in the areas which are in communication with foreign countries or conduct promotion here or abroad.

The main promoters were the Ministry of Tourism and Uruguay XXI, which presents itself as an Institute of Promotion of Investments and Exportation of Goods and Services. Its objective is to obtain international investments and business opportunities for the Uruguayan economy.

This change in intervention policy in the territorial imaginary (Fig. 5) and tourist promotion allows to identify some unexplored aspects of the creation of a Design field in Uruguay by means of the historization of the institutions committed to their explicit inclusion in the agenda and public Design policies.

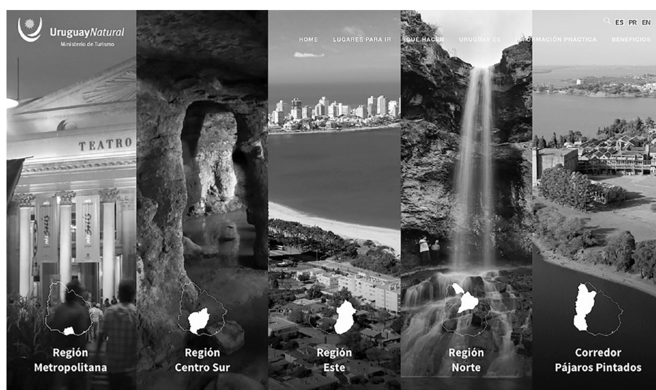

Fig. 5 Uruguay Natural main web page. Caption.

[6] Interviewed by Magdalena Sprechmann.
[7] Interviewed by Magdalena Sprechmann.

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Perceiving the Future: Experimental Design at ELISAVA 1986–1992

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Experimental design / Speculative design / Design fiction / Design research / ELISAVA

The main objective of this work is to show that the typology of the academic projects carried out at ELISAVA between 1986 and 1992 were a first attempt at what is currently considered Design Research. A second objective is to find a suitable definition of Experimental Design in the Industrial Design framework. We are looking at designs that wanted to anticipate formal solutions for the new technological and cultural challenges, experimenting with the purpose of acquiring knowledge rather than obtaining real products. The material studied comes from ELISAVA's archives, private archives of the school's professors at that time, catalogs and other publications. A bibliographic review has been made to build a glossary with the different design modalities that have common points, such as: Speculative Design, Critical Design, Design Fiction, Experimental Design and Design Research. We expect to find connections between these old projects and the projects currently being carried out at the school in the Design Research area. Seeking to standardize a definition for this typology of activities in design, obtaining results that let us affirm that research in design started earlier than is believed.

Introduction

The beginning of research in design at the university level at ELISAVA and in our country in general is recent, the first college affiliation of ELISAVA was in 1995, and the approval of the current plan of study for the Bachelor's in Design and the Bachelor's in Engineering in Industrial Design was in 2009 (Pinto, 2014). The University of Barcelona Faculty of Fine Arts, however, created its first degree in Design in 1982. It is interesting from an historiographical perspective to document the research activity in Design prior to these dates. The period that covers from the late seventies until the early nineties of the 20th century was very productive for the history of design in our country, as has been studied by Capella and Larrea (1991), Julier (1991), Campi (1994) and Narotzky (2007), among others. The main study material for this work are academic projects realized from an experimental point of view during this period.

The reasons for this work are the following:

First, to document the material. The study material is at risk of getting lost, it has suffered many interventions due to documentary requirements and it has been exhibited or published multiple times. Also, it is in different outdated supports (negatives, photographic copies and slides), in many cases without a digital copy, and few people can properly identify the oldest documents.

Second, I want to point out that some of the most avant-garde manifestations in design of those years were in the industrial design field. In Elisava, these manifestations were centered in the design of technological products in contrast to the Postmodern trend, that was more centered on the aesthetics and communicative values of home furnishings, lighting applications and fashion accessories.

Third, I will try to find a definition for "Experimental Design", that includes this category of projects and looks to link them to the scientific research, so that they can be considered a precedent of the "research in design" that is currently carried out.

Glossary of design

Since there are no standard definitions of the terms 'experimental design', 'speculative design', 'critical design' and 'design research', I have made a literature review with the objective of finding relevant quotes to define these terms. Most of these quotes are taken from foreign publications. I have put together these definitions to find the most representative to the present work. For each quote I have highlighted the concepts that refer to industrial design, teaching, the future, technology, research, etc., to select the most representative of each category. With this methodology I obtained a glossary of definitions for these design categories, that have been used when explaining the tests and in the conclusions of the present work. The obtained terms are used interchangeably to refer to the same thing, but they have a different origin and meaning.

Experimental Design

It has been defined as frontier design, optimistic and excited with new technologies (Clarà, 1985). Also, with a playful and disruptive ingredient, as seen in the exhibit Disueño in 1977 (Capella and Larrea, 1986). Classified as "experimental" are the design styles of Branzi, Sotsass and other members of the Italian Radical Design movement (Dunne, 2005). In the academic field is where most of the examples of experimentation in design are found (Hall, 2011), it is in this field where a methodological approach similar to the scientific method for testing the new concepts is carried out (Lindauer and Muller, 2015).

Design Research

Design research presents the same basic configuration as any research. Design Research answers the following questions: what kind of evidence we have, and where and how is it interpreted (Easterby and Smith, et al., 1990). There is a greater interest in research design because now it is valued as a form of research itself (Sparke, 2004). There are three approaches to Design Research: research about design, research for design and research with design. The first is based on the theory, the second on the artefacts and the third combines both (Wolf, 2016).

Design Fiction

Design Fiction is a way to speculate seriously and question what the future is for (Raby and Cortes, 2016). Design Fiction also characterizes a kind of design that is imagining alternative futures that are technologically oriented and closely related to science fiction (Dunne, 2005). Design Fiction allows you to explore scenarios with your imagination as the only limit (Bleecker, 2006). Bruce Sterling defined Design Fiction as the deliberate use of diegetic prototypes to suspend the disbelief about change (Dunne and Raby, 2013).

Speculative Design

For Sterling, Speculative Design is a European version of the Design Fiction concept due to the influence of the American film industry (Dunne, 2005). Speculative design has two main purposes: to reflect the future, while being critical of the present (Auger, 2013). In the academic environment, Speculative Design that takes into account the effects of technology can provide useful skills often neglected for the instructors and the participants, providing them with new perspectives from which to consider the discourse about technology and design (Lukens and DiSalvo, 2012).

Critical Design

Critical Design is a method to analyze the market necessities and identify unsolved problems (Sudjic, 2014). The term Critical Design was coined in the mid-nineties, as an answer to the concerns with the uncritical drive behind the technologic progress. Critical Design uses speculative design proposals to better understand the role that products play in everyday life (Dunne and Raby, 2013). It could be said that Critical Design is an appendix to Design Fiction (Raby, 2016).

Conceptual Design

Conceptual Design does not refer to the conceptual stage of a design, but to a product intended to challenge preconceptions about the technological products that shape our life (Dunne, 2005). Conceptual Design focuses on the future of society, technology and aesthetics. It is a process that generates an environment where ideas can be tested, presented and transmitted (Erlhoff and Marshall, 2008).

Design's state of the art in the 1980s

In the mid-seventies, architecture and design styles experienced a profound cultural change due to the exhaustion of the rationalist postulates of the Modern Movement. The official start of Postmodernism in architecture is the 15th of July of 1972, when a modern-style apartment building was torn down in Sant Louis (Sudjic, 2014). To get a deeper understanding of this topic, two books could be consulted:

– *La Casa Calda* (Branzi, 1984), gathers testimonies of the radical Italian design, like Archizoom, Associati, Global Tools and Studio Alchymia.
– *Postmodernism: Style and subversion, 1970 to 1990* (Adamson et al., 2011), is a review with the perspective of time; it is the catalog of the exhibition held at the V & A Museum in London in 2011.

The introduction of Postmodern Design in Barcelona is due to the magazine *MODO*, voice of the "Nuovo Design Italiano". This magazine published "Acconciatura in ambiente post-moderno" (Rinaldi, 1980), a project for a hairdressing saloon in Milan by Studio Alchymia. The designer Javier Mariscal (Valencia, 1956) explained that this project was a decisive influence for the design of his first furniture collection in the "new amoral style" (Postmodernism) presented in "La Sala Vinçon" in Barcelona in March of 1981. This exhibition induced Ettore Sotsass to invite Mariscal to participate in the worldwide presentation of Memphis in "Il Salone di Milano".

Other perspectives of those years in Spain can be found in the book *New Spanish Design* (Julier, 1991). Julier was hosted by Capella and Larrea in Barcelona. They introduced him to all the design community. It is remarkable that Capella and Larrea also published a book with the title *New Spanish Design* in 1991; both books talk about the same reality but from different perspectives. Julier has the vision of an outsider while Capella and Larrea where part of the design community.

Another interesting book is *La Barcelona del diseño* (Narotzky, 2007). That studies the origin of the design ecosystem in Barcelona. Narotzky forgets to mention the role of the design schools; this topic is covered in the articles from Antoni Marí (1985) and Anna Calvera (1998). The relationship between ELISAVA and the postmodern vanguard is due to the design group Transatlàntic, composed by three of ELISAVA's professors.

Transatlàntic was one of the most outstanding exponents of experimental design in the eighties in our country (Capella and Larrea, 1991). It was integrated by three designers and ex-alumni of ELISAVA: Ramon Benedito, Lluís Morillas and Josep Puig. In September of 1984 they presented in the FAD "Metamorfosis primer programa de mobiliario sensual". In 1986, they gave the lecture series "Barcelona. Más Diseño", presented the collection "Mobili Eterni" and wrote the manifesto *Esquizotécnia y Metadiseño*.

Transatlàntic together with the Zeus group and Speradisole participated in the travelling show "Trittico". Trittico was exhibited in Milan, Rome and Barcelona. In 1987, Transatlàntic presented the exhibition "Muebles Transcendentales. La muerte motivo de diseño" at the UIMP (Menéndez y Pelayo International University) at La Coruña. Transatlàntic was dissolved in 1989, leaving behind numerous publications and exhibitions, three furniture collections and other unique interventions. In ELISAVA, they taught and involved the students in the latest and most stimulating expressions of the new design styles.

To mention the achievements of other design schools in the eighties in Barcelona, in 1986, students from the school Massana won the first prize of the Italia's Cup international design school trophy, a European contest for design students. The topic of the 1986 edition was the future of money (*Il Denaro*, 1986).

ELISAVA, more than 50 years of design

The school of design ELISAVA was founded in 1961. ELISAVA is the first school of design in Spain (Calvera, 1998). In 2011 the book *Elisava desde 1961* was published to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the institution. This book

is well documented, and includes testimonies, publications and historical images. In the book, unpublished material from the school and former teachers and students is recovered. The revision of these old projects, and the images, models and texts, vindicated the interest and actuality of some of these academic designs beyond their nostalgic value.

The plans of study of ELISAVA are an essential source to understand the philosophy and methodology applied in each period. The first Plan of Study for ELISAVA was redacted after a board of director's trip to Germany to visit the Superior School of Design of Ulm, directed by Tomás Maldonado (Pinto, 2014). This program was inspired by Bauhaus principles, which assumed the new roles played by the industry and the industrial product.

In the mid-eighties, a new plan of study was needed due to all the changes experienced in the design scene, among them the increased number of students. This plan of study (the fourth of ELISAVA) emphasized the renovation of the linguistic code of design, the expressive capability of the product, a more experimental approach and the interest in research and innovation (Pericot, 1996).

The trajectory and quality of a school is deeply influenced by its professors. In the design field, many of the professors combined professional activity with teaching and with cultural and associative activism. This was usual in ELISAVA and other private schools, constituting one of their bigger strengths. Public schools limited professional activity only to associate professors. Most of the professors of the public schools got permanent positions through a competition, becoming public administration officials with less motivation to develop other activities.

The board of directors at that time was formed by: the school director Enric Bricall, the Graphic Design director Enric Franc, the Industrial Design director Ramon Benedito and the Interior Design director Alfredo Arribas. Arribas designed the interior of the school when it was in the street Vallmajor; this project is considered iconic of the postmodern design of interiors, really appropriate for a school that wanted to be open to the new tendencies and design styles.

At that time, design schools were already the natural refuge for experimental projects, although the results had only a theoretical dimension. It is evident that schools played a key role in the design culture in our country. They are a privileged space where international influence is received, and the laboratory where new trends are tested (Calvera, 1998).

Industrial design at ELISAVA

In 1986 Ramon Benedito was the director of the area of Industrial Design. Benedito is a recognized and awarded industrial designer specialized in product design. Benedito's professional links with the technological industry were a source of opportunities for academic experimentation. Benedito had a great influence in all the courses of the Industrial Design degree; he built complicities with the school professors and external specialists to open the school to the new tendencies and styles.

One of the external specialists was Juli Capella. Capella is an architect and had been the director for the design magazines *Ardi* and *De Diseño*, and responsible for the design section of the magazine *Domus* (1995–2000). Capella was a guest lecturer for the Projects course in the Industrial Design degree. His lecture "Design to the limit" encouraged the most transgressive students, inducing them to take disruptive ways for design by taking things out of context, contaminating, decomposing, symbolizing and ironizing (Capella and Larrea, 1991). All that perspective generated an incipient investigation that companies were not yet doing at that time.

The projects selected for this work belong to technological product design. The selected projects were done between 1986 and 1992 in the Projects for Industrial Design course at ELISAVA.

The Object's Skin (Fig. 1). Project on single use cameras. Analyzed the sustainability and transgression in the body of a disposable object. (Course 90–91. Professor J. Puig)

The Future's Laptop (Fig. 2). The suggestive conference given by the CEO of Epson Spain induced speculation about computer evolution and the effect on the work office. (Course 90–91. Professor J. Puig)

The Transient Object (Fig. 3–4). The first microchip implemented in a pair of sneakers induced speculation on how common objects would look if hybridized with microelectronics. (Course 89–90. Professor J. Puig)

Transcooter (Fig.5). A speculation for a single passenger urban vehicle. An analogy between an escalator and an umbrella. (Course 86–87. Professors R. Benedito, J. Novell and J. Puig)

The technological evolution granted a freedom and a range of possibilities for product design previously unimaginable. The proposals for that project were centered on the user reaction to the object, not the viability of fabrication. The applied methodology to analyze the experimental value of these projects is explained in the following section. This methodology is intended to provide an objective view of these projects.

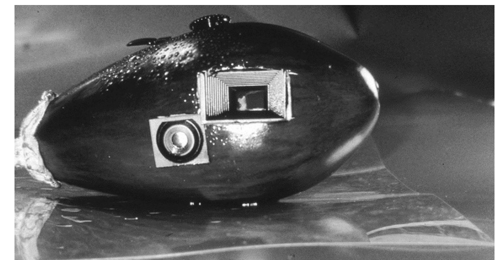

Fig. 1 *Photographic Camera* by M. Díaz (ELISAVA 1991).

Fig. 2 *Kid's laptop* by A. Gómez (ELISAVA 1989).

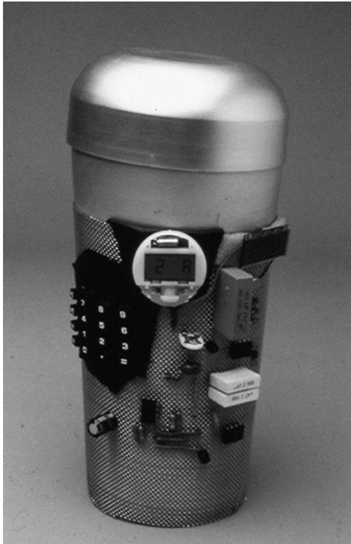

Fig. 3 *Electronic cocktail shaker* by F. PONS (ELISAVA 1986).

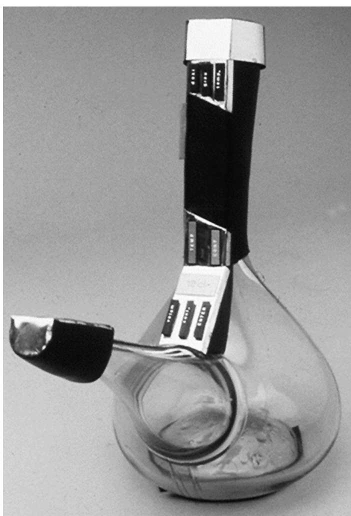

Fig. 4 *Electronic Porrón* by A. TARRÉS (ELISAVA 1986).

TABLE Nº 1

STUDENT	
Name:	Carlos Martínez
Course:	3º Industrial Design
Subject:	Projects
School:	ELISAVA (Barcelona)
PROJECT	
Title:	Transcooter
Exercise statement:	Urban transport for individual use. A typology of hybrid fictional vehicle between an umbrella and a telerake. Simultaneously made for 1st, 2nd and 3rd year students
Year: 1986 - 1987	Teacher: Ramon Benedito
Individual: x	Group:
Context:	4º Study Plan

Analysis model

CONCEPT	DIMENSIONS		INDICATOR						
The educational design project	Academic	x	A. Study Plan	1	2	3	4	5	11
			B. Convey knowledge	1	2	3	4	5	
			C. Teach	1	2	3	4	5	
	Experimental / Speculative		D. Test	1	2	3	4	5	
			E. Discover	1	2	3	4	5	
			F. Proactive	1	2	3	4	5	

Fig. 5 Technical sheet for *Transcooter* by C. MARTÍNEZ (ELISAVA 1986).

Methodology

A technical sheet has been elaborated to study the perception of the seven selected projects of today's observers. The selection is the following: 1) The project is well identified. 2) It corresponds to the area of interest of the present work. 3) It is a singular project, understandable just with a look at them. The working materials are the pictures of the projects, the models, and the problem raised by the professors.

The analysis model classifies the projects in Academic and Experimental. The Academic projects were those included in the plan of study. The Academic projects were based on the classic process of design, the obtained results were verifiable and feasible. The Experimental projects started from a less rigid approach, moved by the curiosity to explore the possibilities of design with the new technologies and using materials not easily accessible at that time in the academic or professional environment. The sheets have been given to ten designers that are also in the academic and professional world. They assessed the indicators and valued the dimension of each project. With that classification a quantitative result is obtained that relates to the attribute 'experimental' or 'academic'.

The methodology has been reviewed after talking with Juli Capella, who was the director of the most relevant design magazines at that time.

Results

The first result is the documented classification of more than thirty projects carried out by Industrial Design students between 1986 and 1993. The pictures have been digitalized, the authors identified, and a chronology has been stablished.

The results of the test realized by ten designers for the seven selected projects have been balanced, obtaining very close results for all the different evaluations. There is a practical tie between the category of 'academic' (49%) and the 'experimental' category (51%). Also, the indicators that intended to evaluate the qualities for each category have obtained similar results for all the designers, around 18 points for each indicator. None of the projects stands out among the others.

Conclusions

The literature review served as a way to find testimonies of the key role of industrial design in the renovation of design culture in the eighties. This literature review has been used to select quotes that defined design terms without a standard definition, and that are used interchangeably or as they were contemporary. With the results of the process it is evident that they are not. In the eighties the only common terms were conceptual design and experimental design. It is not until the early nineties that the terms speculative design, design fiction and critical design appear. Also, it is not fair to talk about research in design at ELISAVA before 1997, which was when the degrees in Technical Engineering in Design were created, even in the Institute of Research in Design instituted by ELISAVA in 1990.

The results from the tests realized by the designers are tied; the conclusion that can be taken is that thirty years after their realization most of those projects are not strange or generate surprise if they are not compared with other truly academic projects at that time. To get a better measure of the impact of the selected projects they should be compared with the typical academic projects of their time. This comparative analysis could be an extension to the present work.

For this work, only a literature review of the Italian projects of this kind was done, as they were the reference in design at that time and there were

primary sources available like the publications and exhibits of the Triennale di Milano. Other extensions of the present work could be the literature review of this kind of project realized in other countries, like in the academy of Delft and Eindhoven in the Netherlands or the ones done at the Royal College of Art and at Central Saint Martins in the United Kingdom. Also, a more exhaustive review of this kind of project in the other schools in our country can be made.

The main purpose of the studied projects was to acquire knowledge. Formal experiments with the latest technologies and materials were made; those materials were very sophisticated and inaccessible. The shape was understood not only as the aesthetics, but as part of the essential and inner structure of the object (Muntaner, 2002). With this assumption, it is concluded that those projects were real experimentation. When defining research in design, one of its methodologic characteristics is the realization of experiments. For the studied projects, making the models were the true experiments. With only the resources of the imagination, the technical references, intuition and curiosity, the studied projects obtained models to observe the problems of the future and to anticipate solutions. This experimental design was research in design, although from a merely formal perspective it could not be called that way.

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A Two-folded Source of Brazilian Modern Visual Design

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Graphic design history / Design history / Alexandre Wollner / Aloisio Magalhães / Brazil

In the 1950s, Brazilian visual artist Alexandre Wollner studied at the Hochschule für Gestaltung (HfG) in Ulm, Germany. At the same time, Brazilian painter Aloisio Magalhães got in touch with American design while visiting and teaching at the Philadelphia Museum School of Art. On returning to Brazil, each one settled their design studios, Wollner in São Paulo and Magalhães in Rio de Janeiro. From then on, for two decades, they became the main spokesmen of design concepts and helped to establish the first design school in Brazil.

But, while Wollner championed his deep connection to HfG ideas, where design had been radically separated from the fine arts and crafts, Aloisio Magalhães sustained a different view, pointing out the role of cultural issues in national design development.

Despite their differences, still in the 1960s, the German institution served as a fountainhead for the creation of modern standards for visual design in Brazil, to which both designers contributed in a very essential way.

The purpose of this article is to interpret the relationship between these two important Brazilian designers with diverse backgrounds in the face of the establishment of modern visual design in Brazil, through their dialogue with the modernist ideal.

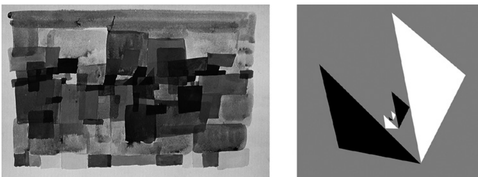

Fig. 1 Aloisio Magalhães (watercolor on paper) and Wollner (enamel painting on plywood), circa 1953. What is shown here is the difference between their painting practices. Left, an example of informal abstractionism; right, Concrete Art.

Late 1950s

Throughout the United States and England, the idea of a coordinated image to identify large corporations was already consolidated. The corporate image as called by FHK Henrion in 1967 (Henrion and Parkin, 1967: 7) gained international disclosure and became a mainstream of modern design from then on. Design offices that still remain today, although in new compositions and even dealing with new purposes, were established everywhere, with corporate image design as their main activities.

In New York, *Chermayeff & Geismar* was founded by Ivan Chermayeff and Tom Geismar in 1957. In Basel, Switzerland, 1959, Karl Gerstner joined Marcus Kutter at *Gerstner + Kutter*. In the same year, in London, Alan Fletcher and Colin Forbes assembled the nucleus that would lead to *Pentagram*, a few years later. In Brazil, self-denominating themselves as visual programmers, two visual design offices were established: in 1958, *forminform* in São Paulo (Wollner, 2003), and in 1960, M+N+P in Rio de Janeiro (Souza Leite, 2003: 132–137).

Since the last years of the previous decade, the Brazilian art scene was intensely busy with a fierce dispute between abstractionists and figurativists, both groups striving for the best definition of the artist's role in those days. In the midst of this noisy discussion, political questions arised, segregating those interested in a language of universal value, distinctively abstract, from those who insisted on the figurative representation of the peculiarities of cultural contingencies.

In 1950, Concrete Art was presented by the Ruptura group, a collective of painters and sculptors from São Paulo, updating to Brazil the European Constructivism of the early days of the century (Cintrão, 2002). This was the universalist approach inside abstractionism. Another one was an informal abstractionism (Fig. 1).

From this scenario emerged two aspects of Brazilian design that, although similar in their formal approach, would characterize modes of thinking both opposite and complementary.

This article aims to present this diverse interpretation of modern design from its beginning in Brazil in the early 1960s, and is based mainly on documents of designers Alexandre Wollner and Aloisio Magalhães. There was a kind of dialogue between them, while they shared similar purposes although practicing different approaches. This difference brings to life a debate on the amazing possibility to deeply affect our lives at an economic and social level by design.

It is also based on records and notes of the author, whose professional career as a designer began in 1964 in direct contact with these two major characters of the Brazilian design scene. Having been their student in the early years of the first design school in the country, Escola Superior de Desenho Industrial, and at that moment having begun to work directly, and for a long time, with Aloisio Magalhães, I feel very comfortable to register not only my comments from existing documentation, but also to report on the very long personal contact with both of them. Doing so, I expect to shed some light on a meaningful aspect of the formation of modernist design in Brazil, providing its recognition to other audiences at an international level.

The characters and the arts and design scene

Alexandre Wollner (1928–2018) and Aloisio Magalhães (1927–1982) were the first artists to establish modern design studios in Brazil. Let us introduce them (Fig. 2).

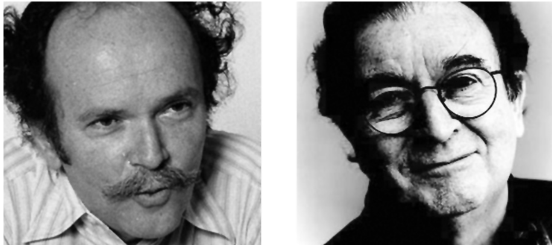

Fig. 2 Aloisio Magalhães (1973) and Alexandre Wollner (1995).

A universalist formal language

Born in São Paulo, the son of Yugoslav immigrants, Alexandre Wollner was not a student of arts. Above all, he was curious about its meaning and its métier. To him, the best was yet to come with the emergence of Concrete Art in Brazil, in the early 1950s. By a very tortuous way, the Swiss sculptor, architect and designer Max Bill opened his eyes to a new understanding of the visual arts. As an eventuality, he studied at the most innovative place of design education at the time, the Hochschule für Gestaltung (HfG) in Ulm, Germany. On his return, he became the spokesman for a new order in modern design and was responsible, among a few others—one of them, Aloisio Magalhães—for the founding of a design school in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil—Escola Superior de Desenho Industrial, ESDI—in 1962.

This was not only one more art educational institution, but a school where the precepts postulated by HfG, transmitted to him during his German period, were to be strictly followed. By that time, he had already formed the first design studio in the country, in the modern sense of the word, in 1958, named *forminform*. From then on, while pursuing his own career, he radically professed the HfG ideology, which separated design from art and crafts (Aicher, 1994), and he made of his work as a designer an art, ratified by his ever-present signature, and made typography and systematic geometrical construction his own craft. A paradox which, in his very usual characteristic assertiveness and humor, he did not give up until his final days.

Therefore, in that way Brazilian design has a debit balance to Germany. More precisely, one can say that design education in Brazil has a German genealogy. HfG Ulm became a matrix for teaching design in Brazil for a very precise reason, to be explained ahead. As a matter of fact, HfG became a matrix for design education all over Latin America as a whole (Fernández, 2006).

In the late 1940s and beginning of the 1950s, there were some splendid events in the Brazilian arts scene, providing a disruption in its productive and institutional aspects, as well. There was the inaugural exhibition of Concrete Art in São Paulo, when the abstract and geometrical paintings of grupo Ruptura were exhibited for the first time. There was also the setting up of the first international retrospective exhibition of Max Bill at the recently inaugurated São Paulo Museum of Art (MASP). Furthermore, the Museum of Modern Art of São Paulo (MAM–SP), the Modern Art Museum of Rio de Janeiro (MAM–Rio) and the international biennial arts exhibition of São Paulo (Bienal de São Paulo) were all founded at that same time.

Such movement led to some persons—Tomás Maldonado, Max Bill, Karl Gertsner, among others—who would become fundamental to the establishment of design education in Brazil, creating indissoluble bonds valid till our days, even though its practice has moved away from the canons established at that time. The German school, HfG, controversial since its inauguration, served as a basis to consolidate a new standard for visual design in Brazil, mostly for the design of corporate signs and its systems of visual identity, of which Alexandre Wollner was one of its main supporters.

Furthermore, Wollner had the chance to take advantage of his direct experience in Ulm and Brazil—he did not miss the boat and became a legend of Brazilian design.

From his very beginnings as a visual designer, he moved under the guidance of very precise thinking about images and communication as sustained by *gestalt* theory, and in his work one can observe the repercussion of the modernist canon and its constituent bond with rigorous geometrical construction. Thus, he achieved something beyond the circumstances of time, reaching for a kind of absoluteness and universality in his work. Beyond the rigor and appropriateness of his signals and its visual systems, the whole production of his long career can be seen as part of the international modern canon (Fig. 3 and 4).

Alexandre Wollner sustained a point of view connected to HfG ideas about design, where systematization, modularization, clearness and synthesis used to play a significant role—a true and radical modernist he was indeed. In such a way that he could refuse even the idea that book jacket design or small business visual identities did not refer to his understand-

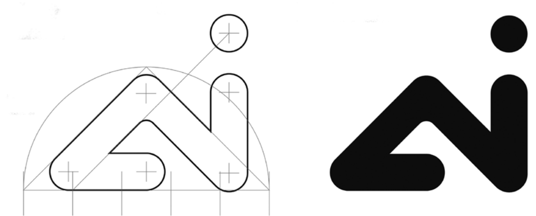

Fig. 3 Argos Industrial Textiles sign, 1959. Original geometric construction. Alexandre Wollner.

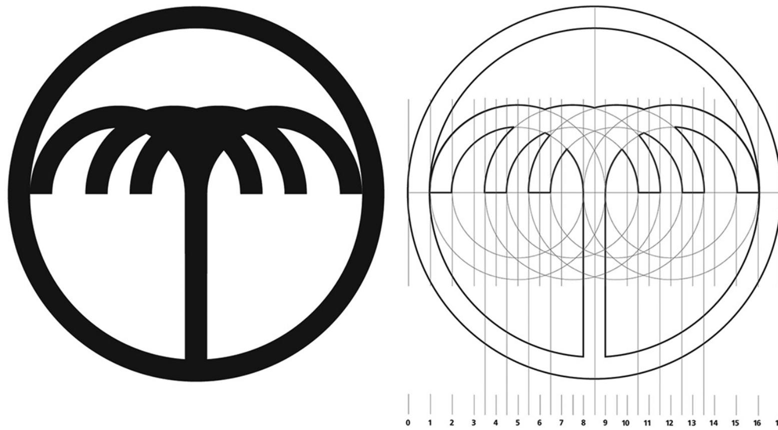

Fig. 4 Coqueiro Sardines sign, 1958, which remained unchanged for many decades. Alexandre Wollner.

ing of the concept of design, as he once said in an interview.[1] His comprehension of design was intrinsecally connected to mass production, industrialization, and so on. There was no space to think about design in any other dimension. His move to design, coming from arts practice, was moulded by the idea of industrial replication, of an aesthetic attitude towards the world to be enjoyed by huge amounts of people.

That is why all his work was clearly devoted to the solution of visual identity problems of corporations and institutions committed to large audiences, it could be a financial or an educational institution, or even a steel and lift producer or the major press group in the country.

Culture as an issue

On the other hand, throughout his whole adult trajectory, Aloisio Magalhães traced a life course that gradually also brought him closer to more collective issues. He started as a painter and an engraver, a set and costume designer, and a puppet master in the theater of Mamulengo, a very popular form of expression of the Brazilian Northeast. Born in Recife, Pernambuco, Magalhães lived intensely what worldwide known anthropologist Gilberto Freyre had pointed out more than once: "in the Northeast, those who get to the people are among masters and become apprentices, even if he is a bachelor in arts or a doctor in medicine".

As a painter, he was not charmed by the structured conciseness of the current constructive project in Brazilian visual arts in the 1950s and 1960s—Concrete Art—but was much more interested in the colors and vibrancy of the landscape of his own land. Albeit an abstract painter, he still transferred this kind of natural reference to his artworks. Unsatisfied to see his paintings being enjoyed within the walls of the bourgeoisie, soon he verified how impossible it was a larger diffusion of the traditional work of art. It was in the United States, in 1957, that design was presented to him.

In Philadelphia, Aloisio met an experimental graphic artist and typographer, Eugene Feldman. At his professional press—The Falcon Press—and at the Philadelphia Museum of Art, he established the nexus between the typographer's craft practiced in "O Gráfico Amador" in his earlier years in Recife and the need for design as imposed by the reproduction techniques for extensive runs. "O Gráfico Amador" (1954–1961), an adventure of four friends—poet José Laurenio de Melo, graphic researcher Orlando Ferreira and writer Gastão de Holanda—was both a publishing house and graphic atelier of books in very short runs.

Back to Brazil, in 1960 he left his activity as a painter and established himself as a designer. Doing that, he assumed the social foundation of modern design as opposed to the arts confinement to a restricted consumption, moving towards its integration to daily life. Apparently, as a graphic designer, he aligned to the international style so championed by modernist design. However, his signs and symbols reveal something beyond the simple obedience to the rules dictated by European modernism.

In the Brazilian sixties, design was often perceived as a cohesive block of very definite ideas, out of which all projective activity was disqualified as design, very different from the present days, in which the word spreads everywhere, mostly devoid of the greater value of its meaning—a comprehensive project. By comprehensive project, I mean the design of things in the world, provided by a thorough observation of the most complex components of a problem to be overcome, and by the anticipation of the reflexes of decision-making. That is, design must not be exclusively grounded

[1] Interview to newspaper *Folha de S.Paulo* (Gama, 1998).

on a willful or expressive creativity. Magalhães supported this idea—design as a thinking method and a process in the making.

At that time, design history had not yet incorporated the notion that its general concepts could vary according to time and space, according to the context of its action. Quite different from these, the ideas professed by Brazilian Concrete Art have supported the modern constructive design established here since the 1950s and have fostered a universal language, unrelated to the variant features of culture.

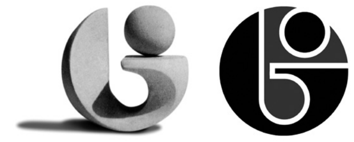

Fig. 5 Fundação Bienal de São Paulo, 1965. Aloisio Magalhães

Although practicing a kind of professional visual discourse quite similar to Wollner, Aloisio Magalhães was a kind of paradox in this scenario. One of the design myths in the country—Brazilian designer's day commemorates his birth date—he certainly was at the same time maybe the most present voice in the spread of the new profession from the 1960s to the 1980s and an advocate of principles that emphasized its relation to context, contrary to what was defined as mainstream. He advocated for a constant dialogue with historical and geographic context, in accordance with the quality of the social and cultural topography at the very exact moment when design activity was fulfilled. His argument was in opposition to the tradition of modernism which advocated a non-historical and timeless language, as Wollner used to endorse.

Fig. 6. Bahia Horse Riding Club, late 1960s. Aloisio Magalhães.

These intentions, stated at his very early age—that the artist must belong to his time, must associate himself to his own place, since it is the most local experience that makes it possible to touch universal questions—guided his trajectory (Souza Leite, 2017: 44–58).

But his practice gave no room for interpretation; it was also the *gestalt* that guided his design decisions—the predominance of that theory over form perception. Yet there is something to be observed in the formal outcome of his elaborations. Regular geometry or abstraction were not his only one resource. Magalhães did not pursue a single pattern of construction and this was one of his standards of originality. In about 70 corporate symbols of great visibility designed between 1960 and 1975, it is possible to note a drawing characteristic that does not belong to the repertoire of modern design, most of them traced by regular geometry. His curves were composed of segments of arcs, his signs joined interlaced letters and very often searched for a figurative representation yet still reduced to its basic traits (Fig. 5 and 6). His theory could have the same foundation as Concrete Art, and Alexandre Wollner as well. Its reference could be the same set of modern designers of the middle of the century, but he was more interested in the collective repercussion of his designs. In an interview in 1981, when he already was a State Secretary for Cultural Affairs, he said:

> I feel like what I do is design. In fact, I am not an expert, neither in literature nor in music, nor in any of the parts that make up the problem of a cultural context. But with the practice of design and that of solving problems through relating things one to another, such as the machine and the community, between phenomena and the collective, between the individualized action and the collective repercussion, which is the true function of a designer [...], that is, the fact that you are an intermediary agent has been very helpful and maybe it is an advantage for me (Souza Leite, 2013: 219).

Then he had made a very determinate shift in his own career, when he was in the limelight. In 1975, his main concerns moved from corporate signs, from the Brazilian currency design to Brazilian culture as a whole. But he still used that consciousness of design. He used to call himself "a projective man", referring to his designer skills. And using that understanding of design, he began a successful endeavour in Brazilian cultural policies.

Similar purposes, contrasting approaches: a two-folded source

Alexandre Wollner and Aloisio Magalhães were founders of Brazilian modern visual design, but this assertion does not lead to a better understanding of this historical fact. But it matters.

They were responsible for the grounding of a practice of giving form and identity to major institutions and corporations, be them public or private, during the sixties and seventies, since this was the main design practice at that time. Their prolific production of signs and corporate identity programs extended through a vast range of economic sectors, and the public visual image of Brazilian enterprises and institutions was impacted by their design.

But still there are differences to be analysed. There was the relationship between their background and procedence, there were major influences that impacted each in their activity, but there was also the way they conducted themselves inside the conceptual framing of the design field.

Although the two of them were mostly involved in the spreading of the idea of design, they settled two different pathways for the unfolding future of Brazilian design, quite different although complementary. While Alexandre Wollner used to stand mainly for the almost practical, rigorous construction of a visual language aligned to that universal concept of modern design, Aloisio Magalhães perceived design in its connections with craftsmanship and its cultural circumstances. For him, design could be a tool for national economic and social development when practiced in deep connection with culture. One stood for a highly skilled perfectionism, the other one entered the patterns of cultural politics in the Brazilian state.

Through the examination of these designers, we can slightly touch a recurrent issue in Brazilian design. On one side, the formalist one: could there be identity characteristics in Brazilian design? Or, on the other side: could we name Brazilian the design which attends to our contingent social and cultural aspects?

The purpose of this article was to interpret the relationship between these two important Brazilian designers with diverse backgrounds in face of the establishment of modern visual design in Brazil, through their dialogue with the modernist ideal.

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Francisco Otta: A Multidisciplinary Pioneer in 20th Century Chile

Eduardo Castillo
Universidad de Chile

Francisco Otta / Multidisciplinary / Art / Design / Graphic / Chile

The career path of Francisco Otta, which spanned more than half a century in Chile, reveals an activity that managed to assert itself with authority in different areas of culture. In this respect, we will address his work in teaching, research, extension and artistic creation, activities that he undertook by his own vocation, long before the local university world clearly defined these functions that are now part of its mission. To approach his work, we will consult texts of his authorship, the testimony of former students and peers, the press and the published material relating to his work.

Presentation

Our approach to the work of the Czech Francisco Otta (Plzeň, 1908–Santiago, 1999) arises from the question about the scarce recognition of his work in the domains of art and design, although his activity transcended both. Between a childhood and adulthood marked by two world wars, in his youth he forged a humanist vocation[1] which he developed in Chile after his arrival in 1938[2] as part of a smaller, less organized immigrant wave compared to others of the time.[3]

Here he found a nation particularly affected by the consequences of the Great Depression[4] and that in the 1930s faced the economic crisis through policies of 'industrialization by import substitution' (Meller, 2007: 48). However, the main measures came at the end of the decade with the radical government of Pedro Aguirre Cerda, between 1938 and 1941, which addressed the industrial challenge in terms of the transformation of raw materials and the stabilization of items such as agriculture and mining, whose products had to be absorbed by the domestic market, destined for local consumption and to improve the standard of life of the population (1939: 3).

Aguirre Cerda, a professor and lawyer, understood that industry was an issue linked to education, and this was the initial context of Otta as a teacher when in 1940 he joined the National School of Graphic Arts (enag),[5] a technical education school that the government opened to promote specialization in the field of printing, until then based on the teacher-apprentice relationship in the workshops themselves (Álvarez and Castillo, 2003: 22–27).

Consequently, Otta sought to promote the study of art and graphics among students whose training amounted to the secondary level,[6] but stumbled upon the cultural prejudices of the country: instruction prevailed over education—an ongoing debate from the turn of the century, with supporters of liberal teaching like Professor Enrique Molina (1879–1964)[7] who emphasized the importance of this approach:

> because the history of education in Chile, as a free people, has been and must continue to be the reaction against the colonial inheritances that are dormant among us, although by dint of seeing them we have become accustomed to not noticing them, and if that end is to be achieved principally through technical and industrial education, intellectual education is also indispensable to raise the general level of the nation (1903: 150).

On the other side, one of the main defenders of vocational education was the historian and lawyer Francisco Antonio Encina (1874–1965), who criticized the training given by the schools, considering that 'the programs and methods of secondary education, acceptable as preparation for liberal careers, are completely inadequate in preparation for industrial life' (1981: 61). Likewise, the balance between both factions was a complex challenge, as pointed out by professor Darío Salas[8] who questioned 'The unilateralism that sees incompatibility between general and special education, and that calls one aristocratic and the other democratic; who believes that one forms the managerial class and the other the productive class' (1912: 167).

Despite these difficulties, Otta worked for several decades in the enag and in 1941 he set up the exhibition *How to make a poster*, 'in which he showed the evolution of a poster from the first barely recognizable sketch, to the final elaboration with

[1] Between 1926 and 1938, Otta graduated in History of Art and Painting at the School of Fine Arts in Vienna, obtained a master's degree in Graphic and Scriptural Sciences at the Technical University of Prague, and in parallel conducted courses in Law, Business Economics and Languages at the University of Economics of Vienna. Subsequently, he completed several improvements, including: Applied Graphics and Exhibition Display at The Reimann School of Commercial and Industrial Art in London; Phonetics at the University of Grenoble and International Law at the University of La Sorbonne.

[2] Because of the occupation of Czechoslovakia in 1938, Otta moved to England, later boarding the Orduña steamer which sailed from Liverpool to America, passing through the Panama Canal and then through different ports to reach Valparaíso.

[3] Such as the 2200 Republicans from Spain aboard the freighter Winnipeg, a political initiative of the Chilean government that was led by Pablo Neruda, Chilean consul in Paris.

[4] The report issued by the League of Nations in 1933 indicated that one of the countries most affected by the crisis was Chile, which based its economy during the transition between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in the mining of saltpeter. The world financial collapse coincided with the local crisis caused by the invention of synthetic nitrate in Germany in 1929.

[5] Current School of Graphic Industry.

[6] According to the testimony of photographer Luis Ladrón de Guevara (1926–2015), a student of Otta at the enag during the 1940s.

[7] Founder of the University of Concepción in 1919 and former school teacher in Chillán and Concepción, as well as director of the Liceo de Talca.

[8] First PhD in Pedagogy of the country, formed in the University of New York in proximity to John Dewey and intellectual author of the Law of Primary Instruction made official in 1920.

the letter and the drawing perfectly finished, and finally the mass printing' (Contreras, 1976). A decade later, he was one of the organizers of the *First International Exhibition of Graphic Arts*, also making the poster for this event. Finally, he left the institution in 1973 to devote himself to his other activities (*Ibid.*), perhaps because of the political circumstances of the period.

The University world

It was only in the 1970s that Otta undertook artistic education in the Art Department of the Technical University of the State (UTE).[9] The engraver and teacher Carmen Gloria Besoaín, who was his student in Art History between 1975 and 1980, remembers Otta as someone 'very didactic. At a time when there was little visual support material, he was equipped not only with his slides or the materials he prepared, but also with his stories, his travels' (2013).

In parallel, Otta joined the Design Department of the University of Chile, which emerged during the turbulent years of the University Reform (Castillo, 2010). The graphic designer Vicente Larrea, one of the pioneers of this profession in the Chilean context (Castillo, 2004), points out that the curricular change of the period sought to bring the university closer to the productive sector, and 'he was very involved in this way of working, but also with the cultural scene, which was very important' (2012).

Later he worked between 1981 and 1993 in the School of Design of the Professional Institute of Santiago (IPS), a venue that emerged after the closure of the Design Department of the University of Chile as a result of the Education Law implemented by the Pinochet regime (Castillo, 2010), culminating his academic life at the Metropolitan Technological University (UTEM)[10] from 1994 until his death in July 1999. In his late years he taught elective courses in Literacy[11] and History of Writing that gradually had fewer and fewer students, perhaps as a result of a cultural shift that the designer and academic Rodrigo Dueñas remembers in this way:

> We had won democracy, we felt free. A Chilean liberalization followed, the nightlife, the *new-wave*, and all this produced a sense of modernity in young people (...) but in the midst of that chaos, he somehow stayed out, or inadvertently we left him out, due to the incomprehension that this environment generated towards traditional knowledge or trades (2014).

Intellectual work

His research work is recognizable in different books such as: *Guide to modern painting* (1959); *Breviary of styles* (1967); *The Alphabets of the World* (1974); and *Graphic Symbology* (1976). Of the first publication, which he made when his stance on artistic teaching was distant, he said:

> This 'Guide' is addressed to those who have intellectual interest and interest in pictorial manifestations, but who are lost in that apparent 'jungle' that are the different international 'isms' (Ercilla, 1959: 12).

This book, reissued on several occasions, thus demonstrated its pedagogical value.[12] Years later, as a university professor, he directed his efforts to the study of signs and symbols. Prior to the publication of *The Alphabets of the World*, he described an ambitious plan:

> I have delivered the first volume of my 'History of Graphic Communication' to the Central Commission of Publications of the University of Chile. The analysis goes from the evolution of graphic and extra-alphabetic signs to the birth of the alphabetic system, including Easter Island, the Altiplano and Mesoamerica (Gevert, 1971: 4).

Although Otta did not conclude this great work, the UTE later helped publish his *Graphic Symbology*, a work whose process he described in 1977:

> As I was accumulating information, new horizons opened up for me [...] In my journeys through the East and the West—from obtained scholarships or cultural exchanges—I collected a lot of data and established numerous contacts of great interest (Helfant, 1977: 3).

Thus, after devoting himself to the study of scarcely developed knowledge at the local level, he reflected on the learning obtained:

> The sign is something more material. For example, we have signs that are placed on a road for signage. The symbol, on the contrary, is related to the most psychic part of the human being. The symbol comes from inside. The sign is something purely external (*Ibid.*).

In the same way, he announced an upcoming work that was left unfinished which sounds contemporary to us today:

> I do not know if I will have health to plan ahead so much. But there is still a book that would be about the Symbology of Gestures. Actually, it's quite amusing. I have already given a lecture on the subject and it can provoke hilarity in the public (*Ibid.*).

Artistic creation

Otta undertook creative work mainly in painting, drawing, engraving, illustration and posters. His interest in applied arts could have influenced the initial distance that he maintained with respect to academic circles, since he did not distinguish between high and low culture, understanding instead creative activity in a broad sense as a part of the *zeitgeist*:

> The exaggerated sub-division of art into *pure* and *applied*, has resulted in the public seeing the easel box and the poster as two completely different things. It finds in the poster only a pure means of propaganda, a utilitarian object, a commercial or industrial form, without any artistic value and importance. Instead, it

[9] In this department Otta worked with the artists Fernando Marcos, Pedro Bernal Troncoso, Ramon Vergara Grez, Alfonsina Moreno, Miguel Cosgrove, Guillermo Brozalez, Francisco Perez, Mariano Riveros and Claudio Román, among others.

[10] State institution created by the government of Eduardo Frei Ruiz-Tagle to grant university stature to the IPS.

[11] In this course, Otta sought a correspondence with the trade known as *lettering*, consisting of drawing characters, different to calligraphy in that it did not take into account skill in handling the pen and bevelled strokes, but rather to understand the structure of the letters and the ability to trace them by means of freehand drawing or with the help of instruments.

[12] The last was the seventh edition, published in 1996.

> sees the painting as an object outside this world, without function, except as an adornative [sic] complement of the intimate architecture of the interior, or as an economic object, which allows speculation with the capital invested. [...] the painting and the poster have for common purpose not only the emotional reaction, but also the interpretation of the environment, of the culture of their time, either by its content, or by its pictorial language (Otta, 1942: 3).

Likewise, he considered that the design of posters was not limited to the activity of graphic artists or the print media, but involved the education of the eye. With respect to this, promptly upon his arrival he remarked:

> In Paris, where I lived for a long time, I was often surprised by posters new and daring in their conception. However, the public understood them perfectly. From there I think it is only a matter of public education, so that artists dare to publish new and original posters of authentic artistic value that will call much more attention (*Qué hubo en la semana*, 1940: 27).

At the end of the 1970s Otta had a large body of work, but despite the order that he maintained in theory, in practice he lacked a total vision of his output: 'I do not know the exact number of my artistic production and I do not even know the whereabouts of many of my works, of which a large number are found in museums and private collections' (Enos, 1979: 11). As stages of his work, he identified

> segments of an organic chain; academic learning, synthesis with expressionist elements, experimentation and absorption of influences, introduction of rational elements and geometrization, crystallization of styles, without stalling in any dogmatic position (*Ibid*.).

In later years he lost interest in conceptual art, considering that 'we can often see sociology, philosophy, ecology; concept, [but] not elaboration' (*Ibid*.), and he also suggested to young people to 'seize the day, because tomorrow is uncertain' (*Ibid*.), given that the appreciation of creative work was far from the conventions of traditional careers: 'In the artistic professions, it is not the same as in some others [...]. Here it is difficult to appreciate the difference between success and failure, it is something much more subtle' (Contreras, 1976).

Cultural extension

His contribution in this area mainly recognizes two facets: one was the work that he undertook at the beginning of the 1960s for *Zig-Zag* magazine, where he published the section "Zigzagging for the world", based on his travels, and illustrated with his own drawings or photographs; the other facet was his role as director of Cultural Extension in the Chilean–North American Institute between 1963 and 1982. There he undertook numerous courses in drawing and painting, curating exhibitions, cycles and seminars, writing and designing catalogues, giving lectures and conferences, organizing roundtable discussions and directing events, which was highlighted in a chronicle: 'the space he directs has discovered and given opportunity to several young artists of merit to make themselves known and then follow an ascendant path' (Helfant, 1974: 22), especially so given the difficult times for culture in the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet.

Final words

In conclusion, we value here Otta's legacy in light of a concept as distant to his time as *multidiscipline*; this, according to the distinctions proposed by the author Manfred Max-Neff, between *multidisciplinary*, *interdisciplinary* and transdisciplinary, associating the first category with a person who 'may have studied, simultaneously or sequentially, more than one area of knowledge, without [necessarily] making some connection between them'. The second category concerns a hierarchical organization of different knowledge in four levels that, from bottom to top, are: the empirical, the pragmatic or proactive, the normative and the value. Finally, the third category 'is the result of a coordination between all the hierarchical levels', which from the base to the surface involves the following questions: What exists?; What is possible to do?; What do we want to do? What should we do?, or, How to do what we want to do? (Max-Neff, 2005: 6–9).

For Otta, the question of existence was manifested in his constant travels, cultivating an anthropological and metaphysical view by increasing his interest in ancestral cultures, which inspired his long research on symbols and visual signs. As opposed to this permanent return to the *origin*, he waited for the *destiny* of every human being in what was his definitive land, as an inhabitant of the world:

> I have a fairly intense knowledge of my new country [...] Chile is for me now the true homeland, that is, the people with whom I live day by day. The first landscape gives way to the permanent landscape that the years give (*Las Últimas Noticias*, 1951: 10). To me, this is my country. I feel Chilean! [...] Czechoslovakia is like a stage after the show. I have returned there twice and both experiences were completely dreamlike (Quintana, 1986: E6).

With respect to the second question, his ability to do was marked by the sense of transience and loss: 'You do what you can. But there is no happy man or woman. Only instants of happiness...' (Gevert, 1971: 4), which he understood as a sign of his time

> characterized by its gigantic struggles, excessive ambitions, barbarous follies, tragic destinies of millions of 'unknown citizens' in the midst of savagery modernized by technical progress (Otta, 1942: 3).

When asked about what one wants and how to carry it out, Otta sought the unity of theory and practice within the arts and humanities, unlike the *interdisciplinary* and its vocation for collective work, but also partly approaching the *transdisciplinary* in the sense that different knowledges go beyond their traditional bounds, and that in that mobility they are evidence of a cultural change (Dalmau and Górriz, 2013: 49).

For many years an *outsider* with respect to the academy, Otta moved freely around different fields of knowledge, while the predomi-

nant model in Chilean universities since the nineteenth century[13] did not facilitate the insertion of someone who constantly moved through thinking, knowledge and doing:

> The careers of painter, educator and journalist have in common for me the contact with people. In the three of them one is in intercommunication that enriches me. From each person one learns something, nourishes oneself (Concha, 1992: 11).

If, as we mentioned earlier, the functions of teaching, research, cultural extension and artistic creation, existed in a dispersed way in Chilean universities since their inception and only took shape in earnest after the University Reform of the late 1960s (Barbosa and Bunster, 1968: 378), long before that, Otta cultivated these activities as a whole with an intellectual restlessness that he knew how to bring with authority to public education. Because of this, his work constitutes a valuable reference for the academic world not only in terms of heritage or history, but also in research[14] and creation, as has happened in the field of digital typography with some of his publications from the 1970s such as *Graphic Symbology* and *The Alphabets of the World*, which after extensive wandering through second-hand book stores and *ferias persas*[15] have become a "cult" bibliography for new generations.[16]

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[13] Founded in 1842 and inspired by the Imperial University that Napoleon created at the beginning of the 19th century in France, the University of Chile recognized the influence of the positivist philosophy of Auguste Comte in his organization of human knowledge into astronomical, physical, chemical, physiological and social phenomena, an idea revised at the end of the same century by the intellectual Valentín Letelier in his work *Philosophy of Education* (1892), who later was rector of the university between 1906 and 1913.

[14] On the initiative of the designer Mariana Muñoz Hauer and the widow of the artist, Eugenia Romero Toro, the graphic work of Otta has been protected by three institutions: the Sergio Larraín Originals Archive, of the Faculty of Architecture and Urban Studies of the Pontifical University Catholic of Chile; the Andrés Bello Central Archive, of the University of Chile; and the Engravings and Prints Unit of the National Library of Chile.

[15] *Persian Markets*, a name commonly given in Chile to 'flea markets'.

[16] An example of this is the *Otta* font, designed by Francisco Gálvez (1971), prominent Chilean typographer and academic.

Graphic Design of Rogério Duarte and the Tropicalismo Movement in Brazil

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Brazilian design / Tropicália / Rogério Duarte

Tropicália arose as a Brazilian musical movement which launched Caetano Veloso, Gilberto Gil, Gal Costa and Os Mutantes in 1967. This movement came about as a way to protest the repressive climate during the dictatorship and also has connections with Hélio Oiticica's works, Glauber Rocha's films as well as poetry.

If we were to search for the movement's intellectual roots we would have to trace them back to Oswald de Andrade's Anthropophagic Manifesto. This reference explains, till a certain point, how incorporating external influences can be a positive way of addressing the process of Creolization and of Colonization.

The aim of this work is to contextualize Rogério Duarte's projects, album cover designs and movie posters that announced the Tropicália movement. We will find several references both external (Psychedelia) and Brazilian.

Social and Cultural Context

At the end of the Second World War there was an explosion in births that is known as the baby boom.

At the beginning of the 1960s the baby boomers were teenagers wanting to change their context and society.

After the invention of the LP in 1948, album covers became essential in the transmission of popular culture. In the 1960s the covers of the discs would be the new vehicle of graphic communication for a very specific sector, youth.

Social Context in Brasil

The period between 1945 and 1964 in Brazil is known as the "Nova República". It was a democratic regime during which the capital moved from Rio de Janeiro to Brasilia.

In 1964 a coup d'etat ended the democratic regime, and the dictatorship would last officially until 1985.

Ever since the Brazilian dictatorship's rise to power in the 1964 coup d'état, the treatment of dissidents harshened, especially after the creation of the "Ato Institucional Número Cinco" or Institutional Act Number 5 in 1968 (one of 17 decrees laid down by the military dictatorship) which allowed "institutionalized" persecution, a persecution that artists and intellectuals suffered.

> The most radical innovator and theorist of Brazilian visual arts during 1960 was Hélio Oiticica. Much of the spirit of vanguard movements such as Dada, Oiticica was concerned with abolishing the separation between art and life. In other words, the question for Oiticica was not how reality was represented in art but how experiments in art could be applied to life. His conceptualizacion of vanguardist practice was not based on aesthetic innovation but rather on the creation of what Brazilian critic Mário Pedrosa called "ambient antiart" that would create sites and context for collective behavioral experiments. Art was to be an experimental exercise in liberty capable of transforming individuals through sensory experience (Dunn, 2001: 84).

In the 1967 Nova Objectividade exhibition, Hélio Oiticica's installation *Tropicália* was on show at the São Paulo Museum of Modern Art. This installation would include Tropicália, Penetráveis PN2 "Pureza é um mito", PN3 "Imagético" (Tropicália, PN2 "Purity is a Myth", PN3 "Imagetical") and would provide clues to why the term *Tropicália* had been chosen to head a musical and cultural movement that was looking for a way to integrate high and low cultures and underscore the possibilities of including foreign music influences in Brazilian cultural and musical movements.

Caetano Veloso and Gilberto Gil where booed at the 1967 Festival de Musica Popular Brasileira for not following tradition and playing electric guitars (which was not considered a part of Brazilian tradition). This event is an echo of what happened to Bob Dylan at the Newport Festival in 1965; however, in the case of the Brazilians, the festival served as a way to launch their compositions and in 1968 Caetano Veloso, along with Gilberto Gil, Gal Costa, Os Mutantes and others, collaborated to release their album *Tropicália: ou Panis e Circensis,* which served as the movement's musical manifesto.

The movement's mission (and that of Hélio Oiticica's piece *Tropicália*) was to justify the spirit of Oswald de Andrade's 1928 Anthropophagic Manifesto which alluded to "cannibalism", integrating foreign influences, as a way of asserting Brazil's historical mestizo culture, fruit of its colonial history and slavery.

Therefore the Anthropophagic movement promoted, at an aesthetic level, mixing, which served Tropicália (or Tropicalismo, the name that stuck in the long term) as a way to vindicate the mixing of high and low cultures as well as indigenous traditions with European and American influences.

Tropicália not only included Hélio Oiticica (theorist of these artistic proposals and "inventor" of the term *Tropicália*) but also Rogério Duarte as well musicians Caetano Veloso, Gilberto Gil, Gal Costa, Os Mutantes, Tom Zé, Nara Leão and poets like Rogério Duprat, Torquato Neto, José Capinan.

> At the core of Tropicália as a movement is a productive tension between the constructivist and pop aesthetics. Oiticica had asserted that his work Tropicália was conceived as a response and critique of an emergent "pop language" that he could perceive among his peers. The mid 1960s saw the emergence of a new figurativist movement influenced by American Pop Art, but typically more engaged with political and social critique.

> Whereas the constructivism of Oiticica and Clark sought to overcome the image and privilege sensorial, participative experiences, Brazilian Neo figuraçao reveled in banal images of everyday life, often with reference to the mass media, especially newspapers and TV. This tendency within Tropicália, which can be seen in the paintings and installations by artists such as Rubens Gerchman, Nelson Lernier, and Claúdio Tozzi, the graphic design of Rogério Duarte, the carnivalesque theater of Teatro Oficina, and compositions by Caetano Veloso, Gilberto Gil, and Tom Zé that embraced a popular aesthetics of Kitsch or "mau gosto" (bad taste) (Dunn, 2001: 95).

In 1967 Caetano started to live in an apartment in Solar da Fossa, a place where many artists, poets, and musicians lived. It was there where he met Rogerio Duarte, a place where ideas were exchanged freely where Caetano would give birth to artistic projects with intellectual ambitions. After returning from a trip, Gilberto Gil started to talk to Caetano about the possibilities of a way of creating (creative path) through merging (cultures). He came back excited about a group that played traditional music from the northeast of Brazil called Banda de Pífarus de Caruaru while at the same time he spoke about the Beatles' song *Strawberry Fields Forever*.

These first ideas became a catalyst for promoting the possibility of traditional-contemporary and high and low culture mixing (blending).

Literacy

Literature was present throughout the movement, but above all it was the vehicle of the spirit of mixing in the lyrics of songs, cultural and popular references:

> Veloso's song-manifesto "Tropicália", the opening track on his first solo album of 1968, is the most outstanding example of allegorical representation in Brazilian song. As a national allegory, the song evidences both the bitter despair of Rocha's film and the carnivalesque exuberance of Rodrigues's painting. The lyrics of "Tropicália" form a fragmentary montage of events, emblems, popular sayings, and musical and literary citacions. Although unnamed, the most inmediate referent in the song is Brasília, the monument to high modernist architecture and developmental modernization that became the political and administrative center of the military regime after 1964. "Tropicália" alludes to the trajectory of Brasilia from a utopian symbol of national progress to a dystopian allegory of the failure of a democratic modernity in Brazil. [...] Veloso's "Tropicália" is also an ironic monument to Brazilian literature and culture that includes textual references to Romantic writer José de Alencar, Parnassian poet Olavo Bilac, composer Catulo da Paixão Cearense, and pop icons Carmen Miranda and Roberto Carlos (Dunn, 2001: 87–88).

And also:

> *Tropicália, ou panis et circencis* featured the other principle song-manifesto of the tropicalist movement, "Geléia geral" (General jelly), written by Gilberto Gil and Torquato Neto. The concept of *geléia geral* was first advanced by concrete poet and critic Décio Pignatari following an argument with modernist writer Cassiano Ricardo, who had suggested that the concrete poets would eventually have to relax their inflexible position regarding formal experimentation. [...] vanguardist rigor was needed to provide form to the protean mélange of Brazilian culture as it was broadcast in fragments through the mass media. Torquato Neto appropiated the trope in a highly ambiguous fashion that simultaneously expresses critique and complicity with the *geléia geral*. Of all the songs on the concept album, "Geléia geral" was most closely aligned with the ironic stance of parody. [...]
>
> Like Oswald's manifesto, "Geléia geral" also appropiates the symbolic repertoire of the Brazilian literary tradition in an effort to satirize the pomposity of "high" culture. This irreverent gesture was brilliantly enacted on the cover of Gil's 1968 tropicalist solo album [...]. Created by Rogério Duarte, Antônio Dias, and David Zingg, the album cover featured a photo of Gil dressed in the official attire of the Brazilian Academy of Letters, a group of forty peer-elected "immortals" consisting at that time entirely of white males. He is wearing bifocals similar to those used by Machado de Assis, the first president of the Academy from 1897 until his death in 1908. Machado de Assis was of partial African descent, but his position as the most consecrated literary figure in Brazil gained him access to white elite social circles. The image of a black popular musician dressed as an "immortal" ridiculed the academy's elitism by making a subtle allusion to the ambiguous position of Machado de Assis and by implicitly questioning the academy's refusal to acknowledge the literary value of popular song (Dunn, 2001: 94–95).

In 1968, tropicalism took hold with the publication of the album, and the first reactions appeared:

> By the summer of 1968, when the tropicalist phenomenon was first described in the press and marketed as a distinct movement and style, it was precisely this notion of tropical kitsch that was referenced, mostly in ironic fashion. Journalist and composer Nelson Motta launched a tropicalis crusade in the press in which he defined the movement as one that accepts everything that tropical life has to offer. [...] Motta proposed a party to launch the movement, described its sartorial style, and discussed its artistic vision, which basically involved the revival of dated "lowbrow" popular music and art from the previous generation. Perhaps most interesting is Motta's description of a "tropicalist philosophy" which recycled, with obvious irony and distance, the reactionary ideology of the urban middle class (the same middle class that took to the streets in 1964 in support of the military coup) (Dunn, 2014: 39).

Caetano Veloso and Giberto Gil were arrested and forced into exile at the end of 1968 following a concert where a Hélio

Oiticica piece, a poem banner that showed an image of Cara de Cavalo, a criminal friend of Oiticica's who was beaten by the police and a phrase that read *Seja marginal, seja herói* (Be an outlaw, be a hero) was exhibited. (Unfortunately) the Tropicalismo movement had a dark and abrupt end with Caetano's and Gil's exile to London, however it is considered that its influence lasted throughout the mid 1970s.

Rogério Duarte

It is within this cultural movement context where we can include Rogério Duarte's work; the one who designed movie posters and disc covers for Tropicalismo authors.

Rogério Duarte (1939–2016) was a designer, illustrator, musician and writer and is considered one of Tropicália's active members. Originally from Bahia, he moved to Rio de Janeiro in 1959 to study industrial art where he would meet Alexandre Wollner, Tomás Maldonado, Otl Aicher, among many others, becoming heirs of the Ulm school. There, he would also study under the German Max Bense, a theorist of the aesthetic school of Stuttgart and concrete poetry, who would become his mentor and who would influence him in communication theories.

In 1961 he started to work with the designer Aloísio Magalhães. In 1962 he joined União dos Estudantes (UNE) becoming visual communication coordinator and producing all of the organization's posters. He also collaborated with the magazine *Movimiento*, one of the first modern graphic design publications in Brazil.

He wrote *Notas sobre o desenho Industrial* (Notes about Industrial Design) in 1965, which is one of the most important texts about graphic design in Brazil. Rogério Duarte and Glauber Rocha were intimate friends. In 1963 Glauber Rocha filmed *Deus e o Diabo na Terra do Sol* (Black God, White Devil), which would become a revolutionary film in Brazil by starting the second stage of the Cinema Novo movement. Duarte signed the poster and Caetano tells us in his book *Verdade Tropical* (Tropical Truth) (Veloso, 1997) how this movie marked a turning point. Bertolt Brecht, Rosellini, Buñuel and the Nouvelle Vague's influences are evident in this film, however, at the same time, it reflected Brazil's popular culture's epic forms by addressing religious fanaticism in the hard lives of farmers in northeast Brazil.

Glauber Rocha, who not only was a filmmaker and a poet but was also considered an intellectual leader, gained international recognition for this film and in 1965 he published the manifesto of *The Aesthetics of Hunger* (fome) in Geneva, a text which explained his aesthetic positions.

Caetano Veloso also recalls how important Glauber Rocha's following film, *Terra en Transe* (whose poster was designed by Rogério Duarte), was in the beginnings of the idea of the Tropicália movement. He tells us that his heart began to beat wildly watching the initial scene, an aerial shot that approaches the Brazilian coast accompanied by a candomblé chant.

Due to his political position against the dictatorship, which had begun in Brazil in 1964, Rogério and his brother were arrested, causing a response from the cultural movement. Following his arrest and torture, Rogério had to be hospitalized in a psychiatric hospital until 1971 after which he would still be involved with the counter-culture movement and decades later he would end up being a professor and cultural manager.

The Designs

Rogério Duarte became a known designer thanks to his 1964 design of the *Deus e Diabo na Terra do Sol* poster. The poster is made up of a sun that is situated in the center and has knife-like rays to highlight the circular movement. In the center of the sun we can see the main character's, Corisco el Cangaceiro's, face. He also uses two colors, red and yellow, in order to compose an almost monochrome poster and whose movie title is divided by a vertical axis created by the character.

He was also the author of Caetano's debut solo album cover in 1967, a cover that had a lot of pop culture influences remixing elements from Alphonse Mucha's Art Nouveau posters, for example, the dragon and the snake that surrounds the oval that contains Caetano's picture. It is a variegated cover with arabesque typography.

Psychedelia was in full swing in the USA during 1967 and that is why we can clearly see its influence in these album covers.

> Despite its dominance, alternatives to the International Style appeared as early as the 1960s, as young designers began experimenting with an eclectic variety of styles. Some graphic designers created work that was a self-conscious reaction to the International Style, while other projects seem to have grown organically out of social circumstances of the 1960s and beyond. It is impossible to understand postmodernism without recognizing the resonance of the social change that swept through Europe and the United States, beginning in the 1960s. In fact, one iteration of postmodernism is defined by its adherents' belief in the core political nature of design, a repoliticization that stands in stark contrast to the tenets of the International Style. An example of designers whose work arose organically out of their social context appeared around 1965 in San Francisco, where a critical mass of young people focused their energies on the burgeoning music scene in California. This group of poster designers, many of them without any formal art training, developed an exuberant, Expressionist visual language that neatly complemented the counterculture that was developing among young people during that decade (Eskilson, 2001: 324).

The massive influence of psychedelia meant the break with the compositional grid of the international Swiss style.

In the Introduction of the book *Sex, Rock & Optical Illusions*, Steven Heller explains about Victor Moscoso's designs:

> During the mid 1960s San Francisco was at the vortex of counterculture. The hippies prevailed, hallucinogenic drugs were plentiful and rock and roll knew no bounds. Brooklyn raised, Spanish born Victor Moscoso stumbled into this milieu and soon became a contributing force in a distinctly American design

> genre of the psychedelic poster; illegible typefaces, vibrating colors and antique illustration comprised a rebellious visual language that comunicate to an exclusive group. [...] Moscoso created some of the emblematic images of the 1960s, and most of the posters Moscoso designed were done during a frenetic eight months. As rule-busting as chromatic vibration was, Moscoso did not invent it (it was borrowed from strict Modernist principles). He studied at Cooper Union and Yale before migrating West, and credits his Yale professor, Joseph Albers, for his discovery.
> "Albers's impact really didn't show until the psychedelic poster when I found myself in a situation where all I had to do was reach back to my dust shelf, so to speak, and pull out what I had learned" (Moscoso, 2006: 95).

Out of all Rogério Duarte's designs, Gilberto Gil's second album cover was clearly the most psychedelically influenced with its colored strips giving it an "electrifying" effect.

We also cannot ignore the massive influence Beatlemania had especially but not exclusively with the *Sergeant Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band* album cover, which paved the way for photo collage mixing high and low culture icons but also with the 1965 *Rubber Soul* album cover which already had influenced organic typography by deforming it (in Psychedelia this deformation would be even more radical as these letters would be deformed to the point of being almost liquid).

Conclusions

Album and magazine covers work as popular culture's aesthetic communication vehicles (means of communication). In this case study, the Brazilian cultural movement Tropicalismo (mainly known as a musical movement) demonstrates that the political and intellectual context are not separate from aesthetic manifestations; and that cultural manifestations (movements), like Tropicalismo, prove that tradition and the cosmopolitan avant-garde can go hand in hand.

Rogerio Duarte's graphic design within Tropicália is fruit of intellectual relationships that arose from the coexistence of creators. Graphic design participated in a spirit of an age that was craving a cultural revolution in which Brazilian identity and foreign influences mixed.

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A Restless Soul. The Intellectual, Critical and Design Contributions of Almerico De Angelis

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Design history / Graphic design / Southern Italy design / Design magazines

The history of Italian design and graphic design is mainly Milan-centred, especially if we look at the post-war period between the 1950s and the early 1970s. There is a need to reconsider the boundaries of this history, analysing other contexts and extending the list of parameters to consider. The south of Italy has never been taken into account in more general histories of the discipline, even though a number of elements may indeed be considered. Nevertheless, just a few authors dedicated some attention to what has been produced in terms of design, visual and graphic design in this area in the past. Based on the analysis of some of the design and intellectual contributions of Almerico De Angelis, the aim of this paper is to suggest a polycentric perspective to adopt in re-writing possible histories of Italian design and graphic design.

Introduction

A review of the histories of Italian design and graphic design published until today shows that authors consider mainly the Milan-centred production, especially during the period between the 1950s and the early 1970s. The influence and prominence of the Milan school and of the industrial style (Vinti, 2007; Piazza, 2012) that followed the post-war economic growth has been studied and brought to wide attention. And it could not be otherwise, of course.

However, other histories can be written indeed, which can help build a broader picture of the profession, especially in certain geographical areas, and which could provide a particular perspective on the discipline; in addition, these histories may not be considered merely from the specific point of view of the discipline of design. There are personalities and contributions that cannot be confined to a specific design area, but emerge thanks to their versatility, their ability to act as *agents of change* at a level that is not only and not necessarily local. Nonetheless, in recent times an urgent need has emerged

> to provide a wide overview of material culture from all over the planet, whether traditional or modern, craft-based or industrial [...]; the history of European design, following on the models proposed by the French Annales school as well as the definitions of *cultural history* as proposed by Burke, has set out to more deeply explore the crafting of *micro-histories* involving the thorough study of small enterprises, unknown authors or cultural movements that would otherwise have remained outside of the hegemonic tale of industrialization and the triumph of the modern movement. These micro-histories remind us that there is still a lot of research left to do in the province of Europe. The challenge is to find a way to relate them to macro-history or world history (Campi & Calvera, 2014: 708).

Naples, which is considered the capital of southern Italy because of its central role in the industrial and cultural life of the area and because of its past as the capital of a kingdom (the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies), appears only a few times in the pages of design history books. This is despite the fact that in the early decades of the 20th century it is able to give life to a quite interesting entrepreneurial texture, characterised by an intriguing marriage between art and industry, becoming the jewel in the crown not only for the south, which over time becomes the distinctive element of a wide production mixing handicraft, minor arts, and the industrial scale.

In this context, it becomes possible, for example, to open the department store of fashion and luxury goods *Mele & C.*, inspired by the *Laffayette* and *Bon Marché* stores of Paris. With this initiative, the Mele brothers import the idea of large department stores typical of the *Belle Époque* and, working between 1889 and 1932, precede the opening of the first of the well-known *La Rinascente* department stores in Milan (in 1917).

From our perspective, the importance of the Mele brand also lies in the systematic use of communication tools and modes that were only budding at the time: between 1896 and 1916 *Casa Ricordi* (a sort of proto-advertising agency) is employed for a series of poster campaigns designed by artists such as Franz Laskoff, Aleardo Terzi, Leonetto Cappiello, Metlicovitz, and Marcello Dudovich. Posters—*affiches*—which over time become veritable icons of the *Belle Époque* but also unique signs of Naples on the map of visual communication histories.

Naples, however, does not only welcome the prestigious names of Dudovich (who works for *Strega Alberti* as well) or Cappiello (who designs a famous poster for *Cirio*), but also those of other well-known poster artists such as Giuseppe Magagnoli (*MAGA agency*), Achille Luciano Mauzan, and Alfredo Capitani (*BCM*)—a generation that, despite an approach that is still very close to art, is beginning to develop a modern design strategy.

All this liveliness, that also involves businesses and small industries, is not a mere coincidence: the Bourbon rule left traces of unexpected industrialization and entrepreneurial initiatives, such as the Royal Porcelain Factory of Capodimonte or the Silk Factory of San Leucio (near Caserta), but also in other sectors, like the steel industry. All these elements are evidence of the establishment of an industrial perspective in the region in the first half of the century, which in fact constitutes a spur to the launch of other initiatives (Cristallo and Morone, 2018: 304–305).

There is, then, a question that concerns production and material culture in more general terms, but also, quite interestingly, the presence of schools and cultural movements, especially in the period following World War II, which show the need to re-define certain maps.

Local context and education

Looking to more recent events, it is worth mentioning that the School of Architecture founded in Naples in 1928 was one of the very first in Italy; in addition, from 1929 onwards, that school offered the course in *Arredamento e decorazione interna* (Interior and decoration design) which later became *Architettura degli interni, arredamento e decorazione* (Interior architecture, furniture and decoration design).

The University of Naples, entitled to King Federico II in 1987, introduced the course in Industrial Design in the late 1950s, at the turning point in history when *Artistic design for industry* became *Industrial Design*. Very soon Naples saw the establishment of a design culture focusing on methodological research on the one hand and on a more theoretical approach on the other. Thanks to these activities, the Naples area has generated a number of original educational models in a territory characterised by an *imperfect modernity*.

The integration between design and a historical-critical awareness is not always uniform, because of an endemic cultural complexity that has built controversial relationships with typical materials, manufacturing traditions, modernist firms, intellectuals and exclusive figures or authors.

It is, therefore, an environment in which experimental visions and contents merge. In this context, one of the first and most remarkable figures is Roberto Mango who, after completing his studies, introduces topics for reflection and the very practice of design in Naples. Later on, in his teaching activity from 1958 onwards, he contributes to disseminating the new discipline and training of dozens of designers, taking on a 'founding' role (Pansera, 2015; Schnapp, 2014; Guida, 2006) in shaping pathways leading to the integration of theories and practices for the building of the profession.

It is a fact that little has been done to analyse and contextualise the role of Naples' School of Architecture and of its contribution to the establishment of an alternative, or however different, idea of design than the one at the national scale. Over the years, education in design at Naples University Federico II has taken on very peculiar traits, reflecting a cultural complexity and a controversial trend towards innovation which, nonetheless, has always been able to overcome persisting commonplaces (Cristallo and Morone, 2018: 312–313). This means that, if Mango was the one who introduced design as a 'manifest' discipline in Naples, alongside him and after him, other students, teachers and researchers have gained their own thinking and designing autonomy over time—original personalities for their commitment and their scientific and professional achievements who, starting from the 1950s, have given life to a plural, complex tradition of education and training in the field of design. Together, they have paved the way for 'the establishment of a design culture characterised by a marked sensibility towards methodological research on the one hand and the critical re-interpretation of the history of the artefact on the other' (Adriani and Jappelli, 2005: 54).

A few editorial traces

The above introduction on the educational and environmental context has been deemed necessary for a better understanding of certain choices that a figure such as Almerico de Angelis (Naples, 1942–Milan, 2005) made in the course of his professional and cultural life (D'Ambrosio and Grimaldi, 1982: 130). De Angelis studies with Mango, and then moves on to professional practice (not only, though), showing a multifaceted, versatile and vibrant personality.

In 1973 he founds the movement *Per un'architettura eventuale* (For a possible architecture) and one year later an intriguing design magazine named *Che—studi sull'uso e sui significati dell'architettura* (literally, *What—studies on the use and meanings of architecture*, Fig. 1). In introducing the second issue of the magazine, he explains some of the reasons behind the periodical and shares his thoughts with the readers:

> What? Theatre? Anthropology? Technology? Art? Let's try to call it Architecture or, as a Zen master would say, let us not call it at all. After all, definitions, titles are always a limitation. It is the criterion that we adopted when we were to choose a title for this magazine. [...] Of course, literally, 'what' stands for 'what is architecture': we don't expect an answer, though, that's why we have removed the question mark. [...] Many believe there is always one and one only truth, and that it can always be exemplified. We are among those who are convinced that reality is something so complex and changing in the very moment we try to capture it in a description, that it seems to us much fairer to attach to it, since the very beginning, a certain degree of ambiguity—which does not necessarily mean confusion. What is specific always has an instrumental value, and it is not only a coincidence that the simplification of problems has always been a strength for any authoritarian policies [...] we believe that it is only by stretching problems as much as possible and by accepting a dialectic confrontation that we'll be able to find an answer to the urgent needs waiting to be met by architecture (De Angelis, 1975: 7).

A multidisciplinary vision thus emerges, which still sees, in line with a certain kind of thinking, a central role of architecture as the mother of other areas of design. But this is a critical approach to observation and to practices, as well as a *political* stance on the role of design, in line with certain trends of the time which will find their natural outlet in the Radical movement.

Slightly more than ten years later, De Angelis launches a new editorial initiative with the periodical *Design*, a supplement of *Napolicity*, a magazine of current affairs, art, architecture and trends, published starting from 1983. In the editorial of the first issue, October 1987, he records a standardisation and homogenisation of languages, and of design in particular, on the one hand and, on the other hand, the need to re-discover values of different cultures that are 'connected, at least historically, with specific geographical areas' (De Angelis, 1987: 11). He adds that 'Design experiences the ambiguity of being at the same

time an industrial product (and, as such, subject to all the laws of the economy and production), and an instrument of language and communication'.

His thought appears to have matured in observing the dimension of the discipline as branching off in two directions: a 'cold' pole—the large serial production, in his opinion standardising—and a 'hot' pole, which must draw on a 'wider semantic capital that encompasses in the right proportion History, the local culture, the local languages, the expressive abilities of the matter and those of techniques that understand—why not—the huge heritage of the handicraft culture...' (De Angelis, 1987: 11).

The vision that appears is one in which the role of history can be interpreted as an element able to enhance the value of local specificities in a wider, global context, but also a real opportunity to define new languages in the production of communicative as well as useful artefacts. And thus he confirms his interest in the languages of composition, whose very variety guarantees the possibility of a design that takes *difference* into due consideration. His point of view fits perfectly with the tradition of critical thinking of the Neapolitan academy that was briefly mentioned above, well aware of some features peculiar to the context of Naples but with constant attention given to the evolution of scenarios within and without the national borders.

Fig. 1 *Che* magazine, first issue, October 1974.

Design, product, image and events

During the 1970s and 1980s De Angelis was also active as a practitioner in various fields of design: he designed posters, logos, visual identities, as well as products, working for furniture companies, shops, showrooms, and art galleries. During the decade closed by the shocking earthquake of November 23rd, 1980, while suffering several critical situations (e.g., the increase of Camorra and smuggling activities, the cholera epidemics in 1973) Naples was a lively and internationally renowned city from a cultural and artistic point of view. There were frequent art exhibitions of personalities such as Andy Warhol or Joseph Beuys, among others, in galleries like Lucio Amelio's one, or others like Rumma, Trisorio and Morra. But also music and the theatre were experimenting with a mix of new languages with traditions (just think of Nuova Compagnia di Canto Popolare's musical and theatrical research). During those years the well-known photographer Mimmo Jodice started his activity, affirming the idea of a committed and critical visual research.

In this environment, in addition to editing publications, De Angelis made his first experiences in organising events, debates and exhibitions. He then supported, at the end of the 1970s, the radical design movement, adhering to its philosophy and becoming its link in the south. He then started teaching in 1976 at Naples School of Architecture (where he was in charge of the courses in stage design), and later on (from 1990 onwards) he organized *Le giornate napoletane del design* (something like a *Naples design week*) and then moved to Milan to teach at Politecnico di Milano.

With regard to professional practice, he shows a natural ability to bring together his interests in terms of critical and intellectual reflection (which are evident in the magazines) and professional practice, by setting up initiatives that involve local businesses, encouraging them to take on a high-quality of production with reference to both the finished product and to the way to present oneself through images.

Fig. 2 Left, poster for Cappelli furniture showroom, 1974; right, holiday poster, 1975.

In this perspective, it may be interesting to mention a few of the designs created from the first half of the 1970s, when he curates the design of logos, visual identities and posters for Naples-based design companies and stores such as *Ellisse, Cappelli, Riam*. If logo design is to him a problem requiring a rational solution, in any case reasoned and aiming at immediate recognition and readability, in other artefacts he sometimes manages to bring out a more irrational, emotional nature. Examples of this are two holiday posters (Fig. 2), one, created in 1974 for *Cappelli* (elegant store and showroom) and the other, one year later, designed to promote his own professional activity and the magazine *Che*. These compositions are free from any dogmas or translation of a direct message. For *Cappelli*, a view from space of the Earth, which is about to be 'hit' by a number of arrows, like aliens ready to land on and colonise the planet, or maybe simply a number of comets ready to show the way. Whichever way one looks at it, the image

lends itself to metaphorical interpretations. The 1975 poster for the magazine *Che*, instead, shows the photographic image of an event—a metaphor, once again, of his idea of architecture and design: 'an ephemeral structure, a coloured veil, are sufficient to change an environment and thus let man leave the mark of his passage [...]; mark-architecture: obliterated mark'. It is by all means a 'manifesto', the affirmation of a stance that is confirmed by the first texts in the magazine itself and in his serial work *Evento no. 2* (Fig. 3) published later by the publisher Jabik together with works by Archizoom, Ugo La Pietra, Ettore Sottsass and Superstudio. Needless to say, it is also an attitude that experiments with languages, that intentionally crosses the boundaries between real and possible, between art, image and message.

Fig. 3 *Evento n.* 2, multiple printed art-work, publishing house Jabik (without date), supposed mid 1970s.

In other cases, though, he succeeds in merging these tensions into compositions that are more consistent with the mission of the message, like in two other contemporary posters for *Cappelli* and *Ellisse* (Fig. 4). The composition becomes even more rigorous: in the first poster, three apparently out-of-context photos, reproduced serially on three lines, are supported by a full-page enlargement of the store's logo. The photos look entirely fortuitous, but in fact they wish to define a contemporary tone, although without neglecting tradition altogether, as shown by the image of the wooden horse. In the second poster, of 1972, he builds a brightly-coloured geometric space as an allusion to the modernity of the furnishings quickly mentioned in the copy at the bottom of the page: *arredamenti moderni* (modern furniture).

In addition to the wealth of the language, his graphic design production, which is yet to be discovered, highlights his great visual culture, that he nourished constantly by reading international magazines and kept up to date with some of the trends of the time. This is also evident in other works, such as a rational poster for the exhibition organised by Naples Tourist Board at the Boston City Hall in June 1972 called *Naples & its region: art, architecture, theatre, music, literature, folklore, industry, arts & crafts*. In this work, like in many others, there is a striking attention to typographic composition, which is definitely mature if compared to the works of some of his contemporaries working in Naples and Campania who showed a clear preference for Grotesque, sans-serif fonts, with an evident reference to certain Milanese designs and influenced by the Swiss school.

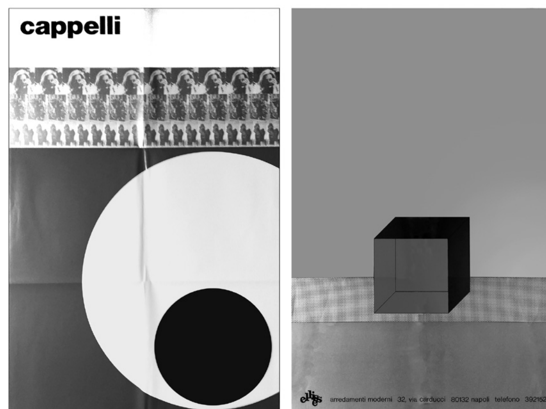

Fig. 4 Left, poster for Cappelli furniture showroom, without date, supposed mid 1970s; right, poster for Ellisse, 1972.

De Angelis's versatility, his ability to interpret total design practices, reflectively finds evidence in his work for *Riam*, for whom he designs their whole image, from the logo to everyday printed matter, from catalogues to the products themselves (Fig. 5). In the 1970s *Riam* is a Naples-based company specialising in the manufacture of furnishings for interior spaces and community spaces out of metal sheets. De Angelis finds himself designing ashtrays, wastepaper baskets, umbrella stands, multi-purpose containers, all sharing linear, elegant shapes which also aim to the optimisation of the processing, folding and cutting phases. Simple, yet functional objects, presented in clear, easy-to-read product technical sheets with a language that, overall, is coordinated in both the two and the three dimensions, showing how clear the practice and teaching of international corporate identity were to De Angelis.

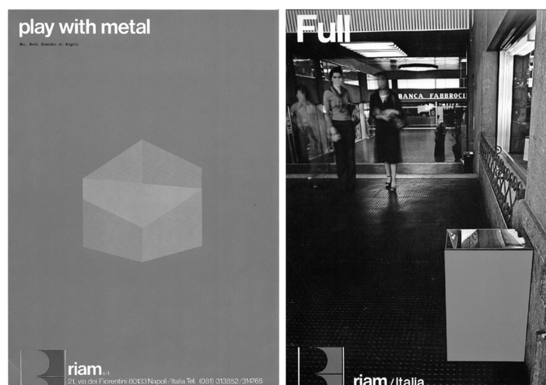

Fig. 5 Cover for a catalogue and product sheet for Full (ash, wast and paper basket), Riam Italia, without date, supposed mid/late 1970s.

Conclusions

De Angelis is perhaps the most restless of all Naples designers: publisher, promoter, designer, teacher, critic—a condition that may have been favoured by his theoretical thinking of a *possible architecture*, a creative doing and undoing that testifies of the most lively intellectual curiosity consistent with the restless soul of his hometown (Grimaldi, 2011). His activity confirms his vocation for discussion and exchange of experiences on contemporary design themes: these initiatives aim at making people understand how products are technical and cultural subjects, and are then taken on to the national stage when he becomes editor of *Modo magazine* (1996 to 2005), in which he best represents his attitude as a critical explorer of design.[1]

This paper is the outcome of the early stages of a research project that is going to be developed in a wider and more systematic approach. It is an opportunity to shed new light on a versatile, complex author, and at the same time to widen the boundaries of the recent history of Italian design, contextualising its pathways (Margolin, 2001), without relying solely on a mere and flat formalistic evaluation.

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[1] The magazine, closed in 2006, was founded in 1977 by Valerio Castelli, Giovanni Cutolo and Alessandro Mendini, who edited it until 1979. Later editors were Andrea Branzi, Cristina Morozzi and Almerico De Angelis, between 1996 and 2005, the year of his premature death.

The Influence of Art Nouveau in the Graphic Work of Chilean Illustrator Luis Fernando Rojas

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Graphic advertising / Lithographic illustrations / Art Nouveau / Latin American scene

Luis Fernando Rojas is probably the most influential illustrator in the transition from the 19th to the 20th century in Chile, despite the fact that today he is practically unknown in the national editorial scene. His work as a graphic reporter and in the visual chronicle of the 19th century is pioneering. Rojas illustrated through lithographic techniques, from 1875 to 1942, numerous works with various themes starting from portrait illustrations to allegoric, cultural, historical and political satire cartoons; besides being the ancestor of advertising in the country. His work is very influential in the construction of a 'national imagery'—a "Chileanity". He befriended Chilean historians, intellectuals and celebrities, which allowed him to portray events directly, creating a portrayal of his time and modelling our collective memory. As an artist, he was influenced both by 'patriotic elements' and imagery, and by European movements, like Art Nouveau. The present proposal deals with the influence of European aesthetics—mainly French—at the beginning of the 20th century Chilean belle époque, in the graphic production of Rojas in a third-world, Latin American country.

Introduction: about the graphic artist

Luis Fernando Rojas carried out pioneering work as a graphic reporter and the main visual chronicler of the events that took place in Chile, between the War of the Pacific[1] and the celebrations of the Republic's centenary. Rojas illustrated, mainly, in literary, cultural and political magazines between 1875 and 1942. He dwelt in various thematic fields such as portraits of public personalities, the use of allegories of European origin and political satire cartoons. He revived the history of Chile, besides being the precursor to the development of, advertising in the local scene. The graphic artist became a significant constructor of the national imagery due to his work alongside historians and intellectuals such as Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna, Diego Barros Arana and José Toribio Medina, among others. This allowed him to *draw* the national history, influencing, by means of a certain modelling, a common sense regarding the collective memory and the knowledge of certain events and personalities that have marked "*Chileanity*".

He was entrusted with the book *General History of Chile*, which he started in 1884 and finished in 1902. This publication constituted a fundamental piece in the national historiography of the 19th century; allowing Rojas to illustrate a republican Chile and the period of the colony from the arrival of Diego de Almagro to the heroic feat of National Independence. Nevertheless, the publication which marked a before and after in the graphic work of Rojas was *The album of the Glory of Chile* written by Vicuña Mackenna, which was a project that paid homage to the national army and navy after the War of the Pacific in 1879.

After his work in this book, Rojas became the main visual chronicler of the aforementioned warlike feat—where photography was secondary. This closeness and the valuation of his work on the part of the military institution, led to a symbolic recognition on their behalf: Rojas, as a war hero, was granted the title of "Graphic Reporter".

It should be noted that the evident influences of Romanticism and the culture of the 19th century allowed Rojas to become acquainted with personalities of the Arts, Culture and Politics who also contributed to his aesthetic vision. An example of this is his connection to Rubén Darío, the first modernist Latin American poet of the 19th century. Rojas had the privilege of sharing his role as an illustrator of publications with works of this poet. It is highly probable that this contact inspired the Chilean sketcher to adopt the modernist style, which he expressed in the design of adverts and commercial signs. In other words, his advertising facet adopted the European aesthetic canons of the beginning of the 20th century based on his social relations and the opportunity of accessing material related to French Art Nouveau.

As stated previously, Rojas moved around various fields of illustration, which were heightened by the important technical developments from the 19th century on, especially lithography. The local *petit bourgeoisie* made reading a pleasure and one of their favorite leisure activities, and at the same time, a social distinction by virtue of access to sophisticated lithographed editions that had metal

[1] The War of the Pacific, also called the War of the Guano and Saltpeter, was an armed conflict that took place from 1879 and 1883 which confronted Chile against Bolivia and Peru as allies.

inks and reliefs. Even though he made sure to include patriotic symbols, traditional costumbrista and daily routines, and the emergence of the Chilean bourgeoisie in his work, he also described milestones of Chilean society through his drawings. These included the "Fonda",[2] where the traditional stomping of the cueca, the national dance, could be seen, and personalities such as the "huaso",[3] indigenous people and the Chilean "roto".[4] As an example, in *La Lira Chilena* magazine, he drew a *Machi*—a medical, religious and protector figure of the Mapuche people. In these drawings, there are several signs related to European movements such as *Art Nouveau*, and in a smaller degree the Viennese *Secession* and the German *Jugendstil*.

Further than the transition of a realist and academic drawing with a Victorian bias towards European modernism, what is interesting here is the advertising work of Rojas from the end of the 19th century to the beginning of the 20th century.

The political, social and cultural context in the early stages. From the beginning of the 20th century, Chile lived a period which was particularly fertile in events in all fields of its material life. This historical foundational moment dealt with the search for "models" of European origin, human resources and technical instruments to make possible the vision the leading class had of the future. This class found one of its main aspirations in material progress. Towards the last third of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, which coincided with a boom in the economy, several lithographic studios started to function mainly in Iquique, Valparaíso, Concepción and the capital.[5] This joined the traditional offer of typographic printings with mobile types, habitually directed to the edition of leaflets, brochures and textbooks. These establishments already had periodic publications of newspapers and tabloids, they provided conditions for the demand of basic goods and a small niche for literary, and fashion magazines, under the auspices of the saltpeter plutocracy—a symbol of opulence of the local *belle époque*—and an emergent sector of the erudite middle class.

This phase of economic growth favoured the mechanization of production and the entry of machinery, tools and technology into the country. This facilitated the steady incorporation of new procedures of lithographic printing like lithography, photoengraving and linotype, which extended the technical capacities of the press, small publishing houses and printing shops that participated in the advancement of the local graphic industry during the last third of the 19th century.

The opening of an offer of excessively decorated canned goods required a reproduction technique, which could strip itself of the typical limitations of traditional typographic printing. The impossibility of using half tones and varied colours simultaneously, as well as the incorporation of drawings and adorned fonts in printing with mobile types meant an opportunity for small lithographic studios, which had operated since approximately 1860. This technique granted the printer or drawing artist an ample choice of alternatives, which the rigidity of printing in typography did not allow. Hence, the possibility of interfering with or reshaping typographic symbols including complex printed illustrations in several colors, thanks to the direct intervention of the press worker on the lithographic moulds in stone. Even though these establishments were recognized as an active presence in the media and local press mainly in the edition of illustrated newspapers and magazines, the figure of lithography artists—unlike typography artists—tended to be associated with production of artistic and commercial signs, brands, containers, labels and graphics for consumer goods.

At the end of the 19th century, Rojas participated as a drawing artist and artistic director in the weekly-illustrated magazine *La Lira Chilena*. This publication absorbed the modern European spirit and reflected, somehow, its sensibility, which was a characteristic of the *belle époque*, by offering an aesthetic, coherent and homogenous product that was suitable to the ambitions of the small local bourgeoisie. This group was the protagonist of what was commonly known as the "parliamentary period" (Álvarez and Ureta, 2014). The fact that France exerted a strong artistic influence in Europe during the last third of the 19th century determined partly that the modernist French version—the *Art Nouveau*—became a collective element that prevailed in the Old World in its original versions.

In its beginnings, the formal and ideological components of Romanticism privileged beauty and aestheticism instead of utilitarianism. In the end, this tendency became a real cultural movement impregnating the atmosphere with a particular rhetoric, which determined certain social behaviour (decoration, interior design, fashion, etc.) just when aristocratic leisure reached its maximum levels of splendour in some countries of South America.

At the time in which there was a transition from the exaggeratedly ornamented and historical style of the end of the 19th century to the more homogenous and refined style of the *Art Nouveau*, printed folios of *La Lira Chilena* in full lithographed color, under the tutelage of Rojas, reached print runs of 50,000 copies. On the other hand, while he did not know much about advertising practice the scarcity of specialized means in composition and the design of product advertisements forced him to take on this pioneering task to capture the attention of the readers. At first, it was only about black and white advertisements that the magazine made to promote its next edi-

[2] In Latin America, *Fonda* is a public place or canteen in which food and popular beverages are served. Similar to a tavern.

[3] A classical figure of popular Chilean culture, inhabitant of the countryside, mestizo of Spanish and indigenous blood who is skilled in rural tasks and horseback riding.

[4] The adjective *Roto*, adopted a classist connotation in the 19th century and was used in Chile to call people of an urban origin, poor or not schooled and of rude manners.

[5] In Santiago: a State and Lithograph Printing Press; Pedro and Eduardo Cadot; Commerce Lithograph; Barcelona Printing Press; Alberto Saling Studio. In Valparaíso: H. C. Gillet Lithograph; Brandt; Central Lithograph Universal Lithograph and Del Universo Printing Press. In Iquique: Printing Press and Lithograph Bini and in Concepción city, the Alfredo Schovelin Studio.

Fig. 1 Advertisement for Kirsinger & Co. importer of pianos. Source: *La Lira Chilena*, 1904.

Fig. 2 Advertisement for Cruz Roja cognac, from Ferrari and Company in the *La Lira Chilena* magazine, 1904.

tions. Thus, it was common to find on its pages a vignette with a small illustration announcing the content and date of the next edition. Afterwards, *La Lira* published commercial advertisements printed in color in which Rojas gave free reign to his lesser known facet; that of an advertising sketcher with a modernist tendency. This epoch style impregnated his compositions and graphic work with *coup de fouet* or "lashing" so very typical of *Art Nouveau* and the amalgamate array of visual repertoire dominated by the use of curves, ripples, botanical configurations and ideal representations of women. This way, the offer included importing houses and brand products, such as Escudo Chileno oil, Ratanpuro tea, Fairy floating soap, Bilz pop, Aloja de Culén alcoholic beverage, Antoine inks, baby food, La Colmena corsets, Pepe Villa cigarettes, Hans Frey Photographs, Marescotti hat shop and Kirsinger & Company pianos. In addition, there were advertisements from English library, Ridell & Company commercial store, Limache United Brewery Companies, among other clients. They had an outstanding presence in the pages of this publication thanks to the talent of this artist. He also knew how to assimilate—with a bit of opportunism—the fashions and tendencies that permeated the habits and preferences of the local bourgeoisie. Rojas also designed advertising signs—in the same aesthetic line—of which there are very few samples.

Rojas made use of direct models of European consumer goods, which came into the country through Valparaiso port, and designed models that replicated those in vogue in the Old Continent. Yet, they somehow incorporated certain typical aspects of national culture that granted a sort of hybridization between both realities. Curiously, the European aspiration was not considered a flaw or lack of national identity, on the contrary, the imitation of social rites from Europe was perceived as a favorable condition in which one had to participate actively (Álvarez, 2008). The interests, habits and fashion imposed by the political elite and the aristocratic landowners, ruled the adoption of customs on the part of the incipient local bourgeoisie.

This established a first and reduced indication of an incipient consumer society in Chile during the first decades of the 20th century. Although it is true that the high class could access imported products, there were other segments that owned products and imitations made in the country where the inventiveness and talent of the artist, made the exhibition of the product desirable.

Rojas' European-influenced advertising work

A personal facet of Rojas was the design of advertisements and signs for products and companies, which was separate from his habitual production (national and costumbrista narratives) to generate a visual modernist bias. This new vision aligned with the production of some national graphic artists such as Alejandro Fauré or Emilio Dupré, together with some foreign artists who arrived in Chile at the beginning of the 20th century. These artists came to participate in literary magazines and cultural magazine-like publications like *Sucesos* edited in Valparaiso and the canonical magazine *Zig-Zag*.

In this context, Rojas, who was the first artistic director of illustrated magazines in Chile, developed a more commercial line where he appropriated references of big productions of the great European sign designers, such as Jules Chéret, Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, Eugène Grasset, Charles Théophile Steinlen, Aubrey Beardsley, Walter Crane and Alphons Mucha, mainly. This indicates that in the national sphere, there were ways of access to publications and productions were defining modernism in the shifting of the 19th century to 20th century. Analyzing his more commercial production, we can notice the characteristics of Art Nouveau adopt an idealized European-like appearance, which somehow appeals to the "interior world" of the characters represented (Muñoz and Villalobos, 2009) in an iconographic limbo, which detaches itself from technological progress to become closer to the subjectivity of Art Nouveau.

It is noteworthy that Rojas developed this line of commercial production without ever having left the country, taking on design as more than a matrix or imported copy but more like an act of looking and replicating. This mimetic production of the artist, which moved away from his more relevant work as a chronicler and portrait drawings, became visible in the elaboration of advertisements and signs by means of pencil-based lineal drawing. It also became visible in the capacity of reproducing what was drawn on lithographic stones to facilitate printing in series, a typical phenomenon of the second half of the 19th century.

Due to the relationship Rojas had with the Chilean cultural elite, it is possible that he had access to books, magazines and products with European labels, which assimilated the tendencies in vogue. He also met the main authors—in the field of sign design—who were predominant at the beginning of the 20th century. In this sense, the knowledge of literature and modernist visuals resulted in almost an imperative for those illustrators that, beyond their editorial work, generated communications related to the emerging modern advertising.

Advertisements were, generally, made in a vertical format (see example images), following the logic of the European signs in vogue. These used mainly primary colors for their composition because of the technical limitations that small lithographic printing presses had. In the same way, these productions incorporated curvilinear floral ornaments that recover a synthetic process—post Victorian—generating a repertoire that crosses the fetishist image of women. The feminine figure as an object, where ornamentation turns into a backdrop that places her in a sort of iconic limbo that, on the one hand, isolates her from reality and, on the other, takes the helm from the main European stylistic movements.

The presence of faces and feminine representations in the promotion of products became more and more common, as well as the sensuality and delicacy of the various women that accompanied the curved shapes, which were a typical notion of the feminine figure of those times. Thus, women can be seen in the promotion of pianos (Fig. 1), oils and liquors (Fig. 2 and Fig. 3), soaps (Fig. 4), and products aimed at women like corsets and creams. Similarly, stained glass windows with textures that colour compositions and generate a woven-like look can be observed as well. The use of thick Sans Serif for titles and some letters chosen at random add a greater volume (specially the use of uppercase) and semicircular positions influenced some fonts to become pictorial, not solely letters.

Fig. 3 Advertisement designed by Rojas for the United Breweries Company circa 1900. Source: Biblioteca Nacional de Chile.

Analyzing various signs, notices and labels designed by Rojas, one can appreciate the fashions and likes of the time aside from evidencing an inevitable link between the modern field of merging graphic design and illustrated advertising. In this sense, the appearance of magazines specialized in printing techniques, typography and news related to the editorial industry—like *Revista Tipográfica*, *Noticias Gráficas* and *Chile Ilustrado*—served as goods for a particular production of the artist who became the direct mentor for the forthcoming generations that shaped the origins of graphic illustration in Chile.

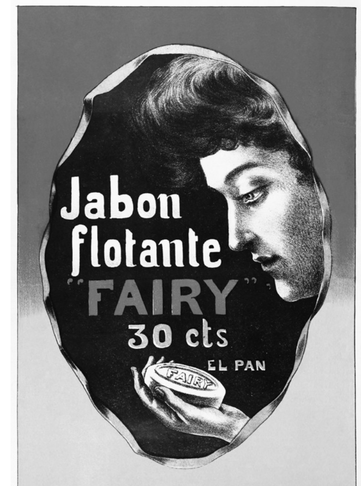

Fig. 4 Publicity illustrated by Rojas for the promotion of Fairy floating soap. Source: *La Lira Chilena*, 1903.

Final words

In the transition of the 19th to the 20th century, society and the Chilean elite were witnesses of consumer habits, in part due to the introduction of foreign models, especially of fashions and tendencies from France. These were external transformations to the Chilean reality; beauty canons and customs were defined which delimited a new concept of the social and imagery desired of communications and a wide variety of products. These products were not only targeted at the feminine public, but also the type of goods that were durable and perishable, such as alcoholic beverages, hygiene items, musical and sanitary instruments, means of transport and food products (Fig. 5), among others.

Beyond his relevance in the construction of the national imagery related to the Republican history of Chile, Rojas was a pioneer in the development of the advertising activity of the graphic arts at a national level. He introduced European influences together with the development of costumbrista work, and helped construct a national 19th century identity.

Rojas had the responsibility of designing a visual identity and part of the signs and advertisements of the first generation of consumer goods made industrially in the country, where the modernist European style was adopted especially at the beginning of the 20th century. Even though he incorporated typical elements of the national iconography of the 19th century, a clear inspiration of organic, undulating, floral motifs, Byzantine mosaics, uppercase fonts, vignettes, and fillets (Satué, 1988) can be observed. Also, the presence of the feminine figure stands out as a "face" of consumer goods affiliated to *Art Nouveau*, which the following generations of illustrators and Chilean graphic artists used as models.

In the work of the pioneer illustrator, the mimesis of European styles in vogue was not assumed as a flaw or lack of national identity. On the contrary, it was taken as an advantageous way of access to the Modernism of the western world, with the typical singularities of a democratic Republic in a process of aspiring to be a focus of industrialization at a continental level.

Fig. 5 Advertisement for baby food "Especially for children, mothers, nursemaids, anemic and sick patients, and the elderly". Source: *La Lira Chilena*, 1903.

From the "edges", in a sense of "no domestication" an aesthetic marked by Romanticism, and the emergence of photography and the seduction of signs, and European advertising that barely entered Chile, it is noteworthy that Rojas approached such tendencies only when promoting imported products for national consumption. Almost like a way of being indifferent or natural adaptation to a more adequate imposition to the fashion of the progressive elite in commercial terms.

That is why, more than his affiliation to European models almost obligatory for Chilean artists coming from wealthy sectors—the sector Rojas belonged to—he kept his particular versatility, adjusting to the new ways of thinking at a time of a euphoric change of century, facing the progression of the era of mechanics of the Old Continent.

In this case in particular, perhaps Rojas, from a comfort zone or a as a way of survival, distanced himself from his traditional academic formation which he combined with satirical illustrations directed to more popular sectors. He forged an influencing production inasmuch as it was transitory. He looked to move ahead of time and be in harmony with the new advances of the countries, which were then considered as more developed. In this case, there is no particular interest in engulfing the bourgeois fashion of *Art Nouveau*, but more a manner to approach an adequate transition to the needs of a country on its way to industrialization. As was stated before, only to replicate and nothing else.

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Cecília Jucá, Graphic Artist: The Books *1ª Paca* and *Escritura*, by the Hands of the Author

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Graphic design / Book design / Graphic experimentation / Brazil / Cecília Jucá

This work seeks to explore and analyze a small part of the history of Brazilian design. It studies the design processes applied in books produced in the 1970s by Cecília Jucá, an editorial designer who is still active today. In order to do so, the following method was used: 1) Analyze the original books (*1ª Paca*, 1970 and *Escritura*, 1973); 2) Interview Cecília Jucá, in Rio de Janeiro, in November 2017; 3) Review a bibliography on the historical and social context. The goal of this research is to analyze the characteristics of the designer's creative and projective activity in the design and production of the selected books and establish what were the graphical and material results achieved. It also intends to recover the memory of Cecília Jucá's work and situate it amid the history of Brazilian graphic design, highlighting its value and documenting the author's testimony.

Introduction

On the research

This paper intends to explore and analyze a small part of design history, in order to consider the handcraft and projective processes applied to certain books produced during the 1970s by Cecília Jucá. For this purpose, the originals in question were analyzed and an interview was performed with the author of the projects. Furthermore, a bibliography regarding the historical and social context was re-examined.

For the purpose of this research, two book projects in which Cecília Jucá took part were selected. The books are *1ª Paca*,[1] edited in Recife in 1970, and *Escritura*,[2] edited and printed in Rio de Janeiro in 1973. They were examined in the rare book section of the Guita and José Mindlin Brasiliana Library and Cecília Jucá's personal library. In both projects, Cecília Jucá undertook activities of manual composition with the use of movable types and letterset, processes that are considered handcraft.

On the context

During the 1950s and 1960s, a group called "O Gráfico Amador", from Pernambuco, produced approximately 30 handcrafted books at a domestic workshop where intellectuals and artists designed and composed together. Such editions were a milestone in the development of graphic language in the Brazilian editorial field. Such an initiative arose from the combination of three main factors: 1) The current state of the editorial market in Brazil, which didn't provide any space or easy access to new authors and projects; 2) The gathering of creative people in an environment favorable to the exchange of ideas, such as Recife's Law School and Pernambuco's Students' Theater; 3) The influence of predecessors, such as João Cabral de Melo Neto, who at the time already participated in the handcrafted book environment and with whom the group had direct contact.

This is the context of which Gastão de Holanda was a part, one of the group's founders, who actively participated in the projects and manually composed and printed the handcrafted editions. After the activities of "O Gráfico Amador" had ended, Gastão gave classes; and at Recife's School of Fine Arts, where he taught graphic arts, he met Cecília Jucá. As his student, Cecília participated in remarkable projects with Gastão, producing, in an experimental manner, books that are still acknowledged as objects of graphic and poetic value. After she finished the course, Cecília joined Gastão in creating Mini-Graf, one of Brazil's pioneering studios of graphic design and, not long after that, they got married, further tightening their creative ties with the book environment by establishing Fontana publishing house.

Fig. 1 Cecília Jucá at her office. Source: Taken by Julia Contreiras, 2017.

Development

Cecília Jucá

Graphic artist, designer, artist-designer, Cecília Jucá is a professional with many talents and the accomplishments of her editorial endeavors are almost 50 years old. In an interview granted in November 2017, Cecília opened up the doors of her house, located in a borough of Rio de Janeiro called Laranjeiras, and talked about her trajectory, work and creative motivations.

[1] The word *Paca* refers to the three *Parcae*, divinities of Roman mythology.

[2] The word *Escritura*, refers to *scripture* as the union between word and image in a single symbol.

Born in Recife in December 15, 1942, Cecília demonstrated an interest in graphic design from an early age. Looking at the foreign magazines her mother used to buy, she would think to herself, "I want to do something in this field". However, her education didn't involve graphic arts from the start. In 1964, Cecília began a Social Work undergraduate course in Recife and, through her interest in working with and for the others and in social movements, she entered the editorial world. She thought she could bring together her interest in art and that object called a book, seen as a vehicle for social transformation through education.

During her first undergraduate program she had the chance to attend a drawing course in New York, where she managed to develop her expressive and technical abilities. Years later, back in Recife and with the country enduring a period of military dictatorship, during which social movements were unceremoniously hampered, Cecília decided to engage in a formal education in the graphic arts. During the classes given by Gastão de Holanda, she found her true vocation. Once she had finished her undergraduate program, Gastão and Cecília got married and officially began a professional and creative relationship that had already been born during classroom exercises.

Her experience with manual typesetting and the experimentation with graphic techniques, put forward by Gastão, made Cecília become interested in this process and in investigating languages. She also discovered artistic movements, such as pop and optical art, brought to the classroom by her professor, who frequently showed students original pieces by renowned artists. The course taught by Gastão de Holanda at Recife's Philosophy College was the seed of what became the visual communication course of Recife's Federal University.

Cecília describes that, even in a very repressive political and ideological context, Gastão remained a quality teacher, always encouraging experimentation and the transgression of conventional graphic and visual patterns. While he taught his class in an informal way, with a methodology based on practice, Gastão was also a very demanding teacher, spurring Cecília to perfect her use of different techniques and graphic languages, such as engraving, typesetting and visual composition.

Minigraf, Fontana and the design profession

Drawing towards the end of her graphic arts course, in 1968, Cecília was invited by Gastão to participate in the creation of the visual programming firm, Minigraf. Besides working on visual identity projects, they also carried out their first editorial projects together. Gastão de Holanda comments, in a statement made to Gisela Creni,[3] about some of the titles edited by the couple:

> The commercial and Brazilian graphic art lost to older books, also handmade and that owed their editing to the Portuguese technique. One of these days we edited *A inelutável modalidade do visível* ("The ineluctable modality of the visible"), title taken from a phrase in *Ulysses*, by James Joyce, and highlighted by José Laurenio de Melo: the year was 1969. The inside was made out of fragments from billboards, the offset grain of which, from close range, reveals an unexpected graphic richness (Creni, 2013: 106).

During her interview, Cecília confirmed this story, about experimenting with a collage of shards of offset prints from billboards. According to the author, Minigraf's studio used to be at Aurora road, right by a printing press focused on the communication sector. This is how they managed to get their hands on the shards of offset pages printed for a billboard. They then seized this material and took advantage of its visual qualities. Aloísio Magalhães, a good friend of the couple, perused through a copy of this edition during an informal lunch. A few years later, he recovered this reference during his experimental investigation with the book *A informação esquartejada* ("The shredded information"), from 1971. Aloísio always thought of the book as an object, so he reduced the scale of a billboard, until it could fit in one's hands, by folding the pages of the billboard into folios, in which the detail of the print, reticulated by the offset, gains protagonism (Melo, Coimbra (org.), 2011: 483). Thus, it's interesting to notice how the influence of the couple's work in the editorial field also spread out nationally into the design environment.

Setting off in a new professional endeavor, Cecília and Gastão moved to Rio de Janeiro and founded Fontana Publishing House in 1973, based in Visconde de Pirajá road. Their goal was to produce art books in medium runs. They published 22 books and 10 editions of the magazine *José;*[4] yet, a series of financial and managerial downturns made them close up the publishing house, almost ten years later (Creni, 2013: 120).

> The work done at the head of Fontana Publishing House, in Rio de Janeiro, not rarely helped or in partnership with Cecília, speaks for itself. If nothing else, the 10 volumes of José, one of the best examples of a culture magazine made in the country, would already be sufficient to mark the passage of this couple through the history of Brazilian visual communication (Lima, 2014: 84).

Its first publication was a project dedicated to the 24 aquarelles about Don Quixote made by Portinari, which belong to the Chácara do Céu's[5] collection. They invited Carlos Drummond de Andrade, a close friend of the couple, to write a poem for each aquarelle. The book was produced with graphic excellence, by offset, and it reproduced the artist's paintings in their original size. The graphic quality obtained was due to the designers' high standards coupled by the help of a Swiss employee specialized in the use of a machine brought from Germany to scan the photolithographs.

While Fontana Publishing House was up and running, Cecília saw herself forced to

[3] Gisela Creni has worked in editing for more than 30 years. Her master's degree dissertation gathers the main Brazilian handcraft editors and possesses interviews and statements never published before.

[4] The magazine *José*, dedicated to literature, arts and literary criticism, was edited in Rio de Janeiro from 1976 to 1978 (Lima, 2014, p. 84).

[5] Chácara do Céu is an art museum located in the neighborhood of Santa Teresa, in the city of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

take on another professional activity in order to reach better financial conditions for the couple, since all of Gastão's income was destined to paying alimony for the seven children of his first marriage. She worked for the public administration for 14 years as a graphic coordinator, during which she met with several professional disappointments. Work was exhaustive and very few projects were effectively carried out, since there was no project continuity between governments.

After years of creative frustration, Cecília decided to abandon her career in public service and return to her independent work, determined to invent new projects. As she describes it, it was her "return to books". Since they knew many intellectuals and artists, she managed to develop a series of editorial projects, such as Burle Marx's pictorial book and the project about Garcia D'Ávila's *Casa da Torre* ("Tower House"). She accomplished not only graphic projects, but also some related to iconographic, historical and archeological research, thus expanding her knowledge areas beyond design.

Cecília Jucá's graphic experimentation

Cecília Jucá's experimental work was based, mainly, on the use of letterset and lead types, and some of her books are situated on the border line between handcraft and industrial. From a technical perspective, in the 1970s one could find available the graphic techniques of typesetting, linotype and, more scarcely, phototypesetting. In *Brochura Brasileira: Objeto sem projeto* ("Brazilian brochure: object without a project"), Ana Luísa Escorel relates many conditions of the country's editorial and graphic environment at the time, its limitations and characteristics:

> Considering that in our editorial industry for written books the most common composition system is the hot one, particularly through linotype, and given our small average print run per title—three thousand copies—the most economical and adequate printing process is typography (Escorel, 1974: 56).

Overtaken industrially, movable types were already gaining a pedagogical character, and were used many times in Gastão de Holanda's graphic arts course to teach basic concepts of typography to students by using the materiality of lead pieces. As for linotype, the main printing system in Brazil during the 1970s, it made the mechanical composition process much faster but, at the same time, it offered little or no possibility for visual experimentation, limiting procedures, in most cases, to the linear design of the text.

Phototypesetting, which at the time still represented less than 6% of the national printing industry, provided much more freedom when working with text composition, allowing the enlargement and reduction of the font's body, the use of different fonts and a positioning that broke free from the linear pattern (Escorel, 1974: 57). Even before the advent of computer graphics, matrices for photo composition could be manually produced with the use of letterset. The combination of the handcraft of letterset with the large scale industrial printing of the offset reveals a curious relationship between the fields of art and industry.

The use of letterset, dry transferring of characters, was, at the time, the main technique applied by designers and graphic artists to produce final pieces for their daily professional assignments (Melo, Coimbra, 2011: 468). Despite its industrial purpose, it may be characterized as a technique for composition with types, in which one manipulates the letters, one by one. Beyond the use of lead typographic pieces, it requires a diagrammatic rigor that can be easily transgressed at matrix level.

Cecília Jucá is the kind of professional that walks freely between the fields of art, design and craftsmanship. The leading role in her actions comes out according to the project she's focusing on. A moment in which we can notice that the artistic role blossomed in Cecília is the book project *Adália Branca* ("White Adália"), when she used a poem made by her husband to create, in an expressive and authorial manner, a unique book.

Here, the author is but one, Cecília, designer-artist-craftswoman. In the next sections, we will take a detailed look at two experimental projects that deserve special attention, and in which the many roles of this author become evident.

***The book* 1ª Paca**

1ª Paca was conceived and produced by Gastão de Holanda and Cecília Jucá in 1970, in Recife, while Cecília was still taking her graphic arts undergraduate course. Originally, the book is part of a trilogy. However, because of an unfavorable budgetary situation, the two other books imagined for the series were never made.

The book originates from a social and political criticism of the dramatic repercussions that derived from the constant floods that occurred in Recife at the time. Cecília, while presenting the book, told us of the particularities and interpretations that overflow from this work, printed with movable types and linotype over loose leaves.

The book is composed of concrete visual poems, and Gastão and Cecília shared not only the graphic project and printing, but also text and image creation. It's a work of criticism and a political stance that was born from a personal initiative of theirs, and is, therefore, authorial. In it, the authors exercise their abilities to create subjectivity, amid a project that follows graphic and technical patterns they established themselves.

The book is full of visual metaphors that bring together the object and its materiality and the issues concerning the context of the floods. When perusing its pages, one finds a double page covered in brown ink, with a coarse texture. On the left-hand page, one can read the word "solama",[6] and on the right-hand can be seen a footprint in ink, the vestiges of someone's foot, a sole printed out in smallest details. This sole of a foot over a muddy background, which draws attention to the quibble "solama / só lama", is Cecília Jucá's foot.

In the midst of a context of ideological repression, brought about by the military dictatorship, Cecília's teachers at

[6] "Only mud", written together.

the Philosophy School of Recife, where the book was produced, were appalled when they saw the graphic larks that went on in Gastão's class. Cecília would take off her shoes, roll up her pants, and Gastão would cover her foot in printing ink with a rubber paint roller. Then, using the weight of her own body, Cecília would print out an engraving produced using her foot as the matrix. Each book carries a footstep that's positioned in a distinct place; yet, undeniably, they all come from the same matrix.

Fig. 2 *1ª Paca*, printed sole. Source: Flávio Vignoli's personal collection. Digitized by Flávio Vignoli.

This book, of a mixed character, journeys between the field of art, because of its authorial and subjective character, and the world of design, since it uses graphic techniques and procedures that are industrial.

The book Escritura

The experimental book named *Escritura* was published by Gastão de Holanda and Cecília Jucá in 1973, in Rio de Janeiro, as part of the catalogue of Fontana Publishing House. Despite its graphic and visual qualities and the fact that it gathered important artists and texts, the book wasn't successful with the public, having sold a single copy out of the 200 that were printed, and which was bought by the owner of the printing press where it was made. But, going beyond the sales failure, many of its copies are now part of the collections of renowned bibliophiles, such as José Mindlin, and it's regarded as a masterpiece by those who study artists' books and graphic arts.

> I believe this is our masterpiece. [...] This was an invention by Gastão. Gastão was a very creative person and very restless intellectually. He was always inventing something to do. He was very important to me, for me to develop myself. My family had a certain culture, my mother always encouraged me to read a lot, but he was something... Culturally he was very rich and very instigating (Jucá, 2017).

They invited seven engraving artists with whom they were friends and whose work and style they both knew very well to participate. Cecília was also part of the artistic body, participating in the creation of the images for the book. Cecília and Gastão, in their role as designers, gave three sheets of paper to each artist, for them to intervene, with their work, as they saw best. The artists could choose the color they'd like for the paper, as long as it was *fabriano*. They also left it to the artists to choose verbal texts that dialogued with their work, and they asked them to hand in the texts and matrices. This way the couple could, using the images and texts delivered, project, in a subjective way, the insertion of the phrases and words in the physical context of the folios.

Once they had the printed images, Cecília and Gastão put up the matrices for the phototypesetting using letterset. They each modified a different folio, which meant that the graphic project of one would interfere on the other's project. Besides designing the object and its elements, composing the texts and taking care of the graphic production of the book, Cecília also took the role of an artist, illustrating one of the publication's folios.

Cecília used her expressiveness to work with letterset compositions. In the folio that carries a woodcut by artist Marilha Rodrigues, Cecília subverts the conventional ways to use the material. She composes the text and scratches the surface of the letters, trying to make its texture similar to the one obtained by woodcut technique. Below, it is possible to observe the physical characteristics of this folio, which the artist expanded beyond the shape of the closed book with the use of paper folding.

Fig. 3 *Escritura*, woodcut by Marilha Rodrigues. Source: Cecília Jucá's personal collection. Picture taken by Julia Contreiras, 2017.

Forever alternating between roles, Cecília also participated considerably in the book's graphic production. According to the author, the artists Renina Katz and Maria Luisa Leão handed in their serigraphic matrices out of proportion. They were smaller than what the project had established. Hence, Cecília took it upon herself to enlarge and redraw the artists' creations. Such a fact demonstrates how the author positioned herself as a manager of the entire project, sticking to a vision and controlling all the processes involved in bookmaking.

Below are the serigraphic prints of the aforementioned artists. Maria Luisa Leão created solid images in which the figures gain new meaning on color planes. The illustrations are about a text by Gastão de Holanda, *A retificação dos sentidos* (The rectification of the senses), and the insertion of the text was made by Cecília.

Fig. 4 Silkscreen printing by Renina Katz. Source: Cecília Jucá's personal collection. Picture taken by Julia Contreiras, 2017.

When the engravers had finished the final pieces, Cecília and Gastão took down to the press the prints of the images already on the book's folios. Their intention was to print the letterset compositions using an offset system on to the already cut and printed pages. Cecília described, during her interview, the excitement of the press's employees in view of such a technically challenging proposition.

The fact that she chose such a printing process confirms the transitional character of Cecília's activities, moving through graphic arts, plastic arts and design. This is reflected in the final object that became this book, a vigorous example of control over graphic resources and interlocution of techniques. It also has a poetic and visual richness that makes it worthy of the title "work of art".

Conclusion

As we can see, Cecília Jucá's professional work runs through many fields and possesses technical and poetical depth. Nowadays, at 75 years of age, Cecília is still active in the editing field, preparing book projects, doing image research and representing the first generations of graphic designers originated in Brazilian concrete art.

It's possible to observe, during her career, her involvement with diverse printing techniques, starting out with manual processes, moving on to phototypesetting and, currently, using computer graphics and the many digital resources available. The fact that Cecília took an interest in the editing world allowed her to get in contact with different aspects of bookmaking. And not only regarding the graphic and material side, but also the poetic and semiotic one.

Cecília does not belittle digital mediums in order to uphold handcraft and manual work. She insists that "if a person isn't creative, has no imagination, she doesn't create" (2017). This stance she owes, basically, to her background, based on experimentation and direct contact with techniques and artefacts of the profession. The importance of her experiences during the 1970s has resulted, today, in the consolidation of her career and in an inexhaustible interest for graphic design and the world of books.

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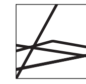

1 Design History and Histories of Design

1.3 Mediterranean-ness: An Inquiry into Design and Design History

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When the Roman Empire conquered the entire shores of the Mediterranean and called it *Mare Nostrum*, they constructed the notion of a Unified Mediterranean, which has never actually materialised. Intellectual travellers during the Age of Enlightenment expressed admiration for Italy, the Middle East and the Orient, and somehow discovered—or at least thought that they had discovered—some kind of common identity amongst the societies, cultures and settlements around the Mediterranean, thereby strengthening the Mediterranean Idea (from Goethe to Braudel).

As the centre of global trade, especially in the 15th and 16th centuries, the Mediterranean gradually lost its importance and some Atlantic coastal cities took over the role. Nevertheless, the Mediterranean Idea has remained intact, only to be understood in terms of a union of binary opposites like Orient–Occident, North–South, order–disorder and rational–emotional. In terms of design sources, the Mediterranean encompassed both Apollonian and Dionysian qualities of creativity. How can the history of design contribute to an understanding, (re)construction, dissemination and regeneration of the Mediterranean Idea and its cultural heritage? This session will examine the concept of Mediterranean-ness in terms of design and design history. While it seeks out new, hybrid interpretations of the Mediterranean and Mediterranean-ness through design (culture), it attempts to challenge prevalent dichotomies, thereby revealing its richness and complexities.

The subjects to be addressed are as follows: cultural and productive actions and relationships that formed the basis for the construction and transformation of the Mediterranean Idea during the last century; the diversities and shared cultural values between North and South, East and West; Eurocentrism and the Mediterranean; challenges to and new conceptualisations of (Mediterranean) identity through design; emancipatory design practices based on the current geopolitical condition; the state of local design and design histories and the main issues, concerns, commonalities and differences; and the Mediterranean design identity, if there is one...

Back to the Future
The Future in the Past

ICDHS 10th+1 BARCELONA 2018

Conference Proceedings Book
Oriol Moret (ed.)

1 Design History and Histories of Design

1.3 Mediterranean-ness: An Inquiry into Design and Design History

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INTRODUCTION

1.3 Mediterranean-ness: An Inquiry into Design and Design History

When the Roman Empire conquered the entire shores of the Mediterranean and called it Mare Nostrum*, they constructed the notion of a Unified Mediterranean, which has never actually materialised. Intellectual travellers during the Age of Enlightenment expressed admiration for Italy, the Middle East and the Orient, and somehow discovered—or at least thought that they had discovered—some kind of common identity amongst the societies, cultures and settlements around the Mediterranean, thereby strengthening the Mediterranean Idea (from Goethe to Braudel).*

As the centre of global trade, especially in the 15th and 16th centuries, the Mediterranean gradually lost its importance and some Atlantic coastal cities took over the role. Nevertheless, the Mediterranean Idea has remained intact, only to be understood in terms of a union of binary opposites like Orient–Occident, North–South, order–disorder and rational–emotional. In terms of design sources, the Mediterranean encompassed both Apollonian and Dionysian qualities of creativity. How can the history of design contribute to an understanding, (re)construction, dissemination and regeneration of the Mediterranean Idea and its cultural heritage? This session will examine the concept of Mediterranean-ness in terms of design and design history. While it seeks out new, hybrid interpretations of the Mediterranean and Mediterranean-ness through design (culture), it attempts to challenge prevalent dichotomies, thereby revealing its richness and complexities.

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"When the Roman Empire conquered the entire shores of the Mediterranean and called it *Mare Nostrum*, they constructed the notion of a Unified Mediterranean, which has never actually materialised." Once serving as the centre of global trade, especially in the 15th and 16th centuries, the Mediterranean world as an idea currently survives with various interpretations and meanings. By acknowledging the fragmented, geographically discontinuous form in which scholars continue to envision the history of Mediterranean design, this strand is committed to uncovering a new link between the wealth of local histories and topics surrounding the Mediterranean Idea, from a design point of view.

All contributions represent the first step towards addressing the absence of a shared and inclusive history of Mediterranean design.

'Sifting Time Between Design and the History of Design' tackles Mediterranean-ness according to a combined historical and anthropological perspective to focus on a "magical" dimension that informs the relationship between design, art and craft in the regions of Italy.

'Mediterranean-ness Between Identity and *Genius Loci*' introduces a narrower focus on modernist and post-modernist design exponents (Le Corbusier and Ettore Sottsass) that charts the interface of modernist demands for rationality with elements of emotionality, classicism and the contemporary.

'Italian Design for Colonial Equipment' focuses on products developed "for the colonies" and "promoted during the 1930s, due to an avant-gardist experiment with standardised systems for mass production".

'Fabrics of Barcelona' charts the 1900–1930 work of the Ponsa Hermanos factory, which "produced several silk prints featuring some of the most innovative patterns, which originated in Europe's leading studios or were created by some of the most important Catalan designers".

'The Contribution of Jordi Vilanova' concentrates on the work of the designer and his interpretation of the traditional expressive languages of the Mediterranean.

The last paper deals with the ceramic industry in Castelló, Spain. It calls for future accounts of the commonalities between countries that shared the Mediterranean tradition in terms of local production histories. This contribution builds a picture of a complex coevolution that has shaped the interactions between natural ecosystem components, societal factors and the skills and material culture of the Mediterranean region.

Even if each contribution proposes a different vision of Mediterranean-ness, the papers together contribute to the development of cross-national narratives for the Mediterranean region and help identify common methods for re-evaluating and enhancing a historical design heritage within the contemporary framework.

Tevfik Balcıoğlu, Marinella Ferrara, Tomas Macsotay

Sifting Time Between Design and the History of Design.

Rites and Metaphors of the Ground for New Conceptualizations of the Mediterranean Identity[1]

Rossana Carullo
Politecnico di Bari

Antonio Labalestra
Politecnico di Bari

Polytechnic of Bari / Mediterranean identity / History of design / Meridian thought / Mediterranean identity

The investigation highlights the research carried out at the Polytechnic of Bari between design and history of design, around the idea of Mediterraneanity, its cultural heritage and the role that it has consciously played in the contemporary world as an alternative to the "rationality" of industrial production from which modern civilization was born. The research focuses on the relationship between design, art and craft production in relation to that "magical" dimension that has survived in the history of the South.

The intention is to outline, this way, new conceptualizations of the Mediterranean identity still widespread in Southern Europe and Southern Italy through design practices linked to the enhancement of intangible cultural heritage. The aim is to clarify the importance of the role that, in the economic and ideological contexts, both the temporal dimension of slowness and the permanence of the rituals related to it have had for the foundation of an organic thought. It is thus intended to outline, between rational and emotional practices, a new metaphysics as an element of opportunity for continuity with the territories and at the same time as an opportunity for possible innovation of languages, techniques, attitudes and meanings, capable of introducing the elements of contemporary design like "meridian thought".

The Mediterranean identity: the time of the ritual between magic, cultural heritage and design

Like many magicians of the Renaissance, Cornelio Agrippa of Nettesheim tours Europe, from Cologne to Spain, from Italy to Switzerland, going as far as Puglia to lay the foundations of a partnership able to renew, on a hermetic basis, culture and society. His most important treatise is the *De Occulta Philosophia* of 1533 which will be the primary reference for most scholars of the pre-modern age.

Even after the great historical choice in favour of the "rational", opted for at the beginning of the modern age, "the magic" tends to survive and to re-emerge in some forms of contemporary life: in the mysticism of the cult of personality, in the superstitious power attributed to technology and in the folds of the passage of time.

The magic, the hermetic tradition and the vision of the world and of man connected to it have not, in fact, been completely removed from history by the scientific revolution and, even today, they survive in different forms and at different levels in Western culture. The reinterpretation of history, like the discovery in the contemporary of rites that are rooted in magical and divination practices, can therefore still help to better grasp some aspects of modern knowledge, its metaphors and its impact on the world of men and on the society of consumption. But even more so the rites and metaphors, still very widespread in the southern regions of the European continent and of Italy, can strongly contribute to defining new conceptualizations of the Mediterranean identity. The proposed reading will therefore be functional in circumscribing how, even in the scientific field, this interpretation can be congenial to define how much the choice of rationality operated by the modern age has been a historical conquest that has long coexisted with different forms of knowledge and, how much, like every conquest, it needs to be continually updated and confirmed.

The intention of this contribution is to outline, this way, new conceptualizations of the Mediterranean identity still widespread in Southern Europe and Southern Italy through design practices linked to the enhancement of cultural heritage. The aim is to clarify the importance of the role that, in the economic and ideological context, both the temporal dimension of slowness and the permanence of the rituals that correspond to it has had for the foundation of an organic thought. It is thus intended to outline, between rational and emotional practices, a new metaphysics as an element of necessary continuity with the territories and at the same time as an opportunity for possible innovation of languages, techniques, behaviours and meanings, capable of introducing in the context of contemporary design those elements of complexity and dichotomy typical of the meridian thought. In other respects and through the presentation of some case studies, we will also try to define how, in the specific disciplinary sphere of design, this research model can lead to the enhancement of intangible cultural heritage. The contribution intends to highlight and broaden the results achieved in recent years through the research carried out at the Polytechnic of Bari, between design and history of design, around the idea of Mediterranean, its cultural heritage and its role, that has consciously played in the contemporary as an alternative to the "rationality" of the industrial production from which modern civilization was born. The research focuses on the complex relationships between design, art and craft production in relation to that "magical" dimension that has survived in the history of the South, placing the role of local material culture, its rituals and the deep meaning of everyday objects at the centre of the reflections that represent it. In the writer's opinion, this attempt can represent a fundamental contribution to the profound understanding of the ways and rituals of popular culture that can lead to redemption from the "crisis of presence" in contexts of strong and perturbed complexity like the south of Europe.

[1] The text is the result of a libate between the two authors. However, while the first paragraph and the conclusions were written jointly, A. Labalestra should be given the section entitled *The South as a "subject of thought" in the history of design* and to R. Carullo the one entitled *Sifting time; for a Mediterranean design between ritual, memory and design.*

The South as a "subject of thought" in the history of design

The echoes and suggestions of that "magic" practiced by the inhabitants of the Mediterranean basin can be interpreted as a rich cultural institute able to offer existential protection to the citizens of the global market. Rituals and magic symbols, as in De Martino's lesson (De Martino, 1959), do not mark a primitive mentality placed outside of history: on the contrary, they are a tool to consider them within a wider "history of Southern Italy" and of the relations between hegemonic and subaltern classes that are established in it. The text, published for the first time in 1959 by Giangiacomo Feltrinelli, gives an account of the research conducted by the author on popular culture in Lucania along the course of a series of "ethnographic expeditions", the most significant of which was completed in 1952 (Fig. 1). Through observation in the field, carried out with the help of techniques and instruments of great scientific rigor, the investigation analyses those practices of possession, fascination and magic that "because of their roughness and elementarity reveal more readily the structural and functional characteristics of that magical moment that – even if refined and sublimated – is also found in Catholicism", that is to say, in the most complex forms of southern religiosity. According to the author, in fact:

> As a stable horizon of the crisis, magic offers the mythical framework of magical forces, of fascinations and possessions, of invoices and exorcisms, and institutionalizes the figure of specialized magic operators. As an operation of re-absorption of the negative in the metahistorical order, magic is more properly rite, power of gesture and speech: on the metastorical plane of magic, all pregnancies are conducted happily at term, all newborns are alive and vital, the milk always flows abundantly in the breast of mothers, and so on, just the opposite of what happens in history (De Martino, 1959: 96).

It is precisely from the re-reading of De Martino that the elements of complexity and dichotomy typical of the "meridian thought", as defined by the sociologist Franco Cassano, according to which it is necessary to return the ancient dignity of subject of thought to the South and to interrupt a long sequence in which it was thought only by others (Cassano, 1996). The meridian thought is, above all, a reformulation of the image that the South has of itself: no longer "degraded periphery of the empire", but a new centre of a rich and multiple identity, authentically Mediterranean. The historical memory, that defines the contents of the intangible cultural heritage of meridian thought, read between temporal thicknesses and ritual meanings in which emotional values and rationality coexist, presents us, in fact, a concept of Mediterranean identity, interrogative, a multiverse. In this context, the role of design is to take and restore awareness of this identity in terms of memory, to contribute to re-evaluate and re-establish it through attention to individual aspects, behaviours and stories, in their diversity. This is a decisive opportunity for contemporary design, as it offers a concrete possibility of rethinking its role, its humanistic dimension in relation to technology and to a contemporary condition in which, more and more inexorably, "the centrality of the useful erodes memory" (Cassano, 1996: xix). In this sense we propose a precise conceptualization of the Mediterranean identity as an antidote to the banalization and globalization of behaviours and flattened languages on a time of absolute present, the one for which profits work in the liberal context of global capitalism. The values of technology, and in general of techno-sciences, on this level become the object of specific reflection for the history of contemporary design while the dimension defined contemporary techno-nihilistic seems to escape from the critical control (Bassi, 2017: 57) from an idea of permanence of meaning and often contradictory instances. Already in the 1960s Mario Cresci made a reflection on this theme starting from the problem of the formation of design in Italy and of the models to which it should have adhered in relation to the cultural and geographical diversity of the country. According to Cresci, who had his training in design in Northern Italy – with the experience of the Advanced Course in Industrial Design in Venice – and later moved to Tricarico in Basilicata, it becomes a refounding reflection of the relationship between design and subaltern culture, that

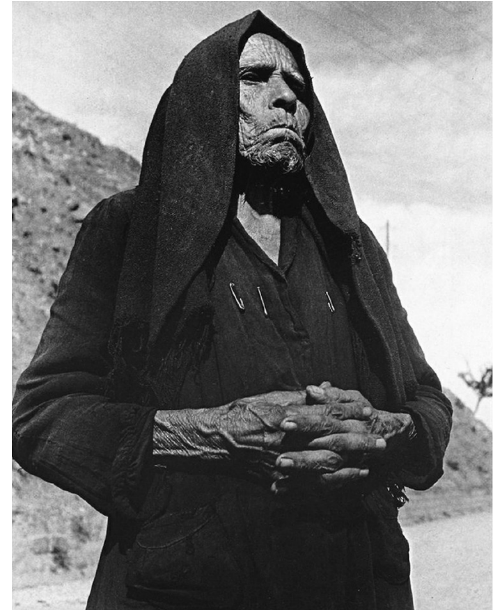

Fig. 1 Photography by Franco Pinna for the cover of the book *South and Magic.*

> material culture that, in every region of Italy, and still for a while in the South, had and has expressed rituals, feasts, popular traditions, objects and languages that had to become in any case and necessarily reference systems for the analysis of new behaviours and new cultural and productive methodologies for all Italian culture (Carullo and Pagliarulo, 2013).

These are reflections that follow the sense recently taken up again by Renato De Fusco in his text *Design e mezzogiorno tra storia e metafora* of 2016, which declared the metaphorical will to investigate that idea of design intended "as a symbol of modernity in the North and the South as a symbol of underdevelopment of the South of Italy" (De Fusco, 2016: ix). It is a vision of greater complexity in which Design and Mezzogiorno, two entities at first sight so distant, become instead able to establish a dialectic of complex meanings and different values with respect to the modernity of the North, which has not "led to greater freedom, neither to an improvement in public education, nor to a more equi-

table distribution of wealth" (De Fusco, 2016: 154). In the south of Italy, on the other hand, there seems to be a specific vocation of design oriented towards the recognition of expressive value, linguistic coherence and linked to the ritual dimension that comes directly from the intangible and irrational dimension of magic to characterize everyday objects that represent the translation of ritual in the ordinary nature of everyday life. The coffeemakers of Riccardo Dalisi, one of the last exponents of the animist tradition of Italian design, and his ten-year experimentation on coffee machines for the Alessi company (Dalisi, 1987) are an emblematic case.

In 1979, the entrepreneur Alberto Alessi commissioned a model of coffee-maker at Dalisi's for the catalogue of his company. The assignment becomes a long and exhausting research over nine years aimed at the definition of the new Neapolitan coffee maker. In this long time the slow reflection on the traditional Neapolitan coffee maker will lead to the creation of over 200 tin prototypes that slowly recount the designer's relationship with Naples and the street of the tinsmiths – the Rua Catalana – where his studio is located. The machines seem to be progressively animated, absorbing the soul of the city, of those who thought them and of the hands of those who bent, manipulated and forced the sheet to give the impression of alchemically animating, breathing and moving. Starting from the classic "Neapolitan", this gives life to an infinity of characters in tin, coffee makers of all sizes and appearances alternate, opening up to Alessi and Dalisi the conceptual experience of high craftsmanship, diluting the certainties of the industrial world in a fragile and poetic vein, the most appropriate to work around ancient domestic rituals and to restore the time and occultisms of the Mediterranean.

Sifting time; for a Mediterranean design between ritual, memory and design

The present research, calibrated on the role of design for the enhancement of intangible cultural heritage, wants to go through these issues in the conviction that precisely the investigation of the relationship between history, memory and project, of the specific characteristics of Southern Italy, can give a value contribution to the contemporary design project. If De Martino in his preface to his *South and Magic*, sees "the alternative between magic and rationality as one of the great themes from which modern civilization was born" (De Martino, 1959: 15), "it is up to the design to express the values through the interpretation of his material culture, and trace the sense of a fertile genesis of stories and planning" (Carullo and Pagliarulo, 2013).

The research *Sifting time* is a first attempt in this direction.[2] The artifacts belonging to the peasant material culture have been redesigned as metaphors of a slow time of memory, of duration and of rites in order to represent the original control of man on nature, to open a dialogue also made of oppositions, *dissoi logoi* (Cassano, 2005: 7) between identities, territories, techniques and languages of places in relation to contemporaneity.

It was decided to present a case study, the first to inaugurate this research at the Politecnico, a project in two variants for the enhancement of a particular local culture: the *dwarf pea* of Zollino, a small town of Salento. It is a particular local pea ecotype that owes its organoleptic and culinary characteristics to the type of soil and the microclimate. Cultivation is carried out exclusively with traditional dry techniques (Fig. 2). From its pods it produces a seed smaller than common peas with a specific yellow-brown colour and it is expected to be consumed only in the dry state. The growers select the best peas for the next sowing at each harvest,

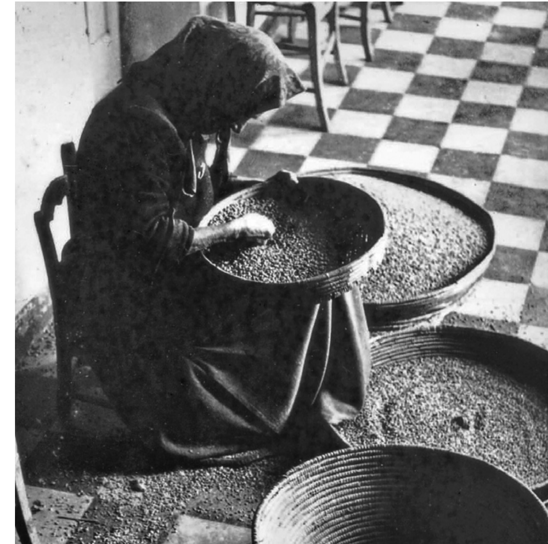

Fig. 2 Apulian woman intent on sifting legumes.

keeping the variety from generation to generation. The part from the analysis of the temporal dimension was linked to the "agricultural production times" (Fig. 3). The latter is intended as a path of domestication of nature through complex and historically stratified cultural processes following specific practices and habits of the material culture of the places "that envisage the domestication, transformation and reinterpretation of Nature. *Res non naturalis* doctors and ancient philosophers defined food". This is because "through these paths, food is configured as a decisive element of human identity and as one of the most effective means of communicating it" (Montanari, 2004: xi–xii). The time of agricultural production is associated with a calendar of food that depends on the seasonal cycles of

Fig. 3 M. Casafina, mapping of traditional festivals in Zollino.

[2] The research took place within the training offer of the thesis laboratories of the three-year Degree Course in Industrial Design, in particular the laboratories entitled "Contextual Design & Heritage. Identity and material culture of the territories", started in the academic year 2016 and coordinated by Carullo Rossana with Antonio Labalestra for the disciplines of the history of design and with Sergio Bisciglia for the in-depth analysis of the disciplines of sociology and for taking care of interviews with the inhabitants of Zollino. The research was developed with ADI Puglia and Basilicata, in collaboration with the architects Roberto Marcatti and Cintya Concari.

production partly cancelled today by the processes of globalization, but "attention: even in this food calendaring the cultural aspects prevailed over the natural ones [...] the primary objective was always that of modifying the foods to make them conservable beyond their seasonal dimension" (Montanari, 2004: 105–106), first of all the dry legumes. Likewise, the liturgical calendar also interferes with the rhythms of nature by defining links between feasts and rites, with temporal alignments and misalignments that bear witness to a symbolic and original link between the identities of places and processes of transformation of nature: "often the liturgical calendar strengthened the traditional custom to report with certain foods [...], the main festive recurrences" (Montanari, 2004: 106) in turn related to agricultural production.

The choice of the study theme is therefore situated at the crossroads of this complex interweaving of topics reflecting profound aspects of material culture, along a "red thread" that goes from agricultural production to the kitchen and "if something has to appear on it, above all the knowledge and the techniques of material culture, the rites and needs of everyday life [...] sought in the profound weave of traditions, customs, ways of living" (Montanari, 1999: viii).

In this context the role of design is to bring back the profound rundown of the rites and needs of material culture, from the level of habit to that of awareness. It is about transforming the memory into practice, the memory into the project, the project into that fraction of discontinuity able to make the contemporary react with the slow time of duration. Time is the figure from which to start, and the one to arrive at, but it would be better to talk about different times intersected between them. The agricultural time, from the false sowing to the furrowing, from sowing to weeding, from harvesting to threshing, from *jentilatura* where the wind separates from the seed the residues of the pods, volatile dry waste, ending with manual sorting in which through the sieve or *farnaru* the seeds are manually separated from impurities. The ritual time that is interposed on the agricultural one, charging the technical act of transformation of nature with a symbolic and cultural meaning. The sowing is ritualized by the *Festa de lu focu* which incorporates the traditional focaccia of Sant'Antonio Abate; harvest and threshing with the Feast of St. John, in honour of the dwarf pea. This June 24th celebration is the magical night par excellence.

Concurrent with the summer solstice, wonders, deceptions and magical influences are repeated every year in Zollino, according to "a particular magical accentuation of southern Catholicism: and here it is no longer possible to speak of wrecked wrecks and magical-religious life forms that do not have current importance for all the strata of southern society" (De Martino, 1959: 10–11). Finally, the cooking time that in turn intersects other parties and other saints, festivals and recipes from the slow cooking times of dried vegetables. The design project did nothing but attempt to reconstruct these folk-religious relics in the awareness that

> the religious folk relic nevertheless acquires its historical sense, or, as a documentary stimulus that helps to understand a disappeared civilization of which it once formed an organic element, that is, as a documentary stimulus that helps to measure the internal limits and the internal expansion force of a current civilization in which it is preserved as a wreck: outside of these two possibilities of conquest on the side of thought, the folkloric-religious material remains historiographically a sort of no man's land (De Martino, 1959: 11–12).

All that remains for the design project is just giving itself the second possibility, that of measuring the strength of expansion that these folk-religious relics represent for the conceptualization of the Mediterranean identity. The project could only be the image of a wreck able to measure time and ritual and to interrogate them: *lu furnaru*, the traditional Apulian sieve, used in ancient times in agriculture and recovered to the contemporary as a vehicle to mend a temporal dimension, ritual and astronomy linked to the "timing of agricultural production" of the territory (Fig. 4).

Perforated iron sieves for legumes, wire sieves, terracotta sieves, sieves with magical powers to keep away the macerations (witches), forced to count the holes until the sunrise that would have made them harmless, sieves consulted to know the one in love or the thief in case of theft. A family of sieves was designed as temporal intersection plans in which to imprint the signs of the times aligned and misaligned between culture and nature.[3] On a homogeneous basis of laser-produced holes, the days and nights of agricultural and ritual times are distinguished by a manual process of beating the ancient nails originally used for manual drilling. Each nail imprints its shape, distinguishing itself from the constant time of globalization, measuring with the shape originated by the inclination and the force impressed from time to time, the complex intersections between times and rites that every place can now represent on the surface. At the same time, the tool of labour and ritual, the sieve is transformed into a symbolic form of a specific identity, brought back from habit to conscience (Fig. 5).

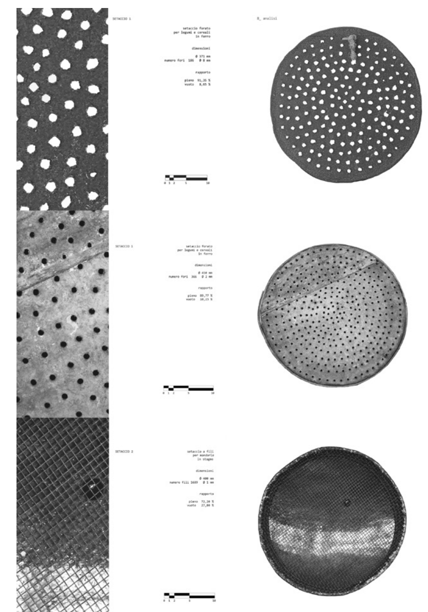

Fig. 4 G. Caforio, sieve mapping.

[3] The projects were developed within the graduate laboratory in Contextual design by the students Giovanni Caforio and Marianna Casafina in the academic year 2017–2018.

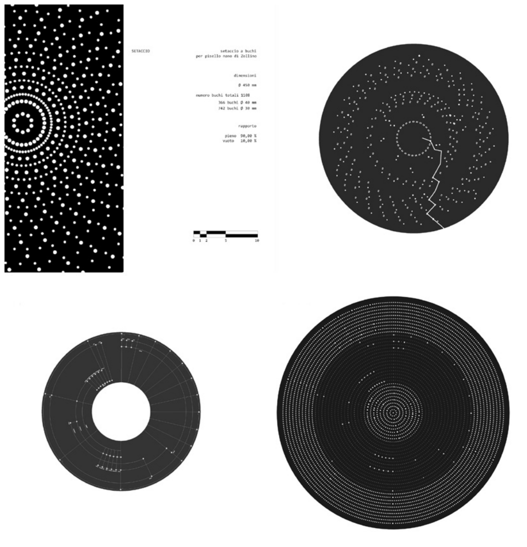

Fig. 5 G. Caforio, sieve prototype for perpetual calendar.

Conclusions

The condition for the conceptualization of a Mediterranean identity, the will to represent the multiverse face, the ambiguous relations between rationality and irrationality, pass through a minute analysis of the aspects of the material culture that inhabits places.

> A magical practice is readable only if it is historicized, if it is inserted in that civilization, in that era in that historical environment where the community shares that mythology or that religion, because it is in community sharing of a certain metahistorical order that magical practice, which refers to it, becomes legible and effective (Galimberti, 2011: xi).

In this logic, design and history of design can contribute to read and make this condition read, bringing rationality and irrationality to a level that is no longer opposed but of possible cohabitation within different times that overlap as possible life experiences and not necessarily alternative nor linear, rather in a different measure in which "a criterion of equilibrium that subtracts thought from the mythology of progress" is possible (Cassano, 1996: xxix). Moreover, the mythology of modern industrial societies is already distinguished according to Wittgenstein, to be oriented, as well as a belief in the indefinite progress of the species in the belief that scientific laws explain the natural phenomena:

> At the base of the whole modern conception of the world lies the illusion that the so-called natural laws are the explanations of natural phenomena. Thus they stop before natural laws as if they were something untouchable, as the ancients did before God and destiny. And both are right and do not have it. The ancients however are clearer, as they recognize a clear stopping point, while the new system must give the impression that everything is explained (Wittgenstein, 1975: 68).

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Mediterranean-ness Between Identity and *Genius Loci*. The True Essence of Successful Design Stories

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Design & Mediterranean / Design culture / Design history / Le Corbusier / Ettore Sottsass / New anthropocentric vision / Systemic-eco-environmental vision

This paper traces back Mediterranean-ness as *genius loci* and identity, questioning insights, materiality, phenomenology, aesthetics and communicational outcomes, referring to Ettore Sottsass and Le Corbusier. A journey in the past through Le Corbusier's and Sottsass's approaches helps to detect how archetypal resonances and Classical heritage impacted on Modern and Post-Modern design. Hence, in line with a design thinking and applied aesthetics perspective, after detailing throughout the second part the choice of broadening the considerations by moving from two singular examples, such as Le Corbusier's and Sottsass's accomplishments, inspirations and methodology, the attention shifts to how these two masters dealt, through their visions, with the idea of Mediterranean-ness and how they paved the way also to further outcomes. Subsequently, the third and last part drives the attention to issues aiming to get a better understanding of the relationship between design and Mediterranean-ness today, opening new debates and strategic approaches to reevaluate and relaunch the idea of Mediterranean-ness, not just in terms of *genius loci*, but also as a main trend of identity connotation and strategic policies.

Et in Arcadia Ego.

Goethe, *Italienische Reise*, 1786

1. Introduction: Mediterranean Inspirations through Rationalism and Post-Modernism. In line with a design thinking perspective and applied aesthetics insights, we chose to address our attention first to a master of Rationalism, such as Le Corbusier, and subsequently to an iconic Post-Modernism figure, like Ettore Sottsass, to express our considerations about Mediterranean-ness and show how Mediterranean spirit goes far beyond the simple idea of nationality or DNA. Mediterranean culture has produced indeed a unique approach to life and a peculiar attitude to embark on a multisensory journey, likely to easily seduce even the non-Mediterranean born, sublimating its own essence more in a category we can refer to as *genius loci*, in its full phenomenological and semantic expression, characterizing and influencing new culture generators. Both Le Corbusier and Sottsass transferred the idea of Mediterranean-ness in their work, turning it into a true inspirational reference, beyond boundaries. Le Corbusier was constantly characterized by the dualism deriving from the imperative need to satisfy functional requirements, though through empirical forms, and, at the same time, to follow the impulse of using abstract elements to affect the senses and nourish the mind (Frampton, 1985), as expressed in 1925 in *Vers une architecture*. There, in the penultimate chapter, he indeed paralleled Classical architecture, in the specificity of the profiles of the Parthenon, to the linearity and the rigour applied by modern society to any machine-issued work. All in a sort of *harmony by contrast* (Blake, 1960), letting architecture and nature enhance one another, just like ancient Greeks used to believe. Sottsass, on the contrary, especially during the *Memphis* experience, stuck mainly to the paradigms of *New Italian Design*, adding to its works an emotional value, likely to differentiate iconicly an object in the new consumerist society (Branzi, 1984). So, if in the first one it is possible to unveil a dialectic habit of mind, disclosed in the constrast between solid and void, dark and light, like *Apollo* and *Medusa* (Frampton, 1985), in the latter it is possible to detect the outburst of the emotional and sensual approach of Post-Modernism, in tune with a Dionysian spirit and the art-versus-design duality, showed off mainly by the ostensive character of limited edition or one-off pieces, in which the artistic soul was somehow spirited in (Vitta, 2001). In addition, these two masters practiced their architectural skills, though strongly influenced by visual arts and in an osmotic exchange with a design thinking attitude, as will be outlined in the following paragraphs through a theoretical investigation of their deep attachment to the Mediterranean essence, rather than a philological analysis of their design syntax.

2. A Journey in the Past: Le Corbusier and Classical Architecture

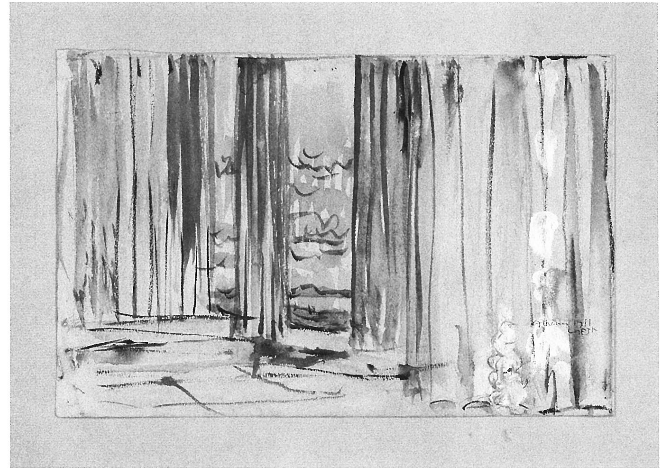
For the Swiss born, naturalized French, Charles-Edouard Jeanneret-Gris, better known simply as Le Corbusier, his sort of personal *Grand Tour*, roughly retracing the journey of a gentleman of Romantic times, started in 1911. As reported in his book *Voyage d'Orient*, he went first to Greece and Turkey through the Balkans, heading then to Southern Italy and Rome (Tedeschi and Denti, 1999), engaging in a sort of life-long relationship with the Mediterranean sea, while increasing his knowledge of traditions of the whole Mediterranean basin

(Blake, 1960). However, in 1907 he had already visited part of Northern Italy and also Florence, but without paying a tribute to Rome. Apparently, he gradually discovered the beauties and the ruins of Classicism, first walking through an architectural journey all along Reinassance and the ideal conception of purism and proportions, rooted back in Ancient Greece, though revisited through Humanism (Talamona, 2013). His devotion to Classical culture though was a bit in contrast with the main trends ruling in France during the first decades of the twentieth century (Jeanneret, 1910) and it was Athens' Acropolis (Fig. 1) that marked a milestone in his vision, remaining as a continuous vernacular reference throughout his life (Passanti, 1997).

His journey was at the base of his theories about geometrical purism and proportions, composing a sort of hymn to the Apollinean essence, synthetized in three essential keywords: *nombre*, *géométrie*, *proportion*. He also took inspiration for structuring his own opinion towards materials, as pointed out by Peter Blake:

> He was committed to reinforced concrete, not only because this seemed the obvious modern material of France, but also because it appeared to possess a certain amount of plain "guts", which he, being of the Mediterranean tradition, preferred to the impersonal slickness and precision of steel (Blake, 1960: 27).

His devotion to concrete is also visible though the *Borne Béton Lamp*, designed later on for *Unité d'Habitation* in Marseille and for the Bhakra Dam and Sukhna Dam in India (Caruana, 2016). However, visiting Southern Europe inspired even his approach to colors, that later on would have him creating his *Polychromie Architecturale* (Duvernoy, 2013), a true color code and referring system. Also that new spirit, spreading out mostly across Northern Europe, likely to find a harmonious balance among art, mechanicism, and then industry and the human body, was reinforced by the pillars of Classical culture in terms of physical care and a pioneering body/mind approach. Indeed, the Juvenal quote *mens sana in corpore sano* was for Le Corbusier a source of inspiration (Dercelles, 2015), then translated in terms of a harmonious way of living, hygiene, and body comfort, visible in the way he organized living space, as well as the ratios he delivered when designing furniture. His obsession was centred on a deep symbiosis between the human body and its living space (Pitiot, 2015). All the experimental approches he embarked on in relation to sound, rhythm and theatre, such as studies on movement and the performing space, rooted him back not just to the artistic avant-gardes and their unconventional way of generating a creative synesthesia, but also to Ancient Greece, capturing that essence of drama as one of the highest expressions of the human body, though always shelled by Classical architecture's Apollonian sense of measure. And it's just through the spirit of contemplation, disclosed in front of *les grands monuments éternels*, while in Athens or in Rome, that he even started conceiving the essence of the *Modulor*, as a climax of his investigations on human body in space, inspired by the essence of Classical architecture, though possibly filtered by Leonardo da Vinci's studies on the *Vitruvian man*, where mathematics framed even organic shapes, generating a perfect balance that later on was to be responsible also for some of the principles of Rationalism. Just a few weeks before drawing in the gulf of Cap Saint-Martin, in Cote d'Azur, he wrote, as reported by several publications (CEACAP, 2011), a sort of final love letter to what had inspired his creative journey in terms of light, volume, space, movement and harmony:



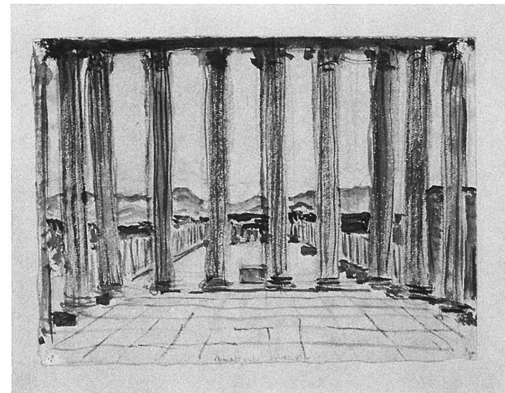


Fig. 1 Le Corbusier, *Athens*. Watercolor on paper, 1911. Courtesy: *Le Corbusier Mesures de l'homme* – catalogue expo Centre Pompidou.

> Au cours des années, je suis devenu un homme de partout. J'ai voyagé à travers les continents. Je n'ai qu'une attache profonde : la Méditerranée. Je suis un méditerranéen, très fortement. Méditerranée, pleine de forme et de lumière. La lumière et l'espace. Le fait, c'est le contact pour moi en 1910 à Athènes. Lumière décisive. Volume décisif : l'Acropole. Mon premier tableau peint en 1918, « La cheminée », c'est l'Acropole. Mon Unité d'habitation de Marseille ? c'est le prolongement. En tout je me sens méditerranéen. Mes détentes, mes sources, il faut les trouver dans la mer que je n'ai jamais cessé d'aimer (Le Corbusier, 1965).

This shows how the Mediterranean quintessence entirely pervaded Le Corbusier, who openly admitted, despite his extensive traveling worldwide, his fascination and his kind of dependence on Southern European heritage and visual culture.

3. Mediterranean-ness and Ettore Sottsass

Ettore Sottsass was another "non-Mediterranean-born Mediterranean". Despite his Austrian roots, he used to firmly define himself indeed as a Mediterranean architect, stating that he could not be seen as a Modern architect, as the idea of Modernity had been conceived elsewhere, such as in those Northern countries where rain and cold do not let fruits turn as sweet as those in the South. That's how he described himself while writing for his column in the Italian design and architecture magazine *Domus*, *Foto dal finestrino*, edited by him between 2003 and 2006, and subsequently collected in 2009 by Italian publisher Adelphi. He was always pretty critical indeed towards functionalism, because he was interested in getting a bigger picture of reality, mainly in terms of colors and resonances, and extremely bored by what he used to call the inflexibility of Northern European Protestant Rationalists, though getting to seize the true Mediterranean-ness hidden in Le Corbusier (Obrist, 2008).

As a tireless traveller, Ettore Sottsass took on several *Grand Tour* journeys throughout his life, in terms of inspirational and cross-cultural initiations to new heritages, territories, and civilizations. Though literally breathing all the anthropological connections between cultures and their visual manifestations, almost all over the world, he found his elective place in one of the smallest patches of land in the Aeolian Islands: Filicudi (Fig. 2–3).

There, the silence and the whispers of the Mediterranean sea inspired him to create shapes and colors that otherwise he would not have ever produced elsewhere, consequently generating the need of expressing through his works all his thankfulness to the atmosphere of the place (Sottsass, 1989). Almost a love letter to that cultural heritage that has indeed so emblematically encompassed both Apollonian and Dionysian qualities of creativity and for the colors of the South, a love for those handmade crafts, corroded by centuries, by the sun and hot sands; a love for violent and ancient colors, for sweet and grainy materials, for soft and fragile pastes (Sottsass, 1954), that so deeply touched his soul, materializing in a syntax of colors and shapes, evoking, referring and symbolizing several shades of Mediterranean-ness.

He had also been deeply fascinated by the theory on colors by Antoine Pevsner, to whom he addressed great esteem for the intuition that beyond any logical reasons for it, spaces do contain colors (Sottsass, 1953). But how did he combine his enthusiasm towards detecting the need of creating a new design approach, leading him and his colleagues to *Memphis*, with his deep fascination for ancient cultures and especially for the ancestral recall of the Mediterranean sea? Already in 1956, many years before the *Alchymia* and the *Memphis* chapters, while still far from being the initiator and the unintentional founder of a school (Radice, 1985), he stated that:

> The same intellectual and psychic process binds man to primitive form and to modern form—and modern man, like ancient man before him, demands of form the same sort of functionality: a magical technique for dominating the world (Sottsass, 1956).

The idea of dominating the world then, as a sort of unconscious impulse characterizing creativity and demanding of form in the same timeless meaning of functionality. And if from the very outset of his career Sottsass stated the importance of how to relate to objects, he sought to identify the nature of an object as a sensory experience (Barbero, 2017). In a time when studies related to the amplification of the sensorial palette were not yet at the core of academic research, especially in terms of design approach, he followed anyway a sort of untraveled path which, if observed a posteriori, added through his design pieces a Dionysian connotation even to the most conservative upper class living space (Radice, 1985). He transferred pathos to objects of everyday use just by daring with a new syntax of colors, but also revamping and sometimes revisiting archetypal or classical shapes. He created a new involvement

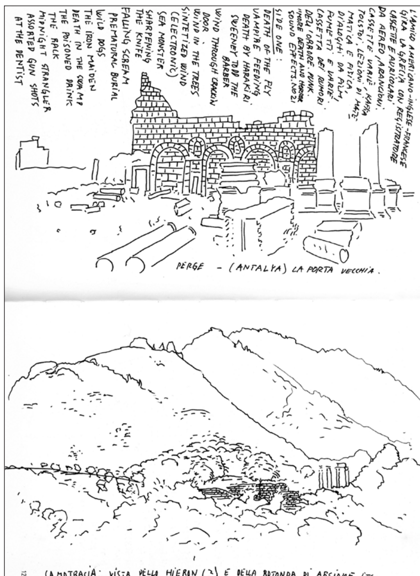


Fig. 2 E Sottsass. *Antalya and Samotracia.* Courtesy: Triennale Design Library.

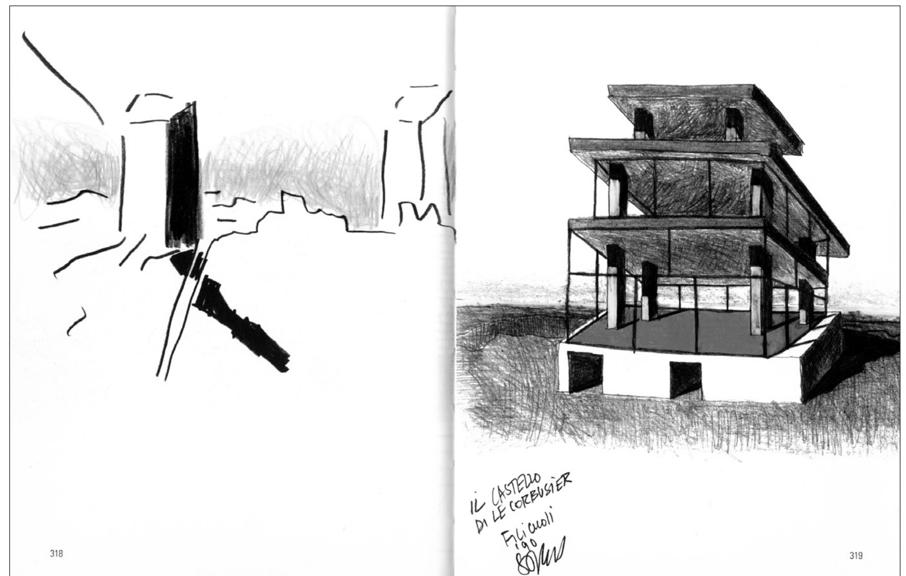


Fig. 3 E. Sottsass, *Il castello di Le Corbusier*, Filicudi 1990. Courtesy: Triennale Design Library Milano, grayscale.

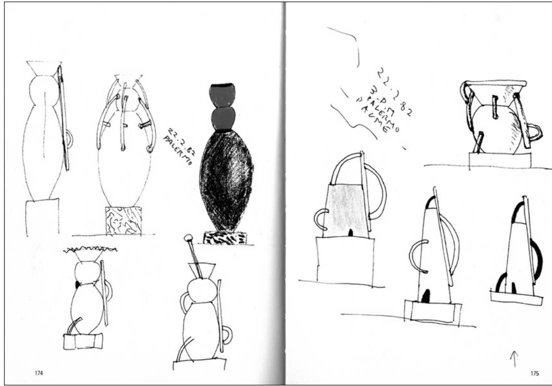


Fig. 4 E. Sottsass, *Palermo*, 1982. Courtesy: Triennale Design Library.

with design objects, setting new paradigms by decomposing and reassembling (Fig. 4). Sottsass's Dionysian approach to design, both in the meaning launched by German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche, as in the original essence expressed through the Greek tragedies by Aeschylus, Euripides or Sophocles, was disclosed first by his masterly use of colors. If Mediterranean countries might have inspired him through the colors of nature and the intense shades of light, it is also relevant to mention how ancient Greeks and Romans were extremely keen on the poetic of colors themselves. They already used sophisticated dying techniques and most of all their architectures and sculptures used to be enchantingly colorful. Sottsass's poetry of colors differs from the one elaborated by Le Corbusier. If since 1950 the latter had associated colors to *psychopysique*, also experimenting with the creation of environments stimulating all the five senses (de Herr, 2015), in the framework of what he called *Esthétique expérimentale*, all was in any case still shelled by purism and proportions and that unmistakable sense of harmony and measure. Inspired by his need of reinventing a new syntax, Sottsass pushed Le Corbusier's vision forward, associating his color research to what for the upper class of the time were unconventional materials, such as laminate, and a more radical and ancestral visual language. So that, if the lesson given by Le Corbusier provided Modernity with a new Apollonian sense of measure, proportion and harmony, the Mediterranean-ness exploded in Sottsass with a full Dionysian triumph of irregular shapes and colors. As reminded by Sottsass himself in one of his last interviews, while recalling his collaboration with Italian company Abet Laminati, for whom he elaborated an inedited catalogue of colors and patterns, a surface is a true generator of sensorial experience (Sottsass, 2017). While touching, for instance, a laminate, he could feel what he defined *frissons*, a French word to refer to a sort of shivering sensation, a poetic way for expressing a fully erotic meaning (Sottsass, 2017).

4. Envisioning a Next Mediterranean Design Scenario

Le Corbusier and Sottsass rank among the main masters of European design and their lesson has been widely internalized, paving the way to contemporary practices. Indeed, several non-Mediterranean born designers have perpetuated and still are perpetuating Ettore Sottsass's approach, in a sort of climax of an unexpected oxymoron. Despite that both Le Corbusier and Sottsass contextualized and gave value to their designs thanks to a Mediterranean-inspired attitude, what it is possible to remark upon, while considering the current Mediterranean design scenario, is on the contrary a strong hybridizing process with Northern Europe. It is indeed possible to recall the specific case of *Formafantasma*, a design studio launched by two Italian designers that, after graduating from Design Academy Eindhoven, decided to settle in the Netherlands, though cultivating a phenomenology almost entirely Mediterranean-inspired. Their *Autarchy* collection or *Moulding Traditions* vases clearly show how emphasizing their cultural background, though now translated into a contemporary syntax, has made them a name on the international design scene.

While trying to envision then what the world will look like in a few decades, in terms of *Next Design Scenario*, the reason why Mediterranean countries should focus more on investing in their own identities, as well as on places and problems, is of course one of the biggest challenges of current times. If both Le Corbusier and Sottsass put at the core of their approach the strong empathy they generated with the surrounding spaces, a way to keep following their path could be that of implementing, for instance, wise and effective *Design for Territories* strategies (Parente, 2017). Through the centuries, the Mediterranean basin has represented an extremely relevant cultural landmark, a true creativity incubator, and a continuous source of inspiration, outlining what we have referred to in this paper as a *genius loci* in terms of phenomenology, values and approaches. Now it's time to let Mediterranean countries back to relaunch their own identity, embracing a new more holistic vision of environments and then of experiences for people (Parente, Lupo and Sedini, 2018). Emerging technologies can highly contribute to carry out effective policies of valorization, development and preservation of both heritage and natural beauty, empowering the tangible and intangible resources of the place (Zurlo, 2003). Considering also that both the lessons of Le Corbusier and Sottsass have somehow generated what today we tend to define as HCD (Human Centered Design), melding together the Apollonian and Dionysian spirit, respectively characterizing their different approaches, all seems then to revolve around a new anthropocentric vision. Classical heritage and local traditions are warmly invited to open up a dialogue with the world of smart solutions, such as IoT, like connected environments and interactive urban and domestic spaces, envisioning new products and services suitable for specific domains. We reckon however that this may not be enough. The awareness of a glorious past needs indeed to blend with a fully scientific understanding of those complex processes now taking place throughout the Mediterranean contexts. Design has gone further than anthropometrics and the mere shape of things, and it is now projecting itself towards radical innovations, embracing both a micro and a macro dimensional scale (i.e. nano and bio technologies, ubiquitous information systems), as well as a strong relationship with science. Studying complex systems shows then as a cognitive and operational expertise and therefore design can't back out of it (especially if aiming not to remain just a passive observer). Intending to bridge philosophy and engineering, design has to face big

issues like environmental pollution, biodiversity, climate change, new migration flows, water shortages and all the inequalities throughout the Mediterranean basin, while overcoming dystopias and promoting an interdisciplinary approach. Envisioning a Next Design Scenario for the Mediterranean countries has to imply, then, highly speculative thinking, while investing all the imaginary potential to question the implications related to how technological evolution and systemic changes may impact on everyday life. Hence, such an attitude has to display its own capacity for outlining possible futures and building up positive changes, integrating the ecosphere with more evidence for a truly holistic vision, in line with what nowadays corresponds to a systemic-eco-environmental approach.

All in the framework of fostering innovation, generating interaction and enhancing a strong relationship between the tangible and intangible distinctions of each context, through multisensory and experiential design, responding, at the same time, to the values of harmony and aiming to a total involvement.

Conclusion

In the framework of a fluid perspective, throughout a journey between Classical ruins and emerging technologies, we attempted to access two of the main design masters' lessons in relation to Mediterranean-ness. What emerges upon our analysis is that penetrating the multifaceted and complex essence of the Mediterranean culture and ecosystem at its deepest was not an easy matter even for two of the most iconic designers of Modern and Post-Modern times. Still in the middle of an era that is making history through new migration flows and multicultural insights, we tried to question the essence of Mediterranean-ness between identity and *genius loci*, bridging past and present, while envisioning a possible future. The Mediterranean context asks indeed for new narrations: new imaginary and symbolic involvements able to renew that anthropocentric notion inherent in a narrative identity, describing such a crucial moment. The most important solutions to current global issues should then overcome, more than ever, the restricting boundaries defining what still presents as a limited human-centered environmental and cultural world.

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Italian Design for Colonial Equipment (1931–1942)

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Italian design / Design history / Colonial equipment / Mediterranean / Carlo Enrico Rava

The history of Italian design is strictly connected to the history of Mediterranean design for obvious geographical reasons. One specific episode of this history will be discussed here: the design of equipment for the Italian colonies during the fascist regime. The Italian colonial empire reached its maximum extension at the end of the 1930s and it included a good part of the Mediterranean area. The subject discussed here is still little known and analyzed because of the controversial historical period to which it relates. Anyway, for the purposes of design history, it seems of great interest to rediscover the case study of furniture and equipment design "for the colonies", promoted during the 1930s, due to its avant-gardist experimentation of standardized systems for the serial production of furniture and objects. One of the main promoters of this experience was the Italian architect Carlo Enrico Rava, in fact, the paper will follow his steps through the pages of *Domus* magazine, between 1931 and 1942, to shed light on this episode which would significantly influence Italian design history after WWII.

Italian colonialism and the evolution of the "Latin spirit" in architecture

The history of Italian design is strictly connected to the history of Mediterranean design for obvious geographical reasons. One specific episode of this history will be discussed here: the design of equipment for the Italian colonies during the fascist regime. The Italian colonial empire reached its maximum extension at the end of the 1930s: its territory was extended from the Rhone to the Balkans (Southern France, Dalmatia, Croatia, Montenegro, Albania and Greece), on the Aegean islands, in North Africa (Libya) and Eastern Africa (Eritrea, Ethiopia and Somalia), on the small Chinese concessions of Tianjin, Shangai and Amoy. The Italian colonial empire thus comprised a good part of the Mediterranean area (Antonicelli, 1961; Labanca, 2007).

The subject under discussion is not so much studied and analyzed because of the controversial historical period to which it is related, however for the history of design it is very interesting to rediscover the case of the design of furniture and equipment "for the colonies", promoted during the 1930s, as an opportunity for avant-garde experimentation of interesting standardization systems for the mass production of furniture and objects (Irace, 2015).

Among the main proponents of this experience there was the Italian architect Carlo Enrico Rava. Rava was among the founders of the "Group 7"[1] in 1926, a group that he left two years later to promote his vision of the modern project that would draw on the so-called "Latin spirit" of which Italy, and its architects, were depositaries (Rava, 1931).

Along with the concept of "Latin spirit", also an interest in colonial architecture emerges in Rava. This interest is certainly fueled by his condition as a son of Maurizio Rava, who was vice-governor of Tripolitania from 1930 to 1931 and governor of Somalia from 1931 to 1935, but also by the many travels made by Carlo Enrico himself since 1927 in those same countries (Rava, 1936).

The question of the Mediterranean nature of Italian architecture is exposed by Rava through numerous articles published in *Domus* in 1931, mainly dedicated to the vision of "A modern colonial architecture".

In 1936 the fascist regime intensified its interest in the overseas colonies by implementing the conquest of the Horn of Africa, which was followed by the five years of the Italian empire in Italian East Africa.[2] In these years the Italian colonialist operation assumes a more bloody form and it "sees a more massive operation of economic exploitation and (Italian) repopulation of the conquered areas" (Colombo, 2016: 719). Therefore it does not appear to be a coincidence that, in 1936, the subject of the colonies returned to be treated on the pages of *Domus* through a new cycle of articles on the major problems of the colonial construction industry, alternately edited by Carlo Enrico Rava and Luigi Piccinato.

Rava still continues to deal with the colonial theme: first in 1938 as a curator, with Franco Petrucci, of the preparation of the Italian Africa pavilion at the Mostra autarchica del minerale italiano (Autarchic Exhibition of Italian Minerals) in Rome; then as curator and designer of the preparation of the *Mostra dell'attrezzatura coloniale* (Exhibition of Colonial Equipment)[3] on the occasion of the VII Triennale di Milano in 1940.

In view of the 1940 exhibition, about a year before Rava publishes on the pages of *Domus* an accurate manifesto that establishes what the contents and the selection criteria of the exhibits would have been. The Exhibition of Colonial Equipment would have been first and foremost an addition to the largest and most important *Mostra dell'Oltremare* (Overseas Exhibition) organized in Naples in 1940.

> In the field of this 'equipment' that goes from the houses to decor, to furnishings and to certain categories of personal objects, not much has been done yet, nor does it seem to us that specialized industries or artisanal

[1] Carlo Enrico Rava, Ubaldo Castagnoli (who after a while was replaced by Adalberto Libera), Luigi Figini, Guido Frette, Sebastiano Larco Silva, Gino Pollini and Giuseppe Terragni.

[2] Ethiopia, Somalia, Eritrea and Abyssinia.

[3] The Exhibition of Colonial Equipment of 1940 was preceded by two exhibitions dedicated to overseas colonies in Milan: the Italian Colonial Exhibition, held in conjunction with the III Trade Fair (*Fiera Campionaria*) of Milan in 1922 and the Exhibition of Colonial Art of 1936 housed in the Palazzo della Permanente.

productions have, with some exceptions, 'put in line' in this sense, at least to this day. On the other hand, it is well known that in 1940 the first great *Mostra dell'Oltremare* (Overseas Exhibition) will be held in Naples, which will certainly place, among its many goals, also that of presenting the best Italian realizations in every colonial sector [...]. Therefore, in parallel with the Naples exhibition, and with the precise aim of perfecting the technical and artistic organization of the national industries related to this sector, not only adapting the production to the needs of a high standard of living, but also taking into account the E42—the World's Fair of Rome—[...] the Triennale has decided to include in its program next year also a section dedicated to colonial equipment, entrusting me with the task of coordinating the preparation and taking care of the staging (Rava, 1939: xvii).

The Exhibition of Colonial Equipment at the VII Triennale of Milano, 1940

The terms of the Rava program in view of the *Exhibition of Colonial Equipment* deviate from the previous folkloristic references linked to the world of colonies and their exotic imaginary. Rava's intentions are instead much more concrete and aimed at demonstrating a high production quality of the national landscape, useful for the realization of really practical and efficient equipment for life in the colony, seen mostly as a "nomadic" life (Rava, 1939). In his program, Rava specifies first of all what the categories of objects would have been: modular, separable, multifunctional, foldable, light and easy to transport furniture; furniture accessories (fabrics, rugs, mats, lamps, lanterns, tablecloths, blankets); eating equipment; travel equipment; details of equipment (Rava, 1939).

Within his program the most interesting point lies in the request for a high level of production, reachable according to the author by means of a double task: controlling the existing production, assisting it and improving it; spurring those industries whose equipment seemed suitable for the purposes specifically exposed in the program with the creation, on special designs and projects (especially by architects), of new types of equipment (Rava, 1939).

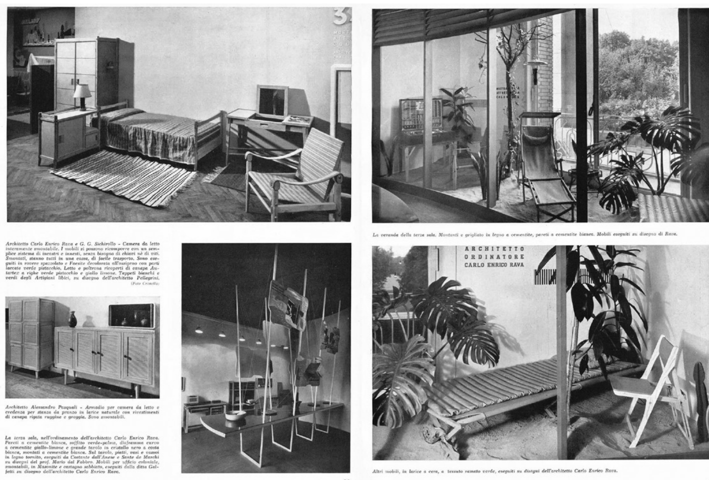


Fig. 1 C. E. Rava, *Mostra delle attrezzature Coloniali*, VII Triennale of Milan 1940, details of the disassembling bedroom designed by Rava and other views of the exhibition, *Domus* n°150, June 1940.

The projects selected for the *Exhibition of Colonial Equipment* of the VII Triennial (Fig. 1) are divided by Rava into two main types; those "designed for that nomadic life" (Rava 1940: 22), among which: a model of field cot with mosquito net (Pecorini company in Florence), and two wicker armchairs designed by Giancarlo Malchiodi (Pacini, Florentine chair-mender); some special types of light metal cots and suspended cots based on a Piccinato project; several models of leather foldable armchairs and small chairs and an extendable armchair designed by Giovanni Pellegrini (Viganò company from Tripoli).[4] In addition to this category, there are also furnishings for camping and caravans of the historic Moretti company from Milan,[5] which created a new series specifically for the Triennale of 1940.

The second group includes projects designed for more stable living conditions, such as: tables and stools in 'special wood with multiple receding elements' (Rava, January 1940: 22) and four different models of chairs (Carpenterie Tripoline) designed by Pellegrini. There are also some models of metal furniture made for colonial officers and functionaries by the company Parma Antonio & Figli from Saronno, the company (which had specialized since the early 1930s in the production of safes) had begun its collaboration with Franco Albini and Giancarlo Palanti for the project of a series of "disassembling furniture for officers in East Africa" as early as 1935, presenting some models at the Trade Fair of Milan (Fig. 2).

In this category we also find a series of bedroom furniture such as: the disassembling wardrobe and sideboard in larch and striped hemp by Alessandro Pasquali; the disassembling bedroom in bleached hardboard and sandblasted oak by G.G. Schirollo and Rava (made by Grazioli and Gaudenzi): "This room, made for the largest part in masonite, presents the particularly notable feature that it can be assembled and disassembled with maximum quickness and ease, without the need for nails, screws, or tools of any kind, being able to be packed all in a single box of limited size" (Rava, January 1940: 22). Still on a project by Rava, we find a disassembling writing desk and office furniture in masonite and

[4] The Paolo Viganò company was already known for the production of the iconic foldable field chair known as "Tripolina" (as it was produced in Tripoli), in the then Italian colony in Libya and given to the Italian armed forces during the Libyan war (1922–1932). The "Tripolina" has since become an icon of modern furnishing thanks to its practicality and transportability, but its patent dates back to 1881 by the work of the Englishman Joseph Beverley Fenby (Bassi, 2007).

[5] The Ettore Moretti company, founded in the early 1920s in Milan and operating until the end of the 1960s, achieved a high level of specialization in the production of field tents, removable pavilions, camping materials and waterproof fabrics, also thanks to the numerous field activities connected with the fascist regime. An example of this are the names of the numerous models in the catalog in the mid-thirties: "Milano" tent for the Air Force; "Lombardy, Romagna and Tuscany" tents used in the colonies of the *Figli italiani* (Italian Sons); "Campania" tent for the *Opera Balilla*; "Monza and Como" pyramidal tents; "Monterosa" alpine tent; colonial tents "Mogadishu, Massawa, Azizia, Asmara, Congo, Gondar" (Ettore Moretti, 1935).

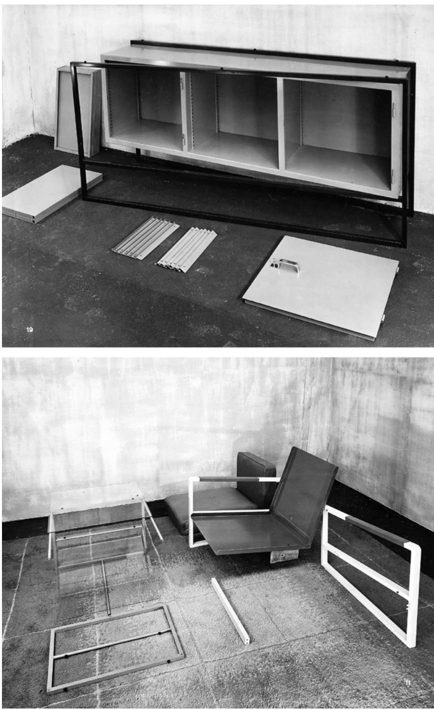


Fig. 2. Franco Albini and Giancarlo Palanti, disassembling metal furniture for officials' accommodations in East Africa, production of Parma Antonio & Figli (Saronno), Fiera Campionaria di Milano, 1935.

brushed chestnut. Another note has to be dedicated to the numerous artifacts of Libyan artisan production we can find at the exhibition, including numerous fabrics for furniture and clothing in wool, cotton and silk, hemp rugs, objects in braided esparto, burlap screens made of palm leaves, all designed by Pellegrini "according to a modern taste free from any folkloristic sympathy" (Rava, January 1940: 22). And yet a series of earthenware tableware designed by Pellegrini and made with the techniques of the North African potters of Libya, Tunisia, and Djerba island (Rava, January 1940; Rava, June 1940).

Beyond the description of the projects featured in the exhibition, it is interesting to highlight the attention that Rava gives to a particular experimentation element applied in some of the projects, namely:

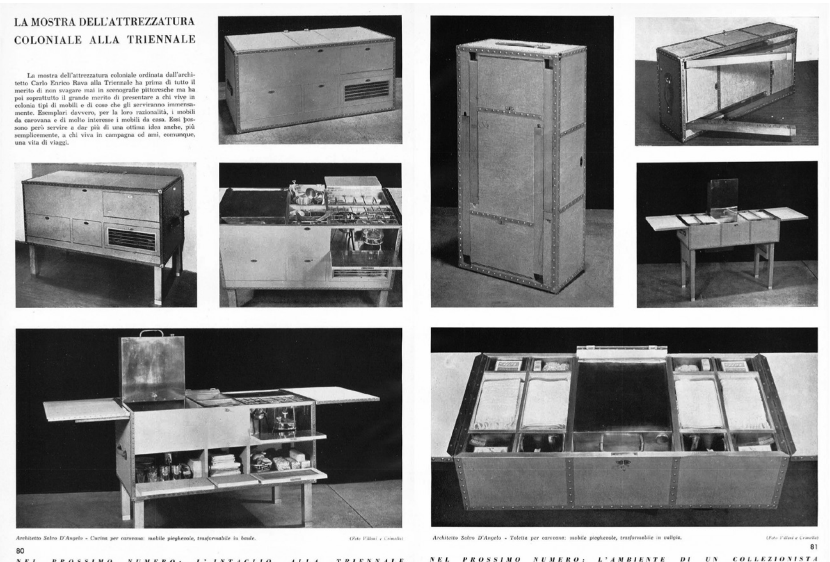
> The use, not only in the accessories, but also in the furniture destined to the colony, of the so-called 'plastic materials', synthetic resins and the like, an experiment of singular interest given the characteristic of the total resistance of this material (as much from climatological factors as from the corrosion of insects) that could be used in exteriors of any species, an element which is of fundamental value in the colony (Rava, January 1940: 23).

An experimentation on materials which will result in the post-war years of strategic importance for the production of industrial design in Italy.

The column "Per la casa e la vita in colonia" (For home and life in colony) (1941–1942)
Following the Triennale exhibition, there is the column that Rava is called to write throughout 1941 in *Domus*, once again dedicated to "colonial equipment". A column consisting of a total of twelve mainly technical articles with brief texts alongside design drawings of furniture and accessories, particularly designed for life in the colony, "excluding those furnitures to which a mannered exoticism demands to give superficial and false colonial aspects, and also those objects, more or less decorative, which are in fact perfectly useless for life in Africa" (Rava, 1941: 60). Also on this occasion, Rava underlines the interest and importance of experiments with materials with high resistance, non-flammability, and anti-corrosion properties, which can be attributed (according to the author) to African life, such as: masonite, hardboard and plastic materials for furniture and, for the accessories, stainless metals and all synthetic resins for their unbreakability.

For example, in the first issue of the column (Rava, January 1941), Rava writes about the project of the architect Salvo D'Angelo for the kitchen furniture transportable by a wooden caravan, covered in aluminum sheet and linoleum, furniture that was already present as a prototype at the exhibition of 1940 (Fig. 3). A complex and compact object that can be closed on itself becoming of the size of a trunk. In the second issue of the column, there is the project by Mario Dal Fabbro for living room furniture adaptable also for a bedroom that includes a cabinet with doors, shelves and drawers that can be used both as a closet and for crockery, whose internal part is hermetically sealed by a waterproof fabric with zipper (Rava, February 1941).

The following issues are rich in projects that follow the guidelines repeated and analyzed by Rava about the concepts of flexibility and lightness, such as the various models of chairs that can be converted into a chaise longue, types of foldable field beds that can be reduced to a suitcase and, again, a whole series of small foldable furniture (magazine racks, flowerpots, stools, etc.), most of them signed by Dal Fabbro (Fig. 4). The final result would be an exceptional collection of projects (mostly never realized) of proto-industrial furniture-equipment joined by the same rational principles of modularity, detachability, lightness, compactness and adaptability.



LA MOSTRA DELL'ATTREZZATURA COLONIALE ALLA TRIENNALE

La mostra dell'attrezzatura coloniale ordinata dall'architetto Carlo Enrico Rava alla Triennale ha prima di tutto il merito di non svagare mai in scenografie pittoresche ma ha poi soprattutto il grande merito di presentare a chi vive in colonia tipi di mobili e di cose che gli serviranno immensamente. Esemplari davvero, per la loro razionalità, i mobili da carovana e di molto interesse i mobili da casa. Essi possono però servire a dar più di una ottima idea anche, più semplicemente, a chi viva in campagna od ami, comunque, una vita di viaggi.

Architetto Salvo D'Angelo - Cucina per carovana: mobile pieghevole, trasformabile in baule. (Foto Villani e Crimella)

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NEL PROSSIMO NUMERO: L'INTAGLIO ALLA TRIENNALE

Architetto Salvo D'Angelo - Toletta per carovana: mobile pieghevole, trasformabile in valigia. (Foto Villani e Crimella)

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NEL PROSSIMO NUMERO: L'AMBIENTE DI UN COLLEZIONISTA

Fig. 3. C. E. Rava, *Mostra delle attrezzature Coloniali*, VII Triennale of Milan 1940, detail of the kitchen and the dressing table for caravan travels designed by the architect Salvo D'Angelo, *Domus* n° 150, June 1940, 80–81.

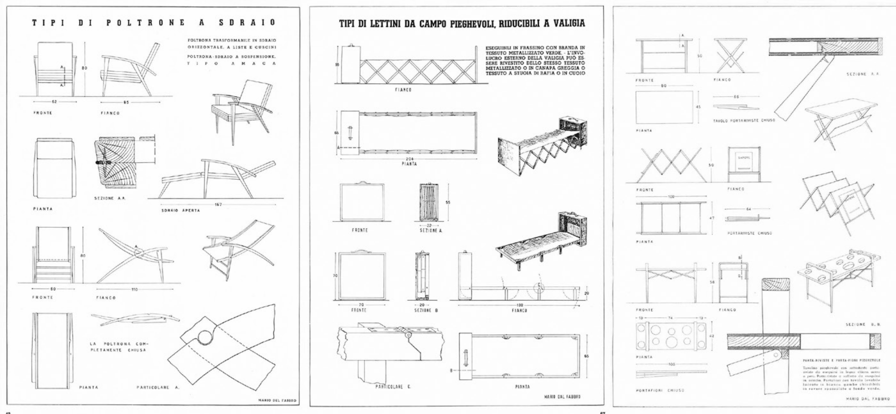

Fig. 4 From left to right: Mario Dal Fabbro, drawings for a chair convertible into chaise lounge and a suspension armchair-lawn chair, *Domus* n°160, April 1941, p.42; Mario Dal Fabbro, types of folding camp-beds reducible into a suitcase, *Domus* n°162, June 1941, p.67.; Mario Dal Fabbro, folding magazine rack and flowerpot, *Domus* n°167, November 1941, p.31.

In January 1942, Rava writes an article entitled "Of the utilitarian equipment of the dwelling" (Rava, 1942) in which he states:

> During the whole of 1941 I kept alive in the pages of *Domus* the issue of colonial equipment and I noticed that this problem should fundamentally interest the categories of small-scale artisans, while waiting for the big mass production to become possible, a production that, by ensuring a constant average of high quality, must be the supreme purpose of every industrial activity. Now, it seems almost superfluous to specify that these considerations, beyond the limited colonial sector, are good for the whole field of furniture production, and that consequently, since this year our column regards the entire field of utilitarian household equipment, the above principle will be the basis of our directives and of our criterion of choice (Rava, 1942: 88).

This last article by Rava represents a true watershed between the collapse of the colonial empire and what would have happened after the world war, representing a valid testimony of that crucial passage that we want to highlight here: a movement of translation that took place between those principles of design and production triggered by the "practical" necessities of life in the colony, towards those that instead would have been the essential prerequisites of the design for Italian industrial production in the post-war period.

Heritage of the "practical" spirit in the Italy of reconstruction

The projects for colonial equipment can fall into that history in which "the productive pragmatism and the tension to the project as a technique of mediation and negotiation between different cultures served to partially redeem the colonial adventure from its more hateful and backward events, building a platform of dialogue that was not only depredation and oppression, but also enhancement and understanding" (Irace, 2015: 203).

A redemption that occurs above all in terms of a design legacy rather than a real cultural or more concretely productive contamination (in fact, the traces of important collaborations with producers in the area of North Africa or East Africa are lost in the post-war period). What undoubtedly strikes is the continuity of thought that is rediscovered in the years of reconstruction, after the war, relative to the principles of practicality and economy dictated by the new urgent need to give back a house (and therefore also all its "equipment") to all those who had lost it. Architecture remained obviously of primary interest, but right from the start the same architects also jointly deal with the theme of the interiors. This is borne out by the words of Ernesto Natan Rogers (editor of *Domus* magazine since 1946, whose subtitle would be "The House of Man"): "The furniture, the saved one, come back to the city: we architects want to help it in this first act of reconstruction. Reconstruction of one's home" (Rogers, January 1946: 6).

A few years earlier there is an episode that is worth mentioning here, namely the "Riponibili" (Storable) furniture program undertaken by Gio Ponti with the company SAFFA[6] between 1943 and 1945.

> The meeting with the industry was an opportunity to create a program that expressed a practical concept of furniture. The "Riponibili" (Storable) furniture program consisted of the definition of standard-type furniture, to be produced in series, low cost, conceived in the sign of minimum obstruction and maximum furniture transformability and mobility. This standard-type furniture is traced back to a series of furnishing elements according to the characteristics: storable, foldable, modular and stackable (Bosoni, Picchi, Strina, 1995: 62).

The production was not successful, but this is undoubtedly one of the first attempts to apply industrial organization in the field of wooden furniture, an attempt that anticipates by a few years the most extensive programming introduced first by the RIMA exhibition of 1946 and again by the VIII Triennale of the 1947. RIMA (*Riunione Italiana Mostre Arredamento*, Italian Assembly of Furniture Exhibitions) was a private initiative that in 1946 took charge of rebuilding the bombed Palazzo dell'Arte to set up a series of exhibitions of individual furniture projects oriented by the principles of "economy, practicality and good taste" (Rogers, July 1946: 6), with the primary objective of an upcoming future series production. It is interesting to report the impressions of Rogers concerning the general tone of the RIMA furniture exhibition:

[6] *Società Anonima Fabbriche Fiammiferi ed Affini* (Anonymous Society of Matches and Like Companies; Milan, 1871–2002), since the 1930s also started to produce poplar plywood for the production of wooden furniture and packaging.

> The set of furnishings could be entitled to the wandering man. We still have to use the verb *errare* (note: *in Italian "errare" means "to wander" but also "to err"*). To wander and to err in Italian have the same origin, *errare*, so that has a double meaning: go here and there without knowing where. *Errare* seems to be the verb of contemporary man, if one must believe in the conception of life that is deduced from these pieces of furniture (Rogers, July 1946: 6).

It does not seem only a coincidence that the uncertain psychological condition of the Italian post-war orients architects (especially the young ones, as emphasized by Rogers in the same article) to design furniture systems that incorporate the same principles of practicality, lightness and adaptability of that colonial "equipment" so long studied by Rava. This is shown by the assignment of the *Grand Prix* of the 1946 exhibition to the young architect Ignazio Gardella. Gardella offers a series of prototypes (Spezzo company in Milan) of furniture for a hypothetical accommodation for three people, designed for "precise needs of life but with a certain flexibility: various modularity of bookcases, reversibility of the cabinets, interchangeability of internal equipment, etc." (Gardella, 1946: 7). Furniture therefore designed to adapt itself to different types of interiors according to the needs of those who live there such as, for example, the remarkable modular system of bookcases: so modular that it can be placed against the wall, approached specularly therefore self-supporting, and stackable in height (Fig. 5).

Another well-known example of furniture present at the RIMA exhibition of 1946 and associated with this same housing philosophy is the furniture designed by Vico Magistretti as: the folding beech chair with canvas seat-back (Fumagalli company of Meda) and the bookcase with movable shelves, supported by two patented struts working under pressure between ceiling and floor (Crespi company in Milan). The RIMA exhibition of 1946 is often indicated in the history books as a first important nucleus of what in the 1950s would be the true triumph of Italian design. A success that has materialized above all thanks to the productive relationship between architects and industries, whose origin can also be traced back to the experience of colonial equipment, which, beyond its controversial political nature, played a significant role in training a design spirit and mentality oriented towards simplification and mass production.

Alloggio per 3 persone

Arch. Ignazio Gardella

I mobili (eseguiti dalla ditta Spezzo di Milano) sono stati studiati cercando di farli aderire a precise esigenze di vita ma con una certa flessibilità (componibilità varie delle biblioteche, reversibilità degli armadi, intercambiabilità dell'attrezzatura interna, ecc.) che permette di adattarli a forme diverse di ambienti e a mutevoli necessità familiari. Nella costruzione si sono adottate strutture semplici e continue ricorrendo a quei dispositivi

La superficie levigata degli armadi è facilmente pulibile.

(La prima a sinistra). I mobili di questa camera sono stati studiati in modo da sfruttare al massimo lo spazio nei locali lunghi e stretti.

Il tavolino pieghevole ha il piano ribaltabile; la parte laccata può servire da scrivania, l'altra in legno naturale come piano da lavoro.

(Sotto). La camera a un letto nella sua attrezzatura diurna. Il letto ribaltabile è rientrato nel mobile a scaffalature; il tavolo pieghevole è montato in modo da utilizzare il piano laccato ad uso scrivania.

Arch. I. Gardella. La regolazione dei piedini allungabili è molto semplice e serve a sistemare il mobile sulle disuguaglianze del pavimento.

Il piano superiore del mobile buffet è asportabile e diventa un comodo tavolino vassoio per servire il tè.

Gli elementi della biblioteca sono scomponibili in modo da essere appoggiati a parete, avvicinati, sovrapposti.

L'armadio è *reversibile*, esso cioè può avere l'anta grande a destra o a sinistra come è più opportuno in relazione alla disposizione dei mobili nell'ambiente, semplicemente montando i piedi su una o sull'altra delle testate. La reversibilità è consentita dalla forma delle guide dei cassetti.
Degno di nota è il tipo dei piedi in ottone *regolabili in altezza.*
I mobili della camera del figlio sono studiati in modo da permettere la massima disponibilità di spazio libero anche in ambienti ristretti. Il letto ribaltabile è racchiuso in un mobile a scaffalature. Esso può, volendo, esser tolto e mediante l'apertura di 4 gambe ripiegabili collocato dove si desidera.
L'ambiente di soggiorno comprende anche la zona per il pranzo con mobili facilmente spostabili.
Gli elementi biblioteca sono studiati in modo da poter essere accostati e sovrapposti. Essi sono a due faccie con ripiani di poca profondità in corrispondenza alla crociera di controventatura in ottone e ripiani più profondi e alti per libri e oggetti grandi nello spazio di incastro tra un elemento e quello sovrapposto. Ognuno di essi può inoltre essere scomposto in due elementi più stretti da appoggiare a muro che sono a loro volta accostabili e sovrapponibili.
La scrivania è provvista di due griglie in legno che permettono di chiudere rapidamente il piano di scrittoio con tutti gli oggetti e le carte che vi si trovano.
Il tavolo per il pranzo non è allungabile. Quando i commensali sono più di 6 si prevede di accostare un altro tavolo identico ma ripiegabile.
Tutti i mobili sono montati su piedini in ottone *regolabili in altezza.*

La poltrona ha due piccole rotelle sulle gambe anteriori e può essere agevolmente sollevata con una comoda maniglia per eventuali spostamenti.

L'angolo del soggiorno nel locale soggiorno-pranzo. Le poltrone sono coperte in canapa azzurra, il tappeto è bianco. Gli elementi biblioteca compongono una grande scansia ed una più piccola vicino alle poltrone, dove si tengono i libri di più frequente consultazione. Nello sfondo la scrivania che si chiude con avvolgibile.

Fig. 5 Ignazio Gardella, "Alloggio per 3 persone" (Accommodation for three people), details of some transformable and foldable furnitures designed for the RIMA contest, *Domus* n° 211, July 1946, pp.7–9.

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Fabrics of Barcelona: The Future in the Past

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Textile printing / Barcelona / 20th century

In design history there are numerous experiences of revisiting creative languages of the past. In Barcelona, as William Morris did in the field of textiles, there were numerous attempts of recovering a local expressive language for fabrics. In this sense, the textile factory Ponsa Hermanos took a look at their past to find their own future. During 1900–1930, the factory produced several prints on silk with some of the most innovative patterns, originated at the main studios in Europe or created by some of the most important Catalan designers, such as Alexandre de Riquer, J. Vidal y Ventosa, Josep Palau i Oller, etc. Fortunately, the Ponsa Hermanos collection has been preserved at different textile museums in Catalonia. Around the 1960s, the factory issued new prints made by local designers. These designs feature a very specific style yet integrated in the European context, where new trends appeared rapidly. In this paper, we attempt to highlight the similarities between Modernisme/Art Deco and Op-Art and psychedelia by studying unreleased prints by Ponsa. Through these samples we propose a consideration: can the legacy of the Ponsa brothers contribute to historians, designers and editors finding the future in the past?

Textile printing in Barcelona

In design history there are numerous experiences of revisiting creative languages of the past. In Barcelona, as William Morris did in the field of textiles, there were numerous attempts of recovering a local expressive language for fabrics. This was promoted by the theorists Francisco Miguel y Badía, and Joaquim Folch i Torres, who gave meaning to the language of textiles in the Peninsula. Francisco Miguel y Badía stressed the importance of studying the works of previous eras (Miguel y Badía, 1899). Looking at the past, the present and the future, the designer could create under the inspiration of the old textiles. Folch i Torres proposed to design students to visit the textile collections of Barcelona, to visit the ancient textile collections, to be inspired by them and to elevate them to the maximum expression (Folch i Torres, 1917). At present, when globalization threatens a loss of origin of the motives of textile designs, looking towards local production is also very necessary.

Between the 18th and 20th centuries, textile printing was an important activity for the Catalan economy. The new trends in textile printing were often inspired in foreign models, specially from France and Italy. The printed fabrics could reproduce the same motif, or could be created from the original motif, just by modifying and adapting the final result to the preferences of Spanish customers. Sometimes, designs were entirely copied, or were ordered from local designers or just modified in the factories. New trends were compiled in trend books that were published in the main centers of reference. The trend books were sent to the factories and design studios. From the very beginning of the printing sector in Europe, the decision of which design was to be finally printed was important for commercial success.

The Ponsa Hermanos company

The Barcelona company Ponsa Hermanos (1859–1982) succeeded in the recovery of the trends of previous decades and, in some occasions, revisited its past to find the future. Ponsa Hermanos was a company of small dimensions, which produced different prints in silk with designs of the highest novelty, especially from 1900 to 1930. It had a second moment of splendor during 1960s and 1970s, when it recovered the language of the Modernisme and Art Deco periods, as well as some of the motives of the first avant-gardes. The legacy of Ponsa Hermanos is preserved in the Museu de l'Estampació de Premià de Mar (Textile Printing Museum of Premià de Mar), in the Museu del Disseny de Barcelona (Design Museum of Barcelona) and the Centre de Documentació i Museu Tèxtil de Terrassa (Textile Museum of Terrassa). These collections preserve pattern books, wooden blocks, headscarves, dresses and designs for printing. Among the collection of nearly 500 samples and 15,000 original designs, those belonging to 1900–1930 are especially prominent, in addition to the designs of Op-Art, hippie and psychedelic trends.

Fabrics, just like other decorative arts, were subject to the rapid circulation of new trends, as in fashion, furniture, graphic design, etc. The production of wallpaper is very similar to furnishing fabrics. It was common for the same design for upholstery to be printed on wallpaper, thus giving rise to the cordonées. In the design of applied arts, it is very common to assimilate artistic trends and present a closely-related language for graphic arts, textiles and or-

namental objects. This is common in other countries in Europe. But not all the fabrics that were made were the latest trend. There were also customers who prefered classical motifs, such as polka dots, stripes, small flowers or simple geometric shapes, which were printed for decades. There was latest novelty customer demand and also customers who preferred less risky tendencies. In the Museu de l'Estampació de Premià de Mar it is possible to document the same motif designed in the 1890s, and then printed in the 1920s and 1970s. The original drawing is from 1890, it was printed in the 1920s in one colour and in the 1970s the motif had different acid colours.

Among the Catalan artists who worked for Ponsa Hermanos at the height of the company, we can mention Alexandre de Riquer, Joan Vidal i Ventosa, Josep Palau Oller, Josep Mompou, Enric Moyà, Josep Ferrer Albert, Josep Porta and the Marsà studio. Vidal i Ventosa was known in the circles of the modernist gatherings that took place often in Els Quatre Gats, with Pablo Picasso, and later at the Guayaba Café, with the artists Manolo Hugué, Ismael Smith and Isidre Nonell. His production of designs for printing is still not very known although he practiced this profession for years. Frequently, artists have drawn for printing, but most of the time, this remains unkown because it has been considered a minor activity. The prints reflect the artistic movements, and in the case of Ponsa Hermanos there are direct references to Modernisme and Art Deco, as well as some cubist, constructivist and simultaneist prints. Their most significant works can be found between the 1900s and 1930s.

There is an extensive group of designs for prints signed by Josep Palau Oller, an artist who also designed furniture, toys and other specialties (Carbonell, 2003). His work stands out for the simplicity and closeness to the Art Deco language. His creations approached the style of Atélier Martine, with schematic drawings, simple and elegant, or designs for toys transferred into fabric. Alexandre de Riquer created a series of designs for La Sedera Franco-Española, a textile company bought by Ponsa Hermanos. The Catalan artists assimilated the new European trends and were placed at the same level of quality as foreigners. Ponsa Hermanos also acquired a large number of original drawings from designers in Paris, Lyon and Mulhouse. Édouard Sins also designed for Ponsa Hermanos. It was common that businessmen from Barcelona visited this famous studio. Other companies in Barcelona, such as La España Industrial, also printed designs bought abroad, or Catalan companies such as Lyon-Barcelona, which visited the main French studios and acquired drawings for their collections. In the companies, original drawings were bought and often adapted it to the taste of the country, maintaining the essence of the compositions and motifs. Ponsa Hermanos worked for many years and continuously with C. Lefranc, who had his studio in Lyon, and Léon Kittler and René Schrameck of Mulhouse. Ponsa Hermanos also visited the Atélier Martine of Paul Poiret. There are important foreign designers: E. P. Bonaparte, Arthur Litt, R. Blaise, J. Berger, Marc Rimaud, Landwerlind, J. Vernaison, Helder, Fred Lévy, R. De Grandclos, Louis Lang, M. Adrouer, Louis Inwiller, Georges Ordatchenko, etc. (Prevosti, 2005).

The introduction of the new avant-garde movements involved deep research in an age of exploration at all levels. Ponsa Hermanos followed the Art Deco trends for textiles and received the new avant-gardes. Thus, simultaneism, cubism, Russian constructivism and the forms of De Stijl are represented in their collections of prints. The floral motifs took on a geometric character, in fabrics with an explosion of colors and a strong movement. A dynamic effect was obtained by juxtaposing planes, geometric figures or abstract sinuous forms. The representation of the rose took special prominence, transformed and simplified by flat areas of color and synthetic forms. Occasionally, floral or plant forms took inspiration from the underwater world, and vice versa. They were jellyfish, hedgehogs, fish, small organisms, algae and other elements that received an abstract treatment (Dangla, 2016). Nature was a great source of inspiration. In textile printing, bird representation is very frequent, and in the Art Nouveau and Art Deco era the peacock took on special prominence (Fig. 1).

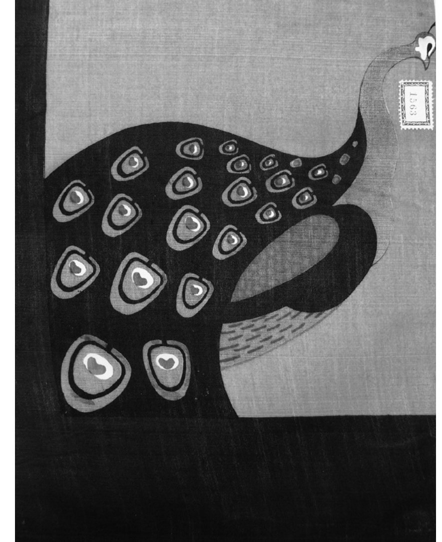

Fig. 1 The peacock is a very popular motif in textile printing. Some of the most interesting designs for textiles belong to the *Modernisme* and Art Deco movements. Printed silk, Ponsa Hermanos, MEPM (c. 1920). © Esther de Prades.

The attractive and vibrant feathers of the birds were a pretext for the most varied compositions. The colorings used for print on silk were anilines, of lilac colors, intense violet, bright red, vibrant oranges, lemon yellows, ultramarine blues, malachite greens, bright pinks, and a wide range of tonalities. In this period, the chemical industry offered new colorings with vibrant shades. The color palette was very complete and contrasted with the traditional dyes.

The fascination for exoticism was also a recurring theme at Ponsa Hermanos. From the beginning of textile printing in Europa, scenes inspired by China—*chinoiseries*—were reproduced and Japanese fabrics became popular. Looking to the East made these compositions richer. During the 1920s at Ponsa Hermanos, series of drawings with Egyptian motifs were published: papyrus sheets, funeral trousseaux and ritual objects were of great visual richness and elegance. The representation of leisure

scenes was also a topic of interest: the show, music, dance, ballroom dancing, the actor Charles Chaplin in the role of Charlot and other moments of fun and chill. The scenes were printed on handkerchiefs or destinated to furniture. In the collections of Ponsa Hermanos and La Sedera Franco-Española there are also images of Amazons, tennis players, driving women and models dressed in the style of Paul Poiret. It is the reflection of the new woman of the 1920s. Some of these compositions would be retaken in the years from 1960 to 1970, as a central motif for handkerchiefs and dresses.

At the height of Ponsa Hermanos, the golden age of 1900–1930, their creations can be considered the same level as the newest foreign prints. The rich exchanges that took place between professionals, the frequent trips abroad, the concern for the adoption of new trends and the use of tools such as trend books, allowed designers from Barcelona to be compared as being equal to foreign designers. Barcelona knew how to adapt and reformulate the proposals with its own, genuine language. The prints were showy, high quality. Numerous colors on natural silk, which turn them into appreciated articles due to the quality of their fabrics, drawings and colors (Fig. 2). The good relationships between professionals of Barcelona and the reference centers of Europe in the field of textile printing is a lesser-known aspect, and it is still under investigation. It was a common fact that all the directors from the renowned companies traveled abroad to find out the latest news, or received foreign designers in their companies.

Later, in the 1940s and following decades, the Barcelona studios gained strength and the presence of local artists increased. But the result was not as spectacular as in previous occasions due to historical circumstances. Spain was in the middle of its postwar period and the austerity made the prints more discreet, with fewer colors and synthetic silk or rayon. The most important trend of the 1940s was a series of drawings with black background and motifs, usually floral, of red, cyan, yellow and white colors.

During the second half of the twentieth century, there was a revolution in Barcelona in design for textiles. It is worth mentioning the presence of women designers—some directed design studios—that had a relevant role both in number and in the quality of their designs. Some of them were Joaquima Masalles, active since the 1960s, and Rosa Rodrigo. Some design schools were born in the city. The old school of design 'La Llotja', and also the Massana school, for example, began study plans with print subjects. As a result, between 1967 and 1970 the Barcelona studios Cims, Incra, Doñate, Fontanals, Balanza and Homs were born, among others. Barcelona was prepared to create talent, it was a design center and in the 1990s it was still designing succesfully. The studies of original designs are the result of a long tradition in creation and research, which are born within the academic sphere, are linked and evolve at the same time as social demands, in a constant dialogue between editors and clients.

Ponsa Hermanos produced the drawings in Barcelona, and some fabrics were exported to be solded in Paris or Switzerland, where they had representatives. The designs were reputed for having their own language in a Europe where trends circulated with great rapidity and styles followed one another at great speed. Between 1960 and 1970 Ponsa published new prints, in an imitation of the famous foulards of Como and Paris. There have been documented headscarves printed in the 1920s, and compare and contrast them with earlier times, and there are many similarities in the colours and motifs. Scarf designs were purchased in the 1970s from the famous Paul Martel studio. The company bought original designs for clothing from other renowned studios, such as Veronelli from Como, but also had studios or firms from Barcelona. The new Barcelona professionals learned aspects related to the composition of prints and elaboration of registers or rapports. It was important that the motif fit perfectly

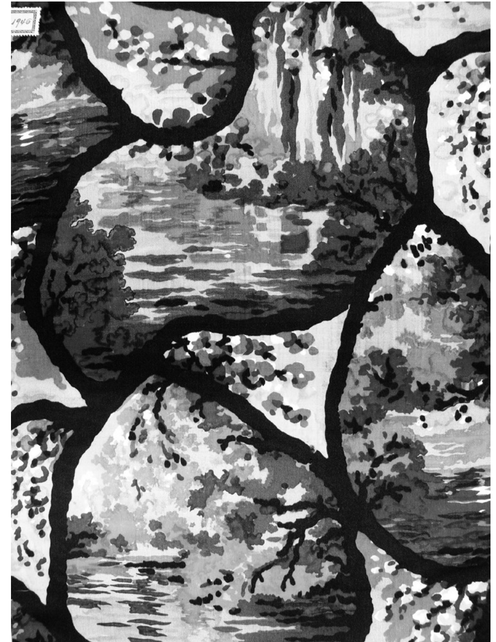

Fig. 2 Ponsa Hermanos printed natural silk with bright and numerous colors during 1900–1930 and 1960–1970, such as this composition inspired in Claude Monet's compositions. Printed silk, Ponsa Hermanos, MEPM–Museu de l'Estampació de Premià de Mar (c. 1925). © Esther de Prades.

in the process of printing, so that the separations between moulds could not be noticed, or that the colors were conveniently separated, so that they did not overlap. The work of the colorist required precision and ability to achieve the desired effect. The importance of the trade of the colorist and engraver sometimes remained forgotten, when it's so decisive over the final result.

Some foreign cartoonists based in Barcelona also designed for Ponsa Hermanos. Italian Mario Resmini spent a lot of time drawing for the factory. He made some floral drawings that were printed with nuanced colors and white lacquers for the profiles. Ponsa also wanted the Polish designer Klucewsky to work exclusively for them, but he finally went to work for Estampados Farreró, a Barcelona company that exported its collections around the world. The style of Klucewsky is characterized by flowers made with watercolor. The superimposed colors, the brushstrokes and the shades of grey are characteristics of his production. To achieve this effect of transparency and fluency, it was necessary that the engraver had great skills. In this sense, Ponsa bought flat screens for printing from the best studios of Barcelona or close to the city, who knew how to translate the watercolor effect into the flat screens.

Fig. 3 Designers of printed textiles took their inspiration from the artistic movements of the period. The new engraving techniques permitted them to reproduce the brushstrokes and watercolour look. Printed textile, Ponsa, MEPM (c. 1968). © Veraicon.

The flat-screen engravers

A second aspect conditions the final result of the fabrics. In the transposition of the original design to the flat screen, engraving plays a decisive role. From the 1930s the main Spanish engraving workshops were based in the village of Premià de Mar, near Barcelona. Their expert hands provided nuances, shading, blurring, profiles, exclusive methods that could only be made by specialised engravers. For example, the floral drawings of Klucewsky were interpreted and managed to imitate the brushstroke of the artist on the photolith to later record on the flat screen. At the time, there were numerous examples of fabrics printed with brushstrokes motifs, in imitation of the artistic movements of the period (Fig. 3). The town of Premià de Mar was a pioneer in the introduction of flat screen printing, and the activity of engraving became its main economical activity until the end of the 20th century.

Another remarkable advance in the history of textile printing is the SCI-TEX computer, presented at the ITMA textile fair in 1975, which was a revulsive in the engraving of photoliths. The Catalan company Grabados Virmit was the first engraving studio in the world to acquire the new machine, composed of 12 bulky modules, because of its high cost only five copies were made. The company Ponsa commissioned engravings from Grabados Virmit. The new machine, which incorporated a scanner and tools for the edition and repetition of motives, was a fundamental advance. With this new machine, repetition designs could be made with maximum accuracy, a job that could not be done with the same perfection by hand. Currently, this object, unique and restored in December 2017, is preserved in the Museu de l'Estampació de Premià de Mar. The machine worked constantly, in three shifts a day, and allowed companies in Barcelona city and province to make new articles. The engravers of Barcelona had their own style, taking into account the expert hands of local designers, engravers, and the specific machinery used in Barcelona, Premià de Mar and other places close to the city. There is a characteristic style that we wanted to identify under the name of 'Fabrics of Barcelona'. Under this concept we want to bring together the prints that were made in Barcelona capital and province, which came from different Catalan companies. The language is close to the trends in the rest of Europe, but at the same time they have special characteristics that we are currently studying.

Fabrics of Barcelona

In this study we want show the similarities between motifs and colors in the productions of Ponsa Hermanos during Modernisme and Art Deco, in prints made by Barcelona designers, and those of the Op-Art, hippie and psychedelic trends of its successors. There are many examples of similar designs, both in the form and colors of anilines used. In the era of Modernisme and Art Deco a new language was created that resulted in the so-called Decorative Arts. For example, in this period and in later decades the flower of opium repeats itself, geometries in movement, and very strong profiles. Aquatic forms were reproduced, and were retaken half a century later. Through concrete examples, and some unpublished works, we can contrast this look with the past (Fig. 4). Other forms inspired in the Atélier Martine, where natural motifs inspired in the waterworld are drawn as they have never been seen. Flowers and plant motifs also attracted the customers, with strong profiles, usually black, and large areas of flat and bright colors (Fig. 5).

This study could be the base of the recovery of a particular autochthonous language, which could be used in museums, research and knowledge dissemination. The legacy of Alexandre de Riquer, Josep Vidal i Ventosa and Josep Palau Oller was imitated by the authors who were trained in the design schools of Barcelona. Even foreign artists installed in the city were protagonists of a new style that defined the production of fabrics. These designs were exported, in some part, to foreign lands, confronting the generalized idea that trends

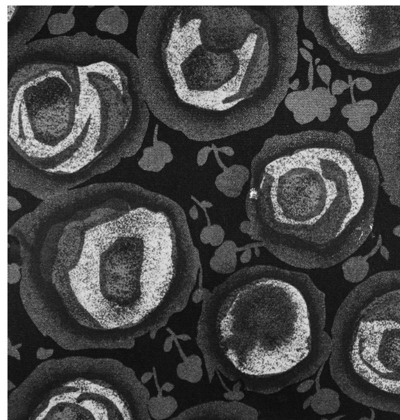

Fig. 4 The Atélier Martine, during the Art Deco period, created a new language with floral motifs inspired in the subaquatic world, and these motifs were recovered in the 1960s and 1970s. Printed textile, Ponsa, MEPM (c. 1970). © Veraicon.

Fig. 5 Psychedelic motifs were very popular in the late 1960s and 1970s, some of them inspired by Modernist and Art Deco prints, with acid colors, strong profiles and dynamic compositions. Printed textile, Ponsa, MEPM (c. 1972). © Veraicon.

were defined only in the reference centers, such as Paris, Como and Lyon. Thus a language of Barcelona that crossed borders has been detected.

For this reason it's necessary to continue the study of Ponsa's legacy to know the most characteristic work. The denomination of 'Fabrics of Barcelona' refers to this characteristic style. Within the function of textile museums, where textile collections are conserved, studied and disseminated, it is important to study the autochthonous, the identity mark of the territory. It is important to know more about the heritage conserved in Catalan textile museums because this will help us discover new aspects of the fabrics of Barcelona. In this sense, in 2016 a set of 200 samples corresponding to the selected epochs was digitized, where some similarities between the 1900–1930 and 1960–1970 designs of the Ponsa factory can already be contrasted. In some of them it is clear how the company knew how to read its past and create new trends inspired by the designs it produced in previous decades.

Our proposal is for this legacy to be used today as inspiration for prints and factories. The models of the past could be a good source of inspiration. The case of Ponsa Hermanos is a good example: the recovery of the designs from 1900–1930 lead the company to a second golden era. Some designers who worked for Ponsa still remember their activity. The Ponsa legacy is preserved almost entirely in the textile museums mentioned previously. This allows us to understand the evolution of the designs within a set that was a reflection of the changing tastes of the clientele, and the assimilation of these new trends.

As we have seen previously, the Ponsa Hermanos collections have been studied for the most part. A monograph has been published, new aspects have been published in articles and congresses, and some works have been shown in temporary exhibitions. However, there is still work to expand its dissemination. The Ponsa Hermanos prints could be an inspiration for 21st century companies, as a reflection of Barcelona's local talent. They are an example of the rich exchange with other countries. Finally, we propose a reflection: can the legacy of Ponsa Hermanos help historians, designers and producers to find the future in the past, so that its importance is well valued, and being used as an inspiration for current textile prints?

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The Contribution of Jordi Vilanova to the Identity of a Mediterranean Character in Spanish Design

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Spanish design / Mediterranean design / Jordi Vilanova / La Cantonada / Identity

The so-called Mediterranean style is one of the identity marks of Spanish design, being a style born out of concrete historical, geographical, cultural and political circumstances. Such a style is characterized by pure, simple forms, without ornament, atemporal, functional, and with a strong cultural component. The Catalan interior designer Jordi Vilanova belongs to this style; that becomes patent in his own ideology, based on the humanistic attitude of the multi-disciplinary group La Cantonada, to which he pertained. This study intends to prove the contribution of Vilanova's work to the Mediterranean style in Spanish design through the analysis of some of his furniture and interior design projects.

Identity and design

The concept "identity" refers to a quality or set of qualities with which one person or a group of people feel themselves intimately connected. In this sense, identity has to do with the way in which individuals and groups define themselves when relating – "identifying"– with certain characteristics (Molano, 2008). Gui Bonsiepe (2012) posed a list of concepts that can be useful to analyze how identity would materialize in the field of design:

1. In the form of a set of formal or chromatic features.
2. In the taxonomies of products, that is, in the types of products distinctive of a culture.
3. In the use of local materials and its corresponding manufacturing methods.
4. In the use of a specific project method (empathy with a determined tradition rooted in a region).
5. In the theme typical of the context.

Moreover, Guy Julier (2006) remarks on the importance of the role of design in the creation of identities, envisaging design as a cultural practice with an economic value. According to Julier (2010), one identity is marked by circumstances like geography, culture, politics, economy, etc. Finally, the term "design culture" proposed by Julier highlights the importance of products communicating with the users, transmitting an identity, so a series of values are detected by users.

Mediterranean design

Contrary to what happens in Scandinavian or Italian design, there is a clear absence of bibliographical references and scientific investigation works that address the matter of Mediterranean design. There are some recent publications that address the Mediterranean identity in design. One is Martínez, Pastor and López (2014): "Mediterranean influence in the Spanish design identity", and the other is the doctoral thesis in the Universidad Politécnica de Valencia defended by Laura Beatriz Picca (2016): "Diseño mediterráneo. Bases para la creación de un modelo".

In Europe there is an ample diversity of cultures and subcultures. The greatest distinction we can find is between Mediterranean culture (found in Spain, Italy, France and Greece), and Anglo-Saxon culture, in northern countries like the United Kingdom, Germany, the Netherlands and the Scandinavian countries. As a result of it, we can say that there are a series of values and dimensions peculiar to Mediterranean or Southern European culture, and values and dimensions peculiar to the Anglo-Saxon culture or Northern European culture (Picca, 2016).

It happens the same inside the Mediterranean region. According to Vanni Pasca (2009), the Mediterranean is a group of regions marked by cultural, social and geographical similarities and differences. Regarding industrial design there are countries with an industrial approach, versus countries with a clearly artisanal one. In this spectrum, Spain and the Latin Mediterranean lay in-between, being a region that combines tradition and present.

Spanish design

Design is intimately linked to the development of industry, and in Spain there was a very late, slow and fragmented industrializing process, unevenly spread among different areas of the Spanish territory. In the 1950s, there were already two regions with consolidated economic power: the Basque Country, thanks to the development of a metallurgical industry, and Catalonia, whose textile industry had been structured around small companies (Julier, 1991). Thus, the first industrial areas were in the Pyrenees and the Mediterranean. This industrial lateness allowed artisan tradition to disappear later in Spain than in other countries like Italy or France, were craftsmanship was transformed earlier (Martínez, Pastor and López, 2014).

The Spanish territory has also various languages, traditions and nationalities, which complicates the procurement of the main features of Spanish industrial design (Capella, 2010). However, inside this diversity and eclecticism, we can say that the influence of the Mediterranean sharpens (Martínez, Pastor and López, 2014).

This so-called Mediterranean style in Spanish design shares mainly aspects like the use of local materials such as wood, ceramics, glass and textiles; and a low technological level due to a slow industrialization, which has allowed the survival of traditional artisanal production techniques. Martínez, Pastor and López (2014) conclude, after an analysis of relevant cases in the history of Spanish design, that the Mediterranean style or character is defined by its purity, simplicity, transcendence in time, far from vanguards and trends, and with a high cultural com-

ponent and whose functionality is above all, as long as it transmits certain local feelings and emotions.

The historical, geographical, cultural and political circumstances generate some features in design, hence generating a specific style. This Mediterranean style grants identity to Spanish style and is key in speaking about a local design culture (Julier, 2010). We cannot forget that design as a discipline is also affected by political phases and changes that countries goes through. Hence in Spain it went from being a suspicious activity for the Francoist regime, because of its ties to modernity, to be recognized beyond its borders during the 1960s thanks to the end of the autarchic period, and finally becoming part of the cultural environment after the fall of the dictatorial regime, with a widely publicized boom in design.

The case of Catalonia

Catalonia was the first area in Spain to live through the industrializing process and with time it became an example by obtaining its own design culture, alien to the rest of the country. An urban and social rethinking took place, that served as an example to other European cities, and which evoked such values as modernity, Europeism and technology. To become the best example of change from the previous regime, Catalonia used design as a tool of change, understanding this activity as a cultural practice, with an economic value (Julier, 2005).

Jordi Vilanova and La Cantonada, an ideology of its own

Within this Mediterranean style has been classified, in multiple occasions, Jordi Vilanova i Bosch (1925–1998), a Catalan interior designer and cabinet maker whose career started in Barcelona at the beginning of the 1950s, peaked in the 1960–70s, and continued until his death.

Among his first works of Mediterranean character must be included the series of furniture that Vilanova conceived for a series of tenements in working-class neighborhoods of Poblenou and La Bordeta, built by the architect Jordi Bonet in the late 1950s. It was a full furnishing of a flat for just 30,000 pesetas (Vélez, 1999) that included bedrooms, living rooms, seats, curtains, bedspreads, etc. They were characterized for being simple, functional, combinable and specially thought out for small spaces and economies: a 'Mediterranean solution' (Bonet, 1995). However, the proposal was not well received by the future tenants who, as happened with other vanguard projects, refused having in their living rooms functional and sincere furniture, which showed their cheapness.

Later Vilanova co-founded the artistic multidisciplinary group La Cantonada (1960–1975), which carried out integral public art projects with a humanistic character, and proposed the renovation of sacred art through the company Ars Sacra. The group was also formed by the ceramist Jordi Aguadé, the goldsmith and jewelry maker Aureli Bisbe, the architect Jordi Bonet and the painter Joan Vila-Grau. It takes its name from the studio of Vilanova, situated on the corner of the streets Freixa with Ganduxer, and which became the central headquarters of the group where all members conversed, debated and organized different activities. Vilanova acted as a coalescer, an orchestra conductor (Valverde, 1963), coordinating and always looking for common and individual projects for all members.

While in 1960 design circles with a more industrialist character achieved official status thanks to their association with the already existing entity of the FAD (Foment de les Arts Decoratives), and leading to the Industrial Designers Association (ADI–FAD), La Cantonada organized its first permanent exhibition of the common works. An exhibition that is well documented in its catalogue for 1961, where they presented themselves as a 'team open to the present currents in a Mediterranean sensibility', showing their clear will to be linked to their origins and country, Catalonia.

The next year, the group participated jointly in an exhibition with the name I National Salon for Home and Decoration, in the Montesión galleries in Barcelona. Jordi Vilanova presented a bedroom and living room with 'white wood' furniture (Fig. 1), that won a mention in a contest that was called. From 1962 on, the FAD supported the organization of monographic salons called Hogarotel, destined to show the novelties in home automatization, decoration, hostelry and gastronomy. Vilanova attended those annual salons, both individually and with La Cantonada, with modern proposals that offered his very characteristic Mediterranean line (Vélez, 1999), and that were adapted to the demands of new urban promotions.

The editions of Hogarotel with more repercussion took place in the late 1960s. In all of these editions, Vilanova and La Cantonada clearly positioned themselves on the opposite side of mass production and a standardized universe.

The ideology of La Cantonada was based on a truly humanistic attitude (Vélez, 1999). Its beginnings coincided with the beginning of the development of industrial design in Catalonia, however that was based on different premises than La Cantonada's, seeking for a highly standardized product, produced in big series. Contrarily, La Cantonada opted for the creation of items in small series, made in a semi-artisanal way, adapted to specific necessities, with more personality and less technological. This is what art critic Joan Perucho qualified as the third way in La Cantonada's second catalogue:

> Between an esthetic of masses and an esthetic of privilege, there is an esthetic "à la taille de l'homme", that is to say, for the common man. The economist Wilhelm Röpke called this [...] the third way. This third way, applied to our goal, is the "small series", and refers above all to objects for long-term use; those which go along with man and get integrated in a memory we could call intimate and familiar. The small series, versus the standardized universalization of big series, is inspired, on the contrary, on the stylistic localization of ways of living. It is then, a truly humanistic attitude. So it has been understood by the admirable team of La Cantonada who, for a long time, produces with growing success an order of creation fully immersed in the Mediterranean sensibility, and so very ours (Perucho, 1965).

In the year 1965, the invitation received to attend an exhibition in New York that promoted external trade made Vilanova decide to present a good collection of his products joined by this catalogue that included a selected sample of pieces by artists from La Cantonada. The assembly was carried out by Vilanova and Bonet and the sample was well received.[1]

Although the chances of getting into the American market were slim, for Vilanova it was the consolidation of the idea that his proposal was valid, besides being more and more accepted by a customer base that was expanded and effective both in the city and either the coast or the mountains. According to Bonet (1995), Vilanova achieved a synthesis of traditional forms – of a Catalan wealthy peasantry or small rural bourgeoisie, even in the wealthy houses of the city – and a practical interpretation, well carried out, polished, sober and elegant, that could give satisfaction.

In the 1960–70s, before shops like Vinçon, Pilma, and more recently, IKEA appeared in Barcelona, Jordi Vilanova had already opened three shops that offered design services and sales of modern objects (Campi, 2016). Nowadays, Vilanova is known as the introducer in Spain and Catalonia of the 'white wood' furniture, that is to say, a furniture without color or shiny varnishes, functional, simple and refined, giving it a line of Mediterranean tradition.

Scandinavian influence in the work of Vilanova

We can say that the "style" of Jordi Vilanova, both in the furniture and in the environments, answers to rationalist criteria, and more concretely to its organicist current. Vilanova was a great admirer of Scandinavian furniture for its respect to the dignity of the wood and for its perfect quality and execution.

> From what the Nordics have taught us, we make use of what has a practical and modern sense, but we try to create a Mediterranean style [based] on the creations of our regional craftsmanship, multiple in facets, all along the Mediterranean. That inspiration we can update, giving it a practical sense and a purity and stylization of lines befitting to modern tastes and requirements. From that popular furniture we suppress all the accessory. In this way we get a functional style in which the artistic and the racial flavor are present. After all, Nordic furniture found its inspiration in the Mediterranean coasts (Vilanova, 1964).

The core of Scandinavian countries – Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden – in spite of their differences, finds a common identity around industrial design as a promoter of a culture. The base of Scandinavian design is founded on its democratic approach, continuously in search of an ideal society, with a better quality of life through technology and functional and affordable objects (Fiell, 2003).

Around 1920, modern Scandinavian design was characterized by a moral humanistic attitude, rooted in the ideals of Lutheranism – official religion that promulgates salvation through work in the benefit of all. It is those beliefs that have influenced all the democratic philosophy from which Scandinavian design has evolved.

Although there are notable examples of innovative designs in Scandinavian countries before WWII, the real bloom of Nordic designers at an international level arrived in the early 1950s. In comparison with the rest of Western Europe and the United States, industrialization burst relatively late in Scandinavia, which allowed for a better preserving of the artisanal traditions (Fiell, 2003). Joining ancestral craftsmanship with modern design, Scandinavian designers manage to elaborate high quality items, suitable for industrial production.

Jordi Vilanova traveled a lot around Europe, and he promptly attended to furniture fairs. His favorite destination was the Copenhagen furniture fair sited at the Bella Center. Vilanova was a great lover of Danish design. In 1973 he started licensing some furniture pieces from designers Søren Nissen and Ebbe Ghel, and he also collaborated with the Danish design center Den Permanent.

For him, the synthesis between functionality and humanity, the balance between tradition and modernity typical of Nordic design provided a possible model to follow in Catalonia, not in the forms but in the spirit and productive modes. For him this was the example that in the South of Europe there could be produced a modern design that evoked the essences of the Mediterranean culture without falling into folklorism (Campi, 2016).

Project analysis

The following images show interior design projects and home decoration, with furniture and complements designed by Jordi Vilanova and some of the components of La Cantonada. They have been selected with the objective of analysis and prove their suitability to the parameters of the so-called Mediterranean design, previously described.

Fig. 1 Showroom, 1961 (© Fundació Història del Disseny).

[1] As evidenced in the international press of the time. The famous columnist Eleanor Spaak wrote two articles ("Spanish Updated" and "Children today are more sophisticated than adults") in the *Home Furnishings Daily* magazine, where she praises Jordi Vilanova's work.

Fig. 2 Living room, 1965 (© Fundació Història del Disseny).

According to Martínez, Pastor and López (2014), Mediterranean design shares aspects like the use of local materials and a low technological level due to slow industrialization, which has allowed the survival of traditional and artisanal production techniques; and is defined by its purity, simplicity, transcendence through time, far from vanguards and trends, with a highly cultural component and in which functionality is above all, while it transmits certain local feelings and emotions.

Through all the photographs we can observe a continued use of local materials. Wood is a constant resource in the work of Vilanova, since apart from decorator he was a cabinetmaker trained in the well-known Casa Busquets and in the workshop of the furniture maker Lluís Gili. He used pine and beech wood, with natural finish, without varnish (See Fig. 1, 2 and 4). In Figs. 3, 4 and 5 the wood has been lacquered in red (headboard, nightstands and cupboard) and blue (fronts of the kitchen cupboards).

Ceramics appear through the pavement and complements in decoration, provided by his colleagues of La Cantonada: ceramic panels with sacred themes, bowls and planters. Jordi Aguadé was trained with the well-known ceramist Llorens Artigas and worked jointly with the painter Joan Vila-Grau in the making of ceramic murals. In Fig. 5, the kitchen has been completely coated with ceramic tiles with a floral motive by Aguadé himself. The cover of the kitchen table has been coated with the same matching ceramic finish.

The textiles are natural in origin, like cotton used in the covers and upholstery of seats and cushions (Fig. 2) and the bedspreads and curtains in Fig. 3 and 4. The floral motives are from painter Vila-Grau. Other fabrics of natural origin are applied in the furniture, like the bulrush in the headboard, chairs and stools in Fig. 1, 3 and 4, or the raffia in the carpets and baskets in Figs. 1 and 2. The textiles of animal origin, like leather, are used in the seats of the chairs and the stools and in the beds, through the technique of *tiracord* (Fig. 1 and 2), and the upholstery of the kitchen chairs (Fig. 5).

Moreover, artisanal and traditional production techniques survive especially in the production of furniture through their own 'editing' at a small scale. Local techniques also stand out like the *tiracord* – consisting in the crisscrossing of leather straps that run through leads in the wood, or the weaving of bulrush for the seat fabrics, that Vilanova also applies to the headboard of the bed (Fig. 3).

Vilanova configured functional spaces, clear and luminous, where he controlled the Mediterranean light through curtains, and used plants to moisturize the environment. He was the creator of a kind of furniture based on pure lines, simple and orthogonal, that answers to the wish for formal austerity defended by the group. The most important thing was its functionality over stylistic vanguards, ensuring its persistence through time. Such persistence was also ensured thanks to the quality of the materials. The high cultural component links to the group's humanistic moral attitude, that refers back to the North of Europe, but with a native point of view.

Conclusions

As indicated at the beginning of the text, design has an important role for a group of individuals to create its own identity, with the intention of differentiating themselves, since the products communicate a series of values that are detected by the users. At the same time, a series of concepts elaborated by Bonsiepe can help explain how an identity materializes through design:

1. In the way of a set of formal or chromatic characteristics. That is to say, through the contribution of the own designer, in this case, of Jordi Vilanova. It is a modern proposal for simple furniture, functional, with pure lines, sincere, combinable, thought out for small spaces and small economies. In general, pieces are of white wood, without color or dark varnishes.
2. In the taxonomies of products, the types of products typical of a culture. Among the furniture by Vilanova we can highlight those destined to furnish bedrooms, dining rooms and living rooms. But he also worried about decorating with lighting and decoration accessories befitting to the spaces, like curtains, bedspreads, lamps and other items. They are spaces thought out for the requirements of the new urban promotions of that time, but also perfectly valid for second homes in the coast or mountain.

Fig. 3 Double bedroom (© Fundació Història del Disseny).

3. In the use of local materials and their corresponding fabrication methods. The slow industrialization in Spain produced a low technological level, and thus, it allowed the survival of artisanal and traditional production techniques. Companies like Jordi Vilanova's subsisted through providers (carpenters, upholsterers, metalworkers…), so they became a kind of 'editors'. Apart from that, the use of local (or national) prime materials like wood, leather, raffia, bulrush…
4. In the use of a specific project method. As we have seen, Vilanova and La Cantonada positioned themselves against the massification of big series and standardization, finding them dehumanizing. On the contrary, they advocated for the creation of objects with a humanistic character, adapted to specific needs based in an austere way of life, made in a semi-artisanal way and hence less technological. In short, "small series objects", those found between the esthetic of privilege (craftsmanship) and the esthetic of masses (industrialized items). We understand his will to create a language specific to Catalan design that was to be qualified as "Mediterranean", but inserted in the modern rationalist current and far from folklorism. The same way Scandinavian designers did it, uniting their artisanal traditions – preserved thanks to a late industrialization – with modern design.
5. In the thematic typical of the context. In a context of Francoist dictatorship during the 1960–70s, intellectual and cultural circles of Catalan society looked forward to standing out from a society impoverished through their circumstances and to modernizing themselves through design. It was a certain sector of the Catalan bourgeoisie that wanted to break from old style canons of the market, who widely accepted the style of furniture and space resolution that Vilanova proposed (Felip, 1995).

In the consumption of such a proposal there is an identity strategy from this progressive Catalan sector that feels "identified" (connected, related) with the values of an ideology transmitted by the products of Vilanova and La Cantonada.

Fig. 4 Double bedroom (© Fundació Història del Disseny).

Fig. 5 Kitchen (© Fundació Història del Disseny).

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The Design Phenomenon in Castellón:
The Development of the Ceramic Tile Industry and its Eventual Establishment as a System

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Design history / Design studies / Industrial design / Ceramics tile industry / Castellón

The main goal of this research is to study the development of the ceramic tile industry in the province of Castellón (Valencian Country, Spain), understanding it as an example of a local or regional economy of Mediterranean tradition consolidated as a powerful production center on a global level. In the context of the history of design, specifically in the history of industrial design, we will analyze the historical bases of this legitimation process whereby Castellón establishes itself as an important center regarding industrial ceramic production. In the same way, we will question the functioning of the current field of the ceramic industry in this geographical center and how design has influenced its consolidation. We conceive this field as a social unit that is amenable to examination, considering the role of the different professional institutions that take part in it: design schools and universities, research centers, design museums, professional associations, among others.

Introduction

According to data from the ASCER – the Spanish Association of Ceramic Tile and Flooring Manufacturers – in its observations on the economic balance of the Spanish ceramic sector in 2016, in recent years Spain has established itself as the largest producer in Europe, in addition to being the leading ceramics exporter of the European Union. Moreover, the report elaborates on its concentration in the geographical area of the Castellón province as one of the main characteristics of the tile sector in Spain, reaffirming the importance of production centers such as the communities of Onda and Alcora, among other influential areas. According to the ASCER: “the sector is constituted as a cluster or industrial district relying on a whole series of auxiliary industries and related organizations in a defined geographical area. This confers a unique character upon it and is one of the keys to its worldwide competitiveness” (ASCER, 2018).

The main purpose of this paper is to reconstruct the genesis and progressive establishment of the Ceramic Industrial District of Castellón and show the ways in which the design factor has turned out to be key in this process. In the first place, we will contextualize the historical development of the ceramic industry in this geographical enclave. We propose the final stage of Francoism (1960–1978) and the first democratic decades in the history of Spain (1978–2016) as key moments in the professionalization and consolidation of industrial design in Castellón. We will reflect on the positioning of the different institutions related to the field of design specialized in ceramics that emerged during this period.[1] From this analysis, we present our hypotheses on the formation of a design system of the ceramic industry in Castellón.[2]

The origins of the ceramic industry in Castellón: from the pottery tradition to the industrial development of the 19th century

We will make some observations regarding the origins of the sector, offering key data to situate the investigation in relation to the idea of the Mediterranean character and the enhancement of its cultural heritage in a holistic sense. During the Islamic period, the Iberian Peninsula was a powerful ceramics producer in the Mediterranean, particularly regarding architectural ceramics for pavements and claddings, which promoted new tastes and technologies in other European countries and the surroundings. Focusing on the case of Valencia, we must point out the prominent role of Paterna and Manises (Valencia) as production centers. In these centers, the existence of important Hispanic-Moorish tile workshops, large-scale producers and exporters mainly to Italy and other countries around the Mediterranean and Europe in the 14th and 15th century has been well-documented (Gomis Martí, 1990: 53–55).

[1] Design historians such as Isabel Campi have stated in relation to the history of product design that in those territories in which design has been consolidated as a professional activity, the study of existing institutions in the field is interesting and suitable for analysis (Campi, I.: *La idea y la materia. Vol. I: El diseño del producto en sus orígenes*. Editorial Gustavo Gili, Barcelona, 2007, p. 230–231).

[2] For a definition of the design system, see Calvera, A. (Coord.): *La formació del sistema disseny Barcelona (1914–2014), un camí de modernitat. Assaigs d’història local.* Publicacions Universitat de Barcelona, 2014.

It is precisely, then, that the Mediterranean was a powerful trading center on a global scale, and we could locate Valencia as a local example of the protohistory of ceramic industrial design within this macro-region. Although the canonical design history tends to situate the beginnings of the design practice parallel to the industrialization of the process, it's worth mentioning a characteristic feature, namely, the existence of dynamic production or trading centers prior to the Industrial Revolution in the Mediterranean. Thus, we can maintain that there was already a certain idea of product design present in an organizational system based on workshop and guilds, something relevant when reworking the transnational map of design history.

On the other hand, ceramics history experts agree in locating the foundation of the Real Fábrica de Loza Fina and Porcelana de L'Alcora in 1727 as a direct forerunner of the Castellón ceramic industry. Its promoter was the illustrated Buenaventura Ximénez de Urrea, IX Count of Aranda. The existence of pre-industrial pottery workshops in the area, given the natural conditions of the geographical location that facilitated the sourcing of raw materials for production (soils, clay, water and firewood for the ovens), led him to promote this project. The creation and/or modernization of the Royal Factories (*Reales Fábricas*) in Spanish territory was an initiative of the newly established Bourbon monarchy. These were private companies that operated thanks to Crown privileges. That is, a direct intervention by the State to mediate in the progress of the industrial sector in Spain, where traditional agrarian activity predominated and would continue to prevail. This public intervention was inspired by the French illustrated model of the Manufactures Royales promoted by Minister Colbert in the Louis XIV period (Cabrera Bachero, 2015: 20–22).

The Count of Aranda published the operating ordinances of the factory, which included the policy of the government, economy, and management of the company. An Apprentice Academy was created within the manufacturing dependencies with the aim of providing the workers with technical and cultural knowledge: that is how masters and officials of drawing, painting, wheels, varnishes or furnaces, among other specialties, were trained. To enter the Academy you had to meet certain requirements: knowing how to read and write, having knowledge of basic mathematics, and you were expected to be from the county of Alcalatén (Cabrera Bachero, 2015: 52). In this sense, this organization system is essential to situating it as a key historic precedent in the establishment of a possible design system in Castellón. In fact, since the development of the fine earthenware factory and its influence, other historical centers were established for the mass production of ordinary earthenware and tiles in Castellón, such as in Onda or Ribesalbes: this model is considered as a bridge between the craft workshop and the industrial factory (Todolí, 2008: 171–172).

This production center contributed to the formation of the key pillars of ceramic production in the Plana de Castellón during the nineteenth and early twentieth century that prevail until today. Fleeing the jurisdiction of the owners of the Royal Factory, workers from L'Alcora were gradually established in workshops and independent potteries in the neighboring towns – the so-called Fabriquetes – imitating the products of the county manufacturer (Ortells Chabrera, 2005: 39). The boom of the mass-produced tile industry took place during the second half of the 19th century, driven by the increasing use of ceramics in the construction of new city extensions in Barcelona and Valencia, both in sumptuous and popular architecture and to the detriment of the production of artistic ceramics and pottery (Gomis Martí, 1990: 220). Companies that were originally located in larger towns, such as Valencia, moved their production centers to this area, mainly to Onda. In 1889, the first railway line connecting this town with the port of Castellón was inaugurated, close to the main transit routes that connected Barcelona and Valencia. In terms of labor, this relocation involved a reduction in wage costs and working conditions. The workers in the region of La Plana had no other alternatives but agriculture, and there were no established trade unions at the time, so labor unrest was much less common than in the cities, such as Valencia, with its traditionally established industrial network (Prades Albalat, 2016: 64).

This first territorial expansion led to the consolidation of Onda as the main center to produce mass tiles in Castellón at the beginning of the 20th century. The foundation of the School of Ceramics of Onda in 1925 is particularly interesting related to the development of design factors: technical ceramic workers were trained in both production processes and chemistry, decorative arts and more specializations essential for the sector. On the other hand, the Tile Manufacturers' Guild was founded in 1927, which over time would establish itself as the present Spanish Association of Ceramic Tile and Flooring Manufacturers (ascer, 2018). If factories specializing in luxury manufacture for the Spanish aristocracy emerged in Alcora in the 18th century, the mass production of tiles was consolidated in Onda when the sector was in full process of industrialization in the early twentieth century. The entirety of factories and production centers of the province of Castellón, established in Alcora, Onda, and other neighboring communities, reached 71% of the total production of the Spanish state towards 1929, a quota that was maintained until after the Civil War (Ortells Chabrera, 2005: 43–44).

The industrial reconversion of the 1960s and 1970s and the pillars of the professionalization of design in the Valencian Country in the case of ceramics.[3] The Spanish Civil War (1936–1939) and the subsequent establishment of the Franco regime meant a paralysis of the modernization and technological progress in the ceramic industry that had started at the beginning of the 20th century. The activity of the specific sector of ceramic coatings and pavements, which had established itself in the beginning of the 20th century, is gradually resumed, but with scarce resources and following outdated manufacturing processes: a working system based on the exploitation of cheap labor and little investment in innovation and product quality. The shortcomings in terms of design were evident, becoming one of the main problems of the sector around 1950 (Gomis Martí, 1990: 250).

Between the 1960s and 1970s, an industrial reconversion took place in the tile sector. On the one hand, this was due to the construction boom promoted by the National Housing Plans (1955 and 1965). On the other hand, the new composition of the world order meant the international unblocking of Spain, so the export of tiles to a foreign market, that had already started at the beginning of the 20th century, was resumed. A process of technological renovation was then initiated, considering that many of the factories had so far worked with traditional Arab ovens. Businessmen started to massively import machinery made in Italy, the main ceramic producer in the world. During the decade of 1960, for the first time, the sector of the population dedicated to the industry surpassed the one dedicated to agriculture in the Valencian region. The productive levels of the sector would reach maximum quotas during the 1970s, but with a notable deficit in terms of technological innovation and design policies (Ortells Chabrera, 2005: 45).

The businessmen once again grouped together to resume the activity of the Valencia Fair of International Exhibitions, promoted since 1917 by the so-called Gremial Union of Valencia, with the particularity that, instead of a single fair, monographic competitions began. Thus, the first Toy Fair (FEJU) took place in 1962, the first Spanish Furniture Fair, the *Madera y Mimbre* (wood and wicker) – the current furniture fair, Habitat – in 1963, and the first Ceramics and Glass Fair – current CEVISAMA – in 1965 (IMPIVA, 2009: 25). In this sense, we would like to point out that after several attempts, in 1959 the activity of the old Tile Manufacturers' Guild in Onda starts showing greater consistency under the name of ANSIA – National Trade Union Association of Tile Industrialists (ASCER, 2018).

The desire for renewal and modernization from the cultural context increased. For the first time, there was talk about design as a solution to the problems that dragged the country. In the cultural context of Valencia, the first articles published on design appeared in *Suma y sigue del arte contemporáneo* magazine, edited by the entrepreneur and collector José Huguet and directed by the art critic Vicente Aguilera Cerni (IMPIVA, 2009: 9). Originally, *Suma y sigue* was dedicated to contemporary art and architecture, and its advisory board was formed by members such as Giulio Carlo Argan, Bruno Zevi and Alexandre Cirici Pellicer. The magazine "will be the tip of the iceberg and expression vehicle for the small hub of professionals interested in design, who, in one way or another, would participate in the active life of the magazine" (IMPIVA, 2009: 22).

In the context of the cultural circle surrounding *Suma y Sigue* magazine, the *I Conversations on Industrial Design* were organized in the College of Architects of Valencia in 1967. With the sponsorship of the company Vikalita S.A., producer of Railite, and lead by the architects Salvador Pascual and Juan José Estellés from the COACV, the main members of ADI–FAD – Foundation of Arts and Design of Barcelona were invited to the conference to present their ideas about the importance of design in the development of a country's economy. The main presentations on the subject were held by Antoni de Moragas, Alexandre Cirici Pellicer, and Tomás Maldonado. According to the information collected in a subsequent publication, the main goal of the meeting was, in Salvador Pascual's words, "to create a group that promotes industrial design among us in Valencia" and to establish design in Valencia "as a normal activity that is essential to our emerging industrial and consumer society", making explicit reference to the case of the ceramic industry, among other regional industries (Vikalita; COACV, 1968: 3).

As for the application of design to the ceramics industry, other institutions which over time would end up sustaining the network that supports the state of the current sector were also founded during this period. On the one hand, designers, ceramic artists, and professionals from the sector, in general, promoted the creation of the Manolo Safont Tile Museum, founded in Onda in 1968. Safont, an artist and ceramic painter trained in the workshops of the tile factories in Onda, was a promoter and leader of the cultural life surrounding the museum and its exhibition halls, who was concerned with promoting the protection of the mass-produced ceramic tile heritage. On the other hand, the Institute of Ceramic Technology (1969) was created in the context of scientific and/or academic institutions, initially linked to the Polytechnic University of Valencia and later relocated to the Universitat Jaume I of Castellón; this represented the first attempt to establish a high research entity focused on innovation and the development of new technologies applied to ceramics.

We highlight these events and the creation of the first associations of entrepreneurs, exhibition fairs, cultural and scientific institutions related to the ceramic industry as the field's first contact with the professional design world. It was not easy to break through, considering the difficulties in a context of extreme industrial cultural precariousness such as that of the Franco regime in Spain. However, we conceive these first attempts at organizing as the origins of the professionalization of design. Alongside the demands coming from the industry itself, the cultural activation that was developed among circles of intellectuals linked to ceramics, as in the case of Manolo Safont, was decisive in relation to the increasing appraisal of design.

[3] See Renau, V. and Andrés, I., 2018, *"Notas acerca de la profesionalización del diseño en el País Valenciano: el caso de la cerámica en Castellón (1960 – 1978)"*, available in *Fundació Història del Disseny*: http://www.historiadeldisseny.org/wp-content/uploads/Notas-acerca-de-los-or%C3%ADgenes-de-la-profesionalizaci%C3%B3n-del-dise%C3%B1o-en-el-Pa%C3%ADs-ValencianoRenau-y-Andres-1.pdf (Last accessed: 10/06/2018).

Design and the consolidation of the Ceramic Industrial District of Castellón: 1978–2016. In 1978, the present Spanish Constitution came into force, following the death of the dictator Francisco Franco (1975) and the subsequent process of democratic transition. The 1980s were a period of cultural growth in every aspect that would be questioned with the beginning of the economic crisis that unleashed after the events that marked the history of the country in 1992, namely, the Universal Exposition of Seville and the Olympics in Barcelona. Design was an integral part of all this, living its own revelation during the 1980s. This decade is considered as a key period in the professionalization of the sector in the Spanish state: "Being a designer became a real job then, although in those moments used to be more enjoyable in the company of artistic creation than in industrial warehouses" (Torrent, 2013: 185).

In the case of the Valencian industry, it was then that the idea of design as a solution to the industrial problem took hold: "The entrepreneur understood that it was not enough letting objects evolve with the passing of time, but rather that an intervention on them could multiply the chances of success" (Torrent, 2013: 189). Thus, design started to be applied in the traditional industrial sectors, such as furniture, toys, footwear and ceramics, but with differences between them. In the case of ceramics, the debate on the function of design would be much smaller than in sectors such as furniture or lighting (Torrent, 2013: 195). It would not be until the 2000s that it would establish itself as a goal among the companies within the sector.

During the decade of 1980, the institutional network that would support the later industrial development was established in the field of ceramics. The IMPIVA – The Institute of Small and Medium Companies (*Instituto de la Pequeña y Mediana Empresa de Valencia*), 1984 – was founded: the official promoter of the first contemporary design policies in the region and collaborator with the main research centers or sectoral fairs, such as ITC and CEVISAMA. In the same way, the Association of Designers of the Valencian Country (1985) emerged as a result of the negotiations initiated during the 1960s and 1970s as we discussed above. On the other hand, the Alcora Ceramics Museum created in 1994 emerged from the cultural field with the aim of recovering and conserving the heritage related to the local ceramic production.

As for educational institutions, the Universitat Jaume I established in Castellón official education programs regarding design and ceramics, as the Technical Engineering in Industrial Design degree – which would later become the Degree in Industrial Design and Product Development – in 1991. Moreover, in 1994 the Schools of Arts and Crafts of the Valencian Community – the school in Castellón being the one specialized in ceramics – published a manifesto regarding its role and responsibility in the training of specialized professionals, highlighting its commitment to action regarding the necessary step from the quantitative product to the cultural product (Torrent, 2013: 191).

The process of creating these institutions, in the same way as the consolidation of the aforementioned ones, established the necessary institutional support network for the establishment of Castellón as a leading global enclave in ceramic production and quality (ASCER, 2018). Recent studies on the current state of the sector describe the region as a cluster or ceramic Industrial District (ID), which consolidated in the 2000s and after the global economic crisis in 2008. The concept of ID, which was used by Alfred Marshall at the end of the 19th century, was reclaimed by Giacomo Becattini in order to analyze the local systems of economic organization of the North-East-Center of Italy in the 1980s: specific areas characterized by an industrial profile and which display a certain economic dynamism, as well as a high industrial growth rate. According to Becattini, an ID consists of "A socio-territorial entity characterized by the active presence of a community of people and a group of companies in a natural and historically delimited area" that also share "a homogeneous system of values and perspectives […] that spread through the district, supported and transmitted through generations thanks to a system of institutions and customs (markets, companies, technical schools, unions, political parties, business associations, etc.) (Becattini, 1992, in Giner Pérez and Santa María Beneyto, 2003: 196).

The ceramic ID of Castellón is frequently compared to the industrial city of Sassuolo in Italy, also a Mediterranean ceramic production center, consolidated at a global scale. The productive systems of these production centers are based on the concentration of small and medium-sized companies, specialized in the different productive phases of the ceramic sector. In Castellón, these would be tile and ceramic cladding manufacturing companies, the production of frits, enamels and ceramic colors, extractive and spraying industries, as well as industries aimed at producing machinery and auxiliary industries and support institutions (Budí-Orduña, 2008: 387–390). The operating strategy of the sector is based on the restructuring and reorientation of production, especially after the global economic crisis of 2008: against the idea of competing by expanding the production capacity and maintaining low prices, the role of the departments that are responsible for product design has been strengthened, something that had been lacking in the Spanish ceramics industry until now. Thus, compared to the power of new production countries such as China, India or Brazil, investment in research and development and the implementation of the design and sustainability factors constitute the seal of quality of the Italian and Span-

ish industry (Budí-Orduña, 2008: 395–396). However, it was basically the evolution of the industry itself that finally ended up demanding the application of design.

In short, it is an integrated system based on both cooperation and competition relationships, supported by the network of local and/or national institutions that we have pointed out, which play a key role in boosting the sector and consolidating it as an ID. In its entirety, an economic model in which the global and the local interact, and which is based on a tradition and historical processes that are distinct from Fordist mass-production. We believe that it represents an example of local design history, which can make interesting contributions to large-scale narratives in the history of design in favor of an understanding of the global design phenomenon.

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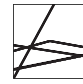

1 Design History and Histories of Design

1.4 From Ideology to Methodology: Design Histories and Current Developments in Post-Socialist Countries

Many aspects of design histories in the countries that emerged after the dissolution of the socialist European Bloc remain untold and unresearched. The history of design practice and theory within the context of the state-planned economy has yet to be completed, but for now we want to focus on the legacy of these historic ideas, concepts and projects within the context of contemporary design developments. Is there any continuity and, if so, what type? If there is a break-up in the design position within the social context, what are the new agendas in the recreated liberal economies? What lessons have been learnt from past ideological constraints on methodology for contemporary issues relating to design theory and practice? Is there anything useful we can learn from socialist-era design?

The strand welcomes proposals that analyse those design processes and specific projects that were particularly important in socialist times, in addition to proposals that discuss the continuities and discontinuities of such ideas in contemporary life.

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Back to the Future
The Future in the Past

ICDHS 10th+1 BARCELONA 2018

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Oriol Moret (ed.)

1 Design History and Histories of Design

1.4 From Ideology to Methodology: Design Histories and Current Developments in Post-Socialist Countries

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INTRODUCTION

1.4 From Ideology to Methodology: Design Histories and Current Developments in Post-Socialist Countries

Many aspects of design histories in the countries that emerged after the dissolution of the socialist European Bloc remain untold and unresearched. The history of design practice and theory within the context of the state-planned economy has yet to be completed, but for now we want to focus on the legacy of these historic ideas, concepts and projects within the context of contemporary design developments. Is there any continuity and, if so, what type? If there is a break-up in the design position within the social context, what are the new agendas in the recreated liberal economies? What lessons have been learnt from past ideological constraints on methodology for contemporary issues relating to design theory and practice? Is there anything useful we can learn from socialist-era design?

The strand welcomes proposals that analyse those design processes and specific projects that were particularly important in socialist times, in addition to proposals that discuss the continuities and discontinuities of such ideas in contemporary life.

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"Many aspects of design histories in the countries that emerged after the dissolution of the socialist European Bloc remain untold and unresearched...". Design history remains an esoteric activity within academic circles in most local contexts, so each contribution that recognises design cultures represents a valuable addition to the general knowledge of design as an activity that tends to harmonise both the social and the natural environment. What were the ideological expectations of design practice? What were the roles of design theories in the establishment of practices? What are the current developments in contemporary societies that rely directly or indirectly on former design ideas, concepts and projects, and what trajectories do they follow? Discussion on these and similar issues has yet to be had, but four papers in this strand suggest some directions the discourse could take.

In her paper 'From Their Values to Our Own', Anna Ulahelová offers an account of the beginnings of graphic design education in Slovakia at the Academy of Fine Arts and Design in Bratislava, with a focus on the situation before 1989 and during the 1990s in the context of the political and socioeconomic situation and the most significant changes to the system. In her paper 'From Ulm to Zagreb, Tracing the Influence of the Hochschule für Gestaltung in Socialism', Iva Kostešić proposes the dynamic mapping of key theoretical and educational issues at the Ulm School that had seminal influence on the establishment of design education and practice in contemporary Croatia. In her paper 'Visual Work and Methods of the UTE Graphic Workshop (1968–1973) in the Period of the University Reform in Chile', Rita Paz Torres tells the story behind the Taller Gráfico UTE as one of the main dissemination channels for the cultural, political and social work carried out at the Chilean Universidad Técnica del Estado (State Technical University), which was committed to the project of president Salvador Allende's Popular Unity alliance and the university reform movement in Chile.

In his paper 'The Role of Socialist Architectural Heritage and Design for the Construction of Contemporary Identities: Modernism in Warsaw', Gian Nicola Ricci offers an insight into the architectural heritage of socialist Warsaw, as analysed in parallel with design development across multiple fields such as housing, shop design, consumerism, visual communication and magazine graphics.

Fedja Vukić

From Their Values to Our Own: Development of Graphic Design Education in Slovakia after 1989

Anna Ulahelová
Vysoká škola výtvarných umení v Bratislave
Slovenské múzeum dizajnu

Design education / Graphic designer / Slovakia / Values / Professionalisation

The contribution researches graphic design education development at the Academy of Fine Arts in Bratislava (AFAD) before and, mostly, after 1989. It focuses on the issue of socio-political changes in Slovakia and their impact on the development of preferred values in graphic design in the graduates' community. The research subject covers defined generational graduate groups – from the founders of graphic design studios through four generation groups from 1989 to circa 2014. The contribution defines three phases in graphic design education development at AFAD, observes specific topics, types of design, approaches of influential graduates and pedagogues from the individual generation groups. Based on shared features, it defines central ideological and value phenomena in education development, reasons for their creation and their present-day overlaps. The research results evaluate the impact of ideological changes and the setup of education in the formation of graduates – such as distinction from the mainstream, tendency towards cultural and art production, and separation of the community towards characteristic values.

1. Context and methodology

Support infrastructure, education, and graphic design promotion do not have a strong standing in Slovakia. Similarly; it is also the case regarding researching design values and application as a part of various production sectors. Academy of Fine Arts (AFAD) with its current Department of Visual Communication is the oldest platform with continual university education in a graphic design profession in Slovakia. Graphic design studios emerged here after 1989, and they have played an essential role in the creation of new visions and definitions of a modern profession. However, the roots of graphic design, at the School, as so-called "applied graphics" reach back to 1957. In 2014 the overall number of graduates since establishment reached over 240 designers.[1] Thus we may see it as a cross-generational development of a community and research their tradition on what type of discussion does graphic design generate.

This contribution aims to define value fundamentals and their influence on the graduates' community after 1989. The central question: to what extent the changes in ideology impacted current setup and construction of internal values in graphic design education? The research methodology originates from the text by Malcolm Barnard and this reasoning on graphic design as one of the communication tools that reproduce but also produce social, cultural, and economic values in society (Barnard, 2005: 59). This perspective was applied to individual generational groups of graduates.

Generational groups of graduates were defined based on shared patterns of reasoning, the education phenomenon, and department graduates' projects (Fig. 1). The initial point in education setup is made up of the generational selection of the field's founders – graduates before 1989. The first generation of design studio graduates (1990–1996) was still exposed to the forces of socialist educational strategy and hence disposed of a lower graduate number. We can observe the rise of influential personalities, who had an impact on education, mostly in the second (1997–2000) and third generation (2001–2006), when the overall number of graduates in the field increased dramatically. The fourth generation (since 2007) is made up of the youngest graduates, when the graphic design methodology at AFAD, to some extent, stabilises to the current form (regarding the department structure). The contribution primarily notices selected graduates and pedagogues who have influenced the education development progress.

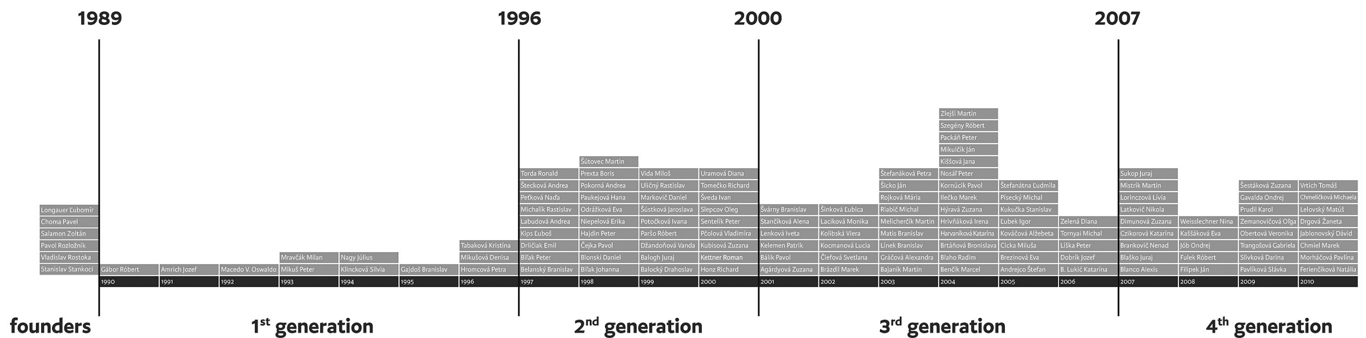

Fig. 1 Diagram of graduates after 1989 and generation groups division (©Ulahelová & Benčík).

[1] The figures from AFAD yearbooks (2005–2014).

Based on generational group analysis, three stages were evaluated in the formation of graphic designers' education values: 1. roots of values, 2. value formation, 3. value confirmation. Furthermore, general influence of changes in the market and political ideologies were also investigated in these periods. In this sense, it is important to reason about graphic design education in relation to the dominant social group (politics, market) that controls production and is becoming a popular sector for graphic design application (Barnard, 2005: 61–62). It also means setting preferred values and production realisation criteria in a given time. In the specified periods, it looks into the relationship of generational groups to this situation and subsequently evaluates their inner inclination to specific types of projects, approaches, and definitions of design. Based on this information, it was possible to define value preferences shared among all generations. The contribution's conclusions assess the character of education discourse setup and its influence on the current development.

The resources were researched based on artefacts and information from the period from the Department of Visual Communication in Bratislava, the archive of the Slovak Design Museum, and qualitative interviews conducted with selected designers representing the individual generation groups.

2. Theoretical framework

Before 1989: Roots of Values

The Soviet Union's occupation was characteristic for the Czechoslovak region's political situation between 1968–1989. Most founding figures of the graphic design studio after 1989: Ľubomír Longauer (1948), Pavel Choma (1950), Stanislav Stankoci (1959); studied at AFAD in Bratislava in the 1970s and 1980s. In Slovakia, socialist ideology and central control of the state dominated during this period. All walks of life, including the production of applied graphics[2] and education, were subject to the Soviet Union, normalisation of people and cultural groups, and the promotion of the state's power.

In the context of instruction at AFAD, the political influence reflected in an unofficial focus of the applied graphics studio on a political poster (respectively – communist posters). According to Longauer's words, it meant focusing the content and form on propaganda agenda and glorification of the Soviet Union (Longauer, 2010). Forced state strategy and harping on still identical agenda and the poster media made some artists, at a point, stand against the authority-defined values and inclined more towards their educational curriculum and author production. Artists tried to hide their resistance to hated assignments behind "apolitical" visual forms such as the use of capital letters, maps, neutral photomontages (Longauer, 2018). At the time, the visual quality of a majority of production was influenced by political propaganda and creation in the spirit of socialist symbols (e.g. red colour, sickle and hammer, or portraits of V. I. Lenin). It was also extensively influenced by a particular pattern and visual repetition of this production. Any production of applied graphics also needed to be scrutinised by a censor committee that assessed the quality of rendering based on political correctness and socialist values. In contrast, the future founders' generation tried to promote creativity and focus on seeking compromise in artistic expression and turned to their own belief in artistic and technical values of the field.

Jan Michl describes this period in the design production context as so-called "pre-industrial", where a more controllable manufacturing division of labour works better, instead of the structure characteristic for industrial production (Michl, 1998). The aspect also significantly influenced the designation of the applied graphic design as more art-craft production. Art graduates, as one of the few, could at the time function in the "free vocation" within the Slovak Fund of Visual Arts (ASVA) and to some extent, they could "choose" where they applied their skills (Stankoci, 2017). In their work and during exhibitions outside the school, the group of future founders tried to remain apolitical and neutral. They also mostly looked for more hidden options for their skills' application in book publishers, who, as Stankoci says, were less ideologically engaged and had experts available who were, just like graphics, trying to promote the visual quality of realisation over political ideas.

After 1989: Values Formation

The long-term political pressure and civic opposition to the occupation of Czechoslovakia led to the Velvet Revolution[3] and the fall of socialistic ideology in 1989. The economic and political situation changed overnight. The invasion of capitalism and liberal democracy had a dominant impact on societal change and formation of its values in the '90s. Jointly with the new market economy, production and consumer society were forming. State's central control was replaced by private ownership that allowed international companies to enter into Slovakia and establish local business entities in various sectors. The market and new competition – "competing" in production and sales brought western models of promotion and advertising agencies (Longauer, 1995). On the other hand, new technologies allowed progress in media communication and printing techniques. These sectors quickly changed the applied graphics' profession definition. Together with advertising and printing, new purposes of visual communication developed and with them, also a new position that needed graphic designers, art directors, or DTP operators.

The general euphoria also brought restructuring of authorities and institutions towards liberal democracy. The situation started to change at the Academy and in individual fields, too. Democratisation of a graphic designer's work allowed instead of one strategy and definition from the state's side, creating a whole array of own meanings of a professional. Ľubomír Longauer and Zoltán Salamon (1938–2015) were called to transform the original studio of applied graphics (political poster) at AFAD into two studios of graphic design. For the artists of the older generation, the challenge was not just to set up the new con-

[2] "Applied graphics" was the designation of the field and precursor of graphic design before 1989 in Slovakia.

[3] The Velvet Revolution – a series of non-violent protests against totality and dictatorship of one (socialist) political party happening in Czechoslovakia during November – December 1989.

tent and vision of education, but also generate the definition of a graphic design professional in the context of Slovakia as such.[4]

In his concept, Salamon defined graphic design as "the art of industry" (Salamon, 1989). He saw a professional as someone connecting the field in designing and promoting industry product. On the other hand, Longauer defined, in 1995, the vision of a graphic design graduate as a creative artistic individuality, an author with his own opinion and demands in entering assignment interpretation. He called a new designer "the artist at the computer" (Longauer, 1995: 7).

Longauer's vision mostly reacted to the situational change in aesthetic criteria of realisation quality and increasing commercialisation of graphic design. In reality, mass consumption introduction influenced enormous growth in production preferring quantity and speed of communicating instead of quality product aesthetics and material rendering. In contrast, Longauer defined graduate instruction as an individuality with his own programme, to not just become a cog in the wheel of advertising agency machinery.

Application of these visions is visible mostly in the Studio 202 graduates' generation at AFAD. Initial assignments considered new topics like the visual identity of institutions (such as AFAD, Andrej Bagar Theatre), posters for popular books, theatre and movie shows or packaging for new products. However, in the process of topic interpretation, students were navigated more towards following artistic values and functional attributes of the product itself as well as aesthetic quality, artistic language, novelty, sophistication; losing the perspective of client's inner needs, usage environment and user. Specifically, e.g., the cooperation on designing the logo of the Industrial Property Office that subsequently became an author project (Longauer, 1995: 8) with students' subjective interpretations (Fig. 2). Assignments later focused on specific kinds of graphic design like creating and experimenting with typography, posters for culture, book design, illustrations, and author topics. Most projects in graphic design studios in the 1990s, but also after 2000, were made using traditional techniques like drawing, serigraphy, painting, and photomontage; as a result, they more resembled original production similar to art and new studios thus still perceived graphic design as craft.

After 2000: Values Confirmation

In Longauer's 202 Studio, the first indication of a community started to develop (graduates of the years around 1997–2000); it shared similar value priorities in designing and reasoning about graphic design. An overall increase in students' interest in the fields of applied art helped too.

Among the Studio 202 students in the 1990s, there was a characteristic mild form of anarchy and a certain vibe of freedom. It also reflected in rebellion against authorities and ridicule of not just traditional socialist symbols and aesthetics, but also consumerism critique. On the other hand, this generation was looking for inspiration in graphic design works from the western trends and traditions. In a more considerable extent, it regarded mostly studying typography methodology and international style, computer literacy and trends in the fields of media and the Internet. In the majority, the application of these features occurred mostly at an empirical and experimental level. Individual graduates of this generation also demonstrated extensive use of the design that took place during the 1990s. One part of the group – such as Borix Prexta (1974), Rastislav Michálik (1973), Peter Hajdin (1973) – found their application in advertising or established their own studios focusing on private companies. The second part started to pursue more marginal spheres of graphic design such as comics and caricature – Martin Šútovec (1973); designing typography – Johanna Balušíková (1974), Peter Biľak (1973); illustrations – Emil Drličiak (1973), Pavol Čejka (1973), or multimedia. To some extent, this division also reflected the ambivalent relationship developing among graduates towards central production. Most graduates from the first and second generation were getting jobs in advertising agencies during their studies at AFAD in the 1990s. On the other hand, the education aimed to perpetrate a graduate for a career of an author. Some graduates also stayed at the Academy and took positions of new assistants. Emil Drličiak's personality and his creative approach in practice influenced the following third graduates' generation.

Šútovec's diploma thesis, "Prostitution as a method of self-realisation" (Šutovec, 1998), radically criticised the commercial focus of graphic design and works of a graphic designer. The third generation (since 2001) also followed in such criticism and distinction from commercial production. A part of students of this generation started to focus on reflecting graphic design and conditions in working in design as well as on new independent forms and possibilities of integrating quality design (student endeavours such as ŠiBeMat and civic society of designers – 1977).[5]

In that era, an array of new platforms developed; they supported alternative culture in Slovakia such as Buryzone or Stanica Žilina-Záriečie and a range of independent magazines on subculture (*3/4 revue*), photography (*Park*: Fig. 3) and young visual art (*Vlna* [Wave]). At the time, some students like Ján Šicko (1977), Marcel Benčík (1977), Palo Bálik (1977) and Branislav Matis (1978) criticised the so-called "coarse-grained" commercialism and naturally connected their programme at School with works for

Fig. 2 Proposal for *Industrial Property Office* logo. Author: Juraj Balogh, 1995 (© Slovak Design Museum).

[4] The Slovak Republic was established as a sovereign state on 1.1.1993.

[5] The ŠiBeMat group consisted of students and designers: Ján Šicko, Marcel Benčík and Branislav Matis. Their focus was criticising a graphic designer's work conditions in Slovakia within the commercial sphere. This group continued in similar activities in the civic society 1977 that organised the Kupé conference, 2005–2011.

new culture (Matis, 2016). The shared attribute of their approach was art and conceptual experiment on the edge of legibility, anti-design, low-budget solutions, using minimalistic visuals, and typography. Education took place mostly as an empirical experience and seeking their own positions in overlapping with graphic design, art, and activism (events, performances, exhibitions as outcomes of graphic design). Individual students of the activist generation gradually built their own programme in various sectors connected with graphic design, such as multimedia and experiments with VJ-ing (Ján Šicko), book design and typography work (Palo Bálik), conceptual design and experiments with interconnecting graphic design and architecture (Marcel Benčík). The same group remained at school in pursuance of postgraduate study and later as teachers; they influenced the youngest generation of graduates after the year 2007.

The fourth generation of graduates continued in some projects of the previous generation and developed the ideas of activism and education in graphic design in joint projects and their own platforms Dizajn na kolesách [Design on Wheels] (2006–2009), Open design studio (from 2007),[6] and built studios in Cvernovka. They continued in solving aesthetic and visual outcomes of the previous generation mainly in connection with cultural projects (visuals for cultural organisations such as A4, Subclub, Art Film Fest). Focusing on their own works was becoming more common – author projects and books (self-publishing) or critique in connection with the culture of public space (student projects as Chrámy konzumu [Shrines of Consumerism] or Nové učebnice [New Textbooks]). The young generation also focused more on promoting local values and the new phenomenon of so-called "young business".[7] This generation also aimed to deepen professionalisation in specialised fields connected with graphic design, as it happens mostly in case of typography or book design (Kašáková, 2016).

The personas of the third and fourth generation now form teaching staff at the Department of Visual Communication (AFAD). Notably individual graduates of the third generation got ahead with their own programmes, values, and visions of a graphic designer-professional in new specialised platforms such as Typography Laboratory (focused on experiments and typography making), Multimedia Laboratory (focus on multimedia) or Studio 303 (focus on concept works in design and its connection with architecture).

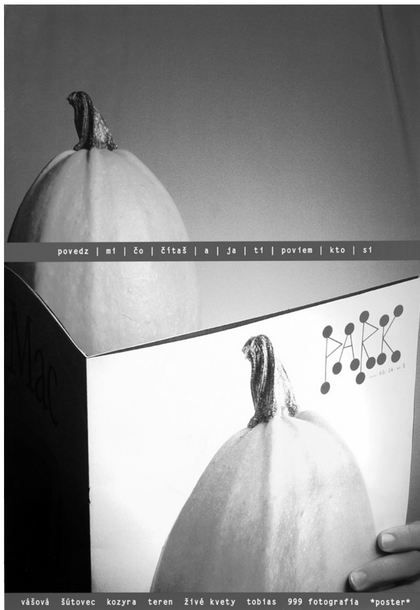

Fig. 3 Poster for *Park* magazine. Author: Palo Bálik, 1999 (© Slovak Design Museum).

[6] The projects such as Design on Wheels and Open Design Studio belong among activist projects established by graphic students themselves. The main aim was mostly to uplift cultural awareness about graphic design in the areas outside Bratislava downtown.

[7] So-called "young business" is a tendency emerging in Slovakia together with the economic crisis after the year 2008. The youngest generation of Slovaks in various fields is starting up their own companies (mostly coffee shops and specialised stores) or smaller projects with the accent on local values and also their own experiences with foreign culture and social trends.

Influence of the past on the characteristics of graphic design education

The overview of shared tendencies in the development of graphic design education in individual generations shows the influence of two significant regimes that followed one another in a relatively short time in Slovakia. These dominant ideologies left negative connotations in education and also in the position towards authorities and the state sphere (propaganda extremes and socialist production regulation), also in the concept of the market (extreme production commercialisation in the 1990s capitalism). We could argue that education in graphic design hence formed as an alternative discourse with opposing values to the dominant ones for the majority (state and market) – political criteria and profit values. At the same time, it means that this discourse brought an opposing stance against the staple (mass) production, it has mostly reflected in gradual interest selection and influence of partakers in cooperation with minority cultural production and the independent art sector. Generational transference of this setup presents itself from definition of the founders' generation (in their own exhibitions) to the current generation of creators (focus on original self-projects).

Primary education values in graphic design focus on conceptual, aesthetic, and material culture of realisation of the project itself (influence of art and the Academy). At the same time, the issue of cultivation as a critique of culture social public space is becoming a preference in graphic designers' author projects (see, for example, generational projects of the 1977 group or Design on Wheels). The level of cultural realisation can be considered as a shared target of all generations' education. It has become the fundamental evaluation criteria of its methodology.

Historically, the inclination of education towards solving cultural standards of design is logical. In my opinion, it originates in Slovak historical tradition, where solid cultural education has been non-existent concerning applied art fields (such as urbanism or applied graphics). It is also influenced by the absence of broader discussion on the topic of public culture and societal style (also resulting in an uncontrolled invasion of visual production in the 1990s).

Another reason for the dominance of aesthetic standards in graphic design is also insufficient focus on discussion and critical reflection of graphic design itself. In this area, the third generation (the 1977 Group) 2005–2010 generated a more significant part of activities in internal community topics – such as the value of a professional and position in the context of central and eastern Europe. However, these activities have not developed further, and to some extent, they have deepened designers' independent role and self-confidence in just considering their own (author) decision-making in the working process. We can perceive this situation mostly in the education of the second and third generation focused on processing project forms, experiment, and intellectual components as quality criteria. We could say that a student and graduate of the field function as some kind of hybrid artist in graphic design. It results in education discourse getting closer to production and reproduction of professional values and selecting influences of graphic design application on those who identify with it themselves (Bourdieu, 1984).

Education in graphic design, despite its interconnection with the state, has developed more like a bottom-up activity. After 1989, we can see that this initiative emerged from several applied artists and their efforts to "create" a profession. After years of dependency on external needs – in socialist ideology values and market – Slovak graphic designers as freelancers can genuinely work on more independent projects allowing them a considerable extent of their own freedom in creation. On the other hand, the education discourse works in the same client and consumer group with identical value criteria. The danger for the current and future development of this group may lie in the world full of quality production, new ideas, systems, creativity, and designer reasoning will remain isolated in still the same topics sans any further development.

3. Conclusions

The prolonged era of politically enforced systems generated scepticism towards authorities and public institutions in graphic design education in Slovakia after 1989. The extreme focus of production on the market, commerce, and the private sphere during the '90s only amplified this gap. The generation of founders (opposing ideology and market) and second generation of graduates (opposing market and commercialism) are mostly characteristic with their demarcation of dominant influences. The setup continued to transfer and modify to the third and fourth generation internally. The shared denominator of the tendency in graphic design education in AFAD is the inclination to alternative culture and values that lean towards artistic, educational, and philosophical aspects of graphic design.

Discourse on education in graphic design logically required time to build its methodology and background. Some autonomy is understandable in this field and also in the context of the academic ground that works with larger independency in the value definition and in its essence, it is market-independent. Further development of education at AFAD now requires to focus on the question of what values should a graphic design graduate bring to society?

Broadly, we can evaluate that except the bottom-up strategy that prevails in education and market-driven graphic design in Slovak primary production, there are other strategies and authorities still missing in considering how to connect cultural values with the political system and public institutions. Education discourse at AFAD needs new reasoning and design value ideology that would promote not only artistic aspects of works but also human qualities of design (influence of society on human behaviour in a given environment). This may work only in the broader interconnection of education with modern society and scrutinising its course within various groups and current issues.

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From Ulm to Zagreb – Tracing the Influence of the Hochschule für Gestaltung in Socialism

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Sveučilište u Zagrebu

Design history / Design methodology / Theory / Social context / Education

This paper aims to explore the influences of the theoretical concepts of the Hochschule für Gestaltung (HfG) on the forming of design theory, practice and its institutionalization in the social and economic context of socialist self-management. The focus will be on the situation in the Republic of Croatia and particular efforts in design theory and design practice establishment, with the aim to present the relationship between the strong theoretical influences and real achievements in design practice within the context of industrial modernization of a specific ideological type. The question is how and why the HfG had such a great influence on design in socialist Croatia (one of the most developed constituent states of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia)? What are the connections between Ulm and Zagreb and how did they appear?

Introduction

It seems appropriate to devote a paper to the Hochschule für Gestaltung (HfG) in Ulm on the 50th anniversary of its unfortunate closing, as it undoubtedly changed the course in design theory, practice and education.

The HfG in Ulm is globally known as a spiritual successor of the Bauhaus, and the most prominent design school of the post-World War II period. It was the cradle of a new approach to design that put its focus on scientific objectivity through implementing the notions of science and methodology into the design process (especially through the theories of Tomás Maldonado, Gui Bonsiepe, Abraham Moles and Otl Aicher, to name a few), emphasizing the interdisciplinary nature of design.

The teachers and students of the HfG, due to the international character of the school, spread the ideas forged at Ulm worldwide, and found solid ground for the exploration of their concepts in the efforts to establish both design practice and design education within socio-political, economic and technological contexts that are both similar and different from the ones in the Federal Republic of Germany. As early as the 1960s, the 'Ulm diaspora', as noted by Bonsiepe (1991), reached as far as Brazil (Escola Superior de Desenho Industrial, ESDI in Rio de Janeiro), where some of the instructors were HfG alumni, and India (National Institute of Design in Ahmadabad). This 'diaspora' also includes the former Socialist Republics of Croatia and Slovenia that were the most industrially advanced states of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, whose ties with the HfG were made possible by the active participation of local design theorists in the ICSID congresses throughout the 1960s, during which there were strong attempts to form design as a concept and a practice in the local context of socialist self-management.

This paper aims to explore the connections and influences of the theoretical concepts of the HfG on the forming of design theory, practice and its institutionalization in Croatia.

A New Course in Design: Ulm and Zagreb in the 1950s

The influence the HfG had on establishing design as a concept and practice in the former Socialist Republic of Croatia may be in part attributed to Tomás Maldonado, who taught at the HfG for 13 years. After Max Bill's departure in 1957, Bill's concept of the school, that nurtured the Bauhaus tradition through the emphasis on self-expression and art, was abandoned (Lindinger, 1991). Maldonado, Otl Aicher and Gui Bonsiepe turned the school's program to science, methodology and modern mass production technologies. As stated in the *Journal of the Ulm School of Design*, Maldonado was the first to 'draw on scientific disciplines for the formulations of design' (Bonsiepe, 1967: 71). This was a change in paradigm, from seeing design as *applied art* (as taught at the Bauhaus), to constituting it as *applied science*, especially social and human sciences (developed at the HfG) (Findeli, 2001: 9). This model became the dominant educational framework in design schools on an international level, as well as the basis for educational design institutions in republics formed upon the dissolution of socialist Yugoslavia.

During the 1950s, as the Ulm school of design was being established, the concept and the practice of design in Croatia and Slovenia were just being elab-

orated in the socio-economic context of state planning and socialist self-management, which was introduced at the beginning of the decade. Strong efforts were put into the notion of modernization though industrialization and urbanization that opened the discourse on the need for art in industry and, later on, for industrial formgiving as a theory of designing for industrial production and mass market. At this point in time, there were no greater influences of Ulm ideas in Croatia, but it should be noted that the 1950s were a decade of setting the ground for defining the phenomenon of formgiving in the local context, that will be formulated as design in the 1960s (Vukić, 2007). To this end, organizations, manifestations and groups like EXAT 51, The Zagreb Triennial exhibition, and the 'Studio for Industrial Formgiving' ('Studio za industrijsko oblikovanje') that were formed during the 1950s in Croatia, were pivotal as they provoked the elimination of boundaries between fine and applied art, and advocated the notion of quality living standards. In the context of Ulm ideas, it is worth noting that the group EXAT 51, founded in 1951 in Zagreb (two years prior to the opening of the HfG), tended to fuse science and art, which is evident from the name of the group as it stands for experimental atelier, thus combining the scientific method of the experiment and the artistic studio.

As for the elaboration of the concept of design in Slovenia, that was aside from Croatia the most developed state of former Yugoslavia, Max Bill's translated essay "The Basis and Aim of Aesthetics in the Machine Age" published in 1954 in the Slovenian journal *Architekt* ('Arhitect'), along with the text on the new building in Ulm, and the Ulm study program, grounded the process of formulating the concept of design in Slovenia in the domain of architecture, industrial production and residence (Vukić, 2008: 168). Interestingly enough, the editorial board of the journal *Architekt* posed a question in a questionnaire on the relation of folk art, applied art and product design in an issue published in 1952, to which Max Bill sent the answer: 'Industrial design, or product design was established from the recognition of the machine as a means of production, and from the sense of responsibility toward the user' (Vukić, 2008: 155). Educational reforms in Slovenia were also largely influenced by Bill's concepts evident in the foundation of the 'B Course' that was formed at the initiative of Slovenian architect Edvard Ravnikar in 1960 at the Faculty of Architecture in Ljubljana, that was to cover the expanding scope of architecture including designing objects, buildings and cities.

Design Theory and Methodology in Croatia. Maldonado's and Bonsiepe's theories had a direct influence on the elaboration of design, as a concept and practice, in Croatia and Slovenia during the 1960s. But despite strong efforts and high ambitions of local theorists to establish a school for design education, this was not accomplished for another two decades by founding the Department of Design within the Academy of Fine Arts at the University of Ljubljana in 1984 (Slovenia) and the School of Design in Zagreb in 1989 (Croatia), which is now a part of the Faculty of Architecture at the University of Zagreb.

As to why Ulm ideas had such an influence, the answer could be found in Maldonado's critiques of mass production and the idea of the social responsibility of the designer in the mechanism of industrial production and mass consumption. This was a good reference point for design theorists in Croatia, in so far as design (annotated as *applied art* in the late 1940s and the beginning of 1950s, and *formgiving* during the latter half of the 1950s) was a phenomenon of modernization that was carried out and measured through the development of industrial production, the market and mass consumption (Vukić, 2003: 16), especially during the 1960s and the implementation of the economic reform that combined elements of free market economy and state planning. Design was seen, from within the design discourse, as an instrument that could serve the socialist goal of creating better and more humanized living standards and conditions in conjunction with mass scale production. The ideas and teachings at the HfG were pivotal for the elaboration and institutionalization of design in both Croatia and Slovenia. Local design theorists, critics, practitioners and architects, who were members of EXAT 51, SIO, the New Tendencies movement and the 'Centre for Industrial Design' ('Centar za industrijsko oblikovanje'), such as Bernardo Bernardi, Matko Meštrović, Zvonimir Radić, Radoslav Putar, Mario Antonini etc., often reflected on the theories of Maldonado and Bonsiepe and took the Ulm model as an example of good practice for establishing design education in the local context.

The connection with the HfG was made in part through the involvement of HfG's students and professors, namely Almir Mavignier, Abraham Moles and Herbert Oehm (Meštrović and Putar, 1963) in the New Tendencies (NT) movement that originated in Zagreb (Croatia) in the beginning of the 1960s. The entanglement of the HfG with the NT is most evident through the journal *BIT International* published from 1968 till 1973 in Zagreb, as part of the movement, which presents essays from Abraham Moles, Max Bense, Karl Gerstner, Claude Schnaidt, Maldonado, Bonsiepe, and other theorists associated with the Ulm school. The fourth issue of *BIT International* (Bek, 1969), published in 1969, is considered

Fig. 1 *Bit International*, issue 4, 1969. Journal cover.

one of the most important issues from the series (Fig. 1). In part because it was entirely dedicated to design, and because it was devoted to the, at that moment already closed, school at Ulm. The volume presents key studies and papers from the *Ulm* journal from authors that include: Maldonado ("How to Fight Complacency in Design Education?"), Bonsiepe ("Education for Visual Design"), Maldonado and Bonsiepe ("Science and Design") and Claude Schnaidt ("Architecture and Political Commitment"). In Meštrović's essay "Homage to Ulm" from the same issue, he stated that the HfG 'is almost the symbol of the most avant-garde views reached by international theory and practice of industrial design today' (Meštrović, 1969: 5). This essay is a somewhat prolonged version of the one issued in the local journal *Dizajn* ('Design'), published by the Centre for Industrial Design (CIO), from February 1968 entitled "HfG in Ulm Facing Liquidation!?!" (Meštrović, 1968: 23). What is interesting is that the essay was translated and published in a special edition of the bulletin *Informationsdienst* of the Association of German Industrial Designers, commenting how it is insightful to see the attitude of an Eastern bloc country on the matter (Meštrović, 1968).

One point of fluctuation and the infiltration of HfG ideas was obviously made through the NT's publication *Bit International*, which was a platform for establishing the theory and practice of design in the local context, mainly through the writings of Matko Meštrović, the movement's main theorist, and Radoslav Putar.

The other entry point were the ICSID congresses (International Council of Societies of Industrial Design) in which Croatian design theorists and architects, primarily Zvonimir Radić, Matko Meš trović and Bernardo Bernardi, had an active role. Zvonimir Radić, who was highly engaged in the formation of design education in Croatia, was appointed a member of the workgroup of the Executive Board at the 2nd ICSID congress organized in Venice in 1961, dedicated to education and the profession of the industrial designer (Galjer, 2003: 60). Later that year, Radić, Mario Antonini and Slovenian designer Niko Kralj, visited the HfG. From that point onward Radić was intensively involved in the ICSID congresses, as appointed president of the Executive Board of the Section for Education of Industrial Designers at the 3rd congress in Paris, and the ICSID–UNESCO seminars held in Bruges in 1964 and Ulm in 1965 (Galjer, 2003: 62). These experiences were pivotal for Radić's elaboration of design education in Croatia, especially in his attempt to formulate an educational framework for design within the Centre for Industrial Design (CIO). CIO was formed in 1963 in Zagreb with the aim of "constituting design of industrial products as an integral part of modern production" (Kritovac, 1974: 39) and was, at the time, the most important design institution in Croatia. The activity carried out by the Centre, outlined by Radić, included organizing design exhibitions, publishing design manuals, design education and design practice. As part of its activity to promote design and educate the public, CIO organized an exhibition, among numerous others, about design in the FR of Germany ('Industrial Design in the Federal Republic of Germany', 1967) showcasing projects from the HfG.

The dissemination of HfG ideas and its influence on design in Croatia is also evident in CIO's publications that include: 'Instructions for Industrial Design' ('Uputstvo za industrijsko oblikovanje', 1964), 'Education of Industrial Designers' ('Obrazovanje i odgoj industrijskih dizajnera', 1968) that reported on the seminars in Bruges, Ulm and New York, 'Fundamentals of Industrial Design Methodology' ('Osnove metodologije industrijskog dizajna', 1968, Fig. 2) that references key theories and publications of the HfG faculty members, and presents Maldonado's 1964 definition of industrial design, the study program of the HfG as an example of good practice in design education, the Bonsiepe's diagram of design science.

CIO also organized a trip to the FR of Germany in June of 1968, with the aim of getting acquainted with the design standards in industry, the organization of design offices in production companies, and the institutions which promote

design. The group of Yugoslav designers and design experts also visited the HfG where they were received by Zlatan Međugorac, a Croatian student and associate professor at the HfG (Putar, 1968).

Meanwhile, in 1969 Edvard Ravnikar, a Slovenian architect, wrote a study 'Design', as one of the first extensive texts that deal with design theory in Slovenia, partly based on Bill's ideas and the reports from the ICSID seminar in Venice.[1]

[1] The study was republished in 2017 in Ljubljana (Ravnikar, 2017).

Another account of the impact of Ulm ideas is reflected in the adoption and development of Maldonado's concept of environmental design. In 1969 Fedor Kritovac published an article based on Maldonados's idea of design as a discipline that arranges the human environment as a whole, entitled 'What is Environmental Design (Design of the Environment)?' in which he defines and develops the terminology of the concept (Kritovac, 2003). In 1980 Matko Meštrović published a book entitled 'Design Theory and Environmental Problems' (Fig. 3), also largely based on Maldonado's ideas but with a critical view on Maldonado's environmental theory (Vukić, 2017).

As for the practice of design, there is a great gulf between design theory and its practical application as advocated in Ulm and translated and adopted in the local context. This is not the case for only Ulm ideas in practice, but a phenomenon of Croatian design in general. Despite and opposed to strong and thoughtful theoretical design discourse and established design institutions, the number of design projects that were put into production were extremely scarce. One of the few examples of design practice as advocated at the HfG and the 'B Course' in Ljubljana are Saša Mächtig's modular systems from the 1970s, such as the Kiosk K67, in which he combines elements of industrial and urban design (Vardjan, 2016).

Fig. 2 *Fundamentals of Industrial Design Methodology*, CIO, 1968, book cover.

Establishing Design Education in Croatia

As early as the 1950s, there were strong efforts aimed at establishing design education in Croatia, primarily through the founding of the Academy of Applied Arts in Zagreb in 1949, with Radić as one of the lecturers. Unfortunately the Academy, which was set to be the educational arm of the School of Applied Arts, closed in 1954, only five years after its opening (Vukić, 2002; Vukić, 2015). Still it operated long enough to educate one generation that had a sound insight and sensibility towards design, as the students that graduated there, along with the members of EXAT 51, were involved in the founding of SIO in the 1950s and CIO in the 1960s. Another attempt of introducing design in education was set at the Academy of Fine Arts in Zagreb with the foundation of the Department for Artistic Architecture, where Radić was also engaged, and one of the students was Zlatan Međugorac, who later enrolled and graduated at the HfG (Galjer, 2003).

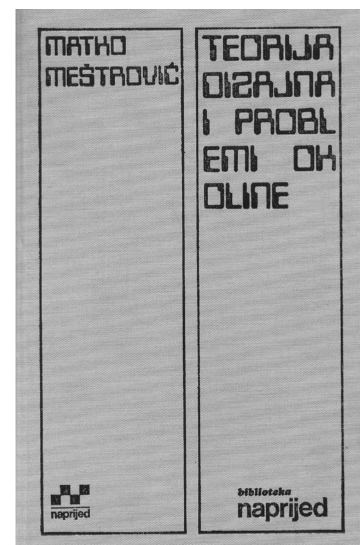

Fig. 3 *Design Theory and Environmental Problems*, Matko Meštrović, 1980, book cover.

In collaboration with the University in Zagreb, in 1973 CIO founded the postgraduate study 'Research and improvement of design' that was largely influenced and based on the Ulm program, as drawn up by Radić (who left CIO in 1967) and other members of CIO. An interesting note is revealed in a letter from the archive of the School of Design, which announced Maldonado's visit to Zagreb at the call of the Teachers' Council of the postgraduate study. The postgraduate design study shared the fate of the Academy of Applied Arts and closed as one generation graduated.

Finally, in 1989 on the behalf of the members of the Croatian Design Society the School of Design was established as an interdisciplinary school, as advocated by Maldonado and Bonsiepe. It was the first school to implement an interdisciplinary model of design education through inter-faculty organization (Vukić and Kristofić, 2013) with the collaboration of several faculties including the Faculty of Architecture, Academy of Fine Arts, Faculty of Mechanical Engineering and Naval Architecture, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Faculty of Forestry, Faculty of Economics and Business, and the Faculty of

Technology. The School was supposed to be organized in three departments: Product Design, Graphic Design and Environmental Design. The proposal passed but with two main departments that omitted the Environmental Design department (Ceraj, 2015). As of 2013 the interfaculty organization was ended and the School is now under the Faculty of Architecture, but still nurtures the interdisciplinary approach to design as propagated in Ulm.

Conclusion

What can the lessons brought from Ulm teach us today? Can they serve to further and improve design education, theory and practice? The methodology and theory developed at Ulm, that strives to approach design tasks in an interdisciplinary manner may still serve as a way to form design education programs that will prepare students for the challenging real environment. As technology advances, the answer to the ever more complex issues cannot be resolved through strict specialisation, but through interdisciplinary collaboration. Educational frameworks that show the development of Ulm ideas may be recognized in the ones that discard departmental divisions through specialization in specific design disciplines and explore the problem-space. Such programs are carried out, for instance, at the Design Academy in Eindhoven with departments such as Man and Mobility, Man and Well-Being, Man and Identity, etc.

In Croatia, the influence of the HfG remains strong even today, as the School of Design in Zagreb based its program on the model formed at Ulm. In that sense, the School of Design in Zagreb still carries out an interdisciplinary approach to design education and practice, which can be seen in its program and the course Creative Lab, a project-based, interdisciplinary, progressive educational platform based on teamwork and which combines several disciplines from both the scientific and artistic fields (Paliska and Vukić, 2016). The course was introduced in 2014/2015 and is carried out through the collaboration of the Faculty of Engineering and Computing, Academy of Music, Academy of Fine Arts and the Faculty of Economics and Business.

It would be of research interest to further investigate the reminiscence of Ulm ideas in today's education and compare them with contemporary design practice.

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Visual Work and Methods of the UTE Graphic Workshop (1968–1973) in the Period of the University Reform in Chile

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University Reform / UTE Graphic Workshop / Technical University of the State (UTE) / Design / Chile

The UTE Graphic Workshop was one of the main disseminators of cultural, political and social work of the Technical University of the State (UTE), an institution committed to the project of the Popular Government led by President Salvador Allende and the University Reform movement. As a space for graphic production and creation imbued with the revolutionary atmosphere of the time, it was to promote university work and its dissemination throughout the country through various graphic means. In order to address its importance in the history of design in Chile, we intend to investigate the origins of this workshop-press, the makeup of its team and workspace, and to understand its historical context. We will consult some of its graphic works as well as audiovisual archive film featuring the workers and machinery of the printing press, and testimony of the group of publicists in charge of the workshop.

Presentation

Our approach to the Graphic Workshop of the Technical University of the State (UTE) originates from questioning why this workshop-press is marginal to the history of design in Chile. It should be noted that the vast majority of the workshop's graphic work was destroyed by the military dictatorship in Chile, with the purpose of 'erasing' the existence of that historical period in the country. Consequently, this research involves the analysis of three sources: first, we worked with four institutional audiovisual archive films[1] related to the workshop, carried out by the "UTE Film and TV" unit,[2] which identified workers, machinery, printing processes and design; secondly, some graphic works made by the workshop were examined and contextualized in their historical period; finally, the testimony of the team of workshop designers was collected, revealing its work methods and beginnings as a graphic production unit. This renewed interest in the discussion about spaces of political commitment with ties to higher education institutions during the time of Salvador Allende's government, which supported the university and cultural extension of that moment as a means of visual production and creation, resulted in a contribution to the history of this graphic work in the country. The aim was to highlight the dynamics of creation and production, their background and historical evolution, and the nature of human relations among the team of workers that made up the workshop, information as yet unpublished.

"Chilean road to Socialism"

The electoral win of the Popular Unity government (UP) in 1970 paved the way for the idea of revolution in Chile. An open proposal for the unprecedented and democratic access to power of revolutionary forces, mainly Marxist, led the government of Salvador Allende to undertake a program with the objective of modifying the social structure of the country through nationalization of the basic national resources; redistribution of national income; advances in the solution of housing and health problems in the population; proposal for the creation of a new Constitution and the formation of a People's Assembly, among other points.

One of the most relevant aspects of the UP project in its 'thousand days' was the general approach in the area of 'Culture and Education', with the first regarded as a means to build a new society, reaffirming the ideal of peoples' solidarity, class awareness and national identity. Thus, the UP program established that the popular government would be responsible for 'the incorporation of the masses into intellectual and artistic activity, [...] through a radically transformed educational system' (Unidad Popular, 1970: 28) where the State will allocate more economic resources to the universities, ensuring the fulfillment of their future nationalization and democratization of functions.

Expansion beyond the university walls

The crisis of the educational system was further evidenced by multiple criticisms and discontent with the type of authoritarian, outdated, foreign-dependent and elitist training provided by higher education institutions in Chile. Immersed in this environment, full of structural changes at the country level, was the movement for University Reform, driven chiefly by students who energetically supported its central objectives: the strengthening of the social commitment of universities, promoting university extension through a rich cultural activity, and the democratization of decision making.[3] This demand for modernization implied a new approach to social reality through elementary activities such as teaching, research and university extension. Finally, eight higher education institutions joined the movement at the national level,[4]

[1] To see the videos, visit: https://www.youtube.com/user/archivodga.

[2] Cinematographic unit linked to the Department of Communications UTE that made an extensive audiovisual production of the most relevant activities of the university. The analysis of film material on this workshop is invaluable given that it helps visualize productive processes that currently do not exist and are not recorded elsewhere.

[3] For an in-depth view on the subject, see: Kirberg, E. (1981). *Los Nuevos Profesionales: Educación Universitaria de Trabajadores*, Chile: UTE., 1968–1973. México: Ediciones Universidad de Guadalajara.

[4] Universidad de Chile, Universidad Católica, Universidad Técnica Federico Santa María, Universidad de Concepción, Universidad Católica de Valparaíso, Universidad Austral, Universidad del Norte and Universidad Técnica del Estado.

initiating the reform process thanks to the transcendent milestone of the occupation of the UTE students of all its university headquarters in May 1961.[5]

[5] The UTE had nine strategic locations throughout the country: Antofagasta, Copiapó, La Serena, Santiago, Talca, Valdivia, Concepción, Temuco and Punta Arenas.

In this context, the UTE sought to promote and develop its university extension in the areas of art, culture and scientific-technological research. From the first period of the Rector Enrique Kirberg, in 1968, it became necessary to restructure and renovate work methods according to this ideological shift at the University:

> The communications and university extension [...] were disseminated in multiple organizations, with different and contradictory dependencies, without clarity of aims that made possible a coherent action directed to fulfill significant objectives in the cultural and communicational scope (Navarro, 2016: 157).

Thus, in September 1969, the UTE hired the writer and academic Yerko Moretic to head the new UTE Extension and Communications Area, tasked with the responsibility of coordinating a great number of activities and cultural initiatives: the creation of a UTE Publishing House and Bookstore; the publication of the *Reform Notebooks* and the *Technical University of the State Magazine*; organizing seasonal courses and presentations of the *TEKNOS* theater, among others. In addition, existing spaces such as UTE Radio and the Graphic Workshop were strengthened. However, Moretic died unexpectedly in 1971, leaving his post vacant after sixteen months of work in which he had facilitated the organization and coordination of the Area.

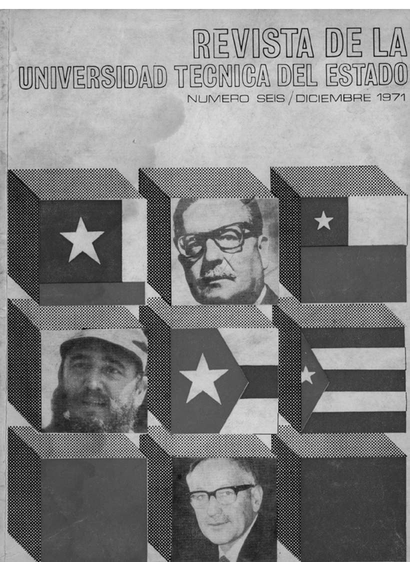

Fig. 1 Cover of the *Technical University of the State Magazine* number 6, with photographs of President Salvador Allende, Fidel Castro and UTE Rector Enrique Kirberg. Designed by Elías Greibe, printed in the UTE Graphic Workshop. December 1971. Source: Patrimonial Archive of the University of Santiago de Chile.

Subsequently, as a result of the new reformed structure proposed in the UTE, and with the re-election of Rector Kirberg in 1969, with the participation of students, officials and academics, changes were promoted at the internal level of the faculty that deepened and supported its university work. In 1971, thanks to the application of a New Organic Statute, five National Secretariats were created with the aim of democratizing and streamlining university activity at the national level around the concretion of its goals and reformed guidelines. One of these was the National Secretariat of Extension and Communications, based on the previous work carried out by Moretic in the UTE Extension and Communications Area.

This Secretariat advanced a new concept of university extension by "removing it from the cloisters, which could only be accessed by the intellectual elites, to take it to the people, especially those sectors secularly excluded from culture" (Kirberg, 1981: 82–83).

In this way, a concrete country-wide program sought to coordinate work with all the areas and work instances subject to this Secretariat. It is important to note that the group of professionals who worked in this venue and in other areas of the University was characterized in its great majority by having past links to the student leadership and mobilizations of the UTE in the decade of the 1960s, actively participating in the reform movement, thus constituting a collective of men and women (all former students) who had lived through this process of change through a vital and deep engagement. In the case of the Department of Communications and its nine units dedicated to communications work, one of which was the Graphic Workshop, these were independent but highly coordinated initiatives with the aim of creating, through various means, extension work that would disseminate the Reform movement in venues inside and outside the University.

Origins, graphic output and work structure of the UTE Graphic Workshop

In all public institutions, there was an area within the UTE for the copy of notes based on the use of mimeographs[6] and a simple photographic laboratory that sold "mimeographed" documents to students and teachers. Julio Astudillo, a photographer hired by the Rectory for the post of public relations of University activities, arrived to take charge of that space with the aim of building a work team and expanding the area. Between the years 1956–1957 he invited two students from the program of Pedagogy in Advertising at the Technical Pedagogical Institute (IPT),[7] Felipe Aibar and Omar Rojas, who in turn recruited another student of the faculty, Elías Greibe, a former student of the School of Architecture. In this way, the three students joined the center through an unpaid working practice format, working after classes with a flexible schedule.

[6] Manual machinery used for the low cost reproduction of large quantities of written paper.

[7] Educational institution created in 1944, responsible for the training of teachers and focused on the economic and technical fields in artisan schools, commercial, female and industrial crafts and mining. In 1948, the IPT was incorporated into the UTE.

From the years 1958–1959 the space was redefined as a new section called *Photography and Printing*, the latter term despite not having the equipment nor the infrastructure of a printer as such, instead serving to copy student notes. In this context, in 1962 Astudillo proposes the incorporation of industrial machinery for large print runs, leaving behind the manual character of the notes section, but undertaking new challenges by acquiring tools for the process before and after printing. It was thus that Rojas, raised next to a manual printing press in his childhood

[8] Rojas, O. (2015). Personal interview, 03/12/2015.

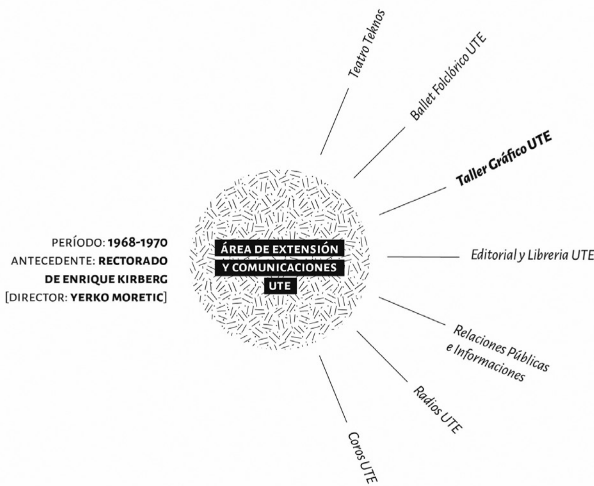

Fig. 2 Diagram of the different areas related to the UTE Extension and Communications Area (1968–1970). Source: the author.

neighborhood, became a key figure in the equipment of this new workshop, due to his experience and early immersion in the graphic world.[8] Having secured the laboratory space, it was necessary to buy a camera; copier and ironing machine; press; guillotine; bookbinder; among other items. In addition, a 1/4 *Mercurio* (poster size) monochrome offset printing machine was purchased, a key format for the production of posters. Thanks to the incorporation of new machinery and the presence of students, the work of the workshop at that time began to develop more broadly and concretely.

Initially, this area was oriented to photography and copying, first approaching the "printing of graphic pieces" in the domain of exhibitions, photographic murals and support of dissemination activities within the UTE. At the end of 1967, Aibar died as a result of health problems, and an invitation was extended to Mario Navarro Cortés, a teacher-training professor and recent graduate from the Advertising, Drawing and Audiovisual Pedagogy program of the IPT, who joined the workshop as graphic designer to the printing press, having been close to Rojas and Greibe, who had done their fourth year of studies while he was in the first. Due to the projection and expansion of the work carried out by the area, in addition to future expansion works to be carried out on the UTE campus, a more suitable place for its operation became necessary, with an opportunity arising at a property of the University located in Fanor Velasco 38–A Street, facing the headquarters where UTE Radio operated at that time.

The workshop expansion project brought two color presses from France, as well as a large paper folding machine, which posed a significant space problem. Rojas was hired as "chief of operations" of the printing press, with Astudillo staying on as director, but this changed with the arrival of Kirberg to the Rectory of the UTE, who asked for his resignation[9] and who summoned Navarro to take on the direction of the Press. Navarro, who already had a distinguished career as a professor at the University, as part of the group of publicists of the press, and finally recommended by Moretic, nominated Rojas for the position due to his technical level and industrial handling of all printing operations. This decision was accepted by the Rector, who understood that this resolution was part of the guidelines of the Reform, declaring with honesty who was qualified for that position. Similarly, Kirberg promoted Navarro to the position of "head of production", responsible for the organization of the printing press team.

With Rojas and Navarro at the helm, the idea was proposed to change the name of the workshop, which was no longer clearly linked to photography, renaming it *Graphic Workshop*. Likewise, three students of higher courses of the career of Advertising Pedagogy were incorporated: Pablo Carvajal, Enrique Muñoz and Ricardo Ubilla. In 1971, when the New Organic Statute of the UTE came into effect, Navarro was appointed National Secretary of Extension and Communications at the UTE, leaving Greibe as "head of production" due to his work and previous commitment to the workshop, while a final designer joined the work team: Alejandro Lillo del Campo, who in 1973 was transferred to the Film and TV area to work as art director of the future UTE TV channel.

In this way, the workshop had begun to be recognized as an industrial-level press, fulfilling a relevant role in the period of the rectory of Kirberg, which was to design and print all the graphic material needed by the UTE at the national level to support and communicate the Reform process. Finally, the production and activity of the workshop was interrupted by the Military Coup of September 11, 1973, along with most of the instances linked to the University. It was raided by military forces on September 12 of that year, after which the collections of photomechani-

[9] Astudillo came into question from an ethical and moral standpoint due to the implementation of materials and tools of the printing press for his personal use in his photography workshop.

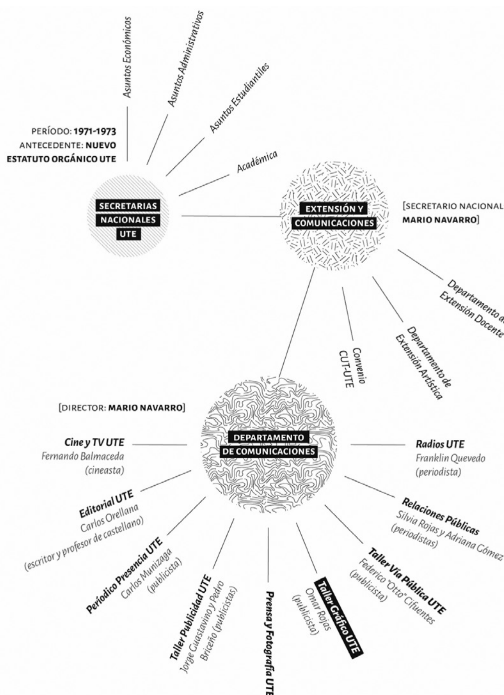

Fig. 3 Diagram of the different areas related to the UTE National Secretariat of Extension and Communications and the Department of Communications (1970–1973). Source: the author.

Fig. 4 UTE Graphic Workshop Designers (1970). From left to right: Enrique Muñoz, Ricardo Ubilla, Pablo Carvajal, Mario Navarro and Carlos Acuña. Source: *Un grito en la Pared* (2009).

cal and photographic images of the workshop were destroyed, along with several years' worth of printed works of the permanent production of the press, of incalculable historical heritage value. However, it remained in operation until the beginning of 1980, with the majority of the team of workers employed, at which time it was dismantled with its machinery and laboratories.

The graphic products made in this workshop-press were characterized by the use of modern visual elements, linked to the aesthetic trends of the 1960s and 1970s, observing in their designs the application of collage, high-contrast images, use of screen printing, engraving and sans-serif typefaces. This material, mainly printed and of great technical and artistic quality, was to take its place in the collective imagination of that era of revolution and reform by creating its own and recognizable visual language, thanks to the collaborative work of more than 30 workers, specialized in the techniques of the graphic arts, and the professional contribution of the team of UTE publicists through the countless visual communication projects they created such as: magazine design; illustrations; printing and newspaper layout; brochures; book covers, among others.

Beginning with the creation of the National Secretariat of Extension and Communications and its three associated departments, the Graphic Workshop would no longer work as an isolated entity. Under the direction of Rojas and Navarro, a series of internal administrative systems were established, including the initial reception of the order from the Communications Department. This workflow was greatly related to the spatial layout of the Graphic Workshop, located in the building at Fanor Velasco 38–A. This property was characterized by two large spaces: the first, located on the third floor, consisted of a design area, linked to the stage of creation of graphic proposals by the designers. The second, located on the first two floors of the building, was related to the area of graphic printing by the graphic arts technicians who, in continuous collaboration with the designers, carried out the serialized production work. This allowed the dynamics of work carried out by the designers to be defined by an experimental creative process, which was based on the conversation and fluid collaboration of all the workers, who were able to test and make decisions about what was wanted visually and to carry it out in the final product. Unlike the 'Old University' where personalism and the centralism of tasks and achievements reigned, the reformist change in mentality set out to transform that outlook into a vital consciousness of teamwork, valuing every process and contribution of each member, decentralizing decision making, profits and responsibilities.

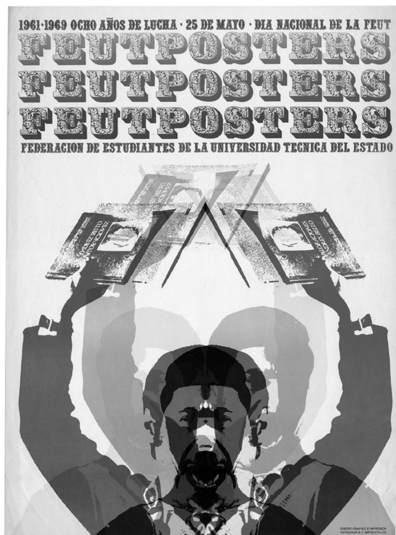

Fig. 5 Commemorative poster for the eight years of the UTE reformist movement of 1961. Design by Mario Navarro Cortés, printed at the Photography and Printing section. Source: Patrimonial Archive of the University of Santiago de Chile.

Final words

When trying to understand how the UTE Graphic Workshop faithfully responded to its historical context, a time in which the structural transformations proposed by the government of the Popular Unity expanded country-wide, at the scientific-technological level, as well as political, educational, cultural, social and graphic levels, it is possible to reach several conclusions.

The first, linked to the visual language of the various graphic mediums and the work experience carried out in the workshop, reinforces the focus and mission that characterized the UTE as a technological and committed university space, especially in the period of the University Reform, which opens a debate about how, at the time, the various revolutionary ideas present in Chile were presented, about the need to continue nurturing and supporting ideological debate, and how the university extension provided a real link with their environment beyond their educational community. In line with the idea of ideological pluralism and democracy raised by the Reform, it was proposed to collaborate with different people, regardless of their bias or political identity, proposing a broad platform that would bring everyone together. In the case of the Graphic Workshop, the majority of its workers were not affiliated to a political party, and in some cases were not affiliated with the UP, but all considered themselves "reformists", reaffirming their commitment, through graphic works,[10] to the transformative process that the University experienced.

[10] Navarro, M. (2015). Personal interview, 25/11/2015.

Secondly, given that the reconstruction of the origins of graphic work in Chile has been developed through research by institutions of higher education clearly related to design, such as the professional design schools set up at the University of Chile, Catholic University and Catholic University of Valparaiso, which owe their existence to the University Reform movement, [11] educational spaces that did not have design studies such as the IPT with its program in Advertising, Drawing and Audiovisual Pedagogy,[12] are ignored. This is important given that this course provided a large number of professionals, former students who in one way or another participated in the reform movement of the UTE, and who later became a vital part of the implementation of this 'New University', taking up managerial or professional posts in different areas dependent on the National Secretariat of Extension and Communications, including the UTE Graphic Workshop.

Finally, and contrary to the way of writing or making history that generally attributes great ideas and responsibilities to certain historical protagonists, which is inconsistent with the ideals of the University Reform where the transformations, rather than being led by enlightened individuals, were the result of the effervescence of that time, with a vision of collaborative work from different areas, it is necessary to state that the UTE Graphic Workshop should not be seen as a separate and dominating actor of that time, but its contrary. It was, instead, a graphic space committed to and coherent with events taking place in the University and in the country, having as its work methodology the horizontal interaction with the other areas of the National Secretariat of Extension.

The above is a crucial point given that, in Navarro's words, the UTE Graphic Workshop, thanks to its organizational form and to being historically one of the first extension spaces linked to communication, as well as being in charge of professionals imbued with the guidelines of the University Reform, various work methodologies began to develop, setting the groundwork for the various Departments of Communications based on the reformist spirit of the UTE Graphic Workshop: dynamics of democratic thought, modernizing and socially committed with the university community.

[11] For an in-depth view on the subject, see: Álvarez, P.; Morales, G. (2015) "The beginnings of professional design education in Chile". *Revista Diseña*, 9, Santiago, 61–65.

[12] On the assumption that the UTE was to promote the technical-professional educational development in the scientific-technological and productive-economic areas at the national level, the inclusion of the IPT in this educational establishment highlights the importance of the training of professionals related to art and culture in a technological university.

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The Role of Socialist Architectural Heritage and Design for the Construction of Contemporary Identities: Modernism in Warsaw

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Post-socialism / Socialist architecture / Warsaw / Post-war heritage / City identity

This paper aims to contribute to the study of a heritage often marginalized by mainstream historiography: the architecture and design production developed in Eastern European countries after World War II. These countries, which are commonly defined as 'post-socialist', have undergone a complete reorganization of the social and economic fabric in less than 50 years, thus constituting an exceptional case for the modulation of the urban environment, alongside the dramatic changes that have affected the structure of society. This legacy is subject to fast social and economic changes and has received little recognition by authorities, the public opinion and even by scholars. Although socialism had spread in a wide geographical area, it had not developed uniformly, it rather differed from country to country across the Soviet bloc. The research is geographically defined on a single case study: the city of Warsaw, today's capital of Poland and the former capital of the Polish People's Republic (PRL). It is a city that had been completely destroyed by World War II and dramatically rebuilt, or better 'built' under the guidance of socialist governments. The architectural heritage of socialist Warsaw is analysed in parallel to design development across multiple topics such as housing, shop design, consumerism, visual communication, and magazine graphics. The aim of the work is to redefine the modernist heritage of the Polish capital and investigate the role it could assume in building the local identity as a contemporary post-socialist globalized city.

Introduction

The countries that are commonly defined 'post-socialist', have undergone a complete reorganization of the social and economic fabric in less than 50 years, thus constituting an exceptional case of modulation of the built environment, alongside the dramatic changes that have affected the structure of society. The collapse of socialism has marked the end of a specific era in architectural production and spatial planning that all of a sudden has left room for a new kind of development, in complete antithesis with the previous era. From the 1990s, with the opening towards new markets and laissez-faire policies in planning, the socialist landscapes, once characterized by a stiff vertical organization, have undergone a transitional phase, leaving room for a frenetic and unregulated development that has transformed many Eastern European cities in peripheries of the globalized world, thus leading to a consequent loss of identity in the urban landscape, but not only this.

Although socialism had spread in a wide geographical area, it had not developed uniformly, but had differed from country to country across the Soviet bloc, where the only common condition was the pressure exerted by domestic tensions and the strong homogenizing force of the Soviet influence.

For this reason the field of research has been geographically redefined and has focused on a single case: the city of Warsaw, capital of today's Poland and of the former Polish People's Republic. It is a city that has completely risen from the ashes of World War II and has been dramatically rebuilt, or better 'built' under the guidance of socialist governments. Its own initial condition of *tabula rasa* has allowed Warsaw, perhaps more than any other city in Eastern Europe, to become a privileged subject of studies in order to understand the dynamics of socialist architecture and the role of existing socialist heritage, as the debate on post-WWII architectural heritage has only recently begun.

The positive portrait of the city

Over the years, Warsaw's town council and politics in general have produced an ars oblivionalis towards the socialist urban landscape, establishing a new image to represent Warsaw in public opinion. On this subject the scholars Jhon Renie Short and Yeong-Hyun Kim have identified two discourses in urban representation: 'the positive portrait of the city and the identification of the shadow' (Flusty, 2002). The first one is represented, among others, by official websites of the city's authorities and aims at attracting investors and visitors, thus influencing local policies through a representation of the city closely connected with urban marketing. The second portrait is generally restrained and ignored by media and institutional channels. In Warsaw's case it is evident that the socialist architectural heritage is part of the second category.

Visiting the institutional website of the Town Council and the official portal for tourism is enough to have an example. In the first case, the image that is used as a symbol is that of Stare Miasto, the old city, indicated as "the first attraction to visit in Warsaw and ancient core of the city". However, there are no direct references to the fact that it was rebuilt after the Second World War.[1] The official portal for tourism, on the other hand, is dominated by the futuristic stadium built for the European Football Championships in 2012, which has replaced the Tenth Anniversary Stadium (an icon of Polish modernism of the fifties), becom-

[1] http://www.um.warszawa.pl/en, accessed September 2017.

ing a symbol of contemporary Warsaw. In the list of the ten most interesting points, the socialist heritage is represented only by the Palace of Culture, described as "the highest panoramic platform in Warsaw [...] which offers an excellent view on the city from the thirtieth floor".[2] Also in this case there are no direct references to what the building used to represent for Stalinism in Poland after the Second World War.

This example shows that, in the era of mass tourism, the perception of the visitors has become a premise on which the image of the city can be created. Tourists have become transmitters and interpreters of urban images and myths, actual city-builders and co-designers, and active figures in the construction of the city's image. In general, 'socialist Warsaw' has been perceived by tourists merely as the city of socialist realism, represented by icons such as the Palace of Culture, Constitution Square and the MDM neighbourhood.[3] This results in an oversimplified view, rich in stereotypes, whose emblem can be found in the associations offering sightseeing guided tours on "authentic socialist vans" and in the proliferation of small private museums where you can find all sorts of memorabilia.[4]

A new interest after the oblivion

Nowadays we are witnessing a growth in the interest in Warsaw, especially in that part of the socialist architectural heritage and design that has mostly suffered from neglect and oblivion during the years of the post-socialist transition and that has not paradoxically been represented by the architecture of socialist realism. It is the 1960s and 1970s modernism that somehow has a language similar to the contemporary sincerity and minimalism that contemporary Warsaw is approaching.[5] According to this new tendency, the city should embrace a cosmopolitanism deriving not only from global trends, but also emerging from inside, using a local language. In the field of planning and design this new sensitivity has resulted in a pursuit of a certain simplicity, whereas in the field of conservation and safeguarding it has become explicit in the recognition of the importance of the socialist heritage as a local element in the construction of the city's identity.

This is basically a minor, popular heritage that has undergone progressive neglect, especially because of the greater availability of materials and systems, and the profit related to property speculation. Moreover, many inhabitants consider socialist buildings and design as "contemporary", thus lacking historical value.

The first turning point in the rediscovery of the heritage of socialist modernism in Warsaw was the demolition of the Super Sam in December 2006 (Fig.1). The story of this building perfectly embodies the dynamics that have affected the socialist architectural heritage in Warsaw in recent years. The Super Sam, having been in 1962 one of the first self-service supermarkets in a country of planned economy, can be considered a symbol of the Thaw and the opening of the socialist government towards a new model of consumption. It is also an example of the experimentation and faith in progress of the architecture of those years, proved by the structure covered with steel cables and the transparent walls. After a liberal revolt during the early 1990s and the opening towards new markets, the spaces of the building were invaded by foreign investors and multinational companies, hosting one of the first fast-food McDonald's restaurants in Poland. In the early 2000s the building was demolished to make room for one of the many 'landmarks of globalization', a shopping centre with renown brands, whose project takes full advantage of the volume on that lot. It is interesting to notice that the phases that this project went through are the same as another shopping centre of the socialist era, the Sezam, demolished in late 2017. The reason given by the speculator to justify the demolition of the Super Sam was connected to maintenance problems and the deterioration of the innovative steel structure was undermining the steadiness of the building. The demolition of the Super Sam had seen a great mobilization both from the architects who were aware of the highly technical value of the building and from the residents of the neighbourhood. For the first time, public opinion had mobilized for the defence of a building of the socialist era and the same mobilization would repeat two years later for the destruction of the Skarpa cinema.

The defenders of socialist modernism

In this regard, it is possible to identify different categories of 'defenders of socialist modernism': a part of the population who grew up in the 1960s and 1970s, who is feeling some kind of 'nostalgia' not necessarily connected to a political system, but rather to everyday life; some of the architects and designers, who defend the technical value of the buildings and their role as testimony of a certain design; another part of the new generation who is culturally active and finds in Polish modernism a local cosmopolitan

[2] http://warsawtour.pl/en/tourist-attractions/top-10-3930.html, accessed September 2017.

[3] Socialist realism in Poland (Polish: *socrealizm*) was a social, political, and esthetic doctrine enforced by the pro-Soviet communist government in the process of Stalinization of the postwar People's Republic of Poland. The official policy was introduced in 1949. Following Stalin's death on March 5, 1953, and the subsequent De-Stalinization of all People's Republics, Polish artists, writers and architects started abandoning it around 1955.

[4] See as an example the website of the organized guides company "Adventure Warsaw!", http://adventurewarsaw.pl/en/muzeumprl, accessed September 2017.

[5] See as an example the minimalist project by Christian Kerez for the Museum of Modern Art in Warsaw. See Kueng, 2008.

Fig. 1 Super Sam in 1963.

aesthetics able to redefine an identity for Warsaw, beyond its development as a periphery of the world of globalization.

The first category, including nostalgic supporters, emerged in 2000, when the exhibition Szare w kolorze, 1956–1970. Kultura okresu gomułkowskiego (Grey in colour, 1956–1970. Culture from the Gomułka era), organized in the Zachęta gallery, proved successful. In the rooms of the gallery there were various installations that reproduced the ordinary domestic spaces of a block of flats, a cinema projecting comedies and noir films, private galleries showing abstract paintings, very popular after the abolition of socialist realism. Even the interior of a bar mleczny (milk bar) was reproduced: canteens where students and workers could have cheap meals. The installation allowed visitors to have the same meals of the time, creating in many of them a kind of 'Proust-like memory'. According to art historian David Crowley the fascination for this kind of exhibition, surprisingly popular, is due to the fact that they represent 'a world that is disappearing within the compass of memory. So rapid was the stage of post-socialist transition that the material world of the recent past has already acquired an exotic diversity' (Crowley, 2006).

The second category, including the cultural community, organized a series of meetings on the promotion and safeguarding of the socialist heritage of recent years and is now particularly focusing on making a list of the buildings to preserve. Among the most visible actions of this community, we can mention the 2016 temporary occupation of the Emilia shopping pavilion by the museum of contemporary art (Fig. 2). This had happened before the pavilion, absorbed in the vertical development of the skyscrapers on the western side of the Palace of Culture, was demolished in the first months of 2017 to make room for property development. This aimed at stressing the potential public utility of these buildings and promote the modernist heritage through a series of events and conferences. The Emilia pavilion was a furniture shop, showing prototypes that could be produced by small-scale workshops, which the economic reforms of the period tried to revitalise.

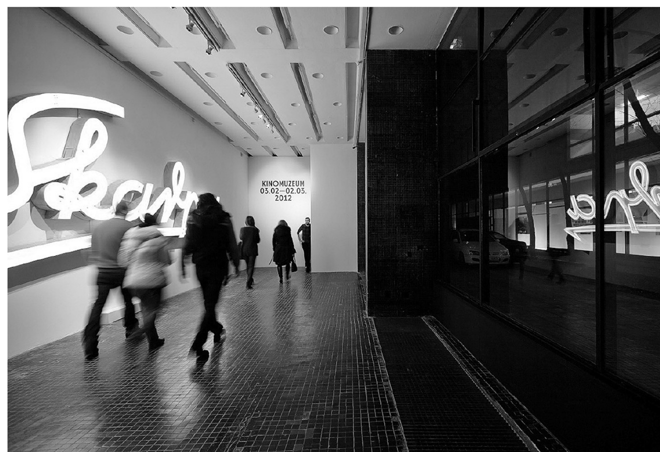

Fig. 2 Skarpa neon in the Emilia pavillion.

Shopping and consumption were connected with leisure and leisure was separated from the under-development sphere of cultural activities. Consumption was no longer a danger to socialist societies: it was now part of its promise as it was visible on the covers of design magazines.

Images of consumerism spread exponentially during this time. Magazines and newspapers were no longer under the pressure of the state to represent the world outside exclusively in terms of Cold War polarities. Popular magazines usually showed some kind of proto-consumerist discourses of taste and fashion. Interiors, for instance, could be described as fashionable and colourful, suggesting not only design characteristics, but also social values in their association with variety. In the exhibitions the modernisation of homes was not projected in the sense that it carried ideological imprimatur: it was far more close to what was described at the time as 'Refrigerator Socialism', the redirection of the economy to improve the supply of consumer goods (Reid, 1997).

The interior schemes displayed at the 1957 Second All-Poland Exhibition of Interior Design in Warsaw is an early example of this trend (Crowley, 1999). Design objects comprised brightly colourful modular storage systems, rattan-seated chairs and thin metal frames and curtain fabrics with abstract patterns, each demonstrating their designer's awareness of the latest trends in the West. Flexibility was the main topic, displayed by beds that could be folded into chairs, storage units that could be used to partition space. All those elements were well suited to rooms that had to perform different functions for different users during the course of the day.

The innovation introduced by the Polish architects and designers is about the development of the internal flexibility matrix. Flexibility is commensurate with the change in the family, answering to a real social status and not referring to a standard family type. This is visible in most of the projects of Halina Skibniewska, a female architect author of the Sady Żoliborskie estate in Warsaw. The arrangement of the house can change up to twelve different compositions based on defined time periodization of family cycles. The change of the space is therefore not only delegated to the day-night cycle, but takes into account the development during the years. According to the architect, the members of a Polish family could live together on average for 52 years. It means that the parents spend with their children a generation span. The most frequent changes occur in the first part of the family cycle, when families are young and dynamic.

With regard to the third category of modernist defenders, the one including the new generations who have not directly experienced the years of socialism, we can observe the emergence of both a critical awareness of the disappearance of the socialist landscape in Warsaw and some sort of counterculture movement who has brought a revival of the socialist era so that images of the 1960s architecture can be spotted on bags and vinyl covers and Warsaw's bars are enhancing a 'second neonization' of the city.

[6] See the catalogue of the exhibition *Halina Skibniewska – architetto dell'uomo e dell'ambiente* organized by OIKOS, Bologna in 1979.

Examples of countertrend

The year 2009 witnessed a first act of re-appropriation of modernist architecture, when a group of young entrepreneurs decided to transform the ticket office pavilion of the station Warszawa Powiśle, bought from the national railway PKP to create a café, aiming at giving justice to a dynamic and eccentric architecture. Right from its opening, the Powiśle café has become a meeting point for Warsaw's youngsters and has hosted a series of meetings and debates related to the city's urban environment and the defense of the architectural heritage of the post-WWII period. The redeployment of the pavilion was also an opportunity for a debate on the restoration techniques of a post-WWII building in Warsaw.

Photographer Ilona Karwinska began collecting neon lights of the Warsaw socialist era in 2005. These objects are stored in a designated museum area, managed by a private foundation, which has been widely advertised in the last few years. The presence of signs that used to be scattered all over the city and are now so close to one another is striking. This has allowed their survival, but at the same time it has de-contextualized them from the urban environment and especially from the buildings they were connected to. Emphasis on the importance of neon lights in Warsaw as cultural heritage was first given when cinema Skarpa's neon light was temporarily exhibited inside the modern art museum. This symbol of visual communication was depicted as "witness of changes, as many praiseworthy examples of design and historical architecture are being destroyed by private investments and aggressiveness towards public spaces". However, if we want to take Warsaw's neon lights into account as actual cultural heritage, they should not be separated from the system in which they are placed, i.e. urban landscape. Some of the on-site restorations of the neon lights by local artists are actually taking this direction.

Young designer Magdalena Lapińska is commercializing as souvenirs small potteries portraying some symbol-buildings of modern socialism, aiming at sensitizing Warsaw's population and tourists to a disappearing landscape. The title of the collection, *Dream of Warsaw*, recalls the imaginary of a city that no longer exists (Fig. 3).

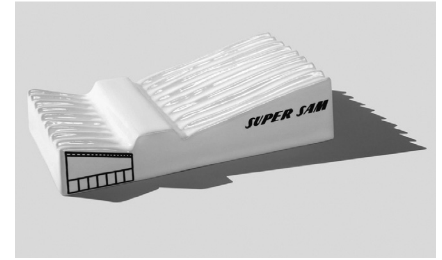

Fig. 3 Super Sam – Dream of Warsaw collection by Magdalena Lapińska.

A similar title was used also for an open-air exhibition, inaugurated in 2016 by the History Meeting House and the Polish photographic agency FORUM, entitled *Sen Mieście* (Dream of a City). The exhibition shows a selection of the photographs taken by Lithuanian photographer Zbyszko Siemaszko, who worked for *Stolica* magazine in the 1950s and 1960s. Siemaszko's Warsaw showed aspects of a city undergoing continuous development, as if shrouded by a glamorous charm. In the exhibition catalogue, the curator points out that it shows 'an idealised image, the dream of a modern metropolis, a new place raised on the remains of the previous city' (MADÒN-MITZNER, 2016). This idealization of the city was suggested to the visitors, like in a dream. This would vanish when they would be invited, through the scanning of a QR code, placed next to period photographs, to observe the present state of those architectures. Disappointingly, they would thus discover that many of those architectures no longer exist or have radically changed.

Socialist heritage as a local element in the construction of the city's identity

The redeployment of the Powisle pavilion was an opportunity for a debate on the restoration of a post-WWII building in Warsaw (Fig. 4–5). In an interview with the architects of the Centrala firm, who have followed the intervention, we can notice the uniqueness in construction of these buildings in Warsaw's landscape:[7]

[7] Centrala is an architectural firm based in Warsaw. The founders are Małgorzata Kuciewicz, Jakub Szczęsny, Simone De Iacobis and Krzysztof Syruć.

Fig. 4 Powisle Pavilion in the 1960s.

Fig. 5 Powisle Pavilion in 2013.

> If on the one hand, while facing the restoration of these buildings, we are confronted with all the problems connected to the preservation of modern twentieth-century architecture, such as the differentiation between original and secondary elements, the restoration of doors and windows and the degradation of reinforced concrete structures, on the other hand there are issues that we can only find in Warsaw's case. Indeed, many buildings in those years used western technologies characterized by a strong industrialized element that was not present in Poland. This is the reason why these buildings simulate industrial technologies, which nonetheless were made by craftsmen. Substituting these elements with semi-industrial ones would affect the nature of the building.[8]

An example of this craft is visible in the pillars of the glass structures that had been added by hand through the use of screws and threaded rods bolted instead of rivets and welding. Other elements of rapid deterioration in the modernist buildings in Warsaw are the metal sheets used as coverings or the mosaics made by conceptual artists with glass and ceramic tiles. The lack of maintenance of these buildings and their partial abandonment have contributed to the stereotype according to which socialist architecture is "grey and ugly".[9] The use of poor materials and the attempt to simulate industrial processes makes Warsaw's modernist architecture and design unique. The value is contained in the effort of architects and designers to carry on the modern movement's discourse despite the economic constraints and the difficulties in keeping updated with the newest trends in the Western world.

[8] Interview with Małgorzata Kucewicz and Simone De Iacobis, founders of Centrala, July 2016.

[9] Description used by Shaw P. on an article entitled "Poland architecture. Love them or hate them" in *The Economist*.

Conclusions

Starting from some reflections on the image of contemporary Warsaw, and showing examples of the rediscovery of socialist design and architecture, this short research testifies a change of paradigm in the relationship between socialist design and society. It invites us to reflect about the iconic role of socialist design in making a new city identity, in a future perspective which goes beyond post-socialism. After all, the architecture and the design of those years is not only evidence of a troublesome and controversial time, but it also mirrors a stage in history when this architecture and design were the backdrop of everyday life.

It emerges how the socialist heritage is becoming a local element in the construction of the new city's identity. Warsaw sees its cosmopolitanism not as abstract, rootless and related to global dynamics, but rather indigenous and connected to its recent history. A cosmopolitism that emerges from its own historical contribution to the world development of modern discourse in architecture and design.

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1.5 [100th Anniversary of the Bauhaus Foundation]: Tracing the Map of the Diaspora of its Students

The Bauhaus opened its Weimar school in 1919. Its existence and legacy had a far-reaching influence around the world as a result of its intense promotion by Gropius after World War II. However, the Bauhaus was already influential in some parts of the world because its community of lecturers, teaching assistants and students from all over the world spread its teachings and legacy when they returned home. This relatively little known but widespread pattern of influence complemented the spread of main Bauhaus ideas through the exile of its key figures to the United States. On the other hand, some teachers decided to remain in Germany, which was on its way to becoming a Nazi country, and later on, during the War. Were they also a source of influence for Bauhaus ideas and work?

Papers that address such patterns will be welcome. Those that review recent research on the school and discuss new interpretations of its experience will also be embraced.

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Back to the Future
The Future in the Past

ICDHS 10th+1 BARCELONA 2018

Conference Proceedings Book
Oriol Moret (ed.)

1 Design History and Histories of Design

1.5 [100th Anniversary of the Bauhaus Foundation]: Tracing the Map of the Diaspora of its Students

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INTRODUCTION

1.5 [100th Anniversary of the Bauhaus Foundation]: Tracing the Map of the Diaspora of its Students

The Bauhaus opened its Weimar school in 1919. Its existence and legacy had a far-reaching influence around the world as a result of its intense promotion by Gropius after World War II. However, the Bauhaus was already influential in some parts of the world because its community of lecturers, teaching assistants and students from all over the world spread its teachings and legacy when they returned home. This relatively little known but widespread pattern of influence complemented the spread of main Bauhaus ideas through the exile of its key figures to the United States. On the other hand, some teachers decided to remain in Germany, which was on its way to becoming a Nazi country, and later on, during the War. Were they also a source of influence for Bauhaus ideas and work?

Papers that address such patterns will be welcome. Those that review recent research on the school and discuss new interpretations of its experience will also be embraced.

Anna Calvera /
ICDHS 10th+1 Scientific Committee

This strand analyses two little-known cases that have been overlooked in the numerous studies carried out in recent years around the world concerning the history of this renowned institution, the Bauhaus.

The first paper discusses how the activity of the graduates of this institution has been largely ignored in the studies of modern architecture; it is therefore important to study the application of Hannes Meyer's design method. This method has been applied through one of his disciples and collaborators, Arieh Sharon, who was involved in the planning and development of the kibbutz concept in Palestine.

The other presentation addresses another little-studied case of some Bauhaus members who emigrated to the United States to become lecturers at the Chicago School of Design; at the same time they accepted several projects, in which they used techniques and knowledge they had acquired at the Bauhaus to support the country's military intervention in World War II. The author reveals the participation of György Kepes, Herbert Bayer and Frederic Kiesler, thereby reflecting a position that is barely documented or recognised in the historiographical analysis of a professional school that was characterised more by the theoretical and practical production of a new artistic education linked to design.

In the second session, the influence of the Bauhaus in Italy and Mexico is analysed and discussed in two presentations.

The first paper examines the typefaces of the Swiss Bauhäusler Xanti Schawinsky. Schawinsky studied and taught at the Bauhaus and worked in Germany before leaving for Italy after the National Socialists came to power and then moving to the United States in 1936. Although Schawinsky's work in the United States is relatively well known, since he taught at Black Mountain College, the City College of New York and New York University, his work in Italy is largely unknown. This is therefore valuable research.

The second paper discusses the longstanding and important relationship Josef and Anni Albers had with Mexico and Mexican culture. After leaving Germany, they lived and worked mostly in the United States, but they visited Latin America, especially Mexico, many times. They were influential in North America and South America and in Europe. Josef Albers called on Schawinsky to teach at Black Mountain College, so the two presentations in the second session are interrelated.

Oscar Salinas-Flores, Haruhiko Fujita

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Design for Militarization in Wartime: Bauhäusler Immigrants in the US

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New Bauhaus / Militarization / War art / Camouflage design / Occupational therapy

This study examines how modern design theory was applied in practice to militarization. For this purpose, I focus on the education conducted by Bauhausler immigrants in the United States at the New Bauhaus and the School of Design during World War II. The School of Design produced tools and products to be used for military purposes. Because the School was facing a financial crisis, the immigrants' design activities were forced not only to serve the country but also as a continuation of their education at the School. Director L. Moholy-Nagy established two unique educational programs: a Camouflage course and an Occupational Therapy course. In the Camouflage course, György Kepes conducted and developed camouflage techniques based on Gestalt psychology. Students performed experiments to investigate visual effects using lighting and coloring. In the Occupational Therapy course, Moholy-Nagy supervised handicapped people in the making of tactile charts composed of various textures for the purpose of gaining emotional experiences. The philosophical background of Moholy-Nagy's educational idea was influenced by the pragmatism of philosopher John Dewey. In this paper, we discuss the issue of the relationship between modern design and war.

1. Introduction

Over the past few decades, a considerable number of studies have been conducted on the Bauhaus and New Bauhaus globally. The results of these studies have proved the historical significance of the Bauhaus. However, little attention has been paid to the relationship between design and war with regard to these institutions.

After closing the Bauhaus, its leading figures, such as Walter Gropius, Mies van der Rohe, László Moholy-Nagy, Herbert Bayer, Marcel Breuer, and Josef Albers, immigrated to the United States where they contributed significantly to the arts after obtaining positions in universities or other institutions. This may suggest that they were successful in the New World, beyond the fires of war, but the history of the New Bauhaus shows that Moholy-Nagy and the other teachers struggled to succeed with Bauhaus ideas in the context of US social and cultural conditions. This study focuses on how the European modernist idea was adapted for production in another country with different social and cultural circumstances. The purpose of this study is to consider the application by Bauhausler immigrants of European modern design to militarization. The paper focuses on the activities at the New Bauhaus in its various guises to discuss the issues that confronted the Bauhausler immigrants during World War II.

The New Bauhaus (1937–38), which was renamed the School of Design (1939–44) and then the Institute of Design (1944–49), is usually regarded as the successor to the original Bauhaus. It is true that when the New Bauhaus was started in the fall of 1937, financed by the Association of Arts and Industries, Moholy-Nagy, as a director, constructed educational programs and a methodology that followed the German Bauhaus style. However, he was faced with problems of financing and education because he misunderstood the American system of money raising and endowments. The reason for the failure of the New Bauhaus lay not in the educational idea, but in management of the school.

During the war, the activities of both native and immigrant were affected by the war propaganda policies. Herbert Bayer worked to produce propaganda for the US Army. He designed the exhibitions "Road to Victory" (1942) and "Airways to Peace" (1943), which were held in the Museum of Modern Art in New York. The displays consisted of three-dimensional picture panels, which were a modernist form of visual communication design developed in Europe. Another example of propaganda activities by immigrant artists is provided by Frederic Kiesler's work. Kiesler worked on the "History of American Architecture" exhibition in the Soviet Union, supported by the US Office of War Information. He designed the exhibition hall using picture panels and text.

Reflection on some of these examples will make clear that immigrant artists had to work to promote militarization in wartime. The masters of the New Bauhaus were no exception. This paper presents three case studies. First, we discuss how modern design ideas were used for the commercialization of the New Bauhaus's sponsor, Container Corporation of America. Second, we analyze the visual experiments at the Light Workshop and the camouflage techniques of György Kepes. Third, we analyze the educational approach of the Occupational Therapy course of L. Moholy-Nagy.

2. *Paperboard Goes to War*, designed by György Kepes

Modern design ideas were used for the commercialization of the Container Corporation of America (CCA). The CCA, founded in 1926, was a paper packaging and package design company based in Chicago, and it became a leader of its industry by associating itself with fine art. Walter P. Paepcke, president of the CCA, was a sponsor of the New Bauhaus and a collector of modern artworks. One of his contributions to the field of art as it relates to business was the exhibition called "Modern Art in Advertising: An Exhibition of Design for Container Corporation of America" at the Art Institute of Chicago in 1945. The exhibition presented 102 works by 44 artists, including the immigrants György Kepes, Herbert Bayer, and Fernand Léger. The CCA also made the modern art series *Great Ideas of Western Man* as an advertising campaign, which ran for over twenty years.

Fig. 1 *Paperboard Goes to War* designed by György Kepes (Bauhaus-Archive Berlin).

During the war, the CCA increased its productivity of paperboard because of the need to transport weapons and foodstuffs to the front. That production occupied 40 percent of all the company's production. In 1942, the CCA produced the commercial pamphlet *Paperboard Goes to War* to promote its business, in which it said:

> Food, ammunition, tank and airplane parts and the other myriad necessities of this mechanical war are now being packed in paperboard to make production and delivery easy and safe.... Container Corporation is proud of its part in the national effort and of the help it has been able to give to its customers engaged in production for war (CCA, 1942: 1).

The 34-page bound pamphlet was designed by György Kepes (Fig. 1).

Kepes worked as an assistant in Moholy-Nagy's design studio in Berlin and London in the 1930s. He immigrated to the United States in the same year as Moholy-Nagy. He became a member of Art Center Chicago, an organization for the advancement of advertising, printing, and industrial arts, in September 1940.

When we see his design on the pages of the pamphlet *Paperboard Goes to War*, we recognize it has a structure typical of a constructivist layout. Kepes used four modern design methodologies, namely, images in the New Objectivity (*Neue Sachlichkeit*) style, a close-up image of a soldier taken from a low camera angle, a layout using diagonal lines, and modern typography. The viewer's eye is guided dynamically to the page spreads. It is an excellent example of visual communication as well as the expression of the corporate identity of the CCA. In 1942, Chicago's Society of Typographic Arts rewarded Kepes, who as a volunteer and patriot had rendered the United States Government extraordinary service.[1]

The war industry was developed with the help of many artists, who had to work in collaboration with corporations to work as artists in the field of design, which effectively meant that artists and art societies had to engage in work connected with the war.

[1] "Citation to György Kepes, The Society of Typographic Arts, Chicago, 1942". György Kepes Papers in Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

3. Camouflage course, conducted by György Kepes

In January 1942, the School of Design became a certified school for the purpose of camouflaging. The US Government had asked all civilians to serve the country, and Hungarian immigrants Moholy-Nagy and Kepes were no exception. According to a letter dated March 13, 1942, from the Office of Civilian Defense, Chicago Metropolitan Area, to Kepes, the Civilian Morale Division wanted Kepes to serve on a committee to develop a program for civilian morale among Americans of Hungarian descent in the Chicago community.[2] It is clear that establishing the Camouflage course in the School was a response to this. In November 1942, the Camouflage course was prepared as an activity of the Work Projects Administration, War Services Project, sponsored by the Office of Civilian Defense, Chicago Metropolitan Area.

Until he left the School in 1943, the head of the Camouflage course, György Kepes, taught the light modulator method, visual effects, and making images using multiple exposures and distortion techniques, based on the theory of Moholy-Nagy at the Light Workshop.

How did Kepes apply design techniques for camouflage for the military? How did he relate visual design theory and practice to camouflage?

The Camouflage course was originally planned as a laboratory for the training center needed for instruction in civilian and military camouflage techniques. Such a center could have functioned in two ways: for teacher education or for the preparation of volunteers in civilian and military camouflage.

The teaching programs covered the following subjects: 1) Basic problems of visual perception; 2) Theory of basic investigation; 3) Analysis of camouflage aspects in nature (a) Animals (b) Landscape; 4) Survey of typical problems; 5) Technological applications; and 6) Practical solutions (a) Structural camouflage (b) Camouflage with surface covering (c) Smoke devices (d) The use of artificial light with controlled light patterns.

According of the notebook of student Patrick O'Reilly Bird, who studied on the Camouflage course, a series of lectures on these topics were presented by 15 professionals, including Kepes, from September 1942 to January 1943.

[2] Correspondence dated March 13, 1942, from Dean Leon Green, Director, Civilian Morale Division, to György Kepes. György Kepes Papers in Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

Kepes explained the purpose of the course in his introductory lecture on September 16, 1942:

> Camouflage is the art of deception. The understanding of the visual nature of deception demands the understanding of the fundamentals of visual perception. Without vision, camouflage would be meaningless, without light there would be no vision. Consequently, it is necessary to equip oneself with fundamental physical, physiological, psychological facts relating to visual perception.[3]

The color film *Work of Camouflage Class*, made by Moholy-Nagy around 1943, clearly shows details of the work of the camouflage workshop.[4] This film offers a bird's-eye view of a building that is painted in such a way that there is no building visible, only geometrical patterns, like streets on the ground. Even when the viewing point moved across the sky, it was not possible to identify the structure of the building. This visual technique, using optical illusions to change human perception, was related to Gestalt psychology, a principal field of visual design study at the New Bauhaus.

In addition to his experiences in the laboratory, Kepes established his theory of visual perception in relation to the arts and sciences. His theory is described in his book *Language of Vision*, published in 1944.

4. A new approach to education in the Occupational Therapy course of Moholy-Nagy

A wartime draft was re-established in the United States after the Japanese Navy attacked Pearl Harbor in December 1941. More than half of the teachers and students left the School of Design to join the US Armed Forces (Moholy-Nagy, 1950: 182).

The School of Design produced tools and products to be used for military purposes. New inventions by the School included wood springs for mattresses and cushions for soldiers' helmets, on which patent rights were taken out. The idea of substituting wood for metal came from the designers' experience of and research into basic design methods using such materials. In this way, the School of Design contributed to the war through design productions and ideas by teachers and students. In 1944, the School of Design and the WPA Art and Craft Project held a "War Art Exhibition" (Fig. 2).

Although the leaflet for this exhibition exists, the details of the exhibition remain unclear. According to the foreword by Moholy-Nagy, the exhibits included a camouflage demonstration: two light boxes showing the use of light and shadow to conceal the character of forms. He stressed that 'the School of Design in Chicago—because of its past educational policy—has readily adapted its program to the present emergency. Its class room and workshop training, the coordination of hand and brain, helps to make the individual resourceful and inventive'.[5] Moholy-Nagy planned a new approach for the Occupational Therapy course, which was sponsored by the Deputy Director of the Mental Hygiene Service of the Illinois State Department of Public Welfare. His idea found the support of Dr. Conrad Sommer, Chief Medical Officer of the Illinois Welfare Department, Dr. Franz Alexander, Director of the Institute of Psychoanalysis, Chicago, and several other members of the Illinois Occupational Therapy Asso-

Fig. 2 Poster of "War Art Exhibition" (Ilinois Institute of Technology University Archives & Special Collections).

[3] "Summary of the introductory lecture for the camouflage course by György Kepes, Head of the Camouflage Dept., School of Design in Chicago, September 16th, 1942". The Special Collection of the New Bauhaus, Bauhaus Archive, Berlin.

[4] The film ©1999 Hattula Moholy-Nagy. "Historic Chicago on Film, Late 40s to the Early 80s, The Chicago Historical Society Film and Video Archive, Ray Pearson's Institute of Design Collection 1930 [sic]–1979. All Rights Reserved Chicago Historical Society".

[5] Document of "the Renaissance Society of the University of Chicago presents WAR ART Exhibition by The School of Design in Chicago and the WPA Art and Craft Project, Dist.#3". Illinois Institute of Technology, University Archives & Special Collections Galvin Library, Box 3, Folder 6.

ciation. The Occupational Therapy course was held at the School in the Summer Session as one of its war courses, from June 21 to August 1, 1943, and 1944, and as day and evening classes (Fig. 3).

Sommer commented on his experience at the School as follows:

> Group therapy can be linked to psychoanalysis in that it reaches down into the unconscious.... The institute's technique should especially be considered, as adjunct to psychotherapy, for persons who tend to become too passive since it demands of the patient a certain activity in which the unconscious is involved (Moholy-Nagy, 1947: 72).

Sommer's comment seems to suggest that the educational method of the Occupational Therapy course was a success. Why did Moholy-Nagy explore psychoanalysis at the School? The reasoning behind his decision to open the course at the School was as follows:

> The war and the post-war period will need a large number of personnel for the rehabilitation of disabled veterans. They are Army and Navy aviators withdrawn from the combat zone because of operational stress; Soldiers discharged from the Army because of breakdowns during training. [...] Occupational Therapy has to be more scientific and more intuitive at the same time, following the lines of new development in general education, psychological research, psychoanalysis, and scientific motion studies.[6]

[6] "New Approach to Occupational Therapy". Special Collections of UIC Library, Institute of Design, Box 6, Folder 186.

Did he consider psychoanalysis for educational programs for military purposes? What did he think about the relevance of design activities for individual education? Moholy-Nagy stressed the aim of this course thus:

> The educational programs for the handicapped people are based upon their experiences through the medium of various materials. They start with skill of the fingers, the hands, the eye and ear, and their coordination. This is accomplished through so-called tactile charts composed of textures for the purpose of gaining emotional experience through their organized relationships; through hand sculptures, carved out of wood, to be manipulated in the hands; through machine wood cuts, which make lumber as elastic as rubber; through paper cuts, leading to the understanding of basic structures. In addition, there is metal work, plastics, weaving, drawing and color, mechanical drawing; plane, volume and space division and their further articulation; photography, motion picture; group poetry; plays, music and dance, so that a full coordination of potentialities can be accomplished.[7]

[7] "Course in Rehabilitation". IIT Archives, Institute of Design Records, 1937–1955, Box 3, Folder 5. Emphasis in original.

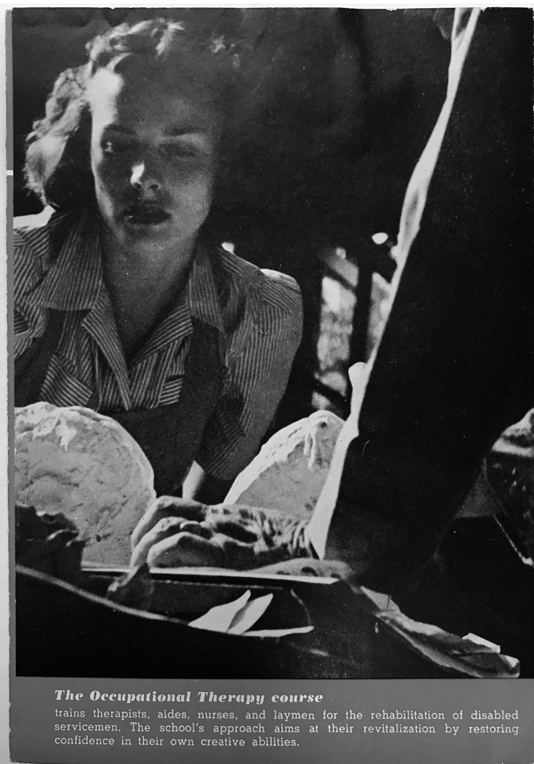

Fig. 3 Leaflet of the "Occupational Therapy course" (Ilinois Institute of Technology University Archives & Special Collections).

Moholy-Nagy's educational idea was that the students gained 'emotional experience' through a number of exercises. The exercises, such as the use of tactile charts and hand sculptures, were aimed at self-discovery, that is, an awakening of the participants' own creative abilities. We can regard his idea of gaining 'emotional experience' as having been derived from biological theories. The word 'biological' was used in Moholy-Nagy's book *The New Vision* (1938), a revised English edition of his *Von Material zu Architektur* (1928). In this book, he writes, 'the word "biological" stands generally for laws of life which guarantee an organic development... The oncoming generation has to create a culture which does not weaken but strengthens the genuine biological functions' (Moholy-Nagy, 1938: 13–14).

Moholy-Nagy's biological vision influenced his sensory education, such as the use of tactile charts composed of textures and the manipulation of lights for visual effect. It is entirely fair to say that Moholy-Nagy's educational policy in the Occupational Therapy course developed from his biological

ideas. As Oliver A. I. Botar suggests, Moholy-Nagy's conception of art was based on the concept of *Bios*,[8] which according to biologist Raoul Heinrich Francé, was the sum of a biological subject's perceptions (Botar, 2011: 259).

Moreover, we can find a relationship between Moholy-Nagy's theory and the educational theory of experimentalist John Dewey, who was known as a pragmatist philosopher and Darwinist. Dewey referred to man as a 'Life Creature' in his book *Art as Experience*, and he argued that the nature of experience is determined by the essential conditions of life: '[L]ife goes on in an environment; not merely in it but because of it, through interaction with it' (Dewey, 1943: 13). It is possible to say that Moholy-Nagy was sympathetic toward Dewey's theory of the human as a life creature. Both educational theories asserted the organic combination of the human and the material in experience. It may also be worth pointing out, in passing, that there was a close personal relationship between Dewey and Moholy-Nagy. Dewey supported Moholy-Nagy as a sponsor of the School of Design.

5. Conclusion

The previous discussion leads to the conclusion that there were two causes for the reform of the curriculum in the New Bauhaus: wartime regulations and the request by a business to target America's consumer society. The New Bauhaus had to meet these demands, whether the teachers liked them or not. However, the experiments in visual thinking from the Camouflage course led György Kepes to develop his ideas for the book *Language of Vision*.

The Camouflage and Occupational Therapy courses, which were not just aimed at designers, challenged the School to extend its educational activities. In particular, Moholy-Nagy's policies of education for humanity through the arts had a chance to develop. He was able to bring his biologist ideas into education in the Occupational Therapy course. Education as he conceived it was for everyone (not only designers) to attain their greatest potential, rather than for military purposes.

[8] According to Botar, 'Biozentrik is the German term that I have adapted for use concerning the early 20th-century world view which, based on trends such as Darwinism, biological determinism and Nietzscheanism, rejected a narrow anthoropocentrism, and espoused a Monist, neo-Vitalist, Holist and ecological view of the world' (Botar, 2011: 259).

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Examining the Methodology of Arieh Sharon's Kibbutz Planning (1938–50): A Perspective Based on his Architectural Education at the Bauhaus

Hideo Tomita
Kyūshū Sangyō Daigaku

Arieh Sharon / Hannes Meyer / Landscape / Kibbutz / Israel

Little is known about how Arieh Sharon (1900–1984), a Bauhaus graduate, applied concepts learned at that design school to collective farming communities in Palestine. Therefore, this study aims to clarify the process whereby he applied these science-based architectural methods in Palestine. During Hannes Meyer's tenure at the Bauhaus, the lectures discussed fundamental concepts that would later become important in kibbutz planning. Sharon attended both Konrad von Meyenburg's lecture on "motorized agriculture" and Meyer's lecture on "landscape", which dealt with the relationship between landscape and agricultural products. As a team member of Meyer's project, the ADGB Trade Union School (1928–1930), Sharon got an opportunity to supervise the project. As a result, the school project exhibited many characteristics of Sharon's architectural methodology. In his thesis "Collective Settlements in Israel" (1955), Sharon summarized his kibbutz planning differentiating the kibbutzim and linking them together organically. While establishing this link, he focused on communication, local climate, and the surrounding environment. As mentioned above, Sharon's kibbutz planning methodology, the foundation of his architectural activities in Israel, was influenced by his architectural education at the Bauhaus under Meyer's mentorship. Meyer's method played a key role in the global spread of architectural modernism.

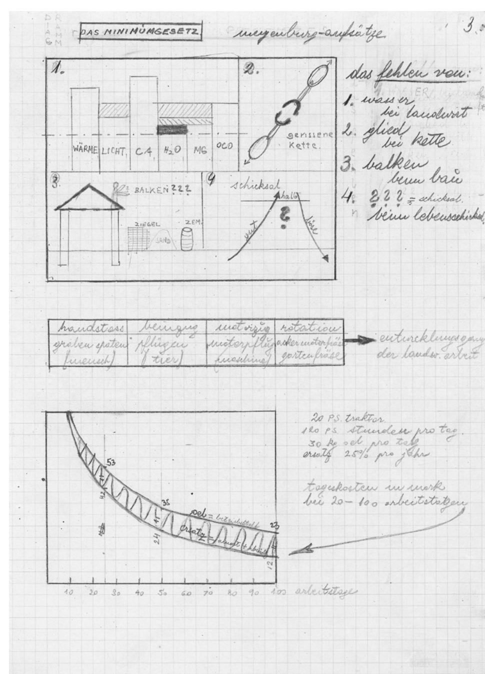

Fig.1 Arieh Sharon's notes on Konrad von Meyenburg's lecture about agriculture at the Bauhaus (1927).

1. Introduction

Traditional theories of modern architecture have paid considerable attention to the works of the Bauhaus professors, who ultimately relocated to the United States after the school closed in 1933. However, the work of the school's second director, Hannes Meyer (1889–1954) and his students, all of whom conducted innovative work and expanded modernist architecture in places such as the Soviet Union, Middle East, Asia, and South America, has not been sufficiently evaluated. Nerdinger (1994) and Metzger-Szmuk (2004) are among the early researchers who reassessed the works of the Bauhaus architects. Their extensive work finally resulted in the registration of Tel Aviv's White City as a UNESCO World Cultural Heritage site in 2003. It was hailed as an outstanding example of architecture that showed ties with the regional characteristics. Regarding the question of why modernist architecture was accepted on such a large scale, Nerdinger indicated the influence of German architecture, which produced architects such as Arieh Sharon, who worked on modernist architecture projects. According to Nerdinger, the Meyer-era Bauhaus school was particularly significant in this respect.

Based on the above perspective, this study focuses on the kibbutzim (collective agricultural communities) that Bauhaus graduate Arieh Sharon (1900–1984) built in Palestine from the 1930s to the 1940s. This work aims to clarify the process whereby Sharon applied the science-based architectural method he had learned at Bauhaus to Palestine, a place whose landscape and social structure differed greatly from that of Germany, based on the analyses of Sharon's notes and the design method in kibbutzim. The study is organized as follows: regarding research methodology, Section 2 will discuss the influence of Meyer's architectural education on Sharon; Section 3 will explore Sharon's own publication, "Collective Settlements in Israel" (1955), and his general plans of kibbutzim to reveal how Sharon grasped and evaluated the concept of cooperative settlements. Of particular interest are published and unpublished materials: the drawings and documents produced by Sharon held in the Arieh Sharon Foundation and Archive "Arieh Sharon: Architect" and the Bauhaus-Archiv. Regarding prior studies on kibbutzim, Efrat (2010) evaluated them within the context of Sharon's body of work but failed to examine "Collective Settlements in Israel". The present research differs from the existing literature in that it examines kibbutzim through the lens of Sharon's own writing, and then relates the kibbutzim to Bauhaus architectural education.

Arieh Sharon was born in Jaroslav, Austria–Hungary, in 1900. From 1926 to 1931, he studied architecture at the Bauhaus and at Meyer's architectural office. After migrating to Tel Aviv in 1931, he helped to build the city in the 1930s. From 1938 onward, he began to design kibbutzim. During the 1930s, the rising population made the maintenance of the traditional small-sized kibbutzim increasingly difficult. Therefore, Sharon and other architects, who had studied modernist architecture in Europe, created a new type of kibbutz design. Having grown up in a kibbutz himself, Sharon actively involved himself in their design. From the 1950s onward, Sharon began to work primarily in Israeli architecture. He served as president of the Association of Engineers and Architects in Israel from 1965 to 1971.

2. Hannes Meyer's Architectural Education

2.1. Sharon's Bauhaus study notes: "Meyenburg's lecture" and "landscape" lecture

During Meyer's tenure at the Bauhaus, the main lectures dealt with many fundamental concepts later followed in kibbutz planning, such as the use of agricultural machinery. Sharon's notes from his time there have been preserved. They include three pages about the "agriculture" lecture by Konrad von Meyenburg (Figure 1) and two pages about the "landscape" lecture by Hannes Meyer (Figure 2). His notes are valuable for investigating the architectural education provided at the Bauhaus (Tomita, 2015).

Meyenburg (1870–1952) was a business owner and inventor of agricultural machinery. The biological concept of the Bauhaus was influenced by Meyenburg's work in the 1920s (Winkler, 1989). In the "Meyenburg's lecture" notes, Sharon discussed motorized agriculture using tractors and the active use of chemical fertilizers (nitrogenous, potassium, magnesium and phosphorus fertilizer). These themes were shared by Meyenburg's paper, published in the Bauhaus magazine in 1927 (Meyenburg, 1927). In the "landscape" lecture notes, Sharon noted the relationship between topography and agricultural production based on a case study of the Wallis mountainfolk of Switzerland. He wrote the following conclusion: 'The experience of the landscape of non-sedentary peoples (nomads, seamen, miners, and mountainfolk) is characterized by continuously changing impressions' (Sharon, 1927).

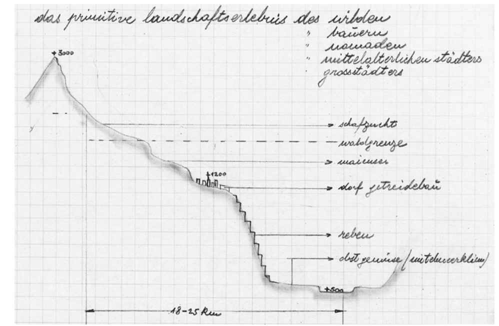

Fig. 2 Arieh Sharon's notes on Hannes Meyer's lecture about landscape at the Bauhaus (1927).

2.2. Comparison with Hannes Meyer's method

This section will explore the relationship between Sharon's designs and the method of Hannes Meyer, who had delivered the "landscape" lecture to Sharon at Bauhaus. Sharon was well acquainted with Meyer's design methodology. He had studied architecture at the Bauhaus architecture department from 1927 to 1929 when Meyer was its director. Moreover, after graduation from the Bauhaus in 1929, Sharon had worked as a staff member of Hannes Meyer's architectural design office at the execution planning site for Meyer's most famous project, the ADGB Trade Union School (Bundesschule des Allgemeinen Deutschen Gewerkschaftsbundes, 1928–1930).

Meyer's own design method, and the architectural education he provided to students, consisted of planning buildings or entire towns and cities based on a scientific analysis of natural conditions, people's living patterns, and the social structure. For example, regarding the design for the ADGB Trade Union School, the building and premises were designed based on a method involving 'continued analysis throughout the design process' (Tomita et al., 2003). Sharon also described the design process of the ADGB school as 'their main approach was social and analytic' (Sharon, 1976).

Regarding laying out an architectural form that accurately translates function into a singular, fixed site, Meyer stated: 'Finally, all creative action is determined by the fate of the landscape [...] A conscious experience of the landscape is building as determined by fate. As creators, we fulfill the fate of the landscape' (Meyer, 1929). Based on this outlook, the ADGB Trade Union School was designed to blend in with its location, a lakeside area in a forest (Figure 3).

Indeed, as shown in the next section, the techniques that Sharon employed while designing for communities in Palestine, namely, basing designs on an analysis of the landscape and social and economic features, are reflective of his training under Meyer.

3. Classification of Collective Communities and Kibbutz Designs

3.1. Outline of Sharon's thesis

Sharon's thesis "Collective Settlements in Israel" (1955) comprises six sections. The foreword reviews the history of settlements in Palestine. Section 2 classifies the various settlements and presents the history of their development. Sections 3 and 4, respectively, outline two major settlement styles and their social and economic structures. Finally, Sections 5 and 6 argue that the characteristics of these two types of settlements have been integrated into his kibbutz design.

The foreword begins by describing the historical movement for a Jewish state, which began in the 19th century. It then mentions the emergence of the first cooperative settlements in Palestine at the beginning of the 20th century. Sharon then describes the development of the two main settlement types: the kibbutz (a communal farm) and the moshav (a cooperative settlement consisting of independent small farms). For Sharon, a settlement's form does not only reflect agricultural and social structures, but it is also 'largely determined by the character of the new land, where the physical conditions of soil, water, climate and geographical structure change with kaleidoscopic speed' (Sharon, 1955).

3.2. A survey of settlements

In Section 2, Sharon identifies four settlement forms by referring to layout maps. The description of each form includes details of their respective characteristics, such as topography, building layout, materials, and related agricul-

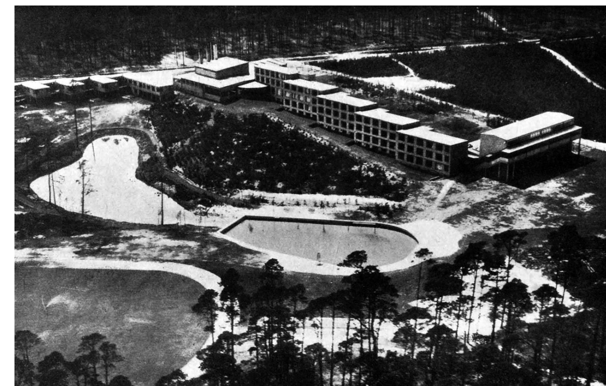

Fig. 3 ADGB Trade Union School (1928–1930) by Hannes Meyer.

tural products. For example, the Arab villages and early Jewish settlements were located in slightly elevated locations due to climate and defense considerations. On the other hand, the layout of fields was determined by the relationship between soil conditions and agricultural products. A moshav, as an agricultural cooperative, was designed to facilitate economic efficiency, while a kibbutz was an agricultural commune, and as such placed importance on cooperation in all activities, including work, production, and social and educational activities.

On the one hand, Sharon introduced his readers to communities in which the landscape and the social and economic (or agricultural) features were closely linked. On the other hand, he criticized the one-size-fits-all communities. He claimed that such a form 'discourages cultural and social activities, and the feelings of mutual association which are so important for small and isolated villages' (Sharon, 1955). As a result, Sharon summarized his kibbutz planning as a division of the kibbutzim and establishment of an organic link between them. While establishing this organic link, he paid attention to the means of communication, the local climate, and green areas.

With regard to the various angles and layouts of buildings within the kibbutz, Sharon emphasized their harmony with the landscape. As for the overall form of the settlement, he aimed to make it both economically and socially centered. Thus, for Sharon, landscape and social and economic features determined the form of Jewish settlements.

No.	Year	Project name	Contour lines in the general plans	Placement of buildings along contour lines	Communal buildings in a topographically high place
1	1938	America Banir	•		•
2	1940s	Alonim	•	•	•
3	1940–1944	Ein Hashofet	•		•
4	1944	Bitania	•	•	
5	1944	Kfar Glikson	•	•	•
6	1945	Alumot	•	•	•
7	1945	Kfar Macabi	•		
8	1945	Naan			
9	1946	Shfaram	•		
10	1946	Mifratz Hayam			
11	1947	Galon	•	•	•
12	1947–1948	Shoval	•	•	•
13	1948	Beit Alpha			
14	1948–1950	Ein Harod	•		•
15	1949	Geva	•		
16	1950	Sarid	•	•	•

Tab. 1 List of Sharon's kibbutz projects from 1938 to 1950.

3.3. Site planning of kibbutzim

Sharon used the results of his analysis to draft kibbutz designs. He designed 16 kibbutz projects from 1938 to 1950, of which 13 displayed contour lines in the general plans (Table 1). In seven of the projects, the buildings were arranged along the contour lines, and in nine of them, communal buildings were arranged in a topographically high place (Figure 4).

In Section 6 of Sharon's thesis (1955), the architect described the landscape of the kibbutz as follows: 'In landscape planning there is a desire to link the internal gardens with the general landscape of the vicinity, and to introduce the surrounding landscape and plant varieties into the centre of the kibbutz'. 'The various functions of the kibbutz are centrifugal, moving out from the centre to the periphery'. The plans clearly indicated that there was an intention to connect the kibbutz and the landscape by arranging the buildings along the contour lines, placing the communal buildings in a topographical high place, and by spreading the residential areas downward from there along the terrain (contour lines).

Moreover, Sharon explained the layout of the center of the community buildings as follows: 'There are actually two centres separated by a green strip. One of these is the dining hall, which serves as the focal point of the residential and children's quarters; while the other is the farmyard and workshop court, which serves various activities' (Sharon, 1955). This description clearly shows that the dining hall holds the most important position among the communal buildings. As mentioned above, Sharon's paper confirmed the intention of these two features of the general plan.

In fact, such mid-century kibbutz planning methods were described in Sharon's book *Physical Planning in Israel* (1951). This book, which is well-known in Israel as the "Sharon Plan", presented a comprehensive master plan for the newly formed state of Israel (Efrat, 2010). The kibbutz arrangement method was particularly applied in the planning of new towns. Thus, Sharon's designs laid the foundation for future Israeli urban and architectural developments.

3.4. Similarity between Sharon and another Bauhaus graduate: Konrad Püschel

Sharon's architectural inclinations are similar to those observed in the design methods of Konrad Püschel (1907–1997), an architect

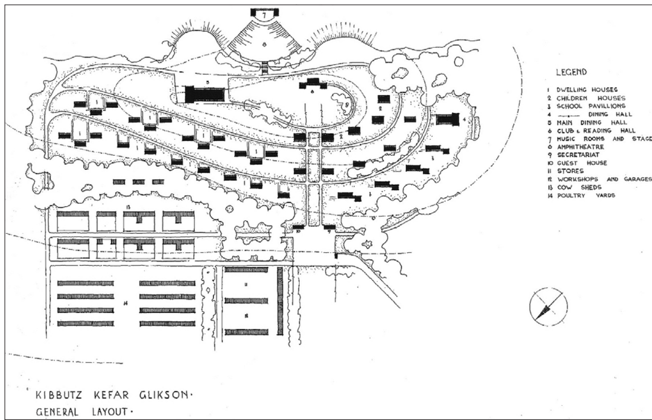

Fig. 4 General plan of Kibbutz Kfar Glikson (1944) by Arieh Sharon.

who also studied at Bauhaus during Meyer's tenure and conducted on-site training during the execution planning of the ADGB Trade Union School (Tomita, 2014). Püschel was involved in the new urban construction in the Soviet city of Orsk in the late 1930s, as well as the post-war reconstruction plan of the North Korean city of Hamhung in the late 1950s. During this period, Püschel conducted a thorough investigation of the topography, climate and culture of each target city and village before beginning the design phase. His subsequent designs of cities and villages were based on these findings. The research and design contents clearly appeared in two theses written by Püschel (1959, 1967) as well as the works of Sharon. The fact that two talented architects, who studied architecture at the Bauhaus under Meyer and were employed at the site of his definitive work and took a similar approach in their subsequent urban design and architectural projects, illustrates the significant impact of the Bauhaus architectural education.

4. Conclusion

Thus, in his analysis of settlements in Israel, Sharon presented examples that reflected landscape as well as social and economic features, while also opposing formulaic designs. He created kibbutz designs from the 1930s onward based on the results of this analysis. Placing importance on surveying and analyzing the landscape and social and economic features is a characteristic of the design method of Meyer, under whom Sharon studied. Moreover, the same architectural inclinations can be seen in the work of Püschel, who had also studied at Bauhaus. Sharon and Püschel would go on to utilize their Bauhaus training in lands whose landscape and social structure differed completely from those of Germany. By doing so, Sharon would give rise to modernist architecture in Israel. The activities of these Bauhaus graduates have been largely ignored in preceding historical studies of modernist architecture. However, their activities are considered to be and evaluated as the outcome of Meyer's design method, which emphasized scientific analysis—a method that enabled the global dissemination of modernism.

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Figure 1, 2: Bauhaus Archiv Museum für Geschtaltung.
Figure 3: Bundesschule in Bernau bei Berlin von Architekt Hannes Meyer, Zentralblatt der Bauverwaltung, 51(14): 211–222.
Figure 4: Arieh Sharon Architect [Kfar Glikson: Layout and Public Buildings–1944], https://www.ariehsharon.org/Archive/Kibbutz-Planning-1930s-1940s/Cfar-Glikson/i-Tsq9sHH (Accessed April 30, 2018.)

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The Lost Typefaces of Xanti Schawinsky: From the Bauhaus to Italy

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Bauhaus / Xanti Schawinsky / New Typography / Type design / Olivetti

The paper employs the Italian years of the Swiss Bauhausler Xanti Schawinsky as a case study to investigate the spreading of Bauhaus' main ideas through the exile of its students and staff members. To this end, it focuses on the close analysis of two previously unknown typefaces designed by Schawinsky in the 1930s. These were used in a series of visual artefacts produced during a period of three years – from 1933 to 1936 – spent by the designer in Milan where he collaborated with the Studio Boggeri. In doing so, the paper addresses the dissemination of techniques, ideas, and aspirations that emerged from the Bauhaus, and questions how these contaminated and fertilized the Milanese scene.

Although often mentioned in histories of graphic design, the role played by Schawinsky as a mediator of Bauhaus ideas has been long neglected. Thus the paper addresses a gap in the literature and sheds light not only on the ways in which dissemination agents – e.g. personal relationships, communication media and flows of designed artefacts – helped spread the Bauhaus lessons and first legacy, but also on how these were mediated, adopted and adapted in the local scenes.

Fig. 1 Glyph table for Alfabeto 1932 by Xanti Schawinsky, published in *L'Ufficio Moderno*, 10 (10) (October 1935): 466. Ph. by Chiara Barbieri. Courtesy of Xanti Schawinsky Estate, Kilchberg (Switzerland).

Introduction

Xanti Schawinsky (Basle 1904 – Locarno 1979) was a Swiss artist and designer, a Bauhaus student and staff member in Weimar and Dessau, and later a teacher at the Black Mountain College in North Carolina. With the rise to power of Adolf Hitler in winter 1933, he fled Nazi Germany and moved to Italy. Here he temporarily found refuge until 1936, when he left the country for the United States as the alliance between Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy grew stronger. In Milan, Schawinsky spent three years working for the newly-founded Studio Boggeri. Despite the short stay, the years he spent in Italy were devoted to intensive work and collaboration with the most significant clients of the period: the typewriter factory Olivetti, the coffee roasting company Illy, the confectionery brand Motta and the vermouth brand Cinzano, amongst others.

After decades of inaccessibility, a majority of the still existing oeuvre of Schawinsky returned to the family in 2012. Since then, the newly founded Xanti Schawinsky Estate has been proactive in the promotion of the work of Schawinsky by organizing solo shows and taking part in collective exhibitions. Thus the present paper sets itself in this wave of renewed interest in the figure and work of Schawinsky, with a particular focus on his work as a type and graphic designer.[1]

In the Italian graphic design literature, Schawinsky features as a key figure that promoted the spread of modernist aesthetics and favored a different approach to graphic design in interwar Italy. His arrival in Milan is identified as one of the agents – together with the opening of the Studio Boggeri, the launch of the graphic arts magazine *Campo Grafico* and the inclusion of examples of New Typography at the German Pavilion curated by Paul Renner at the 5th Milan Triennale – that concurred establishing the year 1933 as the so-considered birth of Italian graphic design (Bignami, 2001; Colonetti, 2001; Dradi, 1973). Yet, whereas most of the historians of Italian graphic design have indicated Schawinsky as the missing link between Italy and the Bauhaus, Bauhaus scholars have thus far devoted lacking attention to his role as a mediator of the school's ideas abroad (Blume, 2016; Delfiner, 2011).

Recent and ongoing research has brought to light two previously-unknown typefaces designed by Schawinsky in the 1930s and used in his Italian output for Olivetti and other clients of the Studio Boggeri. The two typefaces are here employed as a means of questioning how the displacement of designers trained at the Bauhaus helped spread its lessons and first legacy, and shuffled the cards of design within different local scenes. Looking closely at archival documents, primary literature and visual artefacts, the paper aims at overturning familiar narratives and shedding light on a long neglected figure of the Bauhaus experience.

Alfabeto 1932

The first typeface under scrutiny in this section is Alfabeto 1932 (Fig. 1). As suggested by its very name, the typeface was designed by Schawinsky that same year in Germany. As such, it predates his arrival in Milan. In October 1935, the glyph table for Alfabeto 1932 was published in a special issue of the Milanese advertis-

[1] The paper presents the intermediate findings in a broader research project still underway that aims to rediscover Xanti Schawinsky's graphic design work and clarify his role in the emergence of modern graphics in Italy. The research project is held at ECAL/University of Art and Design Lausanne (HES–SO) and is supported by the strategic fund of HES–SO University of Applied Sciences and Arts Western Switzerland.

ing and graphic arts magazine *L'Ufficio Moderno* devoted to Schawinsky. The table is the last of a series of images included in the magazine to illustrate the multifaceted work of the Bauhausler: from painting to photography, from exhibition design and window display to poster design and advertising, from product to type design. On the opposite page is an article on advertising written by Schawinsky. This is further explored in the last section of this paper in which the two typefaces are contextualized within the interwar debate on graphic design and everyday printed ephemera.

Alfabeto 1932 is a stencil type and as such belongs to a typeface family that between the two wars included Josef Albers' Kombination-Schrift (1926), Paul Renner's Futura Black (1929) and Jan Tschichold's Transito (1931). Like these, Alfabeto 1932 was designed for headlines and large-size printed matter rather than body text.[2] However, Schawinsky's typeface does not have the stiff geometric construction of the previous stencil fonts. In particular, it stands apart from the geometric rigor of Albers' lettering. The latter was designed using a modular principle based on three geometric shapes: the square, quarter circle – replaced by a triangle in a second version – and the circle. Unlike the stencil typefaces of Albers, Renner and Tschichold, in Alfabeto 1932 there is a strong contrast between the horizontal and the vertical strokes, and the interruption between the connecting points of the stencil sheet is reduced to a minimum. Both stratagems facilitate the perception of the single letters and make the typeface easier to read.

A small but relevant detail of Alfabeto 1932 shall not pass unnoticed to the reader who is familiar with the New Typography: the presence of the serif. Indeed, the serifs in Alfabeto 1932 contradict one of the basic rules of the New Typography and modernist graphic design, that is the exclusive use of sans serif typefaces. However, the exception to the rule is in line with and anticipates subsequent changes in modernist graphics. The Milanese graphic designer, type designer and critic Guido Modiano commented on this new tendency in type design in an article published in March 1937 (Modiano, 1937). From the pages of the Turin-based graphics and typography magazine *Graphicus*, Modiano introduced the readers to what he deemed to be the two major examples of a new trend in type design: the typefaces Corvinus (1934) by Imre Reiner, and Bayer-type (1935) by Herbert Bayer. Despite the absence of internal interruptions characteristic of stencil fonts, the letter forms of Corvinus and Bayer-type closely resemble Alfabeto 1932. Indeed, all three types are the outcome of the attempt to modernize traditional typography through the geometric construction of the glyphs.

The resemblance between the typefaces Alfabeto 1932, Corvinus and Bayer-type is neither surprising nor chance, but rather the result of a working exchange and friendship between the three designers. On the one hand, Reiner's and Schawinsky's careers crossed in 1933, when they both collaborated with Studio Boggeri, turning it into a focal point of progressive graphic design in interwar Italy. Previously, Reiner had been in close contact with Paul Klee since 1923, and familiar with the Bauhaus network (Wild, 2006). On the other hand, Schawinsky's and Bayer's lives ran parallel from the Bauhaus period onwards. Whereas Schawinsky was forced to leave Berlin in a hurry in 1933 to avoid a Gestapo summons and temporarily settled in Italy, Bayer became art director of the German edition of *Vogue* and underwent his 'advertising purgatory', before being able to leave Germany for the United States in 1937, where Schawinsky had settled in 1936 (Rössler, 2013; Rössler and Chanzit, 2014; Bowman, 1981).

Tecnica ed Organizzazione

The second typeface analyzed in this paper is a geometric font display for the Olivetti's magazine *Tecnica ed Organizzazione* (Fig. 2). While the magazine per se was already known, the designer of the cover and the typeface remained thus far unknown. The cover is not signed and its graphic layout was kept unchanged for the first series of twenty-

Fig. 2 Xanti Schawinsky, cover design for *Tecnica ed Organizzazione*, January 1937. Courtesy of Xanti Schawinsky Estate, Kilchberg (Switzerland), and of Associazione Archivio Storico Olivetti, Ivrea (Italy).

five issues, from January 1937 until January 1944, the only variation being the background color. The magazine was hence published after Schawinsky's departure from Milan. Nevertheless, the inclusion of the magazine cover in the designer's unpublished portfolio, which was discovered in a private collection, along with comparison with other uses of the same font in other signed visual artefacts confirm attribution. This is the case, for instance, with the cover of a special issue of the sport magazine *Gazzetta dello Sport* dedicated to the Olympic Games in Berlin, dated September 1936 and signed 'xanti' (Fig. 3). Here, the word 'olimpiadi' (Olympics) is set in the same typeface that appears in *Tecnica ed Organizzazione*, even though with different proportions. As with the cover of the Olivetti magazine, this time too only lowercase types are used in line

[2] Swiss type designer Luca Pellegrini has digitized Schawinsky's typeface and produced an updated version of Alfabeto 1932 (Pellegrini, 2016). Pellegrini's xanti32 corrects a series of incongruences in the glyph set of the original font, but above all completes the table with the addition of previously missing characters, such as the punctuation and accent marks. In doing so, xanti32 allows a critical comparison to be made between Alfabeto 1932 and other stencil and modular scripts produced in Germany and Italy in the same period (Perondi, 2016).

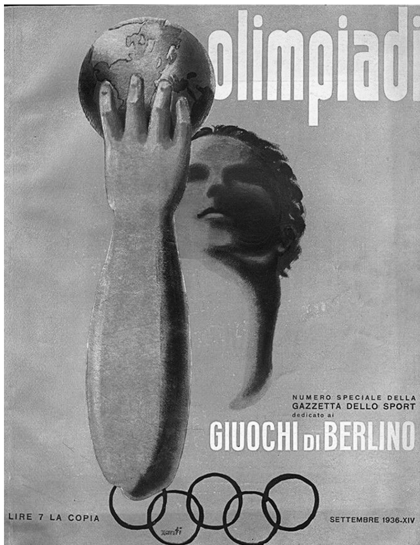

Fig. 3 Xanti Schawinsky, cover design for *Gazzetta dello Sport*, September 1936. Ph. by Davide Fornari. Courtesy of Xanti Schawinsky Estate, Kilchberg (Switzerland).

with the principles of the New Typography and its ban on capital letters.

The geometric display of Schawinsky's typeface directly recalls the font Universal, which was designed by Bayer when he was at the head of the Bauhaus printing workshop. Equipped with triangle and compass, Bayer made his alphabet of solely lowercase letters by combining orthogonal lines of equal width with circles of four different diameters. As the use of semicircles and quarters of circumferences in the construction of the letters x and k shows, he reduced diagonal lines to a minimum. Universal contrasts sharply with the subjective references and over-decoration of nineteenth-century lettering and the connotative value of Fraktur, aligning itself with the modernist idea of universality, economy of means, and functionality (Mills, 1993; Barbieri, 2012).

Schawinsky's typeface echoes both versions of Bayer's Universal that were designed in 1925 and 1927 respectively. It is closer to the original version in the sub-heading 'uomini macchine metodi nella costruzione corporativa' (men machines methods in corporate construction) than in the title 'tecnica ed organizzazione' (technique and organization). The latter stands out for a different approach to forming the letter 'a' and its elongated shapes. As such, Schawinsky's typeface belongs to one of the typeface families that were listed, together with Corvinus and Bayer-type, in the previously mentioned article by Modiano on new trends in type design (Modiano, 1937). In the article, Modiano praises the elongated typefaces for the architectonic and plastic quality of the letter forms. Moreover, he comments on the density and narrowness of elongated typefaces. He appreciates, in particular, the way in which the text stands out against wide line-spacing, thereby creating a lively chiaroscuro and bringing to the fore the white of the page as an active element in the layout of the page, in accordance with modernist aesthetics.

Functional advertising: type design and advertising in interwar Italy

As anticipated in the first section of this paper, an article by Schawinsky was published opposite the specimen of Alfabeto 32 in the October 1935 issues of *L'Ufficio Moderno*. Entitled "Pubblicità funzionale" (Functional Advertising), the article reports Schawinsky's keen interest in advertising and everyday printed ephemera. 'Effective advertising', Schawinsky writes, 'refers to technique rather than mysticism – to precision rather than monumentality – to realism rather than symbolism – logic rather than representation – to functionalism rather than ornamentation – to documentary rather than theatrical' (Schawinsky, 1935: 467). Implicit in the article is the awareness of the specificity of advertising and commercial printed matter, whose purpose, aims, and audience differ from the ones of a book and whose language and aesthetics should accordingly be different.

Schawinsky's words resonate within a lively debate about differences between the typography of and outside the book that was hosted in the pages of specialist magazines of the period. Flicking through *Risorgimento Grafico, Graphicus, L'Ufficio Moderno,* and *Campo Grafico,* one can follow the emergence of a modernist discourse in graphic design, which was rooted in the lineage of printing, typography, type design and advertising.

Limiting the analysis of the debate to type design, there were considerable complaints among Italian graphic designers, printers, advertisers, and critics about the lack of specific typefaces for everyday printed matter. Contributors criticized Italian foundries for their limited range, which consisted only in reinterpretations of traditional typefaces or copies of foreign ones, particularly German (Calabi, 1930). Futura (1928) by Paul Renner was, for instance, the model used by Alessandro Butti for Semplicità produced by Nebiolo in 1933, while Guido Modiano's Mefistofele (1930) for the Reggiani foundry strongly resembles the extra bold and stencil version of Futura Black (Piazza, 2012). Typographers were encouraged to update their equipment and acquire so-considered modern-looking typefaces in order to meet the requirements of everyday commercial printed matter. In doing so, they were expected to ensure that advertising, an economically flourishing and growing field, was to follow under their jurisdiction.

In light of this debate, it is interesting to look closer at two advertisements designed by Schawinsky during his stay in Milan that feature the above analyzed typefaces. Alfabeto 1932 features capitals only in the brochure for Tutor, a company of electrical switches (Fig. 4), and lowercase only in an advertisement for Olivetti addressed to medical doctors (Fig. 5). The latter features also the typeface of *Tecnica ed Organizzazione* in which the word 'vantaggi' (benefits) in the top-right corner is set.

Fig. 4 Brochure for the company Tutor, designed by Xanti Schawinsky, 1936. Ph. by Davide Fornari. Courtesy of Xanti Schawinsky Estate, Kilchberg (Switzerland).

In both cases, Schawinsky's typefaces meet the requests coming from the field. They are effective with isolated words that catch the attention of the reader and clearly convey the advertising message by means of typographic elements only, without recurring to any decorative ornaments. Moreover, together with the other elements of

Fig. 5 Olivetti brochure for medical doctors advertising the typewriter Studio 42, designed by Xanti Schawinsky, 1936. Ph. by Davide Fornari. Courtesy of Xanti Schawinsky Estate, Kilchberg (Switzerland).

the graphic composition, they comply with the requirements of modernist visual language and techniques: the move away from illustration and the adoption of the photographic media (mainly photomontage), the preference for asymmetrical layout and the intentional use of white spaces. In the double spread of the Olivetti brochure, in particular, the positive and negative versions of Alfabeto 1932 initiate a dialogue between back and foreground that animates the composition. On the one hand, they mirror the imprint of radiography, while drawing attention to one of the key features of the typewriter Studio 42, that is the frame embracing the floating keys and the resulting optical transparency of the keyboard. On the other hand, the repetition of the word 'offerta' (deal) winks to the very design of the stencil type turning the typewriter into the cut-out stencil used to produce the colored letters on the left. Furthermore, the tight kerning of the ligature glyph 'ff' shows the flexibility of stencil letterforms, resulting in the two letters sharing one circle attached to the stem of the second 'f'.

Conclusions

Heirs of the modernist printing experiments, inside and outside the Bauhaus' graphic design workshop, the two typefaces designed by Schawinsky in the 1930s met the needs of Italian graphic designers, printers and advertisers. As this paper illustrated, to understand the origin of Alfabeto 32 and the typeface for *Tecnica ed Organizzazione* one needs to bear in mind the Bauhaus printing workshop as well as Schawinsky's personal and professional network, in particular his friendship with Bayer. These connections are made apparent in the continuous cross-references between their works, which testify the migration of the Bauhaus ideas and legacy through visual means. On the other hand, the two typefaces acted as vehicles fertilizing the Milanese scene with the seeds of the Bauhaus.

The present paper is a first attempt to reassess Schawinsky's contribution to modern graphic design in Italy. In this framework, Schawinsky's role as an active agent of the Bauhaus diaspora has become clearer and rooted in a modernist practice such as the design of versatile typefaces to be employed in everyday visual artefacts. Such practice can be both seen as a signature gesture and as a way to overcome a lack of basic ingredients for modern graphic design in Italy's 1930s. Compared to other Swiss graphic designers active in Italy, the role of Schawinsky is as much a curtain-raiser as an underestimated figure, due to the following arrival of Max Huber in Italy several years later (Fornari, 2016). His activity deserves further critical study. Areas for further research include an understanding of his participation in political propaganda and a comparison with other Bauhauslers who had left Germany in the same years (Botar, 2009; Čapková, 2004).

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Beyond the Bauhaus, The Fertile Creation of the Alberses in Mexico

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Bauhaus / Albers / Historiography / Microhistory / Mexican culture

This paper analyzes the presence of a group of former members of the Bauhaus in Mexico during the years following the closure of this institution. It expands the study of the important and long liaison of Josef and Anni Albers with Mexico's culture, which lasted more than thirty years and gave rise to a symbiotic relationship that influenced the conception and development of their artistic works of design, all of which received increasing international recognition. Likewise, architecture, design and art in Mexico were all influenced by the work and presence of the Alberses, whose adepts recognized the cultural syncretism and originality that their proposals had achieved. How did the presence of the Alberses come to happen in a country that was far from their lives in Germany? What were the cultural elements that motivated the development of an innovative work, based on a virtually unknown link until now?

Background

The Bauhaus, founded in 1919, will soon be 100 years old. The school developed a project that would barely take 14 years of academic life to integrate experiences that would influence numerous actions and eventually gave way to the construction of modern design. The community of professors and students that shaped it along its several stages of development were able to integrate a new type of artistic training that revolutionized the emerging discipline of design and its different forms of expression. However, despite the contributions of its supporters, which were soon recognized in various parts of the world, the school was finally closed due to the repression and persecution of the authorities of the National Socialist German Workers Party. Actually, the lack of information – as claimed until recently – regarding the interaction that some of those school members had had with designers from other countries as well as the internationally recognized professional development accomplished in those places, led them to forced emigration to regions of Europe and the United States of America.

As I mentioned earlier in another analysis,[1] shortly after the institution's demise, several of those well-known Bauhauslers lived an intense liaison with Mexico and extended their stay and their relationship for several years, with quite a different geographical, social and cultural environment from that of their earlier life in Germany. An example is Hannes Meyer, professor and second director of the Bauhaus, who lived with his wife, Lena Bergner, in Mexico between 1939 and 1949. Another instance is the alumni of the last stage of the Bauhaus in Dessau–Berlin, Michael van Beuren and Klaus Grabe, who acted as entrepreneurs in this country and decided, as in the case of van Beuren, to adopt Mexico as their homeland for the rest of their lives.

For Hannes Meyer, his life in Mexico during the 1940s was a stormy experience. Due to his extreme ideological position, he constantly went through confrontations and demeaning professional criticism, as he had previously suffered both at the Bauhaus in Germany and during his stay in the Soviet Union in the 1930s. Such a complicated environment in Mexico made it hard for him to enjoy rebuilding his professional life; therefore, he was forced to return to his native country, Switzerland. Unable to forge a transcendent professional career through the international context of architecture and design, he spent the last five years of his life there.

Beyond these cases, the main discussion of this presentation is the couple formed by Josef and Anni Albers, also former members of the Bauhaus. To date, it is clear that Josef was one of the most outstanding members of the Bauhaus, and his legacy, through his teachings in the initial course, *vorkurs*, and in other subjects such as color, composition and design, has been fundamental in the training of several generations of designers. What has been poorly documented is that Josef Albers and his wife Anneliese Fleischmann, better known as Anni Albers, had an intense relationship with Mexico, which generated a creative process that resulted in a notable conceptual change in their professional pro-

[1] Salinas, O. (2006). *Bauhaus Exiles in Mexico, Cultural Influence and Professional Contributions*. 5th International Conference of Design History and Design Studies, Helsinki, Finland, University of Art and Design, Estonian Academy of Arts.

duction. Eventually, they produced works that amazed and positively influenced the careers of various Mexican architects, artists and designers.

Previously, I analyzed and presented the social and political phenomenon that took place in the 1930s and 1940s in Europe, which caused an unparalleled emigration of architecture, art and design professionals towards Mexico, seeking the freedom to exercise their trade;[2] however, how did the Alberses' close relationship with a country that was so distant from Germany come to happen? And, what was the intellectual and cultural crossing that resulted in original and unprecedented work in the international design art scene of the 20th century?

[2] Salinas O. (2015). *Otherness Became Own. The Origins of Modern Design in Mexico*. Society for Latin American Studies Conference, 2015, Aberdeen, Scotland.

The Alberses in Mexico

When analyzing the Alberses in the context of the Bauhaus, it has already been widely documented that Josef was a full-fledged *Bauhausler*, because he was indeed a protagonist of this well-known pedagogical experiment during all the time he remained active in the cities of Weimar, Dessau and Berlin. In fact, Albers joined the Bauhaus in 1920, shortly after its founding, and participated as a student, a teacher and an expert till 1933, when the school was closed and its members were forced to seek new horizons.

In 1922, he met Anni, who enrolled as a student in the weaving workshop and, since then, the couple's relationship would last for the rest of their lives. She followed and supported all his projects and shared his personal search for experiences and knowledge, which gave meaning to her own life project too. The production of the couple during their stay in the Bauhaus was very fruitful and placed them as notable teachers before having to leave Berlin as a consequence of the frustrating situation of Anni, of Jewish origin, due to the growing harassment from the Nazi regime.

The experience that the Alberses went through when emigrating to the United States of America to join the newly founded experimental and progressive school Black Mountain College in North Carolina (Harris, 2002), where Josef directed the Art Department, has been well documented. Actually, Anni implemented a new theoretical and didactic program for the weaving workshop there and the Alberses worked together for sixteen years in that institution. Just like at the Bauhaus, they participated actively in its development but Josef resigned the position of Director in 1949. Later on, in 1950, Albers accepted the chairmanship of the Design Department of Yale University, New Haven, and due to the flexibility of his academic position, between 1952 and 1955, he taught several courses in Havana, Cuba; Santiago, Chile, and Lima, Peru, in Latin America, and the newly founded *Hochschule für Gestaltung* in Ulm, Germany. During the rest of their lives, the Alberses reaped prestige and recognition, as well as an increasing presence of their work in renowned institutions, cultural centers and museums in several countries.

Historically, this is what has been mentioned about the history of the Alberses in most of the books. Actually, the analysis of their work has been connected mainly with the knowledge and experiences that the couple collected during their years in the Bauhaus. However, the most recent research, which is based on the study of the archives of The Josef and Anni Albers Foundation,[3] has opened the door to learning about the historical relationship of the couple with Mexico, and the meaningful living impact that was provided by both, the local culture and the friendships they developed with the intelligentsia of the so-called post-revolutionary period,[4] which, later in the 1930s, consolidated a national government-promoted identity and gave way to a people that accepted the social and productive structure of modernity, but based their ideas on a traditional culture, which ranged from pre-Columbian civilizations to recent history, of the Mexican Revolution.

In 2006, Brenda Danilowitz, chief curator of The Josef and Anni Albers Foundation, led a first-time study on the relationship of the Alberses with Latin America, and she concluded it with an itinerant exhibition that was presented in Madrid, Spain; Bottrop, Germany; Lima, Peru and Mexico City. I contributed to the Foundation's exhibition by classifying documents and archives linked to my country and by finding the proper exhibition hall where the Mexico City retrospective would take place. My knowledge about the Alberses is based on the research I have done on Clara Porset,[5] the outstanding designer of furniture and architectural interiors, and considered as the founder of professional design in

[3] The Josef and Anni Albers Foundation was integrated in1971 in Bethany, Connecticut, near New Haven, USA. It is devoted to preserving and promoting the lasting achievements of the Alberses.

[4] What is known as the Mexican Revolution was an armed movement that begun in 1910 to remove President Porfirio Diaz, who had been in power since 1876. In 1911, Diaz is overthrown and exiled, but a civil war immediately follows and doesn't end until 1920, when President Álvaro Obregon puts an end to the caudillos and starts the new era of institutional presidentialism (Mexican presidentialism is a term that explains the concentration of economic and political power in the hands of the president) and a social reform that completely renews Mexican culture.

[5] The author of this paper is one of Clara Porset's biographers and has written three books on the life and work of this expert, who is considered as the founder of professional design in Mexico from 1936 onwards.

Mexico from the 1930s onwards. She maintained a close relationship with the Alberses, beginning with her studies with Albers at Black Mountain College and her inviting him to Havana, where he presented three lectures. Later on, after meeting with them in Mexico City in 1935, she started a strong and long-lasting friendship with the couple, which made them reconsider their professional work, and in turn led them to international recognition.

The trip of the Alberses to Havana, as well as the photographs that Josef took of Clara Porset, show that affectionate relationship, which probably increased due to the knowledge and the position of an expert like Clara, who already stood out in her professional environment as an exceptional woman. Their next meeting occurred in Mexico in 1935, and that first occasion was extended to fourteen other long visits to that country up to 1967, all of which in addition to lasting at least two months or more and whenever they had a sabbatical, were always experiences that nurtured their life in many aspects.

At the beginning of this analysis, I wondered why the Alberses developed such a close relationship with a country that is as distant from Germany as Mexico. The information found indicates that, from the beginning of their trips, they were welcomed by a vigorous intellectual class that dominated the cultural and social space with a large number of activities. They were supported by a government that was trying to leave the violent Mexico behind and was building a social system with a cultural identity in which mural painting, music, graphic arts, dance, sculpture and other artistic expressions, as well as the exaltation of pre-Columbian cultures, would promote a nationalism that could found a new modern country, encompassing all social classes.

From her first visit in 1935, Anni was interested in getting to know the popular crafts and textile works of the native communities, but that curiosity extended to the archaeological zones of some pre-Hispanic civilizations, such as Teotihuacán, Monte Alban and Mitla, which presented Josef and Anni an unexpected conceptual wealth that changed the perspective that had always sustained and guided their artistic work. Enthusiastic, Albers writes to his then friend and former professor, Vasily Kandinsky, "... a country like no other for art. An ancient art, barely discovered, barely excavated". Then he adds, "Mexico is truly the promised land of abstract art... we hope to go back soon and many times".[6]

What was said was fulfilled. They returned immediately afterwards. A year later, in 1936, Josef meets with Clara Porset, then close to a muralist painter, Xavier Guerrero, who would be Clara's husband for the rest of her life. Thanks to that relationship, Albers presents his first personal exhibition, after the Bauhaus, in Mexico City, displaying works still linked to the style he had followed for years, and receives immediate acceptance by artists and media alike.

Initially, enthusiasm made the Alberses return to this country whenever possible for more than 20 years – including during their sabbaticals at the Black Mountain College and Yale universities – but that emotion also encouraged them to start a very productive dialogue with their interlocutors, who in this case were plastic artists such as the well-known Mexicans Diego Rivera, José Clemente Orozco and Frida Kahlo, as well as politicians, writers and poets, or simply the various groups of craftspeople who they had the chance to meet and appreciate during their multiple trips to Deep Mexico, linked to an ancient culture, in which the syncretism derived from the fusion of pre-Columbian and European expressions gave way to a scenario that was rich in traditions and coincidences with the new rationalist trends as well as the *avant garde* from existing artistic movements in Europe at that time.

The Alberses lived these experiences enthusiastically. From the beginning, as mentioned in letters to their best friends, they euphorically exclaimed, "Art is everywhere!"[7] Almost immediately, they accepted their influence in a natural way, which led them to professional work imbued with the Mexico they had discovered by then. During each of their trips, Josef engaged in a process of analysis and assimilation of archaeological zones until he reached a symbiosis between his handling of geometry and color as well as the structures of ancient temples and traditional houses, whose composition and formal balance inspired most of the works he developed. The same happened with Anni, who observed the artisans working on traditional looms and producing textile pieces based on geometric compositions, which represented the symbolism of their myths.

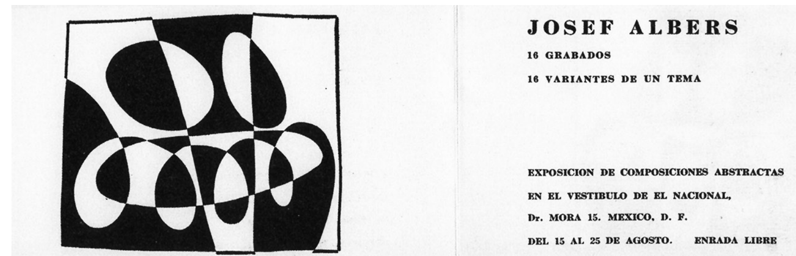

Fig. 1 Invitation to Albers exhibition 1936.

This influence was made evident by identifying her works with names in Spanish, such as Monte Alban, Tenayuca or Teotihuacán, and directly inspired by ancient urban centers, or by material relations such as *templo or adobe*, all of which displayed series of abstract geometric compositions, such as the "Graphic Tectonics", based on the study of stepped pyramidal structures that would be the preamble to conceive their signature series of paintings "the Homage to the Square" (Danilowitz, 2007).

In conceiving this series, which Albers began while in Mexico in the summer of 1949, he reached the synthesis of his studies on geometry, in direct relation with a theory of color that Josef experienced in his classes for several years, and em-

[6] The letter was written on August 22, 1936 in Mexico City.

[7] Weber, N. F. (2004). *Josef + Anni Albers, Designs for living*, p. 11. Merrel, Cooper-Hewitt, National Design Museum, New York.

Fig. 2 Butaque Black Mountain College.

bodied in his book *Interaction of Color*, creating an endless succession of paintings with a single compositional scheme.

However, not only would Albers' influence rest on drawing and painting, but on the walls and chimneys that he developed, all of which were inspired by the plastic conception coming from the architecture of the Mixtec culture in Mitla, Oaxaca. Impressed by their inventiveness and almost infinite stonework designs, he took a large number of photographs of those walls and then analyzed their composition in great detail, to later sketch, in his hotel, what would probably be his first approach to works made with brick, which due to their great originality earned him more recognition in his professional effort as an artist-designer.

Likewise, during his stay at Black Mountain College, Albers surprised his students and classmates by producing a small chair that was used in his drawing classes and at other student and teacher areas, and he and his wife used it in their home for the rest of their lives. At the Bauhaus, Albers had shown that he was able to design and produce furniture, but on this occasion, he decided, respectfully and kindheartedly, to copy a seat that, due to its cultural value and fine proportions, deserved to be made known in settings different from that of Mexico. The chair was the *butaque*, a traditional seat in Mexico that designer Clara Porset – his dear friend and hostess whenever in Mexico – had taken as her emblematic project, because based on that work, she had developed new and refined *butaques*, recognized today as relevant examples of how blending an art of popular origin with modern design can be achieved.

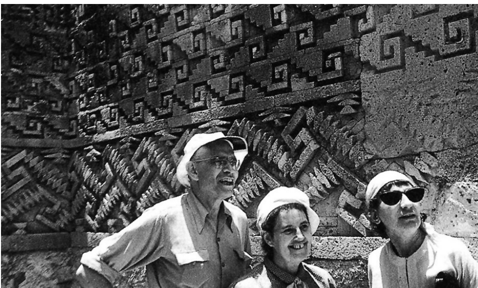

Fig. 3 Anni, Ted and Bobbie in Mitla 1936.

Anni thought like Josef, and shared his inclination for research and experimentation, so she used all the knowledge and experiences lived in the Bauhaus under the influence of the methodology developed by her teacher Paul Klee to master both, the color phenomena of relationship and interaction in the workshop: this brought her to the legitimate language of fabric, which she put into practice during her classes at Black Mountain College. However, starting with her trips to Mexico, and after becoming familiar with the local artisan techniques, the craftsmens' use of color and the compositions they created based on the symbolization of their myths, she reconsidered her themes and delved into her concepts, causing her to test and reexamine different paths to achieve a working personal identity, which finally allowed her to be seen as an original and innovative designer in textile art.

Her quest to get more knowledge from ancient cultures was satisfied in 1953, when Josef was invited to give courses in Lima, Peru for three months, and, soon after, in Santiago de Chile. Such trips give them the chance to make several tours to archaeological sites, museums and collections and Anni, enthusiastic about the enormous knowledge she was receiving, in conjunction with the understanding she had already obtained in Mexico, begins a successful design and production period that would grant her recognitions and tributes, as important as those Josef had achieved, and that trend would increase over the years.

If anything should be added to their intense and fruitful relationship with Mexico it is their collection of thousands of pre-Columbian Mexican miniatures, gathered throughout their trips to Mexico and donated to the Peabody Museum of Natural History of Yale in the twilight of their lives.

The Alberses' last professional contact with Mexico took place in 1967, when they met with the Mexican architects Ricardo Legorreta and Luis Barragán – Pritzker Prize in 1980 – and the sculptor Mathias Goeritz,[8] all of whom sought

Fig. 4 Anni Albers with a Mexican artisan.

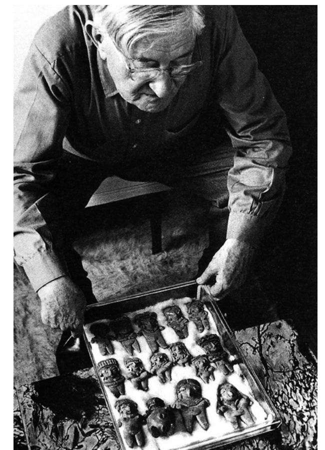

Fig. 5 Albers with his collection.

[8] Luis Barragán, architect (1902–1988), was awarded the Pritzker Prize in 1980 – the prize with the highest international prestige and the main award granted in order to honor an architect worldwide. Barragán is known as the most prominent architect and landscape architect in Mexico. Ricardo Legorreta, architect (1931–2011), was a follower of Barragán's principles and is a creator of architectural works that are well-known in Mexico and in other countries. Mathias Goeritz, sculptor, painter and architect of German origin (1915–1990), developed his work in Mexico.

the Alberses' opinion on the project led by Legorreta to build *Hotel Camino Real*, which concluded as a successful project of plastic integration. The recognition of Albers' work in the management of its brick walls, resulted in a lattice-like structure that separates the hotel from outside traffic, housing a large fountain with a vortex that creates a spectacular environment for visitors of the inn. Shortly afterwards, Legorreta himself asked Anni Albers to design and produce a tapestry for the bar of the Camino Real Hotel – manufactured by Knoll International in Mexico – and from then on, she started a new series of tapestries with that name. The Alberses' last trip to Mexico happened in 1967, while the Camino Real Hotel was being built. It was as intense in activities and experiences as the previous thirteen visits. Each time, they unleashed their creative capacity, motivated by an environment that allowed them to continue building their life project.

Conclusion

When analyzing the work of the Alberses, we can recognize a period of learning and meaning in their conceptual proposals, which were linked to the new vision of a modernity sustained in an increasingly abstract world and brilliantly interpreted in the school of the Bauhaus. Josef and Anni showed a remarkable ability to design, which led them to consolidate themselves as educators in the unique experiment called Black Mountain College in the United States of America. However, from 1935 onwards, when they first arrive in Mexico, a process of reconceptualization of their vision of art and design is started, motivated by the cultural richness they discover day after day, which would be the main source of their professional work in the following forty years.

By knowing and analyzing the architectural vestiges of pre-Columbian civilizations as well as the product of traditional craftsmanship in the search for new foundations for their art, an intellectual and cultural intersection was presented with an imaginative vision that complemented their past experience, all of which were linked with a distant reality of that worldview that aroused their fascination and obsession to travel new paths and find the fruitful creation of a couple able to express their contemporaneity, in a long exercise of visual perception and artistic experimentation.

Only recently, half a century after those events, the recognition of this fruitful symbiosis has begun, and exhibitions and studies of a topic that had almost been ignored in the vast historical analysis of the members of the Bauhaus has started to emerge. I hope that the growing interest in rescuing examples from ignorance, such as that of the Alberses, may help understand and rightfully level up that buried reality of the historical evolution of design.

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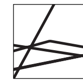

1 Design History and Histories of Design

1.6 Design History: Gatekeeper of the Past and Passport to a Meaningful Future?

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The design present becomes the design past and the design past carries with it a variety of memories. Designing in the present, tempered by a comprehensive understanding of the implications of past design activities, has the capacity to underpin the shaping of responsible and innovative design futures. Our line of research seeks to explore a number of ways in which the history of design has the capacity to serve as a learning tool to increase awareness of the importance of design in the future. This strand welcomes contributions that reveal stories (both positive and negative) from a variety of different angles.

We hope to receive contributions from a diverse range of speakers and researchers that reflect the new, more inclusive cartography of design history (the legacy of ICDHS) and the problematic agenda that it continues to encompass (the future). 10th+1 is a fitting context for such consideration.

Back to the Future
The Future in the Past

ICDHS 10th+1 BARCELONA 2018

Conference Proceedings Book
Oriol Moret (ed.)

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1.6 Design History: Gatekeeper of the Past and Passport to a Meaningful Future?

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INTRODUCTION

1.6 Design History: Gatekeeper of the Past and Passport to a Meaningful Future?

The design present becomes the design past and the design past carries with it a variety of memories. Designing in the present, tempered by a comprehensive understanding of the implications of past design activities, has the capacity to underpin the shaping of responsible and innovative design futures. Our line of research seeks to explore a number of ways in which the history of design has the capacity to serve as a learning tool to increase awareness of the importance of design in the future. This strand welcomes contributions that reveal stories (both positive and negative) from a variety of different angles.

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Anna Calvera / ICDHS 10th+1 Scientific Committee

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Based on the call for papers relating to 'Design History: Gatekeeper of the Past and Passport to a Meaningful Future?', this strand features an extensive series of papers that demonstrate the relevance of the topic in a variety of ways that underline the enduring importance of further study, interdisciplinary investigation and new knowledge acquisition. These contributions have arisen from different theoretical, methodological and historical approaches, which have, in turn, shed light on specific knowledge layers that provide an effective means of bridging the past, present and future. More precisely, the history of design is widely presented as a discipline that serves as a valuable tool for positing dynamic, changeable and challenging possibilities for the future, by means of a bifocal lens that reveals the ways in which the past and present inform this process. The many approaches encompassed by the theme of the strand are represented in the individual contributions through a variety of case studies. Thus, these cases are explored via focal points such as museums, new technologies, fashion, the environmental consequences of rampant consumerism, materials, teaching and design practices in both academic and studio contexts, and an awareness of the importance of design in other domains, including political, economic and cultural initiatives. Also under the microscope are designers or artefacts that include books, posters, furniture, and national and international exhibitions. All topics explored as part of this strand seek to present the history of design as an important ingredient in the quest for a broader cross- and multi-disciplinary understanding of the possibilities offered by the discipline. It is hoped that this collection of papers will provide a useful springboard for future research, curriculum development and insights that recognise that gatekeepers have the capacity to open doors and, thus, map a variety of meaningful futures more effectively.

Jonathan M. Woodham, Helena Barbosa, Pekka Korvenmaa

Navigating in the Gap: Designing Historical Fiction and Speculating the Present

Li Zhang
Beijing Information Science and Technology University

Speculative design / Historical fiction / Design fiction / Museum AR APP

Enthusiasm or suspicion for the future depends on how we speculate about history and transform the present by what we believe and what we do. History, we may rather say, is not reality but a speculation about past facts. Therefore, there is a space that can be operated on for speculating history by raising the question of what-if? and presenting possible answers through virtual visualization. In this paper, I will put forward a hypothesis of a "history of the future" inspired by Foucault's "history of the present", that uses AR technology in a museum application to explore the possible conditions of historical exhibits with touching of fingers and augmented visuality. Audiences would benefit from navigating in the gap between history and future as well as speculating the present, even though speculation is not enough comparing to Dunne and Raby's definition.

Introduction

It is unnecessary to envision an intelligent era, as we are currently in the middle of one. There have been many theories of the intelligent society, each completely different from the one that preceded it, and discussions on the subject are ongoing because changes from intelligent forces are still vibrant. The toughest challenge in the intelligent era, in a design context, is dealing with multi-layered realities. There is a list of realities, which will likely be continually updated, that includes augmented reality, virtual reality, mixed reality, and mundane human reality. Although this is something of a cliché, knowing where you came from and who you are might be one of the wisest strategies for determining how to move forward. Enthusiasm or suspicion for the future depends on how we speculate about history and transform the present by what we believe and what we do. Currently, we seem to show much more zeal towards the realities of the future while neglecting the multiple facets of history.

To some extent, every design both looks ahead and in retrospect at history and only prevails for a while in the present. Rethinking how to create reciprocity between the past and the future is a long-lasting topic in literature, art, cinema, architecture, fashion, and the philosophy of technology. The same has been true of design since it peaked in the 1930s. Ambiguous ideas such as retro-futurism, steampunk, cyberpunk, and futurology have attracted considerable attention since the dawn of the intelligent era, where emerging technologies including synthetic biology, genomics, and robotics opened a Pandora's Box allowing for the activation of adjacent design possibilities and potentials in the past, in the present, and in the future.

This paper focuses on the three intertwined concepts of the future, the present, and history. Within this trinity, the future is the changing target, the present is the purpose, and history is the means to review the present and envision the future. This paper is based on a case study undertaken in a museum with AR technology, where audiences are offered an interactive tool to operate on the historical exhibit and conduct a what-if? thought experiment through the touch of their fingers. In the end, this paper is intended to present a general educational and pragmatic approach for conjecturing about the future by imaginatively digging into design history and speculating on design alternatives as giving shape to emerging technologies.

1. A History of the Future

The idea of the "history of the present" is Foucault's provocative way to set out his methodology of Presentism, which signifies a manner of historical writing that uses present beliefs to portray the past (1977a). In this paper, I will put forward a hypothesis of a "history of the future" that uses AR technology in a museum application to explore the possible conditions of historical exhibits with touching of fingers and augmented visuality. As we all agree that history is never identical to its narrative and that there are numerous versions of the future, a "what-if?" represents a potent mind-scheme for telling a different story about both history and the future, which can also clarify our understanding of the present. Concerns about the future, thus, have become salient, shaping the discourse in every science, social science, and humanities discipline, including, of course, design history studies. However, history, the present, and the future are closely and inextricably linked, particularly as we face an impending tomorrow.

1.1 Historical Fiction

Max Weber (1949) also offers us a theoretical possibility to explore the alternative presentation of history, whose initiative and genius methodological concept depicts the distance between theory and history. In other words, history cannot be the alternative to the facts as soon as it is converted into narratives and texts. History, we may rather say, is not reality but a speculation about past facts. Therefore, there is a space that can be operated on for speculating history by raising the question of what-if? and presenting possible answers through virtual visualization.

Inspired by Kant's thoughts in *Things in Themselves* (1783: 40), it's clear that we know nothing about things but only ideas about things. Historically speaking, we can never know exactly what really happened in the past; we can only touch the surface of the facts through the veil that was woven by historians. The haptic feeling is determined by the fabrics that dominate by way of how historians retrodict historical materials. That's why

the suggestion of Pinch and Bijker (1987) verifies its value today: it's wiser to pay more attention to failures in history and study them in the same way as successes. As we are all aware, it's the inevitable option that we can rely upon to approach the fact. However, the wicked problem remains now: that is, how to study those failures if they were eliminated from the beginning of history writing?

The possibility of speculating history exists in Foucault's (1972: 30) statement appointing discontinuity as the nature of "a general history [...] which deploys the space of a dispersion". Such questions have been pursued since the linguistic turn in history, in the form of "Is history fiction?" and "Can historians tell the truth about the past?" (Curthoys and Docker, 2006) Truth or lies, reality or illusion, objective or subjective—the option of the above all alienates the traditional and new historians. However, Foucault (1989: 301) declared for himself in an interview that what he did was more than a historian's work: it was a job of historical fiction. Truth lives instantly, which means it cannot be retrieved by historical writing or in any other way. Is there any possibility to perceive the past on its own terms? Fortunately, visualization technologies today furnish us with a more participatory way of interacting with immobile objects and seeing virtual images of them.

1.2 Design Speculation

There are two basic clichéd questions about history: the first is the ambiguity about the definition of history, and the second is the question of what the advantage of the study of history is. This paper aims to respond to the second question based on the clarification of the first one. The clarification of history as not being how events actually happened but rather writing about what happened then constructs the elastic mind space that facilitates the feasibility of speculating about and designing an alternative historical fiction. Walter Benjamin (1969: 257), for example, declined Leopold von Rankean's thought of history writing as "telling it the way it really was", but choose to "seize hold of a memory as it flashes up at a moment of danger" by advocating a discontinuous historical writing using the concepts of fragments, pastiche, aphorisms, quotations, and even constellations. In other words, there is an obtainable territory for speculation about history with future probes, and this would enrich the understanding of the present.

Designer who would be Science Critic, named by the American philosopher of technology Don Ihde, by virtue of his talent for making "creative leaps", can transfer scientific theories from the laboratory into everyday life. In this way, speculative design actually implements a strategy of "prefigurative criticism", presenting unassured technologies and possible negative consequences to the audience in a fictional and imaginative way. Design speculation, on the other hand, employs a methodology of "retrospective criticism", which applies the emerging technologies of visualization onto the invisible remainders of the mainstream history, making them available and believable.

As John Walker (1989: 75) described as the responsibility of design historians:

> [T]heir task [to reconstruct the meanings and significances that designed goods had for those for whom they were made] does not end there because it is also important to trace their subsequent history and consider what meanings, if any, **they have for people now**. [Emphasis added]

The audience would benefit from new historical knowledge and more inclusive perspectives about what could have happened in the past, as well as more imaginative visions about what could happen in coming years.

The term **speculative design**, coined by Anthony Dunne and Fiona Raby (2013), refers to a cutting-edge practice of delineating how an assemblage of persuasive inferences on an emerging technology and design strategy learned from film, art, literature and philosophy can be exercised to facilitate and conjure preferable futures. The processes and results of speculative design are often performed and presented at a museum due to its experimental attributes and its aesthetics of unreality. Speculative design is a compelling methodology to highlight the dual value of design as research and design as critique. Here, design speculation will be creatively diverted into acting as a medium of retrodicting history.

Being critical and skeptical about all unquestionable certainties has been a fundamental advantage of speculative design since it originated from Dunne's (1999) well-known idea of critical design and Droog's cutting-edge exhibition in Milan in 1993. In fact, speculative design is often confused with the concept of design fiction, which was created by science fiction writer Bruce Sterling (2012) and which is the "deliberate use of diegetic prototypes to suspend disbelief about change". From historical fiction to design fiction, the audience would exploit imagination as a thinking tool to reflect on the elastic distance between history and the present and fact and fiction.

The protocol of speculative design can be outlined as follows. The first phase is arousing attention and confusion with an intentionally aesthetic difference from commodity style. The second phase is inviting the audience to be involved in active and personal critical thinking because of the insufficient details provided. The third phase is imaginatively visualizing and materializing a form of the future by presuming an emerging technology in its extreme implementation. The final and most important phase is modifying individual behaviors and changing the present by estimating whether the future is desirable or undesirable. There is an adage about futurology by Alan Kay (1971): "The best way to predict the future is to invent it". In this project, the future and history both work as vehicles for transforming the present. The best way to transform the present is to speculate history through future methods.

As Russian-American writer Joseph Brodsky (1997: 124) stated, "[T]he main trait of history, and of the future, is our absence, and one cannot be certain of something one was never a part of". It is incredibly difficult to make a decision about an impending way of life if we cannot see it clearly or touch it. By deriving the benefits of speculating about the past, when we learn more about the constructive nature of the present and negotiate multiple futures, we will have more pleasure of thinking.

2. The Gap Between the Past and the Future

We can only exist in the present, whereas the past and the future are defined by our absence. Thus, we might be well aware of the paradox of the trinity of time: past–present–future. In other words, **experiencing absence is the pivot that generates empathy with regard to history and allows for speculation about the future.** One of the great intellectual thinkers of the 20th century, Hannah Arendt (1961: 13–14), wrote about the gap between the past and the future, and she posited that tradition could be used to fill it. The values of both the past and the future rely on the status quo in the current world: "The scene is a battleground on which the forces of the past and the future clash with each other" (p. 10). Besides the parable of the battleground, Arendt described a parallelogram as a vivid metaphor for the activity of thought, which delineates two forces of the past and the future. This is because human beings standing on a battlefield would conjoin diagonally, generating a third force, which would emerge in the present, with a definite beginning and an infinite ending.

The future as well as the past, instead of being treated as burdens, can both be viewed as forces to push us into a more dynamic engagement with the present. Consider Arendt's notable quotation of Faulkner: "The past is never dead. It is not even past" (qtd. in Arendt, 1961: 10–11). The past and the future are connected by the middle phase that is the contemporary world, and they share the nature of occasionality. The middle place into which we step provides the only chance to manipulate the capsule of time, and it is also the reason why time shows itself as discontinuous: "[T]ime is not a continuum, a flow of uninterrupted successions; it is broken in the middle, at the point where 'he' stands" (1961: 11). The task of speculative design, as a spokesman of the present, is to try myriad occasionalities, both from the left pole of historical experience and from the right pole of future technological experimentation. The ideal shape of the present would be sculptured by cohesive vigor joined by two hands—one hand coming from a foregone time and the other hand arriving from upcoming days. As Arendt stated, "Truth is kept in abeyance" (1961: 14), and the gap between the past and the future is the only zone where truth will lie in the end. Put differently, there is no alternative for us to approach the truth but to steer in this gap. That is the major thread that this project follows—that is, speculating about history by using AR technology to navigate in the gap and experiment with preferable and undesirable realities.

3. A Case Study: Museum AR

The correlation between ethnography, anthropology, and design research is not new; it has been acknowledged for at least 30 years. In design research, context and empathy are the two essential priorities that it shares with ethnography. Although these two fields are barely intertwined, they are only pragmatic in relation to each other; design treats ethnography as a sensible methodology, whereas ethnography looks at design as an outsider.

While history is charming, it becomes boring whenever a museum presents it in the form of a passive exhibition. The value of a museum cannot be maximized until it can transform silent history into a persuasive storyteller that implies a hint about the current or future world. This project plans to cohesively weave together the past, the present, and the future by combining design history with ethnography. While we are familiar with participant design or co-design in terms of the relationship between design and ethnography, in the proposed project, I intend to take a chance by creating a new genre of design history based on a triple performative study consisting of ethnography, design history, and speculative design. An ethnographic exhibition that only informs people about knowledge of the past is unable to conjure a humanized connection between the past, the present, and future until it is interwoven with design history and speculative design.

How can a museum be beneficial from the point of view of design history? Design history and ethnography share a common interest in the narratives of human beings in the past as well as how the past enlightens us about the current world. Design is capable of creating a sensible form for invisible history, which, by and large, has only been presented as physical exhibitions and textual illustrations in museums. What an audience has been able to see at a museum is only a hint of the understanding of the immobile knowledge that is not organically structured with people's real lives. Beyond the theories of touching or sensing that are applied in museums, this project aims to boldly stretch the flexibility of the museum's function both physically and temporally. People will be encouraged and guided by the protocol of speculative design to invent any future they prefer to create or any future they feel is undesirable.

A museum can be an ideal space for experimenting with the hybrid dynamics between history, the present, and the future. How do museums attract visitors? Why are people obsessed with events that happened in the past? In some ways, the answers to these questions are linked to how the concept of history is employed. History is a limited resource that we can rely on to speculate on what occurred in a time and place in which we did not live. Moreover, for human beings to delve into answers to these essential questions, it is indispensable to know about past events. Unfortunately, people cannot identify the pathway solely by visiting a museum or reading a design history book. This is because the history formatted into the above mediums is motionless, and it might be incapable of exciting audiences to be actively engaged and unable to provoke their empathic imagination. Active engagement in history can be achieved if audiences have accessible resources to reinvent some of it; furthermore, history might be reborn vividly if an audience is invited to perform the future into the past by using present (speculative) involvement.

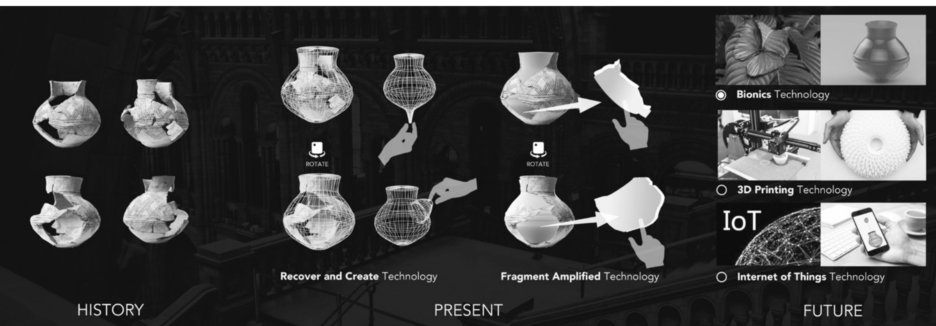

Fig. 1 MuseumAR Application Interface (© Zhang, Li).

The project seeks to enlighten audiences to speculate on the future and create it with museum collections and ready-made props. Firstly, the audience will be asked to think critically about some wicked problems; then audiences will need to explore those problems inquisitively and end up with fingers touching on the screen to manipulate forms of an object. The project will include at least three genres of design, which are respectively based on three different time-dimensioned objects: the past (museum collections), the present (domestic appliances) and the future prototype (props that could stimulate the visualization of the uncertain upcoming age).

The project will use an 18th-century Japanese silver water boiler and energy crisis as an example of the present, and audiences will be asked to craft the past, present, and future by creating a non-existing new thing on screen in which they can participate in the following:

1. Retrospection of the Past
- How did ancient people boil water with the water boiler that is presented in the museum?
- What is the object's advanced energy saving function?
- What kinds of people typically owned this object as their domestic appliance? And why?

2. Reflection of the Present
- What are the main features and disadvantages of the containers we currently use at home to conserve energy? And how do they save energy?
- How can the object be redesigned based on the wisdom of the ancient water boiler at the museum?
- What common attributes are shared by the ancient water boiler and the modern one?
- How did these common attributes evolve historically? Draw a physical timeline of boilers from a global design history perspective.

3. Speculation on the Future
- What will happen to the Earth by 2030 if we keep wasting energy? Speculate on the extreme cases and materialize the results.
- Create some objects based on the above results using emerging energy-saving technology.

4. Critically Performing the Future
- Compare the above three designs: an 18th century Japanese water boiler (the past design) versus a kettle (the present design), versus possible drinking solutions (the future designs); then:
- Identify the differences and similarities among the three designs.
- Discover the historical affiliation among them.
- Speculate on the possible routes for their use.

Ultimately, and ideally, a resilient triple linkage will emerge when the audience performs the future critically by combining ethnographical design history and speculative design.

4. Beyond Speculation

Both speculation as a way of thinking and AR technology utilized in the museum are emerging in China, especially for the masses. Additionally, critical thinking and active participation are not as common or popular as in Western countries. In this project, the speculation on history is only superficially performed by experiencing the form and function alternation through simply clicking on the screen of a smartphone with AR technology that enhances the effects of visualization. This project is not speculative enough if the quality of fiction and satire are essential to the definition of design speculation, while the significance to the audiences remains only an offer of a fun and easy way to interact with unchangeable history. Let them be aware of the gap between historical facts and their narrative, between reality and fiction, between what you see and what you imagine. Moreover, the gap is not a flaw but an opportunity to approach the truth, challenge the status quo, and imagine the feasible future.

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The Primacy of the Physical Artefact – Some Thoughts on the History of Book Design and its Future

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Book design / History / Typography / Graphic design / ebooks

As the printed book is being challenged by the various digital mutations of texts, it seems that the time is ripe for mapping the state of book design history and for discussing some thoughts about what its future could possibly be. In this paper I concentrate on the following question: where can the study of book design in a historical context be found? My intention is to trace how researchers in different disciplines have approached the history of book design; the focus will be on contributions to the design history of the printed book made by bibliographers and book historians as well as typographers and book designers. Nevertheless, this article would make a limited contribution to the main theme of the conference without addressing, even in the form of questions, the potential future of book design and its history in a world where books are stripped of their traditional material characteristics, design features and typographic standards.

Introduction

In a research article that was recently published in *Visible Language* (Griffin, 2016) the author presented a content analysis of the historical literature presented in the journal, from its first appearance, as *The Journal of Typographic Research* in 1967, up to volume 49 (2015). Griffin reviewed the abstracts of 892 articles and concluded that historical literature covered 21.35 per cent of the journal's overall content; only 3.95 per cent of those were actually dealing with the history of book design. A quick glance at *Design Issues* and *Journal of Design History* back issues revealed the same low level of interest in the field. The limited number of articles on the history of book design published in *Visible Language*, the oldest peer-reviewed design journal, as well as in the other two long-established design journals, presents a bleak picture of the level of research interest in the field. However, such a viewpoint does not take into account the multidisciplinary character of approaches towards the history of book design; as a thematic topic, book design is not contained within the confines of a single discipline and has attracted the interest of bibliographers, book and graphic design historians, typographers and design practitioners, as well as contributions by researchers in literary, media, publishing and cultural studies. A possible explanation for the latter might be an increase of interest in the visual attributes of artefacts in various disciplines. Accordingly, it might probably be the spread of publications through various disciplinary channels that makes it difficult to assess and evaluate the breadth of book design history as a research topic in its totality. My search into the existing literature for an overview of the history of book design as a distinct field of enquiry brought no results.

It seems that, as the printed book is being challenged by the various digital mutations of texts, the time is ripe for an attempt to map the history of book design as a research topic. The first question to address towards this aim is the following: where can the study of book design in a historical context be found? What follows is a preliminary attempt to trace how researchers in different disciplines have approached the design of books from a historical point of view; the focus will be on bibliographers and book historians, as well as typographers and book designers, who have primarily published in English. The study will encompass works published in the 20th century and the first decades of the 21st century.

At the same time, as printed pages are stripped of their material substance and are metamorphosed into digital code, researchers with an interest in the history of book design may find themselves on the threshold of a transition in the research field. I would argue that the question 'what would the future of book design history look like?' needs to be thoroughly addressed. Due to the limited space available for this article I will only express some initial thoughts in order to stimulate further discussion.

Book design is a process that aims to visually display the content of a book and define its physical form. For Jan Tschichold, the German typographer and artist, the 'objective of all book design must be [...] to find the perfect typographical representation for the content of the book at hand' (Tschichold, 1958: 8). As a practice, book design originated in the manuscript era. Calligraphers, illuminators and writers engaged in artistic and imaginative ways with the pages of the codex that, later, served as a model for giving form to the first printed books. Thereafter, book design evolved in close association with aesthetic values, technological progress and market requirements. The book as a graphic object, the materials of its production (paper, ink, type), the processes required for its planning and manufacturing, the technology used for the reproduction of text and images, the people involved in its making and the readers' interpretation of the book's visual appearance and material characteristics are issues that lie at the core of the history of book design.

Bibliography and book design

Bibliography is the oldest discipline[1] that studies books as material objects produced in distinctive historical contexts; bibliographers describe and analyse books' physical appearance with the aim of uncovering the details of their manufacture

[1] The Bibliographic Society was founded in London, in 1892, by a group of scholars interested in early printing.

and how it affected the transmission and reading of the texts contained in them (Tanselle, 2009). Tanselle detects four periods in the evolution of the discipline from the end of the 19th century, when the Bibliographic Society of London was founded, towards the latest period, which started after 1969. In relation to the design of books, it is in the latter period that a turning point in bibliographic studies occurred through the work of Donald McKenzie.[2] In his Panizzi lecture of 1985, McKenzie expanded bibliographic inquiry from its limited focus on the physical details of books as evidence for their manufacturing to what he defined as 'the sociology of texts' (McKenzie, 1986). His claim that a sociology 'directs us to consider the human motives and interactions which texts involve at every stage of their production, transmission and consumption' (McKenzie, 1986: 6–7) could point research to the way designers work with texts and make decisions that aim to graphically represent the content of books. Similarly, by asserting that 'every book tells a story quite apart from that recounted by its text', he brought attention to the design features of texts, the 'material forms of the books, the non-verbal elements of the typographic notations within them, the very disposition of space itself' as a body of evidence – quite neglected until then – for the study of the production and reception of texts in the past (McKenzie, 1986: 8). In the same line of thought, Tanselle included in his approach to bibliographic analysis the study of the book's design features. He suggested a distinction between the two directions that analytical bibliography may adopt: one could concentrate on the clues that indicate how books were manufactured and a second could focus on their design features, namely their typography, layout, format, materials and binding, their planning and reception. In the pre-publication stage the analysis of design features may assess the grounds on which design decisions were taken and choices were made, i.e., based on tradition and current trends, to address practical needs, or to convey effects or meanings. Following a book's publication, research can aim to explore how design features had an effect on the book's reception by readers. In any case, Tanselle emphatically underlined that a book design analysis should always take into consideration the technical process involved in the book's production.

Tanselle's work constitutes an important contribution to the significance of the study of the book's design features; following his acknowledgment of a vast historical research on type, typography, paper, printing and binding, however descriptive for its most part, he went on to suggest three approaches for the analysis of the design features of books: the psychological, the cultural and the aesthetic. Each mode of analysis can provide insights into book designers' motivations, choices and decisions, as well as into the role of book design in the reception of texts by readers and book-buyers. Overall, Tanselle argues for the value of an analysis of book design as a means to extract the historical and cultural meaning that books as objects carry: 'The voices we hear through the inked shapes printed in books (and all the other physical characteristics of books) are not just those of authors, but of designers, printers, and publishers as well, and of the cultures and politics they inherited and engaged in' (Tanselle, 2009: 87–88). This becomes evident in his forty-year-long work documenting the history of the book-jacket in the English-speaking world,[3] as well as in his inclusion of a separate section of readings and sources on 'Typography, ink, and book design' in his *Introduction to Bibliography*.[4] It seems that bibliography in its theory has been quite hospitable to the design of books; a content analysis of the literature published in representative journals is now required to show in detail how book design was addressed by bibliographic research.[5]

Book history and book design

The material form of books also holds a central position in the study of their history. This was indicated in the founding publication on the history of the book by Febvre and Martin in 1958. 'Let us open the books and see how they changed their appearance in the course of time, and for what reasons' was the opening sentence of the chapter in which the authors discussed the visual appearance of the early printed book (Febvre and Martin, 1984: 77). In this way they eloquently acknowledged that the formation of the book's physical characteristics and the presentation of printed language constitute an important component part of the production history of the printed book. Books as material objects, apart from the visible text that is printed on their pages, contain a further 'text' in their format, materials, design and impression that cannot be ignored, since it is probably the only surviving evidence of the books' making (Howsam, 2015). However, when book historians focus on the production stage in the life of a book, they rarely address the layout and the typography of texts engendered by the available technology and the targeted readership; rather, they tend to focus on the organization and economics of the skilled manual labour that printers and binders provided.

Historian Robert Darnton, in his influential theoretical model for the study of the book known as 'Communications circuit' (1982), showed how written texts become books as they move from author to publisher, to printer and finally spread to readers. The nodes in the circuit are six groups of people who are part of the life of every book produced over space and time. Among these, printers – a general term that includes pressmen, compositors and warehousemen, as well as suppliers of materials such as paper, ink and type – are responsible for the manufacture of books. Darnton acknowledged the contribution of bibliographers to the history of the processes of book production and, therefore, directed historians to focus on questions about the workings in the printing shop and the management of labour.

A few years later, a new model for the study of the book was proposed by the bibliographers Adams and Barker (1993). Although inspired by Darnton, they

[2] Donald McKenzie (1931–1999), professor of English at Victoria University, Wellington, New Zealand and president of the Bibliographical Society of London.

[3] G. T. Tanselle, "Book-jackets of the 1890s". *Studies in Bibliography*, 58 (2007/2008): 211–304.

[4] G. T. Tanselle, *Introduction to bibliography: seminar syllabus*, Charlottesville, 2002.

[5] *The Library, Studies in Bibliography and the Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America.*

inverted his scheme and concentrated on five stages in the life cycle of a book, namely publishing, manufacturing, distribution, reception and survival. It is worth making two points here: first, they consider 'publishing' as the stage at which the initial decision to multiply a text is taken (Howsam, 2006); second, in their analysis of the manufacturing stage, they made an explicit reference to the importance of type design and typographic layout, since 'That is the process that determined how the printed page was to appear to the eye of the reader, a process that married technology with aesthetics' (Adams and Barker 1993: 19). Today, a long time since the publication of both models, criticism has brought forward both their strengths and weaknesses, and models for the study of the history of book have been developed in other disciplines. The latest suggestion in book studies comes from Murray and Squires (2013) and proposes a visual representation of the communications circuit in contemporary digital publishing. In the authors' revised communications circuit for late twentieth-century print publishing, designers appear as outsourced agencies to publishers. A survey of the content of *Book History*, the journal of the leading society of book historians, as well as of SHARP's annual conference programmes,[6] is needed in order to assess how historians have addressed the role of design in the production history of the book and establish whether book design remains a neglected aspect in the study of books. An indication of an openness of the discipline might be provided by the fact that on SHARP's website, under the Book History Resources section, projects with a focus on the design of books are grouped under the title 'Graphic design, typography, and illustration'.[7] At this point it has to be repeated that the above assertion relates to book history literature that has been published in English.

[6] The Society for the History of Authorship, Reading and Publishing (SHARP) was founded in 1992.

[7] http://www.sharpweb.org/main/research/ [accessed 2/4/2018].

Graphic design history, typographic history and book design

In design history, book design tends to be subsumed under the rubric of graphic design history. The term itself, 'graphic design', was coined by W. A. Dwiggins, 'one of the first professional book designers to work almost exclusively with trade editions' (Shaw, 1984: 31), to describe his practice as book and type designer (Margolin, 1994). The induction of book design into graphic design history also became evident in one of the first introductions to design history (Conway, 1987); in the chapter on graphic design history, Jeremy Aynsley chose, among other case studies, to introduce students to how to approach book design by historically analyzing the design of a Penguin edition. However, if we consider Meggs' *A history of graphic design* (1983) as the first historical survey of graphic design, we also need to take into account that the book, as an object, lies at the heart of typographic history, whose study preceded Meggs' history (Margolin, 1994). Typographic history has concentrated on the products and their design, with a special focus, for long periods of time, on books (Kinross, 2004).[8] According to Kinross, the professional book designer appeared in the printing and publishing trade at the end of the 19th century; a figure who worked for commercial publishers and 'took control of the design and decoration of the whole book, especially its binding and displayed elements' (Kinross, 2004: 48–49), replacing the printer who was 'responsible for all typography and composition, as well as printing and binding, and the illustrator (who) was responsible for any special lettering or decoration that was needed in addition to the illustrations' (Shaw, 1984: 31). Dwiggins is described by Shaw (1984: 32) as the exemplary figure of a book designer who was responsible for 'the typography [or, as he called it, page design], ornamentation, illustration, binding and jacket design, and left the printing and manufacturing to others'.

[8] P. A. Bennett, *Books and printing, a treasury for typophiles*, New York 1951; K. Day (ed.), *Book typography 1815–1965 in Europe and the United States of America*, London 1966; D. C. McMurtrie, *The book: the story of printing and bookmaking illustrated* (reprint of the 1943 edition), New York, 1989, are titles that exemplify this approach.

Traditionally, book titles with a focus on the history of the appearance of books tend to be lavishly illustrated and concentrate on the books' printing, binding, typography (i.e., letterforms and their use), illustrations and individual designers.[9] Although their contribution to the history of book-making is fundamental and of great value, in these studies books appear 'as if they arose unproblematically from the intentions of isolated agents' (Stiff, 1996: 28). Researchers have already suggested a shift in the historical study of typographic design 'away from products and towards the ideas that inform production' as well as towards the decision-making process that frames the visual appearance of book pages (Kinross, 2004: 18–19). Studies that adopted this approach have focused on typography, i.e., on how written language is visually organized to articulate content, and the layout of texts in books; they rely not only on the evidence provided by the books themselves, but also on archival material that

[9] S. Morison and K. Day, *The typographic book 1450–1935, a study of fine typography through five centuries*, London 1963; R. McLean, *Victorian book design and colour printing*, London 1963; J. Lewis, *The 20th century book: its illustration and design*, 2nd ed., New York, 1984.

offers insights into the decision-making process, the work of the designer and how it was affected by contextual factors.[10] A review of the typographic literature published in books and journals as well as of surveys of graphic design history is required to further reveal different strands that researchers followed towards the historical exploration of book design.

What is the future of book design and of its history?

The above discussion has identified disciplinary perspectives through which the history of book design has been studied in bibliography and book history, as well as in graphic and typographic design history; in all three cases a review of the published literature could further elucidate the different questions researchers pose and how they understand and interrogate the design of the printed book. Besides these main approaches, there are various additional disciplines that take an interest in the design of books in historical contexts, such as visual, media, publishing, literary and communication studies. One could claim that there are many histories of book design and a single one would never be possible, mainly because of the multiple meanings embedded in the book as an object. However, until now there has been a common thread running through all disciplines – the primacy of the physical characteristics of the printed artefact. It seems, though, that a radical change has already taken place in the material nature of the book, inviting researchers to reflect on the future of what we call book design.

In the long history of the book, our time is one when we face changes in what we mean by books (McKitterick, 2003) as well as changes in the ways of making, using and reading them. During the last forty years, at least since Michael Hart initiated the idea of books in electronic form in Project Gutenberg in 1971, a radical transformation has occurred in their material characteristics.[11] Paper pages were substituted by flat screens where text flows in an electronic space. The introduction of ebooks in the publishing market signalled a series of profound changes in the materiality and the image of the written word. While print books are concrete three-dimensional objects with well-defined physical characteristics, ebooks are merely the assemblage of hardware, content, and software. Digital technology affects both the pre-publication stage, in which the design and manufacturing processes occur, and the stage following publication, where readers respond to the visual appearance of content on the screen; our encounters with the written word in the digital space require new ways to access, read, interact with and store it.

There is a general consensus among professionals and researchers that books in the digital space are no longer physical objects;[12] in this context we may need to abandon the notion of 'book design' as we know it and start reflecting on how to study design for reading on screen and the design of new digital forms through which knowledge is articulated and transferred. Back in the 1990s McKenzie had suggested that in order for bibliography to meet the challenges of computer technology the meaning of 'text' had to be expanded beyond the boundaries of the printed page. In the quest for the role of design in the new digital environment of reading, the insights that the existing history of book design can provide are valuable. Hence mapping the existing literature becomes a requisite before we address the form of reading in the digital environment.

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[10] S. Walker, "Explaining history to children: Otto and Marie Neurath's work on the Visual History of Mankind". *Journal of Design History*, 25 (4), 2012: 345–362; N. Sioki and M. C. Dyson, "Serving the reader: typography and layout in early Greek alphabet books (1771–1830)". In: Proot, G. (ed.) *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse Boekgeschiedenis*, Den Haag 2012: 101–116; S. J. M. Watson, "Hans Schmoller and the design of the one-volume Pelican Shakespeare". *Typography Papers*, 3, 1998: 115–138.

[11] Michael Hart's Project Gutenberg, founded in 1971, initiated the idea of electronic texts for continuous reading before the appearance of ebook readers in the market. Portable dedicated e-readers such as Amazon's Kindle marked the arrival of commercial ebooks in the market from 2007.

[12] M. Kirschenbaum and S. Werner, "Digital scholarship and digital studies: the state of the discipline". *Book History* 17, 2014: 407–458; S. P. Rowberry, "Ebookness". *Convergence: The International Journal of Research into New Media Technologies* 23 (3), 2015: 289–305.

How Paper Figures in the History of Design Ideation

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Material literacy / Graphic design / Graphic design ideation / Materiality

Graphic languages have been created throughout history. We continually process our observations and look for ways to share our thoughts with others. We understand literacy as the ability to read and write words and visual literacy as an ability to read, decode and interpret visual statements, as well as to write, encode and create visual statements. Of interest here, is how materials contribute a literacy of their own.

This article constructs a lineage of designers from the past century who have sought paper as a means of communication. A concept explored at the Bauhaus, this approach is also identifiable in past and present Australian design. A history is traced from Germany to Australia to share practice-based insights of the significance of paper in the ideation of four designers: Josef Albers, Gerard Herbst, David Lancashire and Jenny Grigg. The focus is not only on how paper guides design perceptions, but also on how paper-focused processes materialise principles of design.

Graphic languages have been created throughout history. We continually process our observations and look for ways to share our thoughts with others. We understand literacy as the ability to read and write words and visual literacy as an ability to read, decode and interpret visual statements, as well as to write, encode and create visual statements (Avgerinou, Pettersson, 2011). A recent review of my practice revealed that whilst these activities are true of my design process, their definitions do not specify the factors that affect or characterise the process, for example the kinds of details that I 'read' and 'write' with. Equally diverse in their expressions as words and image types, material details provide a language in themselves. In accordance with these findings, this paper discusses how materials contribute a literacy of their own during the process of designing, and in doing so introduces the concept of material literacy.

To understand materiality in design ideation I constructed a methodology that enabled me to retrieve and articulate textually the tacit design knowledge that lies embedded in design artefacts. I chose a selection of artefacts that I had designed and compared these with those designed by another graphic design practitioner, David Lancashire, one of Australia's best known graphic designers whose practice began in Northern England in the 1960s. Using archival research methods, I analysed my ideation since the year 2000 to conceive cover designs for works of literary fiction, and Lancashire's ideation to conceive paper promotions since the 1980s. The inception of the project lay in a collection of processual paper artefacts that I had preserved after various book cover designs had been produced. And because of the extent of Lancashire's relationships with several producers in the Australian paper industry, my analyses focused on paper. Understood to be an innovation in design research, the multimodal methodology combines practice-based, archival and collective case study research.

With access to the knowledge of two active practitioners I was not only privy to a diverse array of information, I was also able to note and compare recurrent and opposing ideas. This greater detail made it possible for me to consider my findings as principles of ideation that occur within a material enquiry, rather than incidents isolated to my practice alone. As a consequence, the two-case methodology not only highlighted the opportunity to introduce, but also to better define the concept of material literacy.

By comparison with other design disciplines such as architecture and industrial design, materiality is under-researched in graphic design. Graphic design is understood more as a mark-making activity, where an idea is generated in the mind and then imposed upon materials, rather than a mark-finding activity where design concepts are developed in accordance with the physical propositions that materials provide. Supported by theories concerned with how rather than if material properties effect ideation, I found that my design process comprises a conscious communication with materials (Albers, 1982). While I consider the parameters of a design brief, I use materials to not only sharpen my design perceptions, but what becomes clarified in the process can be shared in a design with others. Material realities help to process and make a designer's perceptions tangible. To draw a parallel with written language, constructing designs through materials creates a syntax. This is a set of elements, visual rather than linguistic, that when arranged in particular ways can be used by designers to explore and signify meanings.

More often than not, at the beginning of a book-cover design process I have reached for a piece of paper. Not to sketch on it but to sketch with it. To visualise a novelist's concepts, I think about their ideas as I handle the paper and observe its response. By allowing one to guide the other, thoughts about form and matter combine and eventually bring forward an unforeseen, materially realised concept. This method developed as a consequence of designing book covers, a profession that demands the continual production of unique visual interpretations.

Because of its variety, infinite transmutability and availability, paper became my most visited resource. I found that responding to paper's behaviour as I pushed and pulled it in different directions promoted ideas that I had not preconceived. This process allowed me to seek ideas by responding to the physical changes in what different paper types would afford, and developed non-consciously into a strategy that facilitated my thoughts.

Part-way into my analyses from 1960 until the present, I looked further afield and found a history of illustrious designers who similarly sought paper to catalyse ideas. This discovery revealed that my study was connected to a much larger history. It also revealed that the mechanism I had developed opportunistically was much more than a playful and inexpensive survival tactic I came up with while dealing with low budget publishing commissions.

Since coming upon the image of Josef Albers teaching students in 1928/29 (Fig. 1), I have started to piece together an historical lineage of 'paper thinking' that connects the Bauhaus with my contemporary practice in Melbourne. The finding highlighted that designers' explorations of the signification potential of paper is a means of literacy unfixed to a time or place because it is devised between this ancient technology and a mind. A material originally invented to record written ideas, my interest is how ideas are explored through its form.

The following insights step forward from the Bauhaus to the present day to look at this phenomenon in four design practices. Each account indicates how each imagination has intersected differently with paper to conceive designs materially. Each is an elucidation of material literacy.

Materials design was established as a foundation course in the Bauhaus curriculum in 1919. It was taught initially by Johannes Itten, later co-taught by Josef Albers and Lázló Moholy-Nagy, and lastly by Albers alone until the school's closure in 1933 (Droste, 2015). Albers found a way through paper to understand and to teach his principle design objective, an economy of means. When Albers lectured that materials 'must be worked in such a way that there is no wastage' he set a challenge for others to understand his idea of beauty—a new object made by editing an existing structure in its whole (Guerenu, 2014). Albers' design ethics are well-explained in a student's recollection of Albers walking into the classroom with a bundle of newspapers announcing:

> Ladies and gentlemen, we are poor, not rich. We can't afford to waste materials or time. [...] All art starts with a material, and therefore we have first to investigate what our material can do. So, at the beginning we will experiment without aiming at making a product. At the moment we prefer cleverness to beauty. [...] Our studies should lead to constructive thinking. [...] I want you now to take the newspapers [...] and try to make something out of them that is more than you have now. I want you to respect the material and use it in a way that makes sense – preserve its inherent characteristics. If you can do without tools like knives and scissors, and without glue, [all] the better (Beckmann, 1993). (Fig. 1).

Fig. 1 Josef Albers and students in group critique at the Bauhaus Dessau, 1928–29, photographed by Otto Umbehr (Umbo). © Phyllis Umbehr/Galerie Kicken Berlin/VG Bild-Kunst. Copyright Agency, 2018.

Fig. 2 A photograph of an exhibition produced by RMIT Industrial design students in 1969/1970, taught by Gerard Herbst. RMIT Design Archives.

This concept of revealing ideas through paper can be traced from Germany to Melbourne in the work of Gerard Herbst. Fleeing the war, Herbst, an experienced window dresser, made it to Australia in 1939. Here he recovered his profession as the art director of Prestige Fabrics in Port Melbourne in 1946, before teaching in the industrial design department at RMIT between 1960 and 1970. Herbst explored modernity by maintaining contact with European design developments from post-war Australia (Bremmer and Van de Ven, 2016).

The title of an exhibition arranged by Herbst and his design students in 1969, 'Design with paper', recognises paper as an instrument. In fact, the title of a board in the student group photograph, 'Designs performing' is in-keeping with the idea of material as a form of language (Fig. 2). As had Albers, Herbst emphasised the value of using paper to find unforeseen ideas: 'The exhibition will demonstrate some structural uses of paper and cardboard as an aid in the thought process of design. Besides some examples illustrating some old folk craft, and decorative uses of paper, it will also show stages in the work-shop which may even be more stimulating to the viewer than the accomplished object' (Herbst, 1969).

An extensive range of paper inventions that Lancashire contributed to the Australian paper industry is held at the RMIT Design Archives in Melbourne. Because Lancashire's designs were generated for commercial purposes they are less abstract than Albers' and Herbst's academic studies, however the interrelationship between Lancashire's concepts and paper's propensities are similarly present. These multiple commissions place him in a long, global history of paper advertising design. As far back as 1895 the Strathmore Paper Company utilised the 'paper in use' technique in an effort to grow their business, employing graphic designers to make creative interpretations of paper. These were put into production and disseminated within the industry to inspire other users, and consequently, the design history of paper promotion is a chronicle of symbiotic couplings between paper companies and often highly influential graphic designers (Unknown, 1958).

On a basic level, my study of Lancashire's work with paper revealed a relationship between a craftsman and a tool. A flat paper sheet is infinitely transformable and beckons the imagination. Richard Sennett recognised the connection between 'all-purpose' tools and curiosity (Sennett, 2008). When Lancashire handles paper he observes it closely, and by remaining open to how it behaves in response to manipulations, he is able to coax and guide innovative, fit-for-purpose results. This is a careful, dextrous conversation where the paper contributes as much as Lancashire. At the beginning of each design process Lancashire's imagination is enlivened by the potential of discovering something new through paper's form. Reliant on his ability to capture chance creative opportunities, Lancashire's questioning of materials is fundamental to how he designs.

Research into Lancashire's design practice also highlighted how his use of paper, a material that is common to both art and design, provided him with a passport to produce work that blurred the boundaries between design and art, and this hybridisation of disciplinary knowledges characterised his business in a unique way. Commissions from paper companies meant he could work in the territory that intersects design and art practice, both of which are characterised by material enquiry.

Lancashire pushed clients as close to 'art' as they would take. Referring to his teacher John Henshall, Lancashire explains one of his core motivations: 'If you understand how something is made, you want to re-make it in your own way'. Not content with making superficial contributions, Lancashire's studio often became fully immersed at the processual level of their commissions, actively researching Lancashire's design knowledge by testing it in practice. For paper clients, this meant Lancashire sometimes went further than just promoting the paper. When possible Lancashire and his colleagues became involved in designing and making new papers, as well as naming, packaging and promoting those papers.

Aware of international trends, Lancashire encouraged his client Australian Paper to move beyond the white paper sheet, ubiquitous in the Australian market in the 1980s, to manufacture coloured papers. In collaboration with his studio 'David Lancashire Design', Lancashire offered AP a hand-painted swatch of colours that referenced his experience of Australia's desert and the concept of 'Outback' to promote its introduction. As Lancashire advised others, 'I would encourage every young designer to go bush, roll your swag out, and soak it up. Reconnect regularly with the environment, then see what happens to your work' (Killen, 2013). To promote the black sheet in the range, 'Celestial Black', Lancashire reasoned a way to render it as a desert sky at night. The design economy that interested Albers is evident in the two edits that authored this transformation. One added to the paper and one subtracted from it. A felt-tip drawing of a low-lying hill stamped with copper foil placed beneath a laser-cut depiction of the Southern Cross, the Milky Way and the moon together signify the night sky of the southern hemisphere. Not a student of Albers or of Herbst, the allowances of the substrate, that it could be peppered with small holes as well as stamped with foil, guided Lancashire's design knowledge.

Figures 3 and 4 depict a final example of how design concepts can be reasoned through paper. These are two sequences of frames taken as I experimented during the process of realising cover designs for a series of Ernest Hemingway novels in 2008. Figure 3 presents twelve design tests for the novel *The Garden of Eden*. Despite its ungainliness, the first cut of a female form was encouraging. The semi-abstract signification was suitable for Hemingway's audience and the type, despite integration with the form, remained legible. A later cut of a more compact, seated figure changed the gesture of the image. Rigid, the paper rendered an unmoving macquette of a woman and her white, papery stillness permeated the atmosphere of the frame. Front-lit and tonally reminiscent of marble, her deceptively solid form emerges from the dark picture plane. A form of alchemy with paper and light has given her a statue-like poise appropriately suggesting Hemingway's authorial gravitas.

Each manipulation of this form altered the communication of the image. When the arm was bent away from the body, the depth of field increased. When the head was tilted forward, the mood became more pensive. With each edit I reappraised the meaning conveyed. In a rhetoric between the paper, my hands and my eyes, I tuned the design.

Figure 4 depicts twelve tests made for two other novels in the series, *The Dangerous Summer* and *Death in the Afternoon*. Working with various significations of a bull, this sequence reveals a progression in my experimentation from white Bond paper to coloured tissue paper and the consequent tonal inversion within the ideation, exchanging a dark for a light background.

My use of paper in these designs also features traits of Albers' principle, 'minimal means maximum effect'. After setting a parameter that each design would be explored through a single sheet of paper, I simplified the process of testing and retesting by avoiding permanent fixtures such as glue.

In the later tissue paper tests the bull's head is sculpted by a temporary fold that can be released as soon as the image is photographed and the shape restored undamaged to its flat state. Because this action can be made repeatedly, subtle variations of its form permit control of expression in the final stages

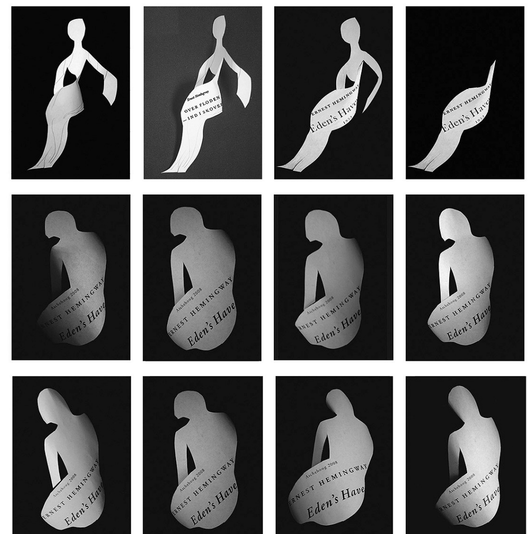

Fig. 3 Three studies with typing paper for the cover of Ernest Hemingway's novel, *The Garden of Eden* in 2008. (© Jenny Grigg).

of ideation. As I refined this method several efficiencies were made. By taking advantage of the material's flexibility I avoided re-cutting shapes and by removing unnecessary information from the design without compromising the effectiveness of its communication, I learnt that judicious sculpting of a single surface signifiied meanings effectively, and enabled a materially-devised system applicable to an infinite number of compositions. Paradoxically, by processing an accumulation of design knowledge, I clarified the designs.

Josef Albers acknowledged the cognitive reward that this challenge poses: 'The relationship between expenditure and effect is the measure of success' (Albers, 1928). He instilled such economies in his students by expressing intolerance of unnecessary complexity: for example, if a drawing used multiple lines to define a contour when only one, well-considered, line would do (Kelly, 2000). Hannes Beckmann recalled Albers saying: 'Economy of form depends on the material we are working with. Notice that often you will have more by doing less. Our studies should lead to constructive thinking'.

Each of these four examples indicate that dependent on circumstances each designer interprets paper differently. Typical of commercial work, my and Lancashire's interpretations lean towards the figurative and, typical of non-commercial work, Albers' and Herbst's studies towards the abstract.

The insights in this article and the concept of material literacy have arisen from my reflections about 30 years of graphic design practice and in 2018 this discussion is timely. In 2013, I had sought new ways to think about the discipline I have been active in since the 1990s. Only five years ago graphic design discourse surrounding materiality brought connotations of anachronism and nostalgia and I was faced with the prospect that my understanding of design might be irrelevant. Today, only five years later, contemporary design discourse is referring to a 'New Materialism' (Edquist, 2017). This coincides with commentary about digital detoxification (Heller, 2017), and anticipation of the Bauhaus' centenary in 2019. Whilst the relevance of material language in graphic design may have been periodically eclipsed by alternate modes of graphic communications, such as corporate and digital design, there is little doubt that further research will better establish materials such as paper, to be conductors of invention in both the history and the future of the discipline.

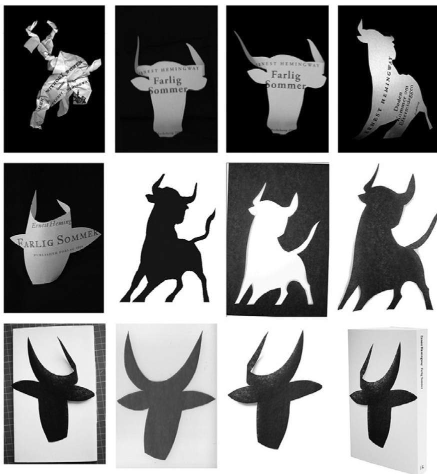

Fig. 4 A series of twelve studies made with typing paper and tissue paper for the cover of Ernest Hemingway's novels, *The Dangerous Summer* and *Death in the Afternoon*, in 2008. (© Jenny Grigg).

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From Theory to Practice: The History of Portuguese Design as a Tool for Understanding Design Practice

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History of Portuguese design / Practice / Theory / University of Aveiro

It is noteworthy that design is an ancient practice that has always been tinged by memory, being a sequential process (practical) that has always involved dialogue between past, present and future. In principle, although theory and practice should get along with each other, sometimes that simply doesn't occur.

This paper is conceived from the standpoint of students training in design courses that focus on the link between theory and practice, underpinned by the premise that both components should not be separately configured.

Given that the history of design has only recently entered the Portuguese curriculum in higher education, key questions emerge: how can this discipline help students to become better designers? How and why is such theory a readily useful form in design practice? What are the educational approaches that may contribute to the understanding of the work of future designers?

Based on a case study of the means by which the discipline of "History of Portuguese Design" has developed at the University of Aveiro, this paper will demonstrate the importance of research associated with this theme alongside the latter's connection to practice, in both university and professional contexts. Specific examples will be referenced.

Introduction

Design as a discipline may be addressed from different perspectives. However, given design's transversality and underlying multidisciplinary interchange, it still remains a hostage of its own complexity.

In Portugal, following that obscurity, design practice was initially carried out empirically. Despite the fact that design and its objects represent, for the most part, the result of experiences among equals, or the practice acquired in a given context, or the contamination of influences from different quadrants, the need for design teaching was only recognized, although unofficially, in the late 1940s. Artistic teaching identified design as an area for urgent action.

> In 1947, the discontentment generated by EBAL programs and lecturers led a small group of dissidents [there were no large groups at the time] to seek Frederico George's atelier for a supplementary learning space, more compatible with our aspirations (Silva, 2001: 15).

However, graduations[1] only started in 1975, with the first Portuguese designers graduated in 1980, in the courses of Communication Design/Graphic Arts or Equipment Design. Several schools throughout the country subsequently opened courses in several areas of design. In fact, the University of Aveiro (UA) was one of the pioneers in lecturing the discipline of History of Portuguese Design in 2002.

Theory of design: design practice perspectives

In addition to articles/books mentioning the importance of the theory and practice of design[2] in undergraduate education, theoretical disciplines are often taught under a common umbrella of contents. Also they often lack research exercises related to design projects or addressing design projects as a theory-based purpose.

The discipline of History of Portuguese Design is eminently a theoretical discipline. The scope of lectures aims to teach students the articulation between theory and practice, in order to contribute to a better understanding of the practical project supported by theory.

The purpose is to improve the performance of design students and of the future professionals they will become. This value is visible in one of the objectives announced in the course's subject curricula, "to support students in their perception of the cultural context that contextualizes their experience of quotidian and as designers".[3] It is assumed that contamination between theory and practice assures the students greater knowledge stability. Not only in the justification of their ideas and creative solutions, but also in the adequacy and relevance of the obtained results.

Based on those intentions, the research conducted in the scope of the discipline of History of Portuguese Design articulates the "useful discussion of theory of systems and its relevance to the understanding of design and the design work" (Buchanan et al., 2010: 8). Based on the contents of lectures in theoretical classes, research projects are carried out following the conceptual methodology applied to training for BA's in Design in the University of Aveiro (UA) since 2003.[4] The respective model is divided in three axes focusing on subjects distributed by each year of the degree: authorship (1st year), technology (2nd year) and programme (3rd year).

> While considering the construction-**programme** model as functionalized, abdicating from interpretation of itself for the sake of objectivity, and the **author**-construc-

[1] In the Schools of Fine Arts from Lisbon and Porto. Although there were previous events concerning training through workshops or short-term events such as the 1st Fortnight of Industrial Esthetics (*1ª Quinzena de Estética Industrial*, 1965), the course Color Design (*Design da Cor,* 1967), and the Colloquium on Industrial Design (1971) (Rato, 2002). Systematic design teaching only began with a bachelor's degree at the Institute of Art and Decoration (IADE – Instituto de Arte e Decoração), in 1969 (Souto, 2009: 86).

[2] See Gui Bonsiepe's *Theory and Practice of Industrial Design: Elements for a Critical Manual* (1992) and *Design Routes: Estuary on Theory and Practice* (2003), including texts by several authors, such as Victor Margolin, Óscar Salinas Flores, and Ana Losada Alfaro.

[3] See http://www.ua.pt/deca/uc/2470.

[4] "already informally approved, in an attempt to bring consistency to the philosophy and practice of the teaching provided to students at the University" (Branco and Lopes, 2004: 373).

> tion model as typical of the artistic activity, in which the dependencies are subtracted from a programme, we are left with the binomial **author**-programme, which partly reflects the principles and objectives of design: to be an interface to safeguard the objects' functionality and contribute with one's own creative values towards their development [using certain **technologies**] (Providência, 2003: 9–10).

Transposing theoretical contents into practice is analyzed encompassing the authors' between 'thinking' and also the 'making', based on a programme and using materials and technologies for object construction/production. Also, the research on programme constraints and technologies associated with object production requires knowledge on the context of the period under study.

Historical context

Studying the historical context allows the students the necessary insight concerning design projects. It provides a deeper understanding of the different circumstances surrounding project creation. Projects they will study and may perform as future designers.

Thus, these three aspects (authorship, programme, technology), take place in a specific time and space, and cross an unavoidable political, economic, social, cultural and historic milieu, where design and artistic areas are included. This way, students achieve a more realistic and detailed view of all the nuances that happened at a given time. This allows further knowledge acquisition from the theoretical point of view and also concerning the reasons and motives behind the practice of design. Simultaneously, this learning allows understanding that the political, economic and social contexts are factors that play a determining role, with serious influence and impact on designers and subsequently their design objects. This process proposes a reflection on the events that students may perceive and consider for their future design work.

Authorship

A similar situation occurs concerning the understanding of the educational and professional background of the authors selected for study. To know their path is essential for the understanding of their work but also to realize the reasons leading to the obtained results. It regards both the typology of artefacts created and the aesthetic influences and inspirations. It also relates to the designers' way of life in a certain period. Through different documents, the 'thoughts' behind the creation of objects are analyzed. Through the interpretation of these resources it is possible to reach a better understanding of the causes and justifications inherent in the creative process of the designer.

Wherever possible, interviews are used to obtain a firsthand narrative concerning authors' decisions. This is an important process to reveal and help understand the end result of a project. This way, it is possible to illustrate contents that are often absent from the tangible object. When it is impossible to conduct interviews, in addition to the use of documents, students interpret what may be the cause for the obtained solutions. This author parameter also addresses the awarded prizes, exhibitions held and edited publications. It also proposes the search for correlated bibliography, in order to build a corpus of knowledge that will allow further appreciation and perception concerning different authors from different perspectives.

Programme

Simultaneously, for a more in-depth understanding of programme-centred research, the configuration of the piece is emphasized as a design issue, regardless of the typology. This process allows students to analyze the relationship between the whole and the parts of each designed object. The study and identification of the components of the artefact and the final solution takes into account the recognition of the selected materials. Whenever possible, the weight of the object is calculated, as well as its cost, at the time and presently. The programme also targets explaining the symbolic and semantic dimensions of the object experience and usage,[5] considering the target user.

At the core of the studied contents is the identification and meaning of authors' intentions. This focuses particularly on the aesthetic influences mirrored by the artefact. The study also equates the factors that differentiate designs, highlighting them in other artefacts with the same typology. From a technical point of view, the programme underlines solutions through the selected materials and through the constraints resulting from mass production of the artefacts. Such constraints also constitute more or less direct influence on the final design of the object, albeit not immediately tangible.

Technology

The technological factor is inseparable from design practice. Nevertheless, each object is materialized and produced according to specific circumstances. The approach concerning technology underlines this factor, since it is essential to know and understand the properties and behaviours of materials towards decision-making and final selection. This theoretical study allows students to identify which materials were selected at a given time, studying by comparison eventual evolutions, replacements, or new materials used for a given object.

Familiarity with this field of knowledge allows students the necessary awareness and early contact to ultimately master not only different types of materials, but also their respective properties and eventual suitability. This knowledge will be applied in future situations, in similar projects, or new projects. The main focus of the studied contents lies in the characteristics of raw materials, and how they behave, both at the time of the artefact's production and for future maintenance and technical life.

[5] Jean Baudrillard refers to the experience of the object at the level of 'usage' as a way of adding new knowledge dimensions regarding the object (Fallan, 2010: 11).

Simultaneously, students will study the whole process of artefact production, from the early stages to finishing. This will allow awareness of manufacturing details, and new knowledge acquisition, in potentially new areas useful for future application in design projects. The comprehensive study also addresses the importance of the constraints regarding technological issues. The students will have to manage such constraints as students and in the future as designers.

From theory to practice: examples from the history of design

In the academic years of 2002/2003, 2003/2004, 2004/2005, and 2009/2010, different research projects were proposed to the students in the discipline of History of Portuguese Design. They were mainly focused on authors, artefacts and design topics. However, the research approaches during this period did not contemplate the historical context, the programme, or technology. As a result, students' research was focused on work drafts, with no concern regarding the historical events affecting the practical component involving the object, or concerning the constraints posed by author production, or posed by eventual clients.

Therefore, all research was essentially descriptive and illustrative concerning the collection of different typologies of artefacts performed by a given designer. Since this gap between theory and practice was detected, in the academic year of 2010/2011 it was decided to include the investigative approach already referenced, but including the articulation among the four parameters of study abovementioned: history (context), authorship, programme, technology. Simultaneously the students were requested to interpret the information they collected in addition to the description. Also, they were asked to use design as a magnifying lens to reflect on the discipline as future designers. For a better understanding of the research project, they were also asked to 'dress in the skin' of the author and travel in time, in order to grasp the reality of the time and ponder the constraints inherent to producing an artefact at a given moment in time.

For a better understanding of the organic functioning of this discipline, it is composed by one hour per week of Theory (T) and one hour of Theoretical-Practical component (TP).[6] The theoretical component addresses the scheduled programme contents, covering the end of the 19th century and the first decades of the 21st century. The TP component presents research work proposed to students, organized in groups of five elements. Each student is responsible for a specific task[7] within the selected topic.[8]

In T classes there is a constant concern to bridge the gap between design theory and design. In TP classes the students demonstrate the acquisition of theoretical knowledge from T classes and convey such knowledge onto their research projects. The research component in TP classes lasts one semester. The students' performance is recorded and commented (quantitatively and qualitatively) in each class. It is apparent that along the semester they become gradually aware of the importance of theory application to practice through the meaningful exchanges between students and teachers, and comments from the teaching staff. Taking into account the class dynamics and the possibility of selecting other topics, authors and objects besides those presented,[9] the guiding principle is to promote curiosity-driven research, unveiling the universe of possibilities as a broad and open field.

Some examples deserve reference, in previous years circumscribed to the construction/creation of a small book that covered the mentioned axes (history, authorship, programme and technology).[10] Recently, in addition to this delivery, this research was linked to other disciplines of the design curricula from the UA. This connection, appropriating knowledge from the discipline of Design and Representation 1 (1st year), originated the presentation of graphic solutions adapted to the age of the selected project. Concerning the disciplines of Design Project 2 (2nd year) and Materials and Technologies 1 (2nd year), they recently contemplated a design project for a Portuguese bicycle. The project partners were the Portuguese bicycle company ÓRBITA (1971–) and the Agency for the Development of Schist Villages (ADXTUR – *Agência para o Desenvolvimento Turístico das Aldeias do Xisto*). The students from those disciplines presented the design concept for a new bicycle inspired in the traditional model of the "pasteleira",[11] proposing an A-bike intended for use in Aldeias do Xisto [Schist Villages],[12] based on supporting sustainable tourism. All the theoretical research carried

[6] This curricular structure in terms of shedule has remained unchanged since this discipline was first included in the curricular programme, which took place in 2002.

[7] Task attribution is distributed as follows: one student is responsible for the component historical context, another for authorship, another for programme, another for technology, and finally another for the final presentation of the contents to the class, through Power Point, video, theater, or any other presentation media the group agrees upon. The responsible for the presentation publishes the group research contents in a small book edition, and collects all images concerning the different parameters, to share in an image library.

[8] The topic includes the selection of individual or collective authorship and an object created by the author. Whenever relevant, there may be selections of authors, objects and topics not including the contents presented in the theoretical section.

[9] It is recognized that in fifteen theoretical classes it is impossible to present and explain all inherent realities concerning the History of Portuguese Design.

[10] The presentation format remains the same to this day.

[11] Designation used for a typology of bicycles whose design is usually based on a small metal structure that works as a support for loads transportation, located at the top of the rear wheel.

[12] "Zona geográfica situada na região centro do país que engloba a Serra da Lousã e do Açor atravessada pelo rio Zêzere onde estão localizadas vinte e sete aldeias portuguesas."

out in the context of Portuguese Design History supported the development of the project, not only concerning 'thinking ' but also 'making'.

Also, given the existing importance of the topics addressed by the History of Portuguese Design, this area of study was chosen by several Master's students, such as the dissertation by Filipa Vieira (2014), concerning Art Nouveau in the centre of Portugal (*Novo roteiro para a Arte Nova em Aveiro e Ílhavo: proposta de uma aplicação mobile*), proposing a mobile application for the cities of Aveiro and Ílhavo, to be available at the tourist office of the city of Aveiro; or the research by Igor Ramos (2014) concerning Portuguese movie poster design (*100 anos de design no cartaz de cinema português: 1912–2012*), presenting a draft edition of a book with 104 pages; and the research by Silvia Figueiredo (2016) regarding poster designs for the Portuguese airline TAP (*Design de cartazes da TAP: compreensão da sua história através de um contributo museográfico para o aeroporto do Porto*), proposing a museographic contribution to Porto Airport, a project presented to that Airport for exhibition at the check-in lobby. The research by Mariana Almeida (2017) concerned the interpretation of Port wine poster designs from the late 19th century to the beginning of the 21st century (*Hermenêuticas do cartaz do vinho do Porto do final do século XIX ao início do século XXI*), which is presently under negotiation to be edited as a book, and displayed as permanent exhibition at the Douro Museum.[13]

Regarding PhDs[14] it is possible to verify the dissemination of knowledge acquired in theory applied to practical situations, specifically concerning the operability of theory-based design. This is the case of the research by Igor Ramos, addressing different graphic design materials for cinema directors, for cinema festivals, under collaboration with the Portuguese Film Academy, participating as co-curator, researcher and designer, and with the Trindade Film Theater where he produced a weekly communication and posters and also produced contents for *Sábado* magazine.

The same happens with the studies on History of Portuguese Design that supported content creation for the research project[15] concerning the Centro de Interpretação do Design Português (CIDES.PT: Interpretation Center for Portuguese Design),[16] and the publication of narratives on objects.[17] Despite the scope of the project, the studied contents, such as the dissertations by Jorge Madeira (2017), address the history of Portuguese reprography through poster design (*Para uma compreensão da reprografia e da sua história através dos cartazes de Sebastião Rodrigues*), studying the work of the designer Sebastião Rodrigues and explaining poster printing techniques. Also the research by Nelson Martins (2017), addressing colour in Portuguese poster design (*A cor na obra cartazista de João Machado: um contributo para o projeto CIDES.PT*), performing a chromatic interpretation of all the posters produced between 1975 and 2016, recorded in order to understand the path of the designer João Machado through colour. Both research projects will be adapted for public access through the CIDES.PT project, which will be available online via the website under construction: http://www.cides.pt.

Conclusion

The study of artefacts supported by a methodology including historical context, authorship, programme and technology has proved to be a useful tool to understand and apply design and design history. In addition, it is possible to understand the ties between these four seemingly detached subjects. For a comprehensive understanding of design and design history, the four elements cannot be dissociated. They constitute essential and complementary scopes of design study. Also, the theoretical knowledge acquired was the keystone for each of the referenced examples, supporting the immersed comprehension of design practices under the circumstances affecting project creation, such as context, authorship, proposed programme and technologies employed in the creation and production of artefacts. Subsequently, this comprehension promotes the awareness of specific constraints regardless of diachronic consideration, or subject under study, authorship or actual artefact produced, revealing that students apprehend and process, develop and apply their theoretical and theoretical-practical experience through their own research, ultimately patent in the production of the own practical design work.

[13] http://www.museudodouro.pt/.

[14] Still in development.

[15] This work was funded by FEDER through the Operational Competitiveness Programme – COMPETE – and by national funds through the Foundation for Science and Technology – FCT – in the scope of project PTDC/CPC-DES/4754/2012 (FCO MP-01-0124-FEDER-028530).

[16] The project "is based on the following assumptions: (a) for the effective evaluation of material culture, the operative vision of Design is required allowing the uniqueness of that culture to be fully recognised; (b) the divulgation of this culture and its public recognition brings economic benefits, and raises the self esteem of that region; (c) the construction of interactive narratives using information technology will transcend the limitations (of both time and resources) imposed by the construction of a physical collection, while simultaneously providing a space for shared critical debate" (Barbosa [et al.], 2011: [n.p.]).

[17] See the publication of the article by Barbosa, H. (2015).

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Living Archives: Merging Design History and the Design Studio in an Educational Experience

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Design history / Sources / Editorial design / Innovative teaching / Italy

In 1987, Università Iuav di Venezia instituted the Archivio Progetti to conserve materials regarding Italian architects and designers. Since 2001 it has offered undergraduate and graduate programmes in product and visual communication design which, like other Italian universities, separates the teaching of design history from the studios that teach design.

Between 2014 and 2016, the editorial design studio experimented with a different approach, using a project to design magazines dedicated to contemporary design culture to encourage research into Italian design, relying on the materials from the Archivio Progetti. The students were given a double role as designers and "producers" of historical research.

This paper illustrates the core methodology, which was effective in raising the students' awareness of the indivisibility between content and editorial appearance, of the questions involved in using materials from the past and the value of a document that bears witness to a specific cultural context. The experience has also served as a stimulus, leading students to consider the possibility of studying design history though Italy has no specific university programmes in this field. It also involved the Archivio Progetti in an effort to cultivate its heritage with a more contemporary perspective, by integrating teaching and research.

The Archivio Progetti and the institution of the Design programmes

In 1987, the Università Iuav di Venezia instituted the Archivio Progetti, an archive dedicated to the conservation and utilisation of archives primarily concerning Italian designers, and containing materials of various natures such as sketches, drawings, models, photographs, videos, documents and objects. The Archivio was initially intended to conserve the legacy of documents relative to the figures of architects, city planners and engineers who had been important to the city of Venice and the Veneto region since the late nineteenth century. In particular, it collected the materials relative to professors of the Istituto universitario di architettura di Venezia,[1] including the architects Giuseppe Samonà, Giancarlo De Carlo and Carlo Aymonino, and the city planner Giovanni Astengo.[2]

Over time it increased its acquisitions, opening its scope to different regional realities and to other areas of design, especially after Iuav changed its status to University in 2001, and after it instituted the undergraduate programmes in product design, visual communication, fashion and the performing arts. It thus responded to the demands and needs of the vast number of courses in the curriculum dedicated to the history and theory of design, of the visual arts, of the social sciences and humanities. It now conserves the collections of twentieth-century designers such as Luca Meda, graphic designers such as Diego Birelli, architecture and design photographers such as Giorgio Casali and Mauro Masera, artisan-designer-entrepreneurs such as Paolo De Poli and architect-artists such as Giorgio Wenter Marini.

The Archivio is thus becoming a "container" for all those diversified and multi-faceted primary sources which are essential to conducting any historical reconstruction of design. These acquisitions involve figures that are not as familiar to the general public, are less studied and perhaps liminal between the discipline of design and other design cultures and practices. They also shed a more explicit light on the intention to supersede the focus on famous names and exceptional events in the selection of themes for historic reconstruction. In addition to its traditional work on the collections (arrangement, inventory, description and conservation) and its assistance to scholars, the Archivio has become a national reference, primarily for having promoted in 1999 the constitution of the Italian network AAA/Italia onlus, the national association of the archives of contemporary architecture. At the same time, it has increased its efforts in the dissemination of research studies based on its own legacies through the organization of exhibitions, seminars and publications.

Over the past decade, the Archivio has begun to define ways to make its own materials available for research studies and for the practice of design, encouraging activities that integrate research and education. Thus the archives of design are "working out of the box" to spawn new cultural relations, engaging with different audiences outside its own venue. This "service" is possible because the Archivio is organic to the university structure: it is no coincidence that it is housed in the Cotonificio, Venice's former cotton mill, sited in the area of Santa Marta where most of the University's classroom spaces are located. Looking

[1] Founded in 1926, it was the second Higher School of Architecture founded in Italy (Zucconi and Carraro, 2011).

[2] There are 53 collections today, partially listed in http://www.iuav.it/ARCHIVIO-P/ARCHIVIO/collezioni/ and accessible at http://sbd.iuav.it/Cataloghi/Cataloghi-dedicati/archivi-di-architettura.html (last accessed 04/06/18).

back, the reasons for keeping it close to home may be attributed to two major factors, independent of one another but almost contemporary in terms of timeline: on the one hand, the progressive decline in recent years, compared to the early 2000s, in the number of history and theory classes in the Iuav curricula, and the compartmentalization of the design studios within specific courses of study. Unfortunately, this trend is common to almost the totality of Italian design universities, and not just because of the economic recession and the consequent slashing of funds. It is the result of a cultural outlook that penalizes the humanities and encourages specialization and professionalization (Russo, 2015: 104–106; Bulegato, 2016: 223).[3] A possible remedy to check this situation might therefore be to advocate the integration between disciplines and hybrid experimental forms of relationship between theory and practice (Huppatz and Lees-Maffei, 2012: 9). On the other hand, both nationally and in the Veneto region, characterized by a fabric of small to medium-sized enterprises that is attempting to reorganize after surviving the worst years of the economic crisis, companies are showing a renewed interest in their own cultural and material legacy, as a lever for innovation in production processes and/or a marketing tool that leverages storytelling practices.

The Archivio seems to lean towards the idea of becoming a "living archive", which can "revive" the legacies by interpreting them in a contemporary key, triggering a process in which the materials contained therein are studied and then redesigned, in a circular relationship that binds history and design, past and future (Lupano, 2013). This is not a restatement of the age-old discussion about history "at the service of design" or its necessary autonomy as a discipline, which influenced the debate on architecture in Italy in the 1960s and is now re-applied to design (Fallan, 2013; Riccini, 2015: 35–39), but an attempt to develop methodologies, respecting the specificities of the discipline, to bring historical knowledge back into circulation to produce new value, culture and innovation (Drucker and McVarish, 2008).

A new methodology for design practices

For over a decade, Iuav has offered undergraduate and graduate programmes in design that merge product design with visual communication, in which the teaching of design history is separate from the studios (generally known as Laboratories) that teach how to design, like in most of Italy. The result is that students learn notions from both these fields, but separately, as distinct disciplines.

While in the history classes they learn to understand the value of the source of a document and the cultural, social and industrial contexts it expresses, in the design Laboratories, the students generally base their choice of content on digital information available through research engines, on-line data bases and social networks, often with no specific references (contexts, authors, dates, etc.). The abundance, redundancy and remixes of fragments of images make it difficult for them to track historical timelines or to delineate and offer conscious new semantic meanings. Thoughts on the relation and correlation between history and contemporary design thus depend primarily on the degree to which the design professors provide their students with focuses on history and not merely with an overview of the profession of the contemporary designer; at the same time, the professors of design history are generally encouraged to keep their courses purely theoretical. The ability to develop a proper approach to historical-critical research and a "conscious" contemporary design process thus depends on each student's individual capacity for synthesis and his or her independent elaboration of the teachings acquired across the curriculum. On the other hand, it is considered essential for the critical education of a designer to engage in interdisciplinary practices that bring theory and practice together, encouraging the use of this method not only in teaching design history (Huppatz and Lees-Maffei, 2012: 7–10), but also seeking to concretize it in the design studios, identifying themes and work processes that might be better suited than others to make the interrelationships between the two disciplines clear to the students. Furthermore, it is not true that students are only interested in the past as a source for examples to imitate or apply as they are in their design work: many are interested in history as such, and in acquiring a critical understanding of both contemporary and historic visual phenomena (Vinti, 2016: 225).

These considerations led to the experimentation of a different approach, between 2014 and 2016, within the Editorial Design studio of the Graduate programme in product design and visual communication, which consisted in involving a teacher of design history and selecting as the theme for the project the design of a magazine dedicated to the culture of contemporary design, for the specific reason that it relied on the materials preserved in the Archivio. The students were given the twin role of designer and "producer" of historical research. This experimental methodology furthermore served to merge historical and theoretical reflection on certain aspects of the history of Italian editorial design, with teaching oriented towards the graphic design of contemporary magazines (VV.AA., 2010). The process involved the following professional figures: a professor of visual communication theory (coordinator of the course), a professor of design history, a professional designer specialized in the design of contemporary magazines, the specialized archivists from the Archivio.

The methodology is based on the following principles and sequence of steps: identification of the design theme – an editorial project for magazines centred on the theme of the culture of contemporary design, of the profession and of architectural design and city planning; involvement in the initiative of the Archivio staff, who served as consultants for a preliminary selection of the collections and materials that might be of interest to the Laboratory; classroom lessons detailing the structure of the Archivio, from methods of research and consultation, to the

[3] This is not the place to introduce a summary disquisition on the risks of this position. In the international sphere among the many see Nussbaum, 2013.

Fig. 1 Gio Ponti, *Superleggera* chair, 1957 (© Università Iuav di Venezia, Archivio Progetti, Giorgio Casali collection).

use of the materials; theoretical lessons taught by the Design history professor about the importance to contemporary design of archives as the guardians of sources for the study of the past; methodological guidelines for the reconstruction of the historic events chosen by the students; tutoring throughout the process of designing the editorial project.

The students were asked to develop the editorial project for the magazine, starting with the definition of the theme, the target audience, the periodicity and distribution. They would then produce the final project for both the graphic design and the contents of the first issue in the series. Each group, consisting of three students, then had to define the theme of each section and construct the articles: the texts (selected, commissioned or written by the students themselves), the images (some of which came from the Archivio), the illustrations, and everything else they needed to make the project as realistic as possible (layout, typeface, choice of visual codes, infographics). To achieve this, the students constantly sought outside sources, information on how to design the magazine, by examining existing examples to understand their logic, and finding sources to produce the contents. They read magazines, books, and mined online resources. All of this, together with the assistance they received to consult the Archivio, triggered a positive "collateral effect", as they moved on to access other data bases and archives (on- and offline) using the methodology they had just acquired. As mentioned above, the professors and staff of the Archivio made a preliminary selection of materials that could potentially be of interest to the students. One of the primary criteria guiding this selection was the pertinence of the Archivio's collections to the theme common to the magazines. The most appropriate collections were selected and presented to the students: Birelli, Meda and De Poli. Several other collections were added later to the roster, recent acquisitions that had only partially been ordered – photographer Giorgio Casali, architects Egle Trincanato and Costantino Dardi – because they included a large amount of material already inventoried and available in digital form. The staff of the Archivio presented the collections to the students, providing information on the origins of the collections, their current status within the archives, the main bibliographic references and the availability of sources in the Iuav Library or in other locations. The materials from the archives provided an initial level of inspiration for the students, suggesting the themes for their magazines, such as the relationship between architecture and cinema, the centres of design in Italy, theatre, paper in design etc. The students were shown a preview of the reproductions available on the web page of the Archivio, they learned how to consult the data base of the archives and, after further restricting the "range of objects" that might interest them, they submitted a request for direct access to the documents. The individual groups of students were encouraged to personally view and "handle" the selected materials after making an appointment with the archivist. Once the definitive materials were selected, they were granted in the form of high-resolution images, accompanied by indications on the forms of copyright protection, to be printed in the pages of the magazine.

The magazines designed with materials from the archives. The result was ten highly original magazines produced by the students in their roles as authors-editors-designers.[4] To be brief, we will present only those that most clearly exemplify the central role of the historical and documentary research carried out in the archives for the magazine concept. Though they were both based on the same Casali collection, two of the magazines offered very different graphic interpretations, based on the different aspects on which the students concentrated. The third magazine started with a collection that was somewhat less familiar to the experiences of the design students, the legacy of architect Costantino Dardi.

The Casali collection inspired the design of the magazine *The Unknown Designer. Devoted to exploration*, with a focus article dedicated to everyday objects, such as chairs, whose authors are unknown to us. Casali's photos were used to illustrate the genesis and characteristics of the *Superleggera* chair designed by Gio Ponti for Cassina. The students had access to many images from the Archivio, but selected only one for their layout (Fig. 1).

The image was subjected to various forms of graphic manipulation: they reflected it, increased the contrasts, modified the angle (from vertical to horizontal). In the article, the selected photo

COVER STORY

La sedia simbolo del '900

Le sedia sedia una sedia immortale, la grande Superleggera di Giò Ponti di vocazione classica rimane l'icona del design industriale

Il rapporto con l'industria, già felicemente inaugurato da Giò Ponti prima della guerra, con la nuova situazione politica ed economica darà i suoi risultati più importanti. La qualità della produzione industriale, uno dei suoi slogan preferiti, sarà promossa direttamente attraverso la direzione della rivista Domus, ma anche grazie all'ausilio dell'istituzione dell'ADI e delle mostre curate per la triennale, sia come progettista stesso sia come straordinario propagandista.
Nel suo personale rapporto con il design Ponti non rinuncia mai a nessuna delle sue molte ispirazioni: da quelle di tipo classico, che lo portano a valorizzare sempre il rapporto con la tradizione artistica e artigianale, a quelle più sperimentali che gli fanno continuamente ricercare nuove applicazioni delle tecnologie di produzione. Nascono così mobili, ceramiche, sanitari, maniglie, rivestimenti per edilizia, tessuti, tutti molto riconoscibili nel suo sofisticato stile, ma ugualmente ben accolti dal pubblico e dal mercato.
Nel 1952 Ponti presenta la "Super Leggera", disegnata per la ditta "figli di Amedeo Cassina" di Meda, contraddicendo, con un colpo di genio, la sua fama di artista estroso e ricercato. Nel 1950, a proposito dei suoi mobili, aveva parlato di "vocazione classica": quella che "spinge me ed altri italiani a disegnare mobili sottili, slanciati ed eleganti". Ispirata alla sedia qualunque (oggi diremo alla sedia "no logo"), Superleggera è il prodotto perfetto di una selezione genetica lunghissima, mirante a creare gambe e spalle (di sezione triangolare) agili e robuste come ali di un aeroplano. Una meccanica di precisione per un corpo (di frassino) che si solleva con un dito "Morale della favola: nel prossimo inventivo di questo nostro tempo nell'ansia di esprimersi anche attraverso la forma di un chiodino, ci si è allontanati tanto dalla spontaneità "che l'apparire di una cosa soltanto giusta sbalordisce.

GIÒ PONTI

44 | THE UNKNOWN DESIGNER

Fig. 2 Double page spread from the project for a magazine *The Unknown Designer.*

[4] The editorial projects borrowed material from all the collections presented to them, sometimes proposing more than one article for the magazine. The materials, from the legacies of various authors, were reproduced in forms faithful to the original, or with graphic manipulation.

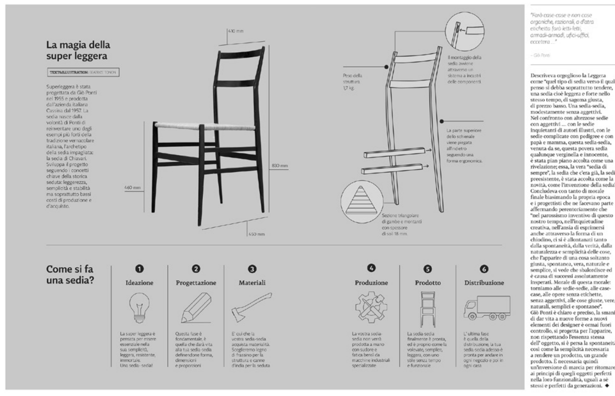

Fig. 3 Double page spread from the project for a magazine *The Unknown Designer*. The documentation from the Casali collection became the inspiration for a study of the chair's structure and construction details.

Fig. 4 Double page spread in the project for a magazine *Skin deep*, photos by Giorgio Casali (© Università Iuav di Venezia, Archivio Progetti, Giorgio Casali collection).

served basically as a pretext to extend the discourse, reconciling two levels. On the one hand, the students produced and laid out a text that presented an ample overview of Ponti's production, focusing on the area of his work that could be considered as the intersection between architecture and design (Fig. 2).

On the other, they produced additional illustrations, which served to explore the materials used to build the chair, the construction details, and the methods of assembly (Fig. 3).

One of the authors, Beatrice Tonon, commented in the text:

> Inspired by the average chair (today we might call it the 'no logo' chair), Superleggera is the perfect result of a long genetic selection, aimed at creating legs and backrests (with a triangular section) as agile and robust as the wings of an airplane. A precision mechanism for a body (made of ash wood) that can be lifted with one finger.[5]

The other editorial project that worked on the Casali collection is *Skin deep*, a supplement to the magazine Skin. *Mutazioni di carta*. The students selected two of Casali's images, featuring a series of design objects: one of them is the wooden model of the shell for the 4011 chair, designed in 1963 for Cassina by Angelo Mangiarotti, portrayed with his back turned, and the other a “scene” with the Arco lamp designed by Achille and Pier Giacomo Castiglioni in 1962. The images are laid out without any graphic manipulation to emphasize their interest in Casali's photographic language, and in the values it seeks to convey (Fig. 4).

In the article, student Maria Musella explains: '[Casali] expresses a photographic language that highlights above all the sculptural and formal values of design […] The eye of the photographer […] must be credited with having legitimized and channelled both industrial and artisanal design'.[6]

The materials from the Dardi collection are the heart and soul of the magazine *Props_Interferenze tra design e cinema*. Both the cover and the central section refer to the materials produced by the architect when he collaborated with director Peter Greenaway in 1987, on the film *The Draughtsman's Contract*. On that occasion, Dardi was asked to give substance to the work of the character Stourley Kracklite, an American architect commissioned to put together an exhibition on Étienne-Louis Boullée in Rome. As the students Francesca Alaimo, Donatella Mastrolonardo, Nello Alfonso Marotta write:

> In the various papers conserved in the Dardi collection, we were able to observe the intense correspondence between the director and the designer, the various drafts of the set designs and the scripts, which Dardi used to help him design the elements of the set. We find a rich analysis of the designs of seventeenth-century French architect Etienne-Louis Boullée, the protagonist of the exhibition in the film. An incredible quantity of photocopies of his woodcuts illustrate the monumental utopian style that characterizes the architecture of the period. […] Elements that vibrate in the scenes with an ethereal, monumental and eternal atmosphere, that are so spectacular as to remain impressed in our life experiences.[7]

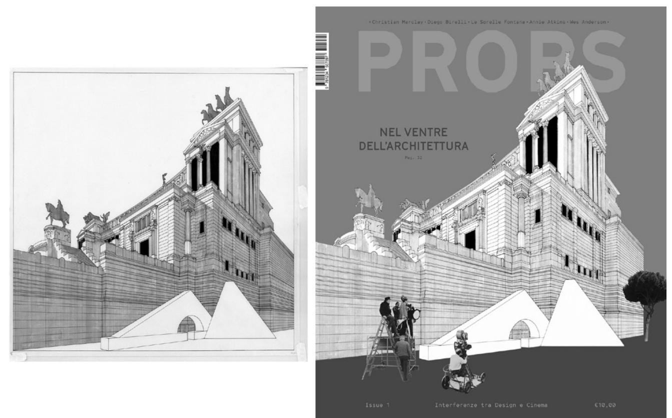

Fig. 5 The original drawing (© Università Iuav di Venezia, Archivio Progetti, Costantino Dardi collection) and the cover of the magazine *Props*.

[5] Jacopo Faggian, Valeria Mento, Beatrice Tonon, *The Unknown Designer*: 44–45. Project for a magazine, 2014, Università Iuav di Venezia.

[6] Elena Antonutti, Francesca Luzi, Maria Musella, *Skin deep:* 13. Project for a magazine, 2016, Università Iuav di Venezia.

[7] Francesca Alaimo, Donatella Mastrolonardo, Nello Alfonso Marotta, *Props*: 41. Project for a magazine, 2016, Università Iuav di Venezia.

The collection in the archives inspired the theme of the magazine, so much so that the cover faithfully reproduces a drawing of the Vittoriale by Dardi, which in turn is placed inside a set created specifically by the students, to reproduce an imaginary film set. Dardi's drawing technique furthermore inspired the student Marotta to create a series of illustrations sustaining the central theme of the magazine (Fig. 5).

Conclusions

The student work described above fully reflects the objectives that the professors had established: the point was not merely to transpose the contents from one container (the archive) to another (the magazine), but to present an integrated project, in which history and the contemporary engaged in a dialogue and in which the students gave new order – established in the layout of the magazine – to artefacts and information of different natures (in terms of origin, form and content). There was a conscientious effort to avoid making history an applicative tool in and of itself, or worse yet, a source of styles and stylemes from which to draw indistinctly in the practice of design. The results that may be recorded from this experience may be attributed to at least two fronts.

The first regards the students: it has increased their awareness of the indivisibility between content and editorial appearance, and of the questions raised by the use of materials from the past, of the value of the document as testimony to a specific cultural context and its potential to build a relationship between the past and present (and future) of design. Linked to it, this experience is an attempt to develop didactic curricular formulas that override the separations imposed mainly by administrative constraints on educational curricula in Italy, with the purpose of stimulating the students to pursue the study of design history, at a time when Italy still has no specific university curricula in this field.

The second front pertains to the possible relations between structures within the same university, traditionally one assigned to research, the other to teaching, often with little or no dialogue between them, to hone a practical and coherent methodology for teaching and designing that fosters a tight connection between the centres of collection and conservation – such as the Archivio – and the centres of teaching, both theory and design. In this sense, it showed an archival structure, often reticent to review its practices, that it is possible to collaborate on new ways to cultivate its legacies. We think that this methodology, which may and has been adapted to various situations in education and research, can be replicated in many other teaching and research contexts, in Italy and beyond.

On the side, it has also been noted that in December 2017, soon after the end of the Laboratory, the objective of which was, as described, to merge the design of magazines on the theme of contemporary design with materials from the archives, the first issue of *Archivio*[8] magazine was published in Italy. A coincidence that seems to underline not only a renewed interest, with an eye to marketing, towards materials that bear witness to the history of companies, designers and design scholars, but also the need to give form to this interest, that of an "independent" magazine that offers access to these themes to a public of more than just academics and specialists, interested in the circulation of ideas and design ideas based on history.

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‘With whom do you feel your solidarity’ – Developing a Socially Conscious Design Practice in 1960s Finland

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1960s / Finland / Design education / Social responsibility

This paper explores how and why the notion of design changed during the late 1960s in Finland and argues that the main driver of this change was a new generation of design students. These students were not satisfied with the Finnish design culture, which relied heavily on the international success it had gained in the 1950s with exclusive handcrafted objects. Design education still supported the idea of the designer as an artist and the produced objects as tokens of individual expression. Many design students felt that this failed to address the needs of an increasingly dysfunctional city environment. The students' protest was shaped by ideals of international solidarity, while it also questioned the real extent of prosperity created by the welfare state. By organising state-funded symposia, producing ambitious publications, and collaborating with other disciplines, the students succeeded in developing design towards a more academic and research-based discipline able to offer tangible solutions to real-life problems.

Introduction

In 1998, design historian Victor Margolin wrote that ‘with the exception of [Victor] Papanek, [Buckminster] Fuller, and a few other critics and visionaries, designers have not been able to envision a professional practice outside of the consumer culture’ (Margolin, 1998: 86). This paper shows that, in 1960s Finland, design students, educators and practitioners strove to create what Margolin claims not to exist: a socially responsible design practice. By examining design history as a history of both artefacts and ideologies (Fallan, 2010), this paper explores how design has been imagined and practiced as a deeply moral and social activity. In addition to providing an insight into a design culture facing drastic change, this paper gives examples of early forms of design work that took into consideration the great amount of injustice and inequality that exists in this world and tried to do something about it. By finding these kinds of examples in history, I hope to create a better understanding of how design has been and could be utilised as a tool to help build equal and sustainable societies.

Design and Social Responsibility

A socially conscious attitude towards design has been a part of the Nordic design tradition ever since the early 20th century, when first Ellen Key and then Gregor Paulsson in Sweden drew inspiration from the Arts&Crafts movement and the Deutscher Werkbund and demanded objects of high artistic and material quality that everyone regardless of their class or social status could afford (Robach, 2002). This view of design's role in building a more equal society shaped the Finnish design field, too, when Alvar Aalto among others advocated this approach in the 1930s. Furthermore, during the post-war reconstruction period, Finnish designers played an essential part in creating the material reality of a welfare state in construction (Aaltonen, 2012). In the 1950s, Finnish design became world-famous when its beautiful objects won awards and toured the world in exhibitions that presented Finland and the rest of the Nordic countries as safe and democratic havens. Successful and prolific designers, such as Tapio Wirkkala and Ilmari Tapiovaara, were celebrated in Finland as national heroes, whose job it was to make life more beautiful, but also to put Finland on the international map.

Making everyday life more beautiful for everyone regardless of their income and status can of course be considered a social and moral responsibility. However, in Finland, the designer's role has mostly been limited to providing pleasing aesthetic experiences for people. Up until the 1960s, the designer's line of work was very much confined within the domestic, or within the interiors of public spaces such as schools. This paper shows that, during the 1960s in Finland, a new, widening notion of design based on research and technology extended itself beyond the domestic object and beyond the interiors of homes and public spaces. The whole society became the designer's workplace, and the designer took on the responsibility to ensure that society would be equal, inclusive and sustainable. This change could first be seen in the way design was talked and written about, and after some time it was also visible in practice: in design education, profession and policies.

There were many elements driving this change. This paper argues that perhaps the most important of them was a vocal group of design students at The Institute of Arts and Crafts in Helsinki, which later became the University of Art and Design. Many students at the Institute, which was still a vocational school at the end of 1960s, had grown tired of idolising Finland's successful star designers while witnessing the rapid and radical transformation of their living environment, while being influenced by the global movement of student activism and solidarity.

Everyday Life in 1960s Finland

Indeed, one of the greatest sources of discontent in post-Second World War Finland was bad living conditions. This problem was far from resolved in the 1960s, when the country's fast urbanisation was reaching its peak. Unprecedented amounts of people were moving from the countryside to the cities in search of jobs or education. This, together with the transition from an agrarian to an industrial society, is seen to have changed Finnish culture permanently. New factory workers, and especially young families, moved to newly built suburbs, which in the early 1960s were seen as exciting and progressive with their hygienic, wide spaces, monumental scale, and new building techniques that seemingly arrived straight from the future (Sarantola-Weiss, 2004).

However, as the 1960s progressed, the suburbs lost their aura of novelty and became a part of everyday life, while gaining the reputation of not only being sleepy, dull and ugly, but also causing social problems, such as alcoholism and alienation (Saarikangas, 2004). The city centre of the country's capital, Helsinki, was going through a radical transformation, too, since it was to become the centre for business and government. This meant that many old buildings, residential and commercial, were replaced with new, anonymous office blocks or shopping centres. The restrictions on car imports had been removed in 1962, which made the amount of private car ownership grow at a high pace; between the years 1960 and 1966, the number of cars grew from 25,800 to 602,000 (Saarikangas, 2004). Together these elements created a chaotic and dysfunctional urban environment that citizens found difficult and unpleasant to live and work in. Meanwhile, in an increasing amount of Finnish living rooms, television sets were, for the first time in history, broadcasting the horrors of the Vietnam War, or the Cold War rhetoric with a threat of a nuclear war, the Moon Landing, the Civil Rights movement in America, or violent student protests across Europe.

Describing Finland during the 1960s, Finnish historian Jukka Relander suggests that the changes in both the infrastructure and the immaterial structures of society were drastic; Finnish culture was suddenly detached from the past and thrown into the whirlwind of international influences, mass media and entertainment, and the radicalisation of youth culture (Relander, 2004). Student radicalism first emerged already in the late 1950s when Helsinki University's student magazine began to publish controversial material, such as texts supporting conscientious objection and articles ridiculing important figures in Finland's history (Klinge and Harmo, 1983). While the students' activities might have seemed shocking, or just ridiculous, for the wider audience, they received support from Finland's president Urho Kekkonen, whose politics were pushing for social, economic and educational reform to help create a more equal society and to challenge the position of the aging elite (Relander, 2004). The atmosphere among students in the 1960s was marked by both frustration towards the conservative values of their parents' and the world leaders' generation, but also a realisation that through their own actions they had the power and possibility to make changes in society.

Fig. 1 Illustration from a design student magazine from 1966, alluding to conflicts between the faculty and the students (Aalto University Archive).

Design Education in 1960s Finland

While the university students in Finland had been protesting for renewal of stuffy conservative values and for students' rights since late 1950s, design education in the country remained as unambitious vocational schooling based on individual artistic expression and learning about materials and techniques to produce award-winning beautiful objects. Not only did many design students find the subjects taught inadequate, un-academic and out-of-date, but also lacking in providing tools for the future designers to make a positive impact on a society that was facing challenges such as environmental pollution, poverty and inequality. These frustrations were vented in numerous student publications (Fig. 1) and exhibitions. Maria Laukka, who studied graphic art at The Institute for Arts and Crafts in the early 1960s, gives a vivid description of the methods of studying:

> We had a schedule from 8 to 5 every day, on Saturdays the day was slightly shorter. [We were] working silently by our desks, received very few instructions, and almost no reading. [...] The teachers would do their rounds once in the morning and once in the afternoon. Rest of the time they would sit in the teachers' lounge, smoking. [...] While teaching, they would give oracle-like instructions. The most commonly heard comment was an absent-minded "carry on" (Laukka, 1999: 203).

Perhaps understandably so, this kind of teaching and interaction were not enough for the students who were eager to learn how to solve complex societal challenges. However, the students did receive some support for their growing ambitions from within The Institute for Arts and Crafts, more specifically from the Institute's artistic leader, designer Kaj Franck. During his courses, together with his young assistants Harry Moilanen, Severi Parko and Teemu Lipasti, he underlined the importance of the designer's responsibilities, which, according to Franck, included using as little natural resources and materials as possible, and considering the needs of the socially marginalised. His courses included assignments such as designing and building a playground for children and temporary dwellings for the city's homeless, both tasks employing waste materials and derelict areas in Helsinki.

More importantly, an engaged group of design students took action of their own. In addition to organising exhibitions and publishing magazines, they started an international organisation with design students from other Nordic countries, who were facing similar issues in their home institutions. This organisation, called SDO, or Skandinaviske Designstuderandes Organisation (Scandinavian Design Students' Organisation), advocated first and foremost for a better, more academic and ambitious design education that would give students abilities to respond to the complexities

they were facing in the world surrounding them. As the back of the organisation's second magazine from 1968 explicitly stated, the students wanted nothing less than to 'save the world'. In addition to these publications, together the students wrote and published opinionated pieces in newspapers and even wrote petitions for governments, but perhaps most importantly, they arranged a range of influential seminars and symposia that received wide-spread attention in both professional design magazines and the wider media.

'Industry, Environment, Product Planning'. One of the most influential and ambitious events that the design students arranged was the 'Industry, Environment, Product Planning' symposium that took place on an island outside Helsinki in the summer of 1968. The symposium was planned together with engineering and architecture students, and, quite remarkably, it was funded by SITRA, the newly established research fund of the Finnish state. This gave additional weight and importance to the event, since the subject matter was considered so significant and timely that the state was willing to fund it. The goal of the symposium was to find new, cross-disciplinary approaches to the education and practice of product design, that would take into consideration its moral, social and environmental consequences. According to the symposium proceedings, during the first part of the symposium in the beginning of July, the focus was on industrial design and social responsibility, and the future of technology. The second part included talks about innovation, industrial design processes and design methods, and the development of design education. The cross-disciplinary approach was visible in the range of invited speakers, including Buckminster Fuller, Victor Papanek, and Kaj Franck, but also a group from the Royal College of Art's Design Research Unit and the famous Swedish environmentalist Hans Palmstierna. These notable speakers were joined by Finnish and international designers, engineers, psychologists, architects and economists. The programme leaflet distributed to visitors presented each theme and topic while carefully rationalising them, making links between industry, society and education by utilising words and concepts such as product design, technology, innovation, methods, and process.

Linking design, technology and research together with society was clearly a sign of the influence of the emergence of a more scientific and systematic approach to design that had mainly taken place in England at the Royal College of Art and in Germany at the Ulm School of Design. Even though the roots of the so-called 'scientification' of design can be seen to stretch as far as the Dutch De Stijl group in the 1920s (Bayazit, 2004), the ideas disseminated at the Suomenlinna symposium were stemming from England and Germany, where, according to design historian Nigan Bayazit, 'due to technological developments and the implications of mass production, interest had to be shifted from hardware and form to the consideration of human needs', which in turn required 'a new look at the subject of design method' (Bayazit, 2004: 18). Bringing these international ideas forward to a wider public in Finland might have been the most significant accomplishment of the symposium.

As described earlier in this paper, this more comprehensive approach to design was already gaining a foothold in Finland emerging from the design students' desire to interact, not just with products for domestic use, but the whole dysfunctional surroundings of the man-made environment. Moreover, these thoughts spoke straight to the minds of those who were actively involved in turning The Institute of Arts and Crafts in Helsinki, still a vocational school, into a university-level institution and thus gaining the long-awaited academic status that the fellow disciplines, such as architecture and engineering, had been holding for decades. According to design historian Jane Pavitt, 'using organisational methods drawn from science, technology and communications theory, and through processes of analysis and evaluation, design could be undertaken in a "scientific" way' (Pavitt, 2012: 133). This would in turn mean that design would be taken more seriously and gain a more solid foothold in society, giving designers possibilities of making a difference on a greater scale.

Playgrounds and Slaughterhouses

During the Suomenlinna symposium in the summer of 1968, these ambitious plans of so-called 'scientification' of design met the prevailing ideals of the designer's social responsibility in an intriguing way. This could be best seen in the tangible results of the symposium, which were planned and conceived in group workshops. The first group's task was to design a playground for children suffering from cerebral palsy, while the second group designed a mobile reindeer slaughterhouse. Both assignments required extensive research into the user experience of the products, in the playground case disabled children and in the reindeer slaughterhouse case Finland's only indigenous people, the Sami in Lapland, whose main livelihood was reindeer farming. Moreover, both assignments reflected well the designer's widened line of work as someone whose responsibility is not only confined within the domestic, but extends itself to all kinds of facets of human life and all kinds of corners of our living environment, be it children's play or the traditional Sami lifestyle.

These projects explored the idea of design as a research activity needing an objective, scientific approach, but they can also be considered as early examples of design anthropology. Design historian Alison J. Clarke traces the design community's interest in the anthropological back to the emergence of a critical design culture in the 1960s, which 'sought to strip away the layers of "false" meaning around commercial products' (Clarke, 2013: 74). In this process, anthropology's aim of revealing the different layers in human, social and cultural interactions functioned as an alternative to designing for the capitalist commodity culture. Designing the mobile reindeer slaughterhouse to be used by the Sami therefore reflected the newly found interest towards supporting alternative lifestyles and values that existed outside the consumer culture. The project was fuelled by the introduction of a new law in Finland demanding better hygiene

for slaughtering kettles, without any promise of funding to help build permanent slaughterhouses to meet these demands. The aim of designing the portable slaughterhouse, then, was to secure the Sami's traditional livelihood and ensure that their lifestyle could be sustained.

Bringing about Permanent Change in Finnish Design Culture

The symposium was widely reported in the media, in both newspapers and magazines, and even on Finnish national television. Even though many of the details of the symposium remain unclear, such as how many people participated, how the workshops were arranged, and if the prototypes created during the workshops were ever put into production, it's evident that the symposium managed to bring increasing attention to the students' agenda suggesting that design and its education had to evolve in order to keep up with the rapidly changing society. Moreover, it spoke of the need and interest for a university-level institution for design education.

Five years after the Suomenlinna seminar, in 1973, the University of Art and Design Helsinki (previously The Institute of Arts and Crafts) finally opened its doors as the first university-level design school in the Nordic countries. At least partly resulting from the students' efforts during the previous years and the active debate they had created, the design studies curriculum had been revised, and the notion of design's social and moral responsibility towards people and the environment could be seen both in the rhetoric and actions upon the first semester at the new University (Korvenmaa, 2012). In addition to subject-based studying, students were now given assignments in the form of collaborative and multidisciplinary group projects, the objective being to create solutions to real-life problems. One of the assignments, for instance, was to design a new living environment for the Skolt Sami minority who had been evicted from their place of origin after the Second World War, due to the Soviet Union claiming the land. The communal lifestyle of the Sami, as well as their means of livelihood, were to be taken into consideration when designing the environment, and the report from the project revealed rigorous research into the Skolt Sami culture, as well as collaboration between the students, governmental authorities, and environmental and architectural experts. Other assignments included designing ergonomic workstations for electronic engineers, renewing the safety measurements for the process of casting concrete, and researching the craft traditions in Northern Karelia, a region on the border of Finland and Russia.

In addition to creating change in design education, the design students' ideas about the widened role of design in shaping the man-made environment continued living in the professional practice of Finnish designers. Echoing the design students' actions, Finland's professional organisation for designers, Ornamo, began organising seminars, one of which was called 'With whom do you feel your solidarity' (Fig. 2). Even Finland's interior design magazines started to publish, among articles about swimming pools and Japanese-style stone gardens, lengthy texts about the state of the design profession, interviewing both established designers and 'the younger generation', often drawing attention to the social and political ramifications of design. The articles documented design's new direction, which continued developing further during the 1970s, when many designers engaged in designing for the socially marginalised, creating hospital and healthcare equipment, designing workplace environments, or even traveling to developing countries to work with development aid and NGOs.

Fig. 2 Poster for Ornamo's symposium 'With whom do you feel your solidarity' in 1970 (Aalto University Archive).

Conclusion

To conclude, this paper argues that in 1960s Finland, design students held a key position in developing design towards an academic, collaborative, and a socially and morally responsible professional practice. By organising influential symposia gathering top speakers from within the design world and beyond, and by participating in workshops and creating projects, texts and publications, the students successfully challenged the established notion of design's role and purpose. However, even though the general response to the students' actions remained positive, questions about the most effective ways of creating social equality emerged. Some saw concrete actions, such as design projects aimed at those in need, as the most effective way. Others demanded a more politically conscious attitude that would question the wider structures and mechanisms of society. This led to extreme politicization of student life and cultural fields in general in Finland. The design debate, too, became more and more characterised by political debates, which, on one hand created more confidence in the designers' mission of 'saving the world', but on the other was a divisive factor creating disagreement, and eventually discord.

However, in 1968, the students were still on the same team and wrote the following manifesto in a seminar, this time in Stockholm, Sweden:

> Is it possible to design good-looking gadgets when you know that people are starving and suffering; when you have begun to doubt your need for luxury; when you are scared to death knowing that a catastrophe is right behind the door??? Out of compassion towards the world's hungry, suffering, and oppressed people facing population explosion, environmental pollution and earth's dwindling resources, we want to do our best to make a difference by creating a growing consciousness about the world's problems and finding out what we can do about them (Lundahl, 1968: 440).

This manifesto not only shows the urgency with which the students faced complex societal issues, but also the extent to which they saw design belonging at the forefront in the creation of a democratic and socially equal society.

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The Landscape of Coworking Spaces: An Exploration Between Past and Future

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Workplace / Coworking spaces / Design role / Sensible landscape

As globalization is changing the way people live their daily lives, new technologies and knowledge workers are shaping a new economic system. This system is driven by a technology-empowered mobile workforce, whose needs are different from the traditional-office-related ones. In fact, knowledge workers can potentially work from anywhere in the world, as they just need a laptop and a Wi-Fi connection. The coworking movement formed around the need of a specifically-designed space for people who can work anywhere. Coworking spaces are an answer to social and work-related changes and they could be explained as a new style of work, combining the best elements of an office environment, its community, and access to its tools.

The discipline of design keeps up with social, cultural, local and global changes, so it's interesting to investigate how design is involved in the coworking phenomenon. At the beginning of the phenomenon, only service and communication design were involved in the formula, but, as coworking has become mainstream, managers started to care about interior and furniture design too.

This paper aims to make a mapping of the physical landscape of coworking spaces, also in relation to a brief evolutionary review of workspaces.

1. The coworking movement

"Imagine a world where companies motivate and manage employees who never set foot in their corporate office": the 2020 Intuit Report opens with this sentence, which highlights how a new economy and a new ecosystem for small businesses and their customers is emerging as an answer to the 2008 Great Recession.

The main drivers of this rising economic system are technology and knowledge workers. These are strongly connected to each other, as technology is empowering an increasingly mobile workforce, comprising knowledge workers. Knowledge workers are all those people whose line of work requires them to think for a living (Davenport, 2005): generally speaking, they consist of all white-collar workers. According to Horibe (1999), knowledge workers add value through their ideas, analyses, judgments, syntheses and designs: as these workers are putting themselves into their work, they care about it, seeing it as an element of personal expression, or even expect it to have an impact on the world (Keeley, 2001), making it the call in their own life. For this reason, these workers are shaping the structure of the workforce, changing its panorama: statistics today suggest that 33% of the workforce is currently independent or freelance, and this number is projected to be 40% by 2020.

As more and more people venture into freelancing and independent work, they face new issues while working. People working from home are basically working alone, which leads to a loss of their social infrastructure, including human interaction, support, and healthy competitiveness. Their work-life balance is usually ruined. Additionally, losing human interactions entails a decline in the network of people, ideas, knowledge, and support, which knowledge workers need.

Knowledge workers need a laptop or tablet and a Wi-Fi connection to work, potentially from anywhere in the world. "The irony of being able to work anywhere is that there isn't anywhere designed for people who can work anywhere, so a movement formed around that and that is the coworking movement" (Bacigalupo, 2016).

Coworking could be explained as a new style of work, which combines the best components of an office environment, its community, and access to its tools. This word can refer to different formats, that share the hybrid dimension of both its spaces and its community of people.

2. Work in evolution

Coworking is the result of social change and the evolution of work styles. In fact, since the 1970s, thanks to the developing technologies, firms started to leave their employees the freedom to stay and work at home. This work arrangement was called "teleworking": employees didn't commute or travel to a central place of work, they usually worked from a coffee shop, others may have stayed at their own home. In those years, globalization, thanks to growing exchange flows, started to permeate all human systems, which are interconnected on a worldwide physical and digital scale. Globalization opens to new hyper-connected, hyper-accelerated, and hyper-competitive scenarios, that affect people in their daily life. Also, the so-called "heavy economy" was transitioning into a "light economy" (Bonomi, 2015), which has gradually replaced blue-collar workers with knowledge workers. "The changing nature of work (from a service to

knowledge to creative industry), new flexible work styles, the distributed and virtual workforce, and globalization and merging of cultures" (Oseland, 2009) led to a new style of work, the so-called "Smart Working", which is a "managerial philosophy based on giving back to people the flexibility and autonomy in choosing spaces, timetables and tools to use, in the face of greater responsibility regarding the results" (Politecnico di Milano, Osservatorio sullo smart working). Smart working is flexible and happens freely anywhere.

3. Workplace and design / design entering the workplace. The discipline of design keeps up with social, culture, local and global changes (or even anticipates them). Having already analyzed social and work-related changes, in which ways is design linked to the coworking phenomenon? To better understand this relationship, we need to observe how design entered the workplace.

The modern sense of office space arose after the industrial revolution in the late 19th century. The industrial economy started to replace the agricultural one as the main pillar of social and economic development. This period was marked by a transition from craftsmanship to industrial manufacturing, which, at the same time, gave rise to many new professions involving organizational and administrative duties. Office work was not only reserved for trade and commerce, but also began to play a role in practical duties and scientific work.

The invention of new machinery—telegraph, typewriter, telephone—played an important role in the change of office, which gradually developed into larger spaces. In particular, in the 1920s, Frederick Taylor's scientific and efficient processes had a major impact on office design. As all work steps are divided into individual tasks, the maximum efficiency is reached by standardized management. These processes emphasized order, hierarchy, supervision, depersonalization. This hierarchical organization style became an important feature of enterprise management, and the working areas of boss and staff were usually separated by a glass wall. Moreover, the open plan layout pattern shows the pyramid level style of company structure. Taylor's reasonability and logicality become the primary purposes for space creation of the office environment. This design principle was globally accepted and adopted. However, two decades later, people got tired of it, because of its lack of humanization and comfort. As a result, in the 1960s, a new concept arose, the "Bürolandschaft" (office landscape). This office breaks the rigid and ineffective structures of large bureaucratic organizations, and designs the spatial organization of the office in line with the needs of workers. Lightweight furniture and plants are freed from walls and shape the whole indoor layout, defining different areas and traffic lines. This design reflects the changes of the society of the time: employees would move freely, emphasizing the equality, freedom and independence among people. Thus, office landscape shaped a cultural atmosphere of collective working, without taking working efficiency into full consideration, so this office model was never popular with managerial staff of enterprises. In those same years, Robert Propst, designer of Herman Miller Research Corporation, was developing its line "Action Office". "Action Office I" was presented in 1964: it consisted of a series of desks, workspaces, and other modular furniture designed to allow freedom of movement, and flexibility to work in a position suitable for the work being done. In 1968 "Action Office II" was launched, and it was capable of frequent modification to suit the changing needs of the employees, allowing also a degree of privacy. The "Action Office II", with its flexible, space-defining walls and multiple, interchangeable workstation furnishings would begin the process for establishing the horrendously regimented Cubicle of the 1980s. The birth of Cubicle caught up with the white-collar expansion. During the 1980s, our society transitioned into an economy based on information computerization, which fueled, one decade later, office utopianism: offices were as big as college campuses, or small as a garage, or even miniature cities.

The beginning of the 21st century sparked a significant change in office design. Emerging work styles are reflected in office space layouts. Rising property prices and resultant rising office rents have led to a need for more efficient use of space—and more informal, flexible, multi-purpose meeting spaces. The office is designed no longer to improve the economic benefit of enterprise, on the contrary! The ultimate purpose of office space design is to provide people with the best work and living environment, so that people in the indoor environment can get a physical and psychological sense of comfort, security, relaxation. Digitalization—in both the forms of WiFi connection and disappearance of office tools—has freed office work from its fixed office hours, fixed locations and schematic work processes. Not only did this enable people to work in a more flexible pattern in order to assist both their work-life balance and business needs, but it also had a direct impact upon the structure of the office. In 1998 Duffy created four work models, which are called: Hive, Cell, Den, and Club. Each group has its own requirements for space use and environmental services.

The Hive is associated with individual process work, little interaction and low levels of individual autonomy. In the Cell model, highly autonomous individuals occupy the office in an intermittent and irregular pattern with extended working hours. The Den is associated with group work. The Den worker is interactive but not necessarily highly autonomous, carrying out tasks that are typically of short duration and team-based. Finally, the Club is meant for knowledge work: both autonomous and interactive. The pattern of occupancy is intermittent and over an extended working day, a wide variety of shared task-based settings serve both concentrated individual and group interactive work. Individuals and teams occupy space on an as-needed basis, moving around the space to take advantage of a wide range

of facilities. Each of these work models implies a different approach to the use of space. The trend in offices is moving away from the highly structured Hive and Cell models towards Den and Club. These models affect the use—thus, the design—of contemporary workplaces, as people have more opportunities to decide where, when, with whom and how to work.

4. Designing coworking spaces

Design has entered the realm of coworking spaces as well.

The interesting thing about the relationship between coworking spaces and design is that the latter is involved both in terms of the consumers who use these spaces and in terms of designing such spaces.

In fact, often the knowledge workers who use these spaces are so-called creative workers (Florida, 2002). "The talents, or creative class, are defined as those workers who occupy a middle or top position in the productive sectors of the creative economy (art, fashion, design, TV, etc.) and of knowledge (business, research and development, etc.)" (Kea, 2009).

From the point of view of designing coworking formulas and spaces, service, communication, interior design and product design are involved. In their first phase of development, coworking spaces were a niche trend and the managers focused mainly on service design for building the strategic formula able to address specific users. They also developed communication campaigns, which were able to inform about their originality in comparison to traditional workspaces and cafes. From the point of view of space and furniture, the first coworking spaces were kind of naive: managers often made chairs and tables available, without a real project of the interiors.

As coworking spaces became mainstream, managers have begun to integrate interior design and product design into the formulation of their spaces. Coworking spaces now appear as hybrids halfway between a coffee shop, a home office, and a traditional office.

Starbucks coined the term "third space", in order to describe its spaces. The third space is neither a home ("first space"), neither a workplace ("second space"): it becomes an alternative to a home office or a place to escape the office when you want to get work done. Perhaps coworking can be considered the "fourth space" for the evolving workforce.

The spatial configuration of the coworking spaces is the result of the demands of the knowledge worker, that started to have different needs based on the complexity of their work and the degree of autonomy required by their tasks. As work gets more complicated, it requires more workforce: so, it involves teamwork and, thus, more workstations.

For this reason, coworking spaces could be considered a Club office (Duffy, 1997), as the environment is both highly autonomous and highly interactive. The pattern of occupancy is intermittent over the span of one day. This type of office model emphasizes transactional knowledge, thriving on the mini-networks established in these spaces. The dilemma of management when designing workspaces is in that individuals choose where, when, with whom and how to work. Facilitating that freedom of choice is a balancing act in modern workspace design. It requires a management that sees their facilities as a part of their system not as a costly box to put it in.

As we've already suggested, design shapes both the community and the space of coworking. Environmental and experience design is able to address both these dimensions, as it focuses on the implementation of a comprehensive system of place, space and experience, that affects creative thinking, social interaction and human behavior, in order to design meaningful and creative realities. In their book *Make Space*, Doorley and Witthoft explain how spatial features can be adjusted, scaled and calibrated in order to "radically alter the mood in a situation, fundamentally altering the nature of an interaction". Groves and Marlow describe six categories of sensory properties: comfort, sound, sight, spaciousness, movement and aliveness. These properties could be combined in infinite ways, whose output would be consistent with the mission of the space itself.

We've conducted a mapping of a selection of Milanese coworking spaces, in order to describe the physical landscape of coworking spaces.

5. Mapping the coworking landscape

Within Milan's innovative ecosystem, there are approximely one hundred of what we would define as "coworking spaces".

After mapping all of them in terms of location, management and general physical attributes—such as their dimensions—we've shrunk the long list to thirteen case studies, as they could represent all the typologies existing in the city of Milan, based on the study of their residents.

The thirteen case studies are the following:

- Talent Garden Calabiana, place for tech enterprises;
- Copernico Milano Centrale, hosting big companies looking for high-end facilities;
- Regus Spaces, meant for a generic audience looking for high-end facilities;
- Impact Hub Milano, attracting companies which want to have a positive impact in the world;
- Avanzi/A;
- Base Milano, engaging cultural enterprises;
- Mare Culturale Urbano (Urban Cultural Sea), bringing together cultural grassroots realities;
- Piano C (Plan C), addressing women and working mothers;
- Qf – Quoziente Famiglia (Family Quotient), offering services to families looking for psychological balance in their lives;
- Open More than Books, extending a library's services to a generic working public;
- IF – Idea Factory;
- Login, focusing on cloud-related enterprises;
- Incowork Montegani, which represents the majority of Milanese coworking spaces, which reach for a generic public.

We've observed these coworking spaces' landscapes with a double reading level, looking at what the landscape is about and its space quality. The assets of a workplace landscape are its interiors and furniture. We've proceeded to investigate both of them. In particular, we've focused on the tipology of the coworking space's building, the organization of the space, the

physical system involving the coworking space, the furniture layout and the basic work unit.

We've also analyzed the qualities of these spaces, using the above-mentioned six categories of sensory properties.

Interiors

From our analysis, we've learnt that lots of these places occupy, thanks to regeneration processes, old factories or heavy economy workplaces. For example, Base Milano occupies Ansaldo Breda (an old Italian train factory) ex-workspaces, its coworking space is part of a service hub, which offers a wide range of other services and spaces.

As many coworking spaces are established in old factories, their spaces are characterized by open-plan layouts, maintaining the original openness.

In general terms, the most interesting insights are the following:

- coworking spaces address the topic of privacy and proximity: if the space is organized on different levels, most of the times accessibility is calibrated for each of them; individual spaces expand into collective places and vice versa, generating diverse grades of engagement;
- individual and collective areas sometimes cohabit the same space: collective areas normally shrink into smaller points stretching between wider individual zones;
- the transition between individual and collective spaces is important and becomes a space itself, an in-between space, which physically and socially connects all the residents;
- coworking spaces tend to have a meaningful place, somehow connected to their mission: this place is usually a common area, characterized by "co"-activities, involving collaboration, sharing and participation.

Furniture

Coworking spaces offer a vast variety of furniture, which suggested us the following points:

- modular vs customized: most of the spaces are inhabited by simple and modular furniture, because they are more flexible and can be used for different tasks. Basic work units are usually wheeled or really light, so they can be easily moved around, as we can see in Login's spaces, where tables are wheeled, giving the residents the opportunity to set the space as they want to. Some high-end coworking spaces host customized furniture;
- home-feeling vs modern office feeling: those spaces whose mission is socially-responsible-related usually have a home-feeling mood, while spaces addressing a generic public tend to offer modern office furniture lines—such as InCowork Montegani and IF (Idea Factory). This dichotomy is reflected also in the idea of brand vs universal. Spaces with a unique mission statement tend to brand their spaces through the use of uncommon furniture—for example, Impact Hub owns a bookcase shaped in the word "HUB", which was the initial name of the space—while other spaces favor universal furniture;
- high-end design brands vs DIY: the mission of the coworking space affects directly its aesthetics; some entities believe in sustainability. Thus, ecological, re-used, recycled materials and furniture are adopted. In some cases the coworking spaces manage to construct their own furniture through participatory processes as a first activity of their communities—such as Impact Hub;
- wheeled or modular: some coworking spaces address their openness by using modular and movable office furniture;
- processed wood is used a lot, as it gives a sense of warm and high-quality feeling, even if it's cheap. In particular a great use of OSB has been observed.

Space quality

In traditional offices, the dimension of physical well-being is rather neglected: in this sense, we can speak of both the ergonomic aspect, the sensory one, and movement. Coworking spaces have begun to explore some of these potentials. For example, mid-long rented workstations are actually equipped with ergonomic chairs, able to respond to the needs of a person sitting for many hours. Movement begins to enter into the logic of coworking spaces too: occupying an open-space creates more movement within the community, which moves to its liking within the space. Movement, however, is still little encouraged. Even coworking spaces still have to develop a better sensory dimension. For example, the lighting system is often not really efficient and does not respond well to spaces' different functions and human circadian rhythms. Noise seems to be another problem for coworking spaces: collective areas are perpetually animated by the talk of people discussing to one another, on the phone, on Skype. In this context it becomes difficult to find silent spaces: a silent room or soundproof booths could help in this regard.

6. Discussion

The insights mentioned above highlight the role of design within coworking spaces, showing how it is a powerful tool to express the coworking space's mission, as the project of a spatial system highly influences people's experiences.

Looking at the current situation, we could argue that the landscape of coworking spaces could be neutral or narrative. At the moment, the two types are co-existing, as they engage different publics (specific vs generic). Neutral coworking spaces tend to be blank boxes, while narrative landscapes tell a story through interior space. Narrative landscapes are usually the result of a designer's work, as the management is committed to making the office environment a substantive tool in the business of brand differentiation. What characterizes narrative landscape is a sense of playfulness and surprise.

As coworking has become a mass-phenomenon, its narrow dimension is transitioning into a nodal one, usually into the dimension of a service hub. Flexibility is a key element of these spaces, especially in terms of creating environments for education and training. Coworking offices are part of a physical platform, capable of "incubating" new ideas by providing spaces in which to generate, test and share them. These platforms enable information to flow more freely and are the physical manifestation of the organization in an increasingly virtual world.

7. And what about the future?

As the landscape of workplaces is indissolubly bound to technology advance, in recent years designers and theorists began to glimpse the end of the physical workplace itself, to be replaced by an invisible and ubiquitous office of networkers in cafés and living rooms who attend virtual meetings. Coworking spaces arise from the human need to establish physical encounters with a community of peers. Its spatial design is fundamental, as it favors spontaneous meetings, and community-building, which is an essential strategy in retaining residents. But designing for behaviours and creating these kinds of fluid environments is easier said than done, because coworking spaces are not just physical landscapes, but also sensible ones, as their relational dimension is even much more important.

Coworking spaces are set to become more and more neighbourly, driven by the metaphor of the club or the city, as a large, colourful place of social activity and interaction.

Coworking spaces have all the potential to be what "office" was for Cicero. He stated that an office was what was proper to you, what fitted you as your natural duty. Until some years ago, no workplace would reflect this idea of being natural, proper, or fitting. Coworking spaces' landscape are surely going into that direction.

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Design for All. The Past that Provides a Future

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Design for All / Diversity / Associations / Educational centers / New technologies

A map of the associations and educational centers specialized in Design for All helps us to know in which places this vision of design is promoted with more effort. If, in addition, these institutions are ordered chronologically, we obtain the basis for developing a historiography study of Design for All. Thus, this paper is the starting point to reflect on the historical events that led to the development of Design for All and served to rethink the design discipline, to see it as something more than an ally of human consumption, to claim an active role facing the contemporary social situation.

As for the future of Design for All, we can see how its alliances with new technologies would be a logical response towards openness, inclusion and adaptation of the environment.

In short, the history of Design for All, whether past, present or future, is a story that explains the desire and ingenuity to create a world that tends to add (not to exclude) and tries to improve all people's lives.

Introduction

Currently, Design for All is present in numerous design educational institutions, in both theoretical and practical scopes. The need of learning about it is undeniable in an increasingly diverse society, due to factors such as immigration or population aging. Therefore, it is unavoidable to educate future designers so that they would be capable of creating a world in which all people are taken into account; thus improving inclusion and, ultimately, the social cohesion and the democratic character of our environment.

The interest in Design for All has been shaped through different initiatives, among which stand out the creation of associations and specialized educational centers. Following is a map in which the most relevant institutions are located, and numbered by their year of foundation (Fig. 1).

Precisely, the web pages of these institutions are the ones that provide a starting point for the study of Design for All.

This paper's research field is the history of Design for All, with the fundamental objective of demonstrating the importance of treating it in a global and transversal way, uniting different points of view and trying to contextualize multiple historical events. This requirement arises from the observation of different documentary sources that demonstrate a series of assertions that are exposed below:

– Design for All, as such, is a relatively young design vision, so its historiography is not excessively broad. The existing studies come mainly from the institutions and associations that we have previously located on the map. The historical aspects lose relevance in comparison to the practical approaches, surely more requested by professionals.
– An important variety of sources cause fragmentation and diversity of approaches. Therefore, we cannot speak of a single story but of a variety of perspectives. Perhaps the most dominant is the North American one, which is quite natural, since they were the pioneers in this field, having founded important centers and associations dedicated to the study of this subject. They are followed by the Europeans and, finally, we find other nations that are legally taking measures or creating associations, such as the International Association for Universal Design (IAUD) from Japan founded in 2003.
– In the sources consulted, the historical facts are presented as a list of relevant figures or events, with little connection and without a deep reflection on the causes that enhance their existence, the context that encompasses them or the consequences they entail.

This paper, although in an introductory way, aims to create links between different historical events and the origin of Design for All, providing a general vision. Likewise it suggests some perspectives for the future that are linked to technologies and processes that are becoming relevant in recent years.

The Past. Historical summary

On a social and political level, to discover the origins of Design for All, we must go back to 1789 and the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen[1] approved by the French National Constituent Assembly, in the midst of the French Revolution. The first article states "Men are born and remain free and equal in rights. Social distinctions can only be based on common utility", vindicating the equity of all people. This document is considered the precursor of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights promulgated by the UN in 1948.

Another important fact in the history of Design for All is the mobilization of people with disabilities. Obviously, people with disabilities have always existed. Thus, for example, an investigation carried out by the EURAC center has discovered that Tutankhamun had a bone necrosis and a deformation in his left foot that forced him to use a walking stick.[2] However, people with disabilities, with exceptions such as the one mentioned above, tended not to be taken into consideration and to stay out of the social or public sphere. Only in the years after the Second

[1] Or, what is the same as, *Déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen.*

[2] EURAC (n.d.). *Ricerca dell'EURAC su Tutankhamon in onda sulla BBC*. http://www.eurac.edu/it/research/health/iceman/newsandmedia/Pages/eventdetails.aspx?entry-id=108698 (last accessed 27/05/18). EURAC has many areas of research, this study comes from the Institute for Mummy Studies.

World War we can notice some mobilization in this regard, mainly from war veterans who did not want to be socially discriminated.

To the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and to the mobilizations of war veterans, we must add the Scandinavian 1950s welfare policies which, according to the Stockholm Declaration (European Institute for Design and Disability, 2004), forged the concept "A Society for All", referring fundamentally to accessibility. Likewise, we cannot forget to mention the Paralympic Games, founded by Ludwig Guttmann in 1960, or the first voices that rose up against environmental problems such as Rachel Carson, marine biologist who wrote the famous book *Silent Spring* (1962). It is also worth noting the influence of the transcendent Social Movements of 1968. Precisely in this year emerged the first law that highlighted the problem of people with motor disabilities, the American Barrier Act (ABA).

The whole panorama was very propitious to foment the critical spirit of some designers and, beyond the intention of consumption, emerged the Scandinavian functionalism of the 1950s and the ergonomic design of the 1960s. Some authors, like Beppe Benenti, affirm that the roots of Design for All lays at the origin of North American industrial design. Charles and Ray Eames, for example, believed that design should reach the greatest number of people, at minimum cost. Another outstanding reference is Thomas Babbit Lamb who, observing the inadequacy of crutches used by war veterans, developed the Lamb Lim Rest crutch; later he applied his knowledge to handles of different utensils. We should not forget Henry Dreyfuss, designer and author of *Designing for People* (1955) and *The Measures of Man* (1959). In them, Dreyfuss emphasized that the task of the designer is to solve the users' real problems, taking into account their needs. Subsequently Buckminster Fuller,[3] American designer, architect and inventor, dedicated himself to improving the conditions of the human being beyond the dependence of govern-

[3] Buckminster Fuller Institute. (n.d.). About Fuller. https://www.bfi.org/about-fuller (last accessed 27/05/18).

Fig. 1 Maps of associations and educational centers specialized in Design for All. Image: Self-elaboration. 2018.

ments and large organizations or private companies' actions. He was a great influencer and is considered one of the first environmental activists.

In the 1970s there was a great energy crisis due to the seizure of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries. Likewise, we find authors such as Ernst Schumacher, who wrote *Small Is Beautiful* (1973), a book that proposed a more rational economy in which people were more important than merchandise.

In this context, designers began to become more aware of the responsibility they had towards society and the environment. One of the main representatives of this approach was Victor Papanek, who wrote *Designing for the Real World* (1971) and *How things don't work* (1977). We also find designs that considered people with disabilities, such as the facilities and programs developed by Timothy Nugent for the University of Illinois Urbana–Champaign. On the other hand, Richard Hollerith was a consultant at Henry Dreyfuss Associates, and then became chair of the Industrial Designers Society of America (IDSA) in 1977. Hollerith was an active supporter of Universal Design and promoter of barrier-free environments. Equally aware was Marc Harrison, who proposed that products should be designed for all types of users (with different skills); an example of this philosophy can be seen in the mobile blood collection units, designed in the early 1970s in collaboration with the Red Cross.

At the end of the 20th century, discrimination against people with disabilities was legally combated. In 1990 in the United States, the American with Disabilities Act (ADA) was enacted and, three years later, the United Nations proposed the Standard Rules on the Equalization of Opportunities for Persons with Disabilities.

In the field of design Ronald L. Mace stood out, participating in the creation of the ADA Law and coining the concept of Universal Design, to describe a design that cared about the needs of people, regardless of their age, ability or social status. Another prominent designer is Valeri Fletcher, executive director of the Institute for Human Centered Design (IHCD), creator of the IHCD User / Expert Lab and director of Fletcher Studio Design between 1978 and 1985. Equally relevant is Patricia A. Moore, American industrial designer, gerontologist and author of numerous studies; she founded Moore & Associates in 1980, specialized in the development of products or services that meet the needs of users of all ages and abilities. On the other hand, James Pirki stood out as co-author of *Guidelines and Strategies for Developing Transgenerational Products* (1988) and the author of *Transgenerational Design: Products for an Aging Population* (1997). Thus, we can verify the arising of professionals who were concerned about diversity and the inclusion of all people. Meanwhile IDEO was founded, a company that implemented Design Thinking, a method that seeks innovation by focusing on people.

The end of the 20th century and, above all, the beginning of the 21st century, were influenced by a strong environmental, social and cultural crisis. Possibly the event that had most emotional impact was the terrorist attack against the Twin Towers in New York and the Pentagon, carried out on September 11, 2001; many were the designers who reacted to it. Legally, and regarding Design for All, the measures taken by Europe as the Council of Europe Action Plan carried out between 2006 and 2015 stand out, to promote the rights and full participation in society of people with disabilities. Likewise, the Magna Carta of most states lay down the right of people with disabilities to equal opportunities. For its part, the UN held a convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities in 2008.

Design professionals reacted to this situation with different proposals. One of them was the creation of Design for the World, a collective founded in 1998 by the international design associations ICOGRADA, ICSID, IFI and the BCD Foundation. Also relevant was the publication of the "First Things First Manifesto 2000" in the issue 51 of the Emigre magazine. In relation to Design for All, we considered the foundation of numerous associations, as we have seen at the beginning of this paper.

In short, Design for All got developed notably at the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century, as a result of reconsidering design as an active discipline facing the contemporary social situation, characterized by awareness, acceptance and the increase of diversity, hybridization and environmental problems. The history of Design for All is nothing but the will of designers to participate in the creation of a better world.

The future. Perspectives and alliances

After this brief historical review, it solely remains to consider how Design for All can continue with the purpose of constructing a better, more inclusive and open world. To achieve this, the alliances between new methods and technologies seem to be fundamental, which will undoubtedly be able to generate environments that foster aspects such as participation, sharing, empathy, personalization and adaptation.

To begin with, it is necessary to highlight evolution within the concept of inclusion. We have already seen how the veterans of World War II were mobilized to claim for social equality. It is also interesting to observe how Romañach and Lobato proposed a change in respect to the terminology used: they do not want to be refer as disabled or people with disabilities, but as people with functional diversity (Romañach and Lobato, 2005). Therefore, inclusion is not something given but a collective construction where the participation of all involved becomes fundamental. In this sense, some practices or methods help to enhance such participation, like co-design or Design Thinking. The user becomes the protagonist or co-protagonist of the environment creation, while the designer manages and directs the creation process. Thus, we come to the conclusion that motivation will be a prominent concern in Design for All and to achieve it, the intrinsic interest of the user and its active involvement will be required.

The participation of the user is not determined solely by the methods just pointed out, but new technologies also favor this type of process thanks to the simplification of procedures and the possibility of acting remotely. People can contribute comfortably from their homes, which also improves the inclusion of people with functional diversity or mobility difficulties due to age, bone breakage, etc. Thus, Smart Citizen is a platform created by FabLab Barcelona that serves to generate an

active participation among citizens. In fact, they become protagonists and dynamizers of the project when taking measurements (such as temperature, air pollution indexes or humidity levels) and sharing on the Internet.

Let's continue explaining this last concept: sharing. Indeed, the possibility of generating a collaboration network helps to achieve an inclusive world. The opening trend extends to multiple areas: Open source, Open hardware where digital manufacturing is fundamental, Open economy in which Crowdfunding stands out, Open knowledge within which Access to education or Social empowerment acquire special relevance, and Open Data in which we find The Internet of Things or Open Cities. Thus, it's possible to observe how community values regain relevance against individualism but, in this occasion from a global level, thanks to new technologies. There are many examples in the design field, one of them would be OpenDesk, a platform that offers several open source designs, and even suggests nearby places where you can "print" them. But not only can furniture be shared, the fashion world has also developed this type of project. Diego Bustamante, Sanjay Fernandes and Marcela Rozo have made some shoes to assemble under the Openwear license, trying to promote local economies and access to fashion for all audiences. Thereby, the production processes involve the user and cease to be unknown or closed, to become comprehensible and open. Sometimes, the user has a computer file and it is possible to manufacture or even make changes in the design, as we will see later. Another feature of Open Design is the possibility to choose the place of manufacture. Thus, local production can be enhanced, which is sometimes a reflection of the disaccord with global production processes, allowing global knowledge to be rationalized from a local point of view. If we focus on Design for All, open processes have many advantages such as the possibility of generating a network of knowledge that contains multiples points of view (taking into account users with different capacities) or the creation of diverse and inclusive communities.

Empathy is another important factor in creating an inclusive design, in which virtual reality and simulators play a significant role. A quite experimental example would be The Machine To Be Another, a system that generates illusions of body ownership, allowing a person to put oneself in the place of another. The device was created by Omnipresenz, a company specialized in X Reality, that with this project tries to promote tolerance and mutual understanding. Another example would be the See Now project, a web page developed by the Fred Hollows Foundation that shows how would be the vision of some people with certain visual problems such as cataracts, glaucoma or retinopathy. This immersive experience aims to raise awareness and increase empathy with "other ways of seeing". Likewise, the United Nations, Gabo Arora, Chris Milk and Barry Pousman produced "Clouds over Sidra", a virtual reality documentary which shows an overwhelming 360-degree visit to the refugee camp of Sidra, Jordan, through the eyes of a teenager who lived there. It was presented through virtual reality glasses in the World Economic Forum (Davos, 2015) aiming to change the perception of the participants. In addition, the project has continuity through several documentaries that show other spaces marked by various conflicts or problems. Through these cases we can see how virtual reality (VR), augmented reality (AR) or simulators serve to empathize with other people from a physical, sensory or cultural point of view. However, today, these tools are used only to sensitize, to experience emotions, without being clearly established in the design chain. In any case, design processes seem to point towards a subjective and emotional environment that will undoubtedly be marked by new technologies.

Considering that the subjective takes relevance, it seems that the ability to personalize our environment is a logical consequence. In this case, once again, technology will help us achieve our goals. Some clothing or shoe brands have designed web pages in which you can choose not only the model, color or pattern, but also the size of the piece, so the standard measures lose value in favor of diversity. Some examples are Sumissura (women's clothing), Blackpier (men's suits and shirts), Surania (bikinis) and Made in Me (shoes). On the other hand, production in series gives way to production on demand, in which the customer can settle the product they want or need. This production can be personal thanks to 3D printing in which the user can obtain a product completely adjusted to their needs. Even a house can be made from a design totally customized by the user, as shown by the prefabricated houses by NOEM company. Anyone can project their home according to their necessities; there is no doubt about the value this implies for a person with functional or sensitive diversity. All these examples serve to show how personalization acquires relevance in front of the standard stereotypes and how it begins to normalize and value the diversity of the user, taking into account the difference in capabilities, anthropometry, etc.

Linked to personalization, we find adaptation. It could be defined as the possibility of complementing the environment with alternative systems whose objective is to make it more inclusive. Among the resources of adaptation, we find robotics, home automation and the Internet of Things (IoT). First, it should be noted that a robot can be an important support when performing certain actions or tasks; this benefit is particularly relevant

when dealing with a person with some kind of diversity. Second, home automation is defined as a series of systems capable of automating a home. Regarding functional diversity, it serves to remotely control inaccessible places, program environments, transmit information among different users and even send emergency messages. Finally, the Internet of Things defines a network of everyday objects that are interconnected. Among other functions, it can help to monitor certain circumstances and, therefore, provide greater tranquility or security for the user that will result in an increase of freedom of actions.

In general, new technologies serve to help carry out a specific task taking into account a great diversity of capacities. Several examples were exposed in this section and we will end with a simple progression: if we create a web page with a small typographic we are restricting use to people who have good vision; if we give the option of increasing the font size we will be allowing the page access to people with low vision and if we enable the transcription of the text to voice we will be permitting all blind people to follow this page. Thus, it is demonstrated that "Good design enables, bad design disables", as established by the Stockholm Declaration proposed by the European Institute for Design and Disability in 2004. Along with the environment, the divergence from what is considered to be "normal", standard, is what will define the concept of "disability". Technology also helps respect and enhances diversity.

In short, the history of Design for All is characterized by specific interests in different parts of the planet that, in turn, generate the creation of multiple associations and institutions. Perhaps the future of Design for All goes through generating a network of global collaboration that, nevertheless, respects and enhances the local sector. Possibly, new technologies can help achieve this purpose of inclusion and respect towards diversity. However, only time will tell which paths Design for All will take.

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Albe Steiner's Research for a Graphic Design History's Active Learning and Teaching

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Graphic design history / Active learning / Research notebook / Notebook on research / Communicative prototype

Since 2013, articulating ideas across history by means of images has been the main objective of the course in History of Visual Communications at the School of Design of Politecnico di Milano, which is attended by all the students of the Degree Course in Communication Design. This has been done by introducing, as a material source of reference, a historicised artefact, namely Albe Steiner's *Research Notebook* (1913–1974), kept at the Archivio del grafico Milanese and donated to the Historical Archives of Politecnico di Milano. Thanks to this approach, it has been shown how a design research instrument of the past can become, in contemporary teaching, a tool to help students gain knowledge of the history of graphic design and of the instruments of historical research with a professional designer's attitude. The students adopt a curator's approach to understand, retain and mediate the contents of their own theme-based path in the framework of the general programme of the course, and translate it into their own visual work: a self-produced research notebook. The students' aim is to understand the past and create instruments that synthesise the contents, techniques and languages of the past into new narrative forms, which they design themselves using the concept of active learning oriented towards a 'visual history, to the innovators and the technologies that have influenced and transformed visual communication practices' (Bloomer, 2016).

History of Visual Communications at Politecnico di Milano
At the School of Design, Politecnico di Milano, the general history of design has been presented for years as a design tool, i.e. one that is useful for design. However, in the last 20 years, within the course in History of Visual Communications, professor Daniele Baroni has adopted a different approach: since the publication of his first textbook *Storia del design grafico* in Italian in 2003, he has been trying to work with a view to telling a history that is 'useful to design in the wider sense of the word, since it is one of the elements that contribute to training the technical intellectual that was often mentioned by Maldonado' (Riccini, 2015: 39) [my translation].

When, in 2013, prof. Baroni first introduced the author to the course, he gave an inaugural lecture entitled "What's the purpose of a course in History and culture of graphic design?". On that occasion, he addressed the students with the following words:

> We believe that it is important to integrate the pragmatic concept of 'doing' – of the "job", with the higher value of "knowledge" and, therefore, to choose an orientation that takes into account a wide-ranging interdisciplinary knowledge, in which also history – in its wider sense – takes on a fundamental meaning. Today there is still a need to consolidate the cultural aspects that are peculiar to this complex subject. History, theory, methodology and, finally, design. [...]
> Let's go back to the issue of history or, better, historiography, which entails the study of every historical subject and should be included among human sciences: it is associated to the concepts of "theory", "aesthetics", and "criticism".
> In the book *Storia del design grafico*, Maurizio Vitta and I have tried to highlight all the important events that have characterised the history of visual communication and of graphics in the past 120 years, reaching the early 21st century. I believe it is interesting to explore, in particular, the various trends and the new phenomena that characterised the second half of last century. Examples of these include the birth of groups, the national or local schools, the movement leaders, as well as the various sectors: advertising, poster design, publishing, corporate image and a cross-cutting theme that affects all of the sectors – iconography, from abstraction to the wide variety of figurations (Baroni, 2013).

From that moment onwards, each book-object – like Baroni and Vitta's handbook in which the study of each historical subject explored is opened by 'windows' onto "theory", "aesthetics", and "criticism" – has been accompanied by a critical exercise in the form of the study of a research artefact, a design idea, namely Albe Steiner's notebook, named *Ricerche*. In this notebook, in the early 1930s, one of the intellectuals of Italian graphic design started to stick images taken from Italian and American magazines and books – at a time when information was censored if not altogether non-existent – with the aim of triggering the process of integrating historical research into contemporary teaching.

The notebook – which features cut-outs of images of architectural projects, exhibitions, studies on movement, machines, technological objects, physical phenomena, sculptures, paintings, abstract movies, typography, furnishings – raises the attention of critics and a documentary interest thanks to its well-struc-

tured 'mise en scène' and to Steiner's ability to document a new culture of vision with experimental research and works, looking to "new graphic design", no longer only to new typography. The notebook has been deemed a suitable educational framework to experiment with the dialectics of images in which past, present and future shed light onto each other.

It is not a mere collection of images, but a tool for research and for the representation of contents, languages and techniques expressed in the form of exemplary images, of communicative prototypes that enable one to construct a veritable rhetoric based on the visual grammar founded by Moholy-Nagy in the 1929 Bauhaus book *Von material zu Architektur*, and later expanded in *The new vision* (1947), and on Gyorgy Kepes' book *Language of vision* (1944).

Being a personal research notebook, it is little known or explored by critics; notwithstanding, it shows how Steiner's training in the late 1930s through the 1940s was largely based on experiences ranging from the outcomes of Expressionism and Cubism, to Abstract Art, Constructivism, and optical-kinetic experimentation.

The reconstruction of the notebook's visual contents, accompanied by short captions, generates endless relations with the books and magazines of Steiner's collection and research library, and with his graphic and photo-graphic projects of the 1940s–50s (the Albe and Lica Steiner Archive at the Historical Archives of Politecnico di Milano also keeps the designer's library). It is not a mere review of specific, isolated themes, like modern typography, experimental photography, industrial design, and exhibition design, but rather a research based on the integration between the cultural tensions and the visual expressions of Moholy-Nagy, Bayer, Bill, Picasso, to name but a few, and Steiner's own design experiences.

The use of a historicised artefact like the "research" notebook testifies to how historical-philological archive research can support and construct a responsible design, a design culture in general and a graphic culture in particular as symbols of a new *constructive spirit* inspired by Teal Triggs' arguments in "Curating Graphic Design and its History", in which the author tells us how 'the history of graphic design is more than a history of graphic objects: it is also a history of narratives formulated around process, production, social interaction, and discourse' (Triggs, 2016: 20).

In particular, in her work Teal Triggs insists on the fact that the importance of graphic design archives within schools is increasing its visibility, and is defining what a history of the profession and its pedagogical framework can be. The scholar's idea is to explore the potential of this type of archive as 'an intersection for (re)mapping a future for graphic design history, research and education'. In this perspective, archives can definitely be crucial to devise new forms of discourse, new narratives.

Albe Steiner. The "research" notebook 1938–1952

Graphic designers like Albe Steiner (1913–1974), pervaded by this spirit, do not only bear witness to the cultural liveliness of those years but, as designers, they give both their individual and collective contribution to the foundation of 'new graphics' by means of experimental research and works, not only of the New Typography.

In this perspective, a fundamental element is constituted by Albe Steiner's unpublished *quaderno*, which bears in its title the word *ricerche*,[1] in which – from the late 1930s and through the early 1950s – he designs starting from images taken from magazines such as *Casabella, Domus*, or *Architecture d'aujourd'hui*, at a time when information is either censored or altogether non-existent.

A logbook in which he weaves the fabric of the poetics of the time, in a sort of *cultural reduction*, to say it with De Fusco (1976), putting together a picture of research lines that go in the same direction as Gyorgy Kepes' theory in the book *Language of Vision* and that, at the same time, show how Steiner has learned from László Moholy-Nagy's teachings, studying with passion the Bauhaus book no. 14 *Von material zu Architektur* of 1929, which would be later published in English as *The New Vision*, the first and only issue of the magazine *Telehor*, I, 1–2 of 1936 and the last book, *Vision in Motion* of 1947.

Rather than identifying himself with specific themes, such as modern typography, experimental photography, or rationalist architecture, he shows an intellectual tension that is, interestingly, oriented towards the *new vision*, which he develops over a decade of research focusing on constructing his own visual culture. (Fig. 1–5).

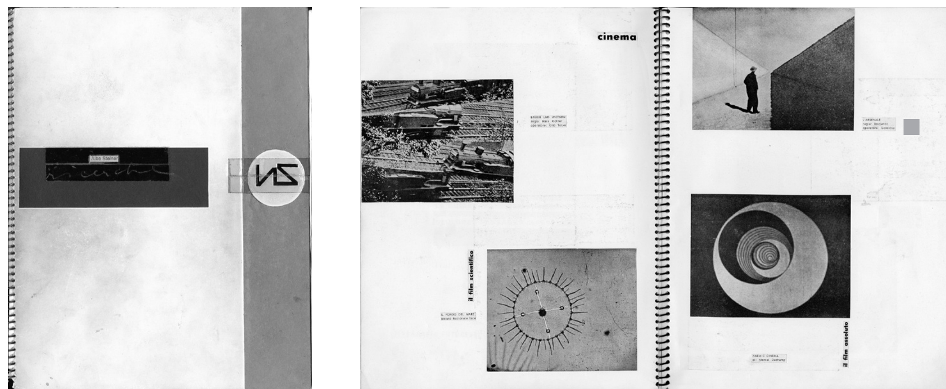

Fig. 1–2 Research notebook 1938–52 (© ASAB–AALS–Politecnico di Milano).

[1] The research-notebook is kept in AALS, Section 'Newspapers and magazines cut-outs', collages of images, 1938/[1951], R – b. 1, instalm. 3, it is described in the following way: 'a notebook with cut-outs of images of architectural projects, exhibitions, studies on movement, machines, technological objects, physical phenomena, furnishings, geometries. A few covers are the work of Albe Steiner'. In *Archivio Albe e Lica Steiner. Inventario sommario*, Graziella Leyla Ciagà with classification and summary of the works of Anna Steiner with Lica Steiner, 2000–2002. Since the very beginning, the investigation of the visual sources at the basis of the notebook identified the monographic issue of *Costruzioni–Casabella*, no. 159–160, March–April, 1941 as one of the main magazines from which Steiner takes the images of exhibition designs he reconstructs in his notebook.

Fig. 3–5 Research notebook 1938–52 (© ASAB–AALS–Politecnico di Milano).

Little known and unexplored by critics, it is a sort of testament in which he recollects the history of his early experiences in the 1930s and 1940s, seen through the lens of many figurative currents – from Expressionism to Cubism, from Constructivism to Purism and Abstract Art – and in which he puts forward visual contents, accompanied by short captions or left without a text, borrowed from the volumes and magazines of his own collection of books and research, which is far less explored than his much larger archive of projects.[2]

The genesis of this *research notebook* appears in a bridge position, in a virtually unexplored area in which Steiner is trained and then sets up his study with his wife and partner Lica Covo.

Their study soon focuses on photo-graphics: Steiner devotes himself to *writing with light*; this is how his *photographic experiments* and his *photos in action* are born, together with his first designs for the magazines – in-house publications – *Bemberg* and *Note fotografiche* of the early 1940s.

This educational path, which he recounts in the notebook, is not merely a review showing his interest in Moholy-Nagy's exhibition design and experimental photographs, in El Lissitsky's integration of photography into functional graphics and, in more general terms, in all the visual poetics of historical avant-gardes.

The *notebook* documents the research and cultural tensions underlying the visual expressions of Moholy-Nagy's, Bayer's, Bill's, and Picasso's works – to name but a few; the fundamentals, the theoretical and practical aspects of Abstract Art, Constructivism, Functionalism, Expressionism in a view to investigating the landscape, the turning point between pure visual research and real design, in the search for a communicative functionalisation of avant-garde arts.

Therefore, comparing Max Bill's *Fifteen variations on a single theme* of 1935–38 – two of which are mentioned by Steiner – to the *notebook* itself does not seem to be an exaggeration; both the *variations* and the *notebook* synthesise the new possibility to access graphics, visual design meant as a professional activity, following the idea that all the figurative '-isms' are interrelated in an organic relationship. With his *Fifteen variations on a single theme*, Bill starts from one single idea to *search for* 15 different structures and determine the correlations in the theme and in the variations, stating that this very fact alone is immediate evidence of the fact that concrete art encloses endless possibilities.

The method to transform a basic figure or theme into other definite, varying forms of expression, is the same that Steiner adopts in the system of images he has constructed in his *notebook*. Needless to say, we are moving within a group of emblematic, pre-set images, with interrelated variations. However, those who will look at the notebook as an open work will realise that, to Steiner's eyes, Max Bill's *plays on shapes and colours* and Lucio Fontana's abstract sculpture in concrete and iron of 1934 represent structure and sign, the point of arrival and of departure.

The former ones – Steiner's chosen variations are no. 2 and no. 15 – represent the origin and synthesis of his research into concrete art, while the latter – Fontana's work – is one of the many examples of a path on Abstract Art in which Steiner will show us works by the international movement of Abstraction-Création and of Italian artists whose works are on display at the Milione gallery, such as Luigi Veronesi, Osvaldo Licini, Manlio Rho.[3]

These are the two extremes between which his personal research swings, representing and narrating *life in art* that in the following years will turn him into 'the founder of that ideological graphics which is not subjugated by the cre-

[2] For official information on the Albe e Lica Steiner Archive, held at the Historical Archives of Politecnico di Milano, please go to: http://www.biblio.polimi.it/sedi/archivi/archivi-storici/elenco-fondi-archivistici/archivio-albe-e-lica-steiner-1932-1974/.

[3] Precisely at the Milione Gallery, a very young Steiner displays for the first time his fabric designs at the exhibition of fashion sketches by Brunetta, Gruau, Pagotto, Soresina, Sormani, see *Il Milione. Bollettino della Galleria del Milione*, no. 13, 19 April –1 May 1933. After more than ten years, in 1944, his mature abstract works will appear in the volume *Disegni astratti* published by Görlich together with works by Ciuti, Fontana, Lupo, Munari, Pintori, Radice, Soldati, and Veronesi.

ation of consumer products, but rather involved in the educational process and aware of its own cultural responsibility' (Insolera, 1988: 90) [my translation].

And life in art is the beautiful double page of the notebook that Steiner dedicates to Le Corbusier's and Picasso's works of art on display in the French pavilion of *Modern Times* – designed by the Swiss architect – and in the Spanish one – designed by Josep Lluís Sert in collaboration with Luis Lacasa – at the Paris *Exposition of Art and Technology in Modern Life* of 1937. Steiner realises that the two exhibitions are exceptions, reviving interest at several levels: innovation in the display of great works of art and the very content of these works.

The first work is *Habiter*, one of Le Corbusier's four panels on the four laws of urban planning (*Habiter, Recréer, Travailler, Transporter*) established by the Athens Charter, displayed in the large tent-pavilion; the second one, Guernica, is a symbol of Picasso's deep political and intellectual commitment against violence in the Civil War, displayed in the Spanish grid-pavilion which amplifies symbolic policies.

These are two opposing representations of modern life – one Cartesian order, the other the powerful suggestions of a post-cubist figuration torn by the expressionist *epos* – told through art, which is not only in the work itself, but also in its container, i.e. the exhibition. Architecture dialogues with figurative art. Steiner's composition is closed by an image of the 7 November 1948 demonstration in Milan, which throws *life into art* and viceversa with an even greater intensity, picturing the demonstrators – men among men – holding the large-sized banner *The world was a pile of blood and mud* by the painter Ampelio Tettamanti.

Actually, this double page shows Steiner's will to mix the various languages, techniques and contents he is displaying. He does not censor any movement, pays attention to the evolution of techniques and the changing of languages. However, most importantly, his idea is already one of *ideological* visual design which, being a discipline common to teaching in all sectors of arts education – art, architecture, design – has the task to bring together art and the public, offering itself as the ultimate goal an impact on society. In this particular aspect Steiner embodies the spirit of the European Bauhaus, namely, the commitment to re-establish a communicative relationship between art and the public, developing his poetics with a sociological intention, a way to communicate, a guide for teaching. This is Steiner's starting point, and if we really wish to identify the major inspirational figure for him, then it will be Klee, in whose work he sees 'the effort to communicate the data of the new vision and the presence, alongside a concrete educational approach, of a representative need typical of all the other trends that had not forsaken a narrative function' (De Fusco, 1966: 66) [my translation].

In his later works, Steiner will always try to continue his figural research alongside the abstract-concrete one, just like Klee. However, as we shall see concerning his *visual research*, Steiner organically relates all the figurative *-isms* to the *new vision*, in line with what Moholy-Nagy theorised in setting up the new visual didactics at the New Bauhaus in 1937.

The sequences of the *notebook* present this educational shift – from the basic design taught at the Bauhaus of Dessau to the *visual design* that Moholy-Nagy and Kepes practised in Chicago in the 1940s, and the influence of their innovative pedagogical reform, focused on designing an *education of the senses* in close connection with the transformation of society.

In the ten years and more over which he collects and puts together emblematic images in his research notebook, where he develops the themes of his reference figures, Steiner formulates an idea of visual design that goes beyond the teaching experience and becomes an operational activity through which the designer determines, in full awareness, some design outcomes having a social impact. In Kepes's words, 'to put earlier demands into concrete terms and on a still wider social plane' (Kepes, 1944: 6).

Exercises about the future. The research notebooks 2013–2018. With his *notebook*, Steiner explores the "communicative functionalisation" of all the '*-isms*' with a view to founding an independent discipline of graphics at last. Steiner's visual review of a crucial decade for the then budding visual design, based on visual sources taken from magazines and specialised publications like *Casabella* or others on current events like *Life*, is a founding rhizome of sources for present-day historical-critical research and for an active learning of Communication Design in our schools and universities. It is the most organic Italian contribution to the visual design of those years, and – for Steiner – it is a tool of self-education, in line with the idea that teaching means committing oneself to the construction of responsible design.

Today the *notebook* – an archive-like artefact, visual container of his educational path and, above all, potential Wunderkammer of the future – is used in the course of History of Visual Communications as a teaching tool activating critical processes. The students are required to retain the idea of the so-called "research-notebook", that is to say the possibility of dialogue through images, constructing alternative narratives to the history they learn in their textbooks, all too often only through the lens of linear history. The students adopt a curator's approach to develop their own theme-based path in the framework of the general programme of the course, and translate it into their own visual work: a self-produced research notebook. The students' aim is to achieve an understanding of the past and create instruments that synthesise the contents, techniques and languages of the past into new narrative forms, which they design themselves using the concept of active learning oriented towards a 'visual history, to the innovators and the technologies that have influenced and transformed visual communication practices' (Bloomer, 2016).

The artefacts-notebooks they produce make a number of original paths immediately available, new visual libraries are created with a contemporary perspective, triggering a process in which,

starting from the study of the visual materials it contains, all the relationships involved are re-designed: history and design, past and present dialogue. It is an attempt to find critical methods to circulate the knowledge about history once again and to produce a new design culture (Drucker; McVarish, 2008).

The students are encouraged to view it as a *research notebook*, or a *notebook on research*, in which the dimension of experimentation is to be understood not only in terms of contents and language, but also of the technical aspects such as the cutting of images – including in the literal sense of the cut-out photocopy. It is the exercise of re-designing the framing of the "original" visual quotation for the new layout, of "cutting out" a new point of view: to make these images one's own after selecting and taking them from other sources, turning them into *quotations of quotations* in a translation process. This form of visual quotation is an exercise typical of another kind of school, a type of research that re-interprets the techniques of collage and photo-editing. The *layout* of the *notebook* is a technical test of the editing possibilities of an artefact, a sort of test of layout techniques and, as a whole, it constitutes a linguistic experimentation, a *communicative prototype*. By *writing* through images, by linking them in *graphic discourse*, the students affirm the authoritativeness and autonomy of the discipline of design, with roots in the memory of design – which allows us to say, with Fallan (2013: 13–19), that the history of graphic design today is 'a service subject in design education and an academic research subject'.

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Daciano da Costa: Protagonist of Portuguese Furniture Design

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Daciano da Costa / Portuguese office furniture / Furniture industry / Workplace / Interior design

The decades of the 1960s and 1970s were determinant in the development of office furniture design in Portugal. These decades of innovation and reference for Portuguese design were enhanced by the influence of "Geração Intercalar", as Sena da Silva called the generation of Portuguese designers whose works were recognized internationally. From this generation, Daciano da Costa (1939–2005) stands out as the protagonist of office furniture design.

This paper presents the analysis of some innovative projects of Daciano da Costa related to office furniture. It aims to contribute to clarifying how the designer influenced the design of office furniture in Portugal, stimulated change in the national industrial design paradigm and introduced a new design approach that favoured a closer relationship between furniture and the workplace.

Introduction

The 1960s and 1970s in Portugal are marked by the desire for change. A new generation begins to shake the country and this is also reflected in the change of paradigm in industry and design. During the dictatorship in Portugal, Daciano da Costa created innovative projects that contributed to the development of versatile workplaces. However, what really sets him apart from his contemporaries, the so-called "Geração Intercalar", according to Sena da Silva (1926–2001), is the coherence throughout his creative journey, the exemplary connection he established with industry and how he incorporated the culture and ideologies of his time into his projects. The workplace is valued and placed at the same level of comfort as a home space. How did Daciano's projects influence the design of office furniture in the 1960s and 1970s in Portugal? What is their role in changing the national industrial design paradigm and the definition of Portuguese office furniture design?

In this context, special emphasis is given to the clear influence of Daciano da Costa on Portuguese office furniture design, highlighting some of his most outstanding projects. This paper aims to interpret Daciano's most paradigmatic designs of office furniture from the analysis of the following: 1) those most notable in Portugal in the 1960s and 1970s; 2) those that most influenced the following decades; 3) those which more greatly stimulated a change in the national industrial design paradigm, and 4) those that favour more a humanized relationship in the experience of furniture in the workplace. This investigation is based on a critical review of literature and on the construction of the argument that contributes to highlight the prominence of Daciano da Costa in the design of office furniture, which has a diffuse place in the history of Portuguese furniture design.

The impact of the 'Geração intercalar' on Portuguese Design

The 1960s and 1970s in Portugal were decades of change and innovation in Portuguese furniture design. In the studios of architects such as Frederico George (1915–1994) and Francisco Conceição Silva (1922–1982) and in the studio SPN[1] (Secretariado da Propaganda Nacional), directed by António Ferro (1895–1956), the importance of design for the industrial, social and cultural development of society was already noticed in the 1950s. Therefore, designers were formed outside the regular academic education context. However, in the furniture industry, both in some artisanal production workshops and in the factories where manual labour still prevailed, they were also progressively realizing that the era was one of change (Cruz and Pombo, 2018: 2).

The generation of designers, in the 1960s and 1970s, whose works of Portuguese furniture design stand out, plays a fundamental role in the innovation of national industrial design. This generation, Sena da Silva (2001: 14) refers to as "representatives of a 'Geração Intercalar' that could be placed next to the one that produced the Portuguese World Exhibition in 1940, the Portuguese pavilions at the Paris Exhibition in 1937 and the New York Exhibition in 1939. Not to mention other initiatives to promote the *Estado Novo*" (Silva, 2001: 14).

In 1940, the Ministry of Public Works created the Commission for Acquisition of Furniture (CAM) with the purpose of conducting the process of acquiring furniture for public buildings and monuments of the country. The orders for furnitures for the state boosted and stimulated industry and economy. Some companies involved in the manufacture and sale of furniture were: Olaio (founded in 1886), Fábrica de Portugal (founded in 1890), MIT (Martins & Irmãos Teixeira, founded in 1920), Adico (founded in 1920),[2] FOC (Fábrica Osório Jerónimo de Castro, founded in 1930) and SEEL (Sociedade Equipamento de Escritório, founded in 1942)[3] (Martins, 2014: 10–11). These new economic conditions created new possibilities for design, particularly in the field of office furniture, as compa-

[1] SPN—Secretariado da Propaganda Nacional (Secretariat of National advertising)—created in 1933, was the public body responsible for political advertising, ideological, public information and media, tourism and cultural activities during the Estado Novo regime in Portugal. In 1944, it was renamed SNI—Secretariado Nacional de Informação (National Information Office), and in 1968 SEIT—Secretaria de Estado da Informação e Turismo (Secretariat of State for Information and Tourism.

[2] MIT (Martins & Irmãos Teixeira) founded in 1920 in Felgueiras, became known as MdL (Metalúrgica da Longra) in 1961.

[3] SEEL founded in 1942 in Lisbon, changed its name to Seldex in 1969. Later, Seldex joins Cortal and originates Cortal–Seldex SA, which in 1991 was acquired by North American Haworth adopting the designation Cortal – Seldex – Haworth.

nies adapted their production to the needs of public spaces, their biggest customer. The contribution of architects with a connection to the field of design was fundamental for the furniture industry to be able to adapt its production to serve the requirements of contemporary architecture (Tostões, 2000: 62).

The transition from the 1950s to the 1960s was marked by the beginning of a disciplinary awareness of design with a "new modernism" that tried to oppose the tradition and modernism of the Estado Novo. As Victor Almeida (2009) claims, "designers José Espinho (1917–1973), Victor Palla (1922–2006), Sebastião Rodrigues (1929–1997), António Garcia (1925–2015), António Sena da Silva (1926–2001), Daciano da Costa (1939–2005) and José Cruz de Carvalho (1930–2015) can be considered representative figures of the late meeting of Portuguese design with modernism" (Almeida, 2009: 30). In fact, these protagonists of the "Geração Intercalar" greatly contributed to the recognition of design in Portugal and are considered the first Portuguese designers of the twentieth century.

This generation, in some ways, also changed the paradigm of office furniture. In addition to the usual pieces of office furniture: desk and chair, more ergonomic pieces were designed for meeting and socializing spaces, reception and leisure at work. Relevant are, in particular, the following works of representatives of 'Geração Intercalar': Sena da Silva's collaboration with the companies Olaio, Metalúrgica da Longra and FOC; António Garcia's for Sousa Braga e Filhos; José Espinho's for Olaio, José Cruz de Carvalho's for Altamira and Interforma and the collaboration of Daciano da Costa with Metalúrgica da Longra which lasted more than 30 years (Cruz and Pombo, 2018: 9).

The participation of designers in designing equipment for public spaces (schools, universities, museums, theatres, hospitals, administrative services) and some private ones (hotels, cafes, banks, companies) created a new dynamic that allowed integration of the specificity of the design project in the context of the total design. The design is developed under the concept of global or total work, with an approximation between the Design project and the Architecture project, corresponding to the designs of the modernist utopia, reinterpreting the *Bauhaus Gesamtkunstwerk* (total work of art) (Tostões, 2000). The adoption of these principles, already introduced in the 1950s in Portugal, became truly visible from the 1960s on large projects carried out by the "Geração Intercalar".

Fig. 1 *Cortez* (1962). Source: Bártolo, J.; Ferrão, L. (2016). *Daciano da Costa: Coleção Designers Portugueses*. Matosinhos: Cardume Editores: 36.

The office furniture by Daciano da Costa produced by Metalúrgica da Longra

Faced with the regression observed in the market in the late 1950s, with the drastic reduction of orders placed, in 1962 the industrialist Fernando Seixas invited Daciano da Costa to cooperate with Metalúrgica da Longra, convinced of the importance of design for the regeneration of production and for the survival of the company. Metalúrgica da Longra, founded in 1920 in Felgueiras, produced hospital furniture, but since the 1930s was also focused on the production of office furniture, somehow anticipating the growing importance of the sector in the country. The success of the *Cortez* line, created in the first year of collaboration with Metalúrgica da Longra, lasted for about three decades,[4] and the strategic and innovative vision of businessman Fernando Seixas and Daciano da Costa, who was collaborating with the company from 1962 to 1993, generated several lines of office furniture.

Throughout the 30 years of his collaboration with Longra, he designed several office furniture systems for serial production, among which are the lines: *Prestige* (1962), *Cortez* (1962), *TL* (1964), *DFI* (1971), *Mitnova* (1975), *Logos* (1986), *Metropolis* (1988), and *Praxis* (1990). From these lines, we will analyse the most paradigmatic in Portugal, taking into account the industrial paradigm shift and the formal characteristics which bring the working space closer to the domestic one.

Cortez (Fig. 1) stands out as it triggered a shift of paradigm for Metalúrgica da Longra that ended the production of copied models and promoted individual design adapted to the context of industrial production. To ensure the feasibility of the project and the mechanical strength, a formal research process was carried out, from wooden models to tests on sheet metal. The constructional complexity of the line was a consequence of the formal intention of creating objects that seemed discontinuous, to create the sensation that it was not a workspace. The fragility transmitted by the suspended drawer blocks and retreated feet of desks emphasized this idea (Martins, 2001: 252). The name of the line has its origin in the nickname of one of the founders and owner of Metalúrgica da Longra, Francisco Cortez Pinto, but also in the word "cortês" (courteous), which is the relation that it creates between user and space (Ferrão, 2011: 30–31). This line of metal constructions, apart from the innovative character at industrial level, revealed the transition of a series of trends that generally arose only in domestic furniture to office furniture. The comfort provided by the finishing and

[4] Data up to 1983, announce the units produced: 60,400 secretaries, 17,000 meeting tables, 18,300 cabinets, 93,000 chairs. In: Martins, João Paulo (coordenação), "Linha Cortez", in *Daciano da Costa, designer*, Lisboa, Fundação Calouste de Gulbenkian, 2001, pp. 252–253.

Fig. 2 *Dfi* (1971). Source: Bártolo, J.; Ferrão, L. (2016). *Daciano da Costa: Coleção Designers Portugueses.* Matosinhos: Cardume Editores: 62.

materials: table tops and panels made in plywood or teak wood, reveal the understanding of the sensorial dimensions of furniture as well as the attention to human body scale given by the appropriate dimensions (Martins, 2001: 252–253). According to the prosthetic view of design by Adrian Forty (1993), prostheses are not necessarily a literal extension of the body, they may also be considered symbolic prolongations. Somehow, the office furniture designed by Daciano functions as an extension of the body, offering comfort to the user. The workplace is valued, placed at the same level as the domestic space. The aim was put on creating spaces of greater convenience that contribute to the well-being of the user.

Prestígio, built of metal tubing with lined seats, consists of sets of chairs and tables to be used in reception and waiting areas of public and administrative spaces, as well as working areas in offices. However, what really makes it paradigmatic is that it was created with the intention of saving the division of Metalúrgica da Longra which produced hospital furniture and was not receiving orders. Nowadays, Prestígio and Cortez lines are currently still in use in some workplaces, which also demonstrates its resistance and timelessness (Bártolo and Ferrão, 2016: 57–58).

In 1971, the need to create an affordable line for serial production was imposed by the increased demand resulting from the expansion of the sector in the country. The *Dfi* (Fig. 2) line was created to respond to these demands. The name itself signifies challenge, "Dfi" from French *défi* (challenge). This office furniture system was designed to respond to various tasks and equipment required by the user during the working day. Computers and printers began to invade the spaces of work and determined new requirements both in the way of working and in the compatibility of the furniture. The chrome and linear tubular parts that distinguished and characterized the system supported the tops and modules of drawers in various materials and colours, giving lightness to the set of furniture (Martins, 2001: 266–267).

The furniture lines designed in the 1960s and 1970s influenced in some way the lines created in the decades that followed. The *Metrópolis* line (1988) (Fig. 3) is an example of how past experience met with innovation. This furniture for administration offices was designed from luxurious and expensive materials, e.g. hand-crafted tops from walnut root. The structural elements are constructed from sheet metal and painted according to the aesthetic standards of the automotive industry, without regard to the conventional higher-level office furniture present in the market (Colejo, 2011: 256). Daciano da Costa catalyses all his experience as in no other line of furniture in series done before, and this marks a turning point in his career. According to João Paulo Martins he "involved himself in an exercise in pure formal play, which is not indifferent to the postmodernist wave that was then felt" (Martins, 2001: 275).

The office furniture projects by Daciano da Costa for Metalúrgica da Longra made history due to their diversity and number. This success was an outcome of businessman Fernando Seixas' confidence in his work and his global design approach that increases the close relationship between the furniture and the workspace, making it more humanized.

Innovative global design projects

In the 1960s, Design was characterised by its relationship between Interior Architecture and the Architecture project, one of the areas where the work of Daciano da Costa stands out. His exemplary design experience at Metalúrgica da Longra (between 1962 and 1992) allowed him to develop a keen sense of "system". The large interior projects for hotel developments and public buildings allowed him to carry out unique and unprecedented Global Design projects,

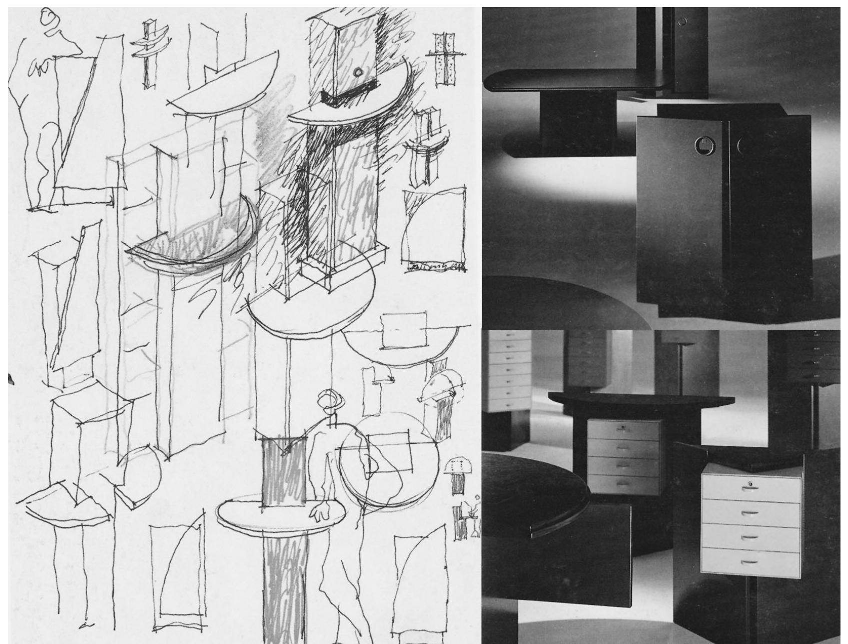

Fig. 3 *Metrópolis* (1988). The detail drawing on the left shows the study of how users use and enjoy furniture, which anticipates, in some way, the needs in a workplace. Source: Martins, J. P. (coord.) (2001). *Daciano da Costa, designer.* Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian: 275, 276.

such as the Teatro Villaret (1964), the Headquarters and Museum of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation (1966-69), the Hotel Alvor-Praia (1967), the Casino Estoril (1968), the Portugal Pavilion in Osaka (1969–70) and the Documentation Center LNEC (1972), among many others (Tostões, 2000: 66).

In the process of designing the headquarters building and the museum of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation in Lisbon (Fig. 4), Daciano da Costa was responsible for the interior architecture and furniture of the library, cafeteria, lower lobby of the Museum, foyer, large auditorium bar, cabinets and small audience auditoriums. The furniture, created as an extension of space, following the structural principles defined from the rationalist geometry to the constructive rigour, was produced by Metalúrgica da Longra. The subtle enhancement of contrasts with the materials used conferred the desired exceptionality for this project. The experience and diversity of the professional qualification of Daciano da Costa from the most luxurious handicraft production to industrial production in series, allowed him to look for the peculiarities of the productive sector of the country and to explore new expressive forms in his projects. The fact that the industry was not very developed allowed him to confer to the industrial furniture the refinement of the artisanal production, as can be observed in this project for the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation (Martins, 2001: 132–135).

Fig. 4 The image above shows the reading room of the Library, left below the living area of the Management room and at the right below the dining room. Source: Martins, J. P. (coord.) (2001). *Daciano da Costa, designer.* Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian: 132, 137.

The TAP stores (1971–1986) (Fig. 5) were a long project that went beyond the architecture of interiors and design of furniture by including the placement of the logo in the room. The intention was to make the store a reference product as an object of architecture and design and contribute to creating a closer relationship between the airline and the public. The aluminium plate counters intended to allude to the formal language of the aircraft and, above all, the external signs meant to bring the city and the public closer to the store (Martins, 2001: 202).

These global projects demonstrate his ability to face complex projects and create furniture based on a space and its relationship with the user.

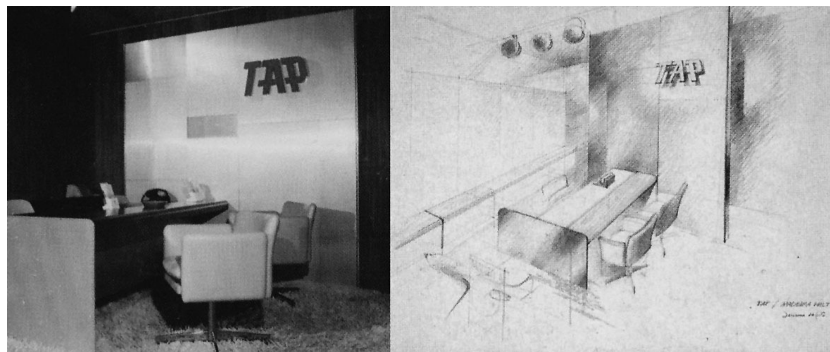

Fig. 5 TAP store Hotel Madeira Hilton in Funchal. (1971). The graphite drawing on the right shows the detail with which Daciano's project foresees the global contextualization of furniture and equipment in space. Source: Martins, J. P. (coord.) (2001). *Daciano da Costa, designer.* Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian: 202.

The "drawing of detail"

The professional activity of Daciano da Costa developed around the "drawing of detail" in architecture, interiors, objects and consequent relationships established among them. This overall idea, seen through the drawing, anticipates the specificities of the project. As a principle, the designer argued that each function can be fulfilled in different ways, depending on the contexts that justify them (Martins, 2001: 79–84). "The society always lives surrounded by objects. A collection of objects expresses the technological development of a human group, the ecological conditions it supports, and the system of social relations that it practices" (Costa, 1998: 13). Furniture and objects must be adapted to the contemporary needs of society and to the function they intend to perform.

This global consistency is reflected not only in the environments he created, as in the products designed for a particular space, but also for products originally intended for mass production, which were idealized and designed for a specific context. In the office furniture he designed for Metalúrgica da Longra, this global coherence is what differentiates furniture designed for collective workspaces, for office cabinets, for receptions, waiting areas or other types of interior environments. This imaginary space based on contemporary needs is fundamental throughout the design process and is reflected in drawings and models of Daciano da Costa.

For Daciano, the workplace beyond being functional has to be experiential, it is necessary to find relations of convergence between the domestic and work space. The user being the protagonist of the space, one's attitude should not change when leaving work for public spaces or for home: "the end of the work day cannot be a 'liberation'!" (Costa, 1998: 71–72).

With the coherence that characterized the creative vision for his office furniture projects, Daciano da Costa is able to propose objects in accordance with the architecture, encouraging the harmonious experience of collective and individual workplaces. As proposed by the French anthropologist Marc Augé, "if a place can be defined as a place with identity, relation and history, a space that cannot

be defined as a place with identity, neither as relational nor as historical, will define a non-place" (Augé, 1994: 83). Feeling a space and experiencing the environment's atmosphere asks for an interaction between the individual and the place. The potential to feel and experience space and environment changes with the use of material resources, textures, reflection of light and propagation of the sound (Zumthor, 2006: 29). According to the Finnish architect Juhani Pallasmaa, architecture creates multi-sensory experiences, the quality of interiors, materials and scale can be felt and are equally experienced by the eye, ear, nose, skin, tongue, skeleton and muscle (Pallasmaa, 1996: 41). Design, as well as architecture, promotes sensory and emotional experiences.

The projects by Daciano da Costa reflecting the ability to create furniture taking into account the context, generated spaces of work with identity. The designer was able to use different project languages following national and international influences, respective to the core of each project.

Conclusion

The 'Geração Intercalar', in partnership with the industries, played a fundamental role in the history of Portuguese office furniture design. The openness of the state to the need for an investment in design for industry and the complicity as well as visionary response of businessmen are also central to the evolution of office furniture design.

The office furniture designed by Daciano da Costa, produced by Metalúrgica da Longra, stands out in the global design approach that promotes a close relationship between furniture and working areas, making it more humanized. His complicity with the context and ability to draw the detail in relation to furniture and space, taking into account the diverse needs of the user, allowed him to create scenarios beyond the reality of his time. Moreover, he even anticipated the design of furniture to respond to future needs, namely technological development.

The protagonism of Daciano da Costa in the design of office furniture complements the history of Portuguese furniture design, contributing to the wider knowledge of the history of ideas, materials and evolution of workplaces.

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Design and Design History in Post Brexit Britain: Looking Backwards, Looking Forwards

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Brexit / Tradition / Devolution / Design / Regions / UK nationalities

Consideration will be given to potential implications for design history and national design identity in Britain brought about by Brexit (Britain's decision to exit the EU). Implicit in this are the views of Deyan Sudjic, Director of the Design Museum in London, who considered that 'there is no such thing as British design, only design in Britain' and those of Philip Long, Director of V&A Dundee, who suggested that whilst it may be 'false' to suggest that there is such a thing as 'Scottish' design, there is a Scottish genius for design. The on-going process of devolution in Scotland and Wales may offer new ways of considering design history in each of the home countries of the UK without subsuming all elements under the British, or often at times English, umbrella. As the most fully devolved country to date, Scotland will feature predominantly in this discussion; other considerations will be touched upon, such as the possibility of future regional devolution, as with the emerging 'Northern Powerhouse', a potentially significant economic force with 15 million inhabitants.

Introduction: Britain, Brexit and Devolution

In 2018, regions, peripheries, and national borders within the UK have taken on new resonances as Britain prepares to leave the European Union in March 2019, a process widely known as 'Brexit'. Britain is a United Kingdom insofar as it comprises four 'home countries': Scotland, England, Wales and Northern Ireland. Scotland already has its own Parliament and Wales its National Assembly and both have the power to make laws, agree taxes and protect the interests of their citizens; and further devolution remains on the agenda. In 1997, following a Scottish referendum in which the Scottish electorate voted for devolution, the country's primary legislative powers were first set in place in 1999. Similarly, a Welsh referendum was held in 1997 but with a range of secondary legislative powers set in place in 1998 and elections to the Welsh Assembly were first held in 1999. More recently further devolutionary powers have been ceded by central government through the Scotland Act 2016 and the Welsh Act 2017.

Symbolically and materially these evolving devolutionary powers have been embraced in the commissioning of new buildings for the Scottish Parliament and the Welsh Assembly; also in the development of their own emergent national policies in relation to design, innovation and the creative industries, although these are considerably stronger and more developed in Scotland than those in Wales. A recent addition to the UK devolutionary debate has been the idea of a 'Northern Powerhouse', a regional rather than national setting. This idea was first articulated in 2014 by the Chancellor of the Exchequer George Osborne in a speech in Manchester, one of England's major northern cities with an industrial heritage of more than two centuries. Osborne's Powerhouse was conceived as a strategy to boost economic growth and regional regeneration in the North of England. As a region it was felt to have suffered disproportionately from a lengthy period of industrial and economic decline, unlike the more prosperous South East with its higher wages, more fertile climate for innovation, infrastructural improvements and inward investment. It is argued that just as art, culture, design and innovation had underpinned the economic success of northern industries in 19th century Victorian England, there is a legacy that in the 21st century has the capacity to build a thriving economy of the future attuned to the needs of the times. It may be noted that a significant proportion of the pro-Brexit, anti-European vote is linked to regions of industrial decline yet closely associated with the notion of 'making Britain great again'.

In terms of post-Brexit futures, in the 2016 British Referendum on whether to remain in, or leave, the EU, Scotland voted decisively to remain, Wales comparatively narrowly to leave, and England decisively to leave. The North East in particular (a significant regional constituent of the Northern Powerhouse which also embraced the industrial cities of the North West) was one of the English regions to vote most decisively to leave. To convey something of the broad devolutionary framework, the populations of each of the home countries making up the UK: England 54 million, Scotland 5.4 million, Wales 3 million and Northern Ireland 1.8 million. In terms of significance of scale the Northern Powerhouse region has a population of over 15 million and is a potentially powerful force when compared to Scotland or Wales. Whether regional identity will ever be sufficiently grounded to enable the writing of a distinctive and meaningful regional design history remains a question for the future.

Symbols of national and international intent: the Scottish Parliament and Welsh Assembly buildings. The political underpinnings of devolution in Scotland and Wales are manifest in the commissioning of their two emblematic seats of devolved democracy, the Scottish Parliament complex in Edinburgh, and the Welsh Assembly building on the waterfront in Cardiff. Both forward-looking buildings were commissioned from internationally renowned architects and also, through the deployment of indigenous materials and national motifs, have a subtle and sophisticated yet individual national flavour. The designs are also visual three-dimensional statements about democracy, modernity and the countries' projected place in the world, something that has assumed a sharper edge as time has passed. Later on, wider considerations of possible emerging histories of design, directly or indirectly impacted upon by the devolutionary process, will be considered although it should be strongly emphasised that this paper is at a very preliminary stage of developing a more fully sustainable argument.

The Scottish Parliament buildings in Edinburgh were commissioned from the late Catalonian architect Enric Miralles in 1998 with a brief to provide a main building that expressed civic importance, promoted new ways of working and embraced good environmental practice; in Miralles' words, the 'Parliament sits in the land and should reflect the land that it represents'. Following his early death in 2000 his wife, architect Benadetta Tagliabue, oversaw the project with its design and construction being carried out through collaboration between EMBT of Barcelona, RMJM of Edinburgh and Ove Arup, the project engineers. It was completed in 2004. Where possible Scottish materials were used, including Kemnay Granite, Caithness Stone and, for the floor of the Debating Chamber, Scottish Oak. As well as signage in Gaelic and English there are countless Scottish references in design and construction throughout the building, such as the Saltire or the forms of overturned boats along Scottish shorelines, as well as the building itself, a progressive statement of de-institutionalisation free from the heritage-laden associations of power at the Houses of Parliament in Westminster, London. As Jonathan Glancey, architecture and design correspondent for *The Guardian* newspaper, wrote in the year prior to the building's completion in the face of some controversy about the design:

> it needs to be completed to be seen. This is a rich, complex and crafted design, as much landscape as architecture, a building that will connect the city centre emotionally and physically to the hills beyond, expressing Edinburgh's embodiment of Scotland's political and cultural will (2003, 11 August).

In Cardiff the Richard Rogers Partnership (RRP) won the international competition for the design of the National Assembly of Wales (or Sennad in Welsh) in 1998. The Competition Jury, headed by former Labour Prime Minister at Westminster, Lord Callaghan (a Labour MP for Cardiff South for 42 years) selected the RRP design from a shortlist of six, seeing it as 'a symbol of Wales looking with confidence to the future, and as a new form of democracy of which the whole of Wales could be proud'. The brief had stipulated that it should last for at least 100 years, with renewable energy systems and strategies for sustainability, ease of access, and use of Welsh materials wherever possible. Due to the fine balance of Welsh political affiliations opinion was divided about the costs necessary to deliver a building of high quality at minimum costs (the costs were about 10% of those of the Scottish Parliament) and RRP were sacked from the project in 2001 but reinstated in 2003 and the building finally opened in 2006. The adventurous use of glass walls, 1000 metric tons of Welsh slate and Welsh oak were conducive to a feeling of an organic building endowed with a sense of place. RRP's concept of the building was a 'transparent envelope, looking outwards to Cardiff Bay and beyond, making visible the inner workings of the Assembly and encouraging public participation in the democratic process'. The spirit of openness and democracy was reflected in the open, glazed façade facing the Cardiff waterfront as well as in public access to the building where the electorate could view proceedings from the public galleries.

Scottish and Welsh Design

Scotland and Wales are also developing their own specific national policies in relation to design, innovation and the creative industries, although they are considerably further advanced in Scotland than in Wales. This may in part be due to the fact that the Scottish Parliament has the power to overturn existing UK legislation in many key areas not retained by central government, whereas the Welsh Assembly can only amend UK legislation. For the purposes of this discussion, just as research into the design practices and design history of individual countries – as, for example, those of the former Eastern Bloc or the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia – has given voice to new understandings of material culture, design and innovation in their comparatively recent independent settings, so in the UK more searching questions may begin to be posed about what Scottish or Welsh or even regional design histories, practices, politics and economics might really look and feel like if written from a distinctive, re-focused and freshly conceptualized perspective. Clearly the design historical roots of our home countries have a long history, whether in the crafts, engineering, textile, furniture, ceramic, industrial or other sectors of design activity.

V&A Dundee and Dundee, UNESCO City of Design. The commissioning of eminent Japanese architect Kenzo Kuma to design the distinctive V&A Dundee marks the museum as a global presence in a design-conscious city that has itself become prominent internationally through prestigious awards such as the UNESCO City of Design in 2014, a designation never previously awarded in the UK. The innovative, curvilinear V&A Dundee building, seen by Kuma as 'a dialogue between earth and water', is intrinsic to the city's long-term £1 billion Tay riverside redevelopment scheme

and central to the planned social and economic regeneration of the city. As such, it was doubtless an influential element of the successful bid for UNESCO City of Design. Like Miralles' Scottish Parliament complex, Kuma's museum design was a symbol of international and (Scottish) national standing, but also of the civic importance of Dundee's creative economy.

As briefly indicated, Dundee is widely recognised as a creative economy hub that enjoys high quality art and design education alongside ambitious civic strategies for the future. Within this context V&A Dundee has committed itself to play a role in many contemporary design initiatives, partnerships and the brokerage of business links, as well as to provide a fresh dimension to the history of Scottish design. The commitment of Scottish funding bodies to ensure the new museum's success is significant and has included Scottish Government, Creative Scotland, Scottish Enterprise, Dundee City Council, the University of Dundee, Abertay University Dundee, and the UK Government.

The Scottish Design Galleries at V&A Dundee

This overview of the V&A Dundee is in part speculative, being written three months before the opening. According to a number of press releases and media statements, the V&A Dundee's Scottish Design Galleries will contain 250 items and are conceived as a central focus of the new museum. They will include furniture, textiles, fashion, architecture, engineering and digital design with a major feature being 'The Mackintosh Oak Room'. This high quality example of Charles Rennie Mackintosh's work at his peak is now endowed with a particular resonance. Completed in 1908, only a year before the Mackintosh Library at the Glasgow School of Art, it takes on added significance emotionally and historically in the wake of the two devastating fires at the Glasgow School of Art in 2014 and 2018. V&A press releases and papers given by the inaugural Director state that these Scottish Design galleries will draw upon objects from the extensive V&A collections in London that, for the most part, have never been shown previously in Scotland and will tell the story of Scottish design from 1800 until the present day. This is even billed as the unknown history of Scottish design and so it will be interesting to see how this idea develops, given that the V&A Museum (London) did not have a clear centralised acquisitions policy for the collecting of contemporary design for the major part of the 20th century, that is from 1908 to the later 1980s. It has also been confirmed that the new museum will not be building up its own collections since this responsibility will remain in the V&A's (London) hands, perhaps raising some concerns about the extent to which V&A Dundee fits into a devolving Scotland rather than a colonial outpost of South Kensington, as in effect had been the case for the numerous art and design schools in towns and cities across Britain as part of the Victorian art and design education system overseen by 19th century arch design reformer Henry Cole and driving force behind the establishment of the V&A in London.

V&A Dundee Director, Philip Long and Senior Curator Joanna Norman are launching a book to coincide with the museum's opening in September 2018. *The Story of Scottish Design* (Long, 2018) has been planned as a survey of Scottish design from 1500 to the present day and is billed to explore, chronologically, more than 60 themes: 'from early manuscripts and vernacular furniture to urban planning, textile design, the emergence of videogame development in Dundee, and Scotland's role as a world leader in renewable technology development'. A number of well-known Scottish architects, designers, artists, and fashion designers also feature as figureheads who are deemed to continue to have a profound and creative influence on design history. To what extent it will, as the museum intends, show how Scotland's design 'reflects its history, politics and geography and explore how trade, fashion and migration have helped it achieve 'international impact' remains to be seen. It is a formidable task since the authors have little over 200 pages to achieve all of these demanding objectives, but hopefully this new contribution to the presentation of a Scottish design history in a devolutionary context will influence debate about what is meant by the term Scottish design. There are a significant number of excellent and engaging researchers and writers on various aspects of Scottish design, though most often such writing is concerned with individuals, groups, particular industries and crafts, and a variety of design media. There is, perhaps, a lesser amount of good design history writing in terms of Scottish politics, geography, trade or migration. In this respect the resources of the National Museum of Scotland in Edinburgh (reconceptualised by 2011 from the buildings of former Royal Museum (1854) and the Museum of Scotland (1998)) have a contribution to make. Amy Clarke has written about how this newly reconfigured museum 'communicates much about the evolution of Scotland's national identity and its relations with the world [and] Scotland's evolution from 19th century industrial powerhouse of the British Empire to the increasingly independent 'Enlightened' nation of today' (Clarke, 2016: 169).

Prior to its opening, V&A Dundee sought to publicise in advance its public offer in relation to contemporary design through what it termed a 'Design in Motion' initiative. In collaboration with Travelling Gallery (established in 1978 and funded by Creative Scotland) it took the form of a uniquely designed bus exhibition showcasing the work of seven designers using digital technology in a range of design disciplines that travelled around Scotland, including rural areas. The Head of Learning and Engagement at V&A Dundee related that there were 'some shining examples of how today's designers are using examples of the past to inspire the designs of the future'. Following on from this tasting menu of contemporary Scottish design prior to the museum's opening is the innovative idea that V&A Dundee will bring together designers and businesses thereby assisting in making

those businesses 'more profitable, more creative and more sustainable', perhaps sustained through residencies for businesses and designers. How this will work in practice remains to be seen but to assist in this more widely, as has been noted above, Dundee has for a while been one of the UNESCO group of 'creative cities' alongside Turin, Helsinki, Bilbao, Kobe, Shanghai, Berlin and Curitiba in Brazil. Additionally, for more than a decade Creative Dundee (established 2008) has also been consistent in drawing up a series of public sector policy strategy documents for the arts and culture strategy, from 2009 to 2014, launched in 2009, and the *Creative Industries Strategy* 2017–21, launched in 2017. From an educational perspective the Duncan of Jordanstone College of Art and Design at the University of Dundee has also played a leading role in a number of design research initiatives including leadership of *Design in Action* (DiA), a Knowledge Hub for the Creative Economy funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council and Creative Scotland, along with partners Scottish Enterprise, Creative Edinburgh, the Design Council and Design Informatics. This DiA initiative brought together a consortium of six Scottish universities and resulted in two Scottish Design Summits in 2014 and 2015[1] and the presentation of an Economic Showcase at the Scottish Parliament in late 2015.

Other cities in Scotland have also been recognised for the quality of their art, culture and creative economies, highlighting the quality of such approaches in a country with a population of only 5.5 million, only about a third of the size of that of the Northern Powerhouse first promoted in British government economic (and political) thinking in 2014, and under 10% of the population of England. Glasgow has been the only Scottish winner of the European Capital of Culture in 1990 and its economic, social and cultural value was recognised in a report of 2011 commissioned by Glasgow City Council, Creative Scotland and Glasgow Life. It found that around 30,000 people worked in the city's creative and cultural industries, a figure that represented one of the largest concentrations representing the creative industries outside London. Furthermore, whilst Dundee was receiving its plaudits from UNESCO in 2017, Edinburgh too found recognition in 2017 for its own creative economy in the European *Commission Cultural and Creative Cities Monitor* where it was ranked as the top city of its size in Europe (between 250,000 and 500,000 population). Some 168 cities were monitored in four size categories drawn from the 28 EU countries (plus Switzerland and Norway), amongst them Glasgow and Dundee.

The Northern Powerhouse, England

The idea of the Powerhouse came to the fore in 2016 with H.M. Treasury's publication of *Northern Powerhouse Strategy* in 2016 (Northern Powerhouse 2016), with a foreword by Philip Hammond, Osborne's successor as Chancellor of the Exchequer in which he wrote:

> Delivering this vision is not only crucial for the North, but for the whole of the UK's success. The north is home to 15 million people and over one million private sector businesses. If the Northern Powerhouse were a country it would be amongst the biggest economies in Europe. If we can make this region an economic powerhouse, the whole of the UK will benefit (*Northern Powerhouse*, 2016: 3).

The means of delivery followed Osborne's thinking: investing in the North's transport infrastructure and improving connections between and within the North's towns and cities; raising levels of education and skills across the region; ensuring that the North is an excellent place to start and grow a business; and investing heavily to unlock housing and enhance digital connectivity. There is also a clear endorsement of the importance of art and culture and place-making as key ingredients for developing regional identities. In order to deliver this it was decided to support regional cultural projects including the provision of £5 million for the 'Great Exhibition of the North' (GEN) hosted in Newcastle and Gateshead and £15 million for Hull's UK City of Culture in 2017. In addition to the £5 million for the 'Great Exhibition' the government has committed a further £15 million for a legacy fund to attract additional cultural investment in the Northern Powerhouse. The 'Great Exhibition of the North' runs from June to September 2018 and celebrates the art, culture and design of the North of England and involves three key venues: the Great North Museum, the widely known and established BALTIC Centre for Contemporary Art and Sage Gateshead as well as a further 30 venues and public spaces for displaying the North's achievements in art and culture, design and innovation. This paper was written before the exhibition opened and so it is impossible to draw any conclusions about impact.

Conclusion

There is insufficient space to do more than hover briefly over a range of possibilities concerning national design histories in the context of devolutionary Britain until its future place in a post-Brexit world is clarified. As indicated earlier, Deyan Sudjic, the Design Museum London's director, considered that it was 'apparent that design has become an endlessly mobile process. There is no *British* design; there is only design *in Britain*. For 20 years, it has been an extraordinarily fruitful place to be' (SUDJIC, 2009). Although clearly in many ways the case, particularly from a metropolitan perspective where international design festivals have proliferated and the designer workforce is rich in ethnic and cultural diversities, other significant political, social, cultural and economic considerations have emerged. Helpful to several dimensions of this debate has been Kjetil Fallan and Grace Lees-Maffei's book on *Designing Worlds: National Design Histories in an Age of Globalization* (FALLAN, 2016) where they write:

> Studies of the national in design must now place their subject within the contexts of the local, regional and global at once if they are to accurately

[1] The Knowledge Hub ended its funded programme in 2016.

> reflect the processes by which design is produced, mediated and consumed in our century (Fallan, 2016: 18).

Most notable has been the increasing significance of devolution, particularly in Scotland where the population voted decisively to remain in the EU – and devolutionary powers are increasing. The new V&A Dundee is to present its Scottish design galleries and further proposes the museum as partner to Scottish designers and businesses and there is still a considerable ambition to strengthen the creative economy in key cities such as Dundee, Glasgow, and Edinburgh. The fact that there is an international, even global, dimension to design activity in many countries should not be a deterrent to the possibilities of proposing of fresh ways in which national design histories of devolving Scotland and Wales – even of regions with devolved political powers, as might be the case in future years if the idea of a Northern Powerhouse lifts off – might be approached. It will of course be very difficult.

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Adding Value Through and To Design: Lessons from New Zealand Design Policy

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Design history / New Zealand / Design policy / Co-design

This paper examines three design policies in New Zealand between 1927 and 2003 which sought to promote indigenous and New Zealand design nationally and internationally, in order to assess relevant precedents should the present New Zealand government act on *The Value of Design* reports produced by the collective DesignCo in 2017. *The Value of Design* brings together private and public sector partners in a call to give design greater policy recognition, and goes some way to evaluating the economic impact of design within New Zealand. The paper argues there are valuable precedents to inform and develop *The Value of Design* initiative beyond the economic benefits if there is accorded greater recognition of critical histories of design in New Zealand, and attention to the public interest in environmental sustainability and wellbeing.

In 2017, DesignCo, a collective of four New Zealand tertiary design providers, New Zealand Trade & Enterprise and the Designers Institute of New Zealand with support from two regional councils, commissioned a report from PwC, which estimated that design contributed $10.1billion to New Zealand's GDP in 2016 (approximately 4.2% of total GDP, and equivalent to design's contribution to the UK economy). The release of *The Value of Design to New Zealand* report is at least the third time the New Zealand design community has attempted to influence political decision-makers about the value of design.

While this has been a remarkably successful strategy for the sciences, and STEM in particular, in the last 20 years in New Zealand, and elsewhere in the world, what can we learn from previous attempts about the inclusiveness and sustainability of these propositions in New Zealand? What part does art, craft, history, politics, ideology and indigenous knowledge, processes and practices play in these initiatives? Using Gui Bonsiepe's *Some virtues of design* as a starting point, this paper considers some of the values evident in, and absent from previous national design initiatives in New Zealand in order to speculate about values for New Zealand design in the 21st century.

In 2017, the national collective DesignCo published *The Value of Design to New Zealand*. It began with a Foreword by the then Minister of Finance, which acknowledged design's contribution to 'New Zealand's success as a diversified, resilient and growing economy' (2). DesignCo was initially formed as a national consortium in 2013, comprising the Designers Institute of New Zealand, the design schools of Massey University, Auckland University of Technology, Otago Polytechnic and Victoria University of Wellington, and New Zealand Trade & Enterprise's Better By Design programme, to develop an unsuccessful bid for funding for a Centre of Research Excellence (CoRE) in Design. In 2015, it was expanded to include the Auckland Co-Design Lab and Callaghan Innovation, and DesignCo re-focussed its attention on commissioning data on design that was not collected by any government agency with support from Auckland Tourism Events and Economic Development and the Auckland Design Office and the Wellington Regional Strategy Office.

DesignCo commissioned PwC to produce a conventional technical report on design's economic contribution to New Zealand, drawing on regional breakdowns of GDP and employment, but combined with an experimental taxonomy of design developed by a New Zealand design reference group, which identified 164 design processes, some of which were not exclusive to design (e.g. market research). Design was then mapped on to four levels consisting of nine design disciplines (design education, graphic design, innovation/invention, interactive design, motion design, product design, service design, spatial design and strategy), 29 market verticals, the four Double Diamond components and 164 design processes. The qualitative data about design in New Zealand was provided by kMatrix, a UK-based market research company.

The summary provides the raw statistics that design contributes an estimated $10.1b to NZ's GDP in 2016, 4.2% of the total (roughly equivalent to the United Kingdom's 4.1%, and larger than NZ agriculture's $8.1b), and 4.4% of total employment, but the commissioners are clear that the aim is to persuade the government to develop a national design strategy. Of the nine design disciplines, product and interactive accounted for 46% of contribution to national design GDP, while graphic and strategy accounted for 14% and 12% respectively (10). Employment, as applied to the Double Diamond, showed that 94% of employment was located in the Develop and Deliver phases. DesignCo made ten recommendations, based on the report around strategic leadership and infrastructure, supporting business, better public services, innovation, tertiary education, research and recognition, which included a national design strategy, Design Council, Chief Design Adviser to the Prime Minister and a dedicated design research fund.

The call to establish and fund 'a body similar to the UK Design Council' (12) interestingly precludes any acknowledgement of the successful New Zealand Industrial Design Council (1967–88), but local reference is made to the need for a Prime Minister's Design Prize and Chief Design Advisor, STEM, science and technology innovation, which clearly shows the degree to which (the politics of) science provided a model for the framing of the report. The 37-page booklet published in July is a little more explicit: 'if design was privileged even half as much as

science in the business growth agenda, design could become one of the most important sectors in the NZ economy and this country could be truly remarkable' (5). While both the PwC report and the DesignCo summary are clear about framing design in terms of its economic value in terms of a neoliberal economy, the recommendation to provide better public services through 'design-led service transformation in the public sector' (12) and the mention of 'social benefits' hints that other values may be at play here.

In homage to Italo Calvino's 1984 proposed Harvard lecture 'Six memos for the next millennium', designer and theorist Gui Bonsiepe wrote *Some virtues of design* in 1997 to reflect on the values of design for the then impending millennium. Bonsiepe concurs with Calvino in terms of the first value of Lightness, which Bonsiepe defines as 'lightness, wit and intelligence' (7) in design. His next five were:

- Intellectuality: 'readiness and courage to put into question the orthodoxies, conventions, traditions, agreed-upon canons of design—and not only of design' (10–11);
- Public Domain: commitment to public interest (13);
- Otherness: 'acceptance of other design cultures and its inherent values' [sic] (17);
- Visuality: 'recognition of visuality as a domain of cognition' (23); and
- Theory: concern and cultivation of theoretical interests with institutional support (26).

In this thoughtful essay, Bonsiepe seeks to provide the beginnings of a conversation for an operational critique of an imperial, globalising race for design competitiveness between first-world nations. While the June PwC report (2017) could be characterised as economically dry, the July DesignCo *The Value of Design to New Zealand* booklet (2017) at least demonstrates some recognition of Visuality in the way it uses colourful information design to communicate the key findings of the formal report (see Figs. 1 & 2). However, Figure 2 graphically communicates New Zealand's lack of investment in design research. There is also some recognition of Otherness, with the inclusion of an interview with Desna Whaanga-Schollum, the Chairperson of Ngā Aho, a national network of Māori design professionals, where she discusses the value of Matauranga Māori (Māori worldview) and Te Ao Māori (the Māori world, both tangible and intangible).

However, in keeping with the conference theme, this paper will consider how the history of design policy in New Zealand has the capacity to serve as a learning tool to contribute to an awareness of the important values of design in the future. I will consider early formative attempts to establish national design frameworks in New Zealand, including the School of Māori Arts & Crafts (1927–37), the establishment of the

Fig. 1 Key economic findings from *The Value of Design* report (DesignCo 2017: 12–13).

New Zealand Industrial Design Council (1967–88), and the Design Taskforce (2002–3) and Better by Design, to identify some values which might leaven the economic propositions put forward in the 2017 *The Value of Design to New Zealand* (PwC, 2017; DesignCo, 2017).

I have argued that international industrial exhibitions between 1865 and 1925, begun with provincial and commercial interests to the fore, culminated in a strategy for advertising a coherent image and brand for the nation based around tourism rather than extractive industries, as well as exposing New Zealand manufacturers to international developments in design and industry (Waite, 2016). The Dunedin exhibitions in particular were remarkably successful in providing tangible, productive and projective vistas that sustained industrial and social infrastructure of cities and regions well into the twentieth century. However, as Greenhalgh (1988) has argued, they performed an important critical function in terms of raising manufacturing standards by national and international benchmarking, encouraging competition through awards and prizes, and the promotion of design education to support communication and product development. However, the development of professional bodies, even in the case of architecture, did not emerge until the middle of the twentieth century, due to provincialism, competing international organisations, and a small and distributed population.

The one exception was the Māori School of Arts and Crafts established in Rotorua in 1927, which ran for over a decade, produced 21 meeting houses, 18 further carved buildings and its 27 graduates went on to train the next generation of carvers. It is notably absent from New Zealand design histories, but as Conal McCarthy (2014) has recently argued, there is 'abundant evidence of Māori agency in facilitating the widespread interest in native design in New Zealand', and furthermore that Māori politicians like Āpirana Ngata 'used arts and crafts as a political tool, with some success, in the struggle to advance Māori causes' (60). McCarthy goes on to explain how '[t]his indigenous ontology [...] refuses the dichotomy of subject/object, human/non-human' (63), and Māori production of taonga (cultural treasure, property) embraced both artefacts and the practices and traditions associated with them.

The Second World War contributed to the closure of the School, if not its practices, but the return of servicemen and the changed conditions of women during the war saw a post-war embrace of national design,

Fig. 2 New Zealand design employment figures mapped onto the Double Diamond, showing the opportunity for design research, in *The Value of Design* report (DesignCo 2017: 12–13).

informed by international precedents. In Auckland, the Design Guild was established in 1949 to exhibit members' work, while the Visual Arts Association in the South Island's Dunedin focussed on consumers to encourage appreciation of good design, both local and international (Smythe, 2011: 113; Thompson, 2008: 239). Almost simultaneously in 1959, the Design Association of New Zealand was set up in Christchurch while the New Zealand Society of Industrial Designers was established in Auckland (Thompson 2010: 51; Smythe 2011: 113). These organisations were instrumental in convincing the Secretary of the Department of Industries and Commerce to pass the Industrial Design Act in 1966, and establish arguably New Zealand's most successful national design organisation, the New Zealand Industrial Design Council [nzidc]. While the Government's focus on manufacturing and engineering at the expense of adequate professional design representation limited its activities, its impact came through creating a community of professional and critical design discourse through its broad-ranging journal *Designscape*, published between 1969 and 1983. The Council also introduced a Designmark Award for well designed New Zealand products, and a Prince Philip Award for New Zealand Industrial Design—some 13 years after a similar award was launched by its counterpart in Australia. Looking to neighbouring countries like Australia and within the country's own region within the South Pacific was one of the obvious weaknesses in this particular national strategy.

Christopher Thompson's excellent 2011 article "Design promotion in New Zealand: Historical perspectives on the 2003 Design Taskforce Report" in *The National Grid* demonstrates both the value of critical design histories and the continued importance of publications, like *The National Grid*, willing to support such critical design discourse. Thompson argued that the 2003 Report, which lead to the establishment of Better by Design in New Zealand the following year, was 'an extraordinary denial of history' in the way that the report considered 'the absence of a history of design in New Zealand was a positive attribute' (50). Thompson also details how many of the Report's objectives were often replicating the discourse that had lead to the formation of the nzidc in 1967, including conferences of design and business leaders, and auditing and mentoring to help businesses improve their design capability. What differed was the depth of research informing these debates.

The nzidc was almost a decade in gestation, driven initially by a cross-section of the design community from across the country, but its primary advocate inside government was the economist and Department of Industries and Commerce [DoIC] civil servant Dr William Sutch, who had become aware of the activities of the British Council of Industrial Design during New Zealand trade negotiations in London in 1958 (Thompson, 2008: 256–7). In the 1959 DoIC annual report, Sutch reported instigating systematic research into industrial design as one of four core strategies to assist industrial development in New Zealand, and argued for a synthetic role for a design institute which could integrate the knowledge and practices of manufacturers, design and research organisations. The research was presented in the form of detailed briefing papers for the 1960 Industrial Development Conference and the 1963 Export Development Conference, where there was wide representation for the intended, and ultimately receptive audience of manufacturers and exporters. Simultaneously, emergent design organisations organised popular exhibitions of design, as well as a nationwide lecture tour by Colin Barrie, the Director of the Industrial Design Council of Australia (Smythe, 2011: 172–75). The establishment of the Australian counterpart in 1958 provided a local comparative and competitive model, and design institutes from a further eight countries, from Europe, India and Canada, were included in the government survey (Thompson, 2008: 294). This extensive review and Sutch's persistent advocacy, lead to the establishment of an Industrial Design Act in 1966 and the nzidc in 1967.

By comparison, *Success by design* (inz, 2003) drew its data from only two reports, one commissioned from the New Zealand Institute of Economic Research and the other from a consultancy firm (Thompson, 2010: 51), which drew heavily on almost exclusively British design consultancy studies. It included a weak anecdotal case study of Nokia in Finland, and five national case studies of design-led export success, although as Michael Smythe (2011: 353) pointed out the two most prominent examples, the Fisher & Paykel DishDrawer and the Formway Life chair, were far from 'overnight successes', but based on long-term investment in research and development and strategic planning. Thompson also identifies the Taskforce's major failure as its inability 'to quantify the benefits that accrue from the use of design other than in the broadest sense' (2010: 58). However, the Taskforce Report's most successful contribution was the establishment of Better by Design, which mentors businesses to improve their design capability.

This is done through a tripartite approach of co-funded partnering with New Zealand design companies to gain customer insights into export markets, an annual CEO Summit, and the subsidy of invitation-only international study tours. The three current case studies currently on their website (NZTE, 2017) identify the value of a human-centred design approach that emphasises the values of customer insights and rapid prototyping, but this has largely been focused on well established businesses. This elite approach is clearly beneficial for those companies which can access it, but its narrow export focus does little to communicate the wider cultural values of design, or even its application at national or regional level.

The Value of Design to New Zealand report seeks concerted policy action to consolidate design activity in and for New Zealand. Its real strength is in the collaboration behind DesignCo, in that it brings together the major professional body of professional designers, the Designers Institute of New Zealand, New Zealand's economic development and trade promotion agency, New Zealand Trade & Enterprise, the Crown entity Callaghan Innovation, local government and some, but not all tertiary design education providers. It does address some of the deficiencies identified by Thompson (2010) in *Success by design* (INZ, 2003) in that it offers a more nuanced definition of design that is not solely disciplinary, and is informed by a reference group of design practitioners. It has also evaluated the economic benefits of design, but has more work to do in terms of mapping and detailing its impact across the country and in the regions in particular.

Christopher Thompson argued that 'by identifying design as a local matter, the forces that formed the NZIDC defined a threshold moment in the cultural history of New Zealand' (2008: 235). If this new proposition is to be taken up by the New Zealand government and a new threshold established, strategies that informed the development of the NZIDC are clearly relevant. Government involvement in the coordination, communication and synthesis of national and international design information in more accessible and engaging ways, such as that demonstrated by *Designscape* in its original manifestation, will be essential, as well as a more inclusive understanding of indigenous knowledge and agency, as outlined by McCarthy. There is also clearly a need for a broad-ranging analysis of comparative international models, including regional ones like Design in Europe. There is also an opportunity to look at regional synergies in Australia and the Asia-Pacific. Already, the presentation of *The Value of Design to New Zealand* findings at the National Design Summit, held as part of the Sydney Design Festival in 2018, has lead to an agreement to initiate a similar report for Australia, which is outlined in the *Australian design strategy 2.0* (GDA, 2018).

These examples demonstrate that a more robust critical history of New Zealand design, informed by contemporary theory and cognisant of the value of craft as well as strategy, product and process, and which acknowledges the contribution of a more holistic Māori worldview that recognises inherent value in the relationships formed between objects and people might add cultural value to the economic arguments in the 2017 *The Value of Design to New Zealand* reports. DesignCo's initial focus on the main centres of Auckland and Wellington will need to be expanded to include a wider and more diverse representation of both design producers and consumers in New Zealand, as well as existing international design networks to ensure a less provincial approach. Finally, if this flax roots co-design is to have an impact beyond the profession and industry, there will be need to be incorporation of Bonsiepe's values of Intellectuality and the Public Domain, such that a more demonstrated commitment to public interest in terms of sustainment (Fry, 2009) and quality of life will be essential.

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Exhibition Structures: Displaying Portugal

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Design history / Exhibition events / 1930s / Image / Portugal

International exhibition structures always represent an important benchmark in the image of each country. In this sense, the objective is to study that concept in the context of the representation of Portugal in the 1930s, specifically the 1937 International Exhibition of Paris and the 1939 New York World's Fair, as the first exhibitions organized by the Totalitarian Portuguese Regime of the Estado Novo (New State), from a methodological point of view. The existing bibliography on this subject was analyzed and these ephemeral structures studied according to the following topics: social political framework, communication, equipment and protagonists. The exhibition structures stemmed from a multidisciplinary context whose global project incorporated architects, decorators, product designers, graphic designers and plastic artists. Hence, the connections among these different areas of knowledge, as well as the ability to integrate them in the 1930s in Portugal is also one of the objectives of this study, besides understanding the meaning of those structures for Portuguese design. Subsequently it was concluded that despite the seemingly common goals for both exhibitions, the results were different due to the program imposed by the Portuguese political system of the Estado Novo.

Introduction

Correlating history and design, this article discusses the manifestations of Portuguese design exhibitions based on the 1937 Paris International Exposition and the 1939 New York World's Fair. Those two events were selected due to the fact they were both international exhibitions organized by the Estado Novo regime and the Portuguese National Secretariat for Information, Popular Culture and Tourism (SNI) to create an 'adequate' image to display in the international arena. This aspect was generalized in the 1930s, characterized by a new understanding of ephemeral spaces[1] for interior design and communication design, and also by the use of those exhibitions to convey a powerful political image linked to a hegemonic ideological message (Acciaiuoli, 2000). António Ferro (1895–1956) was the person responsible for the two exhibitions and Director of the Secretariat of National Propaganda (SPN). The purpose of the SPN propaganda program was to design a legitimizing political message, translating the thoughts of the celebrated leaders and ideals of the time, such as Mussolini (Italy) and Hitler (Germany) and subsequently implementing them onto Portuguese ideology. SPN propaganda's scope included staging abroad, in international exhibitions, as a means of national political legitimacy (Acciaiuoli, 2000) and as a discourse of power, bearing in mind that through World War Two (1939–1945, with related conflicts beginning earlier in 1937), Portuguese interests would be best defended with a neutral position, which the Portuguese Head of State Salazar did manage to adopt and keep, thus safeguarding the Portuguese overseas territories coveted by the contenders.

Regarding bibliographical work, there are chapters on design history studies in Portugal which address exhibition spaces, namely by Rui Santos (1997) and Helena Souto (2009); and other publications subsequent to that event. In parallel, the master's dissertations on the Portuguese participation in the universal/international exhibitions of the 19th century, by Alcina Pato (2013), Marisa Rodrigues (2013) and Teresa Neto (2016). Considering such documents, this article targets the reconstitution of a history of the events in a design perspective, since the repositioning of an object, according to Richard Buchanan (1998), proposes a thinking context and orientation, and its application as a solution in a new scenario generates a new perception of reality and provides a new path to be explored. It is precisely this notion that this article intends to expose, distinguishing the exhibition events of 1937 and 1939 as first steps towards the implementation of design exhibitions in Portugal in a more sustained way, assuming that any design process is both a creative process and a problem-solving process (Lobach, 1976).

The Exhibitions and the Estado Novo

One of the initial impulses was linked to the Estado Novo's commitment to promote international relations through participation in International Exhibitions. The purpose of these exhibitions was to showcase new technological and artistic productions, ranging from the presentation of works of art to architecture. At that time, and later, in the name of progress, many nations attempted to develop modernist forms in their pavilions of architecture and design.

However, the interest in disseminating a national identity led to the use of forms, devices and ornaments specific to the national heritage (Neto, 2016: 21). In Portugal, the task of building an image of the merits of the Estado Novo and the virtues of Salazar was entrusted to António Ferro due to his role as SPN director and the need for Portugal to affirm its image as a nation. This cultural propagandistic task of the regime was conferred precisely to the SPN in 1933 and later shifted to the National Secretariat for Information, Popular Culture and Tourism (SNI) in 1944. Through Portuguese culture, information and social leisure, the SPN was expected to shape "new men", assuming the values of the Estado Novo political regime: God, Fatherland, Authority, Family and Work (Caldeirão, 2013: 21).

[1] Term already in use during the 1900 Universal Exposition held in Paris.

In order to understand the relationship between international exhibitions and Portugal's participation, it is crucial to highlight António Ferro as "the great mentor of these services" (Marcelo, 2010: 53). One of the assets of António Ferro and ultimately for the SPN was supported in its aesthetic perspective, allowing many consecrated and emerging artists to obtain support by ordering their works. With no exception, Portugal also had an authoritarian regime and the Salazar regime also used art for propaganda purposes and prestige building. In order to carry out this propaganda, António Ferro would have to create "a possible coherence between the propagandist needs of power and the design of aesthetic and artistic lines" (Santos, 2008: 59).

Modernism brought a distinctive style with an interesting aesthetic content, but the "Politics of the Spirit" was not asserted by supporting the arts linked to culture. On the contrary, it relied on a [...] paternalistic discourse of the Estado Novo, focused on reason, method and Christian doctrine" (Marcelo, 2010: 54). The objectives of this political ideology were "the creation of a nationalist art of enhancing the aesthetic standards of society, raising the cultural standard of the people and providing the artists within this scope of interpretation of art, an atmosphere in which it is easy for them to create" (Marcelo, 2010: 54).

Portuguese Participation in the 1937 Paris Exhibition

Participation in the exhibitions was a cultural initiative undertaken by the Estado Novo which obtained an important return in terms of image and impact near the general public opinion. Those events publicized and promoted the country and resulted in opportunities to expose Portuguese products and also an opportunity for the created teams to present their work. Subsequently, there was a progressive approximation of design and architecture, with new concerns regarding furniture, exterior spaces, layout and graphic image (Almeida, 2009: 67). Concerning the social political context, the 1930s exhibitions were in summary intended to ensure a propagandist strategy and to bring the Nation closer to the outside, which until then had been removed for reasons of "internal organization", consolidating the image of the Estado Novo regime in Europe. At the time, it was important to establish the ideological setting as a vehicle for national identity. At this level, António Ferro, the commissioner of both exhibitions, wanted to openly assume a compromise between modernity and tradition – the motto for both Portuguese participations.

The images of the Pavilions of Portugal mirrored the complex reflection on the issue of 'national style'. The project of both exhibitions consists of works carried out by a group of artists and decorators in close collaboration with António Ferro (Manaças, 2005: 70), considered keystones in the history of Portuguese design. Among the group some protagonists stand out, such as Fred Kradolfer (1903–1968); Carlos Botelho (1899–1982); José Rocha (1907–1982); Jorge Barradas (1894–1971); Abel Manta (1888–1982), and the architects responsible for the Pavilion of Portugal at the Paris International Exposition (1937) with Francisco Keil do Amaral (1910–1075), and New York (1939) with Jorge Segurado (1989–1990). The 1937 international exposition held in Paris was "considered international and not universal solely for political reasons, adapting the general economic recession, the official theme was 'Arts and techniques in modern life', and intended to encourage mankind's intellectual cooperation" (Carvalhos, 2006: 15).

The decoration was an artistic innovation displayed in the exhibition, with handicrafts as valued as art itself. The Portuguese presence in this Exhibition is for the first time more than a historical exhibition, it is clearly the need to highlight and value the country. The *Exposition Internationale des Arts et des Techniques Apliqués à la Vie Moderne* allowed the government of Salazar to showcase for the world the image of a "capable Estado Novo, constructive and updated" (Rodrigues, 2013: 58). In this sense, a modern building was presented, but with nationalist outlines. The rejection of historicist architecture and Art Deco details granted Keil do Amaral the attribution of the Grand Prix. The artistic quality of the painters and sculptors was also recognized by the attribution of gold medals and an honorable mention (Rodrigues, 2013: 70). António Ferro, as commissioner general and author of the participation program, assumes distinct peripheries in comparison with previous representations, and these are linked to the glorification (and mystification) of the maritime epic of the Discoveries, presenting Europe and the world a display of national renovation and dissemination of hegemonic power.

The tendering process for the Pavilion project was made public on November 23, 1936 by António Ferro, inviting the supply of "a modern version of the country's image, demanding it established a national identity, the project would have to be a single structure with an area of 1500m², with 8 rooms" (Rodrigues, 2013: 58). The jury included António Ferro and a group of architects,[2] with a total of nine works accepted under pseudonyms. The winner was the BALDIAZ project by Francisco Keil do Amaral (1919–1975), consisting of a modern structure with smooth, pure surfaces, aspects that valued the function of the building. The Portuguese pavilion was divided in eight rooms: "Work", "Tourism", "State", "Achievements of the State", "Overseas", "Natural Wealth", "Folk Art" and "Construction" (Rodrigues, 2013: 58). This exhibition displayed an exercise of equipment design for the Portuguese representations,[3] as well as interior design, through the projects designed for the thematic rooms.

The national flag (Fig. 1 and 2) consisted of two distinct bodies, one horizontal and the other vertical. The vertical body moved forward towards the

[2] Paulino Montês (1897–1988) and Adelino Nunes (1903–48), the sculptor Francisco Franco (1885–1955) and the architect Jorge Segurado (1898–1990).

[3] Fred Kradolfer developed for the Tourism Room a set of chaise longues in metal tube and canvas.

river Seine, decorated with the distinct image of the national shield. The horizontal body displayed ornaments connected to the national tradition, such as the shield, the Cross of Christ, reliefs of national heroic figures, referring them to national glorification (Caldeirão, 2013: 84). Portuguese participation in the 1937 International Exhibition of Paris became important because it demonstrated an image of modernity coupled with the aesthetic constraints typical of Portuguese traditional architecture, thus disrupting the official view of architecture (Caldeirão, 2013: 86). As a result, the exhibition context received acclamation from the international critics, since the constructions translated the traces of modernism, and also reinterpreted aspects such as tradition and history of the country. Briefly, this junction was precisely what Salazar wanted António Ferro to achieve with his ideological politics and propaganda, intended to convey the fascist ideology "softly" without hurting susceptibilities, contrary to what happened with Hitler, Mussolini and Franco's dictatorships (Marcelo, 2013: 57).

Fig. 1 Pavilion of Portugal, International Exhibition of Paris 1937. Source: Caldeirão, 2013.

This exhibition thus confirmed the image of a moderate nationalist regime, with Salazar taking advantage of the event in a skillful way to highlight his image and standing as the Head of State.[4] The renewal of the "national image" carried out by Ferro, in comparison with the previous participations conveyed a different Portugal, that is, "a strong and capable political regime, updated and modern, keeping on the backstage the 'golden moments' marking the Portuguese national past" (Caldeirão, 2013: 83). This way, participation in the Paris Exposition was for most fascist regimes an opportunity to correct the image of their country. It was clear that Portugal intended to reconcile the modern with the old traditions, presenting in two floors the productions from a country not intended to be presented as modern but as a nation that did not destroy the legacy of an ancestral culture. This memory was represented in the exhibition by typical handicrafts and the presence of two Rabelo Boats[5] (Carvalhos, 2016: 58). Finally, the Portuguese export[6] products were prominent, since in 1936 the Portuguese Institute of Fish Preserves had been created, and large-scale tastings were organized, considered a success by the press at the time. This exhibition confirmed the hegemonic image of a moderate nationalist regime in which Salazar uses the event in a clever way to legitimize and emphasize his power image as charismatic Head of State in the form of a gigantic statue.

[4] Salazar takes the opportunity to install a huge statue by Francisco Franco at the lobby of the Portuguese pavilion, allowing him international credit.

[5] Traditional Portuguese wooden boat used for centuries to transport people and goods, namely port wine barrels along the Douro River.

[6] Namely wine and preserves, the latter promoted by the Portuguese Institute of Fish Preserves.

New York (1939)

The International Exhibition, also known as New York World's Fair, was inaugurated as Hitler's troops began the invasion of Poland. Ironically, the nations at war were depicted in the "Peace Square". The subject of the Fair was "The World of Tomorrow", intended to promote the liberal enlightenment ideals of the Americans, and to display the instruments of the time. The show was attended by sixty nations. Dedicated to new technologies and a visionary tribute to a harmonious future of man and art, it also intended to rehabilitate the image of the United States after ten years of struggles and crisis.[7]

[7] The aftermath of the Stock Market Crash of 1929 and the ensuing Great Depression.

Portuguese participation in the New York World's Fair was strongly conditioned due to the choice of the program and the topic proposed by the international fair organization. The orientation intended by Salazar for Portuguese participation in this exhibition was a program targeting a return to the past highlighting the heroic maritime deeds of Portuguese navigators and colonization, with an image highly linked to the sea calling (Rodrigues, 2013: 58). The architect Jorge Segurado was invited by António Ferro to design the Portuguese pavilion. The architecture would have to translate the reality Salazar intended to convey, although Portugal remained a rural country based on Christian faith, family and discipline. This ideological model represented a step back from the more modernistic participation in the 1937 Paris International Exposition, which was reflected in the architectural project by Keil do Amaral. With the same team of decorators from the Paris Exposition, the same balance was achieved in terms of technical expertise and quality, despite the programmatic constraints.

Fig. 2 Pavilion of Portugal at the International Exhibition in Paris 1937. Source: Rodrigues, 2013.

The Portuguese pavilion (Fig. 3) was a building with traditionalist lines, and an interesting, intelligent interconnection between the different spaces. The architectural style was based on Portuguese Modernism, that is, a miscellany between traditional and modern architecture. The proposal of the architect Jorge Segurado, consisted of a project that

> by the reunion of two distinct volumes, a planimetric intended for the rooms of historical evocation, with representations of the past present and future of the nation, and the other volume with a circular form, with a double function of reception and exhibition space, accommodating topics from the scope of "Tourism and Popular Art" (Caldeirão, 2013: 86).

Also, the layout of the pavilion established access through the circular volume, which had a perfect arch door, crowned by the national shield and contoured by decorative elements in relief. To reach the second volume there was a hall recreated chronologically, following an organized sequence of rooms.[8] The path was completed in a landscaped courtyard, with a stairway to access the terrace (Caldeirão, 2013: 88).

In addition to this pavilion, another work of the architect Jorge Segurado was the 'Honor Stand', located in the 'Hall of Foreign Nations'. The work followed the traditional Portuguese style, characterized by plain, purified surfaces, and a single decorative element in the façades, the armillary shield, with the designation of the country and an illustration of the world map. The use of these elements demonstrates a display of Portuguese pride, will, entrepreneurism and a power discourse, taking credit for the first circumnavigation of Earth, the commercial sea routes to India and Brazil and the far reaching borders of the Portuguese Empire and authority.

Thus, the 1939 World's Fair becomes a low key event when compared to the 1937 International Exposition. Salazar's almost obsession with an ideology based on nationalism intoxicates the image of Portugal in this exhibition. Traditionalism as applied in the Portuguese pavilion and the Hall of Foreign Nations designed by Jorge Segurado were both following the traditional typical Portuguese style. It is emphasized that it was precisely the incidence of this kind of style that characterized the event of 1939, leading to the classification as an event below expectations at the international level.

Fig. 3 Pavilion of Portugal at the 1939 New York World's Fair (1939), by Jorge Segurado. Source: Carvalhos, 2006.

Final Considerations

In comparative terms, the 1937 International Exhibition and the 1939 World's Fair, two years apart, had very different impacts. The exhibition of 1937 had an extremely positive impact, the alliance between the traditional style and modernist lines that were novel at the time conveyed a positive image of Portuguese ideology to the world, depicting a Portugal at that moment interpreted as a construction of fascist ideology that did not affect susceptibilities. The decoration of the national shield, the cross of Christ, the symbol of the maritime epic, belonging to Portuguese tradition and history, were interpreted as an added value. In fact, the reunion of the traits of modernism and tradition and history of the country was the basis of all the strategy and promotion of the SPN/SPNI.

On the other hand, the 1939 World's Fair followed a distinct narrative because the work was strongly conditioned due to the program and topic. The topic involved the Future, "The world of tomorrow", and did not follow the proposal idealized at the time by Salazar. The ideology based on rural life was interpreted as a less positive aspect that did not meet expectations. However, the structure designed by Jorge Segurado was awarded a prize. The project of the pavilion inverted the creative process, with modernist lines flooded by images of national exaltation and features such as the earthy nature of the construction, the simulation of stone, or the heavy ornamentation of façades as an evocative element of the glorious history of the country, characteristic of the architecture endorsed by the regime (Caldeirão, 2013: 88).

Hence, the politics of the spirit employed by António Ferro under request by Salazar resulted in a highly positive statement of the nation in the 1937 Paris Exposition, but less positive in 1939 New York Fair. This allows concluding that the design of Portugal's representation and the Portuguese pavilion succeeded in reformulating the fundaments of the ideology that supported it, communicating to Europe and to the World the work of national renovation. Portuguese presence at the exhibitions was for the first time more than a historical reconstruction and clearly highlighted the national present, the main purpose of the design discourse by António Ferro, a discourse conveying the dissemination of hegemonic ideas and legitimizing the New State regime.

[8] The chronology of the rooms was organized starting with the "Discovery of the Atlantic" room, the "Columbus" section, the section dedicated to the "Portuguese Expansion in the World", followed by the "Luminous Planisphere" and finally the wing dedicated to the "Present" and to the Portuguese regime of the "Estado Novo" (Caldeirão, 2013: 88).

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Hermeneutics of the Port Wine Poster: From Past to Present

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Poster / Port wine / Graphic design / Narrative / Hermeneutics

Under the aegis of the famous Portuguese product, this paper puts forward for consideration an encounter with the unsystematized poster from the late nineteenth until the early twenty-first centuries.

Without having identified a study with a similar approach directed towards the interpretation of the port wine poster in a design context and considering the visual strategies adopted for its commercial success throughout time, this paper has the goal of adding itself to the knowledge accrued around these objects. It also has the intention of contributing to the organized conservation of scattered copies in collections and the World Wide Web, while also establishing and examining the visual heritage where the product's actual existence and the rhetoric associated with business purposes converge.

Methodologically, it is based on the research findings of 246 posters, from 41 publishers, assembled in a digital archive and worked through the interpretative analysis of the main rhetorical strategies used.

Pursuing that goal, a grading framework was created laying out ten main taxonomic themes, underlying the visual narratives and leading to a fractionated sample mapping, from which the hermeneutics were developed, framed and grounded in theoretical references.

This study represents a promenade through a visual history and an attempt at a systematised preservation of this printed memory, providing future research possibilities through the wide horizons opened.

Port wine: mapping the territory

Port wine, an exclusively Portuguese product known worldwide, is in itself sublime and its reputation is further enhanced by the image displayed in visual communication. This paper deals with posters relating to this product in relation to graphic design, its evolution and history, from past to present and the potential future.

Although there has been no previous research published with this specific approach in the context of design, this paper presents a comprehensive collation of documentation and proposes a systematized interpretation of the identified commercial narratives. The study provides an examination of port wine posters with the intention of extracting information directly from the artefacts, organizing and fixing these printed memories, elaborating possible readings and sharing knowledge. In addition to other studies this paper hopes to collaborate in preserving, understanding and valuing this visual heritage.

The investigation process was conducted empirically, both in the consultation of documents and in the elaboration of the classification that structures the hermeneutic discourse.

Since the artefacts were scattered throughout collections, archives and the Web, mapping the territory by images implied the construction of a catalogued digital archive, associated with a specific database of characterization and technical information. The project is also an attempt to counteract the tendency of disappearance that comes from the poster's ephemeral characteristics.

The research was performed on-line and directly with entities related to port wine and graphic arts resulting in a collection of 246 posters, distributed between the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first of the twenty-first century. These came from 41 issuers between companies and public institutions.

Adapting Barbosa's (2011) example, the sample was first projected in a grid of images, according to X (time: decades) and Y (issuers: establishment chronological order) axes. In a preliminary narrative analysis, it was observed that, despite different rhythms of discursive competence of brands, of changes in the techniques and representation formulas, the present communicative activity of product does not diverge drastically from past rhetorical strategies.

By the use of the methodological tools mentioned above, the objecives of identification and characterization of each poster and the overall monitoring of the sample—both in terms of their chronological distribution and cross-content inspection—were achieved, demonstrating the possibility of taxonomy.

The understanding of these visual discourses was also supported in a selection of works that allowed the construction of the theoretical framework and consolidation of the body of knowledge that prepared a more enlightened content analysis. Through the work of Moles (1969), Enel (1974) and Barbosa (2011) the understanding of the poster—as concept and artefact of communication within the public sphere in permanent evolution—was reached. It was necessary to understand port wine as a national symbol—from the origins to the exercise of its commercialization, as Guichard (2001; 2003) and Pereira (2003) explain—with a real and symbolic context that manifests itself in historical time and crosses with the development of communication design. This notion was perceived, for example, in the works of Weill (1984), Souto (2009) and Fragoso (2012), thus providing insight into the expression embodied in the posters of authors known or unknown, Portuguese or foreign who promote this product.

At the hinge of the addressed topics the catalog *Imagens do vinho do Porto – rótulos e cartazes* (2010) stands out. In this the product is viewed through the prism of visual communication evolution—the development of the labels and posters—until the middle of the twentieth century. Also crucial were Guichard's referenced works on the same material, regardless of the issuer, in which the author described the connection established between the city of Oporto and the port wine, between it and other 'port wine spaces': between the reality and the staging. The brochure of França (1981) on Ramos Pinto's labels and posters was influential, simmilarly the works of Lobo (2001) and Barbosa, Calvera, Branco (2009) which are exclusively dedicated to Raul Caldevilla and the posters of Empreza do Bolhão, among which there are examples of port wine.[1]

Without the existence of extensive and systematized works dedicated to the port wine poster visual narratives, these and other readings facilitated the understanding that the label was privileged in the studies; however it was the different theoretical and methodological perspectives that shaped this project.

[1] ORIGIN:			**41**
	[1.a] PORTUGUESE NATIONAL SYMBOLS		3
	[1.b] PORTWINE SPACES		25
		- Maps	(5)
		- Wine Landscape	(5)
		- Rabelo Boats and Douro River	(5)
		- Vila Nova de Gaia Cellars	(3)
		- Oporto City	(4)
		- Landscape beyond the Origin	(3)
	[1.c] RURALITY		13
		- Grapes, Harvest and Wine	(13)
[2] EVOCATION:			**24**
	[2.a] HISTORICAL EPISODES		7
	[2.b] SOCIAL ICONOGRAPHY		4
	[2.c] RELIGIOUS ICONOGRAPHY		13
		- Angelic Figures	(5)
		- Ecclesiastical Figures	(4)
		- Commemorative and Legendary Figures	(4)
[3] FAMILY AND CHILD:			**6**
[4] MAN:			**16**
	[4.a] STATUS		5
	[4.b] EXPERIENCE AND SUGGESTION		11
[5] WOMAN:			**29**
	[5.a] SENSUALITY AND EMPATHY		19
	[5.b] 'FEMME FATALE'		8
	[5.c] FOLKLORIC BEAUTY		2
[6] MALE & FEMALE:			**31**
	[6.a] CELEBRATION		4
	[6.b] COEXISTENCE		13
	[6.c] 'FLESH' AND WINE TEMPTATIONS		14
[7] ZOOMORPHISM:			**3**
[8] THERAPEUTIC SUGGESTION:			**7**
[9] THE PRODUCT:			**47**
	[9.a] HUMAN FIGURATION		7
	[9.b] HUMAN HAND		4
	[9.c] GLOBALIZATION OF FAME		5
	[9.d] RELATION TO ITS SPACES		4
	[9.e] PLAYFULNESS		5
	[9.f] BOTTLE AND GLASSES		22
[10] BRAND			**42**
	[10.a] HERALDRY		16
	[10.b] TYPOGRAPHICAL EXPRESSION		4
	[10.c] SYSTEMATIC ICONOLOGICAL		22
		- Masculine	(10)
		- Feminine	(12)
PORTWINE POSTERS			***246***

Fig. 1 Rhetorical categories table.

A framework proposal for interpreting visual narratives

The observation of individual images resulted in the grouping of posters by narrative proximity. Having made the sketch of this second fractional mapping, some possible subcategories—based on argumentative nuances—were already perceptible and useful for interpretation. These were considered in the proposed taxonomic framework as they contribute to the clarity of the readings. Even though the dating of some artefacts was inaccurate, 'time' was still considered in the posters alignment by category, allowing the diachronic and synchronic perception of certain arguments and their representation development.

The classification table was designed with ten categories, corresponding to main narratives identified and these were composed of 23 subcategories that, in 12 situations, are further subdivided (Fig. 1). Its main purpose is to organize the response offered to the research guiding question: *which are the hermeneutics for the port wine poster?*

It begins by highlighting the enhancement of the image of port wine by **[1] Origin**. For the guarantee of quality, authenticity and singularity of this product, specific narratives are use based on: [1.a] Portuguese National Symbols; [1.b] Port wine Spaces—'maps', 'wine landscape', 'rabelo boats and Douro river', 'Vila Nova de Gaia cellars', 'Oporto city', 'landscape beyond the origin'; and [1.c] Rurality—'grapes, harvest and wine'.

41 posters illustrate the grape's process to port wine and combine signifiers celebrating the origin (real or idealized) of the product (Fig. 2). The narratives run through the entire twentieth century, with visual resources that go through symbolic association, ranging from folkloric staging to objective demonstration of visual references related to wine scenarios. Moments, landscapes, people and instruments are represented through a varied iconography, which serves to reinforce the authenticity argument. This is a nectar of a genesis shared by various spaces. The distant harvest region, Douro river, Oporto and Gaia belong to a complicit unit that makes *Portugal the country of port wine*.

In 24 other posters of the first half of the twentieth century **[2] Evocation** is emphasized. This associates wine with [2.a] Historical episodes; [2.b] Social iconography of the everyday life of the aristocrat of the past; and [2.c] Religious iconography of catholic inspiration, with 'angelic', 'ecclesiastical', 'commemorative and legendary' figures.

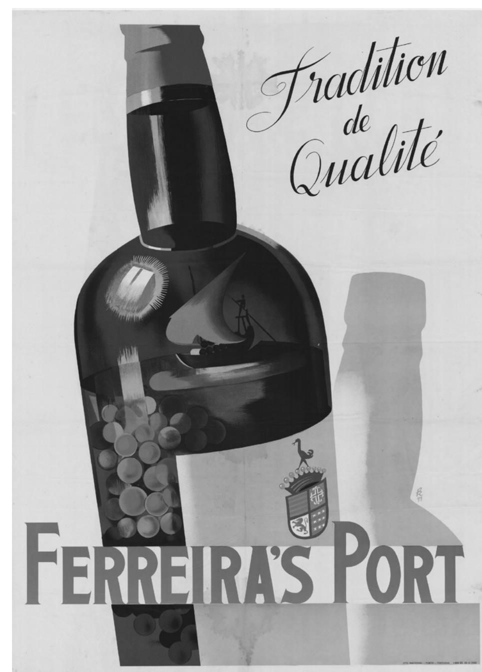

Fig. 2 Poster: Ferreira. Fred Kradolfer, 1953. Ferreira's Historical Archive.

[1] This collection, deposited in Packigráfica – Higifarma, was consulted *in loco* during the investigation. Other files/collections to highlight, among the 12 recorded, are those of Douro Museum and the Ferreira's Historical Archive where work was developed on advertising posters and other related material. The collaboration involved the redesign and update of the existing database as well as re-organization of the estate, with new photographic records, call numbers and packaging improvement.

In the sample, the brand Rainha Santa is the one mainly responsible for the iconography of a religious and legendary nature. This commercial designation makes reference to the national legend represented on the posters. In turn little angels and clergy members introduce a religious confluence between socialization and devotion (to Church and wine).

Imagery in this group also includes the iconography of historical past, of events, customs and ancient aristocratic manners. They are powerful signifiers to evoke the secular antiquity, connoted with tradition, luxury, high social status, moral force, character nobility of consumers and wine.

The emphasis on **[3] Family and Child** is occasional. Only six posters highlight images of children to—when associated with older characters—evoke the familiar experience that is renewed and passed through generations. Introducing the product bottle in the domestic context (couple, parents and children, grandparents and grandchildren) the narratives overlay themselves with affectiveness inducing empathic communication. A tradition to be preserved is conveyed by childhood. Although this reference to children in alcoholic beverages advertisements would be legally and socially impossible today, in the first half of the twentieth century it was perfectly acceptable.

The instrumentalization of the image of **[4] Man** and **[5] Woman** correspond to two categories, with 16 and 29 posters, respectively. He is represented in conviviality, conveying [4.a] Status, allowing him, through [4.b] Experience and Suggestion, to persuade. She encourages desires with the [5.a] Sensuality and Empathy that she arouses (when she poses, dances, toasts or seduces, like [5.b] *Femme Fatale*), even when [5.c] Folkloric Beauty is the focus.

In the first one, especially in the 1940s, there are male figures who play the wine narratives in situations of conventional social/sport situations for the middle-class man. The statement is based on the staging of activities in public or private places, indoors or outdoors, animated with toasts.

In order to influence the consumer, the emphasis was placed on valuing the individual and his personal reputation: respectability, prosperity and identification with peers. The suggestions link the consumer to the status of this beverage, which in itself is preponderant in its symbolic universe. Self-satisfaction is promoted by a port enlightened choice. The wine is promoted through the individual and vice-versa. These are discourses of power and influence, whose rhetoric is built by praise, assurance, confidence and affirmation of the example of 'he who knows'.

On the other hand, the argument based on Woman is one of the most transversal: her figure is common to the advertising of several brands covering the whole sample period. The feminine representation appears at the epicenter of a complex attributions system. Diachronically, this figure goes from the woman-*bibelot* to the urban modern woman; from the vigorous countrywoman to the exuberant professional dancer. The women, always young and beautiful, present port wine in poses of half or whole body, always suggesting pleasurable consumption. They have the most delicate toast gestures—the preferred pose for introducing the beverage. They lend the poster the graceful figure, connoting the wine with singular charms, sharing generous attributes and stirring desires.

Visual narratives seek empathy and provocation, subtlety and ecstasy. They exemplify the consumption by women to integrate them into a men's market, and on the men they have the effect of attracting and inebriating, making the nectar irresistible. The sensuality of the image does not attempt to hide a sexual subtext. The Iberian intensity is not lacking in this thematic group, concentrated in the captivating looks of the *femme fatale* who attracts one to the wine. The instrumentalization of the female figure is not an exclusive of port wine, because in advertising, eroticisation is a powerful persuader.

It is a matter of noteriety, however, that Estado Novo (1933–1974), the Portuguese dictatorial regime, interfered with narratives: for example, eroticism was banished from public spaces and port wine images went on, particularly in the 1940s, via ethnographic staging, without ever abandoning the female figure. Sometimes, she appears in traditional costumes, referring to work virtues. But those smiling countrywomen are girls of genuine beauty.

The **[6] Male & Female** factor is revealed in the subject matter of 31 posters, focusing on [6.a] Celebration of port wine consumption in [6.b] Coexistence between couples or groups (in romantic or social interactions), and explicit [6.c] 'Flesh' and Wine Temptations.

The posters from the turn of the twentieth century dare to celebrate wine in processions and dances of Dionysian ambience. But up until the 1990s, there were other attractive formulas of shared enjoyment of the drink, revealing accepted conceptions of social behaviour. There is the aspect of the enactment of relationships that wine animates by appreciating the pleasures of life, but also hints at the seeking of the most explicit eroticism, even when it is limited to the insinuation of a kiss (Fig. 3).

Pleasure is central: in the conviviality at the table, in shared friendship or in romantic infatuation. The characters enjoyment promotes the idealization of opportunities of benefit to both sexes. Viewing the images, the female consumer can identify herself with the model; the male consumer will desire the wine and both will be inclined to take it during experiences of mutual enjoyment.

Overall, despite the binomial, the narratives tend to emphasize the woman: tempted by man and wine, or tempting by sensual nudity or simple natural grace. Adriano Ramos Pinto was one of the entrepreneurs who best matched the wine's generosity to the feminine curves, presenting them shamelessly and suggestively.

[7] Zoomorphism is an occasional strategy that, through animal figures with traces of human behavior, gives the narratives the desired meaning. Only three posters with bestiary symbolism were found between 1920 and 1930. Featuring lions and tigers—symbols of power, strength, courage, vigor and ferocity—the posters transmit these characteristics to consumers (Fig. 4). From a masculine perspective, the images promote an association to virility with the positive symbolism associated with these wild and noble animals, enhancing the consumer's self-valorization through the physical and psychological capacities attributed to port.

[2] *Quinado*: of quinine, antipyretic substance.

[3] In the sample, there are other posters that could be framed here. However, although with arguments related to health and therapeutic, the images favor others, such as the historical evocation, the feminine figure or the product for their own qualities.

Longevity and life quality promises are associated with the rhetoric of **[8] Therapeutic Suggestion**, mainly through the consumption of *Quinado's* port.[2] Several brands promoted this subproduct, encouraging a high level of acceptance, at this time, by consumers. As evidenced by the seven posters in which this argument predominates,[3] simple or enriched port wines were, between the end of the nineteenth century and the first half of the following—when the dangers of alcohol were not yet reflected on—promoted in the market and prescribed by doctors, as therapy for nervous and digestive diseases, tropical fevers and as a food supplement in cases of weakness.

Old characters praising port wine appear to attest that they are proof of the psychotherapeutic qualities of the tonic to improve and prolong life. Another approach to the theme—in which a zoomorphic representation conveys therapeutic value as the main argument—is presented by a weak chick declaring that port wine will make it strong. The grapes are also used to promote the health and joy associated with wine that, made of grapes, is as natural and healthy as fresh fruit.

In 47 posters from the beginning of the twentieth century to the beginning of the twenty-first, an iconography related to **[9] The Product** was identified. Be it framed by [9.a] Human Figuration, or only by a [9.b] Hand; whether envisaged by the [9.c] Globalization of Fame, presented in [9.d] Relation to its Spaces, or even as object of [9.e] Playfulness, it is the port wine in the [9.f] Bottle and Glasses that assumes predominance in the poster.

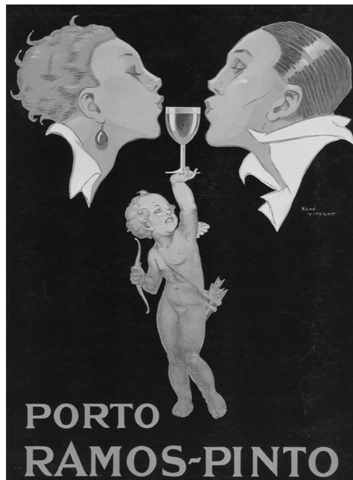

Fig. 3 Poster: Ramos Pinto. René Vincent, 1929. Ramos Pinto's Historical Archive.

Regarding the staging of compelling port wine narratives, bottles and glasses were very often found in all thematic categories—although particularly relevant in those referenced herein—by showing the product itself. Some representations of these objects refrain from presenting elaborate sets, preferring simplicity and objectivity. However a few scenarios were recognised in which port wine spaces still served as support for product-based narratives; although the compositional importance attached to the bottle and the glasses, in these situations is reversed.

The wine bottle can also be shown to the public through association with the human figure that is not always free of fantasy or humour. In other posters, only hands are highlighted. Feminine ones toast gently with glasses, while masculine ones, being strong, are represented opening the bottle.

With different rhetorical approaches, the influential reputation in international markets is expressed in narratives emphasizing the planetary dimension of port wine. As an important sector of export and a world-renowned product it is associated with positive values of tradition, quality and pleasure, continuously conveyed.

Playfulness is another alternative to lewd appeals from the early twentieth century, keeping subjacent pleasure and enjoyment. Sober brands, such as Ferreira, opted, in the middle of the century, to resort to iconography related to music and traditional card games to promote the recreational qualities of the generous wine.

Finally, in 42 posters, the presentation of the **[10] Brand** is the strategy chosen to communicate, reflected in the use of [10.a] Heraldry, in the [10.b] Typographical expression for brand, product designation or complementary text introduction, and in the use of [10.c] Systematic Iconological valuation, in two cases created from a 'male' and a 'female' figure.

Examples of higher rhetorical restraint are those that communicate exclusively by typographic expression (which are of little significance) and those that choose representations based on the heraldic lexicon, such as crowned coats of arms, religious symbols, real and mythological animals, combining words and iconic signs. These cases of graphical austerity, which are frequent in the most recent labels, probably result from attempts to reinforce the brand's identity with emblematic symbols. What is valued is the nobility, nationality, age and status of producer and product.

Fig. 4 Poster: Borges. ETP, 1921. 'Empreza Bolhão' Historical Archive.

In turn, *Don* (Sandeman) and *Woman in Black* (Porto Cruz) stand out as examples of strategies that, by masculine or feminine icon, have followed the path of coherent representation. Rivals in the market, but close in rhetorical aspects, these brands are, particularly in posters, examples of coordination and ability to update communication: they are renewed at the present time without losing the references of the past.

From the 1930s to the present, Sandeman took the iconic black silhouette of *Don* as a unifying element of its visual identity. The reference potential of the Portuguese student cape and the Spanish *sombrero*, added to the chalice that protrudes from the hand, promotes

the perennial association between the character and the wines of the brand. Through the posters, one can see that the figure has evolved, in a process of 'humanization' that never reveals the face, nor does it significantly alter the representative scheme. Thus, the mystery (underlined by the enigmatic connotation of black) and the manly sensuality that has prevailed since the first public appearance are preserved.

Don parallels the *Woman in Black* (Fig. 5). The brand has made her the protagonist of campaigns, especially for the French market, in a conceptual and aesthetic strategy that reinvents itself through the reinterpretation of this young woman in black dress and shawl on colored backgrounds that evoke the wine's multiple tones. The advertising follows, for some 30 years, the slogan 'Pays où le noir est couleur'. Although this iconography seems a folkloric anachronism mismatched to the contemporary country, underlying the narrative are values linked to the national tradition and to a mythical image of Portugal 'out there'. The images have been updated, following the evolution of taste and markets. Diluting rurality in abstract scenarios, the posters are surprising and enchanting, appealing and suggestive of the vibrant properties of port wine.

Fig. 5 Poster: Porto Cruz. 2010. 'Gran Cruz' Digital Archive.

Conclusion

The brief explanation of the proposed categories sought to underline the perspectives opened by the study and clues for future research. Because the present and the future do not exist without memory, port wine is not easily disassociated from images that have been patented in graphic artefacts made in the past. Old posters, in current reproductions, still continue to sell the image of port wine. Maybe because it is a product closely linked to the notion of 'timeless tradition' and 'universal space' it is necessary to insist, save for sporadic updates, on the success of its historical images, making them persist in the collective imagination.

Through the sample of posters the adoption of narrative strategies of persuasion and consumption incentive was observed. This refers to different values, playing between connotation and denotation, metaphorical artifice and tangible reality, in an empathic, emphatic, directed and repetitive appeal, favored by the poster.

As the arguments sweep through a vast polysemic catalogue, the thematic taxonomy has proven to be essential for the formulation of the hermeneutic discourse, given that a poster can concentrate references that are neither exhausted in a reading nor circumscribed by the contours of a proposed category within the scope of a permeable and organic exercise.

The established contacts show that the preservation of poster collections is not a common concern for most of the entities in the sector, and irreparable losses are incurred. This gives rise to the conviction of the importance of this effort, even if by digital means, to conserve this patrimony that legitimately belongs to collective memory.

As it is evident that Design works in the construction of meanings for the communication conveyed by port wine, it is expected that this contribution will be added to others, with the purpose of sharing a knowledge developed in the scope of the discipline and related to visual communication which reveals aesthetics, customs, fashions, social prejudices and ideological orientations related to the promotion of port wine, an auspicious product that, for centuries, has crossed the world.

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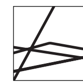

1 Design History and Histories of Design

1.7 Constructivism and Deconstructivism: Global Development and Criticism

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The influence of constructivism spread throughout Europe and some parts of Asia in various design fields in the 1920s and 1930s. The influence of deconstructivism, partly based on constructivism, spread globally in the 1990s and 2000s, primarily in the field of architecture. However, the way in which both constructivism and deconstructivism are interpreted in each design field and country differs.

Papers that address unique histories of constructivism and deconstructivism in different regions or countries will be welcomed. Both speakers and audiences are expected to compare the histories of these -isms in different countries and find similarities and dissimilarities between constructivism and deconstructivism. Although the latter is occasionally criticised and almost ignored in many design fields other than architecture, it has been found to be significant in some other design fields.

1 Design History and Histories of Design

1.7 Constructivism and Deconstructivism: Global Development and Criticism

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INTRODUCTION

1.7 Constructivism and Deconstructivism: Global Development and Criticism

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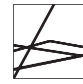
[Only two papers were submitted for Strand 1.7 ("Oh? How strange..." Anna uttered); moreover, the authors had ticked "Alternative evaluation" in other strands. The decision was made to withdraw the strand from the presentation programme, but it has nonetheless been retained to keep the numbers and order consistent, and is featured here as a true survivor of Anna's plan.]



1 Design History and Histories of Design

1.8 An Expanded Global Framework for Design History

Since the beginning of human societies, informal design has formed part of culture. For most design historians, however, the history of formal design begins with the Industrial Revolution, although some scholars consider its origins to lie in the 15th century, which they regard as the start of the modern world. Traditional design histories primarily emphasise Europe, the United States, and sometimes Japan. In recent years, the outline of a new global history narrative has begun to emerge with the publication of several new books. These books have been made possible by research carried out by scholars from countries that were previously excluded from narratives. In addition, there is a great deal of material that addresses what may now be called "design" in the period preceding the 15th century.

This strand seeks papers that expand on the global design history narrative that is emerging. Papers may be case studies, historical accounts or theoretical topics related to a global design history framework.

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Back to the Future
The Future in the Past

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Oriol Moret (ed.)

1 Design History and Histories of Design

1.8 An Expanded Global Framework for Design History

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INTRODUCTION

1.8 An Expanded Global Framework for Design History

Since the beginning of human societies, informal design has formed part of culture. For most design historians, however, the history of formal design begins with the Industrial Revolution, although some scholars consider its origins to lie in the 15th century, which they regard as the start of the modern world. Traditional design histories primarily emphasise Europe, the United States, and sometimes Japan. In recent years, the outline of a new global history narrative has begun to emerge with the publication of several new books. These books have been made possible by research carried out by scholars from countries that were previously excluded from narratives. In addition, there is a great deal of material that addresses what may now be called "design" in the period preceding the 15th century.

This strand seeks papers that expand on the global design history narrative that is emerging. Papers may be case studies, historical accounts or theoretical topics related to a global design history framework.

Anna Calvera / ICDHS 10th+1 Scientific Committee

The inspiration for Strand 1.8 came from none other than the late Anna Calvera, who wrote an initial proposal for the strand that encapsulated the core spirit of ICDHS in its quest to expand on the global design history framework by constructing new design narratives outside of Euroamerica, while filling in gaps and under-represented areas from within. The first group of papers focuses on recent regional studies on design in East Asia, including Japan and colonial Korea. Similarly, the second group focuses on regional case studies from Latin America, particularly Brazil. The design fields include clothing design, graphic design, product and craft design, and architectural and interior design.

Mori's paper reveals new transnational and political studies on the kimono in Japan's Southeast Asian colonies, while Senne reinterprets the metabolism-related ideas of the 1960s and examines their contemporary relevance. Omoya's paper presents an alternative regional narrative of floral decorative design as a challenge to the standard Japanese design narrative centred on simplicity.

The second session analyses the origin of the first design-related educational experiences in countries such as Indonesia, Singapore, Korea and Japan during the first half of the 20th century. These countries were colonised societies and faced a complex situation that allowed them to incubate a design dignification and professionalisation process. This took place through artisan processes and so-called commercial art, supported by schools and promoting bodies, which made it possible to train professional designers to collaborate in a developed system where innovation played an important role.

'Commercial art' is also at the core of the last paper of the session. The paper addresses corporate identity in pubs and inns (a rather neglected subject in design history) using a case study that emphasises the modern angle associated with corporate design practices.

Peixoto and Costa Junior's paper discusses an aspect of Brazilian modernism through research on the architecture of the Itamaraty Palace, a government building in Brasília designed by Oscar Niemeyer, together with its interior design, furniture and decorative objects. Dias's paper focuses on Latin American graphic designers and ICOGRADA executive board members and discusses how their idea of individualised cosmopolitanism advanced the overall postcolonial agenda.

The last two papers do not relate to regional cases from outside Euroamerica, but rather propose methodological questions to expand the design history framework. Houze's paper focuses on the case of Hopi House, the living museum and curio shop on the South Rim of the Grand Canyon, Arizona, and poses ethical and design questions relating to the problematic and complex situation presented by this cultural enterprise in relation to travel, tourism, heritage, national identity, cultural appropriation and preservation. Dellapiana and Tamborrini's paper questions the conventional methodology used in design history studies that is based on genealogy of styles, and proposes alternative methodologies drawn from recent design studies and interdisciplinary approaches.

In the last session, the authors offer a historical analysis of the development of East Asian design from the mid-19th century until today. Kikuchi has brought together different stories from colleagues for an anthology that can contribute to our understanding of the changes and development that this region has experienced, examining how the entities that form it have become economic powers and achieved an identity in their design. Wong, in her timeline mapping project, starts by presenting the design stories within the region illustrating the history of international design, and then builds up a conceptual framework based on a cultural nationalism that can help clarify the connection and transnationalisation of East Asian design with international design history.

Yuko Kikuchi, Oscar Salinas-Flores

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Transformation in Kimono Design in Southeast Asia from the Late 19th to the Mid-20th Century

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Kimono / Southeast Asia / Immigrants / Cultural syncretism / Propaganda

This study discusses and elucidates the migration, distribution, establishment, and alteration in the Japanese kimono, through the international and inter-regional transmission of attire in the 19th and 20th centuries; focusing particularly on changes in the kimono in Southeast Asia from the late 19th century to the early 20th century; based on press information, literature, commemorative photos, etc. From the late 19th century onward, kimonos were the usual dress of people who immigrated to Southeast Asia from Japan for various purposes, especially for work in the sex industry. In this way, the kimono came to interact and intermingle with various clothing styles common in Southeast Asia, such as the Malay, Indian, and Chinese styles. And when Southeast Asia was occupied by the Japanese military in 1942, the national Japanese kimono began to be used for propaganda purposes as part of the occupation policy. I here explore how kimono designs were altered to suit the situation, and came to symbolize various historical contexts.

The Kimono in Southeast Asia from the Late 19th Century to the Early 20th Century. From the late 19th century onward, Japanese people began immigrating to Southeast Asia for economic activities, a process thought to have been initiated by those engaged in the sex industry, such as brothel owners, procurers, and sex workers. This movement was followed by immigration of retail traders dealing in clothing and other miscellaneous goods, who catered to such sex-industry employees (Tsukuda and Katō, 1919: 101–102). The desire to fish in the ocean areas of Southeast Asia brought in fishery employees as well (Shimizu and Hirakawa, 1998: 118–124). These early immigrants were from the lower classes. In the 20th century, however, middle-class Japanese people, such as employees of Japanese trading companies and doctors, also immigrated, and some became rubber plantation owners. Such immigrants promoted economic activities through negotiation with people of various local ethnic groups.

These Japanese immigrants introduced the Japanese kimono into Southeast Asia; and among them, sex workers played an important role as kimono wearers. The total number of sex workers immigrating to Southeast Asia from other countries is not clear, but it is thought to have been in the hundreds of thousands. In one concrete statistic, the breakdown of sex workers registered in the Straights Settlements Office in Singapore in 1890 included 1,911 Chinese, 148 Japanese, 27 Indians, and 20 Malays (Shimizu and Hirakawa, 1998: 29). In addition, there are survey results for Japanese sex workers provided by local Japanese consulates in 1916: 546 in the Straits Settlement in Singapore, 1,057 in the Federated Malay States, 282 in Manila, 406 in Batavia (Jakarta), 113 in Hanoi, etc.

Who supplied such people with kimonos? Well-known Japanese kimono shops operating in Singapore at that time included Echigoya Gofukuten, Koyama Shōten, Nihon Shōkai, and Marujū Gofukuten (Nakane, 1976; Shimizu and Hirakawa, 1998: 50–51). According to the statistics for Japanese residents in Singapore, found in the records of the Japanese government, ten residents were registered as working in three kimono shops in 1903 (Shimizu and Hirakawa, 1998: 50); and 84 kimono shops, as well as 15 kimono peddlers, were registered in 1910 (Shimizu and Hirakawa, 1998: 79). These data suggest that the shops were located in the city areas, and the peddlers visited brothels in rural areas to cater to sex workers and other Japanese people.

Sex workers of various ethnic groups used to live in Southeast Asia. Japanese sex workers serviced not only Japanese clients, but people of various countries such as Malays, Chinese, and Indians (Shimizu and Hirakawa, 1998: 29–30). This suggests that Japanese sex workers may have worn Japanese kimonos at work, partly because they wished to distinguish themselves from workers of other countries (Ōba, 2001: 92). What kind of kimonos, then, did they wear? What was their accepted attire in Southeast Asia? This may be inferred from recollected accounts and photos from the period, though these are few in number.

The Mr and Mrs Lee Kip Lee Collection, a collection of art and old photos in Singapore, includes photos of kimono-clad women, taken in Singapore and Saigon from the 1860s to 1880s. Let us examine several of these photos.

One of these was apparently taken in 1860s Singapore. A woman is holding a *shamisen* and wearing *takageta* (tall wooden clogs). She sits in a chair on a large, circular, floral-pattern carpet, and behind her are pieces of both Oriental and Western-style furniture, though her attire is thoroughly Japanese. Dressed in a gorgeous kimono with images of pines, bamboo and snow, with a festive hair ornament and *shamisen*, she is likely a professional Japanese entertainer known as a *geisha* in the West. This photo suggests that such women could be found living in Southeast Asia in the 1860s, immediately after the opening of Japan to the world.

The Mr and Mrs Lee Kip Lee Collection also includes two colorized photos of kimono-clad women, apparently taken in 1870s Saigon. Although surrounded by heavy drapery, carpet, and furniture, the women in both photos are barefoot. The woman in one of the two photos is wearing a glossy blackish *obi* (sash) on a plain light-colored kimono, with a glossy black collar-cloth. The collar and cuff of the *nagajyuban* (long undergarment), as well as the woman's lower lip, are colored red in the photo. The woman in another photo is wearing a fine

ikat-pattern kimono for summer, with a lattice-pattern *obi*. The *obi* is colored yellow, whereas the *obi-age* (obi bustle), the *koshimaki* (waistcloth, visible below the hemline), the ball of her ornamental hairpin, and the woman's lower lip are all colored red. She appears to also be wearing a comb in her hair. These two women's kimono attire is typical of Japanese women around the end of the 19th century. The garments may look slightly untidy to our modern eyes, because they are loosely fitted; however, we cannot tell from these photos whether the women are sex workers or entertainers. We may nonetheless infer that they have come to Saigon from Japan, because they seem accustomed to their kimono dress.

Three photos apparently taken in Singapore in the 1870s and 1880s indicate somewhat different aspects of the kimono. One of these shows two women, one sitting at a table and the other standing behind her. A thick book resembling an album is on the table, which is covered with a tropical floral-pattern tablecloth. They are both wearing large ikat-pattern kimonos with narrow *obis*. Noteworthy is their hairstyle, with the hair flowing over the shoulders instead of being tightly done up (the latter being customary in Japan at that time). On the collar of the undergarment of the woman sitting at the table, something resembling a small brooch has been attached, which was not usual in Japan at that time.

Fig. 1 *Woman in kimono*. Courtesy of Mr and Mrs Lee Kip Lee collection, Singapore.

The woman in the second photo is wearing a kimono and holding a fan. Her dresser, the background, and the carpet are all in the Western style. The patterns on her kimono and *obi* are not clear. Her hair flowing over the shoulder, Western-style shoes, and crossed legs are not in the typical Japanese style of the time.

The woman in the third photo (Fig. 1) is standing beside a piece of Chinese furniture before a Turkish tapestry, offering a good example of cultural syncretism. Her kimono, with its repeated pattern of large fans and flowers, is likely a *nagajuban* (long undergarment). Her use of an undergarment as an outer garment, and her tightening of the narrow *obi* at the waist, as well as the brooch at the crossing of the collar, and the *kasut manik* (beaded slippers), all differ from Japanese custom at the time. This woman's attire is characterized as an example of the "experimental hybrid fashion" in Singapore at that time, described by Peter Lee, an independent scholar and Honorary Curator of NUS Baba House, Singapore (Lee, 2016).

Although the words "Japonaise en villégiature à Singapore" are hand written on the second photo, none of the three photos clearly indicate whether the women in them had come over from Japan. It is possible that non-Japanese women had their portrait photos taken in kimonos as stylish clothing. In any case, the photos do suggest modification, adaptation, and mixing of multicultural elements in the kimono in Southeast Asia around the end of the 19th century.

In "experimental hybrid fashion", as described by Peter Lee, fashions of various styles, originating from Malay, China, Europe, India, Turkey, Egypt, etc., are literally combined together "experimentally". The Japanese kimono was also expressly incorporated in such hybrid fashion in Southeast Asia at that time.

The 20th century, however, reveals very different kinds of images, showing women in kimono attire following the Japanese norm at that time. Particularly in commemorative photos for occasions such as marriages and birthdays, the kimonos show strict decorum, even exceeding the norm. One factor behind this is the increased number of Japanese who had achieved social status as successful merchants, farm owners, etc. Another factor may be that the anti-prostitution measures taken in Southeast Asia from the 1910s onward restricted the activities of sex workers (Warren, 1993: 161–166). The sex industry did not disappear, however; illegal sex work continued in many regions. And in such a situation, for illiterate women working in the sex industry, for example, such portrait photos often functioned as letters home to their family, with the women dressed in proper kimono attire (Yamasaki, 1972: 71). Thus, the early 20th century saw a pattern of kimono attire faithful to the Japanese norm, reflecting women's desire to be respectfully tied to Japan. This pattern might be termed "long-distance nationalism" (Anderson, 1992: 12–13). In early 20th-century Southeast Asia, then, hybrid and syncretic kimono fashion coexisted with nationalistic kimono fashion.

The Kimono in Southeast Asia during the Pacific War

After this period, in Southeast Asia, throughout the first half of the 20th century, an increased flow of people and goods facilitated the coexistence of both hybrid and normative kimonos. However, this situation changed in the wake of the Pacific War (1941–1945).

The primary factor behind this change was the so-called 'comfort stations' attached to the Japanese military bases. What, then, did the 'comfort women' in these stations wear for their work? The recollected

accounts of comfort stations in Southeast Asia, as well as photos taken there, reveal local comfort women wearing attire common to the region, such as Western clothes and sarongs, in most cases. On the other hand, the comfort women who are apparently recruited from East Asian countries such as Korea and Japan are in kimonos and Western clothes. South Korean comfort women victims testified that they had occasionally been forced to change their clothes to kimonos and *yukatas* (casual kimonos for summer) (Mori, 2011: 18). A photo of a comfort station apparently established by the Japanese army in Medan, Sumatra, shows eight women wearing striped or ikat-patterned kimonos with gaudy *obi*, and *tabi* (Japanese-style split-toed socks) on *zori* (Japanese-style thonged sandals) (Munakata, 1981: 199).

Fig. 2 *Japanese couple in kimono.* Courtesy of Mr and Mrs Lee Kip Lee collection, Singapore.

It has been revealed that the Japanese army comfort stations were managed and operated, through contracts with the Japanese army, by local Japanese sex-industry workers and those involved in the sex industry who had newly immigrated from Japan proper (Shimizu and Hirakawa, 1998: 184–187). Such factors suggest that the attire of comfort women working for the Japanese army reflected the customs of the traditional Japanese sex workers in Southeast Asia.

In the novelist Itoko Koyama's account of travel in Singapore, appearing in the March 1943 issue of *Nippon Fujin*, a women's magazine published during the Pacific War, she writes, "While walking in a kimono on the street, I was told not to walk in a Japanese kimono in broad daylight. The advice implied that a kimono-clad woman would be mistaken for a special woman, thus making for national disgrace" (Koyama, 1943: 34). This indicates that the kimono was recognized as a kind of uniform for sex workers in Singapore (as, probably, in many regions of Southeast Asia) in those days. As I have suggested, the primary reason for this was twofold: (1) the major line of work of the Japanese women coming over to Southeast Asia in this period was the sex industry; and (2) women working in the Japanese comfort stations typically wore kimonos.

Meanwhile, in Japan-occupied Southeast Asia, the kimono began to be used in different ways.

Djawa Baroe, a photogravure magazine published in Java by Asahi Shimbun between January 1942 and August 1945, frequently included photos of kimono-clad women (Kurasawa, 1992). Such photos may be classified into three types: (a) kimono-clad Japanese women living in Java, enjoying the company of Javanese people; (b) Javanese women wearing Japanese kimonos; and (c) kimono-clad Japanese women living in Japan. Very few photos of men in kimonos are found in the magazine.

Examples of (a) include the cover photo of the first issue (1/1/1943), "Japanese and Indonesian children playing together"; and a photo of "Japanese girls working in Java", enjoying Javanese people's company (1/15/1943). These photos show Japanese girls' and women's traditional mainland Japanese-style kimono attire, in specific contrast to the traditional Java-style attire. The kimono and kimono-clad women represent and symbolize Japan, whereas Java-style clothes and women wearing such attire represent and symbolize Java. The two modes of fashion never mixed or intermingled with each other.

Examples of (b) include two other cover photos: "Dr. Poerbotjoroko's Daughter" (1/15/1943); and "Mrs. Soekarno Looking Happy in a Kimono" (1/1/1944), in which the kimono worn by Mrs Soekarno was a present given by the wife of Japanese Prime Minister Hideki Tōjō when Soekarno, the leader of the Indonesian independence movement, visited Japan. Both (b) photos show gorgeous kimonos with fancy *obi*. In addition, Javanese people wearing kimonos as costumes in plays, dances, and choruses are seen in many photos. In these examples, though, the people wearing kimonos are Javanese, their kimonos are authentically Japanese, never mixed with Javanese or any other styles.

Examples of (c) include photos of Japanese actresses and *hina* dolls (dolls displayed during the Girls' Festival), and one photo of kimono-clad women sitting in a Japanese-style *tatami* room, with a view of a Japanese garden, representative of "Japanese life" (5/15/1943). The kimonos shown in these photos are also gorgeous, following the norm, which emphasizes kimono-clad Japanese women's decorum.

The kimonos in all the *Djawa Baroe* photos are characterized by a high-class, normative, authentic Japanese style, with no hybrid kimonos evident, effectively eschewing the untidy or erotic images associated with sex workers, seen in the late 19th-century photos. Here, we only see the national kimono, as the symbol of a thoroughly ideal Japan. Through such photos, *Djawa Baroe* and the Japanese military government at-

tempted to project a beautiful, gentle, and feminine image of Japan, to create a friendly atmosphere surrounding Java and Japan (Mori, 2013: 39).

In fact, however, as reported by Itoko Koyama, on the streets of Southeast Asia, kimono culture was nurtured mainly in the sex industry, and hybrid kimono culture was passed on from the late 19th century onward. Thus, there existed a critical gap between the kimonos seen in such propagandistic photos and those actually worn on the street; in this respect, the image of authentic Japan presented by the Japanese military government was never accepted in actual Southeast Asian life under Japanese rule.

Conclusion

The kimono was introduced throughout Southeast Asia mainly by sex workers in the late 19th century, and was mixed and intermingled there with various styles (Malay, Chinese, Indian, and European), leading to the creation of new kimono styles. In this way, the hybrid kimono became a rich and integral element of multicultural fashion culture in Southeast Asia. On the other hand, in the early 20th century, alongside this hybrid kimono culture, an authentic kimono culture, faithful to homeland norms, was developed among the Japanese immigrants; and this latter trend generated a characteristic attitude that may be interpreted as "long-distance nationalism", which emphasized authentic kimono attire.

By the early 1940s, when most of Southeast Asia had been occupied by the Japanese military, these two trends were adapted to the Japanese occupation, with hybrid kimonos being worn by women working at Japanese army comfort stations, and authentic nationalistic kimonos being worn for propaganda purposes of the Japanese military government. However, the latter were worn only for commemorative photos and propaganda, and never took root in the actual life of Southeast Asia.

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The Return of Metabolism in the Future of Design for Disaster Relief (1958–2018)

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Capsule design / Disaster relief / Kiyonori Kikutake / Metabolist movement / Resilience

This paper seeks to locate intersections and contradictions between Metabolism, a movement born from the visions of Japanese architects from the late 1950s, and design for disaster relief in today's world. Based on a review of Kiyonori Kikutake's projects, as examples, the Sky house, Tower Shape Community, both of 1958; the Marine City of 1963; Tokyo Bay Project as well as the Koto Project of 1961, which was specially designed to withstand disasters, it can show the early history of the place of sustainability in emergency design. Also the critique of modernist ideologies, especially narrated by Reyner Banham and other contemporary authors who have published articles about the difficulty of applying megastructures in the reality of that time. Another relevant aspect is the analysis of the concepts such as modularity, interchangeability and expansiveness present in capsule design and in adaptive pluggable megastructures. The questions that the article will seek to answer are: which aspects of construction could be widely applied in the emergency context? What principles could be adopted to rebuild cities devastated by natural disasters, from the perspective of environmental concerns? After technological or natural disasters, the visions of the future could be utopian or dystopian places.

Metabolism as a sustainable process

The Metabolists play a definitive crucial role in the on-going discourse on sustainability, due to the fact that concepts such as modularity, interchangeability and expansiveness are present in their proposals for the development in structural arrangements of some buildings. Kenzo Tange, on the occasion of Congrès International d'Architecture Moderne (CIAM)/ Team–X of 1959 in Otterloo, Netherlands, presented the Sea City proposed by Kiyonori Kikutake in a poetic way where structural elements would be like permanent trees and dwelling units would be like temporary leaves (Banham, 1976: 47). This metaphor translates the constructive intention of a strong building as support for elements that need to be replaced frequently.

In the late 1950s, so even before the British Archigram Group proposed its extraordinary inventions for a society influenced by new forms of communication, the Japanese Metabolists, impacted by the catastrophe that followed the atomic bombing on 6 and 9 August 1945, produced images of architecture and cities that shared the ability of living organisms to keep growing, reproducing, and transforming in response to their environments. Postwar years, particularly between 1958 and 1964, was a period known as the economic miracle of Japan (Pernice, 2007), which provided great ideas for the reconstruction of cities. Called Functionalist City, this universally accepted model was composed of megastructures that tried to organize the demands of a population with constructive mechanical principles, seeking greater efficiency in its daily operation. In common, all of them were thinking about methods of choice for inhabitants to live with flexibility according to the growth of future cities.

The analogy proposed by Metabolists, as in the example of the planning of a city of the sea by Kiyonori Kikutake, consisted of the addition of metabolic systems' biological movements in their projects. A building, just like every living species, spends energy to keep the various activities performed. This energy comes from the metabolism, where the processes are linked to the functioning of the organism as a whole. From the perspective of sustainability, we understand what it takes to produce the most from the least. This point of view leads us to see architecture with reduced concrete spaces that allows the greatest diversity of uses with metabolic qualities.

The concept of sustainability is not exclusively ecological, but is composed of three dimensions: environmental, economic and social, so to judge, everything must be balanced. Another reason for the decay of Metabolism was the weakening of economic support. The Metabolist movement had its decline after the Osaka Expo in 1970 (Frampton, 1997: 345), when it coincides with the end of the period of economic growth supported by the Japanese government.

The social factor was also crucial, since it is the people who inhabit the spaces that validate the ideas, indicating if this architecture makes their life better or not.

Resilience of people, not only the structure

Although there is no specific framework to date the beginning of design for disaster relief, because any project interventions for response and recovery after a disaster could be included, they have become more significant for about a century. Kate Stohr and Cameron Sinclair, who founded in the United States a charitable organization in 1999 to seek architectural solutions to humanitarian crises which went bankrupt in 2014, begin the timeline from 1906, when there was a catastrophic earthquake in San Francisco (Architecture for Humanity, 2006). It is considered significant because it occurred in a large city after intense urbanization. A more global milestone, which can also be a reference for starting counting projects as responses to disasters, is after World War I started in 1914. Anyway, what differentiates these types of projects from any other is the emphasis on the people for whom this architecture is intended.

Natural disasters, such as earthquake and tsunami or technological disasters, like those with nuclear power stations, are often the fuse of destruction that demand a stronger reconstruction than the previous. The concept of resilience is widely applied in planning for disaster recovery situations. After a disaster,

you must recompose all the shaken dimensions. Reconstruction is not merely physical and economic but involves mainly psychological issues with social and cultural implications. 'As a defeated nation, Japan suffered from a crisis of national identity and thus sought to re-construct its cities as well as to remake the new image of Japan' (Tamari, 2014: 202). Accordingly, creating solutions for regeneration matches the ambitious intentions of providing an architecture for autonomy. 'The Metabolists approached resilience less as an ecosystemic response to change, but especially in terms of the capacity of societies' to adapt in times of crisis' (Schalk, 2014: 281). Meike Schalk drew the attention to a utopia of resilience which was embedded in the principles of sustainable architecture that Metabolists presented (Schalk, 2014). Although the concepts of sustainability and resilience as defined after the Metabolism movement had not been "invented", it is possible to note their expressions in the architects' proposals. In disaster studies, resilience is a widely adopted term borrowed from materials engineering, used as a goal for recovery from affected cities and communities. According to terminology on disaster risk reduction established by the United Nations Office for Disaster Risk Reduction – UNISDR, resilience is:

> The ability of a system, community or society exposed to hazards to resist, absorb, accommodate, adapt to, transform and recover from the effects of a hazard in a timely and efficient manner, including through the preservation and restoration of its essential basic structures and functions through risk management" (United Nations Office for Disaster Risk Reduction – UNISDR. https://www.unisdr.org/we/inform/terminology).

Interestingly, while for Metabolists architecture should be prepared for the transformation and expansion of society, for disaster risk reduction, architecture must be resilient, so try to go back to what was before, if possible, stronger. At the same time, the term metabolism has an equivalent in the Japanese language which derives from Buddhist concepts of reincarnation, transmogrification: "*Shinchintaisha*", meaning renewal, regeneration (Schalk, 2014: 284). The change of appearance, in only the aesthetic sense, without renewing the attributes, is the rejuvenating approach of Metabolism. On the contrary, when change occurs after a disaster, the deeper layers are inevitably shaken and not just the aesthetic surface. The renewal affects society, its economy, culture, identity and its developments.

Kiyonori Kikutake's project: Sky House. Design for yourself or with others? Among the iconic works of Metabolism is the Sky House (Fig. 1), which applies the "move-net concept", where the furniture units can be easily moved or replaced, according to everyday needs. This was the home of Kiyonori Kikutake, conceived in 1958 with only ten-meter square suspended for four panels. He used to say, "An architect's ability is best judged from the house he lives in". Therefore, it was constructed and experienced by the architect that has designed. In it, the spaces can be reconfigured according to the way of living, as well as the traditional Japanese house. The idea of evolution in a way that follows the life changes can be translated on the scales of the body into the house or the city.

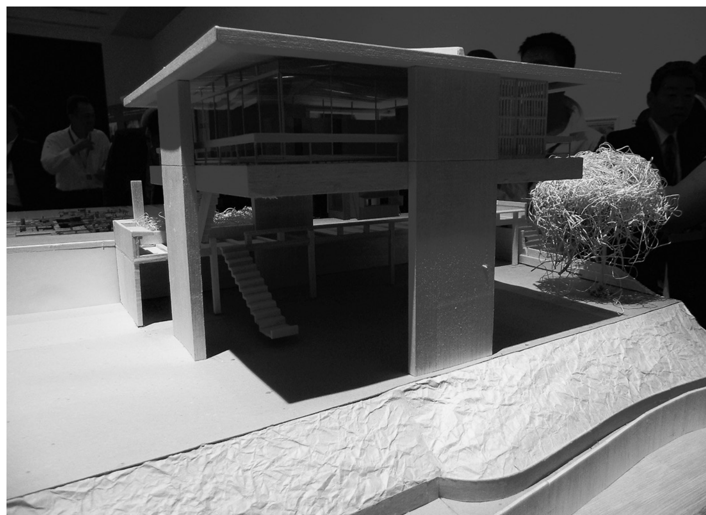

Fig. 1 *Sky House.* Model 1:30 in wood (*balsa*) made in the 1980s from Kiyonori Kikutake collection. Photo: documented by the author in *Metabolism: the City of the Future* Exhibition at Mori Art Museum, Tokyo (Sept 2011).

Banham evaluates the acceptance of what was designed by the architect when another person will live in this house. Ironizing that the problem disappears when he himself is testing the novelty, occupying the house himself (Banham, 1981: 100). This form of control invalidates the verification of the flexibility or even the free configuration of the spaces that he proposed.

Case studies reveal that the architect's involvement in rebuilding homes after disasters needs to include people's participation in order to be successful (Charlesworth, 2014). The inclusion of people, from the choice of location, the project or even during the construction, preferably with local materials and techniques, has caused many projects to be replicated by the community itself. Perhaps therein lies the cause of the lack of continuity of proposals that might have been ingenious, but which had no other examples than the first unit.

Detachable capsule design for disaster relief: an easy way to replace . If you think of the capsule as containers of medicines, its cylinder form with hemispherical ends, keeping the contents perfectly isolated, this could be the architectural intention in question: independence. American motorhomes and camper vans illustrate well this spirit. The possibility of living in a vehicle, without the need to own the land and customize its interior as a home is many consumers' dream. Who lives in constant relocation seems to reflect the eternal pursuit of a home. Refugees experience this feeling when, in temporary conditions of shelters, they expect to return to the normal activities of everyday life. Another attribute of the capsule is protection, as an embryo that exists in a controlled environment until it reaches development to the point of breaking the capsule that held it.

Particularly, the ideas conceived by Kiyonori Kikutake, one of the central architects of Metabolism, contribute with constructive aspects

widely applied in emergency contexts. Such elements can be found in prefabricated housing with component production in industries and processes of auto mounting. Recent proposals being made to disaster situations reflect the influence of concepts such as approaching the production of components away from the destination with consideration of transport as part of project design. This intersection with our present time is easily detected in a series of recent proposals for post-disaster scenarios that combines containers, vehicles and need to consider means of transport as part of the design. Especially the production requirement of many units at the lowest possible cost, in short periods of time, makes modular prefabrication an excellent response to the demands after disasters.

Marine City, 1963 (Fig. 2), is a further development that expresses the Metabolism notion of change and its analogy with biological systems where renewal happens through mechanical processes. A version from 1968 had cranes installed at the tops of the towers, to give the notion of continuity of something always "under construction". This illustration is seen again in representations of Archigram, which includes balloons, helicopters and even zeppelins integrated into the operation of the project.

Fig. 2 *Marine City,* 1963/1980s. Model exposed on top of a translucent blue cube. Photo: documented by the author in *Metabolism: the City of the Future* Exhibition at Mori Art Museum, Tokyo (Sept 2011).

Shortly thereafter, there is a reference very close to Ocean City, where Warren Chalk writes in *Archigram 4*, "the home, the whole city and the frozen pea pack are one and the same", a manifesto of the Plug-In concept. In Plug-In-City by Warren Chalk, Peter Cook and Dennis Crompton (1964), transportation plays a relevant role, being possible to move one level above or below, and cars are absent, replaced by monorails. The same scenario of stacked capsules on superstructures was an answer for Archigram. Leslie clarifies that Archigram, authors of "Plug-in" Projects inspired in Kikutake's Marine City of 1963,

> saw the capsule as a liberating mechanism from societal norms and political organization, the Metabolists saw the capsule as a tool of regimentation, a way to fix one's social relationship and standing in an overall framework or order (Leslie, 2006: 186).

The capsule housing has a factory for mass-producing walls and components inside the cylinder where the capsules were attached. From the point of view of sustainability, reducing transportation and waste impacts of work are incredibly low, since factory and delivery are side by side. It goes beyond in Marine City and Ocean City, providing harbour facilities with a production center for marine produce, solar and wave energy plants. Everything could be replaced and interchangeable as required. He continues this series until Marine City for Hawaii of 1971, with heterogeneous programs: hotels, apartments, student residences, exhibition centers, offices, shopping centers, port, water entertainment center, monorail and so on.

While the capsule is a way to make replacement of the units that could be removed in the future, the tower is a vertical solution for limited land use. Among his unrealized projects, the Tower Shape Community and Marine City, both of 1958 and the Ocean City of 1960 are series of projects that come from the idea of the unavailability of land to population growth.

Where to expand when there is no more land available?
Koto Project, Tokyo, 1961, a disaster-resistant city of towers on grid in a sea level and Tetra City Project, Tokyo, 1962, in the air with a continuous horizontal structure with tetrahedrons, of 1961, were significant innovative proposals concerning more spaces with less material. Either in Koto Project, or Tetra City Project, or even Stratiform Structure series, 1972–92 (Fig. 3), Kikutake was conscious of the lack of availability of the country's land and tried to cultivate the potential capacity of the sea.

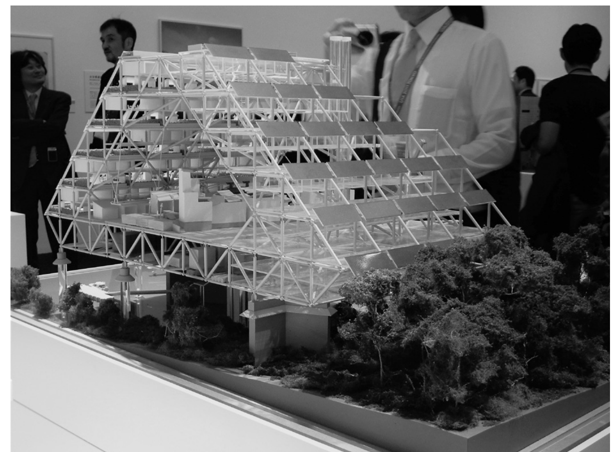

Fig. 3 *Stratiform Structure series,* 1972–92. Model with lighting of transparent structures. Photo: documented by the author in *Metabolism: the City of the Future* Exhibition at Mori Art Museum, Tokyo (Sept 2011).

This example could certainly be appropriate in situations after disaster, when the use of land is precious. Another aspect of construction that could be widely applied in the emergency context is a grid structure not only giving an incomplete aesthetic compatible with the property destroyed but also as a concept of constant growth, facilitating the frequent changes in the works according to the local transformations.

There were attempts of application of megastructures, such as Stratiform Structure System, when partners including Japan's Ministry of International Trade and Industry collaborated with Kikutake's experiments in 1972. Although proposing big modules of artificial ground platforms where housing can be built arranged as terraces, this represented a huge savings, using only a third of the land area and in addition, preserves the environment. Here, the principle of metabolism was to enable expansion in accordance with changes over time on the scale of the city, respecting aspects of nature.

Despite the apparent intention of sustainability, Kikutake "hid the lack of a deep analysis concerning the real nature of the urban problems of the time with its visionary and appealing forms" (Pernice, 2007: 243). Raffaele Pernice believes that there was an accentuated disregard for deeper social and ecological issues by using schemes adapted from functionalism such as "*tabula rasa*" in urbanism. There is a promise for flexibility, but in the end such technologies impose structures highly dependent on the construction industry. This problem can be noticed in the coming decades not only in the more technological proposals for disaster relief, but in civil construction worldwide.

Some principles to rebuild cities devastated by disasters. Which aspects of construction could be widely applied in the emergency context? Especially to the more inherent aspect of Metabolism, according to Kikutake Kiyonori's own words: "the introduction into architecture of such a method of replacing and changing the living equipment in accordance with living patterns" (Kikutake, 1964: 13). In other words, building after disasters should provide the residents the flexibility to transform in the same way that living standards change over time. The replacement of an element that is no longer useful must be as nimble as the exchange of a capsule spent. It is highly desirable that it is possible to expand the building when the economic conditions or the members of a family are extended in an organized and planned way.

What principles could be adopted to rebuild cities devastated by natural disasters, from the perspective of environmental concerns? One of the main problems for reconstruction after disasters, or even for the provision of temporary shelters is the availability of land. The use of grid structures as well as moving to alternative spaces such as marine constructions are ideas that deserve to be better developed. Not only because it represents a hope of new cities that could happen in new unexplored spaces, avoiding the recurrence of living in risk areas, but also to allow new smart designs with better use of resources.

We have learned from Metabolists that for a city to function with maximum utilization without wasting resources according to the perfect adjustments that need to be made, an impractical level of societal control is required. Proof that society is not prepared and that the necessary costs and investments are higher than estimated, is the current experience with Masdar city, known as the world's first eco-city, funded by the government of Abu Dhabi. Investments declined, some targeted technologies were abandoned and deadlines for completion were extended.

Over the past six decades, rebuilding after disasters remains a challenge for everyone involved in the reconstruction and recovery of cities. The damage not only in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, but like all cities impacted by disasters, goes beyond the physical destruction of their structures or the number of deaths.

> Since the twentieth century in fact, with the sudden amassing of tragedies and catastrophes of all kinds, we have seen confirmation of the collapse of a techno-scientific Progress on which nineteenth-century positivism so prided itself (Virilio, 2003: 25).

On the one hand, it could be a contradiction to propose mechanical structures so gigantic and assert "respect for the environment". On the other, this is the physical support flexible enough to accommodate the complexity of uses of the territory.

Utopian (*locus amoenus*) or dystopian (*locus horrendus*) future after technological or natural disasters. Building or rebuilding in spaces left by the destruction of a disaster is a challenge since there is a lot of hope and expectation to overcome past losses. The views can be poetic, as in the floating cities that Kikutake drew in 1958, where the pods are linked as marine beings "to the internal and external surfaces of large cylinders floating in the sea" (Frampton, 1997: 344). Kurokawa goes further when he presents the dismantling of the "Beautillion" according to a Buddhist, almost ethereal conception: "Disassembly was similarly easy to perform and was a beautiful process. It was like the falling petals of a cherry blossom tree which suggest to the Japanese the spirit of *bushido*" (Leslie, 2006: 188).

While an ideal that you can't reach, utopia proposes impossible existence spaces, since they would be designed for an idealized society. Thus were the Metabolists visions, generally optimistic and confident that the technologies for the construction would follow the intentions of the builders, or an idealized conception of responsible citizens, as people would have the power to alter and recombine their buildings when they wished. Schalk exposes this issue in designing for resilience as the fundamental contradiction between the necessity of well-controlled planning with rules and the existence of a well-informed society to implement such proposals. An alternative to megastructure is "that of the group form, which accepts order in chaos, and more spontaneous assemblages on artificial land that give the power to plan back to the community" (Schalk, 2014: 294).

The dystopian views can be associated exactly with the eagerness to control environments, which could have catastrophic results. Dystopia, as diversion of a known reality, proposes different common spaces, so deformed in the direction of something monstrous. Apocalyptic predictions of a world threatened by the domination of machines and technologies leads us to dystopian projects.

Both are fanciful, application of utopia or dystopia refer to places that do not exist. Several authors speculate the reasons why the plans for futuristic cities did not take place. Therefore, "The Metabolist movement as a historical case reveals current prob-

lems in the disconnection of actors and in partial approaches, which prevent a culture of resilience" (Schalk, 2014: 293).

Tomoko Tamari refers to the architect Kengo Kuma to seek a response regarding what could be done in the cities, with possible realization. While a system that is not self-sufficient, so you need to include geopolitical conditions and biological natural environments, he proposes a new organic architecture. "His starting point is not trying to control or change existing environments, but to find the best way to harmonize with the present world we are facing" (Tamari, 2014: 217). According to this approach, Metabolists failed to ignore what would be outside the self-efficient system thought for cities.

Metabolists' projects were seemingly impractical, but in this century the world is full of mega-structures that legitimize what seemed utopian. Kikutake's ideas of high-density and sustainable development in 1958 are extremely contemporary. If he was alive, he would be 90 years old in 2018 and could watch designers and architects influenced by his ideals. Recently, Rem Koolhaas, Hans Ulrich Obrist and the members of AMO, mindful of the contributions of the Metabolists to our century, worked on Project Japan: Metabolism Talks. Since 2005, they interviewed the survivors of Metabolism and produced a book published in 2011. Almost simultaneously, on the 24th World Congress of Architecture in Tokyo 2011, the exhibition Metabolism: The City of the Future, at the Mori Art Museum, opened the reception of the participants, leaving everyone speechless. Full of unreleased material, and well organized, it was also the inspiration of this article. Kikutake Kiyonori (1928–2011) would die with this mission accomplished soon after, in 2011. Continuously, the creatures of Metabolism are still being digested by the minds of the creators of the architecture of our time.

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Why Flower Patterns? An Aspect of Product Design History in Post-war Japan

Shinsuke Omoya
Shiga Kenritsu Daigaku

Flower patterns / Thermos bottles / Rice cookers / Japan

Attaching decorative patterns on the surface of modern products is a rare but interesting phenomenon. In the middle of 1960s Japan, decorative flower patterns appeared on table type thermos bottles and soon became vogue. Although this trend was criticized by intellectuals influenced by modernism, saying these colorful and decorative patterns were not suited to the Japanese house interior. Also, the thermos bottles with flower patterns were heavily exported to the Asian market. In China, decorative patterns also appeared on thermos bottles in the 1960s but most of their motifs were not only flowers but included plants, birds, landscapes, historical figures, auspicious Chinese characters, etc. So why did only flower patterns 'blossom' in Japan? In the 1970s, the flower patterns were attached on Japanese electric rice jars and rice cookers and soon became the norm in those body designs. However, these flower patterns suddenly disappeared by the end of the 1980s. This paper follows these design changes, the rise and fall of the flower patterns, and tries to account for the reason of this design-historical phenomenon in Asia, from its technological, social, economic, and cultural backgrounds.

Fig. 1 *First flower patterned thermos bottle* (National Mahoubin Co. 1967).

Introduction

In the postwar years in Japan, there was a vogue of products with flower patterns. It is very far from the aesthetic sense today, which the MUJI brand products with no decorations typify. Although flower patterns on the surface of modern products have often been criticized as 'bad taste' or 'kitsch', it is an interesting phenomenon relating to cultural identity in modern society.

This paper chose two products, thermos bottles and electric rice cookers, as case objects, and follows their design changes, the rise and fall of the flower patterns on the surface of the products, and tries to account for the reason of this design-historical phenomenon in Japan, from its technological, social, economic, and cultural backgrounds.

Flower patterns on table type thermos bottles

Unlike those in the West, Japanese thermos bottles developed for table use: they are mainly used for keeping the water hot for brewing Japanese green tea, rather than keeping already brewed tea or coffee. Tiger Mahoubin Co. Ltd.[1] made the first table type with a body made of Bakelite. The same manufacturer put chromium-plated copper models onto the market in 1962. In late 1960s, in the severe market competition among manufacturers, table type thermos bottles with flower patterns printed on their body appeared (Fig. 1). In earlier years, the pattern was modest wood-grain, but now it became colorful flowers and soon the market was overwhelmed by flower-patterned thermos bottles. All the manufacturers of the thermos bottles soon followed and put similar products on the market (Fig. 2). The sale of thermos bottles increased after the advent of flower patterns, and the sales in 1973 reached 4.6 times that of 1965.

Flower patterns on electric rice cookers

The manufacturers of thermos bottles, utilizing their thermos technology with double wall vacuum flasks, also were making the thermos jars for keeping cooked rice hot. As new products in the field, two major manufacturers, Zojirushi Mahoubin Co. and Tiger Mahoubin Co.,[2] put electronic rice jars that control the temperature with semiconductor heaters on the market in 1970 (Fig. 3). The body of the new products was covered by flower patterns similar to the thermos bottles. Their new products hit the market and electric appliance manufacturers soon followed and made similar products. Later, the electronic rice jars disappeared from the market because electric rice cookers with thermos function appeared. Interestingly, however, flower patterns were printed also on the rice cookers. The two thermos bottle manufacturers, successful through the flower patterns, and electric appliance manufacturers also put the flower-patterned rice cookers with thermos function on the market. It was the heyday of flower patterns.

From the mid-1960s on, flower patterns appeared on refrigerators, washing machines, toasters, etc. Fashion designer Mori Hanae (1926) once designed the front panel of a refrigerator. These flower patterns, however, did not spread widely and never became standard. These flower patterns were printed by silkscreen printing after fabrication, being different from the printing on sheet metal before fabrication of the thermos bottles and the rice cookers. The complicated process and the cost may be the reasons of their relatively short life in the market.

Intellectuals' criticism against flower patterns

Flower patterns were often criticized even in their heyday. In those days, it was difficult to find thermos bottles without flower patterns, and these colorful patterns were accused of making the Japanese home interiors visually chaotic.

[1] 'Mahoubin' is the Japanese term for the thermos bottle and it literally means 'magic bottle'.
[2] The two manufacturers account for about 70% of thermos bottle sales around 1980.

Fig. 2 Typical thermos bottle designs from 1966 to 1973 (various manufacturers), a part of a pictorial page in Thermos Bottle Manufactures Association, *Thermos Bottles in Japan* (1983).

Sociologist Hidetoshi Kato (1930), who was a popular social critic from the modernist point of view, often criticized flower patterns on modern products in their heyday. Architecture critic Noboru Kawazoe (1926–2015), who was the theorist of *Metabolism*,[3] often criticized flower patterns on the thermos bottles, saying these patterns were not compatible with modern design. An influential women's magazine *Kurashi no techou* (literally 'handbook of living') edited by Yasuji Hanamori (1911–1978), in their product test report, said 'It is troublesome to see conspicuous and odd colors and patterns attached on thermos bottles only'.[4] The designers had a hard time hearing these criticisms by intellectuals. GK Industrial Design Institute proposed in 1970, for Tiger Mahoubin Co., a white body with modest abstract pattern, probably an abstraction from plants (Fig. 4). This model, named 'European White', was advertised heavily in major newspapers in the same year. Flower patterns by other manufacturers gradually changed from realistic descriptions of flowers into simple abstract flowers.

Comparison with China

Attaching flower patterns on thermos bottles was not a phenomenon seen only in Japan. Similar products were found in China, Korea, and other Asian countries. This was partly because the Japanese products were heavily exported to Asian countries. The broad acceptance of the flower patterns shows that behind the taste for the decorative flower patterns, there is a traditional/cultural background shared by those countries.

In China, thermos bottles were made in great number. The case and the double wall vacuum flask were not different from the Japanese one. The patterns of the case, however, were not only flowers. In the 1960s, various patterns appeared, including plants, birds, landscapes, historical figures, auspicious Chinese characters, etc. From the 1980s on, they changed the material of thermos bottle cases. They are made of plastic, not of printed sheet steel, and they are mono color (the color of plastic) and have almost no decoration.

[3] Metabolism is a postwar Japanese architectural movement that fused ideas about architectural structures with those of organic biological growth. The Metabolism group includes architects Kiyonori Kikutake, Kisyo Kurokawa, Fumihiko Maki, et al.

[4] *Kurashino Techo* No.41 (1976) 102–106, quoted in Asako Rika (2009).

Even with this short comparison with China, the question remains: why did flower patterns and only flower patterns 'blossom' in Japan?

The reason for flower patterns

So, why flower patterns? Some reasons for the flower patterns have been proposed up to the present. I want to investigate the backgrounds for the popularity of flower patterns, classified into four sectors, A, B, C and D, as follows.

A. Technological background

The precondition of the advent of flower patterns is the development of metal printing technology at that time. The case of thermos bottles, the case that covers the double wall vacuum flask, is made of sheet steel coated with vinyl chloride. The printing method, which enabled colorful print on metal surfaces, was born in this period. The mass printing technique on sheet steel and the phototype process enabled mass printing in vivid colors and patterns on the case material. Manufacturers of the thermos bottle noticed these technologies and started to print color and patterns on the case. The progress of the printing technology at that time was the precondition of making colorful cases, but this does not fully explain the reason why they chose flower patterns.

B. Social background

1960s Japan is said to be the age of affluence, the age of high economic growth. The flower pattern was appropriate for the consumer's image of 'affluence' at that time. The general director of National Mahoubin Co. that made the first flower-patterned model, said in 1967:

> As girls of marriageable age want to wear colorful kimonos, rather than mono-colored ones, flower patterns have been required on thermos bottles. Whether the flower pattern is reasonable or not, depends on the mood. I suppose that our industry also became of a 'marriageable age' in terms of design and color (Shimaoka, quoted in Thermos Bottles Manufacturers Association, 1983: 132).

Fig. 3 *Electronic rice jar* (Tiger thermos bottles Co. 1973).

In the 1960s, in the age of high economic growth, a lot of new products including domestic appliances firmly established themselves as part of everyday life for the majority of people. The majority's income grew and they regarded themselves as middle class. The mass products for the majority used to be simple and popular types, but in the 1960s, products with a sense of luxury began to appear. Manufacturers named these models 'deluxe' type. This was partly because the spread of durable consumer goods from the 1950s settled and the people started to replace existing models with new ones. The decorative characters in products in this age are easily found. The examples are luxurious wood cabinets of televisions, patterns on the doors of the refrigerators, chromium plated edges of the washing machines, speaker covers (of stereo audio equipment sets) interwoven with gold and silver thread, etc. All of these are, if standardized, expressions of the popular sense of 'deluxe'. Flower patterns on the thermos bottles are also in this 'deluxe' trend (background B–1).

Moreover, the people who liked flower patterns on thermos bottles may have been mostly women, and mostly housewives. Through the social change after Word War Two, women's status in common families rose and women's taste started to influence consumer life. Before the War, it was not the case in many decisions of buying goods. And the space where thermos bottles and rice cookers were placed was the kitchen, living-dining room or dining-kitchen, and family members began to share the idea that women were to manage these spaces. The reason for flower patterns settling on two products, thermos bottles and rice cookers, is that these are placed on the dining table or in its surroundings, and the taste of the manager (i.e. women) of these spaces should be expressed on these products (background B–2).

This point of view, the view from women, may urge a reconsideration of the history of design, as design historian Penny Sparke once proposed.[5] If there were some women who did not like flower patterns, the modernist critics against these patterns ignored or slighted that most women at that time liked and chose flower patterns.

C. Cultural background

Flower patterns have often appeared in Japanese crafts. You can find many flower patterns on kimono (traditional clothing) for women, tableware, etc. Flower patterns have been liked in Japan for a long historical time. On some occasions when they depict flower patterns for the thermos bottles, traditional craft techniques were utilized. The major manufacturer Zojirushi Co. once asked yuzen (traditional dyed silk fabric) artists in Kyoto to depict flower patterns for their thermos bottles.

However, it is difficult to connect flower patterns on the thermos bottles with the ones on traditional crafts directly. As cultural background, there was a tradition of depicting flowers on everyday objects like tableware and other luxurious or ritual products. There was the culture that accepts flower patterns in the home, the dining space in particular where tableware was placed. In general, however, flower patterns on the thermos bottles were not traditional Japanese design, in the ways of depicting and the species of flowers depicted. Their appearances were mostly 'Western'. Assuming the whole society was in the mood of high economic growth after the recovery of the last War (background B–1), the flower patterns were a straightforward and popular expression of the admiration for the lifestyle in the West,[6] as imaginary affluent foreign countries.

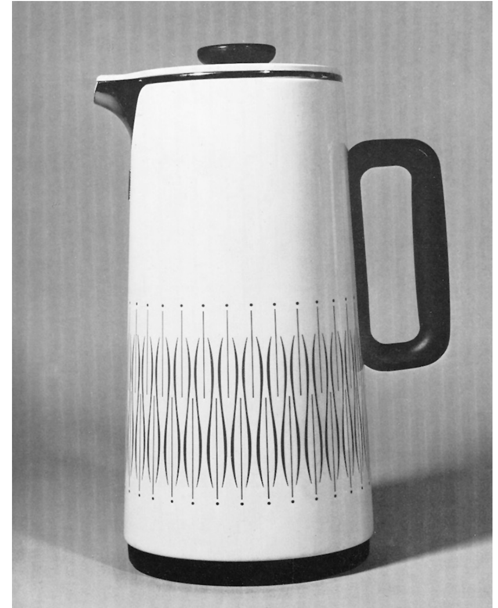

Fig. 4 *European White* model (Tiger Mahoubin Co., 1970, designed by GK Industrial Design Institute).

D. Economical background

In 1965 the ownership rate of the thermos bottles reached 90% in Japanese homes and the market was almost saturated. The manufacturers were trying to find a way to raise new demand. Flower patterns were successful in urging consumers to buy new models substituting old models. Moreover, thermos bottles were often bought as gifts. They were often bought as gifts for weddings (not only for the new couple but for the party's guests) and as other mementos. In these cases, flower patterned products were very suitable for their gorgeousness in appearance. Giving away a flower-patterned product may be synonymous with giving away a bunch of flowers in a social sense. In China also, flower-patterned thermos bottles were often used for wedding gifts.

In the same period, flower patterns were also attached on porcelain enameled pots and pans. They sold well and were often used for gifts.[7] This trend may have been promoted by manufacturer's marketing strategies to meet the demand that came up from social (B–1, B–2) and cultural (C) backgrounds of this time.

[5] Penny Sparke (1997), *As Long as It's Pink.*

[6] Decorating a table with flowers was not everyday custom in ordinary families in Japan, but it was done in 'Westernized' wealthy families.

Decline of flower patterns

Flower patterns on modern products declined from the 1980s on. Changing consumer tastes and other factors may have influenced this sudden decline.

The two major manufacturers' next new product was born in 1980. It was the electric thermos bottle (it has no vacuum flask inside) in which they utilize electric thermal technology (Fig. 5).[8] These models, evolved from non-electric thermos bottles, boil water and keep it hot automatically. This time, manufacturers did not put flower patterns on their new products, probably to express the novelty of the new product, and to differentiate from non-electric models. The products became one of the 'white goods' domestic appliances. Other domestic appliance manufacturers also made similar products, and most of their bodies were simple white without flower or indeed any other patterns.

Rice cookers also lost flower patterns. Modest stripe patterns and abstract patterns appeared for a short period but they also disappeared. Domestic appliance manufacturers controlled the market, and they had no attachment to flower patterns. Flower patterns became something belonging fully to the past.

Conclusion

The vogue of flower-patterned products was a phenomenon that arouse in a relatively short period in postwar Japan. We have seen some technological, social, cultural and economical backgrounds which were inter-weaving with each other, and possibly this set of backgrounds prepared and aroused the vogue in this particular period. It will never happen again because the set of these backgrounds have totally changed.

Looking at the changes of anonymously designed everyday products from their backgrounds, as in this case study, may reveal a new aspect in design history.

Fig. 5 *Electric thermos bottles* (Zojirushi Mahoubin Co., 1980).

Epilogue

The flower-patterned products are seldom seen in the Japanese market today. They are seen to represent a retrospective era, the Showa era (1926–1989), nostalgic objects of old age, and often described as 'nostalgic-pop' or 'Kawaii' (cute). They often appear in films depicting home life of the time.[9]

In the mood of re-evaluation of flower patterns, one fact was revealed. It is that a prominent industrial designer/design manager Kiyoshi Sakashita (1933) advised the National Mahoubin Co., the first manufacturer of flower patterned thermoses (the company is discontinued now), to put flower patterns on thermos bottles. Sakashita is a famous industrial designer, who used to be a design director of Sharp Co. and a chairman of the Osaka Design Center. Before entering Sharp Co., he had some connection with National and once advised National to do so. He knew about the latest full-color printing machine that could print on sheet metal, and he asked a kimono pattern (*yuzen*) artist working in Kyoto to depict the flower pattern. This story was revealed in a recent interview.[10] His foresight brought the thermos bottle industry enormous economic success, but in the years when flower patterns were criticized by the modernists he probably could not open the fact in public.

Re-evaluation of flower patterns may urge reconsideration of design history and design criticism, the most of which has been written only from the modernist point of view.

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[7] The sales of porcelain enameled pots and pans increased greatly in the 1970s and many of them were bought for gifts (Japan Porcelain Enamel Industry Association, 1986: 49–57). Not all of them were flower-patterned, but brightly colored.

[8] The ownership rate of electric thermos bottles reached 20% in 1986 six years after their introduction.

[9] Rika, 2009: 43–45.

[10] The interview was held at Thermos Bottle Memorial Museum in 2015.

'Dignifying Labour': The History of Early Vocational Education in Indonesia and Singapore

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Design education / History of education / Colonial education policy / Trade schools / Vocational education

The earliest roots of vocational education (trade and craft institutions) in Indonesia and Singapore can be located in their colonial pasts as the Dutch East Indies and British Malaya respectively. In tracing the history of design education, an understanding of early vocational education and its legacies can be enriched by a comparative reading of the former Dutch and British territories. The periods under review vary considerably between the two territories: for Indonesia, this paper will be covering the 1850s to 1900s, and for Singapore, 1917 to 1942 (the inter-war period). Despite the substantial gap in periods, two common themes emerged: 1) educational experiences and colonial attitudes, especially with regards to mass education; 2) early 'experiments' in trade education and missionaries as 'pioneers'. We contend that the overwhelming vocational orientation of contemporary design education in Singapore and Indonesia has its roots in the discourses and experiments of the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Furthermore, the absence of 'native' or 'vernacular' arts and crafts from design curricula can be traced to the wedge driven between 'native' arts and 'industrial' arts (which was consequently deemed 'modern').

Introduction

There is a need to reclaim the early roots of vocational education from the region's colonial pasts as the Dutch East Indies and British Malaya respectively, and in so doing, to examine how the first trade or craft institutions were early precursors to formalised modes of higher education in design. An understanding of early vocational education and its legacies can be enriched by a comparative reading of educational developments in the former Dutch and British territories.

The periods under review vary considerably between the two territories: for Indonesia, this paper will be covering the 1850s to 1900s and for Singapore, 1917 to 1942 (the inter-war period). This is because the first *ambachtsschool* (craft school) was established in Surabaya, Indonesia in 1853, while the first Government Trade School in Singapore commenced classes as late as 1930, after decades of deliberation. Despite the substantial gap in periods, two common themes emerged and propelled this comparative study: 1) educational experiences and colonial attitudes, especially with regard to mass education; 2) early 'experiments' in trade education and missionaries as 'pioneers'.

Comparing Singapore and Indonesia

During the colonial period, Singapore and parts of the Dutch East Indies were more than just trading partners that lay in close proximity. There are various accounts of government officials in the Malayan or Dutch East Indian educational service having exchanges or citing one another. The following are examples of fact-finding trips conducted in the 1910s–1930s. Having recently been appointed as Assistant Director of Education (Malay), Richard Winstedt toured Java and gathered his observations in his 1917 *Report on Vernacular and Industrial Education in the Netherlands East Indies and the Philippines*. Furthermore, Winstedt's 1925 Report of the Technical Education Committee on "the feasibility of industrial and technical education in Singapore" cited the *Handbook of the Netherlands East Indies* (1924) for pointers on "technical training for natives" (15). In 1929, Dr. B. J. O. Schrieke, Director of Education, Worship and Industry (1929–1934) for the Dutch East Indies visited parts of "Indo-China, Siam and Malaya to investigate educational conditions in [these] countries" ("Java Notes"). Similarly, in preparation for his 1938 *Report on Vocational Education in Malaya,* H. R. Cheeseman of the Malayan Educational Service paid "a visit to representative vocational centres in Java" and Bandung.

Defining crafts and vocational education

In this section, we seek to understand policies and approaches to 'crafts' and 'vocational' education—doing so would render the motivations that belied policies and implementations of craft or trade schools with greater clarity.

Definitions of native art, craft and architecture in the Dutch East Indies were hardly static during the colonial period and changes in definitions may be traced through the Dutch presentations at world expositions during the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries. Marieke Bloembergen's doctoral dissertation (translated and published by NUS Press in 2006), *Colonial Spectacles: Netherlands and the Dutch East Indies at the World Exhibitions, 1880–1931*, is invaluable in illuminating how Indonesian crafts and architecture moved from being classified as ethnographic artefacts, to being referred to as objects of lux-

ury, "antiquity" and "applied arts". Bloembergen paid special attention to the exhibitions at Amsterdam (1883), Paris (1889, 1900) and Brussels (1910).

In the *International Colonial and Export Trade Exhibition* of 1883 in Amsterdam, a category of "arts and sciences" was included within the ethnographic section. Lindon Serrurier, then Director of the Museum of Ethnography, claimed that the "indigenous medicines and poisons" and the indigenous arts of "draughtsmanship, painting, sculpture and lacquerwork" were products of "uncivilized and semi-civilized peoples", that were less valuable in terms of art and sciences and more helpful for ethnographic study (Bloembergen, 83). Native practices and crafts were thus seen as ethnographic artefacts that aided studies into peoples or races.

The Dutch exhibition at the 1889 Parisian *Exposition Universelle* focused on exhibiting "Oriental decorative and luxury products" that were becoming increasingly popular in Europe, especially Paris. Crafts from the Dutch territory—such as braided straw hats, cigar cases made of peacock feather, and filigree silverwork (Bloembergen, 2006: 124)—were presented to the European market as objects of luxury.

At the *Exposition Universelle* of 1900 in Paris, the Netherlands colonial section displayed a reconstruction of Candi Sari, a ninth-century Javanese Buddhist Temple. The focus shifted from the display of village life and banal everyday objects to art treasures from an ancient civilisation that predated the West (Bloembergen, 2006: 218); objects of antiquity were central to the modernist search for a timeless beauty and truth.

At the 1910 World Exhibition in Brussels, the Dutch section included a daily display of 'applied arts' from the colony. The display of native applied arts (commercial products made by a community of people with presumably shared traditional skills) served two purposes: signifying how the Ethical Policy resulted in the native population's economic improvement and a respect for the indigenous culture, including its aesthetic sensibilities and values.

Due to the changing status of Singapore during the early twentieth century—from being a commercial centre (described variously as an entrepot and emporium) to an emerging industrial centre—a growing list of demands were made by missionaries, educators and legislative members for greater diversity in educational models. What followed over the same period was a series of legislative and public debates. Peach's paper on *The Case for Vocational Education* at the 1939 Educational Conference of Malaya proves instructive in this regard as it presents a list of working definitions. Of particular interest are the following terms: 'trade and industrial education', 'industrial arts', 'vocational training' and 'technical training' (Peach, 1939: 31–32).

While there were overlaps between the forms of 'vocational education' under discussion, distinction was made between the types of institutions and their different programmatic emphases. While 'vocational training' encompassed any training "that [would] assist the individual to earn his living in a specific vocation (professional, commercial, agricultural, trade and industrial fields)" and covered various levels and forms of education, 'trade and industrial education' was more specifically defined as being "offered in Trade and Technical Schools at post-elementary or post-secondary levels". 'Industrial Arts' covered "handicraft units of a more vocational bias" while 'technical training' chiefly dealt with "tools and materials" rather than "persons and ideas" (*ibid*). While it would be pedantic to expect these terms to be strictly adhered to, it is worth noting that contemporaneous categories such as 'craft schools', 'applied art' or 'commercial art' were often left ill-defined.

Educational experiences and colonial attitudes

Education for the native populations was a shared concern that was shaped by prevailing colonial attitudes in British Malaya and the Dutch East Indies on different terms.

Although the Kingdom of Netherlands gained control of Indonesia in 1816, it was not until 1849 that a public elementary school was established (Van der Veur, 1969: 1). The establishment of the first training school for native teachers in 1851 served as groundwork for the development of native education; by 1871, the Royal Decree formalised the first wave of regulations for native education (Wal, 1961: 5). By 1893, two types of native elementary schools were introduced: 'First Class' schools for children of local aristocracy and the well-to-do, and 'Second Class' schools for the general population (Van der Veur, 1969: 2).

At the tail end of the nineteenth century, ethical movements compelled the Dutch colonial government to bear responsibility for the debt owed to the East Indies people due to the *cultuurstelsel* revenue system. This led to the introduction of the Dutch Ethical Policy in 1901 which resulted in rapid social change and reforms across areas such as education and industrialisation. While proponents of the Ethical Policy were in favour of improving education for the native population, there were two competing perspectives on what kind of educational model should be implemented—as evidenced in opposing emphases on education for elites and mass education.

Dirk Fock, Minister of Colonies from 1905 to 1908, encouraged mass education in the form of technical and vocational schools. Fock insisted on education that emphasised practical knowledge, given that, "various vocational schools had been

opened by Christian missions since 1881 in Minahasa, Sumatra and Java" (Ricklefs, 2008: 190). The intention was to encourage native enterprise, based on available skills and resources. This led to the release of a Government Bill that supported the establishment of native craft/trade schools (*inlandsch ambachtsschools*) in 1909, and the opening of vocational schools in three main cities in Java.

The schools in Singapore for the period can largely be divided into schools offering an English education or vernacular education (with instruction in Chinese, Malay and Tamil)—English-medium schools can be further divided into mission schools and government schools. A frequent lament expressed in the English newspapers from the 1900s to the 1930s was that "better education" was not forthcoming and more options were needed.

On the issue of native 'arts and crafts', the British in Malaya were aware that "organized efforts, supported both by Government and by private individuals, [had been] made to encourage and preserve native industries" in Ceylon and the Dutch East Indies ("Malacca Manufactures"). However, attempts to preserve native crafts through schools and schemes to market handicrafts were slow to gain traction. Even as a "Malay Industrial School of Art" commenced classes at Kuala Kangsar, in Perak, Malaysia in 1902, the tradition of handicrafts was already deemed to have been "in danger of disappearing, owing to the fact that almost everything of importance used by natives can now be imported from Europe at a cheap rate" (*ibid*). With regard to 'technical education', J. B. Elcum, then Director of Public Instruction, complained about the "peculiar difficulties in instructing the heterogeneous Asiatic population in handicrafts, agriculture or such subjects" ("Education in the Straits"). An additional challenge to opening craft schools was that official perspectives on labour issues were heavily coloured by the belief that "many forms of manual labour are looked upon as coolie labour to be engaged in solely by the raw importations from China and Southern India, even skilled labour is unattractive and for the most part is supplied by those who have been born and trained outside the Colony" ("Destitution in the Straits"). Hence, it is regrettable that by 1938, the "only craft school in Malaya" existed as a part of the Sultan Idris Training College for vernacular (Malay) school teachers ("Malayan Arts and Crafts").

The first schools and the role of missionaries. The following section will cover the prevailing conditions for colonial interventions and early 'experiments' by missionaries and the colonial administrations.

In the Dutch East Indies, the most notable trade or craft schools were established in Java in the mid-nineteenth century (Ricklefs, 2008: 190; Bloembergen, 2006: 249; Majid, 2016). In Surabaya, an *ambachtsschool*, aimed at helping less-fortunate Indo-Europeans, was opened in 1853 by *Zending*, a Dutch missionary. Over the years, *Zending's ambachtsschool* faced various difficulties: the unpopularity of technical education, an inability to secure funding and social tensions amongst the Indo-European communities (Majid, 2016: 53–72).

Following a 1905 government inquiry helmed by J. E. Jasper on the educational needs of the local population, native vocational schools (*inlandsch ambachtsschools*) were established in Semarang, Batavia and Surabaya in 1909 and 1910 (Majid, 2016: 72; Bloembergen, 2006: 249). For the establishment of vocational schools in the East Indies natives received formal government support as outlined in the Government Bill of 1 October 1909 No. 27 and they came under the ambit of the Ministry of Education, Worship and Industry (Bovenkamp, 1919: 436). These schools were open to pupils aged 13 to 17 and had courses such as metalwork, carpentry and furniture-making conducted in Malay (Majid, 2016: 72–73). While *Zending's ambachtsschool* prioritised the economic betterment of Indo-Europeans, the Native Trade Schools' strove to create a workforce for the increasingly industrialising town of Surabaya.

Whereas other *ambachtsschool* in the Indies were headed by Dutch officials or missionaries, two *ambachtsschool* in Java were headed by a local regent, R. M. T. Koesoemo Oetoyo. In 1904, as a Ngawi regent, Oetoeyo set up government-subsidised schools for "cottage industries" with lessons in furniture-making and wickerwork (Bloembergen, 2006: 249). In 1929, as the regent of the town of Jepara, Oetoyo formalised an Openbare ("public") Ambachtsschool, where wood carving for furniture, a popular craft from the area, was a subject of study (Ramadhan, 2007: 92).

In 1881, *Zending* also set up a trade school in Tanawangko, North Sulawesi, whose operations were based to the teacher training school in the area, where lessons in carpentry, carving and weaving were included in the curriculum (Departemen 1979, 97–98; Departemen 1993, 69). A key figure in the development of the teachers' school (opened as early as 1851) in Tanawangko was Nicolaas Graafland, a missionary trained at the Mission Home in Rotterdam—he was stationed at Minahasa with the task of creating a teacher training school in this region. Graafland's aim for the teachers' school was to "provide popular education, i.e. education that would be integrated in society, because it fulfilled the needs of that society" (Kroeskamp, 1973: 187). In his 1879 article, Graafland reiterated the need for an education that placed

"manual labour" ("rattan work, mat making and basketry") at the heart of its curriculum as it was central to Minahasan industry (Kroeskamp, 1973: 193; Henley, 1992: 241).

Similar to the trade schools in Surabaya, Graafland's "school of doing" included lessons in practical skills such as carving and metalwork. A principal objective of the school was "the acquisition of skill in the use of familiar tools, and the laying of a sound foundation for practising crafts". According to Kroeskamp, Graafland's notion of a future school would have been "a school of industry, a school of doing", that would suit the local population's agrarian and communal way of life (Kroeskamp, 1973: 191–3).

Native trade, craft and vocational schools were often met with cynicism, and early twentieth century popular media often carried musings on why such school models tended to fail. Government Minister Snouck Hurgronje, for example, was pessimistic about the prospects of native vocational schools—he criticised the "childlike" character of the natives, their inability to form personal opinions (Bloembergen, 2006: 248) and how such schools aided the local population in seeking employment in European establishments instead of stimulating indigenous enterprise (Ricklefs, 2008: 190).

A 1919 article from the *Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift* (or *Indies Architectural Magazine*) written by A. van de Bovenkamp outlines several reasons for the failure of native craft schools. The problems included: inappropriate adoption of the Dutch craft education model; lack of contact and communication between the Dutch Inspector and Dutch committees in the Indies; disregard of students as evident in class scheduling; teachers who lacked practical expertise in skills that were popular among local producers; admission requirements that were too high; curriculum that was too theory-based and disassociated craft from practical labour. Bovenkamp concluded his article with two notes on the relationship between craft, education and industry: first, that students must learn to realise the value of their work and expect suitable payment for it, and second, that it is important for students' works to enter the market (Bovenkamp, 1919: 436–9).

In Singapore, serious consideration of alternatives to the existing models of English secondary education and vernacular schools began to gain traction in the 1910s with Dr. Richard Windstedt, then Assistant Director of Education, making recommendations to the same in his 1917 and 1925 reports on vernacular and technical education. However, doubts over the viability of trade schools and a perceived lack of demand continued to dog the issue of technical or vocational education for years in spite of signs to the contrary. In a 1923 educational conference, Winstedt found the curriculum of English schools to be "mere preparation for the clerical service" ("Educational Conference"). The growth of the clerical class was to become a contentious issue and a cause of resentment towards the colonial authorities especially during trade slumps like the 1929 depression (Blackburn, 2017: 48–53).

In 1911, 'technical classes' by the charitable organisation the YMCA (Young Men's Christian Association) of Singapore became the "first steps in the provision of technical education" ("Technical Classes"). With courses conducted over a period of 24 weeks, the growing list of courses included "Building Construction and Architecture" amongst others. While the courses received official approval, they were closed after just a few years due to "poor attendance" ("Technical Education").

The first two Government Trade Schools established in British Malaya were 'experiments': the first in Kuala Lumpur in 1926 and the second in Singapore in 1930 ("Colony's Trade School"; "Singapore Experiment"). In each case, the result of these 'experiments' would guide decisions on whether the authorities should expand the existing trade schools or build new ones. While classes in Kuala Lumpur were conducted in Malay, those in Singapore were delivered in English.

The first Government Trade School in Singapore was open to students aged 14 to 17 of all races. The first batch of 46 male students undertook a three-year programme in "mechanical workshop practice and motor mechanics" ("Education in the Colony"). When the trade school commenced, it had "only three sections—motor engineering, machine shop and bench work" while "plumbing, blacksmiths, and electrical classes" were added a few years later in response to demand ("Singapore Experiment"). While tailoring and carpentry was offered in government trade schools in the other states of British Malaya, the Singapore trade school focused on engineering-related courses (Colonial Office, 1939: 137–138). Captain O. S. Webb, then Principal, echoed the view of the government in his 1933 annual prize-giving speech that it was "hardly wise to rely upon vernacular and English secondary education". Webb described trade education as "a second string to our bow" and that it was "supplementary to other education" ("Singapore Experiment"). A 1935 article in the local Sunday Tribune declared that graduates had "excellent prospects" and could look forward to a "good start in life in municipal departments, well-known engineering and commercial establishments" ("Trade School"). In a 1938 report, a committee led by Cheeseman made proposals for broadening the reach of vocational education. This was followed by a 1939 report on Higher Education in Malaya which clarified the need for general (not specific) technical training in Singapore in particular, "where there [was] a not inconsiderable amount of general industrial activity" (Colonial Office, 1939: 139).

A second trade school in Singapore was opened by Brothers of the Gabrielist order in 1938. The Brothers had previously established similar schools in Bangkok, believed in "the dignity of labour" and had ambitions to offer courses in "agriculture, carpentry, printing and mechanics" for poor students ("New Trade School"). While the school initially struggled with funds, the St Joseph's Trade School and Orphanage (later shortened to St Joseph's Trade School) commenced with two courses: gener-

al mechanics and printing, each being a three-year training programme. Later, with physical additions made to the school grounds, carpentry was added as a third course. Boys training in printing composed type by hand (not linotype) and printed "calendars, booklets and programmes" by means of "old-fashioned printing" (Tan, 2017). Graduates would go on to find employment at the Government Printing Office or other local presses like the Chinese presses. Brother Vincent, one of the instructors at the school, noted that "it was quite easy to impress them [Printer's Association, Singapore], because anybody with training was preferable to somebody who knew nothing" (Tan, 2017). Many of the boys trained in mechanics were eventually employed by the British Army at the time while those trained in carpentry entered the building trade.

Reflections

While the schools discussed here were either in a nebulous state or in some instances, failed, they fed into prevailing concerns: preserving native crafts, aiding industrialisation, and tackling youth employment. The dominant orientation in contemporary design education in Singapore and Indonesia is one that is vocational and market-driven—its roots can be traced to historical approaches to education that were largely driven by concerns of employability and enterprise. Early 'experiments' in vocational education could also be understood as an initiation into 'modernity' and mass education. Hence, we contend that the overwhelming vocational orientation of contemporary design education in Singapore and Indonesia has its roots in craft and trade education from the discourses and experiments in the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Furthermore, the absence of 'native' or 'vernacular' arts and crafts in contemporary design curriculum can be traced to the wedge driven between 'native' arts and 'industrial' arts (consequently deemed 'modern').

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Education and Professionalisation of Commercial Art in 1930s Colonial Korea: The *Tonga Ilbo Commercial Art Exhibition* (1938–1939) as Displayed Colonial Modernity

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Commercial art / Design education / Colonial modernity / Korean design / Graphic design

This study investigates education and professionalisation of commercial art in 1930s Korea under Japanese colonial rule, through a close examination of the *Tonga Ilbo Commercial Art Exhibition*, one of the most publicly promoted commercial art events of the time. Taking a transnational approach, the paper compares student contest-exhibitions in Korea and Japan, as well as broader contexts of secondary vocational education. This reveals how parallel developments of commercial art emerged at the educational level between the colony and the metropole, if with a temporal difference. School records show that similar activities and training were carried out, and visual comparison of exhibition works indicate that there was no significant difference in terms of style and technique. However, professional opportunities for commercial art differed significantly, as in Korea commercial art had not developed as a proper profession, where there was little social recognition or self-identification of the commercial artist as a dedicated expert. From this I argue that the TICAE and its images reflect what I call 'displayed modernity' in colonial Korea, which refers to a fundamental discordance between the visible superficial gloss of self-consciously 'modern' images, and the fragile industrial and social basis to sustain the production of such images.

Introduction

The *Tonga Ilbo Commercial Art Exhibition* (Tonga Ilbo Sangŏp Misul Chŏllamhoe, hereafter the TICAE) was a nationwide poster and newspaper ad design contest-exhibition for secondary commercial school (K: *chungdŭng sangŏp hakkyo*) students, which was held in 1938 and 1939 by the most prominent Korean-language newspaper *Tonga ilbo*. It is a significant case in the history of visual communication design in Korea, as one of the most publicly promoted events of commercial art and advertising during the colonial period. However, in Korean advertising and design histories, the contest has been mentioned merely in terms of its existence (Shin and Sŏ, 2011), and its socio-cultural implications within the colonial context and the visual characteristics of the works have largely been overlooked. Perhaps this has been due to the relatively small amount of surviving records, limited to several announcements and a series of 'on-paper exhibition' (*chisangjŏn*) each year, published in the *Tonga ilbo*. In this paper, in addition to a closer examination of remaining records and images, I locate the exhibition in a broader transnational context across Korea and Japan, to articulate its significance as a colonial design phenomenon, and therefore as a visual reflection of colonial modernity.

The *National Commercial Art Exhibition* (1934–1940) and propagation of commercial art education in Japan

According to an announcement published in the *Tonga ilbo* in 1938, the TICAE was supposedly the first of its kind in Korea. But this was only partly true, because students on the Korean Peninsula, both Korean and Japanese, had previously experienced the commercial art contest-exhibition format. As early as 1936, commercial schools in Korea had been participating in similar events held in Japan.

In Japan, fostering young talent in secondary commercial schools through commercial art contests was a convention established in the mid-1930s. The discussion of commercial art as a significant educational discipline emerged in the early 1930s, following the introduction of the Japanese term '*shōgyō bijutsu*' (commercial art) around 1926, and the establishment of commercial art as a distinctive artistic and professional field around 1930. Hamada Masuji, one of the most prominent commercial art theorists and supposedly the originator of the term *shōgyō bijutsu*, published *Commercial art textbook* (*Shōgyō bijutsu kyōhon*, 1931) and *Commercial art guide book* (*Shōgyō bijutsu seigi*, 1932), asserting that commercial art, as a more practical discipline, should replace the existing '*zuga*' (art) courses in secondary commercial schools. Other textbooks by educators followed, such as *Essential Commercial Art* (*Shōgyō zuga yōgi*, 1932) and *Standard Commercial Art* (*Hyōjun shōgyō bijutsu*, 1933), further emphasising the need for commercial art education. Presumably informed and influenced by these publications, commercial schools across Japan started to establish commercial art clubs as part of their extracurricular activities, holding student exhibitions and forming regional networks (WKWSGK, 1935).

Ensuing the publication of textbooks and club activities regarding commercial art in secondary commercial schools, the Japanese *Commercial Art Exhibition* (*Shōgyō Bijutsu Tenrankai*, hereafter the CAE) was first held in 1934. It was a contest and exhibition for student poster designs, organised to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of Japan's vocational (*jitsugyō*) education, of which commercial schools were a part. In the first occasion only 42 commercial schools in the Kantō area participated, but its scale grew quickly as it repeated. In 1936, the exhibition was renamed as the *National Commercial Art Exhibition* (*Zenkoku Shōgyō Bijutsu Tenrankai*, hereafter the NCAE), and was expanded to a nationwide, or an imperial scale, inviting schools from the colonies as well (ZSBKK, 1936). By 1938, more than a thousand works were submitted each year, and selected works were presented in subsequent public exhibitions. Until its discontinuance in 1940 due to the heightened wartime climate, the NCAE gained popularity and retained its high-profile position among commercial schools and their students in Japan. It seems that this success was achieved because the purpose and contents of the contest coincided with the

needs and interests of various agents surrounding it. While students and art teachers in commercial schools would have directly benefitted as major participants, commercial art professionals, aspiring to social recognition and promotion in the field, welcomed it as well.

Fig. 2 *Grand-prix winners of the TICAE in 1939* (above: poster, below: newspaper ad). *Tonga ilbo*, 23 Sep, 1939.

'Practicalisation of education' policy in the imperial and colonial context

In addition to the directly involved agents, state policy also played a crucial role in supporting the expansion of *NCAE* and commercial art as an educational discipline in Japan. Modern education in Japan followed a dichotomous system, consisting of two types of education according to the purpose: liberal (*futsū*) and vocational. While the former had been respected and favoured as the 'elite' education, due to the easier entry and focus on practical skills, the latter had been looked down on as 'collateral' (*bōkeiteki*). However, as education became more common, and especially as more a skilled workforce was required to follow Japan's industrial growth, educational policies were employed to 'expand and enhance vocational education among all citizens' (MJG, 1936).

The exhibition, as well as the idea of commercial art as a discipline for commercial schools, corresponded to the Japanese government's educational policies which aimed at the promotion and enhancement of vocational education through 'practicalisation' (*jissaika*). From the 1930s, vocational schools were urged to focus more on their practical nature and teach the skills that students could use directly in the professional world. In 1933, government subsidies were boosted for 'practical' activities, which included commercial art training in commercial schools (MJG, 1936). In 1936, the Japanese Ministry of Education granted commercial art research funds to Tokyo Keihoku Vocational School, which had hosted the *CAE* in the previous year. From 1937, the ministry extended the support for commercial art education, officially sponsoring the *NCAE* itself. In short, within the government policy of 'practicalisation of education', commercial art was promoted as a means to practicalise art education.

This correspondence between the Japanese imperial government's policy and commercial art education is also significant in the colonial context, as it explains the importation or transplantation of the student contest-exhibition platform to Korea. Korea, effectively as part of imperial Japan, was no exception from the application of 'practicalisation of education'. According to Korean educational historians, the policy was pursued more intensively and even severely, which is reflected in the colony-specific rhetoric of 'labour-centred education' and pronounced suppression of liberal education. Whereas 'practicalisation of education' presented a more literal sense of educational utility in the metropole, in the colony, it was also assigned a mission of assimilation, to contribute to the fostering of more adapting colonial subjects (An, 2015). It is in this context that commercial art education could have been adopted in commercial schools in Korea, when it was in fact 'impractical' because of its limited professional value in the colony, which will be discussed below.

Fig. 1 *Grand-prix winners of the TICAE in 1938* (above: poster, below: newspaper ad). *Tonga ilbo*, 30 Sep, 1938.

Commercial art education in Korea

While it is difficult to provide a comprehensive account of commercial art education in Korea due to the scarcity of remaining records, few retrospections left in school histories and alumni bulletins suggest that commercial art education had been adopted in commercial schools in Korea no later than 1934. According to the school history of Kyŏnggi Public Commercial School, it had an 'art club' (*misulbu*) that conducted activities related to commercial art. Notably, students of the art club held an exhibition in 1934 at the Minakai Department Store (KSKT, 1973). An article in the *Tonga ilbo* from 1934 suggests that the exhibition might have been themed on commercial art, where posters and storefront designs by students were presented. Another example, Tongsŏng Commercial School, had a 'poster club', which was particularly active from 1937, where its members participated in 'various poster exhibitions' (TCH, 2011).

These records, among others, show that the popular adoption of the term '*sangŏp misul*' ('commercial art', equivalent to '*shōgyō bijutsu*') and the propagation of commercial art education in commercial schools in Korea roughly coincided with the enhanced government support for the discipline and the expansion of the *NCAE*. Along the expansion of the exhibition to a 'national' event in 1936, commercial schools in Korea, although limited to public ones,

started to participate in the NCAE (ZSBKK, 1936). Two years later, the *Tonga ilbo* organised its own commercial art contest-exhibition. Although several schools had already participated in the NCAE in Japan, the TICAE was the first such event in Korea, incorporating public and private commercial schools across the peninsula.

The *Tonga Ilbo Commercial Art Exhibition*

The TICAE retained the same format in 1938 and 1939. Entries were divided into 'poster design' (*p'osŭt'a toan*) and 'newspaper ad design' (*shinmun kwanggo toan*). The topics for design were given by 12 sponsors each year, who were major clients of the newspaper as advertisers, a combination of Korean and Japanese businesses. Each division had grand-prix, first, second, and third prizes, and honourable mentions (*kajak*). Prize-winning works were exhibited for a week at the gallery inside Hwashin, the biggest Korean-owned department store in Seoul. After the actual exhibitions, the works were also featured in the *Tonga ilbo*, as an 'on-paper exhibition' (*chisangjŏn*). Normally two pieces were displayed each day, totalling 15 in 1938 and 21 in 1939. The reproductions in the newspaper are downsized, greyscale, and low-resolution, and it is rather difficult to confirm the details and restore the accurate image of the originals. Moreover, the lack of written critiques or comments by the judges is an obstacle to pinpointing how individual works were evaluated. Also the fact that only the prize-winning pieces are documented limits the understanding of the various aspects of artistic performance of the students. Nevertheless, the reproduced images as a collection are an important clue to understanding the state of student commercial art in Korea during the late 1930s. The works show that commercial school students in the colony had been trained with up-to-date stylistic and technical standards, on par with those in the metropole.

While the works presented through the two iterations of the TICAE were certainly not uniform, two particular streams of style or technique are salient in each division of poster design and newspaper ad design.

In poster design, a simple style of illustration was prevalent, with blurry airbrush effect and bold geometric form as key features, which is exemplified in the grand-prix winners. The poster from 1938 (Fig. 1, top) demonstrates the student's ability to arrange the layout and to use advanced skills in the right place. The main motifs, the birds and the birdhouse, are simplified into geometric blocks and, at the same time are visually distinguished from one another by the flat surface of the former and the three-dimensional texture of latter realised by the airbrush effect. The poster from 1939 (Fig. 2, top), while having a more complex layout, adopts similar techniques, with simplified silhouettes for the car, ship, and airplane, and the airbrush gradation around the product package in the centre.

The predominant mode of design observed in newspaper ad design, especially among the highly ranked works, is composite photography. The grand-prix piece of the 1938 iteration (Fig. 1, bottom), designed for Morinaga Confectionary, is a representative example, which uses photomontage to form the main motif, combining photographic and non-photographic elements together. The angle of the original photo seems to be well-calculated, and the visual elements are allocated in a balanced manner. The use of photomontage can be seen as an effective choice, as it allowed the design to convey a compressed message while maintaining a simple visual structure. The newspaper ad from 1939 (Fig. 2, bottom) also uses composite photography, where an illustration of a baby is placed over a photo of a female figure, which are then highlighted with a halo-like background.

These stylistic traits of the works in the TICAE reflect the up-to-date commercial art training that students in Korea would have received. One of the most fashionable modes of poster design in 1930s Japanese professional commercial art was simple geometric forms combined with airbrush or gradient effects. This style had its roots in German and British commercial art from the 1920s, with additional influences from contemporary European designers such as A. M. Cassandre. It was established as a stereotypical style in Japan in the 1930s, often known as the 'modern French style', which is also frequently featured in student works in the NCAE (Fig. 3).

On the other hand, examples of ads that were actually published in contemporary newspapers provide an interesting comparison between the students in the colony and the professionals in the metropole. Figure 4 is an ad for the Japanese brand Morinaga in a Korean newspaper, which was likely designed in Japan by leading Japanese designers and then translated for

Fig. 3 *Poster division grand-prix winners of the 6th NCAE in 1939* (ZSBKK, 1939).

Fig. 4 *Morinaga Dry Milk ad. Tonga Ilbo*, 25 Feb, 1939.

the Korean market. Even for the professionals, using cropped and transformed photographic elements was a cutting-edge technique, and its use in the works in *TICAE* reflect the technical and stylistic contemporaneity of commercial art between Korea and Japan. The stylistic traits and techniques of the Japanese professional commercial art world were quickly employed at the educational level, not only by the students in the 'mainland' (*naichi*), but also by those in the colonies.

The stylistic consistency between Korean and Japanese student works is presumably related to the fact that art teachers in secondary schools in Korea were mostly trained in Japan, and the same art textbooks were used. Moreover, the *NCAE* in Japan was open to students in the colonies, and its catalogues show that students from schools in Korea continuously participated and won prizes from 1936 to 1940. Arguably, the stylistic resemblance between Korean and Japanese student works indicates that in terms of general student performance, there was no significant gap between the metropole and the colony. What was significantly different, however, was the level of professional opportunity as a commercial artist after graduation.

Limited professionalisation of commercial art in Korea. In both Korea and Japan, becoming a dedicated commercial artist was not ordinary for commercial school graduates, as normally they were expected to become businessmen in 'practical business' (K: *shirŏp*, J: *jitsugyō*). Nevertheless, it was not impossible to pursue a career in commercial art from a commercial school, at least in the metropole. In fact, while this career path was rare, in Japan there were significant cases of students who discovered their artistic talents and successfully paved their way into the professional commercial art world. For example, Nakamura Makoto, the post-war graphic designer who led Shiseido advertising until the 1980s, was a graduate of Morioka Commercial School (1939–1943), and a member of the school's art club. If a commercial school student in Japan had the willingness and skills to become a professional commercial artist, the possibility was open. Higher education institutions in art, and training and support from the advertising and commercial art industry played a crucial role in extending and connecting commercial art education in commercial schools to a professional level.

In contrast, although similar training and activities of commercial art took place, no instance has been found of a student who pursued a career as a commercial artist from a commercial school, which hints at the improbability or difficulty of producing a professional commercial artist in colonial Korea in this context. Relative lack of educational and professional opportunities outside the school or after graduation would have limited students from pursuing commercial art professionally. On the other hand, expectations and social status of commercial school graduates was higher in Korea than in Japan, which ironically made commercial art a less likely profession for them. Because there was a fundamental shortage of post-primary education, in colonial Korea, vocational education was still elite education (O, 1998). Since students underwent tough competitions to receive education in the first place, they showed a strong tendency towards working for banks, large corporations, and government offices, which assured social status and wealth.

Moreover, whereas in Japan commercial art was gradually established and recognised as a specialised occupation from the mid-1920s, in Korea it was not broadly acknowledged as a proper profession, and certainly not an attractive or flourishing one, even into the 1930s and 1940s. This seems to be related to the absence of higher education art institutions in Korea, but it also reflects the fundamental fragility of commercial art and advertising as an industry. According to Thomson, although regarding the American context, for the professionalisation of commercial art, substantial industrial demand for the work, and an 'exclusive, organized community of people with shared interests' in the form of strong associations that inspire 'identity and pride' were needed (Thomson, 1997).

However, as historians of Korean advertising have continuously pointed out, throughout the colonial period, the growth of local businesses was limited, and therefore demand for local advertising production was insignificant (Shin and Sŏ, 2011). Advertising in Korea, including commercial art as its component of production, was an industry that was particularly highly dependent on companies and products from the metropole. Compared to the overall volume of advertisements published in the media, the amount of work to be done locally in Korea was marginal. More than half of total ads were produced in the metropole, and imported, as the products they advertised were. On the other hand, it should be noted that professional associations did exist, such as the Korean Commercial Artist Association (Chosŏn Sangŏp Misulga Hyŏp'oe) and the Korean Commercial Art Association (Chosŏn Sangŏp Misul Hyŏp'oe), founded in 1936 and 1937 respectively. However, there is no evidence to suggest that these associations formed a strong and active network of dedicated professionals, at least presented through publications or exhibitions. Of course, this does not mean that artwork with commercial purposes did not exist, nor that the term '*sangŏp misul*' (commercial art) was not used altogether. Nevertheless, despite the presence of commercial art phenomena, 'there were no designers' (Shin and Sŏ, 2011) in colonial Korea, not in a sense that the commercial art producers did not exist, but in that the work they did was not widely professionalised.

Conclusion: displayed modernity in colonial Korea

With the continuing colonial rule leaving little room to anticipate political independence, from the 1930s, 'modernity' (*kŭndae*) in colonial Korea was increasingly expressed in the everyday life and consumption of urban elites, rather than discussed as a Korean nationalist project or ideal as in the earlier periods (Kim C., 1999). But as the prominent modernist poet and literary critic Kim Ki-rim wrote in 1940, modernity in Korea was 'merely fragmentarily displayed (*tanp'yŏnjŏk ŭro chinyŏl toen*) as a shop window, only in terms of the consuming city and the consuming life'. According to him, this meant that despite earlier efforts, the colony was 'after all unable to develop the system of production to modern scale and ways' (Kim K., 1988).

Drawing on Kim Ki-rim, I suggest 'displayed modernity' as an articulation of the clearly visible, yet 'fragmented' traces of modernity in the realm of advertising and commercial art in colonial Korea. Modernity was displayed in that modern consumption in line with metropolitan or even global trends was represented. Moreover, the visual traits of images in Korea increasingly conformed to the styles that were consciously considered modern in Japan at the time. As I have shown through the student works in the *TICAE*, self-consciously modern images of commercial art, in parallel to the metropole, were produced in the colony at the educational level as well.

Nevertheless, I argue that modernity in the colony was displayed in the sense that it was superficial rather than realised systematically, where there existed a significant discordance between the observed visual gloss and fragile social and economic conditions. The latter not only refers to the limited availability of modern consumption to a small number of urbanites and the shortage of local or Korean manufacture, but more importantly, to the critical lack of a social and industrial system to sustain the production of the images themselves. Commercial art had not developed as a proper profession in Korea, to an extent that there was barely no social recognition or self-identification of the producers as dedicated experts. At the educational level, although commercial art was taught at secondary commercial schools, gaining a certain level of popularity and showing stylistic and technical developments, there was a substantial lack of professional opportunity as a next step. In this sense, the *TICAE* and its images reflect the displayed modernity in colonial Korea, where the superficial gloss of modern images was present on the page, but the social mechanisms to sustain and reproduce them were limited.

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When We Were Modern; Corporate Identity in Cork Pubs 1960–69

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Ireland / Cork / Public houses / Corporate identity / Lettering

The Irish public house (pub) is a key element of Ireland's identity. From abroad, pubs are seen as quintessentially traditional, easily identifiable, unchanging and consistent in their design. However there is strong evidence that pubs have been the sites of significant innovation and modernising influences on Irish life over the past eighty years. This paper examines the corporate identity and branding of pubs owned by Murphy's Brewery in Cork City and of their 'Murphy' brand beer. This paper contributes to the discussion of the regional effects of cosmopolitan Modernism, as demonstrated through a company's house style, and broadens the discussion of design in the British Isles beyond the UK. Despite Cork's remoteness and small size, rather than being enslaved to tradition, Murphy's brewery was in fact engaged with metropolitan influences from London, especially the branding work of Milner Gray and the Design Research Unit. This led to a wide-ranging overhaul of Murphy-owned pubs involving professional and amateur designers during the 1960s. These individuals sought to address the key social and economic changes occurring in Ireland during this decade: a boom in tourism, rising prosperity and the growing popularity of pubs amongst women.

Fig. 1 Detail of the Watney's 'House Identification Manual', from *Design Coordination and Corporate Image*, by Henrion and Parker (FHK Henrion Archive, University of Brighton Design Archive, by kind permission of the Henrion estate).

Introduction

When one considers a typical 'Irish Pub', whether in Ireland or one of their many 'simulacra' [1] overseas one might imagine dark brown, smoky interiors, walls lined with bric-a-brac and perhaps people listening to traditional music or joining in a sing-song. According to recent research, when tourists were presented with a number of photographs of Irish places, 'a traditional music/pub scene was considered by the majority of correspondents—irrespective of nationality—the most representative of Ireland' [2] (Murphy, 2007: 165). Of course, Irish alcoholic drinks manufacturers have had a large part to play in planting an image of the Irish pub in tourists' minds (McGovern, 2003: 88). Whilst this image is part of the story of the Irish pub, it is to a considerable extent a fabrication, or at least only part of the story. In the 1960s, a significant re-branding of a chain of 200 pubs and associated artefacts in the south of Ireland was undertaken which considerably complicates the usual consideration of pubs as bastions of traditional visual culture.

David Preston has explored how, from the late 1940s, some leading British graphic designers began to shift the emphasis of their work from 'expression' to 'order', extending their responsibility to a greater range of their clients' activities than had been the case heretofore. According to Preston, 'central to this approach was the concept of recognisability', that is to say, the cumulative impact of the designer's activity was far greater than the sum of their individual impacts. More than merely implementing a 'house style', it was a shift 'away from making and towards planning' (Preston, 2012). In 1967, this novel way of providing design services was characterised as 'design co-ordination' by FHK Henrion and Alan Parkin in their book 'Design Coordination and Corporate Image' (Henrion and Parkin, 1967). Henrion and Parkin lauded coordinated projects in a number of corporations including IBM and Braun. The work of the Design Research Unit (DRU) for a British brewer, Watney Mann, was also praised. British graphic designer Milner Gray and the DRU had been working with Watney Mann on the identity of their premises, products and services since the late 1950s. By 1966, the DRU consultancy had produced a 'House Identification Manual' (HIM, Fig. 1) which consisted of specifications for pub fascia signs, point-of-sale items, bottle labels, vehicle liveries and much more (Cotton, 2011).

The DRU's work on the Watney Mann account entered the canon of British design when it was promoted by the British Council of Industrial Design at a successful exhibition in the summer of 1966,[3] and described in the first book-length study of the DRU, *The Practical Idealists;*

[1] Following Jean Baudrillard's formulation describing copies created without an extant prototype.
[2] In this study of 140 interviewees they were also shown: a scene of Dublin city centre, a pony and trap, a fishing scene, and a golf course.
[3] The 'Here's How' Exhibition, Council of Industrial Design, Haymarket, London, July 1966 attracted 50,000 visitors.

Twenty Five Years of Design for Industry in 1969 (Blake and Blake, 1969: 105). The following year, 'Communication by Design' by James Pilditch continued the promotion of this work. In 2011 a touring exhibition and accompanying book, *Design Research Unit 1942–72*, by Michelle Cotton also singled out the Watney's project. What has not been recognised to date is the influence of the DRU on an important design programme undertaken in the Republic of Ireland.

In the 1960s, the Republic of Ireland's second city, Cork, had two family-run breweries, both specialising in dark 'stout' beer. Murphy's 'Lady's Well Brewery' was the younger of the two, founded in 1856; the other was Beamish & Crawford (1792). To safeguard their local market, each brewery owned a number of pubs that were 'tied' to the breweries in a variety of ways; typically, the premises were owned by the brewer. Rather than private individual entrepreneurs, most publicans were tenants who undertook only to sell Murphy or Beamish products. Murphy owned 200 pubs in Cork city and county; the largest chain of pubs then or since.[4] In 1961, Cork was estimated to have one pub per 200 citizens.[5] Whilst it is recognised that many drinkers at the time were male, what is less well known is that from at least 1900 the bulk of Cork publicans were women (Ó Drisceoil and Ó Drisceoil, 1997: 121). Female drinkers however, were accommodated in 'snugs'—small rooms separated from the main public bar.

Murphy's Brewery House Style

Like many small and medium sized businesses at the time, Murphy did have a limited understanding of 'house style'. For example, from the beginning of the twentieth century it appears that there was an ad hoc attempt to use the same general letterform for advertising, signage and the company's letterhead. The metal rims on the wooden barrels used to transport their beer were painted red, the corporate colour. In addition, the company had begun several activities which can only be considered as part of a project of industrial modernization and economic development, including: building new pubs in Cork's expanding suburbs, closing un-profitable city centre pubs and trying to persuade their customers to accept metal beer kegs.

In 1964, as part of a general consolidation of the Irish brewing industry, a 30% share was taken in Murphy by Watney Mann (Ó Drisceoil and Ó Drisceoil, 1997: 123). Watney Mann already owned twelve breweries and had 6,500 of their own 'tied' houses in the UK. Following the relentless logic and technocratic philosophy inherent to design co-ordination, it was decided to implement the HIM in Ireland. From 1967 (the year in which Watney Mann completed their takeover)[6] all of Murphy's 'tied houses' were rebranded with a consistent signage, and later, all its point-of-sale, advertising and promotional items were also redesigned. However, the available evidence is that the implementation of the HIM in Cork differed from the general procedure in the UK.

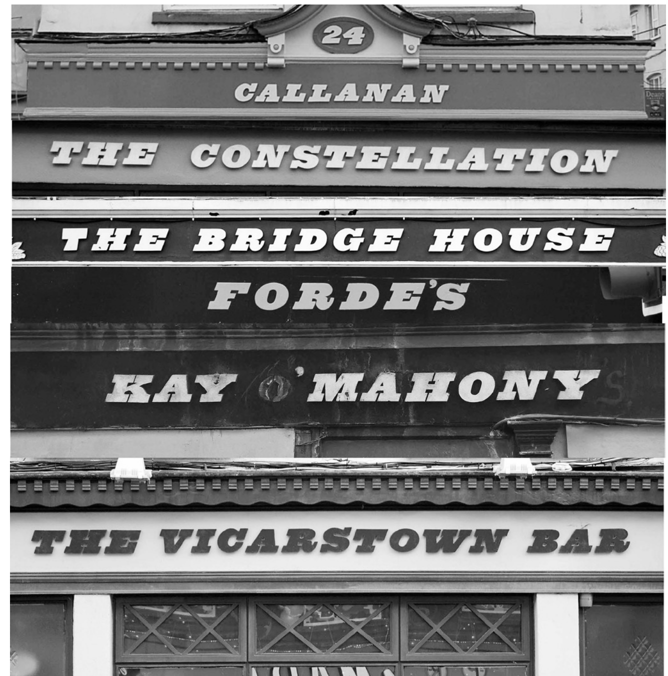

Fig. 2 Some surviving 1967 Murphy Pub fasciae in Cork City with Egyptian letters. © Author.

Implementing the House Identity Manual (HIM) at Murphy's

In terms of pub fasciae, the intention of the HIM was quite sophisticated. Rather than a one-size-fits-all approach, a range of letterforms for signage had been developed which could be selected by the local management depending on the architecture and location of the premises (Fig. 1). This concept met with the approval of Henrion and Parkin, who noted that the 'complete standardisation of letter form on fasciae [was] most undesirable' (Henrion and Parkin, 1967: 49). In Cork however, rather than selecting appropriate letterforms for each pub, a so-called Italic 'Egyptian' with white letters projecting from black panels was used for the fasciae of all of them (Fig. 2).

The DRU had a long association with the 'Egyptian' letter (or 'English Two-line Antique' in the terminology of the HIM) and

[4] Tied pubs are a feature of the British beer trade too, but were rare in Ireland outside Cork.

[5] 'Too Many Licensees' *The Licensed Vintner*, Vol 27, No 1, Jun 1961, p.23. Compared to 1:800 for Belfast and 1:1,000 for Dublin.

[6] 'Watney Mann's 51% interest in J.J. Murphy', *Irish Times*, 15 Jun 1967, p.12.

had implemented it very successfully throughout the Festival of Britain Exhibition in 1951 (Gray, 1960: 165–166). The popularity of the Egyptian letter after the festival had led to it becoming a shorthand signifier of a particular British strain of modernity, especially popular for signage and shop fasciae. In 1960 Nicolete Gray had praised it as 'the best [architectural letter] which has so far been invented' (Gray, 1960: 41). In particular, Gray commended the letter for its inherently three-dimensional nature, which made it ideal for architectural use. Given that Beamish and Murphy were selling virtually indistinguishable stouts, brand discrimination through graphic design was paramount. Hence, in selecting one letterform alone, Murphy created a strong visual identity and made it easier for drinkers to identify a Murphy establishment from a Beamish one, even if much of the subtly of the HIM design concept was lost.

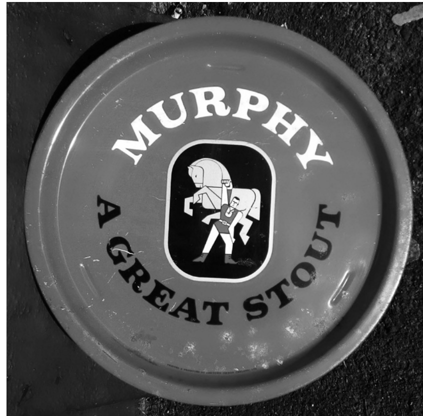

Fig. 3 *Murphy Stout Waiter Tray,* c.1966. Design; Domas, Dublin. Manufacturer; Ashtown Tinbox (Ireland) Ltd. (Courtesy Cissie Young's Bar, Cork © Author).

In accordance with the HIM, the 'Murphy' logotype was also redesigned, using a 'Clarendon Bold' letter developed by the DRU and specified by them for use to identify brand names. This letter was also used on waiter trays (Fig. 3), counter-top beer dispensers (Fig. 4), promotional items (Fig. 5), company letterheads and external illuminated signage.

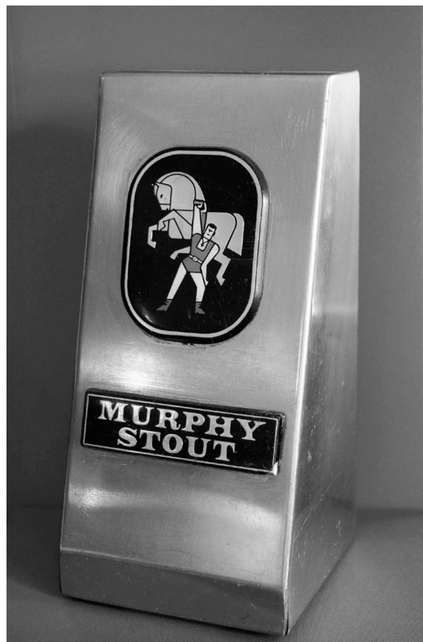

Fig. 4 *Murphy Stout Bar-top Dispenser,* c.1967. Unknown designer/maker (Courtesy Cissie Young's Bar, Cork © Author).

However, it appears that rather than the DRU undertaking the localisation work, a Dublin advertising agency, Domas, was responsible for it, presumably directed by the HIM. It seems probable that Domas also redesigned Murphy's 'Strongman' logo at this time as well, which was consistently reproduced in print advertisements, branded beer glasses, etc. The image of the strongman, Eugen Sandow, had been used in a variety of forms by the brewery since 1892; partly as a celebrity endorsement, but also as a way of promoting a perceived link between 'strong' beers with good health.[7] Since it was retained, it seems certain that Sandow's image was felt to be part of Murphy's advertising heritage which could not be dispensed with, but it required simplifying and abstracting if it were to be displayed in a modernised setting. (This compromise between tradition and modernisation is indicative of the problems experienced by Murphy's Brewery in a broader context. For example, it took four years to convert the customer base and brewery from traditional wooden barrels to metal kegs.)

Employing Irish designers seems to have been a deliberate policy, since Watney Mann were very sensitive to being seen as foreigners, worse still, as British 'invaders'. This fear of criticism can be seen in their Managing Director's statement in 1967 that:

> All barley used in the manufacture of Red Barrel [another Watney beer brand made by Murphys] has been grown in Ireland by Irish farmers, our staff, with one exception, are all Irish Nationals, and wherever possible all our requirements whether these be transport or point of sale material are purchased from Irish manufacturers.[8]

In the spirit of this, all interior design work and the specifications for external colour-schemes were undertaken locally. To this end, Murphy's pubs, which had been generally painted beige or cream with dark brown or black woodwork, became cerise, navy, dove grey or sky blue.[9] It seems probable that the chosen colours were not in accordance with those specified by the HIM. However, the greatest divergence between the Irish practice and the British one is that, so far as can be ascertained, large elements of the brewery's operation (such as vehicle liveries or beer labels) were omitted from the design programme.

The End of the Relationship

The Watney/Murphy marriage had started well and the UK firm had invest-

[7] 'The Strong Man's Poster', *Cork Examiner*, 25 Apr 1899. Sandow (Germany, 1867–England, 1925) is credited with the invention of body-building. An important personality in late-Victorian Britain, he was filmed by Thomas Edison in 1894.

[8] Mr Louis King quoted in *The Licensed Vintner*, Vol 32, No 8, Jan 1967, p.5.

[9] Local artist Mr William Harrington was employed as a colour consultant by Murphys at this time.

ed heavily in the Cork brewery. Amongst other things, Watney Mann was anxious about hygiene, and their innovations included new bottling and kegging facilities and a locker room and dining area. It is not hard to see the link between a modernising, rational and scientific approach to design co-ordination and manufacturing, and personal hygiene. Hence it is unsurprising to see that design co-ordination and hygiene policies were implemented at the same time. In 1968 Watney Mann started to trial Murphy Stout in select locations in their 'tied' houses in England. However, the relationship suffered irreparable damage when Watney Mann decided to reverse this decision and sell Guinness Stout instead. Watney Mann's management's earlier fears about being perceived as foreigners were justified when they were told during a stormy meeting in Cork that "you are not in England now, where you can push people around. You're in Ireland. You're in Cork—*Rebel Cork!*" (Archer, 2004: 103).[10]

Fig. 5 *Murphy Stout Promotional Lamp,* c.1968, Design; Domas, Dublin (?), Manufacturer: Midland Industries Ltd, Bailieboro, Co. Cavan (Courtesy Callanan's Bar, Cork © Author).

[10] Cork was a centre of resistance during the Irish War of Independence (1919–21) against the British.

The Irish Pub and Modernity

No record of the reaction of the general public or the nascent Irish design profession to the new identity or signage has been uncovered to date—it appears that it passed almost without comment. This is most surprising, as one would expect a major project of modernisation involving a large local employer to have merited some critique. One would also expect such a wide-ranging (and for the time and place highly professional and consistent) rebranding to have caused some discussion in the Irish brewery trade press or popular press, especially as the appearance of most of the streetscapes of Cork would have been modified by the introduction of new pub façades.[11] Perhaps one reason for this is that, apart from the professionalism and scale of the design work, the phenomenon of modernised public houses was not as unprecedented in Ireland as one might expect.

The design of Irish pubs, especially urban pubs, was far from being a fossilised tradition, but had been changing steadily since the 1930s. Since then, some landlords had been 'transforming their premises from mere drinking dens to luxurious bars'.[12] For example, one Cork pub was extended in 1934 to include an 'up-to-date bar fitted in teakwood' and a new uncluttered white street façade, with a green terrazzo shopfront, steel-framed windows and Art Deco metalwork.[13] In 1938 a cocktail lounge was opened above the 'Waterloo House' in Dublin, featuring a bar of 'pine and mahogany in perfect taste' (Merry, 1949: 3). Illumination was provided via a large window constructed of glass blocks running along one side of the lounge which was 'flood lit at night' (presumably from outside). Behind the bar, which stood at one end of the rectangular room, was a 'becoming' mural decoration by local artist Desmond Rushlin, 'giving interesting sidelights on Dublin life'. The seating was in the form of banquettes arranged in shallow booths, extremely elegant chrome-plated cantilevered steel framed chairs with D-shaped bases and semi-circular upholstered seats in light-coloured leather. Oblong-shaped tables, also with chrome-plated frames, stood around the Lounge. The design of these items owed much to Modernist furniture design. For example, the chairs were similar to the 'PEL Model SP4' by Oliver Bernard, designed in the early 1930s, which themselves borrowed strongly from Anton Lorenz's 'SS33' manufactured by Thonet. The success of this bar interior spawned many imitators, but it is important to understand that these new interiors were intended for a well-to-do urban, mixed clientele of men and women. Most ordinary pubs from the 1930s to 1950s continued to serve their customers in Victorian or Edwardian settings.

[11] Many streets in Cork had two or more Murphy houses on them.

[12] 'New Business Extension', *Cork Examiner*, 21 Dec 1934, p.12.

[13] 'New Business Extension', *Cork Examiner*, 21 Dec 1934, p.12. The terrazzo in the Long Valley 'gives the bar an excellent air of modernity'.

The process of pub modernisation accelerated after the Second World War, and moved across the social spectrum and into rural areas, so that by 1966 a contributor to *The Irish National Vintner* could ask whether old-time public houses were 'almost extinct'.[14] Whilst the factors leading to these changes were multifarious,[15] the cases above suggest that by the 1960s contemporary design had been used for several decades to delineate, express and identify new developments in Irish society.

[14] 'Old-time Public House Almost Extinct', *The Irish National Vintner*, Vol 6, No 26, Nov 1966, p.19.

[15] Increasing tourism, improving relations with Northern Ireland and the UK and a growth in the Irish economy, largely due to foreign direct investment, were the key factors.

Discussion

Whilst there is some evidence for the modernisation of Irish pubs (albeit in a suitably commercial milieu) the 'modern' letterforms developed by the DRU for Watneys were not in any sense Modern. Far from being inspired by the New Typography of the Bauhaus, like much

of the contemporary work on the European continent, the DRU's Egyptian (and all other letterforms in the HIM) was a revival of a nineteenth century printed type.[16] This revival had been an important characteristic of British graphics since 1945 (Dormer, 1993: 93) and is an example of what Penny Sparke (drawing on an idea from literature studies) has referred to as 'conservative modernism' (Sparke, 2010: 99). This design mentality attempts to look backwards and forwards at the same time, and can also be seen in British textile and wallpaper designs from the period. Interestingly, given the male-dominated environment of the pub, Sparke maintains that women had a key role as consumers and designers of this 'brand' of Modernism.

Despite the two breweries officially severing ties in 1971, a number of pubs in Cork still retain their 1967 signage, as well as memorabilia relating to this eight-year encounter. Ironically, with the passage of time most of the pubs which retain the DRU-mandated branding are today considered to be 'traditional' or 'old-man' pubs. More intriguingly, many artefacts of this modernisation (such as those in Figs. 3, 4 and 5) have been carefully retained by successive generations of Cork publicans in their premises, suggesting that the owners intuitively recognise that there is something quantitatively different about this material, in comparison to prior or subsequent modernisations. It is quite unlike the deliberate use of 'random artefacts to provide atmosphere' or the use of inter-related 'props in order to produce a well-crafted environment' commonly seen in a newly-built Irish 'theme' pub (Scarbrough, 2008). They are preserved without a full knowledge of their significance, adrift from their context, like flotsam from a lost futuristic past when Cork pubs were 'modern'.

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[16] Egyptian letters were not new to Cork; they had been used in Cork-printed books since 1824 and on street signs, memorials and gravestones since the 1830s.

The Itamaraty Palace and Brazilian Modern Furniture

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Brasília / Brazilian industrial design / Itamaraty Palace / Modern architecture / Modern furniture

The present paper raises questions about the role of modern architecture in the development of Brazilian industrial design. Considered milestones of Brazilian modern architecture, Brasilia's governmental palaces can be understood as real "document-buildings", since they are endowed with a valuable collection consisting of furniture, objects and artworks.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Itamaraty Palace, is unique among these buildings and, for this reason, is the protagonist here. Its furniture is discussed in the present text, and partially presented, emphasizing the importance of its protection as essential in the preservation of the ambience of Itamaraty spaces, as a modernist totality.

In the Louvre Museum, a wooden spoon

A small wooden spoon, displayed in one of the strategically lit windows in the Louvre's Egyptian art section, exerts an irresistible fascination on visitors, undoubtedly protecting their memory from the mists of oblivion. It is a very simple object, with no details in gold nor stone inlays, its beauty is in its unusual shape. Its handle is made of the body of a naked woman, with extended legs and arms. In between them, the shell that constitutes the spoon is housed. It is known as *Cuiller à fard* or *cuiller à la nageuse* [swimmer spoon]. However, the use of this object remains uncertain, its fragility and the absence of signs of usage makes the assumption that it is artwork or an amulet possible. This last possibility stems from the symbolic reading allowed by the spoon: the young woman can be associated with love and life continuity, the design of tilapias; fish considered by the Egyptians a symbol of sexuality, in the spoon's convex part, reaffirms its positive meaning. Talisman, artwork, or utensil of daily and ordinary use, the small and modest spoon may hold its secret forever, its mystery might be eternal. Yet it is a document that allows us to glimpse at another time, at a civilization which requires us to conjugate verbs in an ancient past to speak of their customs, beliefs and feelings.

But why begin a text about the Itamaraty Palace (Fig. 1) by mentioning a Louvre Museum object? To an extent, this palace of Brasilia holds documents similar to the *cuiller à la nageuse*. Amongst its sculptures, paintings, tapestries and panels, there is a set of modern furniture considered important for the history of Brazilian design and industry. The beauty, grace and comfort they offer are appreciated in a general way, with no perception of the historical value contained in them. This fact can be easily explained: first, we do not usually think of objects as recent as these as bearers of historical value, reinforcing this absence of perception, and the utilitarian nature of these objects that still fulfill the destiny for which they were created.

Their functions have not been subtracted from them, nor are they displayed in well-lit windows, with explanations about their authors and thorough descriptions of their materials, as objects of a museum are usually presented. They are also not part of archives, the usual destination for important, protection-worthy documents. The Itamaraty's modern furniture pieces are a part of the everyday work of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and they are used in the day-to-day work carried out there, as well as in the receptions offered to foreign countries' representatives.

Despite this modest presence, these modern furniture pieces are part of a roster of objects that constitutes that what is called material culture, a multidisciplinary study field. Within this study field, a variety of objects is fostered, such as fabrics, utensils, tools, votive objects, machines ... from them, it is possible to apprehend the technical conditions of their producers, their artistic intentions, the meanings attributed to them—and this is the starting point for the reflections presented hereby.

The representations of Brazil in the Itamaraty Palace

Considering the importance of objects as historical documents capable of promoting a time-gap, some considerations can be made on two moments of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Itamaraty Palace, represented by its two headquarters, that of Rio de Janeiro and that of Brasilia. It should be noted that Rio de Janeiro was the capital of Brazil from 1763 until 1960, when Brasilia was inaugurated. After the move of the Brazilian capital to the interior of the country, this ministry has upheld its headquarters

Fig. 1 *Itamaraty Palace* (in the foreground, view of the lateral facade and in the background, view of the Federal Senate building) – Brasília, Praça dos Três Poderes. Photograph by José Airton Costa Junior. Collection of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Brazil.

in the former capital, and the headquarters of Brasilia was only instated in 1975, fifteen years after the city's inauguration.

The head of the Rio Branco Baron,[1] responsible for formulating a representation and image of a country along the lines of European countries, can be considered as the pinnacle of the Itamaraty of Rio de Janeiro. The recently instated Brazilian Republic (1889), the end of slavery (1888) and money from the Brazilian cafe bourgeoisie allowed for a renewal and modernization of some city parts, under the inspiration of Haussman's renovations and his hygienist ideology at effect at the time. The *Belle Époque* of Rio de Janeiro promoted a partial expunction of the colonial city. However, old social structures were still distinguishable due to significant social differences. It was up to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to formulate a compelling image and representation of Brazil, in order to make the country unique, in such a way as to integrate it in the order of autonomous nations. To do so, the Baron of Rio Branco carried out restructurings in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and in it he brought together the most highly regarded intellectuals, setting the foundations for a kind of court organized around him and the ministry. A record of Rio de Janeiro's caustic chronicler, Lima Barreto, describes it:

> The feasts, the receptions, the balls took place, which current visitors never stopped alluding to, employing the best adjectives to describe them. There was a change in protocol; the rules of precedence were established; behaviors were indicated in solemn tables; and the poverty of the city, the mass of workers, minor employees, and staff members started to receive daily news of the famous Aubusson, dishes, paintings, etc. (Barreto, 2004: 395).

It would not be an overstatement to say that Rio Branco produced a representation of the country, one that the foreign ministers that succeeded him took in. As pointed out by Lima Barreto, the Itamaraty "court" corresponded to a set of objects that supported, through redundancy, the enactment of an affirmation policy, claiming a position for Brazil similar to the ones of the "civilized" nations of the Old and the New Worlds.

The same commitment appeared to animate Wladimir Murtinho[2] at the headquarters of the Itamaraty (*Palácio dos Arcos*) in Brasilia. The forefront of Brazilian modernist artists rallied around this building, designed by Oscar Niemeyer, in an effort of renewing the image of the country, this time as a place of an undoubtedly promising future. Backed by previous experience during the execution of the Ministry of Education and Health (MES) (1936) in Rio de Janeiro, the artists and intellectuals involved with the Palace of the Arches' project sought an integration of the arts, aiming at unity and coherence with the surprising spaces of Niemeyer's buildings.

Even though this was a different time, Murtinho's strategy resembles the ones of "Rio Branco". The care with the furniture, artwork, gardens and architecture itself transformed the ambitions of the developmentalist project that laid the foundations for the construction of the city. To the same extent, Brazil's representation was supported by the notions of its ruling class and intellectual elite. Matching European modernism, artists and designer-architects responsible for the ambiance of this ministry acted in line. Nevertheless, they produced their version of the movement by resorting to local materials, more opulent and less austere forms. Notwithstanding the fact that the Brazilian industry had overcome the incipiency of the 1930s, manufactured and industrialized objects comprised the cast of the Itamaraty-Brasilia's environments. According to Katinsky (1983: 929), since the Ministry of Education and Health (1936) the modernist experience on Brazilian soil promoted the development of design: "architects sought to equip the environment of the new building with furnishings consistent with the industry's valorisation intentions—an aesthetic banner that distinguished them from other movements of Brazilian architects".

This argument allows for the assumption that the experience of building Brasilia and furnishing their buildings should be recognized as one of the factors that originated Brazilian design and, at the same time, as one of the industry's fomenters in the country. Is this claim real or just another praise to the artists of the modern period, ideologically committed to the production of an image of the country, enraptured by Pan-Americanism and by the enthusiasm of *President Bossa Nova*, Juscelino Kubistchek?[3] In the following text, we intend to debate this matter.

Brazilian modern furniture

It is important to remember that the modernization process of furniture in Brazil is directly linked to the introduction of modern architecture in the country, and its technical, conceptual and acceptance issues are very similar to the dilemmas that have signaled the development of this architecture (Santos, 1995: 22). The clashes cast between mass production and artisanal production are relevant points; they are copies of foreign pieces and they sought an autochthonous language. In the architecture's likeness, the furniture was gradually acquiring a particular expression, which was caused by the incorporation of values, productions means and materials which are suitable to the Brazilian culture. Therefore, the question posed to them was how could they transpose the limits of model reproductions?

To answer this question, it is necessary to evaluate if the Brazilian industrial environment was transformed during the period right after World War II, with the suspension of imports, including furniture, which led to the development of the industry. The migration of professionals to Brazil has also been a positive factor in this regard. When they arrived here,

[1] José Maria da Silva Paranhos Junior was a historian and diplomat. He was Minister of Foreign Affairs between 1902 and 1912.

[2] Wladimir do Amaral Murtinho (1919–2003) was the diplomat in charge of executing the building plans for the new Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In 1963, he was appointed head of the commission to transfer the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He was responsible for contracting the construction work and decorating the palace, and it was Murtinho who hired Burle Marx to design the landscape and several decorative pieces, including the tapestry *Vegetation of the Central Plateau* (1965) and various paintings by other artists.

[3] Juscelino Kubitschek was known as President Bossa Nova, as his term coincided with this type of Brazilian music that earned prominence internationally.

Fig. 2 *Cadeiras Bahia* (1960), Bernardo Figuiredo. One of Sérgio Rodrigues' rosewood furniture pieces for exhibition purposes can be seen on the upper left side of the photo. Photograph by José Airton Costa Junior. Collection of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Brazil.

these professionals would associate themselves with the work of skilled craftsmen and deep connoisseurs of types of Brazilian wood, and they have renewed the furniture, presenting more divested objects. However, this language did not succeed immediately after that, nor did the development of the furniture industry.

The scenario becomes more favorable in the decades of 1950 and 1960. Stemming from a growing demand for furniture and utilitarian objects, and in accordance with the period's developmentalism, companies arise in Brazil, ones that are committed to meeting this demand, fomenting industrialization in all stages of production. The concern and search for design that resembled a Brazilian language was intensified amidst architects and designers. One could consider these years, as acknowledged by critics, as the autonomous period of furniture production in Brazil and the consolidation of its language. The range of the architect's practice was expanded, and according to Khartoum and Fiamminghi (2007: 16), "consequently we will see that professional struggling to extend its practice towards urban planning and the industrial design fields".

Some names of professionals that became references in this period stand out, such as that of Zanine Caldas, and the Fábrica de Móveis Z; the group of architects from the Mackenzie University, Miguel Forte, Jacob Ruchti, Plínio Croce, Roberto Aflalo, Carlos Millan and Móveis Branco e Preto; Geraldo de Barros and Unilabor, and later, Móveis Hobjeto; Jorge Zalszupin, and the L'atelier; Michel Arnoult and Mobília Contemporânea. There are also other architects, designers, and producers that are part of this phase, such as Abel de Barros Lima and Norman Westwater, the Hauner brothers and Leo Seincman, all linked to the emergence of a product with industrial features, making a formal proposal, suitable to modern standards, available on the market, one that was only accessible before to a small elite group.

The presented scenario shows how the space, cultural environment, and their technical means would allow for the adventure that was designing and making the furniture that marks Brasilia and is currently in the Palace of Itamaraty.

Itamaraty Palace's modern furniture

According to Teixeira (1996: 44), Brasilia's construction made the valorization of the beginner designer in Brazil possible. The transference of political power and management to the new capital created an immediate and unprecedented demand in the country for furnishing and equipping a large amount of public buildings.

In the new capital, since the provisional residency of president Juscelino Kubitschek in the Catetinho (1956) up to the inauguration of the last Palace, the Itamaraty (1970), there was a constant concern of equipping the internal spaces with add-on materials. This was done with the purpose of stating the modern ambience idealized by Oscar Niemeyer, the author of the palace projects. The shop Oca (1955), the factory Taba (1956), by Sérgio Rodrigues',[4] for example, were expanded due to this demand.

According to Soraia Cals:

> Sergio Rodrigues' work was closely linked to the construction of Brazil's planned capital city, Brasília. The rush to furnish the institutional buildings for the new capital's impending inauguration led furniture designer's to change the scale of their pieces and speed up production. Sérgio, in his healthy, happy-go-lucky way, refers to this phase as "the time when I designed a lot of furniture for Cabinet members". Construction of Brazil's new capital fostered the production of modern furniture design and that interior furnishings in general, and various designers contributed to this phase (Cals, 2000: 36).

It is important to note that, in the Itamaraty Palace, the person with the greatest responsibility for designing the ambiance of its interiors was the diplomat Wladimir Murtinho. He desired to furnish and decorate it only with Brazilian pieces: "because we wanted to give a very important feature for the palace, where there would only be objects that are either Brazilian or linked to Brazilian history. And for many years, there was nothing there that was neither Brazilian nor historical" (Murtinho, 1990: 16). In this case, "Brazilian" meant historical artworks and furniture made by modern artists and architects. These furniture pieces were connected to historical episodes or parts of colonial buildings, such as the baroque angels of Sala Portinari [Portinari room], and the false ceiling of an 18th century music room, within the palace's Sala Bahia [Bahia room]. Many pieces

[4] Sérgio Rodrigues (1927–2014), was known to engage in the search for a "Brazilianness" character, the greatest distinction of his work, which made his production an international reference of modern furniture made in Brazil. His "Poltrona Mole" ["soft armchair"], known abroad as "Sheriff", won first prize at the Concorso Internazionale del Mobile, in Cantu, Italy, in 1961.

were brought from the headquarters of Rio de Janeiro's Itamaraty—the links that connected the two ministries.

Some architects stand out in the design industry, such as Bernardo Figueiredo[5] and Sérgio Rodrigues. Figueiredo designed and provided several pieces of furniture to the Itamaraty Palace, some of large dimensions and others with more delicate features. They were all made in fine woods, such as the Cadeira Bahia (1960) that was placed in the room with matching name, even though it was not created for the palace (Fig.2).[6] Made of rosewood with its seat and backrest in woven straw, this piece evokes old Brazilian high-backed chairs, but in a modern aesthetic. It makes evident the stage of development of the furniture industry of that time, which counted with machines capable of working with wood, in order to develop a rigid fixation constructive system. This process, widely used by Figueiredo, was also applied to the Arcos [arches] chair, made of solid rosewood and stuffed with leather upholstery, created in 1965 especially for the banquet hall, and the architect did not permit its commercialization (Fig. 3). This furniture piece is especially important due to the technique used in the collage of its parts and to the wood's curvature, designed in such a way that the backrest and the seat are made of a single piece. The stitching work with the leather upholstery, of which the design makes a direct reference to palace's arches, also displays a mastery in a more accurate finishing technique.

Fig. 3 *Arco Chairs* (1965), Bernardo Figuiredo. Photograph by José Airton Costa Junior. Collection of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Brazil.

As for Rodrigues, it is important to point out that his relationship with the Ministry of Foreign affairs dates back to the beginning of its construction, when Wladimir Murtinho commissioned of Rodrigues the design of a desk for the offices. This table should be representative of the "Brazilian culture". Rodrigues designed the Itamaraty Table in Jacarandá da Bahia [Bahia rosewood], and from this order on, a series of 25 models were designed for the palace, such as the Poltronas Kiko [Kiko Chairs], 1964, and large exhibition panels made of rosewood for displaying documents of awards granted by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to its distinguished visitors (Fig. 2). Regarding the armchairs, Rodrigues designed a varied collection: office versions, high backrests and structured seats for the Minister's Office and the head authorities; others for general use, with low backrests and wheels—pieces that would later be a part of the Oca's catalog shopping line (Fig. 4).

The reference to these two architects illustrates how Brasilia's construction and its public buildings presented opportunities for the production of modern furniture, which were also produced by their authors in their factories. This had a direct repercussion on the excellence of those objects that have never been produced on a large scale. Even if produced industrially, they were destined to an educated audience and it was in line with the modernist forefronts, or to the Brazilian State, the major sponsor of modern art in Brazil.

The Itamaraty Palace in Brasilia repeated, to some extent, the experience of the Ministry of Health and Education, built in Rio de Janeiro. Both of them brought together artists and professionals of greater competence, for the excellence of their propositions were representations of the country's image.

Fig. 4 *A swivel armchair PG-IT-09* (1966–1967) and the table of the *Itamaraty Line* (1960) designed by Sérgio Rodrigues. Photograph by José Airton Costa Junior. Collection of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Brazil.

[5] Bernardo Figueiredo (1934–2012) made the most of building verticalization during the 1960s, when interior design began to employ the architects workforce, in order to devote himself to residential furniture projects. Figueiredo was influenced by Sérgio Rodrigues, with whom he worked between the years of 1959 and 1961, and Joaquim Tenreiro, with whom he learned how to work with wood, leather and wool.

[6] All the furniture photos in this article were taken during the exhibition entitled *Desenhando para um Palácio: o Itamaraty e o Design* [Drawing to a Palace: the Itamaraty and Design], held from 11 April to 27 May 2018 at the Itamaraty, in celebration of the 50 years of the Palace.

Closing remarks

This text does not end in a conclusive way, as the question that motived it still requires further investigation and presents itself as a future challenge. Yet a thorough study of Brazilian modern furniture poses questions about the widespread consensus of the momentum that Brazilian architecture would have presented to the furniture industry in Brazil. The scale of the companies that have been protagonists and producers of this furniture pieces was modest and attended a select audience. Despite having good machinery, they could be understood as manufacturing workshops.

Currently, many of these furniture pieces, after a long period of no production, were retrieved and they are now placed inside sophisticated spaces—this goes to show their exclusivity and high cost.

Hence, the claim that Brazilian modern architecture fomented the furniture industry seems to be a rhetoric instrument destined to legitimize this architecture, reinstating it as the greatest and most definitive moment of Brazilian arts.

As to the protection of these furniture pieces, in the case of Itamaraty Palace, it should be noted the effort of identifying and cataloging them, undertaken by Heitor Sette Ferreira Pires Granafei. An extensive research has resulted in the exhibition entitled *Desenhando para um Palácio: o Itamaraty e o Design,* with the curatorship of the diplomat, held in 2018.

As for the other governmental palaces in Brasilia, their collections of modern furniture also lack recognition. These furniture pieces are not considered as inseparable parts of the spaces to which they belong, and once they are ruined, they are collected and left aside in storages and forgotten over time.

However, as we have seen, it is necessary to consider them as historical sources and, as such, they should be preserved—even though fifty years are not considered enough time to take care of an object, such as the preserved documents similar to the "cuiller à la nageuse". In a country where memory does not seem to be appreciated, the few enduring remains of a relevant past, however recent, deserve to be preserved.

Given this scenario, creating a policy for preserving modern furniture in Brasilia's palaces should be deemed as necessary and urgent. In this sense, all works on research and dissemination of this matter should be recognized as a contribution to the preservation of memory in Brazil.

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'The Winds of Change': Cosmopolitanism and Geopolitical Identities in the Context of ICOGRADA

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Latin America / Graphic design / Globalisation / Professional networks / Intercultural interaction

Drawing on the studies of the sociology of organisations, social psychology, debates on cosmopolitanism and postcolonial theory, this paper aims to address the strategies adopted by individuals from so-called 'underdeveloped' nations–in particular focusing on Latin American graphic designers–that participated as members of the Executive Board of the International Council of Graphic Design Associations (ICOGRADA), making a parallel with their cosmopolitan identities, while also contextualising the impact brought about by technological changes, economical ones and globalisation on the activities of ICOGRADA.

Social categories, self-identification and geopolitical identities

Since its foundation, in 1963, the International Council of Graphic Design Associations —ICOGRADA for short—has assembled many representatives with varied backgrounds in its Executive Board. In its first decade of activity, however, the meaning of 'international' was closer to 'inter-nations' than to 'global'. For instance, the first Board included only European representatives while the Executives Boards from 1966–1968 and 1968–1970 had mostly European representatives, with the exception of one member from the US. It was not until the late 1990s that the Council's governance became more plural in its composition, having members based in all continents (ICOGRADA, 1963–2003).

However, it is important to highlight that, in this paper, all processes of identification of an individual with a wider group or social category are seen as constructed 'on the back of a recognition of some common origin or shared characteristics with another person or group, or with an ideal, and with the natural closure of solidarity and allegiance established on this foundation' (Hall, 1996: 2). As defined by Hogg and Terry (2001), 'a social category (e.g., nationality, political affiliation, organization, work group) within which one falls, and to which one feels one belongs, provides a definition of who one is in terms of the defining characteristics of the category—a self-definition that is a part of the self-concept'. Moreover, the constitution of a self-concept in a social context, that is, a social identity, is seen here as an act of power (Laclau, 1990; Reicher, 2004) in which the process of self-categorisation helps an individual to define its positionality. '[S]elf-categories shape social action' and flexibility is achieved through the categories to which one belongs, the others with whom one compare themselves, and the dimensions along which such comparisons occur (Reicher, 2004: 921).

Even in the context of an international organisation such as ICOGRADA, whose Executive Council members can be considered cosmopolitan, geopolitical identities play a part in the social relations established. They are part of the construction of diverse 'cosmopolitanisms' (Pollock at al., 2000) in which are enmeshed the negotiation of geopolitical representations as well as the understanding of graphic design expertise.

The place held by geopolitical identities inside the Council, particularly in relation to the identities of Executive Board members, becomes clearer when analysing minutes of General Assemblies held by the Council (1963–2003), as well as the main means of communication between the Executive Board and its members: *Icograda New Bulletins* (1963–1981) and *Icograda BoardMessage* (1982–2003).

In order to explore how geopolitical identities might reflect on relationships inside the Council, this paper explores the case of two Executive Board members connected to Latin America. For that, it is necessary to understand the wider context of the Cold War as well as its reflection on networks and intergroup relations inside ICOGRADA. Organisations, such as ICOGRADA, 'are internally structured groups that are located in complex networks of intergroup relations characterized by power, status, and prestige differentials' (Hogg; Terry, 2000). And '[w]ithin large, complex organizations, [...] extraorganizational social categories [...] also play themselves out in organizational settings' (Brickson; Brewer, 2001).

During the Cold War period, the stigma of the 'Third World' as 'underdeveloped' affects the positionality of individuals by reflecting the same stigmas on their identity. Particularly in relation to a specific concept of graphic design, seen by some members of ICOGRADA as having its higher form of knowledge in Europe. Which meant that, from the Council's perspective, graphic design practice elsewhere was 'disqualified as inadequate to their task or insufficiently elaborated', therefore being a 'subjugated knowledge' (Foucault, 1972: 82; Spivak, 1994: 76), and that ICOGRADA 'might help [Latin American designers] to help themselves' (Kneebone, 1979: n.p.).

In the 1990s, with the end of the Cold War and the changes brought about by the process of globalisation, there was a significant shift in the Council's way to address cultural, economical and geopolitical differences. The shift in the way Latin Americans position themselves has also to be accounted for.

After the end of the Cold War, the stigmas associated with the term 'Third World' were still alive. However, even as the USA established itself as a superpower, the changes in Latin American economic policies and agreements from 1989 represented a significant change. In particular with the establishment of a South American trade bloc in 1991, the *Mercosul* (translates to Southern Common Market in English). Even though many Latin American countries do not integrate into the economic bloc, the fact that some of them managed to ally themselves and break free from major economic ties with the USA and Europe by establishing their own regional treaties, created a sense of power against imperialism and, therefore, opened a new path of economic independence as well as a sense of less inequality in terms of international trade (Martins et al., 2006). And in the context of international relations of Latin American countries, this change affected the perception of the region and of its representatives in international settings.

The intention here is not to seek bipolar oppositions, but rather explore how the performativity of geopolitical social categories can be flexible as well as an act of power. In other words, how the study of cases of ICOGRADA Executive Board members offers ways to analyse geopolitical identities as projects that create a certain version of them in the context of the Council.

According to social psychologist Stephen Reicher (2004: 931), in order to understand the actions of members of subordinate groups it is necessary to consider whether these members will act individually or collectively, either choosing a strategy of 'exit', if 'the boundaries between [social] categories are seen as permeable; or of 'voice' when boundaries are seen as impermeable. However, in the context of a Council with cosmopolitan ideals, the strategies adopted might not be as extreme, since there is the possibility to accumulate geopolitical identities.

In ICOGRADA, it is not only a matter of which association, which country, region or even continent an Executive Board member was representing, but rather of the subtle indications of which identities are chosen as 'better' options in a defined situation or context; whereby, some identities are silenced, while others are opportunely collected.

Case study: Jorge Frascara

The participation of Jorge Frascara in the Council's Executive Board officially began when, in 1979, he was elected Vice-President. Frascara first came into contact with the Council when he spent the academic year 1973/74 in London researching graphic design education with a small grant from the British Council (GDC, s.d.). Between 1974 and 1979, he participated in a series of activities related to ICOGRADA and, in August 1976, he emigrated to Canada to become Associate Professor at the University of Alberta. In 1979, when Frascara officially became a member of the Executive Board he was already established in Canada.

The comparison of two of his biographies, one from the Chicago Congress of 1978 and the one of his candidacy as Vice-President to the Executive Board in 1979, shed light on the strategies adopted in processes of social identification and self-categorisation.

In the Chicago Congress in 1978:

> Jorge Frascara is a faculty member at the University of Alberta in Canada. Prior to this he was Head of Graphic Design at the Escuela Panamericana de Arte, Buenos Aires. He has been invited to lecture at various universities, including the Universidad de la Plata, Universidad de Guatemala and the University of Surrey, England. […] Jorge Frascara has done extensive research on art teaching in Argentina, Brazil, Peru, Bolivia, Spain, France, Italy, Greece, England, Colombia and Guatemala […] (ICOGRADA, 1978: n.p.).

In his biographical details as candidate as ICOGRADA Vice-President:

> Argentinian national resident in Canada. Assistant Professor Department of Art and Design, University of Alberta, Edmonton. […] Has lectured at various universities both in Argentina and Canada. […] Founder and Vice-President of the Argentinian Association of Graphic Designers […] (ICOGRADA, 1979: n.p.).

While in the biography of 1978, the information about Frascara's nationality is absent or silenced—which was not uncommon if compared to other biographies, specially in the case of émigrés—the biographical note from 1979 starts with this information, followed by the information that he was living and teaching in Canada. As an émigré, Frascara could choose how to identify himself and, even though he was based in Canada, which meant he was considered in official documents as a Canadian representative, it was his choice to highlight that he was associated with a 'Third World' nation as well as with a 'First World' one. Some years later, in 1983, Frascara would use a biography very similar to the one from 1978, in the biographical details as candidate to be President Elect of the Council, while keeping the in-

formation related to his 'nationalities'. The phrase 'Argentinian born now a Canadian citizen' (ICOGRADA, 1983) would remain in biographical notes up to the end of his tenure (ICOGRADA, 1987).

This suggests that from 1979 onwards, Frascara does not attempt to camouflage his connection to Latin America; on the contrary, his biography seems to express an attempt to harmonise social categories by merging both strategies described by Reicher. By affirming to have two nationalities, using the strategy of 'exit' by connecting himself to more than one place and also the strategy of 'voice' by being able to represent more places, Frascara is not only able to detach himself from 'Third World' stigmas, but also make his cosmopolitan identity more evident.

Frascara's approach to his biographical notes reflect the many layers of his identity as an émigré and as a cosmopolitan individual navigating between different cultures, while also showing that he chooses to reinforce his connection to Argentina—and therefore with Latin America—as well as Canada—and the Anglo America. Considering that he emigrated to Canada, he could have chosen to only highlight his role as a representative of a Canadian association and camouflage his connection to Latin America. Instead, Frascara chose to be the 'voice' and the sole representative of not only Argentina, but of the whole of Latin America.

Nevertheless, this also meant that the way in which other Executive Board members perceived him might have been also informed by preconceptions on Latin American graphic design practice at the time. The book *Who's Who in Graphic Art* edited by Walter Amstutz in 1982 offers a sense of what was the perception of Latin American practice promoted internationally as well as what was claimed to be 'a world review of the graphic arts' (AMSTUTZ, 1982: 11). Published in a multilingual edition—English, French and German—the book collected not only biographies and works of professional designers assembled by nation (even though most of them could be said to have multiple nationalities), but also accounts of the state of contemporary practice of graphic design in each of the nations represented in the volume.

In this book, the Latin American accounts present a mixture of a sense of backwardness (ESCOREL, 1982), the need for a practice that reflects local identity (GRASS, 1982), a frustration in relation to foreign frames of reference of design practice, a celebration of indigenous pre-Columbian graphics (CONDE, 1982; DIETERICH, 1982), as well as a sense of achievement (BLUM, 1982). Even though these accounts are mostly individual views of national practices that might not be necessarily historically accurate, they portray contemporary perceptions of graphic design practice, as snapshots of particular perspectives on national practices at the time. And, as such, these contemporary accounts illustrate and contextualise Frascara's remarks as well as his role as a representative of Latin America; while also qualifying his background and, therefore, adding layers to his identity in international settings and inside the Council.

The sum of 'First' and the 'Third World' identities play a significant role, as they allowed Frascara to navigate with more ease inside ICOGRADA without having to 'defend' himself, or his ability to speak English for instance—as happened later with José Korn Bruzzone. Instead, Frascara had a privileged view that of a more informed participant with first hand knowledge about both 'Worlds'.

Case study: José Korn Bruzzone

Differently from Jorge Frascara, the positionality of José Korn Bruzzone was completely and exclusively connected to Latin America. Based in Chile and President of a Chilean Association, Bruzzone was not only born in the region but he also represented the region in all instances and international settings. For the first time, the Council elected a President that would preside it from the Southern Hemisphere. Hence, Bruzzone adopted the strategy of 'voice', not only of Latin America but also of other countries of the 'Third World', as a strategy for strengthening his position, not necessarily because it was his only option.

During his mandate as vice president, Bruzzone focused on developing Latin American connections. He organised the first Latin American Symposium of Education in Santiago de Chile in 1993 (ICOGRADA, 1993), and was also involved in the organisation of a second symposium held in 1995 in Belo Horizonte, Brazil, that gathered more than 200 delegates (ICOGRADA, 1993). Through these symposia and the constant correspondence with Latin American designers, Bruzzone reinforced his position as representative of Latin America.

As a candidate for President Elect in 1993, he was also in tune with the needs of ICOGRADA. During this General Assembly, he advocated for ICOGRADA by 'using' his position as a Latin American representative:

> Jose Korn Bruzzone, CDP Chile said that *countries in Latin America and many third world countries* believed in the importance of graphic design and that through ICOGRADA, graphic design could be developed to its *full potential*. If these countries were willing to pay the £2.50 per capita fee, as he knew they were, then *he wondered why developed countries who were very much wealthier were so reluctant to do so. His statement received prolonged applause* (ICOGRADA, 1993: 12).

In this quote, it becomes clear how Bruzzone engaged in collective action, using the strategy of 'voice', by allying

himself not only with fellow Latin Americans but also with many 'Third World' nations. It could be also said that his words hid an attribution of guilt, bringing to light a sense of shame to the associations from 'developed' countries that were 'very much wealthier' but also reluctant to accept an increase to which the 'Third World' representatives agreed to. The binary division between 'centre and periphery' is brought to the fore by Bruzzone's words, not only as a tool to achieve what was in ICOGRADA's interest, but also to question the position of 'developed' nations as backward, not progressive enough to acknowledge the efforts needed to achieve the 'full potential' of ICOGRADA.

It is interesting that, immediately after this discussion the candidates for the Executive Board 1993–1995 were asked to present themselves. Bruzzone was then 'questioned regarding his knowledge and use of English and if he felt this would create a problem (ICOGRADA, 1993: 13), which seems an interesting turn of events and a significant development from the previous discussion. By questioning his ability to communicate, his adequacy as a candidate for Presidency was also questioned along with his ability to lead ICOGRADA. It seems ironic that in a Council that announces itself as international and attempts to be accessible in many languages since its early years (ICOGRADA, 1969), it would seem problematic to have a President that does not dominate English, particularly considering that Spanish—a widely spoken language—was Bruzzone's native language. Yet, Bruzzone was elected President Elect in 1993, which meant that he would hold this position for two years, to then take over as President of the Council.

As President, the main challenge faced by Bruzzone was the organisation of an ICOGRADA International Congress in Latin American soil. However, it was not without some use of what Bruzzone called 'Latin American magic' that this success was achieved (BRUZZONE; CANDIA, n.d.).

In the context of the meeting, the idea 'Latin American magic' represents an ability of making the unlikely happen, in this case, making the ICOGRADA International Congress happen in Latin America against all odds. It is not unusual to see ideas such as inventiveness, innovation, adaptation and the creation of unexpected or even unlikely solutions for problems seems to be part of what is recognised by Latin Americans as one of the Latin American social identifiers—an improvisational trait that permeates the daily routines of all Latin Americans.

The positionality of Bruzzone's actions was aligned with a wider turn, a shift of ethos 'away from the quiet pain or compassion, toward assertiveness and, indeed, celebration. Impurity and intermingling [in the late 1990s] offer [...] a possibility of reconciliation, it is a source—perhaps the most important source—of desirable cultural renewal' (HANNERZ, 1997: 12).

This shift can also be seen in the changes of the international perception of Latin American graphic design practice. For instance, as shown by the comparison of the texts about Latin American practice in the *Who's Who in Graphic Art* from 1982 previously mentioned (AMSTUTZ), and the edition from 1994 (GROSSHOLZ). There is a sense of achievement in the graphic design profession that permeates most Latin American accounts from the early 1990s. It is a moment of change, in which Latin American graphic designers value their own visual culture and their own forms of practice, while highlighting singularities of their national identities.

'The Winds of Change': the internationalisation of ICOGRADA

When Guy A. Schockaert became ICOGRADA President in 1997, just after Bruzzone, the title of his mission statement—'The Winds of Change'—reflected the acknowledgment of the transformations occurring (ICOGRADA, 1997: n.p.). Decades before that, 'The Wind of Change' was the title of another speech, delivered by British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan in 1960, in which he acknowledged the growth of national consciousness, moving forward the British decolonisation process in Africa (MACMILLAN, 1960). By using a similar title, Guy Schockaert acknowledged the changes in place while aiming to build a different consciousness, that of the 'destiny of graphic designers' (ICOGRADA, 1997: n.p.). In an attempt to adapt the Council's global intentions and activities to a globalised context, Schockaert invited designers to reform the profession of graphic design: 'Open up to the world's cultures. Prepare for world-class communication. Exchange/share ideas and experiences. Use our cultural diversity to create opportunities' (ICOGRADA, 1997: n.p.).

The perpetual stream of change brought about by globalisation affected the daily running of the Council, while highlighting the inadequacy its structure. In the 1990s, ICOGRADA operated 'within the extremes of the instant flash of contemporary simultaneous communication and the comparative slowness of the consultative, democratic process of representative bodies' (MULLIN, 1997: n.p.). And while encouraging graphic designers to reconsider the scope of their professional practice, the Executive Board of the Council also attempted to update itself '[i]n order to ensure the continued operation of ICOGRADA as the international

voice of the graphic design community and in order to permit ICOGRADA to better serve its Member Associations' (ICOGRADA, 1997: n.p.).

At the same time, with the changes in travel and telecommunications, it became highly complex, if not impossible, to define the extent to which different intercultural exchanges overlap and, even more complex, to define geopolitical identities of individuals. The idea that Executive Board members had no fixed base and that they could easily navigate in many different countries and cultures, implies that national identity became only another trait of their identities, but one that was overshadowed by the weight of their cosmopolitan identity.

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Designing Cultural Heritage at Mary Colter's Hopi House, Grand Canyon, Arizona, 1905

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Mary Colter / Grand Canyon National Park / Heritage / Native American Indian / Architecture

This paper explores the role of design in the production and promotion of cultural heritage at Hopi House, the living museum and curio shop at the Grand Canyon, Arizona, a United States National Park and UNESCO World Heritage site. Architect Mary Colter designed Hopi House in 1905 for the Fred Harvey Company, a purveyor of hotels and restaurants along the route of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Modeled on Ancestral Puebloan architecture at Oraibi, a Hopi village in Navajo County, Arizona, dating to the ninth century CE, Colter's Hopi House raises questions about the relationship between travel, tourism, heritage, national identity, cultural appropriation, and preservation. How can we reconcile the efforts made by the US National Park Service to express traces of the land's indigenous past, both real and imagined, in the design of the parks, with the US government's violent Indian wars and subsequent policies for land use and acculturation? Did the railway companies bring new economic opportunity to the indigenous artists whose lands they traversed, or did they facilitate the US government's exploitative policies on land use and distribution? Whose heritage do the American national parks represent today?

Fig. 1 Mary Colter, Hopi House, Grand Canyon National Park, 2016. Photo R. Houze.

Hopi House is a tourist museum and souvenir shop at Grand Canyon National Park, where visitors can shop for clay pots, silver jewelry, baskets, and woven blankets made by Native American artists. When it first opened in 1905 Hopi House also featured live demonstrations by local artisans in residence (Fig. 1). Architect Mary Colter (1869–1958) worked for many years for the Fred Harvey Company, which partnered with the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe (AT&SF) Railway to provide comfortable dining and lodging for train travelers along its route through the Southwest (Berke, 2002; Grattan, 1992). In her atmospheric hotels and gift shop interiors she staged inviting experiences of travel, leisure, and shopping that combined elements of entertainment and ethnography. Hopi House was the first of several buildings by Colter along the Grand Canyon's South Rim designated as National Historic Landmarks. Lookout Studio (1914), Hermit's Rest (1914), and Desert Watchtower (1932), like Hopi House, are composed of local limestone and sandstone. They mirror and evoke the landscape in their unusual forms (Carr, 1998; McClelland, 1998; Kaiser, 1997). Colter designed Hopi House more specifically to be reminiscent of Ancestral Puebloan ruins in the region. Her buildings are considered to be significant because of their "concern for archeology and a sense of history", and "the feelings" they create in their spaces (Harrison, 1986). This paper argues that "the feelings" associated with Colter's buildings, and with Hopi House in particular, are feelings of national identity and world cultural heritage, which have been designed into the architecture, landscape, and representation of Grand Canyon National Park.

America's Antiquities

The Grand Canyon is an area of unique geological formation comprising a gorge of nearly 2,000 square miles on either side of the Colorado River in northern Arizona. Its origins as a place of entertainment date to the US government-led expeditions through the Southwest in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, when explorers responded to the sublime and picturesque features of landscape as America's antiquities, comparing rock formations to cathedrals, amphitheaters, and temples with domes, pediments, towers and stone carvings, as well as world historical monuments from Europe, China, and ancient Egypt (Rothman, 1994; Rothman, 1998). Paintings and photographs of the Grand Canyon were reproduced in popular magazines, such as *Harper's Weekly* and *Scribner's*, where they reached a wide audience, and generated early efforts to preserve the area as a national park in order to protect it from private development (Sears, 1989; Hyde, 1990).

While exploring the region settlers also encountered traces of human habitation. In the 1870s and 1880s a number of ruins were discovered at Mesa Verde in southwestern Colorado, about 300 miles from the Grand Canyon. They quickly became sites for archeological excavation, as well as for looting and vandalism (Wade, 1985). The dwellings and the artifacts they contained were of great interest to

anthropologists who wanted to better understand the relationship of the old stone cities, which had been abandoned hundreds of years ago, to the similar present day pueblo communities along the mesas of Colorado, Arizona, and New Mexico.

The popularization of the ancient "cliff dwellers" homes in photographs, and at the world's fairs, where visitors marveled at life-sized reconstructions of them, energized efforts to protect the ancient Native American artifacts, and led to the passage in 1906 of the Antiquities Act. The law enables a US President to set aside a limited parcel of land as a protected "National Monument" by executive order without having to navigate the unwieldy process of creating a National Park by congressional approval ("An act for the preservation of American antiquities"). Though the law was designed specifically to protect the Southwestern Native American Indian artifacts from looters at sites such as Mesa Verde, it has actually been used more frequently by sitting presidents to protect areas of land considered to be especially beautiful or geologically or biologically unique. When President Theodore Roosevelt set aside 800,000 acres of the Grand Canyon as a National Monument in 1908 under the protections of the Antiquities Act, he proclaimed, "no building of any kind, not a summer cottage, a hotel, should be permitted to mar the wonderful grandeur, the sublimity, the great loneliness, and beauty of the Canyon". It was in response to this sentiment that Colter's buildings at the Grand Canyon were designed to visually blend into their rocky environment and to look as if they, like the prehistoric ruins, had always been there, or at least had been there for a very long time.

The Indian Building, Alvarado Hotel, Albuquerque, New Mexico, 1902

The idea for Hopi House at the Grand Canyon evolved from an earlier Fred Harvey Company project, the Indian and Mexican Building and Museum at the Alvarado Hotel, in Albuquerque, New Mexico, built in 1902. Ingeniously situated between disembarking train passengers and the luxurious hotel, the Indian Building enticed tourists to view the Harvey Company's extensive collection of Southwestern arts and crafts, and to purchase Native American textiles, jewelry, baskets, and pottery as souvenirs while also watching local artisans at work (Weigle and Babcock, 1996).

Fig. 2 Ground floor sales room in Hopi House. Display of baskets and Navajo rugs. C.1905. Detroit Photographic Co.

Mary Colter, an architect and art teacher in St. Paul, Minnesota, may have been hired to design the interior of the Indian Building at the suggestion of Fred Harvey's daughter, Minnie Huckle Harvey. Both women had a strong interest in Native American Indian art, and it is possible that Harvey attended one of Colter's lectures or knew of her work through their mutual intellectual circles (Howard and Pardue, 1996). The Fred Harvey Company opened its Indian Department in 1901 to showcase an extensive collection of Native American Arts, which was regularly exhibited at world's fairs. The Santa Fe railway promoted travel along its route in colorful printed post cards and illustrated booklets that featured descriptions of the prize-winning collection, and which promised to provide for tourists a luxurious experience of the exotic Southwestern landscape populated by Native peoples in traditional costume, eager to sell their beautiful hand-made crafts to train passengers (*Great Southwest*, 1914).

Colter's arrangement of diverse objects in the Indian Building showrooms resembled the eclectic jumbles of world's fair exhibition spaces. The wood floors are strewn with woven rugs. From the exposed-beamed ceiling hang various objects, including a canoe. Decorative wood frames divide the room into small niches and provide a convenient place to mount additional items, such as fishing nets, baskets, and the stuffed head of a moose. Many of the objects seen in this view were produced in the Southwest, including the Navajo textiles, and painted ceramics, whereas others, such as the ornate Chilkat blanket towards the back of the room, derive from other parts of North America. The arrangement of objects on and around the craftsman style furniture creates a cozy ambiance, reflecting the fashion for "Indian corners", which were at that time in vogue (Hutchison, 2009).

Hopi House

With Hopi House Colter had the opportunity to expand her vision of an Indian environment to a complete building, for which she was responsible for the exterior construction as well as interior design. She modeled it on the stone and adobe buildings of Oraibi, a Hopi pueblo village to the west of the Grand Canyon that dates at least to the twelfth century, and is believed to be one of the oldest continually inhabited buildings in North America. Hopi House was constructed using similar materials and techniques to those of the buildings at Oraibi. The terraced roof was a stage, quite literally, on which an imagined past era was enacted for tourists at the Grand Canyon, espe-

cially those staying at the grand El Tovar hotel just a few yards away.

Hopi House was in effect a living museum of the sort that were popularized at world's fairs in the second half of the nineteenth century, particularly those which featured architectural or ethnographic villages, arrangements of vernacular architecture and living performers dressed in traditional folk costume (Kaufman, 1989; Stoklund, 1993). It is entirely possible that Colter visited and observed such exhibits at both the Chicago 1893 and St. Louis 1904 world's fairs, where the students from Mechanic Arts School in St. Paul won prizes for their work.

Colter's interior decoration of Hopi House enhanced the mythical image of America's "first families" by drawing attention to Hopi domestic life—their homes, and how they were constructed and furnished, the gender relations and division of labor within their families, and the arts and crafts that enhance the domestic realm: textiles for clothing and blankets, ceramic pots for carrying water and for cooking, baskets for storing food, and jewelry for personal adornment (Babcock, 1996). Several photographs taken around 1905 shortly after Hopi House was completed depict the arrangement of showrooms and demonstration spaces (Fig. 2). The intimate scale of the rooms, many with corner fireplaces, lends the building a charming, home-like quality. The photographs depict men, women, and children artists-in-residence at work weaving rugs and baskets, or at rest around the hearths or on the upper story terraces. The railways perpetuated an idea of the Hopi as a "domesticated", peaceful, productive people, characterized by the (feminine) beauty of young Hopi women with their iconic hair whorls and Hopi decorative arts—especially painted pottery (Babcock, 1996; Weigle and Howard, 1996).

The main attraction at both the Indian Building in Albuquerque and at Hopi House was the presence of Native artisans. Two women in particular were celebrated members of the Harvey staff: the Hopi–Tewa ceramicist Nampeyo (1859–1942), who popularized an earthenware pattern based on fragments of pottery found at Sikyátki, an archeological site on First Mesa dating to the fourteenth century; and Asdzaa Lichii' (1850–1924), also known as Elle of Ganado, a master Navajo weaver (Wade, 1985 ; Moore, 2001).

The Diné (Navajo) are ethnically, linguistically, and culturally distinct from the Pueblo peoples of the Southwest, and the two groups have a long history of strained relations that continue to this day in the form of land disputes that were set into motion by the U.S. government's policy of land redistribution in the 1880s. Unlike the Hopi, the Navajo were nomadic people dependent on access to grasslands for their herds of sheep. Their traditional dwelling, the hogan, is a round house made of earth and logs, which is quite different in appearance from the Pueblo. At both the Indian Building of the Alvarado Hotel in Albuquerque and at Hopi House, traditional Navajo hogans were constructed for the Navajo artisans in residence.

National Historic Landmark, National Park, and World Heritage Centre. If Hopi House is significant for the feelings of history it evokes, whose cultural heritage does it represent? To preserve Hopi House as a national landmark helps us to remember the history of the Grand Canyon as a national park and tourist destination developed by the joint efforts of the railroad and the burgeoning hospitality industry. It also helps us to recognize the work of Mary Colter, an overlooked architect in a field that was dominated almost exclusively by men in the early twentieth century (Daughters of the desert). Her work contributed to and expanded a uniquely American form of architecture in the early twentieth century. But is Hopi House significant to Hopi people or Hopi culture? Does its preservation as a National Historic Landmark have any benefit for Hopi, Navajo, or other indigenous people today?

It is tempting to dismiss Hopi House as an example of "cultural appropriation" designed to profit from the cultural heritage of others. But this interpretation overlooks the active participation and agency of Native designers, such as Elle of Ganado and Nampeyo, who were professional artists with national, if not international, reputations, employed by the Harvey Company. Colter was interested in creating theatrical environments for tourists at the Grand Canyon, but she was also interested in learning more about Native American Indian arts, working with Native artists, and sharing that knowledge with others. It is necessary to both acknowledge the agency of the Harvey artisans and also to recognize the limitation of that agency within a larger exploitative structure shaped by unequal power relationships. Colter was surely better compensated for her work than Nampeyo or Elle, whose Native lands were seized and reapportioned, and in whose communities Native children were removed from their homes and forced to attend Indian boarding schools where their own cultural traditions and Native languages were forbidden (Lomawaima, 1995; Gere, 2005).

Hopi House is neither Hopi nor a house. It is something different that emerged from a convergence of activities and ideas—destructive political forces as well as passionate impulses to protect and conserve the natural environment for the future; romantic imagination of a pre-industrial past as well as the active engagement in a contemporary economy of tourism and trade. It might be more useful today to examine the case of Hopi House, therefore, as an example of "transculturation", in which new cultural meaning emerges from the context of contact and conflict—even contexts of profound destruction or devastation (Hutchinson, 2009; Dilworth, 1996).

unesco is the United Nations' educational, scientific, and cultural organization, which asserts in its mission statement, "Peace must be built upon the intellectual and moral solidarity of humanity" (United Nations, 2017). As an extension of the United Nations, which was established after the Second World War to help promote world peace through collaborative international relations, unesco aims to promote "cultural heritage and the equal dignity of all cultures". In 1965 the United States, as a participant in unesco, called for a World Heritage Trust to preserve "the world's

superb natural and scenic areas and historic sites for the present and the future of the entire world citizenry". The 1972 United Nations Convention Concerning the Protection of the World's Cultural and Natural Heritage set the criteria for preserving such sites, with the Grand Canyon of Arizona receiving one of the program's first designations.

The Grand Canyon's designation as a UNESCO World Heritage Centre is based on its natural beauty and its wealth of information about Earth's geological history and diverse ecosystems. UNESCO describes it as "one of the world's most visually powerful landscapes", and "the most spectacular gorge in the world" ("Grand Canyon"). As a National Park the Grand Canyon is likewise preserved as a place of unique natural beauty, but also, significantly, one that must be shared by the American public, and handed down from generation to generation. When President Theodore Roosevelt visited the Grand Canyon in 1903, before Hopi House was built, he said:

> The Grand Canyon fills me with awe. It is beyond comparison—beyond description; absolutely unparalleled through-out the wide world... Let this great wonder of nature remain as it now is. Do nothing to mar its grandeur, sublimity and loveliness. You cannot improve on it. But what you can do is to keep it for your children, your children's children, and all who come after you, as the one great sight which every American should see (Barnes, 1997: 23–24).

Mary Colter's buildings, by contrast, are landmarked for their cultural significance; that is, as the representation of work by a particular architect; as representative of National Park Rustic style architecture; and as contributing structures within the Grand Canyon Village National Historic Landmark District. Furthermore, Colter believed that the architectural building method and visual aesthetic she used in designing Hopi House was preserving the memory of traditional Puebloan architecture, even if only in a staged reenactment of it, just as the trade in both ancient and contemporary Native art objects preserved a regional cultural tradition for a new audience, even if in a slightly different form. What makes Colter's buildings significant is their site specificity—their physical relationship to the natural landscape of the Grand Canyon by site as well as in the materials used. So, the national park/world heritage/national landmark designations cannot be easily disentangled.

Visitors to the South Rim of the Grand Canyon today likely experience a range of feelings depending on the individual perspectives they bring with them, as indigenous people, as settler Americans, or as international citizens of the world. The design of the park and its built environment affects, shapes, and even instills those feelings, which may be feelings of mourning for lost territory, or national pride in America's antiquities, or awe towards the magnificence and majesty of the shared planet. But just as likely at the Grand Canyon are feelings of being overwhelmed and fatigued. In fact, you might not even notice Hopi House, which not only blends into the reddish stone of the canyon that seems to extend infinitely beyond the horizon, but also vanishes among the throngs of tourists.

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Which Came First, the Chicken or the Egg?
Sequences and Genealogies in between Architecture and Design for a Global History

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Design history / History of architecture / Data visualization / Global history / Interdisciplinarity

Some among the early "classics" of the history of projects, such as Giedion or Pevsner, united architecture and design leaning towards anonymity and industrialism and eliminating the division between the two disciplines. They were related with an ideological notion of style: the "Modern". Afterwards other approaches suggested another use of sequences of objects in a larger continuum instead of the use of notions of "style" (Kubler, Bloch and Foucault).

Joining these different starting points together with the latest contribution (Margolin, 2015) the paper aims to explore the possibilities given by compiling timelines and sequences that mix different approaches in a larger vision of project disciplines to obtain the web for a global history, implementable and queryable at different levels and using a broader range of design studies. The goal is to outline and schematically show a continuous conversation throughout time and space, maintaining the specificities of historical research and an inclusive and broader view on the flow of time.

To inform a reflection on this opportunity the paper will consider the ways to organize sequences on specific or general topics using tools for the managing of data flows and their representations.

Diagrams and promotion of Modern

When Sigfried Giedion wrote, as early as 1948, *Mechanization takes command*, he contaminated and overlapped architecture and design focusing on anonymity and industrial production (tall buildings, balloon frames together with barber chairs, cheap kitchens and trains) and he eliminated the division between the two disciplines. In his *Pioneers of Modern Design* (1936) Nikolaus Pevsner, even if in a different way, also crossed the boundaries between architecture and design. Both are however linked to an ideological notion of style: the "Modern", illustrated and promoted with militant faith and with an idealistic approach to history (Scalvini and Sandri, 1984; Watkin, 1983). This was an evolutionary approach, somehow Vasarian, in which the sequence of the authors and the works were organized to demonstrate the goodness of the "modern way", clearly explained also by Pevsner's book's subtitle, *From William Morris to Walter Gropius*, and by others in the same years, such as *Von Ledoux bis Le Corbusier* by Emil Kauffmann.[1] The historical sequence lends itself, obviously, to a graphical synthetic representation that can be functional in the diffusion of the data—intended as objective and shared.

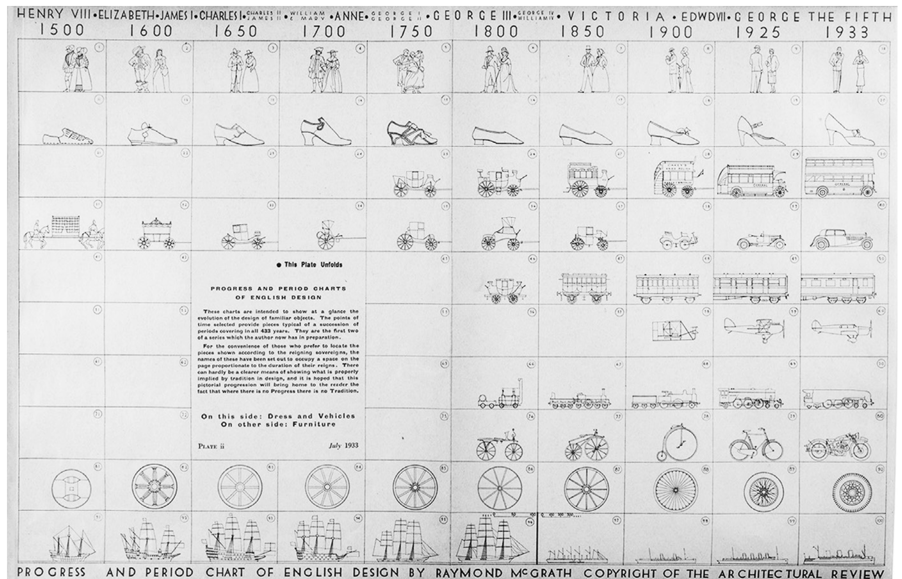

Fig. 1 R. McGrath, "Progress and Period Charts of English Design", *The Architectural Review*, vol. LXXIV, 440, 1933 (7).

These are the years of the publication in the United States, at affordable prices, of the *Histomap* by John B. Sparks,[2] who followed not so much a precise historiographical model—as a simple enthusiast—but rather the need to make the information shareable and disseminated. He agreed with the conviction, borrowed from Spencer, that "When a man's knowledge is not in order, the more of it he has, the greater is his confusion in thought" (Rosemberg and Grafton, 2010: 217–219). Following this evolutionary approach, he thus drew "the actual picture of the march of civilization, from the mud huts of the ancients thru the monarchist glamour of the middle ages to the living panorama of life in present day America".

The family tree and the linear sequence very well represented this kind of idea and path. The historiography or the goals of "cultural politics" correspond to one specific depiction.

In July 1933, Raymond McGrath,[3] architect and early illustrator, entrusted to the pages of *The Architectural Review* a series of tables that showed the process of transformation of different items between 1500 and 1933 (Fig. 1), specifying the

[1] Kauffmann, E. (1933). *Von Ledoux bis Le Corbusier*, Vienna: Verlag.

[2] Sparks, J.B. (1931). *The Histomap. Four Thousand Years Of World History. Relative Power Of Contemporary States, Nations And Empires* Chicago: Histomap, Inc.

[3] *The Architectural Review*, vol LXXIV n. 440, July 1933.

timeline with the sequence of the British kingdoms (from Henry VIII to George V) and introducing gradually and in parallel, as specializations, the fruits of industrial progress: transportations are illustrated with the carriages from which the cars descend and, with them, buses, train coaches, bicycles, aircrafts, ships and some basic technical elements such as the wheel. In the same way he depicted furniture identifying the genealogies that led to chairs, sofas, fireplaces, tables, cabinets, bathroom fixtures or sound diffusion devices and making an explicit reference to the word "evolution". In 1933 Raymond Loewy conceived as a self-promotion his *Evolutionary chart of design*[4] with the aim to trace the line that lead to Streamlining.

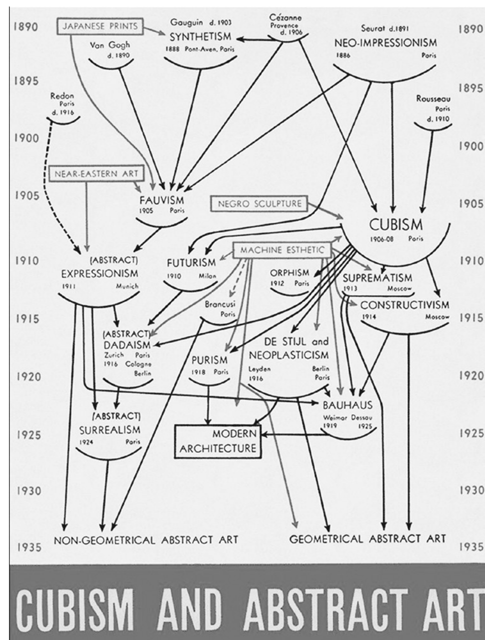

Fig. 2 Alfred H. Barr, cover of the MoMA exhibition *Cubism and abstract art*, 1936.

This system gradually became more common in the magazines, in the years of the "consecration" of the Modern, and was increasingly attentive to the arrival point of the path that had to be clearly and indisputably modern.

As some examples, in 1942 Giuseppe Pagano released the sequence (only photographic) of lighting systems[5] and Jack Waldheim, who authored the *Barwa lounge chair* with Edgar Bartolucci in 1949, wrote in 1949 an article in *Art and Architecture* with the aim of tracing "The story of an item first designed for functional reasons as portability and lightness, which later become a symbol of 'Class' and 'Pomp', and now is returning to basic principles—comfort, ease of production, lightness and a number of healthy-good hints to new concepts of sitting" (p. 26).[6]

In the same years of the celebration of the mythopoeia of modernity, we find in the North American cultural *milieu* a different and non-linear representation of sequences and genealogies. This shows in the intuition of Alfred H. Barr, who summarized sequences and overlays in the "Barr Diagram" (1936),[7] the cover of the MoMA exhibition catalogue *Cubism and Abstract Art* (Fig. 2).

In this case the linear sequence experimented up to now was critically revised, focusing, also graphically, on the intersections and the contributions of the "external influences" (in red), even if it was once again a progressive teleological model for the development of modern art.

The sequential narrative mode, still used by Barr for all the 1940s for internal MoMA communications,[8] was then shown in a series of exhibitions promoted by American museums, in particular by the MoMA itself, in the field of design culture until the 1960s. Curated by Bernard Rudofsky, these started with *Are the clothes modern?*, passing through *Roads* (1961) and *Stairs* (1963) and leading to *Architecture without Architects* (1964), with a vision that reflected the debate triggered by Focillon and Kubler, in which the sequences and the anonymous objects are meant to escape on one hand the concept of style and, on the other, the cult of authorship caused by the mythology of the Modern Movement.

In the same years, the use of sequences, especially in relation to single objects, was also introduced in the new magazines specialized in industrial design, even without representing any authentic historical contribution: sewing machines, motorcycles, telephones, combs were represented as a living matter in the different steps of their formal and technical evolution.[9]

This process of disciplinary self-assertion lead to increasingly detailed and precise design stories coinciding with the search for a methodological status and with the goal of demonstrating that "(Italian) design is NOT a pure appendix to the architectural culture of the Modern Movement",[10] the point of it being that starting from an everyday object allowed a wider reading: "If you study the chair you discover the world".[11]

This statement refers to the already mentioned George Kubler's interests in the field of archaeology research. He published *The Shape of Time* in 1962, suggesting an alternative approach which used sequences of objects in a wider continuum instead of using the notion of "style". The teacher–pupil relationship between Kubler and Focillon (Kubler, 1962) somehow reproduced the one between Giedion and Wölfflin, who worked on art history without names, too (Preziosi, 2009). It was immersed in American design and architecture culture, which had always dealt with an industrialized and less authoritative context than the European one and provided interpretative tools as well as operational ones for the community of architects and historians of architecture and art (Kubler, 1965: 299–302). As shown by the many attempts to establish theoretical bases in the history of design, the immediate effect and great success of Kubler's contributions was that they started from the objects enucleating their meanings in terms of material and formal qualities, but also of behaviours and economic reasons

[4] Loewy, R. (1979). *Industrial Design*. Woodstock–NY: Overlook Press: 74–76.

[5] Pagano, G. (1942). "Lampade di oggi e di una volta", *Domus*, 174 (6): 238–243.

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[8] Rosemberg & Grafton, *Cartographie, cit.*, p. 222; MoMA Archives, Alfred Barr Jr. Papers, 9°. I5.

[9] "La macchina per cucire: invenzione, storia ed evoluzione della forma", *Stile Industria*, 1956 (2), 6: 2 -14; "Motociclette: produzione di serie e ricerca sperimentale", *Stile Industria*, 1956 (10), 8: 7–18; "Progettazione di un telefono", *Stile Industria*, 1957 (5),13: 8–11.

[10] Gregotti, V. (1986). *Il disegno del prodotto industriale. Italia 1860-1980*. Milan: Electa: 9.

[11] Waldheim, "The chair", *cit*. p. 26.

related to them. Furthermore, the historical approach that privileges events with repercussions in the social and economic structures, even minute, can be traced back to the "Annales"—renewed by Braudel—as well as to the history told as a genealogy of gaps and discontinuities following Foucault's epistemological method (Foucault, 1969).

"Marrying" the aims of the "Annales" *longue durée*, the attention for the background of the official historiography and for the pivotal approaches provided by the "idealist" histories of architecture and design such as that of Giedion, could thus be linked to the interest for sequences, or rather, on how to use them as an interpretative tool, as Kubler proposed.

Representing a discipline

Somehow closing this circle between the methodological innovations in history and their graphic representation could have solved the problem in telling and communicating stories in a linear or non-linear way but the historiographical debate around these seminal histories slowed down. The possibilities offered by both the sequences and the interdisciplinary approaches—and their respective representations—had ceased to be of interest, while stories continued (monographs, hagiographies, gender and all kinds of specializations). In fact, during the 1980s, the circumscribed effects of the Annalist approach were lost and, above all, the "record of death" of the metanarrative systems of Western culture from the Enlightenment onwards[12] halted the historiographical debate on the use of chronologies as a whole. On the other hand, the representation of data, implemented by technical tools, somehow allowed its use on sequences as an almost independent expressive medium, also artistic—but it's once again an egg or chicken problem.

It is to underline that the use of graphics which included lines representing different categories became a bit more frequent as a communication tool in "militant" studies, such as the one commissioned by the Club di Roma of MIT in 1972.[13]

The growing use of infographics as a mere communication method appeared again only at the end of the decade to order a fragmented outline which, in the specific area of design, led to some examples as comprehensive graphic histories, such as the *Ollo* timeline (Fig. 3)[14] or the *Map of Italian Design* from 1968 to 1988.[15]

[12] Lyotard, J.-F. (1979). *La condition postmoderne*. Paris: Minuit.

[13] Meadows, D.H.; Meadows D.L.; Randers J.; Behrens W.W.III (1972). *The Limits of Growth*, Washington: Potomak Ass. Book: 103–104, 160–169.

[14] G. Gregori, "Mappa del design", *Ollo*, 1988, 1, w.p.; magazine, without text, directed by Alessandro Mendini.

[15] Bosoni G.; Confalonieri F.G. (1988). *Paesaggio del design italiano 1972-1988*. Milan: Edizioni di Comunità: pp. 2–3.

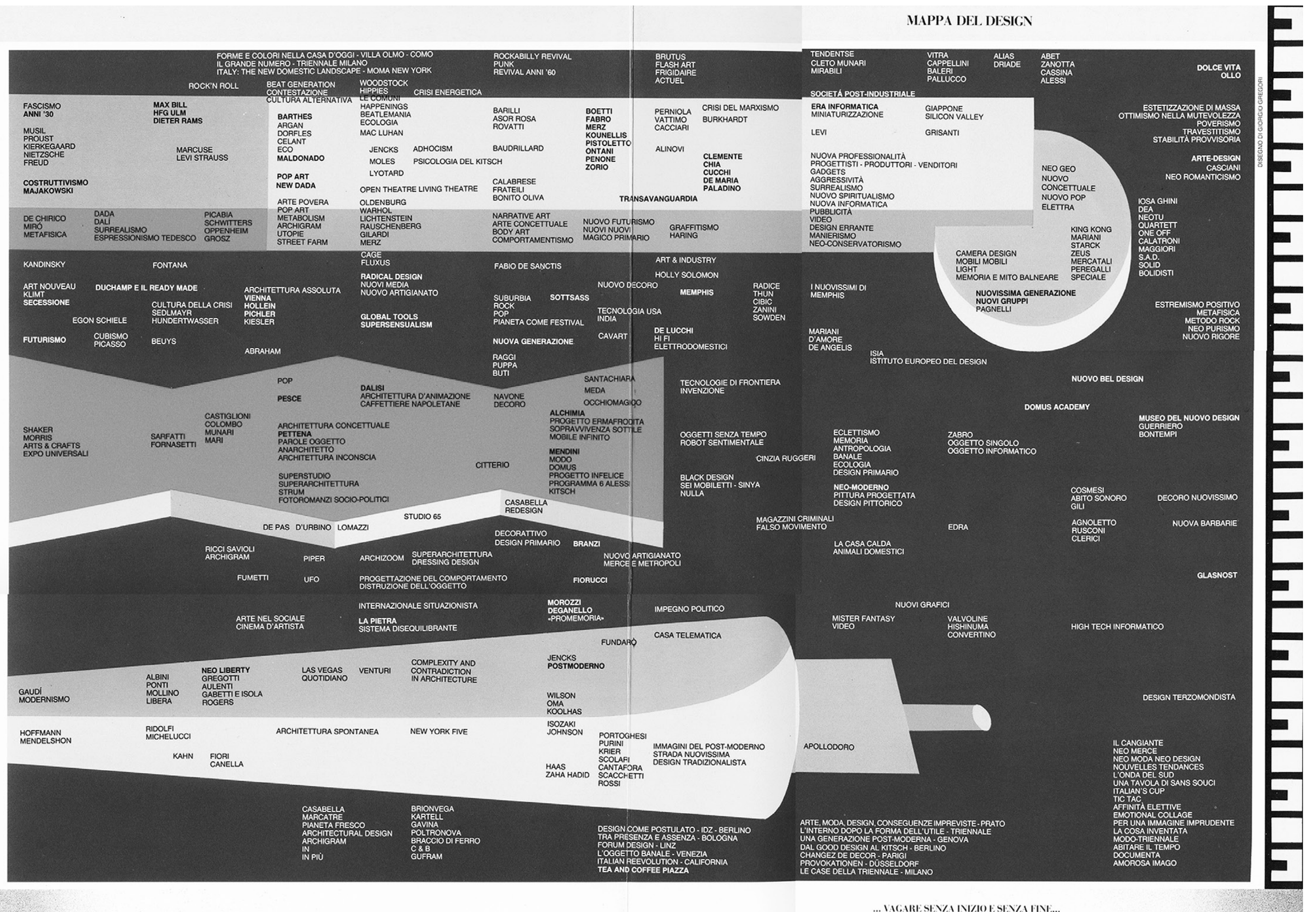

Fig. 3 G. Gregori, "Mappa del design", *Ollo*, 1, 1988.

Faced with the typically post-modern observation of the existence of fragments, archipelagos, rhizomes, enzymes and swarms that started processes of dispersion, but also of pluralism, apparently there was a need to systematize, scientifically and narratively, the different components that had gradually built the history of design.

In 1991, Enrico Castelnuovo in the afterword to his *History of industrial design* (Castelnuovo, Gubler and Matteoni, 1991: 404–413) suggested—and required—a broader look that, although anchored to the canonical chronologies of the evenemental history, put together different competences and variable reading scales.

The 1990s were a decade of debate about historical research in the field of design—one of the few disciplines still discussing methodological issues[17] (Margolin, 2015: 5–7; Pasca and Trabucco, 1995)—as it was trying to overcome the apparent contradiction between design history and design studies, highlighted sometimes as a disciplinary weakness (Margolin, 1995; Riccini, 1996).[18] Furthermore, design had been isolated from other sectors of the project culture historically deeply connected to it due to the overlap of training paths and roles (Dellapiana, 2016).

Nevertheless, some other maps concerning design and architecture history appeared, perhaps because of a necessity of appraisal marked by the turn of the millennium. It happened almost independently from the different tendencies of information design and was rather a need, within the environment of the historians trained as architects, to communicate in a scientifically effective way a story that seemed a disordered set of monads, even in its several graphic representations: biographies, genealogies of objects and technical achievements, collections of iconic products.

In this scenario, the continuous research and the project itself become fully intelligible only in relation to other events such as technological, cultural, economic, climatic and historical evolution. For these reasons it becomes essential to enable understanding by shifting the attention from a linear, structured and mechanical approach and a reading of the spatio-temporal phenomena towards a more systemic, circular, dynamic and interconnected vision. A more aware and conscious approach towards an information design.

Whether in values, techniques, methodologies, tools or languages, it is precisely the

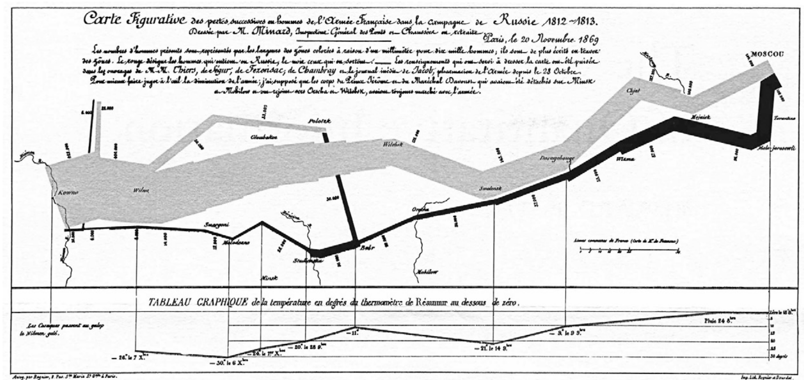

Fig. 4 Minard, C. J. (1869). *Carte figurative des pertes successives en hommes de l'Armée Française dans la campagne de Russie 1812–1813*. Paris: Graphics Press.

field of design that becomes a cultural catalyst, a reading tool for social, territorial and productive changes, an aggregator of knowledge and skills, and an answer to the complexity and systemic process to guide knowledge, education, but also innovation and sustainability.

Information design for a global—inclusive—history

However, information design projects are not the latest outcomes. Great characters, won or lost battles, brave deeds or brilliant ideas are just some of the issues related to modern historiography. Issues that in their essence are numbers, quantities, positions that all can be summarized through the most different visual models (Tufte and Graves-Morris, 1983).

In the work of the French civil engineer Charles Joseph Minard (1869) (Fig. 4), it is possible to recognize, perhaps, one of the most famous, iconic and visionary spatio-temporal analyses based on a primordial ability to perceive directions, shapes, colours and proportions (Minard, 1869).[19] The *Carte Figurative des pertes successives en hommes de l'Armée Française dans la campagne de Russie (1812–1813)* summarizes, in a two-dimensional image, the army dimensions, the geographical references, the temporal flow and the meteorological variables of the defeat of the Russian Napoleonic campaign in 1812.

Whereas it is possible to find a more pragmatic approach in the formal experimentation of Giorgia Lupi, *Visualising painters' lives*, (Fig. 5) an anthology that describes life, styles, historical context, significant events of ten artists belonging to the abstractionism and surrealism painting movement.[20]

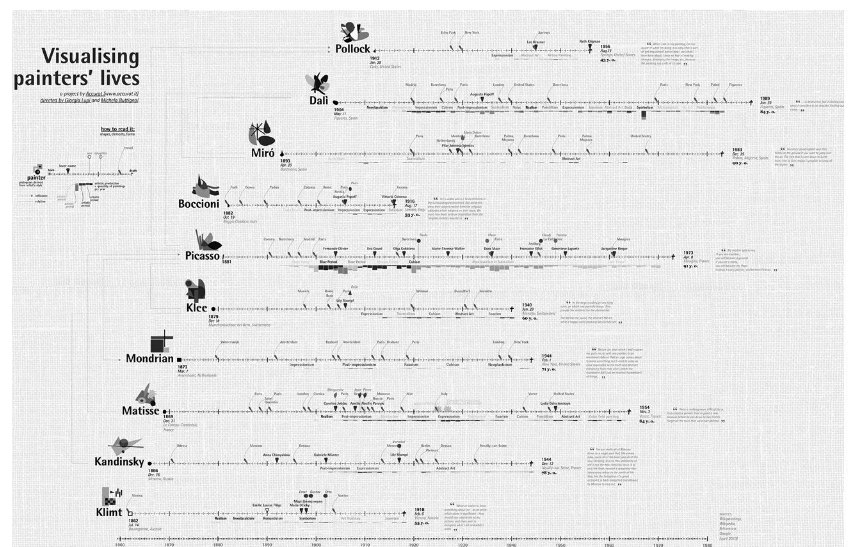

Fig. 5 Lupi, G. and Buttignol M., *Visualizing painters' lives*. giorgialupi.com/work#/visualizing-painters-lives, 2013.

Technological and digital development, especially in recent times, has led to a total rethinking of methodological processes as well as of the languages, researching, renewing and combining graphic/formal solutions and styles. Hypertextuality and interactivity thus enable new scenarios of understanding a holistic knowledge, qualifying both spatio-temporal phenomena comprehension and the creation of a dialogue aimed to tackle contemporary complexity.

Conceived as a continuous cycle between acting, evaluating, conceptualizing and applying, interpreted as a possibility to expand the conversation between past, present and future inclusively and collaboratively, education today sees in the design of information a useful support to enable knowledge. It might be a cross-cognitive tool built on a personal and collective understanding of history, based on open data availability and ability to transform them into a usable raw material. In this sense, the main trends we can mention are on one hand the digitalization of large archives and historical maps and on the other the ex novo creation of interactive visual tools. The first category mentioned above refers to the work of Santiago Ortiz: the digitalization of the *Histomap* by J. B. Sparks (1931)[21] (Fig. 6). For the second category, we can refer to *Here is Today*, a simple and immediate interface based on a proportions game allowing the user to visually navigate the temporal history of the universe.[22]

The ethical role of the designer becomes accessory in this cultural, social and technological transformation in an increasingly evident way.

Furthermore, the creation of databases—as a basic result—with the possibility of multi-level queries, the reproduction of various kinds of archives and their networking following the rapid developments of Digital History, seem to provide the tools suitable for an information flow functional to research, making the historian almost an information manager (McCrank, 2002).

Regardless of the object of its representation, infographics is today a sophisticated tool offering in turn infinite possibilities of representation not only of simple sequences, but of general visions, which can make data communicable to the general public, and also to the community of experts in different fields, who do not necessarily practise the same specialized languages.

Putting the objects "in the indian line of before and after", to say it with Marc Bloch,[23] but, as he recommends, highlighting fractures and scraps and questioning them with the tools of the respective epochs and moments of belonging (Bloch, 1950: chapter 1), shelters them from purely disciplinary claims—however often legitimate and understandable—and, paradoxically, deprives both the sequence and its own interpretation of the patina of individuality: placed in the historical flow, the objects lose their authorship and find their authentic historical context.

[16] Branzi, A. (2006). *Modernità debole e diffusa. Il mondo del progetto all'inizio del XXI secolo.* Milan: Skirà; Rota, I. (2012). *Cosmologia portatile. Scritti, disegni, mappe visioni.* Macerata: Quodlibet Abitare.

[17] Fallan, K. (2010). *Design History. Understanding Theory and Method.* Oxford: Berg.

[18] Margolin V. (2013), "Il Design nella Storia", *A/I/S/design storia e ricerche*, #1.

[19] Minard, C. J. (1869). *Carte figurative des pertes successives en hommes de l'Armée Française dans la campagne de Russie 1812–1813.* Paris: Graphics Press.

[20] Lupi, G. and Buttignol M. (2013). *Visualizing painters' lives.* giorgialupi.com/work#/visualizing-painters-lives.

[21] Ortiz, S. (2013). *Histomap revisited.* http://intuitionanalytics.com/other/histomap/.

[22] White Vinyl Design. (2013). *Here is today.* hereistoday.com.

[23] Bloch, M. (1967). *Dialettica e speranza.* Firenze: Vallecchi.

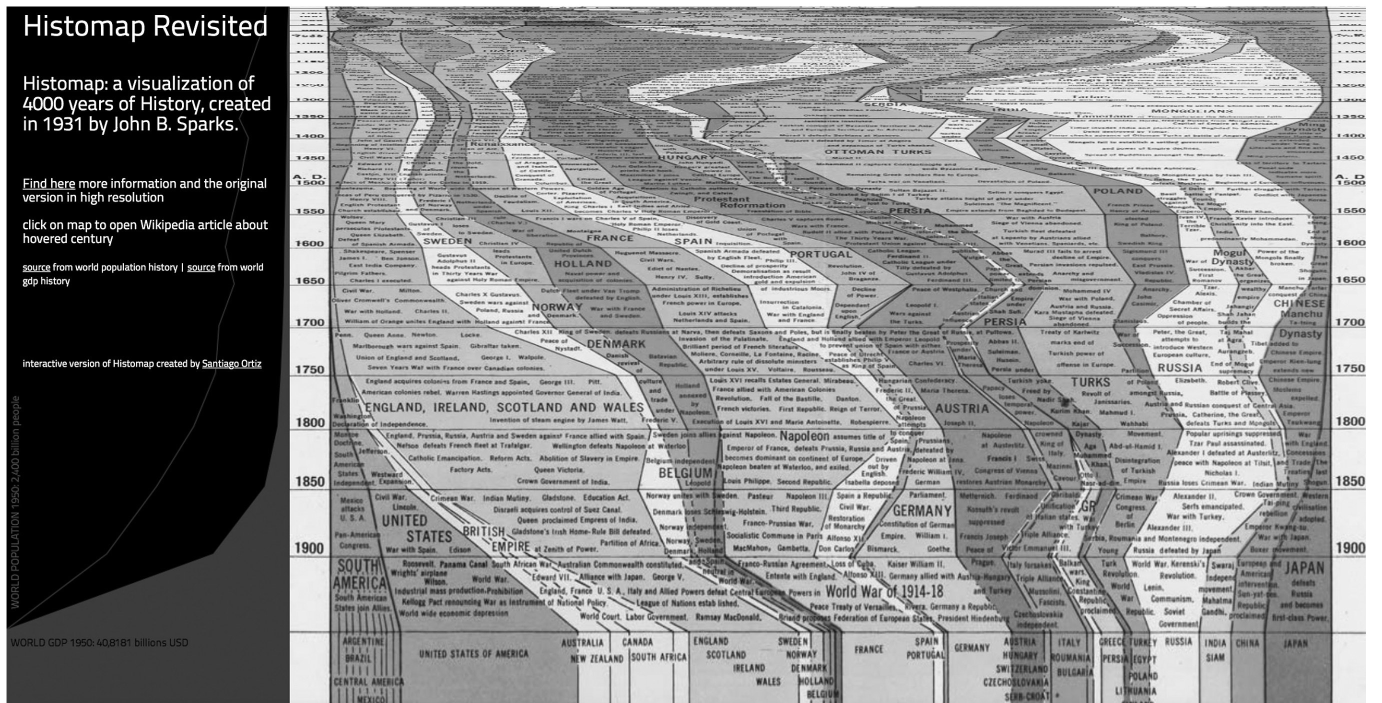

Fig. 6 Ortiz, S. (2013). *Histomap revisited.* http://intuitionanalytics.com/other/histomap/.

Conclusion

The need to narrate the history of design and architecture in a broader sense—including both neglected authors or geographic areas (Margolin, 2015: 2)—poses the problem of how to widen chronologies and subjects, but also interpretative categories.

The enlargement required apparently collides with the urgency of defining the borders of design. The solution could be not so much in blurring its definition but in the awareness of its continuous overlapping and contaminations with art, technique, market, communication, as Castelnuovo recommended.

While this practice can be found in several recent works, especially regarding the different branches of the project, it is difficult to communicate these overlaps in a global history which has been extended to historical periods and to geographical areas.

Complex timeline-sequences that combine architecture, industrial design and graphics in a broader vision of the project disciplines can help to create an authentic mapping (the word often used by Margolin) and connect new figures and situations in a wider cultural and economic context.

The dilemma "Which came first, the chicken or the egg?" has the intent to define the roles and times of the historical data, its visualizations and interpretations. The most reasonable answer involves a change of the study model, going towards an action—more typical of design—based on disciplinary collaboration. In this case, therefore, it is not a problem of deciding whether the egg or the chicken came first but admitting that the path should be carried out in parallel. It should combine the skills of the historian with those of the graphic designer, applying them case-by-case and according to the analysis conducted by sociologists, anthropologists, political scientists, geographers, etc. in order to achieve the best results in terms of comprehension and communication and the creation of a multidisciplinary team becomes essential. Indeed, data-visualization cannot simply be defined as the representation of information in visual form, but it is a complex multidisciplinary field, ranging from data mining to visual arts, from psychology of perception to graphic and systemic design (Remondino, Stabellini and Tamborrini, 2017).

Despite the promotion of interdisciplinary collaborations, there is still considerable resistance. The strength of multidisciplinarity, the openness to different know-how, knowledge, points of view and fields, shapes data representation as a multiform tool. It could be characterized by its dynamism in response to the latest technological, formal and contextual challenges, guaranteeing the right flexibility to the needs of a context and a history in which dynamism is intrinsic.

To a narrative of openness and knowledge, however, only occasionally follows an inclusive practice able to satisfy on one hand administrative/bureaucratic aspects, and on the other to operate at the level of imagination, culture and widespread and shared responsibility. Mentioning the thought of Margolin, in this complex information world, the democratic nature should not be understood and pursued in its more traditional sense but instead as a process articulated in the design of democracy as an essential condition coming from the contribution and collaboration of different involved actors and a process designed for democracy with a transparent point of view and bottom-up participation. A process rooted in a broader democratic system capable of highlighting and activating, through design, initiatives aimed at shaping a sustainable society.[24]

This work—all to be developed further—begins with the history data. It ends with the implications of trends that see data as an increasing, widespread and accessible manifestation to the individual as well as to the community. This work begins with a dialogue in the past between space and time. It ends with the awareness that knowledge is one of the most powerful tools to enable future sustainable behaviours.

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Creating a Field of East Asian Design History in English through Publication of a Critical Reader

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East Asia / Design history / Knowledge production / Kurafuto / Boundary of craft and design

How do we teach different narratives of 'Design History' other than through Euroamerican stories? East Asia (China/Hong Kong, Japan, Korea and Taiwan) is one of the important regions for which the steady development of design histories in the 'modern' period cannot be ignored, yet an integrated way of teaching other than optional or ad-hoc insertions of people/events is difficult due to a lack of materials available in English. This paper questions the current state of knowledge production, and presents some key issues which emerged during the process of publishing a Reader of East Asian Design History that aims to decentre and redress circulation of the current Euroamerican-centric paradigm. Firstly, I discuss the importance of the cluster 'East Asia' as a global and contemporary site of design history. Secondly, I discuss the issue of 'craft' as an important area of design history in East Asia, but also as a driving force for contemporary design and postcolonial resistance. A particular focus will be brought to Japan's production of kurafuto (craft design), which was evolved during the Cold War period and continued into a thriving contemporary creative industry.

Introduction

It is hard to ignore the steady development of 'modern' design histories seen in East Asia (China/Hong Kong, Japan, Korea and Taiwan), yet teaching it in an integrated way has been difficult due to the lack of materials available in English (Kikuchi, Wong and Lee, 2011–12). In clear realization of a need for more materials and models to deliver different narratives of design histories in English, during the last decade I have been leading a joint project for creating inter-East Asian design histories, culminating in the publication of a Reader for East Asian Design History. This Reader, to which a number of passionate ICDHS participants have contributed, will be published by Brill in two volumes this year.[1] In this paper, I would like to discuss some key issues which have emerged during the process of working on this Reader in the hope that they would facilitate our understanding of the decentering of the Euroamerican-centric current model and redressing its circulation.

Key issues

1. Framing 'East Asia' as a global and contemporary site of design history. 'East Asia' is an important site of knowledge production that offers contemporary critical issues for design history study that engage with global and transnational questions.[2] It also has a potential to by-pass the normative binary of 'East' and 'West' that is entwined with an unequal power relationship. 'East Asia' is underpinned by shared characteristics which evolved as an historically, culturally and discursively close, interconnected region. However, 'East Asia' was not a cohesive cultural unit, as some parts of China and Korea became imperial subjects, shaped by Euroamerican and Japanese imperialism while Japan was indirectly shaped by cultural imperialism at the peripheral margins of the traditional cultural center of China. China was split into four political and cultural entities: Hong Kong Island (1842), Macao (1887), Taiwan (1895) and People's Republic of China (1949), while Korea was annexed and colonized by Japan (1910) and split into North and South during the early stages of the Cold War (1948). Subsequently, these four Chinese regions and Korea experienced distinct historical, political, social and regional developments and modernities, while collectively contributing to the decline of the Qing dynasty and the Sinocentric order.

'East Asia' is also a dialectically and ideologically constructed modern geocultural space within 'East'. Okakura Tenshin's influential 'pan-Asian' imagination was disillusioned by Japan's imperial imagination of 'Asia' as one under Japan's empire against the West. Japan's colonization of Korea, Taiwan and its occupation of Northeast China and Manchuria brought about entangled 'colonial modernity' that cannot be ignored, as this created a shared positive as well as problematic design and material culture between colonizer and colonized through the mass migration of people within the empire (Barlow, 2012). Modernity facilitated by translingual practice through 'Chinese script' for disseminating a wide range of knowledge formulated regionally shared translated modernity within Asia (Liu, 1995). A large part of the East Asian modern design development was also triggered by the way Japan adapted the idea of design from Europe and disseminated it throughout its empire. In this way, East Asian design development is characterized by a double translation from Europe via Japan. The political and cultural climate in East Asia is in disunited entanglement but there is an undeniable undercurrent that informs our shared history and contemporary culture. Scholars, such as Chen Kuan-Hsing,

[1] This Reader is an outcome of a joint international research project that has been ongoing since 2007 and has built up a network of over twenty design historians from East Asia who share in the task of writing 'our' version of East Asian design histories. Our project has also been supported by the AHRC Research Networking Award (2012–14), 'Translating and Writing Modern Design Histories in East Asia for the Global World' and has successfully organized symposia and workshops at MOMA Tokyo (2012), the National Yunlin University of Science and Technology (2013) and the Design Museum, London (2014). The core participants of this project Kikuchi and Wong also convened the 10th International Conference on Design History and Studies in Taipei (2016) where further exploration was made involving with many Taiwanese and East Asian scholars under the main theme of 'Making Trans/national Contemporary Design History' with perspectives from East Asia.

[2] The question of 'East Asia' has been interrogated in international conferences such as East Asian Translation Studies Conference (EATS 2) with its theme 'Constructing/Deconstructing East Asia' (https://www.tomedes.com/translation-conference/the_2nd_east_asian_translation_studies_conference_(eats_2) and 'East Asia as Method: Culture, Knowledge, Space' (http://east-asia-as-method.weebly.com/schedule.html).

who proposes transnationalism as a methodology in 'inter-East Asian' frameworks (Chen, 1998, 2010) or Kim Sunjung who articulates the status quo of 'discordant harmony' (Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts, 2016), find some useful production of knowledge out of the complex East Asian postcolonial condition. This postcolonial entangled status of 'East Asia' and its self-reflexive moment, are defining 'East Asia' in a contemporary sense that poses compelling postcolonial questions for design history study. For these reasons, East Asia is a meaningful cluster for building up a new, large area of global design history studies by tapping into geo-culturally specific knowledge and combining this with colonial studies.

2. The evolution of 'design'

MUJI product designer Fukasawa Naoto, who is also director of the Japan Folk Crafts Museum, raises an important question about the boundary of craft and design in his curated exhibition *The Boundary between Kogei and Design* (Fukasawa, 2016). What Fukasawa sees in contemporary design is its seamlessness and a vastly inter-linked area of craft and design that forms a characteristic of Japanese design. In order to understand this phenomenon, we need to look at its historical legacy in the evolution of 'design' in modern Japan and East Asia. The notion of 'design' emerged through this region's encounter with the alien Euroamerican notion and Japanese translation into Chinese terms.[3] The Euroamerican translation and hierarchical system of 'art', 'craft' and 'design' triggered the condition for multiple modernities in East Asia as well as problematic legacies that continue into to the present. Japanese mediation and translation of 'design' into two Chinese characters *Zuan* (図案、drawing and ideas, design template) in the 1870s is attributed to Nōtomi Kaijirō, a government official and a designer in today's terms. By the 1890s, this term was institutionalized and the establishment of *Zuan Ka* (design department, 図案科) at the top fine arts academy Tokyo School of Fine Art in 1894, mark this critical moment. Similarly, *Zuan Ka* was created at the top technology academy Tokyo Higher Technical School for the promotion of industrial design and technology. The 1890s form a watershed of institutionalization and systematization of *Zuan* from top to bottom across Japan. Subsequently, it was disseminated further in East Asia as a proto-concept of design and its translation into Korean doan (圖案: 도안) which has been firmly established since the 1910s. Chen Zhifo (1896–1962), who was the first Chinese student studying at the *Zuan Ka* in Tokyo School of Fine Art during 1919–23, was considered to be the first person to transplant the term in China through his work and publication of *The Design Composition* in 1937. As such, the term *Zuan* suggests the importance of translated modernities across East Asia in the early 20th century. Following the introduction of *Zuan* as an initial idea for design, other relevant new terms such as industrial art (工商美術), commercial art (商業美術) and industrial crafts (産業工芸) emerged in East Asia. Through multiple translations of and negotiations with newly imported Euroamerican and Japanese ideas in each locale, these neologies resulted in restructuring the existing native visual systems and established new modern agencies—institutions, public spaces such as museums and exhibition spaces, new objects and new hybridized design products in East Asia. During this process, the idea spread across disciplines through the dissemination of print materials such as book and magazine design, advertising, comics and cartoons, visual media, photography and fashion in Chinese characters, and enabled a wide circulation of shared new ideas that impacted the metropolitan cities of East Asia.

3. Marginalisation, revolt and repositioning of Craft . Following the institutionalisation of 'design' and *bijutsu* (art, 美術), 'craft' became a contested field of modernity and the site of localization in East Asia. The power of the indigenously field *kōgei* (craft, 工芸) was so large that *kōgei* in the process of marginalization by *bijutsu* became the avant-garde by making an alliance with 'industry' and living art on the one hand (Kitazawa, 2003), while on the other hand created the new genre of *bijutsu kōgei* (art craft, 美術工芸) by merging with art in 1920s–30s. In the wake of modern consciousness of the geocultural entity 'Asia', *bijutsu kōgei* in East Asia also became the site of colonial modernity by sharing historical, technical and material knowledge as well as aesthetic values. In various ways, craft became contested, empowered, and consolidated its position in visual cultural territory, traversing the borders between institutionalized 'design' and 'art', and feeding into postcolonial national discourses.

4. The invention of *kurafuto*

The postcolonial repositioning of borderless 'craft' in modern Japan and East Asia in the field of design has resulted in an ambiguous phenomenon. The 1950s saw the emergence of what became known as *kurafuto*—'a synthesis of handmade and modern design' (Hida, 2006: 124) and *Kurafuto* products are mainly household objects, which were greatly inspired by the sensibility of its consumers in tandem with the making process of traditional Japanese handicrafts. However they were designed for modern lifestyle and produced in quantity, yet were partially or mostly handmade in factories or workshops, and affordable for everyone. According to design critic Katsumi Masaru, who is considered to be the creator of this neology, it is a partly traditional yet progressive mid-20th century design movement in collaboration with the modern art movement (Katsumi, 1955). *Kurafuto* are works by designer-craftsmen and has evolved to become a dominant visual culture and creative industry in Japan that has continued up until the present. *Kurafuto* (クラフト) can be translated as 'craft-design', 'designer craft' in English, and the use of this new term written in *katakana* (which is used to transcribe foreign words) indicates that the concept is borrowed from

[3] For the evolution of the idea of 'design' and inventions and translations of the term, see Kikuchi, Wong and Lee: 2011–12.

Fig. 1 A set of teapot and cups with a mark of 'mon' (gate), designed by Kazuo Yagi and Hikaru Yamada at Mon studio in Shiga prefecture in the 1960s. Collection of University of the Arts–Camberwell College of Arts (ex–LCC/ILEA collection).

foreign sources, in particular modern Scandinavian and Italian crafts, to distinguish these from the terms also meaning crafts that make use of Chinese characters such as *Kōgei* (工芸) or *Mingei* (民芸). As architecture critic Kōjiro Yūichirō recalls, *kurafuto* is characterised by in-betweenness. It was initially positioned in-between the type of one-off fine artist craft accepted in Japan's salon exhibition 'the Japan Art exhibition' and Mingei or the types of traditionally-made regional folk crafts. It also takes pride in its 'usefulness' in modern life in the sense of being dissociated from the 'fine art aesthetic' of art crafts and from the 'muddy backwardness attached hobbyist taste' of Mingei (Kōjiro, 1971: 80). *Kurafuto* thus became institutionalised and commercialised. As a professional organisation, the Japan Designer Craftman Association (JDCA) was founded in 1956 and went on to become the Japan Craft Design Association (JDCA) in 1970, which continued up until the present.[4] The organisation, Craft Center Japan (CCJ), was established in 1959 and it facilitates promotion of regionally produced quality kurafuto through selection, guidance and exhibitions. The Matsuya Department store in Ginza created a new *kurafuto* section in 1959 which provided an exhibition space and shops to sell *kurafuto*.

Typical examples of *kurafuto*

Among a variety of *kurafuto*, those by ceramic artists were the most visible and lovingly consumed by people. Yagi Kazuo is a good example of this. He is a ceramic artist who came from a very traditional family of Kyoto potters, but became well-known for his avant-garde ceramic work, 'Mr Samsa's Walk', and along with a number of others established the Sōdeisha group (Crawling on Mud group). While the avant-garde aspects of his work and the individualistic nature of the work of the Sōdeisha group is well studied, particularly in the West, less known was their equal interest in *kurafuto* and daily tableware. In parallel with their fine art exhibitions, they also exhibited *kurafuto* in the 1950s–60s, and Yagi and another member Yamada Hikaru set up a *kurafuto* studio called Mon Kōbō (Gate Studio) at Yamada's house to make a series of mat white porcelain tableware in batch production, such as this tea serving set (Fig. 1).

Another member of the group, Kumakura Junkichi, furthered his interest in *kurafuto* through his role as a designer-maker in the Shigaraki Ceramic Research Institute and so developed the area of *kurafuto*. From a historical perspective, potters' interest in making functional things in combination with individual artistic exploration and a modern democratic ideal was not new in the 1950s. In fact it was part of the main agenda in the early studio pottery movement in Japan in the 1920s. The early idea of *kurafuto* can be found in Tomimoto Kenkichi's work. Tomimoto is one of the pioneers of studio pottery in Japan and together with Bernard Leach and Yanagi Sōetsu was a key part of the Mingei movement of the 1920s and before going on to acquire national prestige through his appointment as Living National Treasure in 1955. He explored the idea of modern Mingei as reflected in refined ceramic artwork with good design that is suitable for everyone to use as part of a modern lifestyle. Tomimoto's *kurafuto* tablewares from the 1950s include a series of plates decorated with a Chinese character, 'flower', and tea pots which were made at Takashima Seitōjo, the pottery studio of Yasaka Kōgei and Yamada Tetsu (Yamada's father) in Kyoto (Fig. 2).

Fig. 2 A set of plates decorated with a Chinese character, 'flower', designed by Tomimoto Kenkichi and manufactured by Yasaka Crafts in Kyoto in 1957. Collection of University of the Arts London–Camberwell College of Arts (ex–LCC/ILEA collection).

Other *kurafuto* by Tomimoto were made at various local potteries which he visited. One of the more successful examples was the Tobe pottery studio at Shikoku island where he played a designer-maker's role in making different types of tableware when he visited there. The simplified Chinese characters of 'flower' on the Kyoto-style plates were executed in a modern light calligraphy, while sturdy Tobe ware has simple geometric design and patterns drawn from nature in modern bright

[4] http://www.craft.or.jp/home/gaiyo.html

Fig. 3 Tobeware rice bowl and cup for dipping sauce for noodles (*sobachoko*), designed and designed inspired by Kenkichi Tomimoto, contemporary, Tobe, Ehime prefecture, Japan.

blue and red. They are boldly applied on the white porcelain in a manner similar to modern painting on a white canvas (Fig. 3).

Both Yamada and Kumakura are known to have great respect for Tomimoto Kenkichi's belief in the democratic art of *kurafuto*, with a high moral ground of craft artists taking a role of designer trying to provide daily goods with good design for affordable prices, and followed his path (Shōmura, 1999: 142). Through the trajectory of Tomimoto's career starting as a *Zuan* designer and architectural designer, to a studio potter, then to *kurafuto* maker, we can see the naturally cross-feeding seamless creativity in crafts, design and art.

In recent years, Mori Masahiro is a model *kurafuto* designer-maker. Mori is a potter trained in Arita but he also trained as a ceramic designer at a progressive art school—Tama Art University—and further worked as a product designer at the Industrial Arts Institute. In Mori we find a combination of versatility and his broad knowledge reflected in his design for the whole production process, from selecting clay, mixing and making original glazes, creating forms and making moulds, to kiln firing. He knows his materials, he is equipped with a good hand-making technique but he is also thinking design throughout. Mori designed white porcelain *kurafuto* tableware that is sold at MUJI and produced at Hakusan Ceramic, a medium-size ceramic company in Nagasaki. It carries Hasami ware tradition since the 16th century and is renowned for rice bowls, called 'kurawanka rice bowls' and loved by the commoners in the Edo period (Kaneko, 2001: 372–378; Todate, 2016: 348–350). Following Hasami's tradition of rice bowls, which are of course indispensable things in Japanese lifestyle, Mori designed slightly flattened versions in different colors and surface design. These are multiple purpose bowls—for rice as well as for small main dishes. His other well-known *kurafuto* work includes his G-type soy sauce pot which has been very well used in households and restaurants everywhere. Soy sauce pots are also a necessity for the Japanese household, and just as Ekuan Kenji's design for the mass produced Kikkoman soy sauce bottle in glass was highly successful for global sales, Mori's *kurafuto* soy sauce pot succeeded in satisfying the domestic market, being loved by people for the simplicity and elegance it brought to the table (Fig. 4).

The point of *kurafuto* is the issue of ubiquitous design products in Japanese daily life, leaving no space for discussion and debate as to whether it is best located in-between art, craft and design. Where, in the modern West, fine art and craft have a dichotomic divide because of the material 'clay' associated with a lower hierarchy of visual culture, and design is positioned as a technological and mechanical innovation, it is difficult to understand and record *kurafuto* in Japan given its seamless practicing space spanning from handmade craft to design and avant-garde fine art.

Furthermore, *kurafuto* emerged from the complex modern political context of Japan. Interestingly, *kurafuto* also has roots in the Cold War context influenced by the soft power imposed by the US (Kikuchi, 2008; Kida, 2012). This historical development informs a complex dialogue between the strong indigenous interest in crafts and handmaking in general, and the US encouragement reflecting the Cold War cultural policy at that time. It corresponded in particular with the US-driven Good Design movement and mid-century American design. During the Occupation of Japan by the Allied Powers led by the US from 1945 and 1952, crafts played an important role in the reconstruction of the Japanese postwar economy, and were regarded as an ideal peaceful industry, while providing an effective way to project the new image of Japan. Development of the *kurafuto* industry for the US market was strongly supported by US financial aid and by the anti-communist economic and cultural programme in Asia during the Cold War. The new American ideas of re-styling and designing indigenous crafts, design management, and marketing were introduced to develop kurafuto with the help of American designers such as Russel Wright. Therefore,

Fig. 4 G-type soy sauce bottle designed by Mori Masahiro (left), manufactured at Hakusan Porcelain Company, Nagasaki prefecture in 1958, awarded the first Good Design prize in 1960. Soy sauce bottle designed by Kenji Ekuan (right) in 1961, awarded the Good Design prize in 1993.

much of *kurafuto* design has been about collaboration between US designers and merchandisers and Japanese local makers, while *kurafuto* also became a platform for developing a Japanese version of good design, as well as for propagating the post-war national design discourse of 'Japanese Modern'.

5. Continuity in contemporary creative industries: 'Japan Brand' project. *Kurafuto* is a major creative industry in contemporary Japan, and can also be seen as leading the creative industry boom spreading throughout East Asia. The Japanese government launched its 'Japan Brand' project in 2004, which supports local industries in their bid to establish regional brands for *kurafuto* products that could be useful for the domestic and export market, as well as satisfying the aim to revitalise regional economies. From this top-down initiative, there have been numerous off-shoot initiatives at local government level, by non-profit organisations.

Conclusion

The effort of unravelling the complex and entangled phenomena of modernity that is specific to the development of design in East Asia makes some very interesting points in expanding our knowledge of design history. It identifies a number of critical contemporary issues that combine to make design history studies more relevant to contemporary living. Moreover, the evolution and institutionalisation of new concepts—'art', 'design' and 'craft'—in modern Japan and East Asia have resulted in creating ambiguous fields of design that cross borders, and these have come to be challenged in the postcolonial period. In Japan's case the strong alliance between art, craft and design realised in *kurafuto* and the creative industry of *kurafuto* itself, brings out an aspect that has been neglected in the main narrative of narrowly focused, mass-produced industrial design history. The persistence of *kurafuto* tells a story of Japanese middle-class daily life, identifying practical needs and aesthetic taste as expressed in a complex modern life that has roots in traditional life styles and values but is merged with Western styles and global living experiences. It also explains how it neither fits into the idea of solely handmade crafts nor can it be regarded as solely industrial design. Critical design histories of East Asia can therefore open up a new paradigm of design history. The anthropological studies on making compiled by Andrew Tanner (2010), as do the many cases from all over the world from the *Journal of Modern Craft* and the Italian examples discussed by Catherine Rossi (Rossi, 2015), are all telling us of the similar blurry nature and fundamental roles played by craft in design. The Japanese perspective is regionally specific as we have seen, but in tandem with other examples it also speaks to a generalized phenomenon that is global and collectively these serve to decentre and decolonize the current Anglo-American-centric model of design.

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Cultural Nationalism as a Conceptual Foundation for Mapping a Timeline of Modern East Asian Design History

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East Asian design history / Cultural nationalism / Mapping / Web-based timelines

This paper will elaborate on the creation of an interactive timeline to document East Asian design history and the development of the project's conceptual framework. The impetus of this project was to increase the online visibility and accessibility of knowledge on East Asian design history for students and researchers globally. Drawing from the author's ongoing publication project, *Reader on East Asian Design History,* this timeline will highlight milestones in the evolution of design in Japan, Korea and the Sinophone region from the mid-1800s to 2010. The timeline-making process includes selecting, organizing and presenting information on East Asian design history to encourage cultural analysis of selected key works, designers, organizations and milestones. To facilitate the timeline-creation process and inform material selection, the editorial team adopted cultural nationalism as a shared theoretical thread between entities in the region. Through this conceptual framework of cultural nationalism, the project proposes to provide an understanding of the inter-connectivity and transnationality in modern design histories within the region and in world design history more generally. This timeline hopes to facilitate the development of course design and instruction on East Asian design history for undergraduate and graduate-level students at universities internationally.

The background

The development of "modern" design histories in East Asia began in the mid-nineteenth century through the cultural translation of Western cultures. The term "design" itself has raised intricate questions that scholars interested in the cultural translation of design and transnational studies within postcolonial studies are currently investigating. The late twentieth century witnessed the rapid development of East Asian design through innovative products for the global market. East Asian design is emerging out of a series of political, economic and cultural interactions with Europe and the United States. One of the key aspects in the current academic discussion on world design history in the context of East Asian design is the notion of transnational studies, which denotes a departure from interactions with the West as well as the characterization of hybridity through inter-regional interventions.

A group of East Asian design history scholars established the Network of East Asian Design History (neadh.org) around 2009 to examine this emerging field. Focusing on the transnational studies of East Asian design history, Dr Yuko Kikuchi leads this network of international researchers who have strong ties to local researchers teaching in East Asian and in Anglophone countries. Since 2009, Dr Kikuchi and other Network members have organized several international activities, including authoring a three-part article series on East Asian design histories and Design Studies in the *Journal of Design History* in 2011 and 2012.

An active participant in the Network, the author is co-editing its latest project—a two-volume publication titled *The Reader on East Asian Design History*. Brill Publishing accepted the book proposal and the first volume is scheduled for publication in late 2019. The scope of this publication is twofold: 1) to present and make accessible key materials for studying East Asian design history, and 2) to offer opportunities for critical engagement between historical issues in design from East Asian and Euro-American mainstream design history studies.

This two-volume publication is arranged chronologically, and each volume will include both critical essays and a selection of translated works. The first volume covers the period from the mid-1800s to 1945, and the second volume includes works from 1945 to 2000. The first volume has 11 original research essays and 32 key historical articles on seven themes. The latter were translated into English from Chinese, Korean or Japanese. The second volume also has seven themes and 11 original research essays but also includes translations of more than 40 key historical articles. The theme of the original research essays is transnational issues of global design history from an East Asian perspective, while the key historical articles address the interconnectivity of cultures within the region in relation to the Western experiences of modernity in design. The essays and historical articles in each volume are a rich source of information, providing references on key works, designers, organizations and milestones of East Asian design history. Each volume will also contain a chronological timeline of East Asian design history to match its specific time period: the mid-1800s to 1945 and 1945 to 2000.

These timelines will incorporate highlights of developments in design from Japan, Korea and the Sinophone region.

In search of a theoretical perspective
The two-volume *Reader* is a collaborative output from Network members who are sharing the task of writing "our" version of East Asian design history and who want to highlight the severe lack of English-language materials on world design history from an East Asian perspective, despite increasing interest from students in the region. Although the *Reader* focuses on the modern period of East Asian design and the process of making transnational, contemporary design history by employing regional perspectives, the project's impetus is the fundamental question of knowledge production from East Asia.

The East Asian region, which here includes Japan, Korea and the Sinophone region—the People's Republic of China, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macau—is a complicated entity with interconnected cultural heritages and customs. East Asia as the place of knowledge production plays a significant role in the editorial team's framing of the perspective and its articulations of "East Asian design history". Our search for a theoretical perspective for the *Reader* involved a series of questions as follows: what comprises East Asia as a region? What makes East Asians identify themselves as East Asians? What comprises East Asia as a contemporary critical framework for the study of world design history? And what kind of inter-regionality led to the global and transnational studies of design history? In the process of mapping the timeline, we found it challenging to settle on a theme that was inclusive enough to represent the individualities and independencies of the unique locales within the region while celebrating the authenticity of the region as a whole.

Historically defined by many in the West as the "Far East", this definition based on geographical location in relation to the West is "othering". Obviously, this perspective cannot represent any of the national identities found within the region. However, it is difficult to deny the influence of 160 years of Euro-American cultural imperialism on the region's millennium-old cultures and modernization movements. Whether the design history reflects the visible impacts on everyday material life in context to ideological thoughts, the editorial team could not ignore the colonial modernity theory when selecting and decoding artefacts and key events of design history in the region for our timeline.

The European and later Japanese imperialist invasions of the region impacted East Asian ancient cultures and resulted in interwoven geographic and political situations that endure today. These include the various wars in the region, including the First Opium War (1839–1842) between the United Kingdom and Qing China that resulted in the latter ceding Hong Kong Island in 1842. The interconnectivity among countries in the region also shaped modernization experiences: Macau became an official colony of Portugal in 1887, the islands of Taiwan surrendered to the occupation and rule of Japan in 1895, and Korea was annexed to and became a colony of Japan from 1910 to 1945. The arrogations of European and Japanese imperialism, together with colonization and modernization processes, brought about the total collapse of the millennium-old Sinocentric order of power and cultural influence in East Asia.

Rather than acquiesce to colonial modernity or the modernization theories developed by scholars in the West, the *Reader's* editorial team asserts that East Asian countries are dialectically and conceptually constructed, modern "geo-cultural" spaces within the cultural context of the region. Japanese scholars once advocated ideas such as "East and Asia" as an aesthetic term, and "pan-Asian" imagination, but these were not widely shared in the region. Because of its colonial influence in East Asia from the early twentieth century until 1945, Japan has occupied a controversial position in the region despite its undeniable role in translating modernism from Europe and modernizing the region. Each country and place in East Asia has claimed its individuality and independence, but there remains an undeniable common past on the cultural proximity (Kikuchi, Lee, and Wong, 2016).

The editorial team borrows the idea of *discordant harmony* to capture the complexity of the conditions of design history in the East Asian region and acknowledges the interactivity and interconnectivity between them throughout the past 160 years. With this position, it is possible to build a new geo-cultural space for a parallel study of design histories of East Asia and the West. Based on the editorial team's reflections, the biggest challenge for the timeline project is to show and highlight regional interactivity and interconnectivity by finding and exploiting a common thread and theme for the project's selection of artefacts, designers, organizations and milestones.

Considering cultural nationalism for timeline mapping. To build a geo-cultural space for the timeline mapping of East Asian design history, I propose cultural nationalism as its main framework. The *Oxford Dictionary* offers us a definition of the term, which originated in the early twentieth century: "A nationalist ideology which defines the nation on the basis of shared culture". Harumi Befu (1993) reminds us that nationalist movements emerged in the late eighteenth century, first in Europe before spreading to the rest of the world. East Asian countries have experienced the spread of nationalist movements, particularly during the period from 1841 to 1945. Movement organizers in the region drew on similar developments in Europe but responded with their own manifestations, which continue to evolve. This global flow of nationalism not only impacted its realization in the East but also shaped the history of modern design in the region.

For this timeline mapping project, I see the possible parallel development of theory grounded in nationalism that can be traced through the selection of design artefacts, biographies of designers, and milestones of different time periods used in the timeline's construction. Design artefacts such as advertisements, packaging and logo design as well as product, fashion and interior design samples are all cultural relics that reflect national identities, to a certain extent.

I also argue that cultural nationalism is a fundamental ideology underlying the development of the history of design in the East Asian region. During modernization movements, regardless of the time period, pioneers and intellects often advocate nationalism and understand the importance of design and cultural artefacts in shaping their nations. This was the reality in mainland China in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and this way of reacting against modernization has been a shared experience throughout the region. The difference lies in the success of a government in mobilizing its masses through the manipulation of nationalism.

Befu (1993) identified two indicators of cultural nationalism: the symbolic-physical objects representing national identity and the verbal discursive interpretation of symbols of such national identity. The interpretation of symbols varies depending on the time period and relies on the explanation of interpreters. The indicators align the nature of design objects with their physical appearance. Design objects are symbolic and embedded in a wide range of meanings according to various cultural and society settings and the nature of objectification.

I am attracted by the term of cultural nationalism as the common thread for the timeline mapping project because every country in the region has a shared experience of nationalism, but each experience is unique. East Asian design history mirrors cultural nationalism where national identities are rooted in the region throughout time. We must be cognizant of the changing landscape of politics, society, culture and materialism of a place and its people in relation to the notion of its cultural nationalism. By employing the conceptual framework of cultural nationalism, the timeline mapping project reflects the interconnectivity and transnationality in the global flows of modern design while maintaining the individuality of vernacular design. The selection of design objects and events serves as an indicator of these unique narrations.

Consideration of design aspects for the making of web-based interactive timelines. In order to reflect the interconnectivity and transnationality of the global flows of modern design between the West and the East Asian region, the timeline must include a track that represents the political and social developments associated with major world events parallel to the key events of East Asian design history. For the purpose of facilitating and promoting transnational studies of East Asian design history, this section reviews the design aspects and available web-based timeline tools for interactivity and aesthetics considerations. Regarding studies conducted on visual representations of timelines, Anthony Grafton and Daniel Rosenberg (2010) commented that the subject has been largely ignored and only a few excellent works have been published in recent years on the history and theory of cartography. Their book, *Cartographies of time: A visual history of the timeline*, attempts to fill the gap. In their book, Grafton and Rosenberg (2010) give a definition of a timeline as a display of a list of events in chronological order that is normally presented with, but not limited to, visual elements such as charts or diagrams with labels of dates and essential event information.

Timelines can be used for any subject matter and data size in a timescale with units of distance representing a set of time. Most timelines are illustrated in a linear timescale format for timespans, regardless of size. A timeline is about visual mapping and should not be just about connecting graphics and text to provide basic information, but rather to raise the readers' attention to the desired focus. For both authors, a timeline is a time map, a product with spatial reason and linear figuration, and with an arrangement of visual elements like legends, lines, symbols, words, code and so on. Grafton and Rosenberg (2011) point out that the idea of time is filled with the metaphor of the line in which imagination and mediation of space are needed in order to visualize the notion of time. Their book queries a history of graphical representation of time, showing an evolution from medieval charts to early modern diagrams, which informed our consideration of the contents and visual style of our timelines for this project. The visual design direction of early modern mapping with simple graphics and representation will be referenced in the project as to address the chronological development of East Asian design history.

With regard to the design strategy of timelines, Matthew Brehmer and his research team remind us that there are many different ways to visualize event sequences as timelines. Within the storytelling context, the team studied samples of timeline designs with a focus on their expressiveness and effectiveness factors. They also identified 14 design choices with three dimensions: representation, scale and layout. They proposed a design space for timelines with these three dimensions as narrative points. Representation made up of overall form or shape of the path, such as linear, radial, grid, spiral and arbitrary, is a guiding visual metaphor. Scale dimension is used to inform links between events like order, duration and synchronicity, which could be classified into five types: chronological, relative, logarithmic, sequential, and sequential + interim duration. Dimensions of the layout of a timeline can be used to connect associations between groups of events, and four timeline layouts could be identified: unified, faceted, segmented, and faceted + segmented (Brehmer, Lee, Bach, Riche and Munzner, 2017). Their analysis of the design dimensions of timelines will inform us in our management of multiple timelines for storytelling in the project.

Typically, a print format timeline is regarded as an information visualization tool for communicating a sequence of related events that are arranged chronologically on a line format either horizontally or vertically (Coulson and Cánovas, 2010: 200). The advancement of Web 2.0 technologies allows the typical print format timeline to digital with the possibility of adding interactivity for presentation and expression. Digital tools can be used for presentations as well as learning and teaching. Most timeline tools, either web-based or desktop versions, allow users to organize text and images for the storytelling of events (Bower, 2015). There are plenty of choices of digital timeline tools currently on the market, including Timetoast (http://timetoast.com), Timeglider (http://timeglider.com), Dipty (http://

dipity.com), Tiki-Toki (http://tiki-toki.com), Capzles (http://capzles.com) and OurStory (http://ourstory.com). Each of these timeline tools have similar functions that can perform interactivity and all have similar settings for inputting event data. Some tools are able to visualize in three-dimensional form, themes, multimedia handling, images, blog posts and so on. It is easy to find online reviews of timeline creation web tools that can facilitate the user's selection of the right tool.

In considering cultural nationalism as the main framework for the selection of historical events and for design consideration, I chose Tiki-Toki (http://tiki-toki.com) as the main timeline tool to build a geo-cultural space of East Asian design history. The overall interface of Tiki-Toki is relatively simple and easy to navigate with a panel providing basic guidelines. It is a free app for the use of basic functions but additional fees are attached to access the full package, which includes the ability to add multiple contributors as editors. After users create the timeline using this tool, they can add basic information, media, tags and extra details. The menu can be found under the admin tab, which is located at the top right corner of the screen.

If users are looking to add a specific event or item after the timeline's creation, they can click on the "Stories" tab, then a "Create new story" button will appear for further actions. Users can use this button to edit all timeline elements including: title, start/end date, introduction, category, and link. Users can add as many categories as they desire. By repeating these steps, individual entries and timelines can be created. Images of design objects can be added in each entry.

Tiki-Toki is famous for its beautiful theme and visual style, which enable users to make timelines in three dimensions and multiple timelines can be displayed simultaneously. After a test of its basic functions, I am confident that this app is suitable for our project. It is also possible to export the script and embed it into a web site. Alethea Blacker, who teaches in Australia, has given timeline-creation assignments to students who she tasked with using visual timeline web-based tools to create a timeline for industrial design history. In a review of her teaching experience, Blacker (2014) found that the timeline tools are great for promoting student understanding of the facts and figures related to historical survey enquiries. She believes that access to the chronological approach and factual information are very helpful for students to solidify their foundational understanding of design history, to discuss and critique design development, works by designers as well as other issues on design history. Her teaching experience is highly relevant for the making of our timeline on East Asian design history. With the considerations of cultural nationalism and the design issues of interactive timelines, this project is ready to progress to the next stage, which is finalizing a chronology of each category and the delivery of the actual timelines.

Conclusion

I hope that this paper clarified the conceptual foundation and the design aspects for the making of web-based timelines of our mapping project on the history of design in the East Asian region. The print timelines will be included in the two-volume *Reader* and online as an interactive entity accessible to students and researchers across the globe. This timeline is still a work in progress but upon its completion, it will contribute to the field of East Asian design history in the following ways: a) to help solidify the status of East Asian design history as a discipline of world design history; b) to facilitate global intellectual academic exchange for research; c) to create an interactive tool that can facilitate teaching at the undergraduate and graduate levels; and d) to provide an increasing number of students who are interested in East Asian design history with key historical facts for their own research projects. As part of the ongoing collaborative work of the members of the Network of East Asian Design History, this project is a vital step in fulfilling our vision of making East Asian design history materials accessible for teaching and research purposes at institutions in the United Kingdom, North America and across the globe.

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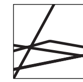

1.9 Design Museums Network: Strengthening Design by Making it Part of Cultural Legacy

The strand will consider issues such as those concerning the creation of a design collection (related to a territory, a nation, an international and global scene or another area).

The strand will address a number of questions. For example, which values and visions help knowledge exchange and common projects between different museums in different places? What do design museums expect of academic design history contributions and studies? What do academic scholars and individual researchers expect of design museums? Which facilities do researchers usually seek? What is the role of design history in museums devoted to the history of techniques and technology, and in anthropology and ethnographic museums?

Papers describing the history of museums owned by factories and companies will also be welcome.

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1 Design History and Histories of Design

1.9 Design Museums Network: Strengthening Design by Making it Part of Cultural Legacy

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INTRODUCTION

1.9 Design Museums Network: Strengthening Design by Making it Part of Cultural Legacy

The strand will consider issues such as those concerning the creation of a design collection (related to a territory, a nation, an international and global scene or another area).

The strand will address a number of questions. For example, which values and visions help knowledge exchange and common projects between different museums in different places? What do design museums expect of academic design history contributions and studies? What do academic scholars and individual researchers expect of design museums? Which facilities do researchers usually seek? What is the role of design history in museums devoted to the history of techniques and technology, and in anthropology and ethnographic museums?

Papers describing the history of museums owned by factories and companies will also be welcome.

Anna Calvera / ICDHS 10th+1 Scientific Committee

SCIENTIFIC COORDINATOR

Pilar Vélez

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A strand dedicated to museums whose central mission is to reflect on the role of design in society today. From a range of design perspectives and covering various areas—including fashion, sports footwear and graphic design—the authors of these contributions share the view that museums must make use of numerous new-technology resources to enable analyses and research on the history of design, providing scholars and designers with the largest possible number of tools. Similarly, they highlight how important it is to consider the cultural legacy of their various specialities, part of the history of local design, which helps to shape the history of universal design.

The history of the relationship between design and the society that produces it contributes to our understanding of the social and cultural phenomena that arise from it. After all, a museum of design must first and foremost generate and disseminate knowledge on this process. Making good use of the various media at its disposal is a useful way to achieve this end.

The *Museum of the Ski Boot and Sports Shoe* and its Cultural Legacy in the Industrial Cluster of Montebelluna (Treviso)

Design history / Italy / District and company museums / Regional identity / Manufacturing heritage

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Inaugurated in 1984 through the efforts of a local historian with the support of manufacturers who donated pieces important to a reconstruction of the history of this area of design, the Museum of the Ski Boot and Sports Shoe in Montebelluna became a depository of materials and observatory of the local situation. Changes in the global context, the delocalization of production, company re-organizations, led to a gradual marginalization of the Museum and its identity-building value for the cluster.

The first part of the paper reviews the history of the Montebelluna industrial cluster and the cluster museums within the Italian design system, highlighting the specificity of a region dedicated since the early nineteenth century to the design, production and marketing of technical equipment for sports and the mountains. The second part proposes a new role for the Museum, based on a joint academic study conducted in 2016 by Università Iuav di Venezia and Università Ca' Foscari. Two propositions are developed: a methodology for a more focused enhancement of the existing legacy; and the development of a regional network that would expand the concept of museum to embrace the diffuse historical legacies of the cluster, manufacturing companies, outstanding landscapes and achievements in sports.

The development of the Italian design and industrial cluster museum system. Throughout the twentieth century, the development of the Italian design "system"—understood as an "organism" in which production is linked to a fitting context of technology, organization, management, distribution, marketing and culture—has been dependent on the characteristics of industrial growth in Italy which, though coming later than in much of the Western world, was essentially connoted by two phenomena.[1] The first was the expansion of large industry which, following several encouraging premises before the war and stimulated by the Olivetti model, began to define an Italian "style" recognized as both an industrial and aesthetic specificity of the product, which in the early 1970s however entered a phase of complex transformation. The second was the development of an industrial fabric of medium, small and micro manufacturing companies, concentrated in industrial clusters located in specific geographical areas with a crafting tradition and distinct historic and cultural identities. Hinging on handcrafting expertise, scant task fragmentation, manufacturing flexibility and the transmission of knowledge and skills within the community, these companies gradually became mechanized and industrialised (Becattini, 1998; Colli, 2002). The limited structure typical of this cluster "model", up until the more complex phase of internationalization, not only allowed these manufacturers to be particularly flexible in their organization and production, but also created the close bonds between entrepreneurs, designers and factory technicians that would lead to the development of Italian design pieces recognized the world over.

Given their nature as an "ecosystem" linked to an area, the clusters also asserted their identity by founding and supporting local museums entrusted with the preservation and dissemination of their history. Among the more than 80 institutions that may be classified as "industrial cluster museums" (Bulegato, 2008: 81–83), there are experiences that date back to the mid-nineteenth century, such as the Glass Museum in Murano founded in 1861, along with other more recent examples which cropped up in the early 1970s as interest in the preservation of industry archives intensified, and the concepts of diffuse museum and eco-museum began to spread. While cluster museums have grown in number since the 1990s, often thanks to the support manufacturers or trade associations provided to public institutions, since the onset of the new millennium they have begun to suffer the consequences of transformations that are impacting not only the companies but Italian society as a whole. Globalization and technological change are just some of the factors leading to the transformation of knowledge systems, the delocalization of production and design, changes in production chains and methods, which are becoming more flexible and independent of specific locations, and new modalities for trade. These factors are weakening the dynamic transmission of knowledge, skills, intellectual capacities and practices accumulated in these regions over time (Corò and Micelli, 2006; Rullani, 2015: 76–80). Conversely, the growing interest in history and in the meaning of products, and attention to the specific characteristics of the communities that express them as factors of identity and distinction on the international scene, carries with it a possible new role for cluster museums and archives as centres that can coalesce the entities that have developed around them.

Indeed, these structures can serve more diversified functions. They can reinforce their consolidated cultural responsibilities, such as the acquisition, conservation and display of historical artefacts, providing the advanced digital tools they need to create a network of collections physically preserved elsewhere.

And they can expand their educational thrust by anchoring their efforts to the transmission of the territory's traditional

[1] Among the histories of industry with special attention to products see Crepax, 2002.

design and production capabilities, with the aim of innovating logic and results, and serving as the conduits for operations geared to enhance the region's attractiveness for new businesses and tourism (Girardi, 2017).

The SportSystem cluster of Montebelluna: a resource for design. Inaugurated in 1984, the Museum of the Ski Boot and Sports Shoe was one of the first in Italy to exhibit the reality of an industrial cluster, Montebelluna in the province of Treviso, which had progressively become specialized in the design, production and marketing of technical equipment for sports and for the mountains (Fig. 1).

Fig. 1 Exhibition dedicated to the diversified production of the 1980s–90s, Museum of the Ski Boot and Sports Shoe, Montebelluna, 2016 (courtesy Fiorella Bulegato).

Montebelluna developed as an urban centre in the 1870s, thanks to the combined effect of relocating the market to the flatlands outside the city walls, and the construction of new railway lines (Durante, 1997). The presence of the market, the strategic geographical position—between the locations that supplied raw materials (leather from Bassano and the Upper Vicentino area) and the basin of consumers for the finished products (based in the North-eastern Alps)—and the growing popularity of skiing and mountain sports, were the primary reasons for which, of all the handcrafting industries, it was the shoemakers who prevailed (Fig. 2).

The 1950s witnessed the early industrialization of the manufacturing companies, in response to the need for specific boots for skiing. An influential factor in triggering this transformation was no doubt the international world's attention to these products, especially the United States, following the Olympic Games held in Cortina d'Ampezzo in 1956. It was the following decade however, that brought the change in manufacturing and organizational techniques, as well as innovation in the design of the products. New concepts and products—often patented—included the flat sole, the double upper and the upper in plastic-covered leather, metal buckles, vulcanized soles, PVC injection-moulded soles, through the development in 1968 of the first ski boot made entirely out of injection-moulded plastic produced by Nordica (Pepe, 2008).

The use of plastics led to the complete industrialization of the manufacturing companies, determining a change in the scale of production, distribution and marketing, supported by the formation of supply chains of specialized sub-suppliers, complementary to the manufacturers of the finished products, and also located in nearby communities. The introduction in 1970 of the après-ski *Moon Boot*, a new product typology developed by Tecnica and still marketed today, bears witness to the creation of new market segments, corresponding to a capacity to differentiate models, as the criteria of function and performance progressively extended to other qualities deriving from their induction into the fashion system (Fig. 3).

This capacity to diversify production —from inline roller blades to snowboard boots, from trekking to city shoes— linked to the typical flexibility of the cluster organization, allowed manufacturing companies to weather the 1980s crisis, caused in part by strong international competition (Nike, Adidas, Salomon, to name the biggest). In the following decade, the largest companies, such as Benetton SportSystem, which by then had organized into groups, chose to delocalize production to countries with

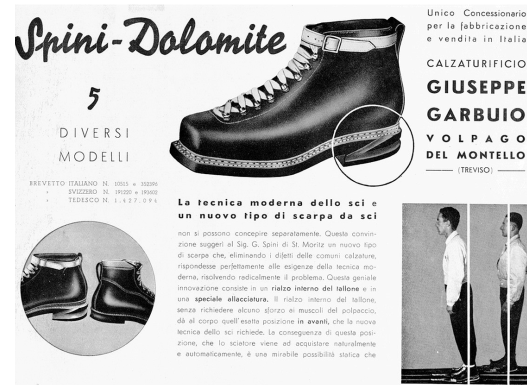

Fig. 2 Page from the *Spini–Dolomite* catalogue for a leather ski boot, 1939 (courtesy Museum of the Ski Boot and Sports Shoe, Montebelluna).

lower labour costs, loosening their bonds with their native territories and opening a new phase of consideration on the value of roots.

It is not a coincidence that in 1957 the Compasso d'Oro, Italian design's most prized acknowledgment, was awarded to the *Slalom securit* ski boot, made of leather, designed by Cesarino Benso Priarollo and produced by La Dolomite, a company that won the award again in 1967 with the *4S* model, also made out of leather and developed by its in-house technical department. This prize was also awarded in 1984 to the *AFS101* hiking boot designed by Vincenzo Di Dato, Paolo Zanotto with Nautilus Associati, and manufactured by Asolo.

Italian design historiography recognizes the innovative reach of the products from the early 1980s (Grassi and

Fig. 3 Ambrosiano and Giancarlo Zanatta, *Moon Boot* après-ski, Tecnica, designed in 1970, Museum of the Ski Boot and Sports Shoe, Montebelluna, 2016 (courtesy Fiorella Bulegato).

Pansera, 1980: 258) and has only recently taken up documenting them again, though not in great detail, as studies extend their reach towards other areas of Italian design beyond the more closely scrutinized sectors of furniture, housewares and means of transportation (Durante V., 2004; Bassi, 2007: 200–201; Morteo, 2008: 326; Riccini, 2018: 469, 481–482).

The Museum of the Ski Boot and Sports Shoe in Montebelluna
The gaps in the historiography on this theme may also be the result of how the Museum was planned. Inaugurated on 4 November 1984 at Villa Zuccareda Binetti, the Museum grew out of an intuition by Aldo Durante, a professor of literature and local historian who served as director through 2013. He was involved at that time in local government, and found a venue for the collection that he himself had begun by collecting pieces from private citizens, former employees, manufacturing companies and retail stores.[2] This initiative remained primarily an amateur effort though worthy on two counts, because it saved many historical legacies that might otherwise have been destroyed, and was able to operationally involve the economic activities of the territory. Two years later, when the companies in the cluster constituted the eponymous Association which became a Foundation in 1992, they began to promote the Museum, and between 1996 and 2001, the renovation of the museum spaces were funded by a large group of businesses—including the Benetton Group, Diadora, Dolomite, Geox, Lotto Sport Italia, Rossignol Lange, Adidas–Salomon, Stonefly, Tecnica, Vibram—with the support of other local entities.[3] This is one of the few Italian cluster museums largely supported by private business.

The Museum reopened in 2001, exhibiting over 2000 pieces displayed in chronological order along a path that begins on the second floor with the seventeenth-century postilion's boot made in Venice, and ends with the sports shoes manufactured within the cluster in the early 2000s. It thus became the primary depository of the cluster's history, gathering a variety of materials—such as models, prototypes, patents, moulds, individual components, samples of materials and finishes, equipment and photographs—relevant to the products' design, production and communication processes, or user experience. It is also the seat of a thematic library, a photo library and a collection of patents (Fig. 4).

In 2003, the regional law[4] officially recognized the SportSystem Cluster of Montebelluna, and the Museum officially became its operational centre. In the following years, it became a driving force for the territory, serving as an Observatory for its activities. However, the crisis in this area which began in the mid-1990s, and led in the following decade to an initial contraction of the industry, crystallised the work of the Museum which soon began to decline, as did the number of visitors.

A new project for the Museum and the cluster's network of historic legacies. The results of the analysis[5] made it possible not only to comprehend the current situation and structure of the museum, but also to discern a new course for the Museum based on a project to cultivate the network of historic (and contemporary) legacies existing in the territory.

Fig. 4 Moulds and models, Museum of the Ski Boot and Sports Shoe, Montebelluna, 2016 (courtesy Antonella Ligios).

It should be noted that while the Museum has played an unparalleled role in preserving this legacy, it has yet to constitute a scientific organization, and consequently has yet to begin cataloguing the pieces; nor has it addressed the problem of their physical conservation (some have sustained damage). It thus remains a hybrid model, balanced between a museum of the city and an ethno-anthropological museum, choosing an exhibition method limited to showing pieces in display cases, with a rather ineffective system of captions. The concentration in the same spaces of the collections acquired over time has made the interpretation of its contents even less comprehensible to visitors.

The study also highlighted two possible situations for future development. The first is the agreement reached in 2016 between the Foundation of the Museum of the Ski Boot and Sports Shoe and the City of Montebelluna, which made the local Museum of Natural History and Archaeology responsible for the management, promotion and cultivation of the Museum's legacy.[6] Iuav was instrumental in the outcome of the early results, proposing a methodological approach to the arrangement and reorganization of the display for the exhibition *The Shoes of Champions*, inaugurated on 25 March 2017.[7] The shoes used by athletes to set records and win important sports challenges were repositioned along the museum itinerary and supplemented with materials from the archives that highlighted the manufacturing companies and the designers who conceived them, as well as the technology, the materials they used, the design and the ways they were advertised.[8]

[2] The entire process was reconstructed in Durante, 1997 and 2004; Charans, 2017a.

[3] The venue was leased by the City to the Foundation for 35 years in exchange for the renovation.

[4] Regional law n.8, 4 April 2003, that regulates the aggregations of supply chains, industrial clusters and projects for local industrial and manufacturing development.

[5] The fse Project *Innovare il marketing territoriale dello Sportsystem: Museo reti, multimedialità, design*, 2015–16 (Iuav: E. Bonini Lessing, A. Bassi, F. Bulegato; Ca' Foscari: F. Panozzo; researchers: E. Charans (Iuav); E. Canel, M. Montagner, A. Stocco (Ca' Foscari) (Panozzo, 2017)).

[6] Protocol of understanding, 4 May 2016.

[7] The concept for the exhibition was developed in a workshop involving university professors, museum executives, young designers and architects from the area and beyond.

[8] See http://www.museodelloscarpone.it/la_mostra/ (last access 14.12.17).

The second situation resulted from the process of mapping historic legacies conducted by the research group, which discovered the loss of some significant sources but also came across several encouraging initiatives. On the one hand, they confirmed the validity of finding living witnesses who constitute valid oral sources, on the other they discovered other "depositories" of historic materials (Charans, 2017b), such as the archives being constituted by important manufacturing companies, for example, Lotto. In July 2014, this company began to build an archive of shoes to be used in-house, proceeding with a photographic campaign that served to inventory the circa 1700 models preserved at the company, dating from 1987 onwards but with some even earlier prototypes. Alpinestar is also collecting materials to build its own in-house Archives.[9] Other sources have been found in former employees and configure a network of personal and spontaneous micro-archives. Mariano Sartor or Giorgio Baggio, for example, who formerly worked in the product development offices at Nordica, are not only living witnesses, but have conserved a great deal of material, including patents, catalogues, press books, ski boot prototypes and components. Bruno Canel, a former technical director at Asolo, has kept the prototypes of the ski boot that won the Compasso d'Oro[10] (Fig. 5).

[9] Telephone conversation between Sara Bertoldo, a Iuav research scholar, and Gloria Mazzarolo, daughter of the founder, 7 May 2018.

[10] Telephone conversation with Sara Bertoldo, 8 May 2018.

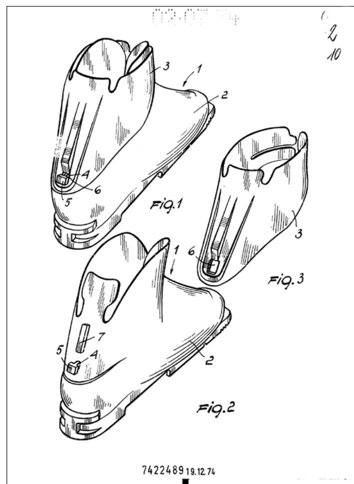

Fig. 5 Nordica di Franco Vaccari & C., Montebelluna, Plastic ski boot with connecting device, patent n. DE7422489, 19.12.1974 (courtesy private collection).

Both situations make it possible to conceive of a new central role for the Museum. The first as a place in which to test a new museological approach for exhibiting industrial products. By focusing on the reconstruction of the "stories" that revolve around the design of the product, it could facilitate the reconstruction of the context in which it was conceived, developed and used. Design can therefore become a key to the interpretation of the territory as a whole. The second would consider it as a venue in which to gather other historic and contemporary materials (the documentation for the past 15 years is currently missing) and above all, as a "manager" that could guarantee the scientific value of the activities of a network of entities distributed across the territory. It could overview the adequacy of the venues, the selection, conservation or cataloguing of the pieces, the presence of personnel specialized in this kind of work, and the use of the proper tools both to integrate the archiving processes into the everyday work of the manufacturing company, and to open these legacies for public consultation. The purpose is to offer a heritage organized for scholars and for a wider audience of enthusiasts, but mainly useful to the work of the participating company organizations, even as "inspiration" for new designs. This is a project that must necessarily involve design historians, archivists, IT experts and interaction designers, in light of the experiences that are advancing in the field of digital humanities.

The SportSystem network

The renovation of the Museum would therefore be part of a new cultural strategy centred on a virtuous system of regional relationships, constituted by industry—in the twin role of manufacturers and guardians of their historical legacies—citizens and institutions—the Foundation, the City. But a comprehensive revitalization of the territory should also extend to local associations and be considered within the context of a natural environment that offers areas of interest for recreational activities, competitive sports, cultural events and tourism.

The study has also mapped the variety and density of the attractions in the area, considered in an ample perspective, all currently unrelated and incapable of establishing a relationship with the Museum:[11] from the historic city centres of Asolo and Possagno to the villa by Andrea Palladio at Maser, to the Brion tomb by Carlo Scarpa at San Vito di Altivole or the Tipoteca Fondazione Italiana at Cornuda, to name just a few. At the same time, the area is renowned for the practice of a wide variety of sports, running and cycling in particular, with routes departing from the Montello, and extending all the way to Monte Grappa.

[11] In the territory of the Cluster, there are at least 32 sites of cultural interest, including 6 museums and 12 sites of natural significance. Furthermore, in the year 2016 there were 37 bicycle races, 4 mountain bike competitions and 30 running races, in addition to skating and golfing events.

In this context, design could play a strategic role in fostering a regional-scale intervention (Franzato, 2009) that would embrace and coordinate both top-down and bottom-up initiatives involving residents in different ways with different responsibilities. The question is not whether to design coherent visual identity projects, but rather to equip the territory with a diversified identity conceived as a system, gathering subjects of various natures (industrial, cultural and social), and potentially open to new additions over time. An identity that would not only celebrate its own past, but be dynamic and inclusive, ensuring the

recognisability of the network and attracting potential outside subjects and users, both cultural and commercial (Bonini Lessing, 2007).

This project, which places the Museum of the Ski Boot at the centre of the process, should also include design actions that improve physical and cultural accessibility to the region's heritage—contemplating projects that range from environmental wayfinding signage (at the urban scale or in confined spaces) to the realisation of new exhibition spaces and the constitution of online digital archives, as mentioned above—and opening these resources to an amateur public that has had few opportunities to enjoy them.

The combined effect of these efforts would help to heal the cognitive fracture that has characterised this territory to this day and which, thanks to the most recent initiatives, has finally witnessed a change in behaviour (Anceschi, 2010) embodied in the candidacy of the City of Montebelluna to be named Italian Capital of Culture 2018, making the short list of ten finalists.

Conclusion

The studies, analyses and activities conducted for this research study re-focused attention on an industrial and cultural cluster system, the success of which was determined by a combination of favourable historical conditions, such as its strategic geographical position and the growing popularity of skiing and excursion sports. The methodology for the historical research developed from the observation of the Museum's legacy, reconstructing the events that led to its foundation and turned it into a depository for finished products, moulds and various typologies of documents, and subsequently reconstructing the production system that made it possible to develop these products, highlighting their importance to design since the 1950s.

Against a background of changing statutes and recent agreements between the institutions of the territory, this study made it possible to highlight new approaches to the cultivation of historical and contemporary legacies: by intervening in the criteria for classifying and exhibiting the material collected in the Museum, which will undoubtedly increase, and by extending the very concept of legacy, so that the collection, which should develop as a regional network, might also include personal and company archives, outstanding architectural and natural attractions, and locations for the practice of sports.

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The Role of Design History in the Museology of Computing Technology

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Museology / Electronic computers / Narrative frameworks / Analytical perspectives

The role of design history in museums devoted to the history of technics and technology is surely to ensure that the narratives employed describe the wide range of drivers behind the development of technological artefacts in an unbiased way, and ideally, to communicate as accurately as possible the different ways in which technology has been presented to and received by the public. Using the example of the electronic computer, this paper aims to demonstrate the problematic breadth of the different narrative themes necessary to achieve such communication.

This paper concentrates on three of the most common types of narrative employed in museums of technology: the interrelated narratives of individual endeavour, national agendas, and corporate competition. Following these 'traditional' narratives is a description and examples of a wider, contextual discourse in which technology has been presented in equal parts as heralding both a utopian and a dystopian future for mankind.

It is argued that in order to present a thorough and meaningful history of technological objects, these different narratives need to be addressed in a balanced and nuanced way.

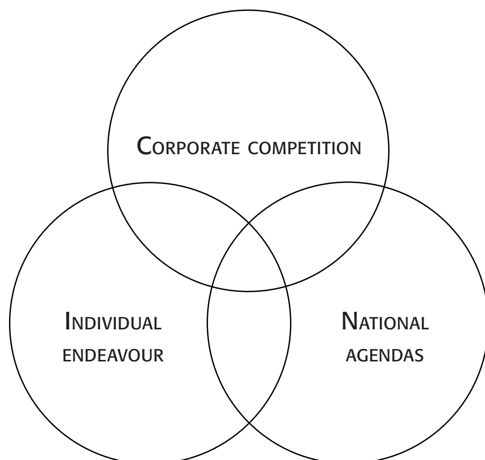

Fig. 1 The interrelated narrative themes of Individual Endeavour; Corporate Competition and National Agendas.

Introduction

As academic research into the history of the electronic computer has grown and developed over recent years, the complexity of the object and the wide variety of factors that have effected its increasing dominance in our everyday lives have come under scrutiny. As a result, numerous 'histories' of the object have been constructed from a variety of perspectives, including technologically deterministic accounts of continual, unstoppable 'progress'; socio-economic accounts of corporate growth and decline; political accounts of world war and cold war subterfuge employing computers, and social constructionist texts arguing that computer developments have followed the public expectations fostered through mainstream futurism. While this spread of narrative lenses is most welcome in the world of academic literature, it presents a significant problem in the context of the museum, where the space and time to present complex narratives is limited.

Possibly because of this significant limitation, there is, perhaps, a tendency of computer museums to overstate the sometimes simplistic technologically deterministic aspects of computer development and underplay the more complex and nuanced economic, political and social construction aspects.

While the range of narratives applicable to the development of computing technology is wide, the most common types of narrative employed are the interrelated narratives of individual endeavour, national agendas and corporate competition (Figure 1). Significant overlap is inevitable, with many of the most interesting stories lying in the space between at least two of these narrative areas. There follows a few short examples of each of these narratives.

Narratives of Individual Endeavour—colourful characters

The history of the earliest days of computing is littered with colourful stories of lone inventors, toiling away in workshops, investing time and effort into attempts to solve seemingly intractable problems. It has to be said, though, that often these accounts concentrate on the failures rather than successes...

The earliest of these inventors, the English mathematician Charles Babbage, predates the electronic computer by some way. He started developing a mechanical calculator in 1821 at the behest of the British government who financed his work in the interest of national advantage. He worked determinedly for fifty years on designs for his 'Difference Engine' and its successor, the 'Analytical Engine', spending all of the money awarded to him constantly refining and redesigning the machine without producing a working version. Although he never completed its construction, his work was widely disseminated through lectures and inspired numerous others and his reputation as the father of the modern computer was assured when nearly 150 years after his design for the Difference Engine was completed, a fully working version was assembled from his plans (Atkinson, 2013).

As the computer industry grew, so did the number of colourful characters involved. Much later in the electronic computer's history, Sir Clive Sinclair used cutting-edge research to push technological boundaries, and offered products for sale by mail order before they existed. He then used the money from these sales to try to develop the products (not always successfully). He attracted numerous government grants, which he used to try and develop a miniature television, but after his first few versions flopped, the funding was withdrawn. He

later launched numerous successful products including some of the earliest and best-selling low-cost home computers, the Sinclair ZX80, ZX81 and ZX Spectrum, and the groundbreaking but ultimately unsuccessful QL computer in 1984, before selling his computer business. Things went spectacularly awry with his widely ridiculed one-man, battery-driven vehicle, the Sinclair C5. His new company went from product launch into receivership in just seven months (Atkinson, 2013).

Perhaps to date the most famous individual associated with the computer industry is the late Steve Jobs. Famously teaming with the talented technologist Steve Wozniak, Steve Jobs was the visionary businessman who saw the potential of the personal computer revolution, changing the device from a piece of arcane technology into an 'information appliance'. An explosive character determined to get his own way no matter who he upset, he was finally ousted by his own executive board in 1985, only to return in 1997, when the company had completely lost its way and was facing a dire financial future. From there he built the company back up to the position it is in today, according to the various biographies, by sheer force of will. The personal battles between Steve Jobs and, in particular, Bill Gates, are well documented, and have now formed part of popular culture—the battles between the old, grey, outdated technology of Microsoft and the futuristic, modernist white world of Apple being lampooned even in popular children's films such as *Despicable Me*.

The personalities involved in these narratives, and the human aspect they bring to the often impersonal or anonymous side of technological development are clearly valuable assets in attracting an audience to visit museums of technology. The challenge here is to present the individuals and their often-entertaining activities in a way that inspires the audience without falling into out-dated Design Historical modes of hero worship or celebratory canonisation.

Narratives of National Agendas—attempts to build a computer industry. At the point in time (around the mid–late 1940s) when huge 'electronic brains' filled whole rooms, took teams of people years to build and weeks to program to perform calculations, the idea that they would eventually become personally-owned 'information appliances' was unthinkable. The huge costs involved in their development could only be made via significant government investment but the results were often eventually commercialized by private corporate concerns that used that investment to turn themselves into massively successful businesses.

Corroborating the well-known proverb that 'necessity is the mother of invention', the Second World War provided exactly the right impetus for the military to develop (more or less simultaneously) the valve-based code-breaking computer 'Colossus' in the UK and the artillery firing table calculator 'ENIAC' in the US. The UK kept their work on computers secret because of its application, whereas the US' breakthrough was publicly displayed and was front page news across the world. Consequently, the US had a head start in establishing a commercial computer. The ordnance department that had financed the ENIAC understandably wanted the technology for free, but the University of Pennsylvania where it had been developed claimed they had patent rights.

The inventors of ENIAC, University staff J. Presper Eckert and John Mauchly, challenged the University's position as they wanted to go into business to make commercial computers. The University backed down. Eckert and Mauchly raised the money to develop the military ENIAC machine into the commercial UNIVAC machine from the US government, which wanted a domestic computer industry, and the Census Bureau, which desperately required the counting ability of computers. First sold in 1951, the UNIVAC achieved television celebrity status when it correctly predicted the outcome of the Presidential Election in 1952 (although its original prediction was not believed and so not transmitted) (Atkinson, 2010).

Similar histories of government funding providing the technology for private business to make profit can be found across the world. Shortly following WWII, the government-owned National Physical Laboratory in the UK funded a computer development project and enlisted the help of Alan Turing (who had developed the code-breaking 'Bombe' that preceded the top-secret Colossus machine) to design it. Bureaucracy caused delays and Turing's plans for the Automatic Computing Engine were never realised. He went instead to Manchester University to work on the 'Manchester Baby', the first stored-program computer. With funding from Ferranti, this prototype became the Ferranti Mark I, the UK's first commercial computer in 1951 (Atkinson, 2010).

In a same vein, the Swedish government, keen to keep abreast of the burgeoning electronic industry after the War, had been planning to buy computers from America, and sent engineers to study there until it became clear that the Cold War was going to prevent the export of computers. Instead, the government set up a public institution to develop its own computers, and in 1950, produced an electro-mechanical machine called 'BARK', and by 1953 had used its knowledge of American computers to produce 'BESK', which at the time was the fastest computer in the world. Licences were granted to industry to manufacture copies of the BESK machine, and before long a number of Scandinavian companies including SAAB and Facit were producing their own variations (Atkinson, 2013).

Each of the examples outlined here obviously have a strong national bias. Understandably, different museums have handled their

country's history in relation to the computer's development differently. The Computer History Museum in Mountain View, California[1] pays great heed to the development of ENIAC; The National Museum of Computing at Bletchley Park, Milton Keynes[2] stresses the development of the Colossus and the work of Alan Turing leading to the 'Manchester Baby', while the Datamuseet IT–ceum in Linköping, Sweden,[3] is proud to present its archive on the BESK machine. The problematic issue here is to legitimately place national achievement and the political situation that fostered them within a broader context of international parallel developments.

Narratives of Corporate Competition—the rise and fall of IBM. Given their prominence as one of, if not the most successful company in the world, it would be understandable to think Apple owned the greatest market share of computers ever. In fact, in 2016, Apple's share of the global PC market was estimated to be 7.4% (FINGAS, 2016). Compare this with the fact that in the mid 1950s, IBM had produced 70% (yes, 70%) of all computers that had ever been made in the world (PUGH and ASPRAY, 1996: 15). That gives you some idea of the dominance IBM held in the industry. Building on earlier success in producing mechanical tabulating machinery used for keeping business records, the company expanded rapidly when it embraced emerging computer technology after World War II. It was so successful at this that before long the computer industry consisted of the giant that was IBM, and a few, much smaller companies. This situation was often referred to in computer industry media as 'IBM and the seven dwarves', the seven dwarves being Burroughs, UNIVAC, NCR, Control Data Corporation, Honeywell, General Electric and RCA (clearly a very US-led narrative). The history of the electronic computer throughout the 1960s and 1970s is consequently more often than not presented as a case of IBM leading the way globally, with competition struggling to make inroads into their dominance at various points through means of technological innovation.

The story of how IBM fell from this position provides an abject lesson to all companies on the dangers of complacency. Convinced that there was no market for home computers, the management continually rebuffed the proposals to develop small personal computers from their own research and development teams. When in 1977 three game-changing products appeared on the market in the form of the Commodore PET 2001, the Tandy TRS–80 and the Apple II, the market for home computers expanded exponentially and IBM were left with no product to compete. An attempt was made to develop a very advanced personal computer called 'Aquarius' that had a number of revolutionary features including a prototype solid-state memory and solid-state cartridges of dedicated software packages, but management considered the new technologies involved too risky and the project was shelved.

By this time, the only way to get a product to market quickly enough was to circumvent the company's usual lengthy product development route and create a design that used mainly third party components and software developed by outside suppliers. This meant that when it was launched, the IBM PC was a very easy design for competitors to copy and make their own 'clones', which they did in their millions. The only part that couldn't be copied was the operating system, and that was sold only by Microsoft. IBM never recovered from the impact of that decision (ATKINSON, 2013).

In a similar vein to the narratives of national agendas, there is the problem here of presenting a balanced overview. It is only to be expected that corporate museums and archives such as those at the Sony and Fujitsu headquarters in Tokyo, or the Philips Museum in Eindhoven, will almost without exception deal only with the company's own products (often presented in isolation, with little if any reference to a wider context). Independent museums, however, sometimes concentrate on the histories of national corporations at the expense of documenting international competition.

Back to the Future

Outside of these three interrelated narratives lies arguably the most important narrative of all: that of the reception of computing technology by the general public. It is perhaps the most difficult narrative of all to present, but it is important in that it provides valuable insight into the public perception and reception of computers. The future hopes and fears of society are implicitly reflected in the design of every generation of computer hardware and the promotional and instructional material that accompanied them. This is difficult to portray because such a narrative relies on a level of analysis and interpretation, but the ephemera that surrounds the physical object of the computer—the newspaper and magazine articles, television programmes, promotional films, instruction manuals and advertising brochures—paint a fascinating picture of the fluctuating perception of computers in the mind of the public. Analysis of this ephemera shows that the reception of computing technology can be framed within two contemporary binary opposites. Admiration and hope formed the basis of a Utopian discourse; while fear and pessimism formed the basis of a Dystopian discourse (Figure 2).

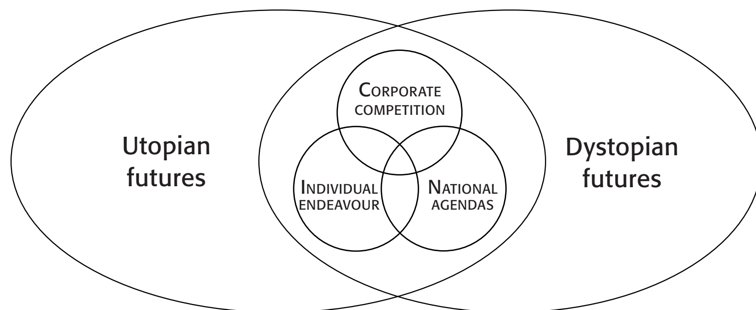

Fig. 2 'Traditional' narrative themes within the contexts of utopian and dystopian representation and consumption.

[1] See http://www.computerhistory.org/

[2] See http://www.tnmoc.org/

[3] See http://www.datamuseet.se/english/

Utopia

One phenomenon that accompanied the introduction of the electronic computer was a utopian vision of how it could potentially alter everyday life for the better. In the early 1930s the influential economist, John Maynard Keynes, believed that society would benefit from further developments in technology, and that our standard of life would improve at an ever-increasing rate. He predicted that within the space of one century, (i.e. by 2030) mankind would have solved 'the economic problem' he had been facing for all of his existence—the struggle for subsistence—and be confronted with an entirely new problem of how to occupy the increased leisure time technology would afford (Keynes, 1931). This became a prevalent idea. Popular culture from the 1950s onward was awash with ideas of a healthier, wealthier society enabled by computers. Technology was going to make life much more enjoyable by giving us an excess of free time. In the office, computers would do a week's paperwork in minutes. In the home, computers would control the living environment and take care of all the housework. By freeing users from the drudgery of everyday chores, we would have more time to spend with our families and friends and to enjoy life.

How computer technology would prove of benefit in the workplace was fairly straightforward to predict. For example, 'LEO', was the first electronic computer designed specifically for business applications. Its makers, J. Lyons & Co., were a household name in food retailing. The company financed the development of a computer at the University of Cambridge in 1949 and then adapted it to create the Lyons Electronic Office (LEO) Mark I, able to calculate the ingredients for the following night's production of goods, plan their delivery and handle invoicing, accounts and payroll functions. They saw the computer would radicalize many mundane clerical office tasks. Business would see massive increases in productivity and efficiency, allowing costs to be cut and profits to be maximised.

In the running of the home, where so many of the tasks performed everyday were routinely physical ones rather than administrative ones, the role and benefits of the computer were more difficult to pinpoint, yet it was also the arena in which computers promised to most directly affect our day-to-day existence. Many of these Utopian predictions centred on bringing the automation found in the factory into the domestic space. Fred McNabb's illustrations were examples of predictions for future homes that featured automated conveyor belt cookery, digitally controlled dishwashing and labour-free laundering. The gap between the automated factory and the labour-saving house was presented as being very small indeed.

Dystopia

Of course, alongside these wistful imaginings of a computer-aided life of leisure ran more fearful concerns about the impact of automation on our society. Popular media took every opportunity to point out potential pitfalls of future. Witness the Hanna–Barbera cartoon series *The Jetsons* of the early 1960s which showed push-button automatic meal makers producing the wrong food, sending a pizza flying across the room or producing uncooked frozen food before exploding.

Technical developments were evidently easier to predict than social ones. In the case of *The Jetsons*, it might have been possibly because social changes would be difficult to explain in a cartoon, or because the comic effect arises from putting the unusual (the new technology) in a familiar (the traditional social) setting. In *The Jetsons*, the nuclear family with a working husband and stay at home housewife was the norm, and there was never any blurring of the boundary between the workplace and the home responsible for so many extra working hours today. The lack of foresight regarding social change has been, though, a major flaw in futurism and one that has diminished its reputation significantly. As Samuel Lawrence observed, 'The bias towards predicting technological versus social progress has been and continues to be the Achilles' heel of futurism, the next wave of gadgets and gizmos easier to see coming than a cultural tsunami' (Samuel, 2009: 6).

Having said this, fears of social change have long been part of the representation of computing technology. Harrowing headlines accompanied articles about the first 'Mechanical Brains', declaring the end of civilization, and when 'Electronic Brains' started to appear commercially, one article warned that these machines gave one man the computing ability of 25,000 mathematicians. This kind of worrying statistic, pointing to the thousands of jobs that could potentially be made redundant, has been a recurring theme, and shows no signs of abating: witness the constant stream of stories in the media today around the potential forthcoming impact of Artificial Intelligence. The hopes of salvation embodied in futuristic technologies have always carried such a caveat with them—a fear that we may become the victims of the very technologies we create.

Conclusions

The complex, interwoven history of the electronic computer is clearly so expansive, and can be legitimately viewed from so many different perspectives, that any museum of technics and technology would find it impossible to cover every aspect. It is quite possible for a number of different narratives to be presented concurrently, but a holistic overview of these narratives would not be feasible. For this reason, inevitable bias appears. Firstly, museums' collections are bound to be dominated by local and national material that has been specifically sourced or donated. Secondly, obviously, each museum has to appeal to its audience which will inevitably be dominated by local/national people. While an American institution foregrounding the history of the American pioneers behind ENIAC, or a British institution celebrating the work of Alan Turing is not only understandable, but financially necessary; making the audience appreciate the global situation surrounding that history and the very real connections that existed between them is equally important. Similarly, portraying the history of national corporations is equally understandable (especially when, for example, IBM had the kind of dominance in the marketplace discussed), but outlining the international economic and political situations that afforded such dominance (as well as the events that led to such a swift demise) deserves far more exposure.

Explaining the presentation to and reception of computers by the general public presents a more difficult issue to resolve. That electronic computers are now such a dominant feature of our everyday life, so ubiquitous that they often disappear beneath our cognitive radars, trying to explain how they appeared to and were perceived by people when they were new, alien artefacts, runs the danger of being seen as a merely a source of amusement. For example, at one point, it was a commonly held view in the industry that the role the computer would perform would not extend beyond calculating mathematical functions, and so the applications would be of relevance only to scientific and business communities. The statements made about how much computing power would be required in the future seem laughably low today (measured in kilobytes, not terabytes), when even home computers regularly manipulate huge image files. When it later became apparent that the applications could in fact be much wider and used across different areas of business, computers were still horrendously complex and expensive pieces of equipment. It made logical sense, therefore, to have single centralised machines, with numerous people accessing them from geographically dispersed offices (universities being a good example). This was achieved via 'dumb' terminals that had no computing power of their own. When the idea of a computer in the home was first mooted, it was extrapolated that this operating model would be retained and that remote terminals would appear in a domestic setting. Without an understanding of these changes, presenting images of such domestic terminals could be interpreted as misguided or misjudged attempts to predict computer usage without appreciating how fast computers would develop (where in fact, it has been common knowledge since the early sixties exactly how fast computers would develop after the publication of Moore's Law, predicting that computers would double in power and halve in size every two years).

Design History as a discipline, then, has an important role to play in ensuring these widely different perspective lenses are used to analyse the complex and nuanced history of the computer, and that the focus of analysis considers not only the technological development of the object, but the wider social construction, representation and consumption of the computer within society.

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Micro-histories of Italian Graphic Design
as a Concept Tool for a Museum / Archive. AIAP's Graphic Design Documentation Centre

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Italy / Graphic design / Micro-history / Archive / Enhancement

In 2009 AIAP, the Italian association of graphic designers, founded the Graphic Design Documentation Centre (CDPG) with the aim of collecting, cataloguing, archiving, enhancing and promoting any document related to graphic design and visual communication. The activities of the Centre are focused on the documentation of graphic design culture (historical archives), research and enhancement (exhibitions and publications). AIAP wishes to promote and disseminate the culture of graphic design. Part of the activities carried out in order to attain this goal are covered by the organisation of exhibitions and the publication of books. Members of AIAP have been and still are among the best-known and skilled Italian designers. The Association, established in 1945, considers the Graphic Design Documentation Centre as a key activity, something which goes beyond a simple archive and which has as its ultimate ambition that of founding a graphic design museum.

Remarks for new narrative forms

In England, as early as the time of Henry Cole back in the 19th century, it was clear that design formed part of the culture alongside schools, newspapers, exhibitions, museums and design practice itself. The archive, among the other institutions, is the one having—according to Margolin (2009)—the potential to become a dynamic drive, directing its contents to different audiences. Its task should not be the mere digitization of the pictures of collections, so as to have them available online to be managed; instead, it should design exhibitions by choosing narrative forms able to facilitate the dissemination of the historical knowledge of design. The role of narrative is understood as a strategy of emotional sustainability within the contemporary community of users, and entails the power to spur the rise of new partnership projects.

Transcending Donald Schön's *reflective practioner* is desirable for the reflective discourse to be accomplished to be consistent with the contemporary context and condition, that have changed: we currently live in the *context of un-sustainability* and *design thinking* (as announced by Manzini et al.), which is neither thinking nor design. According to Clive Dilnot (2011), the *shape* of new knowledge, once recognized in *knowledge* and *thinking*, is now organized around *understanding* and *learning*.

In Italy, where the lack of publications and conferences on the history of graphic design has only recently been partly filled, it becomes crucial, even before histories on the subject are written, to start by structuring a proper system of archives, of those productions and documents representing the basics of any contribution to critical writing, documentation and historical narrative (Bulegato, 2013). By creating lines of *research, understanding* and *learning*, scholars, researchers, and curators may be capable of producing, by using dialogue, critical thinking and exchanges, *critical forms of research* on the sources housed in the *places devoted to research*—that is foundations, archives, libraries, museums—on the subject of design and, more specifically, graphic design.

A reflection on what writing and formal creation of narratives currently are and more specifically what graphic design is, is highly needed, also to be able to overcome Fallan's assumption (2013) that considers it as 'a service subject in design education and an academic research subject'.

Hence, on the one hand it appears clear that new writing pathways of subject narratives at various levels are required—perhaps interlacing them with each other or adopting approaches which are typical of other domains; on the other hand, our traditional, stabilized (and hypothetical) target audience needs to be renovated.

Additionally, a further aspect is worth taking into consideration. In Italy, as in other countries, debate on the history of the discipline has traditionally been conducted by art historians and experts, members of organisations (such as professional associations) and practitioners with an on-the-field training. Nevertheless, upon the rise of university design courses, this domain has progressively become of interest to academic research as well, despite the lack of places devoted to training on research, discussion and exchange. Teal Triggs (2016) pointed out the growing visibility enjoyed in schools by the role of graphic design archives and the new definition of what history of the profession and its *pedagogical framework* mean. Triggs suggests, in fact, to speculate on the fact that this type of archives may potentially be 'an intersection for (re)mapping a future of graphic design history, research and education'. This assumption draws its essence from what was maintained by Keith Jenkins (2003), when he put forward the idea of history as a *field of force*, that is open to a series of interpretations by those who are involved with it, each one justified by a manifest intention. Triggs affirms, indeed, that the history of graphic design is more than the history of graphic objects: it is a *history of narratives* developed through the analysis of processes, productions, contacts with society and, hence, much closer to the idea of *discourse*.

In this perspective, archives may actually be crucial to trace new forms of discourse and new narratives. And it can be crucial too to consider that a methodological approach which is typical of micro-history may work (Guida and Gunetti, 2015). This implies a narrative form based on reducing the scale in observation and, thus, enabling to match the links between different facets of the same domain and also to go deep into the

complexity of individual relationships within a social and, in our case, a subject-based setting (Magnusson, 2006).

Fig. 1 The AIAP Gallery hosted in the Association Headquarters during an exhibition dedicated to Silvio Coppola, 2015 (photo: Andrea Basile).

AIAP and the Graphic Design Documentation Centre. Within this briefly outlined framework, it is worth mentioning the role played, at least in Italy, by the AIAP (Italian Association of Visual Communication Design, active since 1945, although under different names), that has promoted over time a series of initiatives, exhibitions, workshops and meetings with the aim of establishing critical histories on graphic design. Since 1992 the AIAP Gallery has been active, the only permanent place in Italy entirely devoted to graphic design and whose natural evolution started in 2009 has been the foundation of the Graphic Design Documentation Centre (known as AIAP CDPG)[1]. The aim of the association's activities is the enhancement of the professional profile of graphic designers, along with the analysis, research and study of design materials—activities of paramount relevance for the Association, whose main feature is the promotion of study, information and training tools of this professional category. A cultural effort not only directed inward, to its members, but also and mainly outwards, with a view to enriching the design system as a whole. Mario Piazza (2009), in what can be considered as the statutes of the Centre, maintains that 'producing a culture of the profession is an essential goal for the associations', and even more essential is the 'issue of contents or of the principles giving shape to the professional behaviours and the domain of graphic design'.[2] The AIAP CDPG is

> a place, but more than that it is an idea, where the collected materials provide evidence of a specific, though diversified, activity—as visual communication design can be viewed today—where they are housed and made available for critical reconsideration and new interpretations. The Centre is not merely a repository, where materials (mostly paper materials) are left languishing, vanishing; it is rather a dynamic place, where the findings preserved may become key points for the construction of historical pathways and inspirations for new projects (Guida, 2012: 5–7).

Today the structure of the Centre includes the Historical Archive of Graphic Design, a Library and a Gallery (Fig. 1 and Fig. 2). The archive is the proof of how prolific the production of design is, and promotes research studies leading to value-raising activities by means of exhibitions and publications and inspiring unknown and original research paths.

The Centre currently hosts seven Archives and a total number of approximately 70 between Funds and Collections, dedicated to more or less renowned representatives of graphic design, mostly Italian ones (though some of the collections are also dedicated to foreign designers like Massin or Paul Rand or to specific case studies, such as *Le Club Français du Livre*). Overall, the materials collected represent a great variety of styles, techniques and media and make it possible to trace and tell the history of graphic design from different perspectives.

Each Archive is made of a collection of goods, that provide evidence of the design production around every single subject, along with other types of productions like personal documents, pictures, correspondence, etc. These collections, mainly donated by the heirs, are true treasure troves, in some cases still waiting to be fully and deeply studied. The Archives, apart from the Association's one, are dedicated to Ilio Negri, Daniele Turchi, Massimo Dolcini, Alfredo Mastellaro, Claudia Morgagni and Antonio Tubaro. These are actually minor names compared to the histories written so far, with the exception of Dolcini, known for his poster production. And yet, this opens up new, interesting opportunities for reading, interpreting and producing narratives. The majority of the Archives' contributions date back to the golden age of Italian graphic design, that is between the 1950s and 1960s, and this alone lets us think that these materials are part of a greater productive excellence, not limited to the histories of each author. What surfaces is also a great variety of activities and of specific skills, such as packaging in the case of Mastellaro or the design of showcases and display stands for shops in the case of Tubaro.

Conversely, the Funds are collections of materials concerning individual authors (such as Silvio Coppola, Bob Noorda, Franco Grignani, Michele Provinciali), which, although in a very synthetic

Fig. 2 Archives at the AIAP CDPG (photo: Andrea Basile).

[1] Information and access to the Archives, Funds and Collections held by AIAP CDPG are available at http://www.aiap.it/cdpg (last accessed 11/06/2018).

[2] Translation by the author.

manner, testify of a certain design production while enabling us to identify some of their features. Some of the Funds are classified by type of production or client.

The aim of the Collections is to become sorts of micro-histories, dealing with specific projects (for instance a book series) in the most extensive way possible. A fitting example could be the book series issued by *Club degli Editori*, whose covers were drawn by Bruno Munari between 1960 and 1966.

From this series the exhibition *Bruno Munari. Un libro al mese* (literally *A book per month*, 2009) was set up in Milan and Naples.

Similarly, the series entitled *Grafica del Made in Italy*, containing a great variety of materials and authors, flew into the original volume edited by Mario Piazza (first edition 2010, second edition 2012) and was made the subject of exhibitions in Italy and abroad (London, Segovia, Bratislava, Copenhagen and other locations; Fig. 3 and Fig. 4). A quite modular project, since it wasn't designed with a fixed backbone: instead, depending on different circumstances (space available, budget, presence of a specific sub-theme, like in the case of corporate magazines) it can be either extended or shortened, also by borrowing materials from other Archives, Funds or Collections. The common denominator is a thematic interpretation, the never-used-before point of view based on which the success of Made-in-Italy production was partly to ascribe to the contribution of graphic designers and the design quality that characterised the period of the economic boom in Italy (Piazza, 2012; Guida and Gunetti, 2018).

Fig. 3 The exhibition *Made in Italy*, organized in London in 2015 by SEA Design and Fedrigoni UK (photo: Andrea Basile).

Fig. 4 Poster by Franco Grignani and Heinz Waibl during the exhibition *Made in Italy. Italian graphic design in the years of industrial development 1950–1980*, Italian Cultural Institute, Bratislava, 2016 (photo: Rudolf Baranovic).

Towards micro-histories

The exhibition dedicated to A.G. Fronzoni in 1992 marks the time when the AIAP Gallery programme was broken down into three axes, mainly concerning: documenting and reflecting on the current condition of graphic design and the profession of graphic designer, both from a historical perspective, in connection with specific domains and sectors of expertise of the profession and as a study of the state of the art and international exchanges; documenting by pointing out the quality of members' works; documenting and displaying experimental works by introducing research and innovation into the professional and disciplinary field.

Since 2009 AIAP CDPG activities have been mainly focused on exhibitions, documentation and value enhancement towards new micro-histories. The above-mentioned initiative, dedicated to Bruno Munari's book design for *Club degli Editori*, launched a programme to study and re-interpret the works of well- and less-known graphic designers, adopting a monographic or a contextual approach, depending on the situations.

Let's just mention projects such as *La grafica del Made in Italy* or *On the road: Bob Noorda, travelling with a graphic designer*,[3] whose catalogues have been even listed in the ADI Index award, 2011 and 2012 editions. The first one traces back the contribution given by the professional culture to the success of businesses during the Italian economic boom; the latter reinterprets the work of the great master Bob Noorda through the twenty-year long project commissioned by Touring Club Italiano. And also the project *The continuous sign* in honour of a great woman practitioner, as well as artist and calligraphist, Simonetta Ferrante, which first introduced the issue of the need for a historical re-consideration of design with female protagonists—an extremely topical issue, both on the national and international scene (Breuer and Meer, 2012; Piscitelli, 2011; Annicchiarico, 2016; Bucchetti, 2015).

[3] See Ferrara, C.; Guida, F. E. (2011), *On the road. Bob Noorda: travelling with a graphic designer.* Milan: AIAP Edizioni.

More recently, starting from 2015, the Centre has organised a series of exhibitions within a new editorial project, first in sextodecimo editions and successively in twenty-four page ones, finally named *Folders* (Fig. 5) to convey the synthetic nature of each of the Archives and Funds [4] and thus opening up new, more in-depth research lines, some of which were carried out by third parties or through degree final theses written in collaboration with universities such as Iuav in Venice, Isia in Urbino and the School of Design of Politecnico di Milano.

[4] Ten *Folders* have been published so far for AIAP Edizioni (with Italian and English texts), representing, all together, the first series of micro-histories drawing upon the materials and sources housed at AIAP CDPG: F. E. Guida, *01 F IN. Ilio Negri: metodo e ragione grafica*, Milano 2015; M. Galluzzo, *02 F DP. Silvio Coppola, Diego Prospero e il ristorante El Prosper*, Milano 2015; M. Piazza, *03 F HW. Heinz Waibl: ritmo, armonia, sintesi, design*, Milano 2015; F. E. Guida, *04 F MD. Mario Dagrada: dalla grafica editoriale per Rizzoli alla pubblicità*, Milano 2015; D. Piscitelli, *05 F FC. Franco Canale, la dimensione sociale del progetto*, Milano 2015; F. E. Guida, *06 F NR. Nicola Russo, della grafica di provincia*, Milano 2015; M. Piazza, *07 F MV. Marco Volpati, l'estro del lavoro quotidiano*, Milano 2016; G. Martimucci, *08 F CD. Carlo Dradi e il campo della grafica moderna*, Milano 2016; F. E. Guida, *09 F CM. Claudia Morgagni, l'impegno come modello professionale*, Milano 2016; M. Piazza, *10 F. Foto-grafici. Grafici fotografati e grafici fotografi 1930–1980*, Milano 2018.

These initiatives focus on the enhancement and promotion of the housed materials in a clearly micro-historical perspective and with the aim of playing a part in reshaping the history of Italian graphic design. By highlighting the design work of 'minor' figures, these initiatives wish to broaden the body of literature and narratives mainly centred on the above-mentioned Milan context or to scout unknown and yet relevant case studies.

Of course, there is the awareness that micro-history does not replace the wide picture or a broader analysis, but it's part of the whole story. 'Smaller stories need to be interpreted, drawn together and compared. Some of this work is descriptive but no less historical for that' (Foot, 2007). Outlining a micro-history, especially in such a peculiar field as graphic design, is not necessarily a reduction of scale. However, it can help build a broader picture of the profession in a given period of time and in specific geographical areas, and offers a specific perspective on the discipline.

This is the reason that led to further exploring the contribution provided by women graphic designers in the course of history and to the building of an archive like the one entitled to Claudia Morgagni (who was active as a self-employed designer from the late 1950s to the mid-1980s), or establishing the Funds dedicated to Anita Klintz and Simonetta Ferrante. Since 2012 AIAP has promoted the AIAP Women in Design Award, evidence of an existing interest in building a balanced system of models, case histories and references. [5]

[5] As in Ferrara, C.; Piscitelli, D. (2015). *Awda, Aiap Women in Design Award 1.* Milan: AIAP Edizioni and Ferrara, C.; Moretti, L.; Piscitelli, D. (2018). *AWDA, AIAP Women in Design Award 2.* Milan: AIAP Edizioni.

The micro-historical approach aims at accurately tracing back events, circumstances, minor biographies, that is, those specific cases that can provide, through the analysis of sources and of design projects, a representation of a greater reality (D'Orsi, 2002: 116). With regard to this, the intention of the promotional activities carried out by AIAP CDPG, has been to shed light on a number of relevant cases via *readings* and *narratives* concerning certain realities, that are worth being assimilated into one or many broader *discourses*, such as: a geographical decentralization of graphic design and the rise of context- and territory-based specificities; the identification of the first female graphic designers, active in the after-war period, with a view to developing an exhaustive overview of the history of Italian graphic design; a critical reconsideration of some key figures among designers, already mentioned in the *great stories* and more specifically the analysis of specific experiences, whose features are unique in terms of client-designer relationship or are references for their production, language or technique; the scouting of minor protagonists, in order to retrace ignored or unknown circumstances, although relevant, useful to provide evidence and proof of the widespread quality level of graphic design production.

Fig. 5 Samples of one of the published *Folders* dedicated to Claudia Morgagni, 2016 (© AIAP Edizioni).

These are well-established paths, which might become part of broader narratives, thus forging new connections between different topics and characters, and which also play a part in shifting the attention from the relevance of great representatives and authors to the value of the widespread and high-quality production mentioned so far. These narra-

tive forms should not only promote the value of single materials, but above all the professional context with its own historical depth and the prolific production featuring an often neglected or underestimated level of quality.

Concluding remarks

In this perspective, the Centre has been acquiring and continues to collect materials from both members and non-members, which provide evidence of design production. Moreover, it is still acquiring collections, cataloguing designs by single authors or within a productive system, series of volumes and magazines, which may contribute to the understanding of the subject to the benefit of researchers, practitioners, students, intellectuals or anyone else wishing to read history—and its narratives—through communication artefacts. This is also the reason why and the perspective from which a real Graphic Design Museum is intended to be created in the upcoming future.

The Documentation Centre is the expression of a Professional Association whose members are also those students, scholars and teachers of Italian schools and universities who gave rise to a debate on the purposes of such an initiative and who played their part in livening it up, in spite of how difficult it is. AIAP's CDPG is the drive of research projects on the history of graphic design—as already happened much earlier in other countries, like the United States and United Kingdom—as well as other institutions, such as Politecnico di Milan (whose Steiner archive is today part of the University Library Services Department), IUAV (whose Archive of Designs houses works by designers and graphic designers of the like of Diego Birelli, along with the archive of visual and exhibition designs of the Venice Biennale, to name but a few), or the CSAC in Parma (Study Centre and Archive of Communication of the University of Parma, which was re-opened in a renovated and proper location in 2015).

These are places which were turned from places of collections and preservation into true venues of applied historical research, training, promotion and enhancement. *Fields of force* able to activate *discourses*. And this is crucial, if we all agree that archives enable us, even before editorial publications, to exhibit design thinking activity as well as to reflect the cultural, social and economic implications related to a discipline.

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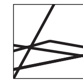

1 Design History and Histories of Design

1.10 Types and Histories: Past and Present Issues of Type and Book Design

The design and production of typefaces and books shaped the birth and evolution of the printing industry, and so they are paid due attention in histories of design, whether mainstream or local. Digital technology opened up access to type design, giving rise to countless new fonts that could be homemade but packaged globally. The digital shift has been counterbalanced by some kind of return to past technologies, with letterpress taking the lead.

This strand is devoted to local, lesser known, type-related histories. It also covers current research in academic institutions on printing techniques and methods, old and new.

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Back to the Future
The Future in the Past

ICDHS 10th+1 BARCELONA 2018

Conference Proceedings Book
Oriol Moret (ed.)

1 Design History and Histories of Design

1.10 Types and Histories: Past and Present Issues of Type and Book Design

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INTRODUCTION

1.10 Types and Histories: Past and Present Issues of Type and Book Design

The design and production of typefaces and books shaped the birth and evolution of the printing industry, and so they are paid due attention in histories of design, whether mainstream or local. Digital technology opened up access to type design, giving rise to countless new fonts that could be homemade but packaged globally. The digital shift has been counterbalanced by some kind of return to past technologies, with letterpress taking the lead.

This strand is devoted to local, lesser known, type-related histories. It also covers current research in academic institutions on printing techniques and methods, old and new.

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The strand devoted to type was originally composed of twelve papers. These were first evaluated on muddy ground: whether they conformed to “traditional” printing/type history studies—either in subject or approach. Papers were considered according to this loose yes/no pattern and somehow lined up in two main groups of six. This fitted in nicely with the presentation arrangements: four sessions of three papers each. The duodecimal basis was handled along compositor’s lines: every session an em quad, every paper a thick space (1/3 of an em, 3 to an em). Quad-sessions would alternate (n–y–n–y), paper-spaces would follow a combined order—with the clumsy hope of squaring the circle in type manner.

So, the strand starts where the call text ended, with letterpress taking the lead—both in direction and with metal, diverging in pronunciation—and countering the conference lemma with “the Past in the Future”. The first session gathers type histories in the making—in a manner of speaking: a deliberately casual account of the Brazilian letterpress revival; an incipient study of opening titles in Portuguese films; and an ambitious digital-set project to map the early history of typography in Brazil. Papers are ordered by date of subject, from new to old, and by degree of completion.

Session 2 stands for duality and dichotomy. Two papers discuss reactions to typographic canons in the twentieth century: the trail to modernism at the Scuola del Libro of Milan (1920s to 1930s); and the discourse-based critique on the conventional book by Fluxus-related artists (1960s to 1970s). Best presented in chronological order, a third paper summarises the situation by recalling widespread views on the textual-visual bias of types and letters.

It also paves the way for the papers in Session 3, which stem from the visual side of the issue. None of them deal with strict type; all of them address letterforms defined as “recoveries” of local identity. Pernambuco sign-painting (late nineteenth century to the 1950s), Istanbul nameplates (1950s), the Galician letter (Middle Ages onwards): self-tagged as “other models”—or other meanings of model—they come in diverse techniques. The sequence considers distance and scope: the first two refer to projects with digital derivatives; the third one broadens up the area and connects with Session 4.

The last session dives back into old printing—as a counterpoint to the making of history in Session 1. The general framework is well-known, the actual contributions less so. Here, local histories are marked by the popular and research is tight-focused, from unexplored to marginal matters: Chilean broadsheets and cordel literature (1870–1920); Guarani printing by Jesuits in the Plate River area (1609–1768) (note that the first one is only being presented face-to-face and the second could not be delivered, so our *forme* collapses but they are still worth mentioning); and Catalan plain words for type bodies (early 1500s).

This was a bit of a trick, too: it seemed appropriate to finish right back where it all started: in Barcelona for the ICDHS; around the incunabula period for type.

Oriol Moret

The Brazilian Modern Letterpress Printing Scene

Isabella R. Aragão
Universidade Federal de Pernambuco

Letterpress / Modern letterpress printing / Graphic industry in Brazil

The modern letterpress printing movement arrived many years later in Brazil due, among other factors, to the lack of graphic arts tradition in the country. The aim of this study was to understand the Brazilian modern letterpress printing scene, as far as the commercial purposes are concerned. Therefore, the semi-structured interview approach was chosen because there has been little discussion about the topic; publications were further searched for additional relevant information. The results of this study indicate that the new companies are considerably different from the traditional letterpress print shops that used to work with metal types. The company designations written in English, for instance, surprisingly declare that they work in a modern way with old printing presses. Furthermore, the field still needs to expand to states other than São Paulo to become more popular.

Introduction

In the beginning of the 1990s a new movement in the graphic arts field called *modern letterpress printing* (Rivers, 2010: 11), a revival of the old letterpress technique rediscovered by young artists and designers, started around the world. However, the way letterpress is used nowadays differs substantially from Gutenberg's invention. In order to print digital artworks, a photopolymer plate replaced the antique wood and metal types used to print texts in all kind of artefacts in the last five centuries. Another particularity of modern letterpress printing is the deep relief impression in cotton papers.

The contemporary print shops are full of young people educated in the digital era aiming to be in contact with manual ways of production as well as to experiment with the combination of plate, pressure, ink and paper. The technique that became industrial now returns to its artisanal origins:

> So, whether hand-cranked or automated, the labour intensive process might take a week or two from start to finish: color is picked, mixed and applied by eye, not catalogue number, sheets are frequently fed by hand, and individual hues require separate run (Klanten and Hellige, 2010: 3).

As a colony of Portugal, Brazil was only allowed to print in its lands in 1808 when the Portuguese royal family moved to live in Rio de Janeiro. Since this period, the graphic industry had to walk a long path to work with cutting-edge technologies. In the 1950s, despite the country's high economic growth, the entrepreneurs were still complaining about the government machinery and material policy of importing. According to *Brasil Gráfico* magazine, a specialized publication, 'there are those who say that the graphic arts in Brazil are fifty years behind the development of other nations' (*Brasil Gráfico*, 1951: 12).

The inferiority began to change in 1966 when the government launched a decree-law (no. 46 from 18/11/1966) that dealt with the exemption of import and consumption tax for articles related to the printing industry. The law was known in the country as the *Golden Law of the graphic industry (lei áurea da indústria gráfica),* in an important mention to the law that abolished slavery in Brazil (big 189, 1967: 3529).

Although the Brazilian graphic industry is now considered relatively well equipped to print with the offset technique, the majority of the national print shops have always been small businesses that are not able to buy new printing presses as a rule. The consequence is a scene that does not change technologies easily, and delays the movement towards to offset printing. Some print shops in the countryside of Brazil are still using the letterpress printing technique in the old fashion way.

On the other hand, new businesses led by young people have opened their doors since the first decade of 2000 to print graphic artefacts using modern letterpress printing. In São Paulo, for instance, Tipografia Roberto Rossini, a 50-year old print shop, is offering printing services alongside Letterpress Brasil, a 9-year old one. By comparing both, we can find considerable differences such as the company designation, academic education, and type of printed matters. These companies are examples of two distinct moments of the letterpress technique.

According to Rafael Neder, a design researcher who studied the use of contemporary letterpress printing in Brazilian graphic design, there were thirteen enterprises in 2014 localized in six states: 'São Paulo (6), Minas Gerais (2), Pernambuco (2), Goiás (1), Santa Catarina (1) and Paraná (1)'[1] (Neder, 2014: 60). Academics, such as Leonardo Buggy, and artists, for example, Heloísa Etelvina, led some of these enterprises for educational and artistic purposes.

This paper addressees how the Brazilian commercial letterpress scene has been broadening—and its particularities—since the first studio, Oficina Tipográfica São Paulo, opened in 2004. The semi-structured interview approach, applied with five commercial letterpress print shops from São Paulo (Carimbo Letterpress, Letterpress Brasil, Pergam Press, Platen Press Print Shop, and QStampa | The Letterpress Factory) and a pub-

[1] São Paulo (OTSP, Letterpress Brasil, Carimbo Letterpress, Heloísa Etelvina, QStampa and Pergam Press), Minas Gerais (Tipografia do Zé and Tipografia Matias), Pernambuco (Isabella Aragão and Leonardo Buggy), Goiás (Tipô tipografia), Santa Catarina (Corrupiola), and Paraná (Grafatório).

lishing house (Quelônio) was chosen because there has been little discussion about the topic; publications were searched further for additional relevant information in order to discuss technical, socio-cultural and economic changes.

The beginning of the Brazilian modern letterpress scene

The history of modern letterpress print shops in Brazil begins with the non-governmental organization Oficina Tipográfica São Paulo (OTSP):

> [OTSP was] opened in February 2004. In an initiative of the designers Claudio Rocha, Claudio Ferlauto and Marcos Mello, the studio adds manual typesetting, letterpress printing, printing plate atelier, and a small offset press. The idea is not to operate as a commercial print shop, although we pretend to provide services. [...] One of the preoccupations of the project's mentors is the preservation of this technology in the country, where the lack of typographic tradition is notorious and generalized. It is difficult to hear frequent reports of metal types destruction that were melted and sold per kilo. As a result, the precious technique is being lost. The letterpress resources cannot be replaced by computer graphics; however, it can, for sure, be used to give expressiveness to artworks. The goal is to position OTSP as an experimental print shop, as a laboratory, using side by side the classic typography materials with computer graphics tools (Oficina, 2004).

As Marcos Mello mentioned, OTSP is the *mother* of all Brazilian initiatives regarding the revival of letterpress. So, the short courses of typesetting and printing at OTSP were also important to introduce some of the current scene's actors. Among other book covers, in 2006, they printed Ellen Lupton's *Thinking with Type* cover, published by the most important national design publisher (Cosac&Naify) of the period, with metal and wood types. It is reasonable to consider this work as the landmark from the experimental to commercial interest of Marcos Mello as well as the beginning of a commercial letterpress demand in São Paulo.

In the same period, as an assistant professor of Federal University of Pernambuco, in a northeastern city called Recife, and influenced by OTSP as well as foreign studios, I started to use moveable metal types and letterpress printing with my students. The typographic material was turned into a research subject years later (Aragão and Farias, 2008; Aragão, 2010; Aragão and Vieira, 2011; Aragão, 2016) and used to print an experimental book, *Experimentando tipos* (Aragão and Vieira, 2011).

Other important actors of the Brazilian modern letterpress printing scene are the artist Heloísa Etelvina, the designer and professor Leonardo Buggy, and Corrupiola studio (Neder, 2014). In 2009, the graphic designers Flavio Vignolli and Rafael Neder invited Ademir Matias de Almeida, owner of Tipografia Matias (since 1958), in Belo Horizonte, to teach a sixteen-hour letterpress course to graphic design students. The courses are running until now and the partnership has helped the survival of Tipografia Matias in the modern letterpress era.

The current scene of commercial letterpress in Brazil

Currently, São Paulo, the economic heart of Brazil, is the address of the most important Brazilian commercial letterpress print shops:[2] Carimbo Letterpress, Letterpress Brasil, Pergam Press, Platen Press Print Shop, and QStampa | The Letterpress Factory (Table 1). The companies can be described as small businesses mostly founded by graphic designers who, among other reasons, desired to work with the old printing technique.

Although Marcos Mello noticed the commercial demand before, he and Patrícia Passos, a graphic producer, only founded Letterpress Brasil in 2009. Marcos Mello, who has always been interested in graphic arts since school, learnt the activities related to letterpress printing and typesetting with 'a very good typesetter' while working at São Paulo's print shop Alves Artes Gráficas, from 1994 to 2004, in order to produce his own fine arts. At the moment, Letterpress Brasil has three platen presses of a Brazilian manufacture called Catu that print mostly invitations and business cards (Mello, 2017).

After graduating in Graphic Design, Érico Padrão and Marcelo Pinheiro observed an increase of digital artworks printed with photopolymer plates with old letterpress presses in foreign countries, especially in the US. On the other hand, nothing similar was being done in the country. Carimbo Letterpress was also born in 2009 to provide modern letterpress printing to the Brazilian public (Pinheiro, 2017).

As soon as the graphic designers bought their first press from an old print shop that closed its doors, a Heidelberg Windmill, they started learning how to print by themselves with the help of forums, videos and articles on the internet. Nowadays, Carimbo Letterpress has another Japanese tabletop press (manufactured by Osaka Printing Ink company), one Vandercook, and one Catu that predominantly print wedding invitations and business cards (Pinheiro, 2017).

A year later, Maurício Lemmi turned his graphic design studio, called Graphia, into QStampa | The Letterpress Factory. He assessed the graphic arts family background, his interest in typography, and the relation of letterpress with fine print works, his principal market, as natural justifications to the transformation. The first intention was to send digital artworks to the American Boxcar Press to do the printing, however the partnership became difficult due to the geographic distance (Lemmi, 2017).

Even though Maurício Lemmi knows how to operate the letterpress presses, QStampa has a staff of two designers, one printer, and two post-production workers. The company's printing equipment is one Heidelberg Windmill, two Catu, one Franklin press (German), and one Ideale press (Italian). Apart from print-

[2] The only commercial letterpress print shop outside São Paulo is Corrupiola, located in the south region of Brazil. Although Grafatório, also located in the south, is a non-profit association, they sell books typeset in movable metal types and printed in letterpress.

Company	Year of foundation	Main owners' background	Main market	Equipment
Letterpress Brasil	2009	Bachelor in Fine Arts, Post-graduate in Graphic Design, Master's degree in Education, Art and Culture History; and PhD in Social History.	Wedding invitations Business cards	3 Catu (Brazilian platen press) 1 Heidelberg Windmill
Carimbo Letterpress	2009	Bachelor in Graphic Design	Wedding invitations Business cards	1 Japanese tabletop press (manufactured by Osaka Printing Ink company) 1 Heidelberg Windmill 1 Vandercook 1 Catu (Brazilian platen press) 1 Linotype
QStampa | The Letterpress Factory	2010	Bachelor in Management, Post-graduate in Marketing, Master's degree in Production Engineering	Wedding invitations Business cards Courses	1 Heidelberg Windmill 2 Catu (Brazilian platen press) 1 Franklin (German platen press) 1 Ideale (Italian platen press)
Pergam Press Letterpress & Design	2013	Bachelor in Industrial Design	Wedding invitations Business cards	1 Heidelberg Windmill
Platen Press Print Shop	2016	Self-taught Graphic Designer	Artistic works Products	2 Platen press 1 Vandercook 1 Linotype

Tab. 1 Data regarding São Paulo's commercial letterpress print shops in 2017.

ing wedding invitations and business cards, QStampa offers courses related to the graphic arts field such as letterpress and woodcut printing, calligraphy, and bookbinding (Lemmi, 2017).

Graphic designer by background, Fabiano Santos, from Pergam Press Letterpress & Design, has a similar history: 'The main reason for beginning was passion. As soon as I first saw a print work produced in letterpress, it was love at first sight. As a designer, typography has always attracted me. It would be great to be able to do that' (Santos, 2018). At Pergam Press, wedding invitations and business cards are printed with a Heidelberg Windmill from the 1960s.

Firstly, Fabiano Santos, who is a sole proprietor, had some valuable tips from a retired printer; and secondly, he used the trial and error method for learning. The pattern is basically the same for Érico Padrão and Marcelo Pinheiro, from Carimbo Letterpress. A few lessons with old printers, internet videos, and then a lot of work to have the desirable quality (Pinheiro, 2017; Santos, 2018).

Marco Antônio Rodrigues, founder of the youngest Brazilian letterpress print shop, Platen Press, has been dreaming about quitting his graphic design job since he bought the first press in 2011. The dream has finally come true in 2016. Even though Platen Press produces invitations and stationery, Marco Antonio's target market is slightly different from his peers; Platen Press was opened principally to produce artistic works as well as to create its own products (Rodrigues, 2017).

As far as printing with photopolymer plates or movable metal types are concerned, Marco Antônio Rodrigues pointed out that the clients already approach him with artworks designed digitally. On the computer they find a broad range of fonts that are not necessarily compatible with the limited typefaces and sizes cast in metal (Rodrigues, 2017). According to him, the Brazilian customers see the imperfection and limitedness of metal types as faults.

At Platen Press, and Carimbo Letterpress, movable metal types are used to typeset their personal works. Maurício Lemmi added that QStampa wants to provide 'fast service with high quality; and movable types require, in our view, another specificity, more artistic and artisanal' (Lemmi, 2017).

If in Brazil movable metal types are still regarded to educational and artistic purposes, some modern foreign print shops are rejecting photopolymer plates and producing contemporary printed matters using exclusively wood and metal types, informed Marcos Mello (Mello, 2017).

It is noticeable that the Brazilian companies are working for a very narrow graphic market, mainly printing invitations and stationeries. Although two of them have a linotype machine—and letterpress was the principal way text was printed in all kind of printed matters until most part of the last century—none of the five interviewed print shops produced, for example, handmade books.

The print shops' designations

First of all, it is important to say that the expressions *letterpress*, *typography* and *print shop* were all translated to Portuguese as *tipografia*. Therefore, the word *tipografia* in Brazil has several meanings. Until the last decades of the twentieth century, all graphic companies that used to print with letterpress had been designated *Tipografia*, for example, Tipografia Rossini (São Paulo), and Tipografia Matias (Belo Horizonte).

Regarding the names, all five companies working commercially with modern letterpress in São Paulo chose English expressions to designate their print shops rather than the older expression: Carimbo Letterpress, Letterpress Brasil, Pergam Press, Platen Press Print Shop, and QStampa | The Letterpress Factory. It is interesting to note that some of them elected a combination of English and Portuguese words: *Carimbo*, which stands for stamp in Portuguese; Letterpress; and Brasil, which in Portuguese is written with 's'.

When asked about why they chose the designations, all of them took for granted that it should be in English, and started explaining the reasons related to the name's content, for instance, Marcos Mello told me that Letterpress Brasil was a tribute to the country; and Marcelo Pinheiro explained that the analogy with 'stamp' in Carimbo Lettepress was interesting to delimit the field of work.

In view of the fact that using the English language is neither common to designate old letterpress print shops nor contemporary offset print shops, I asked specifically the reasons behind these choices. Marcelo Pinheiro, from Carimbo Letterpress, and Marco Antônio Rodrigues, from Platen Press, commented that they had wanted a term more focused on printing as opposed to the broad connotations of the Portuguese word. Marcos Mello, from Letterpress Brasil, had a similar view about the global meaning of letterpress:

> For us Brazilians the expression *tipografia* is very generic. Most of the time it has a diffuse meaning. When you say *letterpress* abroad, people immediately identify the field of work regardless of whether you print with metal types or plates. Seeing that we are also part of the same métier, we thought it would be nice to affirm this in English, to have the same name here, to disseminate the letterpress culture here (Mello, 2017).

According to Marcelo Pinheiro, it was a matter of differentiating the company's way of using the letterpress printing technique. He said that they used the technique but with a different mentality from the old letterpress printers, they had always wanted to mix the new way of designing with the computer and printing the digital artwork with antique printing presses. In other words, they have always wanted to work with photopolymer plates rather than be limited to metal types (Pinheiro, 2017). Marco Antônio Rodrigues mentioned that he desired to go beyond what is being done and explore the press with plates generated by new technologies such as laser cutting and 3D printing (Rodrigues, 2017).

In addition, Marcelo Pinheiro pointed out that foreign people mostly inspired them (Pinheiro, 2017). QStampa had similar motivations since the beginning when they started a proposal of a commercial relationship with an American company. Maurício Lemmi, from QStampa, said that they had always targeted both the national and international markets (Lemmi, 2017).

Since they were pioneers of this new movement in Brazil, it seems that it was important to inform the Brazilian and foreign public that their companies worked in a modern way with old printing presses. As some overseas companies are called *Press*, the expressions in both languages accentuate the technical-temporal differences.

The old and new designations show important socio-cultural differences regarding the Brazilian letterpress print shops. The modern letterpress print shops' owners are young people with academic backgrounds—some of them have Master's and PhDs—who speak English as a second language, essentially learned the craft by watching foreign videos; and mainly print wedding invitations and business cards for an upmarket using photopolymer plates.

Differently, the last owners of old *Tipografias* are elderly people who learned the craft at secondary schools, and mainly print invoice paperwork typeset with moveable metal types for low-income clients. They are struggling to survive, whereas their young peers are prospering.

The most recent initiative in Brazil is in the publishing sector. In November 2017, Silvia Nastare and Bruno Zeni, from Quelônio, an independent publishing house from São Paulo, bought a linotype, moveable types, and opened their own print shop, Tipografia Quelônio.

> When we thought about creating a publishing house, using this printing technique, we believed that what reflected more the concept of the company, and the typographic tradition in book publishing, was the word *tipografia*. We are not producing any products, or ephemeral products such as invitations, folders and other printed matters that, maybe, a commercial name is more suitable. The reason is more related to the tradition of using the expression *tipografia* in book colophons; that the Portuguese word means either printing with plates, and movable metal types and lines of type (Nastare, 2018).

The initiative is coherent with the growth of the independent publishing scene in Brazil and abroad, as Marcos Mello pointed out (Mello, 2017). However, typesetting mainly with metal types, there is no need for Tipografia Quelônio to differentiate itself from the older *Tipografias*. Conversely, in order to stand

out from standard contemporary publishing houses, and also the modern commercial letterpress companies, it is important to announce that they are working with the most important typesetting method used to print small-size body text in the last millennium.

Conclusions

Although Maurício Lemmi, from QStampa, revealed that many clients already knew about the letterpress printing technique, the majority of people are not familiar with it, and some go to the company asking if they can produce the relief printing they have seen abroad. Marcos Mello, from Letterpress Brasil, made further contributions on the same issue saying that:

> More frequently today than in past years, people come here knowing exactly what they want. They say that they are tired of the same digital artwork and the same paper. They like that we do things with the letterpress press. They like the paper quality, and the ink. When they come here, they say that this is what they want (Mello, 2017).

Letterpress Brasil's clients are not only interested in the final result; they want the whole experience of knowing the printer, the paper, and the machine. Marcelo Pinheiro, from Carimbo Letterpress, mentioned an interesting point of view as far as the public knowledge is concerned. He noticed an increase in requests due to the process' popularity:

> I believe that the letterpress revival began outside and happened here as well. As a result, more people are talking about it and seeing its outcomes. However, I think people still do not understand. The majority of them do not understand exactly how letterpress works. Then, we receive many artworks that were not designed to the letterpress technique (Pinheiro, 2017).

Carimbo Letterpress said that today they needed to explain things more technically in order to clarify clients that some types of artwork were not suitable to be printed in letterpress, such as polychromes. Marcelo Pinheiro believed that in the past the explanations were more romantic, in terms of 'the colours are printed one by one, we make the ink by hand, and everything takes more time and effort…' (Pinheiro, 2017).

Nowadays, the modern letterpress scene in Brazil is a complex system of initiatives and enterprises mostly located in São Paulo. After almost fifteen years, and late in the international modern letterpress printing movement, the Brazilian commercial scene grew due to a small number of enterprises. However, it still needs to consolidate outside São Paulo to become more significant. One of the most interesting particularities of the national scene is the use of English expressions to denominate print shops that work commercially with ephemeral printed matters.

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The History of Opening Titles in Portuguese Cinema: First Contributions

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Design history / Film history / Portuguese cinema / Opening titles / Typography

This paper aims to be a starting point for a study and visual analysis on the history of opening titles designed for Portuguese films, a topic about which there are currently no literary references, in spite of an increasing popularity and interest surrounding this subject in international contexts and its greater importance within contemporary film and TV projects. Consequently, several questions emerge: how have opening titles changed throughout the decades? How can they be classified? What do they reflect about Portuguese cinema?

Watching 50 opening titles of Portuguese films from the last 100 years (1920s to 2010s) allowed understanding of how they can be regarded as an inherent reflection of technical progress through the decades, but also of the struggles that the medium has faced in Portugal. Typography present in opening titles has played an important role since the inception of cinema: from silent films to more contemporary productions, it has been the vehicle used to communicate the title and names of the team involved in the making of the film and, simultaneously, as a way to draw audiences into the narrative.

The analysis of how typography was used, manipulated and combined with images in opening credits revealed aspects intimately linked with the history and identity of Portuguese cinema and the country's own history.

Introduction

In a 2000 New York Times article, Sarah Boxer announced that a "new branch of history" had "sprouted: the history of film titles". In April 2001, the American Cinematheque organized in LA a two-day event entitled "For Openers: The Art of Film Titles": co-organized by the American Graphic Design Association it aimed to be a "celebration of modern motion picture title design", more than fifty film titles were screened and renowned designers attended (Yu, 2008). In 2007, *Art of the Title*,[1] an on-line website dedicated to opening titles designed for film, TV and special events was created. Since then, the page hosts and writes extensively about them, analyzing design-related aspects with input from designers. Literary historian Georg Stanitzek described opening titles as "embedded in a complex intermediary zone" between the confusion of arriving to the cinema—popcorns, finding seats, watching trailers—and the beginning of the film, "providing a focus that allows for a transition into the movie" (2009). Disregarded by some, object of careful analysis and even cult by others, opening titles have benefited greatly with the advent of the World Wide Web, Youtube and social media, where they can be shared individually, separated from films, allowing them to "rival commercials and music videos as the leading indicator of contemporary visual style in motion graphics" (Inceer, 2007: 46).

Whilst such indicators reveal an increasing interest about opening titles, the Oscars still don't award this design element amongst its technical categories (Art of the Title, 2014). The creations of designers such as Saul Bass (1920–1996), Steven Frankfurt (1932–2012) or Pablo Ferro (b. 1935) have thus received no particular recognition from the industry other than the merit and legacy recognized by peers, enthusiasts and *connoisseurs* from the fields of film, art and design. In the US, home to the most influential and prolific film industry in the world, opening titles have also become a subject of study for writers and researchers (Inceer, 2007: 4). However in Portugal, a country with few films produced every year, and an absolute, everlasting dominance of foreign films at the national box-office, insufficient investigations have been conducted regarding the role of graphic design in cinema, through elements such as opening titles, posters, postcards and other printed/digital materials. Therefore, it is important to underline the exploratory character of this article as it aims to create a basis for its object of study.

In order to write this article fifty opening titles from Portuguese films were watched or rewatched, five for each decade since the 1920s[2] until the 2010s. These belong to films that are relevant within Portuguese cinema history, and often referred to in specialized publications due to success that they had with audiences, critics and/or a presence in international film festivals. Coincidentally, it was also necessary to further study the evolution of title design on a more global scale, recurring to books and academic works, mostly published in the US. In order to account for the different visual approaches the fifty opening titles were classified according to four categories: titles superimposed on a blank

[1] Accessible at: <http://www.artofthetitle.com/> [Accessed on: June 12th 2018].
[2] Prior to this period the existing films are very scarce and often incomplete or damaged, as national film studios were still being founded and preservation work wasn't conducted properly.

screen; titles accompanied by still images/footage; titles inserted directly into the film; titles built around animation, image composition or motion graphics.[3]

[3] Categories adapted from Melis Inceer's senior thesis (please see Bibliographic Reference).

A (brief) history of opening titles in Portuguese cinema

At the beginning of the 20th century, opening titles weren't still considered as such: "The earliest titles, for silent films, were presented on title cards—cards with printed material on them that were photographed and incorporated into the film" (Boxer, 2000). These printed title cards, also known as intertitles, featured the title and director of the film and lines, interjections and other written clues that complemented the silent images, as happened in the documentary *Nazaré, Praia de Pescadores* (dir. Leitão de Barros, 1929). In *A Severa* (dir. Leitão de Barros, 1931), the first Portuguese sound film, the opening titles consisted of several calligraphic cards and intertitles were no longer used.

A Canção de Lisboa (dir. Cottinelli Telmo, 1933) was the first film completely made in Portugal.[4] It was a success with audiences, setting the standard for the musical comedies with Portuguese themes and motifs that followed during the next decades. The opening titles (Fig. 1) combined script lettering with a sans-serif font and stylized illustrations, evoking some of the ingenuity of the film itself but also a sense of modernity infused in the work of the responsible designer, Portuguese artist Almada Negreiros (1893–1970), who also created the two official film posters.

[4] Before *A Canção de Lisboa*, the sound recording and mixing was done in France.

Through the following years opening titles consisted of further exploration of typography, placed over a black background (sometimes with small illustrations/ornaments) and eventually onto the film itself. Two or more typographic fonts were used in order to create visual hierarchy between names and surnames or jobs within the production crew. It also became usual to pair the actors' names with short clips of the characters they played, as seen in *O Pai Tirano* (dir. António Lopes Ribeiro, 1941) and *O Pátio das Cantigas* (dir. Francisco Ribeiro, 1942). Still footage or photographs of buildings, landscapes and other scenarios started to be used instead of blank or illustrated boards: several films that were shot in Lisbon used in the opening titles footage from the traditional neighborhoods (*bairros* in Portuguese) where the action took place. This was the case with Bairro da Costa do Castelo in *O Costa do Castelo* (dir. Arthur Duarte, 1943); Bairro da Estrela in *O Leão da Estrela* (dir. Arthur Duarte, 1947); and Bairro da Bica in *O Miúdo da Bica* (dir. Fernando Farinha, 1963)

Fig. 1 Opening titles for the film *A Canção de Lisboa* (1933), designed by Almada Negreiros.

The opening titles for historical drama film *Inês de Castro* (dir. Leitão de Barros, 1945) (Fig. 2) are worthy of a special mention, since they feature blackletter characters engraved in stone (or carved in clay that looked like stone), filmed in one continuous take. They create a visual connection with the floor and walls of a medieval building, like the Alcobaça Monastery, in Portugal (inauguration: 1252), where the ill-fated Spanish princess is buried, a location that served as the opening set for the film.

Fig. 2 Opening titles for *Inês de Castro* (1944) by an unknown designer.

At the end of the 1940s, American studios were involved in judicial battles, which allowed independent directors to release their films free from the tent poles of major studios. "Graphically adventurous film title sequences flourished against the background of a generally ailing film industry, coinciding with the realization by filmmakers that they must develop strategies to attract increasingly reluctant audiences into movie theatres"; this was led by the pioneering work of Saul Bass in films directed by Otto Preminger and Alfred Hitchcock, widely regarded as a turning point (King, 1993).

By the 1960s, following the fatigue over the formulaic models of previous decades—that had oscillated between musical comedies and historical dramas adapted from famous novels or based on events of Portuguese history—as well as the influence of Italian neorealism and the French *Nouvelle Vague*, a group of Portuguese filmmakers started to direct films according to different narrative and aesthetic values, creating the "Cinema Novo" ("Portuguese New Cinema") movement. Done with less resources and independent from the studios, the films were helmed by the director, a figure that regained creative power and autonomy, and focused strongly on character study and development. Opening titles followed accordingly: in two of the most important films of Cinema Novo—*Belarmino* (dir. Fernando Lopes, 1964), a documentary about an outcast *boxeur* (Fig. 3), and *O Cerco* (dir. António da Cunha Telles, 1971), a film about a conflicted woman caught up in adversities surrounding the death of her criminal husband—black-and-white photographs of the leading characters were used, upon which the text was displayed, using a sans serif font and accompanied by background jazz music. Both sequences conveyed a modern aesthetic, distant from the opening titles of previous decades.

Fig. 3 Opening titles for *Belarmino* (1964) designed by Mário Neves.

Mário Neves (b. 1946), responsible for both sequences, was the first designer to have his name credited in opening titles. He would eventually design titles for several other films, like *Continuar a Viver* (dir. António da Cunha Telles, 1976), *Oxalá* (dir. António Pedro Vasconcelos, 1981) and *Crónica dos Bons Malandros* (dir. Fernando Lopes, 1984). His opening titles were some of the most visually dynamic in Portuguese cinema, exploring image and movement instead of just placing the text directly into the film. Since he also worked on the production and special effects in some of the films, his job description appeared as *genérico e efeitos visuais* (opening titles and visual effects) or simply *genérico* or even *legendagem* (text elements).

A similar sense of modernity was found in the symbolic opening titles for *Uma Abelha na Chuva* (dir. Fernando Lopes, 1971), a sequence of black and white photographs of lace fabric combined with lowercase text in Akzidenz-Grotesk (except in the film title, where a serif font was used), over a piano solo. They were designed by Panorâmica35,[5] where Mário Neves worked at the time, but so far it was not possible to confirm if he was the responsible designer, although it is very probable.[6]

Leading to, during and in the aftermath of the April 25th, 1974 Revolution, which marked the end of forty-year-long dictatorship period commonly known as 'Estado Novo' (New State), several directors that made part of film cooperatives such as Cinequipa, Grupo Zero and Cinequanon, took on the mission of documenting the social, political and cultural changes that were occurring in Portugal at the time (in the main cities as well as in the interior of the country) (Robert-Gonçalves, 2014: 410–412). Several films captured the 'Estado Novo' policies,[7] the PREC[8]—Ongoing Revolutionary Process,[9] and finally the social conflicts and dynamics that arose after the Revolution.[10] Some of these films also constitute objects of study from a visual anthropology perspective, as they depict how people lived in Portugal, which was, at the time, a country extremely underdeveloped and isolated from the rest of Western Europe, where the fascist regimes had fallen several years before. From this troublesome period, perhaps the most representative opening sequence created was the one for João César Monteiro's 1975 film *Que Farei Eu Com Esta Espada? (What Will I Do with This Sword?)*: the credits were just painted over a rugged wall with black graffiti ink. However they connect with a message that appears, in the same visual style, at the end

[5] Publicity agency founded in Lisbon, in 1966.

[6] According to his profile at IMDB. Retrieved from: <http://www.imdb.com/name/nm0430322/> [Accessed on: June 12th 2018].

[7] *Deus Pátria Autoridade* (dir. Rui Simões, 1976).

[8] In Portuguese: *Processo Revolucionário em Curso*, the events between the Carnations' Revolution (April 25th, 1974) and the approval of the new Portuguese Constitution (April, 1976).

[9] *As Armas e o Povo* (dir. Colectivo dos Trabalhadores da Actividade Cinematográfica, 1975) and *Bom Povo Português* (dir. Rui Simões, 1981).

[10] *Torre Bela* (dir. Thomas Harlan, 1977) and *Contra as Multinacionais* (dir. José Nascimento and Fernando Matos Silva, 1977).

of the film saying: “Proletarians from all countries: Unite!”. If the irreverent attitude adopted with the opening titles fits within the theme of the film (the social and political instability that was felt throughout the country at the time), the low-budget solution is also a recurring trace of Portuguese cinema.

While the movie itself wasn’t particularly successful among audiences or critics, mostly due to the exoteric/fantastical elements and environments present in the story, “Os Abismos da Meia-Noite” (dir. António Macedo, 1984) featured opening titles that consisted of letters submerged underwater—it is possible that light was projected through the open letters in the bottom of dark box, which was filled with water and filmed from a top perspective. This gave the typography an enigmatic, almost hallucinogenic appearance, where the information has a lot of movement but readability is not compromised. Neither the opening titles nor the closing titles made any reference to the person responsible for this opening sequence.

In the closing titles for *Crónica dos Bons Malandros* (Fig. 4), a comedy-crime film about a low-life group of thieves that plan to steal a jewelry collection, Mário Neves used photographs of the main cast, which were turned into high-contrast drawings (illustrated by José Brandão) and then ‘locked’ behind a square grid that evoked prison windows, where they eventually end up after the robbery went awry. The bright colors and dynamism of the sequence, along with the soundtrack, allude to a sense of fun and pulp, which characterized Lisbon, and the bohemian area of Bairro Alto specifically, in the 1980s: a ‘lawless place’, where Lisbonners partied during the night and outcasts wandered during the day.

Fig. 4 Closing titles for *Crónica dos Bons Malandros* (1984), designed by Mário Neves.

While the first Portuguese color film dates back to 1958 [11] it was not until de 1970s that color became the norm. With the country’s newfound democracy and freedom, Portuguese cinema would gain new vitality but also become more divided. Some directors and producers invested in more commercial films that became box-office hits, while a new generation of filmmakers continued the legacy of Cinema Novo, the so-called *cinema d’auteur*, with recurring presence in international ‘class-A’ [12] film festivals such as Cannes, Venice, Locarno or Berlin, but often with modest box-office returns. This also led to a clearer division in terms of target audiences for the films that were produced and distributed which has endured until the present day.

[11] *Sangue Toureiro*, directed by Augusto Fraga.

[12] Classification defined by the FIAP – Fédération Internationale des Associations de Producteurs de Films.

Despite this divide, in both cases opening titles recurrently consisted simply of text imposed on the film itself. They might help setting the tone and place of the narrative in some capacity—the romantic riverbanks of Douro in *Vale Abraão* (dir. Manoel de Oliveira, 1990) (Fig. 5), the nighttime suspense of the thriller *O Lugar do Morto* (dir. António Pedro Vasconcelos, 1984)—but only very rarely do they explore other dimensions of image, text and movement or create visual metaphors, the so-called “film within the film” that characterized Bass’ body of work.

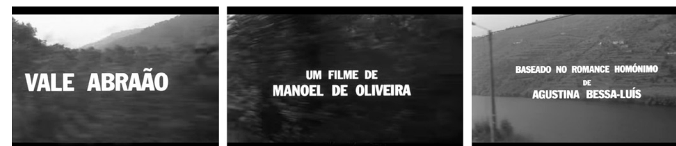

Fig. 5 Closing titles for *Vale Abraão* (1990).

This does not mean that the use of static typography imposed over the film in itself represents an inferior result in terms of visual impact. Recently, the use of bright-yellow Futura characters in the entire visual identity for Miguel Gomes’ trilogy *Arabian Nights* (*As Mil e Uma Noites*, 2015) showcased just how opening titles (no matter how simple they are) can be part of a design program that expands further into the film itself (at the introduction of each new story/segment told by Xerazade to the King, and in the closing credits), but also the posters, DVD edition, postcards, press book, trailer and several other communication supports, thus creating a coherent visual identity for the film.

Conclusion

The sample of fifty films covering a period of one hundred years put in evidence a complete dominance of typography in Portuguese opening titles. However, throughout the second half of the 20th century and into the 21st century, it became clear that neither typography nor image were explored in order to create opening titles quite as exploratory or inventive as seen in Hollywood, despite what technological advances—and the general access to graphic design and motion graphics software—have since made possible.

From the four categories enounced at the beginning of the article, the number of opening sequences (50) distributed as follows: titles superimposed on a blank screen (usually black background, occasionally with frames, ornaments or small illustrations): 21, the majority before 1940; titles accompanied by still images/footage: 7; titles inserted directly into the film: 19; titles accompanied by animation, image compositions or motion graphics: 3.

Very limited budgets, which have always been a trademark of Portuguese cinema, might be pointed out as the main reason as to why directors and producers haven't been able to afford opening titles that are visually and thematically more engaging—or, at least, to somehow prioritize this graphic element. Blockbusters and genre films (action, terror, science-fiction), where opening titles tend to be more inventive and elaborate, are also very scarce in Portuguese cinema. Overall, opening titles in the majority of the sample analyzed and, on a broader scope, in Portuguese cinema, serve more of an informative/functional purpose than an aesthetic/metaphorical one, not offering the audience (re)interpretations of the film and its story, but opting instead to integrate the information within the film itself.

It is important to highlight the need for further research about opening titles in Portuguese cinema, and other countries, reflecting about the importance of acknowledging and crediting design work where it is due, as seen in Mário Neves' own innovative approach to this 'art'. For this purpose it would be important to interview designers and professionals who have worked during the second-half of the 20th century, prior to the advent of digital technology and computer software, in order to understand, on a more practical level, how opening titles were idealized and assembled.

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Designing the Early History of Typography in Brazil, Starting from Printing in São Paulo

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Typography / Graphic design / Design history / Graphic memory / Print culture / Mapping

Many histories of typography in Brazil have been told from the point of view of book and newspaper publishing. A history of typography in Brazil as part of design history, however, is still to be written, or, better yet, designed. In order to help address this gap in knowledge, a digital platform able to gather data and provide information on the early history of letterpress printing in the city of São Paulo has been devised and implemented by a research team coordinated by the authors of this paper. In addition to textual and numerical information on over 200 trade printers, type foundries, type distributors, and their staff, the platform provides interactive maps showing the location of these companies, and a timeline of their activity from 1827 to 1927. It also offers a reconstruction of the printers' repertoires—samples of the typefaces they used, built from thousands of images collected from printed pages. The result is a rich set of data accessible by anyone interested in learning more about the early history of typography in São Paulo, gathered in a system that allows for systematic updates, and which can be expanded to incorporate data from other periods, sources and locations.

Introduction

A number of histories of typography in Brazil have been told, most of them focusing on the role of book and newspaper publishing. Key examples include Carlos Rizzini's history of journalism (Rizzini, 1977), Claudia Semeraro and Christiane Ayrosa' history of printing (Semeraro & Ayrosa, 1979), and Laurence Hallewell's history of the book in Brazil (Hallewell 1985). However, the contribution of typography in Brazil to design history—that is, a history focusing on an analysis of the use of particular typographic forms, and on the means and methods of production in relation to their printing—has yet to be evaluated and related. Efforts in that direction include Guilherme Cunha Lima's investigation of the O Gráfico Amador printing business (Cunha Lima, 1997), Chico Homem de Melo and Elaine Ramos' volume on Brazilian graphic design history (Homem de Melo and Ramos, 2011), and the research outputs of members of the Brazilian Graphic Memory research network (including Cunha Lima, 2009; Cunha Lima, Aragão and Farias, 2013; Farias and Cunha Lima, 2016).

Prior to being assembled into a historical narrative, historical data must, of course, be gathered from relevant sources. This process of data gathering, and its subsequent treatment and analysis must be planned or designed. If data is mainly visual, as is the case if we want to arrive at a history of letterforms and their use, research methods that preserve the integrity of and facilitate access to visual information must be devised. This was the rationale behind the research described in this paper, which resulted in a digital platform, able to gather data and provide information on the early history of letterpress printing in the city of São Paulo.

Printing in São Paulo

São Paulo was the tenth province of the Empire of Brazil (a colony of the Kingdom of Portugal, under the rule of Emperors Dom Pedro I and Dom Pedro II, from 1822–1889) where letterpress printing was introduced (Rizzini, 1977: 187). The Portuguese Royal Press (Imprensa Régia) had been set up in Rio de Janeiro in 1808, but letterpress printing in the city of São Paulo (the capital city of São Paulo province, and later São Paulo state) was only established in 1827, when the newspaper printing business O Farol Paulistano first started.

Important books on the history of typography and printing in Brazil, including Rizzini (1977), Semeraro and Ayrosa (1979), and Hallewell (1985), commented above, have focused on book and newspaper printing, with particular attention to the history of book publishers and newspaper editors. Because the oldest and richest archives for printing in Brazil (the Brazilian National Library, National Archive, and Historic and Geographic Institute) are located in Rio de Janeiro, which was Brazil's capital city from 1763 to 1960, most research on the early history of printing in the country so far has focused on printing in Rio.

Despite initial difficulties in establishing letterpress printing in São Paulo, such as the recurrent denial of support from the Imperial Court from 1822 until 1830 (Ipanema, 2008), the state would go on to become an important graphic pole in the twentieth century, even hosting Brazil's two largest type foundries, Funtimod and Manig (Aragão, 2016). An early attempt to register the expansion and growing relevance of printing in São Paulo city was performed by Affonso A. de Freitas (1915). He lists 22 newspapers as having being published in the city until 1840, with 55 new titles introduced between 1851 and 1860, and another 273 between 1881 and 1890 (Freitas, 1915: 17). Heloisa de Faria Cruz (2004) offers a history of the development of printing in São Paulo from the nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century through the focal lens of newspaper publishing, while the introduction of printing shops to the city is detailed as part of Marisa Deaecto's account of São Paulo history of commerce between 1889 and 1930 (Daecto, 2002). According to Artur Vitorino, the first typesetting machine was installed in São Paulo in 1905 (Vitorino, 2000). Unwillingly met at first by the typesetters, such technology gradually became the norm for books and newspaper text typesetting, signaling the end of the golden era of manual typesetting and printing with movable type.

Efforts to instead conceptualize a history of typography and printing in Brazil as part of Brazilian design history have been put forward by Guilherme Cunha Lima—who analyzed the organization and outputs of private press O Gráfico Amador, active from 1954 to 1961 in Pernambuco (Cunha Lima, 1997)—and by Chico Homem de Melo and Elaine Ramos in their ambitious volume attempting a comprehensive overview of Brazilian graphic design history (Homem de Melo and Ramos, 2011). Other contributions to such a conceptualization have been recent research into Brazilian graphic memory (Farias, 2015a and 2015b), including studies on early type founding in Rio de Janeiro (Cunha Lima, 2009), early Brazilian type specimens (Cunha Lima, Aragão and Farias, 2013), and typefaces in use in Brazilian nineteenth-century almanacs (Farias and Cunha Lima, 2016).

The research described in this paper contributes to these more recent efforts at understanding and analyzing early Brazilian printing as part of Brazilian design history. The choice of São Paulo as a starting point for the study is informed in part by the physical proximity between the research team headquarters at the University of São Paulo and relevant archives; and also the fact that a more systematic approach was still very much needed in terms of considering the history of typography and printing in the city from the perspective of design history. The 100-year time frame chosen for the research project (1827–1927) takes as its starting point the setting up of the first printing shop in the city and appropriately ends with the beginning of the period when manual typesetting started to be replaced by mechanical composition.

Gathering and organizing data

The main questions informing the research were: (1) what companies were involved with printing and selling type in São Paulo between 1827 and 1927?; (2) who were the people working for those companies?; (3) what typefaces were they using?; and (4) what would be the best way to gather and visualize the data resulting from answers to those questions?

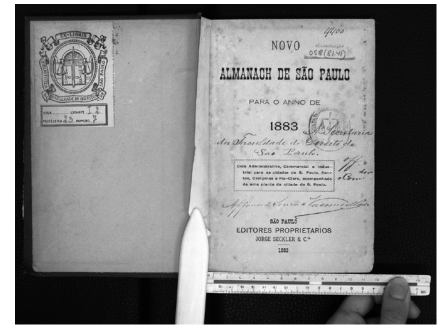
The most straightforward way to answer questions 1 and 3 would be to identify the producers (type founders), vendors (type distributors) and users (printers) of typefaces, and analyze their catalogues or type specimens. This was the basic method adopted by European and North-American researchers such as Nicolete Gray (1976 [1938]), Maurice Annemberg (1994 [1975]) and Hendrik Vervliet (2008). In our case, only one type specimen, produced by a São Paulo printer in the early twentieth century, was identified. It was a small catalogue, held in the private collection of one of the printer's heirs.

The variety of typefaces present in the repertoire of a particular printer, however, can also be gauged from the printed matter issued by the press. Garone (2015) traced a rich panorama of the print culture of Puebla de los Ángeles (Mexico), departing from a detailed survey of the types and vignettes used by local printers between 1642 and 1821, observed directly from the books they printed.

The research team determined, therefore, to reconstruct the typographic repertoires of São Paulo letterpress printers from the printed products from their presses. To do so, procedures for identifying, registering and gathering images of letters, and for associating metadata and information with those images were developed. The 'enriched' images would then be displayed in a website.

A preliminary phase of the research involved the identification and examination of relevant sources of information on letterpress printing activity in the city between 1827 and 1927. Those sources included commercial almanacs (Fig. 1), where lists of printers, type founders and vendors could be found, and other sources such as magazines where printers would publish their advertisements, and books on the history of printing in São Paulo (in particular, Freitas, 1915).

More than 200 letterpress printing businesses were identified. Data on the location of these businesses, their owners, the period of their activity and resulting publications was collected and organized in Google Spreadsheets. During a second research phase, more effective cataloguing systems and enhanced delivery methods for data relating to the location of the letterpress printers and their suppliers, and to the typefaces they were using, described below, were developed.



NOVO

ALMANACH DE SÃO PAULO

PARA O ANNO DE

1883

Guia Administrativo, Commercial e Industrial para as cidades de S. Paulo, Santos, Campinas e Rio-Claro, acompanhado de uma planta da cidade de S. Paulo.

SÃO PAULO
EDITORES PROPRIETARIOS
JORGE SECKLER & C.ia

1882

Fig. 1 Photographing the title page of a commercial almanach.

Selected pages from selected publications by selected printers were scanned or photographed. Printers were chosen according to the pioneering role and duration of their business. Commercial almanacs were considered the most relevant kind of publication due to the variety of typefaces used in their pages—in particular those devoted to miscellaneous ads, where ornamented letters with different styles and sizes were employed to call attention to different businesses and products. In books, title pages were considered, for the same reason, the most relevant.

In order to preserve the integrity of the visual information gathered, a protocol describing all steps, from scanning or photographing pages to uploading and associating metadata to images of letters in the database, was developed. Images of selected pages were edited in Adobe Photoshop in order to improve contrast and converted to greyscale. Images of letters, numbers, and orthographic signs were separated in strips, gathering fonts with the same design and size. Coincidences in design were identified in order to reconstruct type families—sets of fonts with the same design in different sizes and eventually different styles (such as roman and italic). A similar procedure was performed for ornaments, borders and vignettes. Generic names, such as 'Serif for text n. 1' or 'Grotesque n. 2', were given to resulting families (of typefaces or ornaments), following a certain tradition for naming type families found in nineteenth century Brazilian type specimens.

A pattern for naming image files, as well as a structured metadata set, based on the descriptive framework for typeforms developed by Dixon (2001), were devised in order to organize and facilitate access to the visual data gathered.

Tipografia Paulistana: an online platform

The online platform Tipografia Paulistana was developed in PostgreSQL, and is hosted in an Apache server at FAU USP, being accessible to the public at <http://labvisual.fau.usp.br/tipografiapaulistana> (Fig. 2). It currently contains information, in Portuguese and English, on 291 printing businesses (including 224 letterpress printing businesses and 67 related companies, such as lithographic printers, engravers and bookshops), 4 type foundries, and 5 type vendors, and their staff. It also includes 496 addresses, 116 type or ornament families, and information about 378 company staff. In addition to textual information, the platform also provides interactive maps showing the location of those companies, and a timeline of their activity from 1827 to 1927. It also includes reconstructions of the typographic repertoires of key printers, such as O Farol Paulistano (the first printing business established in the city), Typographia Imparcial de Marques & Irmão (the first printers to publish commercial almanacs in São Paulo), and Jorge Seckler (publisher of the longest series of almanacs). The repertoire of a fourth letterpress printer, Typographia Allemã (where Jorge Seckler worked before opening his own business), is in development.

The home page presents links to three main areas—Typefaces, Companies and People—and also to other resources such as publications and references.

The Typefaces area (Fig. 3) allows the user to navigate through a 'mosaic' of type family samples, or through a map. In the mosaic mode, users can search for specific typeforms using filters based on Dixon's (2001) typeform description framework, and click on a thumbnail to view a sample of the family (Fig. 4).

In the Companies area, the user can navigate from a map or from a list. By choosing the list mode, one may filter the companies by category (type foundries or distributors, letterpress printers or other businesses) or activity (etching, book binding, lithography, etc.). Each company has a page showing data such as first and last year of operation, address, publications, owner and staff names, and a mosaic with the company's typographic repertoire (Fig. 5).

In the People area, navigation is provided from a list of names. It is possible to filter this list by the name of the company people worked for, or by the roles they performed; and to see more information on people by clicking on the names listed. More information on printers and publishers are available in pages dedicated to them, accessible from the People area lists or from the company page.

It is also possible to navigate the Typefaces and the Companies database through interactive maps of São Paulo, connected to a timeline that allows the user to restrict the view to a specific time period or a single year. In the case of the Typefaces, it is possible to apply filters that restrict type family category or formal attributes. For the Companies, the map provides their identification and direct access to the company page from pins that indicate their addresses (Fig. 6).

A timeline of all letterpress printers and type vendors (type foundries, distributors and importers) was developed using Google Spreadsheets (Fig. 7). Years are indicated in the columns, and the start of every decade, as well as every decennial from 1827 were highlighted. Each line is dedicated to a company, with boxes that extend from the first to the last year of which it was possible to ascertain that the business was active. Eventual successors of the same company were given boxes in the same line. Two shades of gray were used for printing shops, a shade of green for type foundries or vendors, and a shade of blue for companies that were both printing and selling type. This timeline is accessible from the left hand side menu, and also from the topic Research in the website home page.

An administrative system was specially developed to enable the inclusion and management of website contents. The main content areas (Companies,

Fig. 2 Tipografia Paulistana website home page.

Fig. 3 Entrance of the Typefaces area in the Tipografia Paulistana website.

Fig. 4 Example of a typeface sample page in the Tipografia Paulistana website.

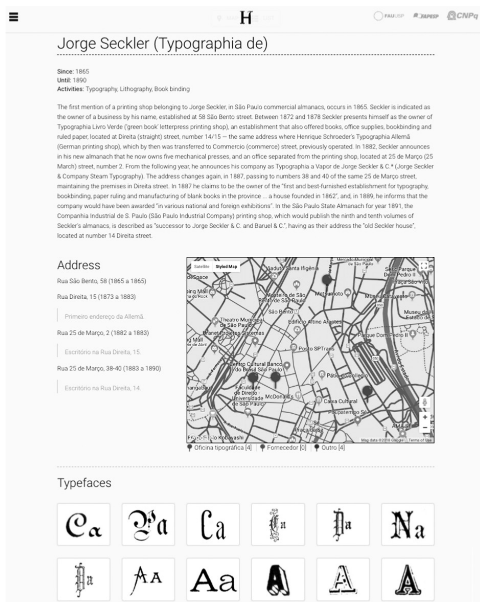


Fig. 5 Example of a company page in the Tipografia Paulistana website.

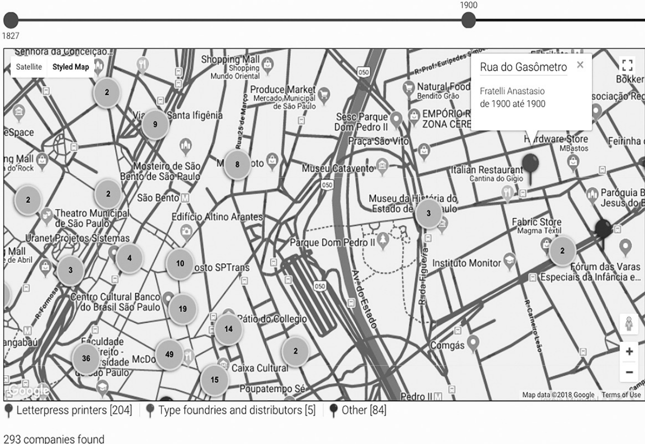


Fig. 6 Example of an interactive map generated by the Tipografia Paulistana website.

Addresses, Printed Outputs, Company Activities, People, People Roles, Typefaces, Metadata, Translations, Publications, References, Libraries, Team and Users) are accessible from the system main menu. In each content area one can create new entries or edit existing ones. Many of the areas have internal connections, also managed through the administrative system. People, for instance, are connected to one or more Companies and People Roles; while Companies are connected to one or more Addresses, and also to Printed Outputs, Company Activities, People and Typefaces.

In the Addresses area, it is possible to assign the same address to more than one of the companies listed in the Company area, and indicate the period during which each company remained in that location. Because street names change over time, a field called Original Address was created to register addresses as they were found on primary sources, while a field called Geolocation is used to indicate the exact location on a map generated by Google Maps. This is a key content area, as data gathered there control the visualization of interactive maps integrated with timelines for Companies and Typefaces.

Another key area is Typefaces, dedicated to the insertion and management of content related to the identified sets of characters, fonts and ornaments. The names and organization of new sets are managed here, as well as the indication of the Printed Outputs in which they were found. Each Typeface registered in the database contains one or more Type Drawers, where sets of images of letters with the same design in different body sizes or styles, or sets of ornaments with similar characteristics and different sizes, are gathered. Using structured descriptors, formal attributes are used to describe the family as a whole, a group of characters, or a specific character. The information registered in the Typefaces area structures the mosaics, samples and typographic repertoires presented in the website, and conditions the behavior of typeface filters.

Other content areas of the administrative system control the metadata used for typeface description; the translation (Portuguese/English) of expressions and texts used in the website pages; and other information found in the homepage, such as the lists of publications—texts published by members of the team—and references—texts by other authors—and the description of research team members. It also allows control of who has access to the administrative system.

Conclusion

The main result of the research project described here was the development of an expandable database on letterpress printing in São Paulo in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, made available through the website Tipografia Paulistana. The website development also resulted in the elaboration of new techniques for the visualization of georeferenced historical data and typographic repertoires. Those results are contributions to different fields, including graphic interface design, interaction design, information architecture, and relational data modeling. Most importantly, in the context of this paper, they contribute to the design of the history of typography in Brazil as part of design history.

This is original work not just in terms of Brazilian historiographic resources, but also a new idea globally. This resource is of value not only to design historians, but also to practising designers in search of inspiration and references.

A rich set of data on the early history of typography in São Paulo, gathered in a system that allows for systematic updates, can now be accessed by anyone interested in piecing together the subject. Although originally focused on the study of printing in a specific location, the platform could be expanded to incorporate data from other periods or locations, contributing to the design of our understanding of the early history of typography in Brazil, and hopefully, as a model, inspiring similar endeavours in other parts of the world.

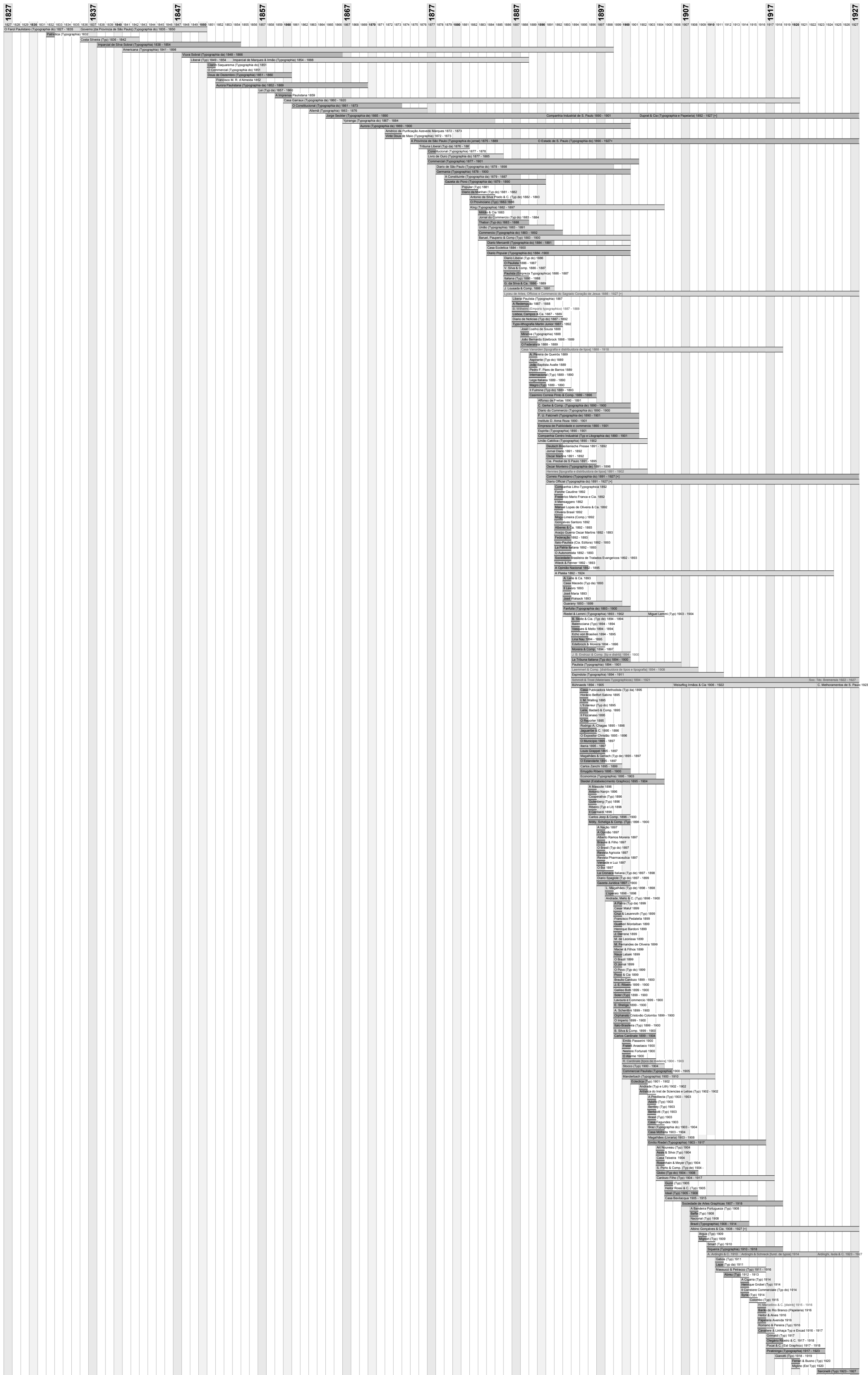


Fig. 7 A timeline of São Paulo city letterpress printing shops, type foundries and type distributors (1827–1927).

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The Scuola del Libro in Milan at the Center of a Typographic Quarrel Between *Risorgimento Grafico* and *Campo Grafico*

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Italian typography / Design education / Graphic design magazines / Promotional ephemera / Modernist graphic design

The paper investigates the activity of the Scuola del Libro in Milan during the interwar period. The school was part of the Milanese printing and design network and featured regularly in specialist magazines as a model of vocational training and so-considered good graphic design and typography. Prominent figures of Italian typography and graphic design worked in, studied in or collaborated with it. These included the editor-in-chief of the graphic arts magazine *Risorgimento Grafico*, Raffaello Bertieri, and the contributors of the magazine *Campo Grafico*.

Focusing on the visual analysis of the school's promotional ephemera, the paper discusses the spread of modernist aesthetics and the 'birth' of Italian modern graphic design. To this end, it positions the Scuola del Libro at the center of heated debates on the modernization of graphic design and typography that were carried on in specialist magazines of the period. In doing so, it argues that the school was used by different groups to promote conflicting attitudes towards graphic design.

Introduction

The Scuola del Libro (School of the Book) in Milan has a local lesser-known graphic design- and typography-related history that has the potential to shed light on the infancy of Italian graphic design and design education. Under scrutiny here is its activity during the interwar period, the 1930s in particular. Drawing on visual artifacts, archival documents and primary literature, the paper aims at constructing a bottom-up narrative that investigates the so-considered birth of Italian modern graphic design through the visual output of the school, with a focus on promotional ephemera designed and produced by its students.

As this paper is set to demonstrate, the Scuola del Libro was used by different interest groups to promote conflicting attitudes towards graphic design. To this end, the paper positions the school at the center of heated debates on the modernization of Italian graphic design that were carried on in the pages of specialist publications of the period. In doing so, it dismisses the canonical one-way concentric model of dissemination in favor of a model that addresses the ways in which modernist techniques and visual language were mediated, adapted and adopted within the local scene (Huppatz, 2015).

The Scuola del Libro in Milan

Founded in 1885, the Scuola del Libro was an institute for vocational training addressing workers in the graphic arts and printing industries (Della Campa and Colombo, 2004). The school was part of the printing network that had developed in Milan since the end of the nineteenth century. It was also part of the Milanese design network and collaborated with rationalist architects and avant-garde artists. It featured regularly in specialist magazines as a model of vocational training and so-considered good graphic design, typography and book design. Prominent figures of Italian typography and graphic design worked in, studied in or collaborated with it. These included the editor-in-chief of the graphic arts magazine *Risorgimento Grafico*, Raffaello Bertieri, and the contributors of *Campo Grafico*. Their personal involvement is acknowledged in this paper when considering their critical stance towards the school.

The Scuola del Libro offered a wide range of specializations, such as typography, typesetting, type design, bookbinding, hand and linotype composition, printing, lithography and photoengraving. The education on offer included three types of courses: a one-year-long evening or weekend course for workers; a two-year-long evening course for trainees in the printing industry; and a three-year-long daily course for pupils between twelve to fourteen years of age. Programs of all three courses were regularly updated in accordance with technological advances and curricula were frequently modified in order to keep the syllabi up-to-date with everyday working practice.

The discussion of the infancy of Italian graphic design and design education that follows focuses on the visual output of the daily training course. In order to recreate a work-like experience, pupils were in charge of designing, composing, printing and binding all official publications. Visual artifacts were the outcome of the collaboration between students of different departments, a detail that adds an implicit pedagogical intent to the more explicit promotional one. In other words, the school's promotional ephemera were communication artifacts with their own function and purpose, as well as the visual expression of both design methodologies and aesthetic principles.

A close look at the promotional ephemera designed and produced by pupils in the interwar period indicates a radical shift of both techniques and visual languages around the year 1933. As discussed in the next two sections, the design change was instrumental within the debate about the circulation of modernist aesthetics that gripped practitioners and graphics critics, and in particular within the quarrel between the magazines *Risorgimento Grafico* and *Campo Grafico*.

Promotional ephemera and the 'birth' of Italian modern graphic design within and beyond the walls of the Scuola del Libro. Promotional ephemera designed and produced by students at the Scuola del Libro until the early 1930s present similar recurring features. Booklets, leaflets and pamphlets feature engraved illustrations, floral ornaments, serif typefaces, centered and symmetrical page layout, large margins, decorative initials and geometrical frames. The book layout is the reference point: explicitly represented on the frontispiece-like front page, or implicitly recalled by the book-inspired page layout (Fig. 1).

Fig. 1 Booklet, Scuola del Libro in Milan, academic year 1930–31, 11.5 × 15.5 cm (Archivio Storico Umanitaria, Milan).

The adoption of the book as a model for designing any type of printed material resonated in the pages of the graphic arts and typography magazine *Risorgimento Grafico*, whose editor-in-chief, Raffaello Bertieri, was the director of the Scuola del Libro from 1919 to 1925. Typographer, publisher, type designer, graphic arts critic and historian, Bertieri promoted a revival of Italian Renaissance and Bodonian book and type design, and argued for the book as a typographic artwork (De Pasquale, Dradi, Chiabrando and Grizzani, 2011). He resigned as director in 1925 but kept involved and featured the school on a regular basis in the pages of his magazine during the second-half of the 1920s. The visual output at the Scuola del Libro reflects Bertieri's enduring influence until the early 1930s. Indeed, it echoes Bertieri's interest in classicism and national typographic roots based on classical forms of Italian Renaissance printing tradition. No attempt is made to design a layout specific to advertising ephemera, whose purpose, use and audience are different to those of a book.

Yet, by the early 1930s Bertieri's influence was on the wane as the school moved towards a modernist aesthetic. Two pamphlets of 1932 and 1934 illustrate this shift by featuring graphic elements and layout that differ from those mentioned above. In the 1932–33 pamphlet, a sans serif font appears for the first time and, together with the functional use of color, is an evidence of the gradual adoption of and experimentation with a modernist vocabulary (Fig. 2). The layout of the 1934–35 pamphlet abandons the rigidity of axial symmetry (Fig. 3). The text of the front page is off-center, while the double page layout is arranged in a grid-structure that ignores the central fold. Both pamphlets are evidence of the attempt to abandon the book-inspired page layout and take into account the specific use and way of reading a pamphlet with its flexible format and orientation.

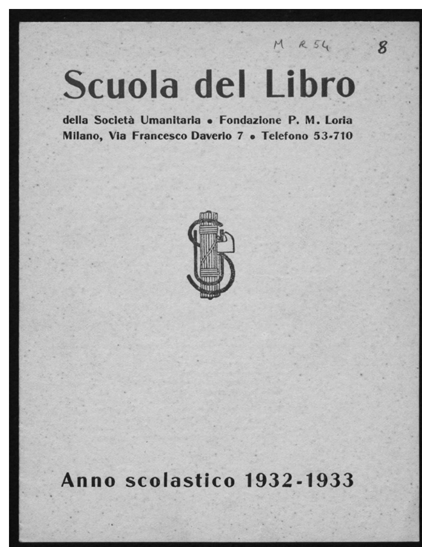

Fig. 2 Pamphlet, Scuola del Libro in Milan, academic year 1932–33, 13 × 17 cm (Archivio Storico Umanitaria, Milan).

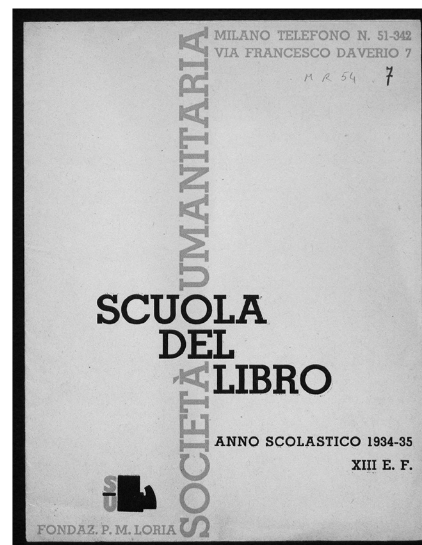

Fig. 3 Pamphlet, Scuola del Libro in Milan, academic year 1934–35, 10 × 15 cm (Archivio Storico Umanitaria, Milan).

Examples provided so far have illustrated the design change in the visual output of the Scuola del Libro that occurred around the year 1933. Thus the reader may wonder about internal and external factors that might have brought about this shift.

In 1933, the school was merged with another vocational education institute called Società Umanitaria (Humanitarian Society) in order to avoid closure after a financially problematic period. Modernization of both curricula and technical equipment of the school followed the merger of the two institutions to meet the requests for specialized training for the fledgling profession of the graphic designer. The workshops' furniture and technical equipment were renovated in accordance with current printing technologies. For instance, a Nebiolo D.G.B. rotary printing press, a new paper-cutting machine and printing press were purchased in 1933 for the typographic, bookbinding and photogravure workshops.

The equipment of the hand-composition workshop was modernized as well. Three series of a sans serif font were purchased in the regular, bold and light variants in 1934. The purchase followed the publication of the 1933 annual report in which the anonymous author described the hand-composition workshop as equipped with old, worn-out, incomplete and old-fashioned typefaces

that did not meet the requirements of the modern aesthetic and whose use was deemed counterproductive, if not damaging, for the students' training. Wood and lead sans serif fonts were bought in 1936 and the font Neon was purchased a year later (Piazza, 2012).

Alongside the modernization of workshop equipment, the curricula were also updated to mirror the gradual articulation of the graphic designer's professional profile. In addition to the promotion of a dialogue between graphics and contemporary art, and to the training of practitioners with drafting ability to work out ideas on paper, the Scuola del Libro also adapted the curricula to the division of tasks in the printing workshop. For instance, the focus of the hand composition course gradually moved from execution towards design. The change attests to a methodological shift: execution and design had become two different tasks and the graphic designer was in charge of the latter.

When looking outside the walls of the Scuola del Libro, the year 1933 reveals itself as no arbitrary date, but the so-considered birthdate of Italian modern graphic design (Dradi, 1973; Bignami, 2001; Colonetti, 2001). As simplistic, anecdotal and arguably questionable as the statement might appear, the year 1933 doubtlessly is a crucial date in the history of Italian graphic design. The temporal and geographical convergence of multiple factors suggests that time was ripe for change. In 1933, the type designer Paul Renner curated the German Pavilion at the 5th Milan Triennale introducing Italian designers to the New Typography. In 1933, Antonio Boggeri opened the so-considered first full-service graphic design studio in Milan, the Studio Boggeri, and employed Central-European designers in the intent to modernize the Italian visual language. But more relevant to the present paper, 1933 was the year of the launch of a new graphic design magazine entitled *Campo Grafico*.

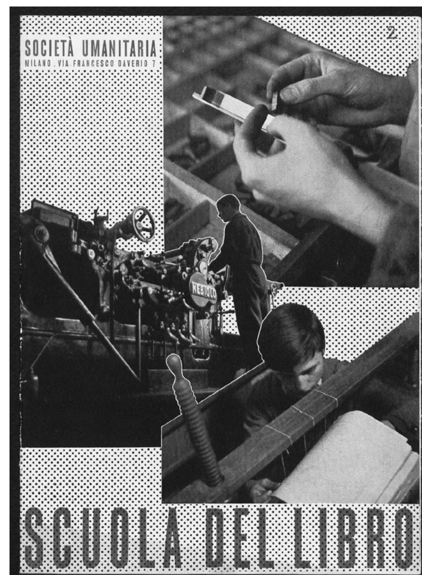

Fig. 4 Pamphlet, Scuola del Libro in Milan, academic year 1940–41, 14.5 × 20.5 cm (Archivio Storico Umanitaria, Milan).

Fig. 5 Cover, *Campo Grafico*, 1 (1), January 1933, 24 × 33 cm (Centro Studi Grafici, Milan).

The campisti's taking over the Scuola del Libro

The relevance of *Campo Grafico* stems from the fact that its launch can be credited to the Scuola del Libro itself. As suggested by the co-founder and co-editor of the magazine, Attilio Rossi, 'stretching a bit the terms, one could even say that it was Bertieri himself, who, as director of the Scuola del Libro, awoke in many of us that combative impulse, which he then persistently failed to recognise' (Rossi, 1966: 210). Indeed, as already pointed out by design historian Carlo Vinti, all members of the editorial team – the so-called 'campisti' – were former students at the school and they conceived the magazine in direct opposition to Bertieri (Vinti, 2004). The campisti's personal involvement in the Scuola del Libro, as well as Bertieri's, adds to the recurring reference to the school as a model for modern graphics an extra connotation that has not been taken into account by design historians so far.

The campisti took issue with Bertieri's approach to graphics, in general, and with his lasting influence on the Scuola del Libro, in particular. The campisti criticized Bertieri's neoclassical rhetoric and disapproved his recasting sixteenth century fonts such as Sinibaldi and Incunabula, which were described as outdated and more appropriate for a page designed by William Morris than for one by a 1930s' typographer (Dradi, 1973: 26). They blamed Bertieri for ignoring technological progress and disregarding changes in everyday printed ephemera. Conversely, they promoted an idea of typography as applied art whose sole aim was visual communication.

The relationship between the Scuola del Libro and *Campo Grafico* became tighter over the years. The pamphlet of the academic year 1940–41 with its asymmetrical layout, the lack of ornamentation and the use of typo-photo – synthesis of photography and sans-serif – provides a visual response to the typographic renewal that had been promoted by the campisti since 1933 (Fig. 4). The similarities between the cover of the first issue in January 1933 and the front page of the 1940–41 pamphlet attest to the like-minded dialogue between the magazine and the Scuola del Libro (Fig. 5). Both covers illustrate the variety of professions involved in the graphics and printing sectors. Nevertheless, pictures are used for different purposes. The magazine's cover is a statement of intent. The blurry imagery conveys a

general idea of workshop practices, illustrates the tight relationship between the printing workforce and *Campo Grafico*. By contrast, the sharp pictures on the 1940–41 pamphlet provide a detailed description of the diverse professions and technologies involved in the design and printing process, and carefully illustrate the school's educational offer. The graphic language itself has changed. The experimental language of the magazine's cover has been translated into a set of guidelines to be taught and learnt in the school's workshop and classroom.

Like a parent neglecting a wayward child, the more the Scuola del Libro inclined towards *Campo Grafico*, the more Bertieri distanced himself from it. The more the campisti got involved in the Scuola del Libro, the less Bertieri showed interest in its activities. His editorial allegiance to the Scuola del Libro diminished significantly in the 1930s and he published only two articles on the school in *Risorgimento Grafico* after 1933. The first article was an overview of the history of the school, in which Mario Ferrigni overlooked the current activities whilst devoting a paragraph to Bertieri's directorship (Ferrigni, 1935). The second was a review of the exhibition of the bookbinding and book decoration courses, in which Ferrigni commended the revival of religious books' bookbinding, praising the balance between clear geometric decorations and asymmetrical layout, and traditional techniques and materials such as gilding, leather and parchment (Ferrigni, 1936). Both articles appear to have been a safe compromise that enabled Ferrigni to comment upon the Scuola del Libro without making too many concessions to its modernization.

Conclusion

Taking the design change in the visual output of a Milanese vocational school addressing workers in the graphic arts and printing industries as a starting point, the paper ended discussing the 'birth' of Italian modern graphic design. The analysis of the conflict between *Risorgimento Grafico* and *Campo Grafico* has framed the circulation of modernist aesthetics in interwar Milan within a clear-cut clash between a traditionalist approach to typography and book design, and a new approach to graphics in line with the modern taste. Thus modernism was analyzed as a subject of heated debate among graphic practitioners and critics, thereby highlighting strategies of negotiation and resistance.

As this paper has argued, the school was at the center of a power struggle between two different interest groups with conflicting agendas. Indeed, the visual and archival evidence provided has shown how the positive reputation of the Scuola del Libro in the field of the graphic arts and printing industry, and its past relationship with Bertieri, made the radical design change of the graphic output and the adoption of modernist aesthetics after 1933 vital and instrumental for the campisti's campaign for the modernization of Italian graphics. By featuring visual artifacts designed and produced at the Scuola del Libro, the campisti were not only illustrating the spread of modernist graphics in Italy, but were also discrediting Bertieri's approach to typography that had been directing the school for over two decades. On the one hand, the school's subscription to the guidelines promoted by *Campo Grafico* was capitalized upon by the campisti to legitimize their offensive against Bertieri and his magazine. On the other hand, by changing its visual appearance, the Scuola del Libro was itself promoting a new image: turning from restorer of Italian typographic tradition under Bertieri's directorship, into a modern school in line with experimental visual languages and modernist aesthetics.

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Statements and *Fluxshoe Add End A*: The Artist's Book *versus* the Crystal Goblet

Mila Waldeck
University of Reading

Typography / Artists' books / Postmodern design / Historical narrative / Language

This paper discusses Lawrence Weiner's book *Statements*, published by Seth Siegelaub in 1968, and *Fluxshoe Add End A*, a catalogue of the Fluxshoe festival published by Beau Geste Press in 1974 and organized by Felipe Ehrenberg, Terry Wright and David Mayor. This discussion focuses on how the two books interrelate text, context, design, reader, and author. Both books destabilize the idea of content, challenging the framework of design as a more transparent or more opaque container.

In the 1960s and 1970s, publishing became a core activity across an international and plural range of art groups. Although the book was already being used as an art medium and explored as a specific kind of object, one of the shifts of the 1960–70s was towards a focus on the system of production, distribution and reception of publications. Another significant shift was the sense of a growing cultural influence of the large-scale communications industry, which was critiqued and/or embodied in 1960–70s artists' publications. If to some extent the publishing system was perceived to contrast with the production, exhibition and ownership of more conventional forms of art such as paintings and sculptures,[1] it was also seen as an extension of that very art system, given that specialised art magazines and books participate in the construction of the notion of value and authorship of artworks.

This critical stance in some way parallels Foucault's (2013 [1969]: 293) opposition to the dominant question "who is the author?" in favour of such questions as "what are the modes of existence of this discourse? Where has it been used, how can it circulate, and who can appropriate it for himself?". In the art world the definition, regulation and appropriation of art are made with the help of specific apparatuses: museums, galleries, painting frames, pedestals, and a tradition of criticism and history centred in formalism determine what constitutes artistic authorship and promote a higher appreciation and valorization of certain objects, while excluding other ones. Thus, in addition to the "author-function"—to use Foucault's expression—other functions often discussed in 1960–70s artists' publications were that of the context and the medium.

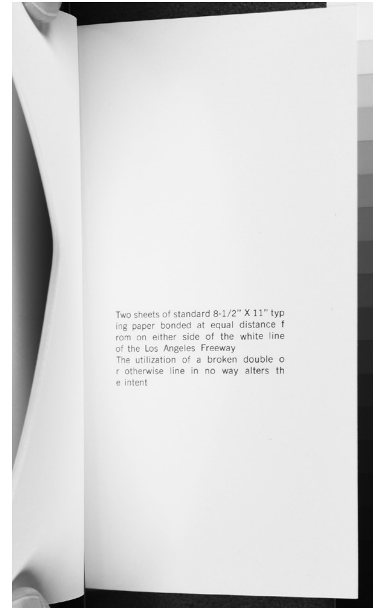
As the processes of making, distributing and using were frequently integral parts of the artwork, the objective of this research is to enquire into these processes and investigate to what extent there is a correlation between how those publications were made and how they circulated. The following paper outlines some themes that surfaced in this ongoing research, through an analysis of Lawrence Weiner's book *Statements*, published by Seth Siegelaub in 1968, and *Fluxshoe Add End A*, a catalogue of the Fluxshoe festival published by Beau Geste Press in 1974.

In both books the typography is more in clash than in consonance with the text, if compared to the typographic conventions for body text at the time (Fig. 1–2).

Those conventions implied that reader and text were relatively stable entities that a good design connects efficiently—as expressed in Beatrice Warde's (1955 [1930]) "The Crystal Goblet, or Printing Should Be Invisible":

> the type which, through any arbitrary warping of design or excess of 'colour', gets in the way of the mental picture to be conveyed, is a bad type.

[1] This contrast was debated. Lippard (1984 [1977]: 48) states that the artist's book circumvents the gallery system. Carrion (1980 [1979]: 64) argues: "What for? To fall into the hands of publishers and book critics?".



Two sheets of standard 8-1/2" X 11" typ
ing paper bonded at equal distance f
rom on either side of the white line
of the Los Angeles Freeway
The utilization of a broken double o
r otherwise line in no way alters th
e intent

Fig. 1 Page of *Statements*. Image Courtesy of Lawrence Weiner. Bowes Art & Architecture Library, Stanford University Libraries.

THURSDAY 12.7.73: endre types zeros in the museum, while davi goes out to make some converts in the streets: three rip-roaring fluxlectures on *THE DECLINE OF MORALITY*, *POLLUTION*, and *THE CREEPING THREAT OF DARWINISM* (or, [illegible] Fitting Shoes), with a lot of gesticulations and erasings of a blank blackboard. reactions [illegible] from amazement, enthusiasm, to "is he selling [illegible]", and a tenpenny piece.

FRIDAY 13.7.73: davi finds he can't lecture today as the museum blackboard has uncooperatively 'disappeared'. endre changes from typing to stamping *I AM GLAD WHEN I CAN STAMP*, using metal type as rubber stamps are forbidden in his own country (hungary). takako saito, endre, [illegible] and some visiting children play takako's game (see nottingham sheets). at 6 o'clock, one of the museum guards starts the clock ticking for a stationary chess match between england and hungary. for an hour, none of the pieces is moved. at the end of the hour neither side has won.

SATURDAY 14.7.73: davi, nan and endre leave; allen and elaine fisher arrive for a one-day event: *BLOOD BONE BRAIN*. Part 1 is 23' of playback from 3 recordings of the *FIRST VARIATION* recorded in nottingham in june; Part 2 is 23' of 3 people (al, el, and d.m.) reading from al's book *SICILY* (publ. autumn 1973), volume of their reading depending on colour of playing cards which al lays down on the floor. he comments: 'you see - this is what organization does, creates a mess'. over the weekend, he discusses tobacco jam and pickled tennis balls (for ray johnson), among other things.

Fig. 2 Page of *Fluxshoe Add End A*. BGP Comunity of printers and artists. Image courtesy of the artists. Fluxus West Digital Collection, Special Collections, The University of Iowa Libraries.

> Our subconsciousness is always afraid of blunders (which illogical setting, tight spacing and too-wide unleaded lines can trick us into).

Originally a lecture given to the British Typographers' Guild, published in the following week in The British & Colonial Printer & Stationer, "The Crystal Goblet" prescribed a specific idea of good design across the UK and colonies. Two years later it was republished in the United States, gaining new editions in the UK and the US in the 1950s. In contrast to Warde's framework, which isolated text and reader from their context, *Fluxshoe Add End A* and *Statements* stretched the concept of "book" towards places and things. An analysis of the two works helps examine how each one of them interrelated reader, text, context and form.

As for authorship, *Statements* was created by a single artist, Lawrence Weiner, then a New York-based artist represented by Siegelaub, who organized Conceptual Art exhibitions from 1968 to 1971. *Fluxshoe Add End A* was a collective work "put together by felipe ehrenberg, terry wright and david mayor" (in lowercase in the original), according to the introduction. It is one of the two catalogues of the Fluxshoe, a festival of Fluxus-related art from various countries, presented in eight British towns in 1972–1973. Both catalogues were published by Beau Geste Press, a publishing house founded in Devon, UK in 1971 by Mexican artists Felipe Ehrenberg and Martha Hellion and British artists David Mayor, Chris Welch and Madeleine Gallard. Japanese artist Takako Saito, British printer Terry Wright and Patricia Wright subsequently joined the press, which participated in the Fluxshoe and operated until 1976.

Editions associated with Fluxus and with the Conceptual Art circle published by Siegelaub, although very diverse, are representative of two core types of enquiry. Fluxus integrates the physical presence—including typography, book form and printing technique —into the artwork, whereas the Conceptual Art published by Siegelaub usually distinguishes the language, scheme or text from their physical presentation in a specific published form. This contrast of approaches provides a more dialectical perspective within this study.

While publications by Constructivist, Dada and Futurist artists have been taken into account in design history—which has been critically reassessing their historicization in the design discipline— the prolific production of artists' books, magazines and ephemera of the 1960–70s has been relatively unexplored in studies about twentieth century design.[2] As the design discourse overlooks these editions, it also tends to miss the theoretical problems raised by 1960–70s artists' publications.

A case in point is Roland Barthes' "The Death of the Author", published in 1967 in *Aspen*, an artists' magazine in box format issued in New York from 1965 to 1971, founded by Phyllis Johnson. Barthes' essay was seen alongside artworks that themselves destabilize the notion of authorship, by artists such as Sol LeWitt, also published by Siegelaub. The specific context where this text was published, overlooked in design history, is indicative of a connection between some publishing practices and some theoretical investigations (for example ideas developed within post-structuralism). Some of the points that 1960–70s artists' editions raised are the extent to which a publication is a neutral way to transmit information, the shift towards a less author-centred construction of meaning, and the power relations in the publishing field.

The book as history

The catalogue *Fluxshoe Add End A* consists of unbound pages of different sizes, saddle stitched booklets, coasters, a balloon and a folder containing forms, all inserted in a 23.5 × 35 cm folder. The book copies differ across different libraries: items in the copy held at the University of Illinois, for example, are not in the copy at the Tate Library and vice versa. The number of items also varies. The edition size was 550 copies, sold for £0.65. The page sizes range from a 60.7 × 43.2 cm poster to a 6.5 × 15.5 cm dollar bill by Robert Watts, but pages of 20 × 32.5 cm predominate. Different printing processes were used, such as offset and mimeograph.

The catalogue reuses pages from various sources, resulting in a miscellany of typefaces. On various pages, reviews about the Fluxshoe published in more mainstream newspapers and magazines were converted into collages. On the opposite side of the same sheet, that same story was told from the point of view of the artists. The sliced articles give a sense of physical confrontation with the mainstream media.

However, the legibility of their texts was maintained. Contradictory perspectives were embodied, forming a multidimensional narrative of the Fluxshoe. The unbound format hampers the construction of a linear chronology: there is no absolute history, nor a continuous, diachronic narrative. The story of the festival, as proposed by *Fluxshoe Add End A*, is the juxtaposition and confrontation of contrasting versions.

The book as language

Statements is a 10.1 × 17.8 cm book of 32 leaves, 24 of which are sectioned into "general" and "specific" statements that describe in complex noun phrase an artwork. The noun phrases range from 8 to 39 words, not punctuated. The edition size was 1000 copies, offset printed. The solid grey cover bears the title, author's name and price printed in black. The position of the text, line width, type size and leading are repeated throughout *Statements*, which underscores the standardized and modular nature of the book, while the prominence of the price, $1.95, further underscores its nature as an industrial product.

[2] Among the exceptions are Johanna Drucker's writings and Ruth Blacksell's "From Looking to Reading: Text-Based Conceptual Art and Typographic Discourse" (published in *Design Issues* Volume 29, Issue 2, Spring 2013).

Grammatically, a complex noun phrase details a noun that is often part of the subject or object in a sentence. Noun phrases commonly used outside a sentence structure are captions of artworks, such as “oil on canvas” and “plaster coated with a parting compound”. Likewise, Weiner’s statement ONE QUART EXTERIOR GREEN ENAMEL THROWN ON A BRICK WALL (Fig. 3) is independent rather than part of a sentence. But unlike a caption, the statements are themselves the sculpture.

Each line in *Statements* necessarily has 36 characters, hence a seemingly random and wrong separation of letters replaces syllabification. Also breaking at the 36th character are the lines of Weiner’s work in the *Xerox Book*, published by Siegelaub in 1968, although the text is handwritten on grid paper whereas *Statements* is typeset in Trade Gothic. *Statements* seems to have been designed using a meticulous grid and system of modules that also underpinned Weiner’s sculptures and drawings in that period. This suggests a cross reference between phrases in the book and sculptures outside it. However, Weiner implicitly eschews the potential formalism of a grid and underscores the process of writing:

> STATEMENTS WAS NOT LAID OUT ON A GRID
> ONE OF THE FEW ACID FREE PAPERS AVAILABLE IN THOSE DAYS WAS ARCHITECT’S GRID PAPER BUT STATEMENTS WAS BASED UPON A START & STOP MEASUREMENT ON THE TYPEWRITER ITSELF[3]

The unusual line break of *Statements* has been going relatively unnoticed in the literature on Weiner. Schwarz (1989: 131) claims that the book echoes Saussure’s thinking, but the separation of letters in *Statements* breaks with one of Saussure’s core assumptions: the idea that writing is unrelated to the inner system of language and only represents speaking (Saussure, 1959 [1916]: 23–24). As Kristeva (1989 [1981]: 30) says:

> Writing is considered to be a representation of the spoken, its fixative double, and not a particular material whose combinative nature leads one to think of a linguistic operation different from that of phonetics. The science of writing seems therefore the prisoner of a conception that confuses language with spoken language.

One quart exterior green enamel thro
wn on a brick wall

Fig. 3 Page of *Statements*. Image Courtesy of Lawrence Weiner. Bowes Art & Architecture Library, Stanford University Libraries.

[3] Email communication with the author, 21/02/2018. Weiner’s use of uppercase was maintained.

Book / non-book

The politics of printing and distribution techniques are underscored in Martha Hellion’s (2006) description of the panorama of artists’ publications in Mexico in 1968, in which she and Ehrenberg had been involved before moving to the UK:

> During this period editors began to explore alternative ways of production, including mimeograph, photocopy, stencil, and offset. These alternatives were the solution to the limitations that prevailed in Latin America in the sixties. The publications and artworks were delivered by mail or by hand; it became necessary to escape the system.

The access to small-scale printing was difficult too, for the mimeograph was forbidden in 1968 as part of the political repression in Mexico (Gottdiener, 2015: 48).[4] Rather than framing printing according to formal characteristics, Hellion associates it with delivering, and particularly with the construction of communication channels outside the official system. For Ehrenberg the politics of printing were an ongoing tradition, as he learned the printing craft in Mexico at a workshop run by Catalan anarchists who were exiles due to the Franco regime (Ehrenberg, 2009: 48).

Fluxshoe Add End A extends the dichotomy official–unauthorized to the very printing practice, questioning what is conventionally approved or disapproved, included or excluded, within printing. News coverage about a Fluxshoe event was overprinted on a text that describes the same event (Fig. 4). A poster advertising an other Fluxshoe event was overprinted on a text page. These layers of printing resemble proofs that are usually thrown away at printing offices.

The main poster of the festival, designed by Chris Welch, was both displayed on windows and inserted in the catalogue. A pamphlet handed out for an event by Eric Andersen was inserted too. Printed sheets for ephemeral use became a book, conventionally a more long-lasting object. Conversely, the book became discontinuous sheets ephemerally displayed or handed out. This shift rearranged what is conventionally forgotten and what is preserved, what is brief and what is perennial, in a narrative of book form.

Fig. 4 Page of *Fluxshoe Add End A*. BGP Comunity of printers and artists. Image courtesy of the artists. Fluxus West Digital Collection, Special Collections, The University of Iowa Libraries.

[4] This prohibition was aligned with a broader repression exemplified by the Tlatelolco massacre in 1968, in which the government killed hundreds of students.

Words / objects

The design of *Statements*, according to Weiner (1998: 20), was conceived “in opposition to chic design: that you could have a class association with design when design essentially was supposed to cut across classes”. He consistently criticizes Helvetica, preferring to be identified with the Franklin Gothic of the cover of *Statements*, which he associates with the working class. He also distinguishes an earlier and a later modernism:

> SWISS DESIGN WITH THE EXCEPTION OF HELVETICA (WHICH HAD ALREADY ASSUMED AN AUTHORITY POSITION) WAS FINE BUT MY BASIC IDEA OF BOOKS IS CLOSER TO PIET ZWART.[5]

Thus Piet Zwart’s design cut across classes whereas Helvetica did not.

In Weiner’s system, people do not need to buy his work to have it: “they can have it just by knowing it” (Weiner, 1972 [1969]: 217). However, the statements do circulate in the art system: individuals and institutions can buy them and, from then on, museums, galleries and the artist himself cannot exhibit them in conventional art contexts without the permission of the owner.

When the statements enter the art system, apparently they conform with the circulation of art objects. This is indicated by a correspondence between Weiner and gallerist David Bellman in 1988 discussing the inclusion of the statement ONE QUART EXTERIOR GREEN INDUSTRIAL ENAMEL THROWN ON A BRICK WALL in an upcoming retrospective exhibition. Weiner wrote: “It is far more complex than imagined: it is earmarked for the Stedelijk (it is also extremely expensive)” (Weiner, Jan 1988). Probably the increase of value of that statement in the art market over twenty years complicated its loan. The Stedelijk Museum itself had to go through a similar process when organizing another retrospective of Weiner. In order to include a language-based artwork, the museum had to request that its owner loaned it. The Stedelijk (May 26, 1986) also asked him for a photograph of the work “for the catalogue and for publicity purposes, showing the work in its environment”.

In most situations, there are no impediments to writing or saying ONE QUART EXTERIOR GREEN INDUSTRIAL ENAMEL THROWN ON A BRICK WALL. But museums, galleries, art publications and Weiner himself have to observe more strict norms of use. Because the work is language, it is available as words. The restrictions intensify in the art world—because Weiner combines the circulation of art objects with that of language, where language becomes subject to rising prices and private ownership. Whereas a Van Gogh is fully accessible only in the art market and the public can have at best a limited access to it, the access to Weiner’s statements is potentially wider within the public and narrower within the art world. A statement cannot entirely behave as a physical art object because it is also verbal language, which causes a reversion in the order of access.

The Crystal Goblet

Statements and *Fluxshoe Add End A* dispute the notion, encapsulated in Warde’s image of the crystal goblet, that typography (and by extension the book) should be a transparent container. For Warde a well designed book transfers the writer’s thoughts to the reader’s mind. As she prefers crystal to gold for wine goblets—wine being her metaphor for text—she implies that transparency is worth more than gold.

“The Crystal Goblet” typifies a line of thought and has been critiqued for disguising biases as transparency. Katie Salen (2001: 151) argues that Warde was “side-stepping issues of power, agency and mediation” through her dismissal of typographic and written forms that fall outside a specific—and hegemonic—use of language. For Gunnar Swanson (1994), the imagery of wine connoisseurship, golds and crystals demonstrates Warde’s snobbish position, given that a jelly jar can be an equally transparent drinking glass. Jeffery Keedy (1993) says that “connoisseurship” may sell the image of social status but the designer deals with a much broader range of images: “Beatrice Warde did not imagine her crystal goblet would contain Pepsi-Cola, but some vessel has to do it”. Transparency can also be read as marketing, as Gruendler (2005: 105) suggests, since Warde’s speech was publicised while she was Publicity Officer for Monotype (whose typefaces in this context could be interpreted as the model of good, transparent design). McVarish (2010) reviews the different waves of critiques of “The Crystal Goblet” over the decades, noting its enduring paradigm within design.

Warde seems to inherit a tradition that identifies thinking with speaking, in this sense echoing Saussure’s focus on phonetic writing. Yet for Saussure the physical nature of the letter is intrinsically more transparent than for her, otherwise she would not have wished to conceal its presence. She describes language as “arbitrary sounds which will lead a total stranger to think my own thought” while the languages that one does not understand make the mind fall asleep. Derrida (1997 [1967]: 89), however, points out that the categories phonetic and non-phonetic writing are “never pure qualities”, but only “abstract characteristics of typical elements, more or less numerous and dominant within all systems of signification in general”. Besides, he considers Saussure’s motto that writing represents speaking which represents thoughts to be an expression of “Western ethnocentrism” (Derrida, 1997 [1967]: 40).

In addition to not practising the typography that Warde advocates, *Statements* and *Fluxshoe Add End A* make the point that transparency is not exclusively a problem of the relationship between signifier and signified. The two books question the very premise that a given content (or signified) is stably expressed in a given form (or signifier). In *Fluxshoe Add End A* the content cannot be precisely located, it existed as pages and objects that had been physically scattered outside the book, dispersed in various places and contexts linked to the Fluxshoe. Also, it is impossible to determine what exactly the content is

[5] Email communication with the author, 21/02/2018.

since the book copies are different. Its heterogeneous pages, objects and points of view preclude the prospect (and pertinence) of a unified content.

In *Statements*, the order signifier–signified is more of an a priori assumption that is subsequently undone. Weiner does not hierarchise words, real objects and imagined objects. This disrupts the signifier–signified status: does the phrase ONE QUART EXTERIOR GREEN ENAMEL THROWN ON A BRICK WALL represent real enamels? Or does the enamel represent the phrase? For Weiner both options are equally valid, therefore words are representing things and vice versa. As he removes the referent and creates a grammatical construction similar to that of a caption, what represents the content becomes the content.

The problem of transparency also goes beyond the framework signifier–signified because *Statements* and *Fluxshoe Add End A* deal with issues of circulation, context, interpretation, access and control. By duplicating unfavourable newspaper articles about the Fluxshoe and overprinting texts so that they resemble throwaway printing proofs, *Fluxshoe Add End A* unveils the conventional edition of exhibition catalogues in their construction of an idealized image of the artwork. *Statements* combines the circulation of language and art objects, and shows that what goes through the art system tends to circulate as a physical object—even phrases.

Inferring that the publishing and art contexts remould the things they seem to neutrally carry, *Fluxshoe Add End A* and *Statements* investigate, then, how the mechanics of these contexts can be rearranged. A communication centred mainly in signifier and signified, however critical its purpose, implicitly restates Warde's setting of drinks and containers, hence perhaps the enduring appeal of her crystal goblet. *Statements* and *Fluxshoe Add End A* switch the focus towards the authority and ownership over discourses and objects and to the definition of what can be said, seen and imagined. A text is also filled with what happens before and after it is read.

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Textual-type or Visual-type? Historical Approach to the Hybrid Nature of Typographical Characters

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Typeface / Design / History / Communication

Typography has a dual nature: it is a linguistic sign but also a visual sign. From its appearance, very linked to language and linguistic function, the different historical moments have been contributing their particular perspective, discovering and expanding their formal and plastic possibilities. This work carries out in the first place a review of graphic design history, from the appearance of writing to our days, in order to observe the dialogue between verbal and visual in typography and its evolution over time. In the second place, three typographical experimentation proposals around the formal values of the letter presented to a group of designers are presented and whose results were the subject of three exhibitions in a Valencian museum. In a time like the current one where the visual is superimposed on the textual, it seems logical to investigate and experience the graphic possibilities of typographical characters as a starting point to create textual designs that attract and appear remarkable for their recipients.

The hybrid nature of characters

Writing was closely linked to oral language. In fact, its original function was to communicate more efficiently what was previously transmitted orally or verbally, preserving experiences and thoughts (Meggs and Purvis, 2009). Later, technical advances enabled writing through mechanical processes and typography emerged: 'the graphic representation of language through formalized and standardized writing' (Gamonal Arroyo, 2005).

In these typographical signs, language and graphic representation are combined in a dual or hybrid nature (Martín Montesinos and Mas Hurtuna, 2011; Martínez, 2014; Carrere, 2013). On the one hand, we find the 'type', the letter, its verbal meaning; on the other hand, the 'graphical symbol', the drawing or line, visual representation of the linguistic component. Like two sides of the same coin, typographic characters convey at the same time, in greater or lesser degree, a linguistic and visual meaning; being able to be read and seen at the same time (Martínez, 2014).

Elleström (2016) distinguishes between a semiotic category and a sensory category to describe the verbal and visual system respectively. Martínez (2014) differentiates between the linguistic function (typical of editing typography) and the graphic function (typical of creative typography). In both authors we find first a typography whose main objective is readability and then a typography whose purpose is to visually enhance the content transmission, prioritizing expression and interpretation (Martínez, 2014).

In deciding the characteristics and layout of typography in design, the designer chooses which facet to emphasize: communication (verbal meaning) or expression (visual meaning) (Byrne and Witte, 1990). And so we obtain different graphic proposals that can be inserted in the spectrum of visual intensity drawn by Kostelnick (1988) and can be ranged from very low intensity (a conventional report, essay or novel) to very high intensity (a poster).

The use of typography within this double aspect has not always been the same. In fact, 'the history of typography and writing could be written as the development of formal structures which have articulated and explored the border between the inside and the outside of the text' (Lupton and Miller, 1994). And so we can find typographical conventions whose aim was to achieve authentic 'crystal glasses', perfectly transparent, that aseptically convey the textual content along with others that deliberately deviate and disobey the established rules to destroy the internal organization of the text and present a highly visual typographic image (Carrere, 2013).

Starting from these considerations, the present work proposes, in the first place, to study this duality of the letter (visual-type and textual-type) from a historical perspective, identifying those formal structures that, according to Lupton and Miller (1994), explore the borders between content and continent, and analysing how the different artists' and designers' proposals are expanding and/or discovering new linguistic and formal possibilities in typographic discourse. Within this context of plasticity/legibility of the letter, we will proceed, secondly, to present the typographical experimentation proposals made in the Masters' in Graphic Arts (Universitat Politècnica de València) in the line of research about the double nature of characters started in the year 2016.

Historical approximation to the duality of typographic character

Taking as a reference the work of Meggs and Purvis (2009) and the five stages in which they divide the history of graphic design, a selection of those proposals and authors is made that allows a better glimpse of the formal strategies applied to work with typography both in their verbal nature as visual.

Stage 1. The visual message from prehistory to the Middle Ages
At first, letters were pictures (Schmandt-Besserat and Erard, 2007) and had forms of concrete objects: a bird, an eye, a sun... but then they evolved into abstract codes of representation, far from the reality they wanted to represent. We arrive at the alifate and then the alphabet, first Greek and then Latin, where each character represents a phonetic value. With this alphabet the writing was definitely separated from logograms to adopt phonograms (Schmandt-Besserat and Erard, 2007) and this increasing schematization transforms and converts these signs into purely linguistic entities.

During the Roman Empire, letters were engraved in stone (Fig. 1) as a reminder of great feats of their generals and to manifest their great military power. It is a monumental and majestic lettering (Meggs and Purvis, 2009), whose construction rigorously follows the laws of proportion from the simple geometric figures of the square, circle and triangle (Martín Montesinos and Mas Hurtuna, 2011). The design focuses on the shape of the letter and not on the readability of the whole, giving rise to 'a sequence of linear geometric shapes' (Meggs and Purvis, 2009: 26) that 'did not leave room for differentiated verbal images and formed a beautiful homogenous network' (Aicher, 2004). In turn, the novel light-shadow effect caused by the shape of the slope given to the strokes and the addition of the wedge-shaped ornamental element at the end of the strokes, will increase the variety and formal richness of the characters (Martín Montesinos and Mas Hurtuna, 2011).

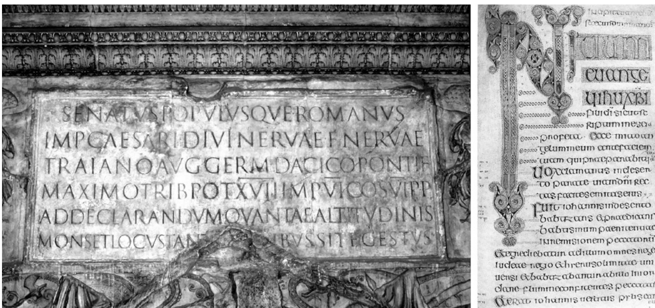
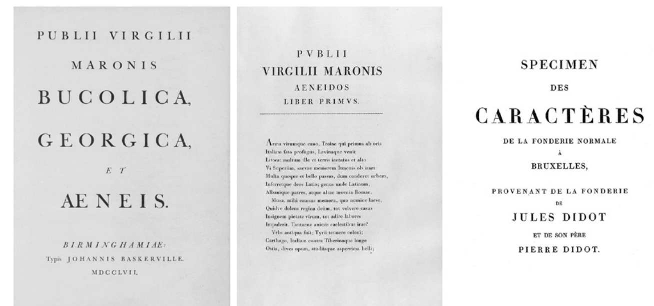


Fig. 1 Column of Trajan, 114 A.D. and Burrow's Book, 680.

Subsequently, during the early days of the Christian era, there arose a movement to copy classic and Church texts. By having to make the most of the material, narrowing of the characters and the use of abbreviations and ligatures was resorted to, which resulted in a concentrated stain that forms a perfectly justified 'mesh' effect, where the readability remains secondary (Martín Montesinos and Mas Hurtuna, 2011). The ornaments and images visually supported the text with the intention of creating a mystical and spiritual background (Meggs and Purvis, 2009) and even that decoration is also transferred to the letters of the beginning of the chapters and also to some throughout the text (Fig. 1) that stand out from the rest, more uniform.

Stage 2. Origins of European typography and printing design
The arrival of the printing press in the middle of the fifteenth century transforms and revolutionizes the writing process. After the beginnings, in which the pages of previous manuscripts are faithfully reproduced (Martín Montesinos and Mas Hurtuna, 2011), typographic material begins to be reinterpreted. This brings about the appearance of new sources (Bembo, Jenson...) and a new organization of the page based on a more global mathematical harmony (Aledo, 1995), in line with the mathematical and geometric logic that triumphed at that time. They are types and pages fundamentally to be read (Fig. 2).



PUBLII VIRGILII
MARONIS
BUCOLICA,
GEORGICA,
ET
AENEIS.

BIRMINGHAMIAE:
Typis JOHANNIS BASKERVILLE.
MDCCLVII.

PVBLII
VIRGILII MARONIS
AENEIDOS
LIBER PRIMVS.

Arma virumque cano, Troiae qui primus ab oris
Italiam fato profugus, Lavinaque venit
Litora: multum ille et terris iactatus et alto
Vi Superûm, saevae memorem Iunonis ob iram:
Multa quoque et bello passus, dum conderet urbem,
Inferretque deos Latio; genus unde Latinum,
Albanique patres, atque altae moenia Romae.
Musa, mihi caussas memora, quo numine laeso,
Quidve dolens regina deûm, tot volvere casus
Insignem pietate virum, tot adire labores
Impulerit. Tantaene animis caelestibus irae?
Vrbs antiqua fuit; Tyrii tenuere coloni;
Carthago, Italiam contra Tiberinaque longe
Ostia, dives opum, studiisque asperrima belli;

SPECIMEN
DES
CARACTÈRES
DE LA FONDERIE NORMALE
À
BRUXELLES,
PROVENANT DE LA FONDERIE
DE
JULES DIDOT
ET DE SON PÈRE
PIERRE DIDOT.

Fig. 2 John Baskerville (1706–1775). Giambattista Bodoni (1740–1813). Jules Didot (1761–1853).

Subsequently, typographies such as Bodoni or Didot provide a sharp contrast between thin and thick strokes, which enhances the visibility and formal appearance of the letter. The Bodoni types 'surprise for their clear orientation towards the maximum power of type plasticity' (Martín Montesinos and Mas Hurtuna, 2011: 59). However, the linearity of the text is maintained and any type of ornamentation is eliminated. 'The lines of classical roman characters are minimally interrupted [...], preserving the text as a continuously flowing field of letter' (Lupton and Miller, 1994).

Stage 3. The industrial revolution
In the Arts&Crafts movement, which flourished in England during the last decades of the nineteenth century, typography is adapted to the decorative concept (Fig. 3). The use of typog-

raphy was focused on both readability and naturalness (Ejlers, 2013) and its rhetorical value increased (de Sá Barbosa et al., 2016).

Industrialization generates new communication needs and the poster arises, while new printing techniques such as lithography appear. By joining both we obtain the posters of authors such as Chéret (1836–1932) or Toulouse-Lautrec (1864–1901) (Fig. 3) where typography is used in a different way, enhancing the integration between text and image and making the letters adopt organic and decorative forms, typical of the pictorial field (Martín Montesinos and Mas Hurtuna, 2011). The posters of Alphonse Mucha (1860–1939) (Fig. 3) are characterized by the large number of floral elements and ornamental lines, as well as by a typography that reproduces the sinuosity of the formal elements (Garrido Lora, 1997).

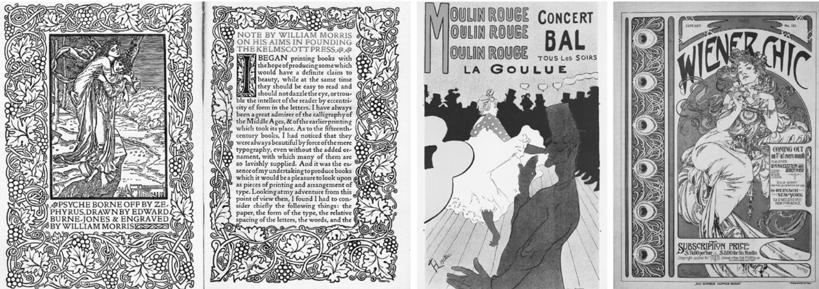


Fig. 3 William Morris (1834–1896). Henri de Toulouse–Lautrec (1864–1901). Alphonse Mucha (1860–1939).

Stage 4. Graphic design in the first half of the 20th century

The twentieth century begins and in the works of Peter Behrens for the company AEG we observe a design that moves between the parameters of austerity and geometricity and a typography with 'the monumentality and the solemnity of the Roman letters' (Meggs and Purvis, 2009: 239).

At the same time, in the artistic field, the first avant-gardes emerged. The proposals of Futurism, Dadaism, Constructivism… broke with traditional forms, and typographical experimentation transformed writing into expressive and concrete visual forms. They use typography, knocking down all conventions, and break with the established thesis of the neutrality of the letter (Pelta, 2011). In short, the characters acquire a pictorial value (Martín Montesinos and Mas Hurtuna, 2011) and the letter is emancipated of its purely linguistic function (Martínez, 2014).

Fig. 4 Peter Behrens (1868–1940). Filippo Marinetti (1876–1944). Cassandre (1901–1968). Vilmos Huszar (1884–1960). László Moholy-Nagy (1895–1946). Jan Tschichold (1902–1974).

These experiments will be transferred to the commercial poster as we can see in the Cassandre designs (1901–1968) (Fig. 4), an author who knew how to unify the modern plastic proposals with communicative needs, mainly readability and showiness (Mateos, 2012).

Together with the free expression of the subconscious and intuitive mechanisms, there is also the rationalist spirit, a functional dimension of constructivism and suprematism (Martín Montesinos and Mas Hurtuna, 2011). In this sense the proposals of the Bauhaus will be directed, in order to explore the functional value of forms and materials (Kostelnick, 1990). At this moment, the border between word and image disappears and the texts are prolonged in the graphics and the graphics unify and articulate the text (Kostelnick, 1990).

Typography is stripped of any adornment and reduced to geometric figures in the De Stijl movement, relegating to the background the readability or linguistic component (Moreno, 2014).

Although others were already working in that direction, Tschichold (1902–1974) will be the first to create a theoretical body around what was called New Typography (Bascuñán Correa, 2016). It advocates a design without ornamentation or superfluous elements, putting reason and functionality first. The typographic design must be austere to make the transmission of information accessible and democratic (Bascuñán Correa, 2016). The purpose of the design is not in the aesthetics but in optimal readability (Aicher, 2004).

Stage 5. Graphic design in the global village

In this next stage we find a very varied use of typographic elements, as can be seen in Fig. 5. We find objective and impersonal designs such as those of Müller-Brockmann (1914–1996), who sought an absolute and universal graphic expression (Meggs and Purvis, 2009). But also a typography with figurative tendencies like that of Herb Lubalin (1918–1981) who uses the characters as if they were visual forms to transmit their messages. This leads to enlarging the letters to unusual sizes or to the union and superposition of characters that, on occasions, reduced their readability. But, as the designer himself said, 'sometimes you have to risk readability to achieve impact' (Meggs and Purvis, 2009: 394). Glaser (1929) experiments without ceasing with new

techniques and graphic motifs, focusing his interest on illusion and three-dimensionality; while Bierut recovers and advances in the line of the universal typographic style.

Fig. 5 Josef Müller-Brockman (1914–1996). Herb Lubalin (1918–1981). Milton Glaser (1929). Michael Bierut (1957). Sefan Sagmeister (1962). David Carson (1956).

From the 1990s, both typography and design in general have been influenced by the concept of deconstruction (Byrne and Witte, 1990) as well as the appearance and generalization of computers. In this area we find the works of David Carson (1956) or Neville Brody (1957), where the expressive possibilities of the characters are explored, rejecting the established conventions and challenging the fundamental criteria of readability (Meggs and Purvis: 2009). Thus, the reader is pushed to become aware of the materiality of the letter and be impacted by it.

Several designers continue with the dissolution of the word, realizing experiments that challenged typographic norms (Staples, 2000). In these cases, materials, instruments and techniques become more obvious and it means that increases the pictorial effects of typography (Stöckl, 2005). The verbal text is neutralized in favour of visual text.

Proposals for typographic experimentation

Typographic experimentation, as it began with the first artistic vanguards, can be interpreted as a process that breaks down borders between words and images (Pelta, 2011) and in that sense, Aicher (2004) argues that no designer should renounce it since it constitutes a way to expand his horizons and sensitive capabilities.

In this line of thought, three experimentation proposals about typography carried out in the Master's in Graphic Arts (Universitat Politècnica de València) during the years 2016, 2017 and 2018 are presented below. Both young designers and professionals like Andreu Balius, Dídac Ballester, Susana Blasco, Estudio Bueno Good Brand, Gimeno Gràfic, Meteorito, Miquel Mollà, Diego Obiol, Joan Quirós, Ibán Ramón and Diego Vainesman participated in them. The resulting projects were subsequently exhibited at the Museu Valencià de la Il·lustració i de la Modernitat (MuVIM) in Valencia.

In all three cases, the undoubted fact of the duality of typography (visual-type/textual-type) arises and the designers are asked to experiment with the formal values of the letter by leaving their verbal component in the background or forgetting it.

Surely, as opined by Aicher (2004), these experimental works that come to eliminate the textual component of the letter and make it completely illegible belong more to the field of art than to design. However, just as at the end of the nineteenth century artists knew how to adapt to the times and transfer their know-how to the creation of commercial posters, designers can also try to forget for a moment their vocation as communicators, to explore the plastic possibilities of the characters, away from any linguistic intention. In this way, they will be able to approach innovative and striking graphic proposals that, subsequently and under the cover of a good briefing, incorporate into their work of visual communication.

***Caixa alta, caixa baixa* (MuVIM, June 29th to July 28th, 2016).** In this first exhibition, in which 28 designers participated, it was proposed to place a letter in the three-dimensional format of a cardboard box using various artistic and representative techniques, moving away as far as possible from the computer tool.

The title of the exhibition refers to a very settled concept in the typographic tradition (uppercase and lowercase letters) and that refers to the arrangement of mobile types in traditional printing. This mobile type, a three-dimensional element as well as the box chosen as a design support, leads us to promote experimentation around the three-dimensionality of the letter by working with the letter in relief, by cutting it out and playing with the empty interior space. Also, the recovery of manual and artisan techniques allows one to leave a personal and individual footprint on the work. The result has a character and a personality that cannot be provided by the computer tool.

***Lletramorfosi* (MuVIM, June 29th to September 30th, 2017).** If the word *Lletramorfosi* was collected in a dictionary it would surely define the change that the letter makes from one state to another. The proposal in this case focuses on the modification and change around a single character, so the 21 designers who participated were asked to choose a letter or spelling sign to work on. The transformation or mutation proposals were collected this time in a small format: a 12-page book. On each page the selected character transformed by the ex-

perimenting intervention of the designer appears and the contemplation of the whole work (the complete book) allows one to observe the process followed in the experimentation and the formal factors that have been intervened and disrupted.

***Retalls tipogràfics* (MuVIM, June 28th to September, 2018)**. This last exhibition is the most recent and at the time of writing this article is in the process of preparation, although its inauguration is scheduled for June 28. *Retalls tipogràfics* collects different proposals in which typography—like text, word or isolated letter—is subject to trimming. This split or decrease reduces its linguistic possibilities but it is also the trigger of a myriad of meanings and visual symbolisms. By cutting the letter a new look is proposed on the different parts that make up each character, the contribution of each of them in the legibility of the character. Also through the observation of that cut-out part you want to experience the formal grandeur of the whole that is often hidden inside the block of text. In this case, 28 designers participated.

Conclusions

The history of typography and graphic design shows us how, little by little, the plasticity of the letter has become evident and unquestionable and how this formal value is appreciated and exploited profusely by designers in their work. Throughout the different periods, typography has been the subject of different treatments that managed to enhance or diminish its visual component but never hide it completely.

In the current era, the use of the computer extends the possibilities of working with the letter to unsuspected limits. Added to this is the recovery in some areas of the design of the manual writing process: calligraphy, lettering, drawn letters...; as well as traditional printing techniques. Each technique (computer, mechanical or manual) provides a different materiality and expressiveness to the typographical characters but all of them allow adding something more to the mere linguistic message.

In this panorama, the current proposals of typographic experimentation are placed. Following the path initiated by the pictorial avant-garde and followed later by many others, typographical characters undergo cuts, distortions, enlargements, overlaps, redraws... seeking to expand their expressive possibilities. At a time when the visual predominates over the textual, it seems logical to investigate and experiment with the graphic and formal possibilities of characters to achieve mainly visual texts that attract and are seen, so that their recipients can read them.

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Sign Painters of Pernambuco:
A Brief History of the Origins, Aesthetics and Techniques of their Practice in the Northeast of Brazil

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Vernacular design / Lettering / Sign painters / Pernambuco

Spontaneous manifestations from the universe of informal design go hand in hand with the production of formal design, and very often become lost within their own ephemerality, either because they remain unrecorded or because they receive no academic or market recognition. Vernacular lettering and graphics may be included within this universe and are characterized as communication artefacts that figure across the urban landscape of many cities, extending from the city centers out to the suburbs. Developed through the use of manual processes, they are mostly undertaken by anonymous craftsmen, and categorized as typographical urban interference. The main aim of this research has been to study the tradition of vernacular lettering in the state of Pernambuco, Brazil, analyzing both the formal and practical aspects, as well as an initial investigation into its origins, seeking to trace a profile of the production of these artefacts within this region, emphasizing their typographic aspects. In order to do this, we have mapped out the lettering, together with the originators—the sign painters—across six cities/towns within the state of Pernambuco: Recife, Gravatá, Caruaru, Arcoverde, Salgueiro and Petrolina.

1. Introduction

After the introduction of the first university courses on industrial design—or design—in Brazil in the 1960s, and the emergence of the first qualified designers, many craftsmen either found themselves left on the margins of the professional market or have continued working informally until the present day. Since that time, there has been a constant dialogue in the market between the production of formal design, originating from those professionals who have generally undergone specialized or academic training in the area; and the production of what is termed vernacular design, i.e., spontaneous design produced alongside mainstream design, the fruit of inventiveness and popular creativity, usually related to local culture and customs. Within this universe, we may include vernacular inventions such as utilitarian objects, packaging and signs for street markets and dwellings, as well as artefacts of popular communication—banners, plaques, murals, among others.

In this environment, vernacular typography is of particular interest since it registers across the urban landscape the repressed voices of a periphery that subtly weaves its way into the public spaces of the city/town centers, revealing the habits and customs of a people. Commonly developed by ordinary citizens, mostly through artisanal processes, urban vernacular typography is characterized as an alternative communication tool that randomly occupies public spaces, disputing it with publicity, advertising and regulatory signs—controlled by the official authorities.

In general, the greatest motivation guiding the creation of these artefacts is often determined by the urgency to solve a problem, to communicate with others, or to sell a product or an idea. The planning process that guides its creation is intuitive, frequently mental, and consolidated through practice. The solutions are of the most unusual kind, and many either use local techniques and materials, common to the region of the author, or reuse or recycle leftovers and discarded materials.

The originality and diversity of graphic solutions used to articulate text and image in messages is another peculiar characteristic of this universe. It is possible to identify certain recurring visual patterns, even in different countries and cultures. Created from manual processes, these signs usually demonstrate some degree of irregularity and imprecision and allow for the work tool to transpire. In some cases, it is possible to identify a mixture of more than one typeface in one artefact, and even with the identification of two or three typographic patterns, there are often variations in style, such as weight, width, or inclination. Schematic and pictorial elements may also help to compose the layout and organize the information of each piece.

Since the 1990s, however, these artefacts of popular communication have undergone a continuous process of revaluation and re-signification, enhanced by new digital technologies. Once the new work tools have been mastered, the design of the 'handmade', of the artisanal, of the *gambiarra* (the creative use of whatever is at hand), the popular, also becomes a design object of interest, and is incorporated, simulated and mixed into elements produced by formal design.

In the academic field, over recent decades, vernacular production has also become the object of study for a number of researchers in the area of design, especially in Latin America and Brazil. In the state of Pernambuco, located in the northeast of Brazil, the expressive presence of this type of production within the scenario of several cities and towns may be observed, mainly on the peripheries or in neighborhoods with a more commercial character. Hence, the research, entitled Sign Painters of Pernambuco (Finizola et al, 2013), originated from the motivation to register these artefacts, with emphasis on their typographic aspects so as to restore and study the tradition of vernacular lettering, not only to recognize and revalue the profession of the sign painter, which has become marginalized within the market, but also as a manner of contributing to the construction of the Brazilian graphic memory, without discrimination or prejudice, democratically, where cultural manifestations of different origins fit together harmoniously, fully aware of their true value.

Overall and specific objectives

The overall objective of this research project was to investigate the tradition of vernacular lettering in the Brazilian state of

Pernambuco, through an analysis of its origins, form and practice, thereby seeking to construct a profile of the production of these artefacts across the region, from a design viewpoint, with emphasis on typographic aspects. The specific objectives were:

– To identify the origins of the tradition of commercial/vernacular lettering in Pernambuco through the investigation of photographic collections;
– To map out vernacular lettering in the cities/towns of Recife, Gravatá, Caruaru, Arcoverde, Salgueiro and Petrolina, together with the diversity of forms, by creating a typological description model of the signs with regard to their formal characteristics;
– To validate the Finizola Typographic Classification (2010) for vernacular lettering in other municipalities in the state of Pernambuco based on a comparative analysis with the results obtained in Recife by Finizola (2010);
– To register the formal methods, tools and references used during the creative process of sign painters through interviews and visits to their places of work.

Object of study and the corpus analysis

The study object of the present research comprised artefacts of vernacular design, particularly those of vernacular written communication, developed by vernacular sign painters (Fig. 1). However, it is important to emphasize that in the universe of commercial handmade sign painting, there are two main groups: the first comprises those communication artefacts spontaneously developed by ordinary people, usually the owners of commercial establishments, without the apparent use of any more refined techniques, which herein we term non-specialist sign painters; and the second covers those artefacts developed by professional craftsmen, considered specialist sign painters, which is the specific focus of this research.

Fig. 1 Vernacular letterings, Pernambuco–Brasil (© Finizola).

The universe of analysis was composed of commercial vernacular communication artefacts collected from six cities/towns in the state of Pernambuco, located in northeastern Brazil: Recife, Gravatá, Caruaru, Arcoverde, Salgueiro and Petrolina (Fig. 2). The cities/towns chosen for the case study represent urban centers in the developing state of Pernambuco, where the main activity of economic income is services and trade. In each of these places, specialist sign painters were also interviewed in order to allow us to understand the process of work, and the material and techniques employed in this craft.

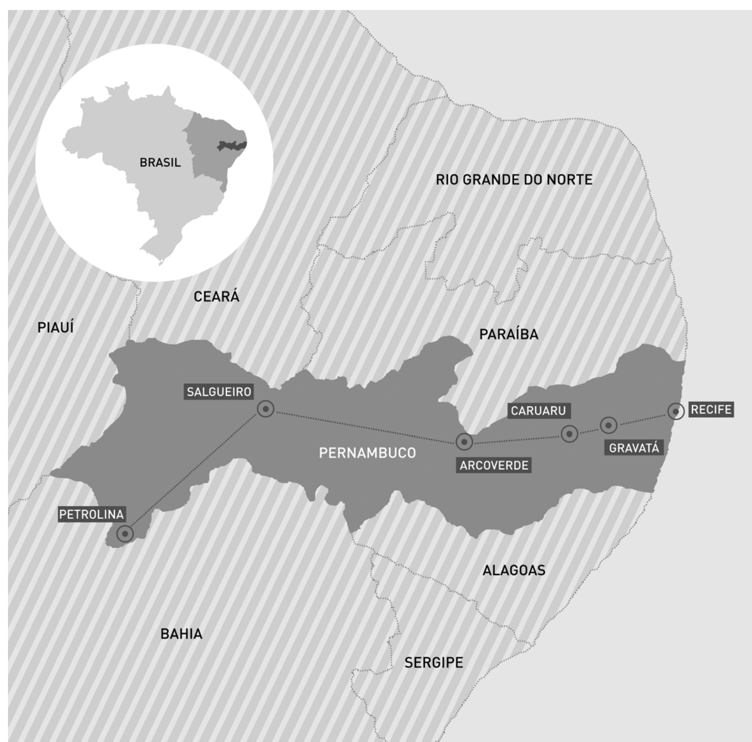

Fig. 2 Research map, Pernambuco–Brasil (© Finizola).

Finally, research was also conducted on photographic collections to investigate the origins and insertion of sign painting into the state's urban landscape, from the mid-nineteenth century through to the 1950s.

2. Methodology

This was a qualitative analytical research project. In order to investigate the production of commercial vernacular sign painters in the state of Pernambuco more fully, the research was organized into three main study areas: [1] an historical analysis on the origins of commercial vernacular sign painters in Pernambuco; [2] an analysis of the formal aspects of the production of vernacular sign painters in Pernambuco, stressing their intrinsic and extrinsic typographic aspects; and [3] an analysis of the practice of the sign painter's craft in the state of Pernambuco.

The city of Recife was the study object of Finizola's Master's research in 2010. The universe of analysis was then extended to other cities/towns in the state of Pernambuco during her Doctoral research in order to consolidate the results of the initial research (Finizola, 2015).

In order to reach the proposed objectives, this research was based on extensive field research. Visits were made to collections of rare books as well as to the photographic collections of four institutions: the Fundação

Joaquim Nabuco, the Instituto Ricardo Brennand, the Museu da Cidade de Recife and the Institutuo Moreira Sales. In addition, more than 1,000 photographic records were collected and twelve painters from the six cities/towns surveyed were interviewed.

The classification system for vernacular lettering developed by Finizola in 2010 to analyze the samples collected in the city of Recife was used to verify its validation considering the expanded universe of analysis studied. It was also used in the descriptions of commercial signs located in the old photos of the historical collections studied.

Briefly, the Finizola classification (2010) proposed the analysis of lettering according to three criteria: [1] authorship; [2] representation of the verbal graphic language; and finally, [3] the formal attributes.

With regard to authorship, Finizola (2010) identified that lettering could be produced by specialist (professionals) and non-specialist (amateurs) sign painters or in a particularly authorial manner, as the personal form of expression of a determined artist or popular craftsman, with unique visual characteristics.

In relation to the representation of verbal graphic language, lettering may contain references to traditional typographic styles, calligraphic styles or in the form of drawing.

For the formal attributes, nine visual patterns of letters were identified, denominated as: Amateur, Square, Serifed, Cursive, Rounded, Grotesque, Calligraphic, Fantasy, and Expressive (Fig. 3). The Amateur group brings together the popular manuscripts developed by non-specialist sign painters and, for the most part, are of a more irregular appearance and crudely finished. The Squares comprise letters constructed from a square module, generally with a low level of formal complexity, giving preference to the use of capital letters. Manual signs with serif terminals form a unique group—the Serifed—since they are infrequently encountered. The Calligraphic pattern of letters encompasses signs that are directly influenced by the practice of calligraphy, perceived through the terminals/stems of the letters and with direct reference to the work tool, while the Cursives present sketching and construction characteristics similar to the manuscript letters, such as a continuous rhythm and connections between the letters. The Rounded letters bring together the capital letters with rounded/curved terminals, and the Grotesque letters are based on geometric sans-serif typographic fonts. The Fantasy style brings together letters where the formal construction is based on free-hand drawing, and, finally, the Expressive letters bring together the typical lettering of signs and shop windows.

Fig. 3 Typographic classification for vernacular lettering. Formal attributes: (a) Amateur, (b) Square, (c) Serifed, (d) Cursive, (e) Rounded, (f) Grotesque, (g) Calligraphic, (h) Fantasy and (i) Expressive (© Finizola).

3. Historical Analysis: the origins of commercial vernacular sign painters in Pernambuco. Our investigation into the origins of commercial signs in Pernambuco began by observing collections of photographs that depict the urban landscape of Recife and other cities across the state during the nineteeth and twentieth centuries.

In Recife, the oldest photographic records we located date back to the second half of the nineteenth century. However, the popular use of photography was prominent as from the late nineteenth century. Therefore, considering this technical aspect, as well as being the period in which the local commerce of Pernambuco flourished, we were able to define a historical cross-section within this initial investigation regarding the insertion of vernacular signs into the region's urban landscape, and which corresponds to the period from the second half of the nineteenth century until the 1950s.

During this period, the use of vernacular signs was intrinsically related to commercial activities, since it may be observed that their main function was to identify establishments and advertise their products and services. Given the sample analyzed, there would appear to be no distinction between the vernacular signs produced by specialists or non-specialists, which would therefore characterize their popular aspect. Perhaps, one important fact that may reinforce this hypothesis would be the low literacy rates in Brazil and in the state of Pernambuco during the analyzed period, since, without a broad literate readership, together with a poor mastery of writing on the part of the local craftsmen, the probable originators of the signs, it would make little sense to have a so-called popular production of signs. This would signify that during the period studied, the technique of painting commercial signs was the same for producing any sign or visual communication.

While still considering the issue of education, we remain unaware as to whether the Liceu de Artes e Ofício, founded in 1880, offered courses aimed at training professionals specialized in the practice of sign painting, although amongst the classes it offered were drawing, painting and architecture,[1] which may indicate that the design of letters was possibly taught. The first faculty of fine arts in the state of Pernambuco was founded in the 1930s and the Faculty of Architecture of Pernambuco in the 1950s. The first industrial design

[1] The Liceu de Artes e Ofício adminstered classes in drawing, music, painting, joinery, architecture, arithmatic, reading and writing (basilio.fundaj.gov.br/pesquisaescolar/index.php?option=com_content&id=307).

course with two qualifications in visual programming and product design appeared in 1972. Therefore, it is intuited that any formation process for sign painters at this time was developed at the Liceu de Artes e Ofícios (which ended its activities in 1950), or through master-apprentice training or even through practioners being self-taught.

With regard to the production techniques used at the time, we observed an extensive use of hand-painted signs, and few instances of metal casting processes to produce relief work. The genres of these communication artefacts encountered in the photgraphs were generally shopfronts, walls and signs.

It is possible to associate several of the collected signs with the typographic classifications by Finizola (2010): Grotesque, Serifed, Square, Fantasy, Cursive, and Expressive. This fact suggests that the Finizola classification (2010) for the formal attributes of popular lettering may also be used on a broader basis for the whole universe of commercial lettering produced by manual processes.

Several other graphical features employed until today in vernacular signs have also been noted, such as: decorative features of shade and 3D; a varied use of the baseline alignment of the text: horizontal, vertical, diagonal and curvilinear; deformation of the sign due to spacing. The use of schematic elements to help in linking the text is very restricted and the use of pictorial elements, practically non-existent.

4. Graphic Analysis: visual aspects of vernacular lettering in Pernambuco

In the sample collected, the most predominant genres of the cataloged artefacts were both murals and shopfronts. Signs were the second most used genre both in the capital and in the interior of the state, although there was a higher incidence in Recife. Other registered genres were banners, shop windows, posters, mud-flaps on trucks, etc.

In general, the group of signs encountered throughout the entire state of Pernambuco is extremely homogeneous. The vast majority of typographic styles found in Recife by Finizola in 2010 were also located in the other cities studied. However, either certain peculiarities could be noted in relation to each location, which very often would be a greater use of one particular support material, or of a specific technique, or the work of a certain regional painter would be highlighted.

In Caruaru, for example, we encountered specific lettering painted on the mud-flaps of trucks, which commonly uses a specific typographic style called 'gradient letters'. In Petrolina however, we registered signs used to identify sailing vessels, which in this region are characterized by their formal simplicity, opting in most cases for the use of Grotesque fonts. In the city of Salgueiro, we observed that signs, as opposed to using a brush, were painted with a spray gun, thereby providing a similar effect to graffiti.

One interesting fact in several towns that drew attention during the research was the notable presence of signs painted by the same craftsman. In towns with a less extensive urban area, it is not difficult to identify the repeated presence of work by certain sign painters, which ultimately defines the prevalent aesthetic style of that locality.

For the typographic characteristics of the analyzed universe, we observed that the new scope of the study allowed us to expand the repertoire of some of the intrinsic and extrinsic typographic elements previously cataloged, such as the serif and terminal styles, key characters, decorative features and schematic and pictorial elements.

The typographic classification developed by Finizola (2010a) was also demonstrated to be efficient in evaluating the new analytical corpus, so that we were able to adapt the registered signs according to the previously established categories.

Within the collected universe, the most represented classification was the Grotesque (26.5%). In general terms, all samples presented a balanced selection of Rounded (15%), Calligraphic (16.5%), Cursive (17%) and Serifed (13.5%) classes. The least encountered classifications in the sample were Square (4%), Expressive (5%) and Fantasy (2.5%).

However, what drew attention in the analysis was the fact that many letters are to be found in transitional stages, at the threshold between two classes. Hence, we observed Rounded–Cursive, Grotesque–Amateur, Rounded–Expressive, etc., suggesting that Finizola's classification (2010) may be applied more flexibly to evaluating letters, whereby each category should not necessarily exclude another.

One other important fact is that, based on the comparative analysis of the classifications established by Finizola (2010a) and the statements collected in the field from the painters with regard to their favourite or most practiced styles of lettering, it was possible to create a new framework considering the original denominations of some of the typographic styles used by craftsmen (Fig. 4).

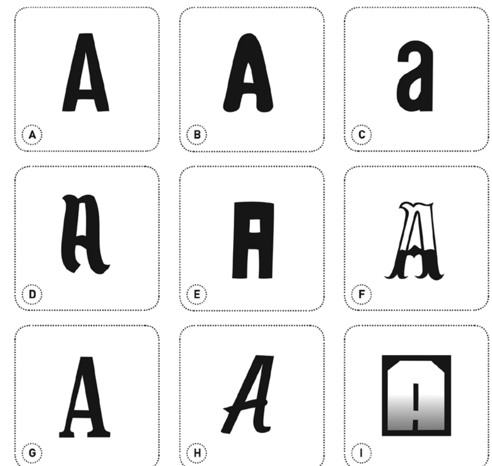

Fig. 4 Typographic classification for vernacular lettering by local sign painters. (a) Squared Capital Letters, (b) Rounded Capital Letters, (c) Minuscule, (d) Script, (e) Coffin Letters, (f) Split Letter, (g) Italic (made by Romans), (h) Fantasy and (i) Gradient (© Finizola).

5. Practical Analysis: the sign painters and the practice of their craft in Pernambuco. The information collected during the interviews with the twelve sign painters in Pernambuco enabled us to obtain an overview of this craft, from several perspectives, involving, for example, the learning processes and technical formation, the creative processes and formal references, typographic styles, methods and tools of work (Fig. 5).

There was a great diversity amongst the group analyzed in relation to the use of techniques and favoured genres; however, we per-

Fig. 5 The practice of sign painting: commercial stand on the streets; inspirational books; sign painter in action; some instruments for mural letterings (© Finizola).

ceived a number of common points that permeated the history of these professionals. The craft is a largely a male-dominated activity, since throughout the field studies, we did not come across any female sign painters, although some craftsmen mentioned being aware of the existence of a few. Another relevant point was the age range of the painters (aged between 30 and 70 years), thereby indicating that the tradition needs to be passed on to a new generation of painters so as to ensure its survival. It should also be observed that these professionals have few financial resources since they all originate from the lower classes and that, for the most part, when they were young, they did not have reasonable access to formal education or specialized courses.

At the beginning of this journey, in seeking to construct a profile of the tradition of vernacular lettering in Pernambuco, one of the great motivations that led us towards this theme was the possibility that, within a very short period of time, sign painters could become extinct, due to the introduction of new digital technologies onto the visual communication market. However, on coming into close contact with the professional practice of the sign painters interviewed during the field study, we have come to realize that many of them still maintain a hopeful vision regarding the future of their profession.

In the city of Petrolina, for example, the painter Genivaldo gave us a list of advantages for manual painting in relation to digital printing, such as the technical domain of sign painters, their familiarity with their local community, as well as the durability of the handcrafted signs. Genivaldo also points out that a well-executed hand-made sign may have a longer life than those made of vinyl or digitally printed.

6. Conclusions

On conclusion of our research, the collected data has permitted us: [1] to investigate the presence and characteristics of vernacular lettering within the urban landscape of the state between the end of the nineteenth century and the 1950s; [2] to validate within a broader analytical sense, the typographical aspects of vernacular lettering and the classification developed by Finizola in 2010 for vernacular lettering in Recife, and [3] to understand, amongst other items, the craft of lettering in the state of Pernambuco, its inspirations, the learning process and the materials and techniques employed.

Analysis of the tradition of vernacular lettering in Pernambuco has also enabled us to form general reflections on informal design. It is striking that the production of design belonging to the universe of vernacular design, together with its authors, has not been recognized in a more relevant manner in the history of Brazilian design. Furthermore, that this production has been viewed as something picturesque or unusual, a source of inspiration, which formal design may 'sop up' when it needs to dress up a certain project with this 'Brazilian identity' and which may then be discarded into anonymity.

The study of vernacular manifestations, including an analysis of their creative and productive processes, as well as the formal and symbolic elements that characterize vernacular graphics, may convey important contributions to formal design, insofar as it recognizes and incorporates this universe in the graphic memory of Brazilian design, as well as becoming the starting point for a production more committed to the culture and local habits of its people and yet at the same time differentiated on the global market.

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Apartment Nameplates as the Carrier of Typographic Heritage

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Typography / Nameplates / Signboard / Design history / Digital humanities

In 1928, a few years after the declaration of the modern republic, Turkey abandoned Arabic letters and adopted the Latin alphabet. The government promoted this radical change and provided full technical support to printed media, education and literature. Transformation of lettering on signboards provides another history free from the state apparatus. Signboard and nameplate production practice was either carried from master to apprentice or was merely self-taught; for many years it lacked institutionalized craftsmanship focused only on signboard lettering. That was why the graphic works produced in that period were highly personalised, vernacular and full of typographic expressions. The rapid urbanization, especially after the 1950s, effected common signage practices, and gave way to the proliferation of nameplates for apartment blocks. These signs created a new visual design layer within the city texture, reflecting the typographic tendencies of periods and the sign painters' interpretations. These undocumented graphics are placed on facades of the old apartment blocks, which unfortunately are facing demolition due to the recent urban renewal craze. They should be valued as testaments to Turkish modernism. Therefore, they are worthy of being archived, catalogued, and academically reflected upon before they vanish completely.

The Transition to Latin Letters in Turkey

For centuries, various Turkish tribes and states used numerous alphabets in Asia and Europe. Turks in Middle Asia had their original alphabet, a cuneiform, seen on Orkhon Inscriptions. As Turkish tribes around Middle East converted to Islam, they started to use the Arabic alphabet and changed their writing systems into this most calligraphic and ornamental script. Arabic lettering was the primary alphabet used to record Turkish language throughout the Ottoman Empire era, that lasted almost a millennium from the tenth century. Ottoman scholars implemented a huge amount of Persian and Arabic words into the Turkish language and mastered the Arabic script with their own characteristic features and customized combinations for letters, ligatures (Selamet, 2012).

The economic, political and cultural changes following World War I, and the consequent foundation of the modern Republic in 1923, lead to a thorough revision of Ottoman heritage for the Turks. The need to step into the modern era and to compete with the rising western world forced the new Turkish Republic to various reforms concerning the social, cultural and daily life; the changing of the alphabet from Arabic to Latin was one of them. Compared to the other reforms of that time, the "Letter Revolution" in 1928 was the most effective and efficient. The Arabic alphabet was hard to learn and therefore was not practical for raising the literacy rate. Consequently, adopting Latin letters resulted in a much more successful cultural revolution in terms of modernization.

The need for a new writing system for Turkish language was neither a new idea, nor a limited renewal (Akalin, 2002). Actually, since the second half of the nineteenth century there was an ongoing debate about the appropriateness of Arabic letters for expressing Turkish language—especially in expressing the vowels. There were even marginal and personal efforts to print Turkish books in Albanian, Greek, French or Cyrillic alphabets at the first quarter of the twentieth century (Lewis, 1999). The revolutionary context of the Republic was the perfect time for realizing such a radical a change. A customized version of the Latin alphabet including the appendant letters ş, ı and ğ, which complete the missing phonetic expressions, was accepted as a law under the name "The Admission and Application of the New Turkish Letters" on 3 October 1928.

The adoption of a completely new writing method was not an easy process; thus the reform was fully supported by the state. Although the new alphabet was not difficult to learn, a considerable amount of new public schools were established to make as many citizens of the Republic as possible literate (Selamet, 2012). All educational and governmental institutions were requested to adjust their operations according to the new system. New teachers were assigned, old teachers were re-educated, primary school became mandatory. Obviously the new alphabet required new typography. The state provided the printed media with new typefaces for printing presses and typewriters. The technical equipment for official printing was quickly provided by the state. The reform turned into an extensive cultural movement with wide public support and constituted the foundations of the modern republic.

Sign Painting with New Letters

In the signboard production domain, the change was compensated with personal efforts. The signboard painting tradition in the Ottoman and early republican

era was not an institutionalised craftsmanship. Brush painted signs were the only technique before the reproducible applications. This technique was either inherited from master to apprentice or was practiced by self-taught craftsmen originally trained in ornament and decoration.

After the Letter Revolution, there were crash courses in vocational schools for Latin calligraphy. Nevertheless, time needed to pass for a proper typographic education to emerge in any institution in Turkey. The oldest institution in Turkey to train graphic designers was the Poster Atelier, which was established in 1928 under Istanbul Fine Arts Academy (Aydin, 2014). The department was effectively graduating graphic artists and poster painters, who guided the Turkish modern graphic design and typography tendencies in the 1960s. But the quantity of designers was far less than enough to satisfy the needs of the rapidly industrialising and commercialising young republic. The typography profession drifted away from the craftsmanship of the sign painters. Therefore, signboards in the Republic of Turkey were mostly produced by self-taught lay men.

In order to keep up with the contemporary layout designs and to meet the customers' changing demands, the sign painters started to imitate designs from western sources. Some craftsmen studied the anatomies of the letters, and treated them according to the demand, redesigning letters according to the combination of the word/words they wrote on the signs and interpreting the final typographical compositions by the vernacular styles. This way, they were practicing a new application process and bridging the gap for the mastery of Latin letters. The Turkish language with its thousand-year long Arabic writing practice had a lot of time to master and customize a calligraphic tradition. The Latin alphabet, on the other hand, was imported to the Turkish society in three months.

Although the new Latin alphabet was a better system to express Turkish language, the historical/cultural heritage was missing. Sign painters, with no institutionalised education, had to educate themselves with any resource they could find; not only for basic letter anatomy, but also for typographic expression and graphic richness. The fine lettering and Latin calligraphy books printed in Turkish were their main resources. Some of these books were printed for primary schools in order to teach writing, but they also covered some artistic fonts like Antiqua letters or ornamental layout designs. The local typeface catalogues for printing presses and type history books were another source for signboard designs produced in the 1950s. They studied serifs and display types, swashes and ornaments, initials and ligatures, bold and condensed letters, scripts and monospaced letters; and by doing so, they personalised the anatomy of the letters (Fig. 1).

The making of a signboard was also explained in detail in some of those books. In Art Writings published in 1969, the author clarifies the technical process to paint letters on glass. In order to create a more enduring application, lettering must be done on the inner surface, requiring the letters to be written in mirrored form. It also explains how to make gold foiled signs more appealing and in which type of signs they were supposed to be used (Kiliçkan, 1969). Such sources for technical application and typographic content were essential for sign painters.

The sign painting examples on shop pediments and window glasses between the 1930s and the 1960s were generally composed of only letters. In other signs we see logos, stylisations, ornaments, pictograms and illustrations, but besides these companions the signs are totally dependent on type and letters.

Fig. 1 Sample page from *Letter Examples for Fine Writing* (© Emre YILDIZ).

Barbershop, butcher, draper, or shoe salesman signboards focused on maximum visibility and somehow constituted a visual texture on the pedestrian level of the city. Therefore, signboards should be seen as a part of the visual heritage of a city. These hand-crafted signboards and their characteristics reflect a highly rich vernacular style. This heritage of typographic tendencies also provides a record of Turkey's modernization.

Besides the stores, the hand crafted and brush applied signboards also appear on the entrances of the office blocks or apartment blocks. There are many examples of apartments carrying nameplates since the end of the nineteenth century, although these first samples were only stating the names of the architect and were only a form of self-representation (Tanyeli, 2007). These signboards are transitional for more private examples like the names of the apartments and non-commercial applications for signboards after the first half of the twentieth century.

The rise of modern life in Turkey in the 1930s led the way to the emergence of apartment living. The first modernist apartment blocks in Izmir are also from this era (Aşkan, 2011). The industrialisation of agriculture in the 1950s caused an immense migration wave into the cities, resulting in a rapid rise of urban population. The urbanisation triggered from this rise started a rapid and uncontrolled building boom in major cities of Turkey, principally in Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir. New apartment blocks filled up the city; and this new urban fabric created its own visual identity. Apartments which were given names rather than numbers presented a new business market for signboard painters.

The multi-storey apartment blocks built between 1950 and 1970 were mostly constructed on the plots of demolished houses.

The surnames of the former house owners were honoured by naming the new apartment blocks after them. Even now, many apartment names can be used to track down the initial owner of the plot. With the commercial activities, renewals or municipality regulations, rapid change in the cityscape left these apartment nameplates as a rare source of typographic heritage.

The majority of apartment blocks in Turkey generally consist of a higher entrance floor height due to the need of elevating the ground floor to avoid water infiltration. These characteristics also determine the common positioning of the nameplates: above the entrance door, applied on glass, visible over the parked cars and other ground level obstacles (Fig. 2). This conventional positioning of the element provides a visual experience of repetition and variation for the pedestrians. Because they were produced by either the same or a small number of sign painters they shared visual resemblances, but also a diversity in style. This rich visual reflection underlines the cultural heritage as a value for design history.

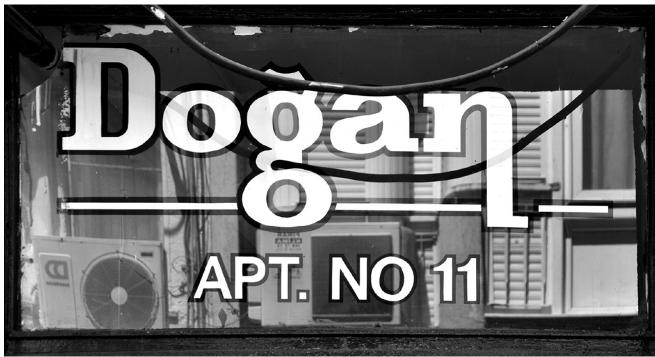

Fig. 2 Apartment nameplate in Izmir, Karşıyaka (© Emre YILDIZ).

Signboards Today

Mainstream practice of sign painting in Turkey is far from its glorious days, reduced to a few nostalgic craftsmen's work. It has no valid stand against the contemporary modes of production. With the rise of desktop publishing and laser-cut applications in the 1980s, the sign painting and sign writing profession has failed to compete with the changing market; today it is mostly performed in suburbs and small towns as modest family businesses. Maybe because it was never institutionalised, sign painting was not acclaimed except by some old fashioned craftsmen or eager volunteers. On the other hand, as a reaction to the digitized era of the 1990s, we also see old techniques and "arts and crafts" values are starting to rise again. With this comeback, people from various design disciplines are teaming up in academia and also in business (Gürgan, 2018). This comeback is mostly about the older and small-scaled traditions of Turkish typographic disciplines, like calligraphy and Arabic scripts. Because Latin typography was not rooted in the pro-republic Turkish visual tradition, the interest in the heritage of the typographic application focuses only on the non-commercial fine art professions like Ottoman calligraphy. Unfortunately, understood this way, it has no market value or customer-designer relationship like sign painting practice. As a result of all these reasons, the sign painting and sign writing profession is consistently fading away in Turkey. Even though these graphic products reflect the urban memory of Turkish modernism, they are not archived like other graphic design products from that era such as posters or packages, leaving these design specimens susceptible to disappearance.

Technological novelties, which shut the sign painters out, also mesmerize the people to replace their old signboards with digitally produced ones. Considering the renovation pace of the stores with manually written signboards, the rarity of hand painted signs from the second half of the twentieth century is an anticipated fact. Thus, the most long-lasting and most diverse samples of these typographic examples are the apartment nameplates.

The urban renewal wave that started 14 years ago and spread all around the country is causing the destruction of the modernist apartments from the 1970s (Genç, 2008). Also financially supported by the government, these widespread renewal projects are rapidly eradicating modern architectural heritage standing solid since the last quarter of the twentieth century, along with the nameplates, the historical graphic elements embedded on each of them. This reveals the urgency of archiving this design heritage, which is a part of the modernist urban and republican memory.

To Archive an Urban Memory

Similar to prior archiving projects for preserving analogue graphic products, it is reasonable to digitally archive the nameplate samples from the modern apartments. Of course, recording of the apartments' architect, year, location, sign painter's name and other technical details is as valuable as the photographs. This archiving process is being pursued as an independent project for four years in Izmir. The group of researchers also get support from the graphic design students taking the Typography II course in Yasar University Art and Design Faculty Graphic Design Department. Each year the students are asked to document a certain district of the city, which is known for its modernist apartments and hand painted nameplates from the 1970s. The apartment nameplates are selected according to their typographic value and characteristic personalisation of the sign painter. The data collected also will be interpreted as a trace of the sign painter on the ground level, searching for a web of similar designs. The typographic deformations and interpretations reflect the source typefaces they were originated or inspired from. This way variations can be classified according to single letters, type anatomies, ligatures and ornaments for special combinations of letters in apartment names. These readings are most valuable for bringing out the local design styles and tendencies and the origins of the inspired typefaces by collecting these raw inputs for Turkish typographic history. In addition, becoming a part of an academic research project provides the graphic design students with the opportunity to change their

perspective in comprehending the city they are living in as a typographically rich environment. Their appreciation for these graphic elements raises quickly when they become aware of the historical value and graphic heritage included in the specimens. It is a very efficient way to inspire graphic design students about the cultural and visual elements on an urban level.

Every apartment nameplate is unique considering the hand painted craftsmanship and the subjective interpretation on the typographic composition. Besides the letters already applied on the nameplate, these incomparable design styles may be recreated for the other letters of the alphabet. That constitutes the second phase of the students' assignment. The pursuit of designing complete typefaces from a few characteristic letters on the nameplates is a challenging, educational and fun exercise. Each student chooses an apartment nameplate with a typographic personalisation and enough anatomic features to apply these characteristics to the letters which are not at hand and proposes a whole typeface, from A to Z for the particular apartment (Fig. 3). Every complete typeface is also unique in design, calling back to its inspired original typeface, but also carrying the subjective touches of its sign painter and the typographic style from its period, as it was applied on the apartment building.

This experimental archival work is an attempt to see the possibilities of documenting these highly important and rich design elements. Besides the benefits for design education in the field and the outputs as typographic studies for the students, the value of this approach comes from the desire to preserve the personalised design of the non-institutionally trained craftsmen from the past century. The apartments at risk of demolition by the urban renewal are the last carriers of this highly sophisticated and almost forgotten profession. The research and documentation of this typographic heritage is necessary for keeping track of the typographic development of Turkish design history and essential to honour the work and passion of the sign painters.

vakfın çoğu bu huysuz genci plajda görmüştü

the quick onyx goblin jumps over the lazy dwarf

abcçdefgğhıijklmnoöpqrsştuüvwxyz .,;:!?

Fig. 3 Typeface designed by students for an apartment nameplate (© Emre YILDIZ).

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The "Other" Typographic Models. The Case of Galician Typography as Identity Assertion

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Typography / Design / Galicia / Glocal / Design history

The aim of this investigation is to analyze a reference model in the world of typography creation which has not followed traditional guidelines associated with mechanical printing and printing presses but has been developed in a local environment, and has ties with the arts such as architecture, craft production, stonemasonry, drawing and illustration. Despite the fact that this model has often been placed in the background, unnoticed by typography's "official history", it has played an important role in generating local identities, advocating political ideas and cultural demands. This modus operandi can be found in regions or countries where there has been no typographic tradition or whose typographic design has been imported from other countries. This case study will analyze this so-called "Galician typography or letter", a medieval letter which has links to stonemasonry guilds that appeared during the 20th century Galician graphic design scene. This Galician letter was "canonized" by Galician nationalist artists and intellects, as an identity-generating and vindicating vehicle which had a strong political component.

The "Other" Models in Typographic Traditions

There are several different definitions of the concept of typography but undoubtedly they have one element in common, they were all conceived as a rational solution to solve communication problems through mechanical text reproduction. This definition alludes to an interchangeable system of signs and characters whose distribution, based on a series of established codes, permits the printing of text. This concept of reproduction by mechanical means has traditionally been used ever since the invention of the printing press, contrasting former types of reproduction such as hand written or artisanal means. Until the 20th century, typography was unavoidably limited to typesetting for printing; however, with the gradual dematerialization of these types, there was a necessity for a more contemporary redefinition. At the present day, the conception of typography would be more accurately defined as a written visual manifestation by means of a predesigned alphabet system used by any current technology.

All throughout history, people have been searching for mechanisms and alternatives for generating typographic solutions outside of the traditional printing press world. These alternative mechanisms make up what we could call parallel histories of typography, which have a common "profane" origin outside of the printing guild world, and use a wide variety of processes, materials and techniques. Their creators come from professional fields like architecture, craftsmanship, engineering, drawing or illustration... These alternative mechanisms were occasionally created due to concrete and technical necessities and in other occasions they came about as an individual expression in the search for a graphic identity. We refer to lettering whose transmission methods throughout the years have been based on precise and technical indications and measurements, that appeared in signage systems, painted signs, carvings and inscriptions on diverse materials, stencils, illustrations used for corporate identities arising from the need to differentiate from leading companies as we know them today. In this respect, this concept of typography does not fit in a rational system per se but adapts to a more or less reproducible pattern, to a certain willingness of standardization and formal coherences.

Galician Typography

The object of this case study, "Galician typography or letter", is directly related to the identity of its people and acquires special relevance during the period between 1870 and 1914 when the mass production of national symbols was presented as a means to construct new convention as well as new social and political alliances, according to British historian E. J. Hobsbawm in his book *The Invention of Tradition* (Hobsbawm; Ranger, 2002). It is in this setting that symbolic languages begin to forge, catering to irrational sentiments and passions, which not only show a current social and political interest but also respond to the people's rooted realities that need to explore their own identity with pride and determination. From this "the formation of a self-awareness" (Ramón Villares) arises, and which later will be reflected within Galicia's graphic design and typography. A "canonization" of a politically-charged Galician typeface emerges, which vindicates Galicia's identity due to the intentional and vindicating use of typographic forms by Galician nationalist artists and intellects.

A good part of the mason's marks (Fig.1) and lapidary signs that are found in Galicia demonstrate a recognizable written base, marked by different factors that play in their confection: the hand that writes or carves, the material or medium used for carving graphic signs, the tool used for carving and the chiseling tool's mark, which determines its ductus, form and weight.

Fig. 1 Mason's marks in Castelo de Pambre (Lugo – Spain).

Epigraphy, a science directly related to paleography and used to study written monuments or so-called inscriptions, determines the origin, evolution, changes as well as variations of these inscriptions and establishes a relationship between the manuscripts/texts, the time and place according to Marín Martinez in his work "Paleografía y diplomática" (Marín Martinez, 1998). Galicia is rich with these inscriptions, especially during the Middle Ages, Galicia's golden age due to an economic and cultural boom owing to the European pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela.

During this period, Visigothic script, which is one of the so called national scripts according to the history of paleography and is considered the Spanish national script, had an important presence in the northwestern half of Spain. When focusing on epigraphy and Galicia, we can find a large number of references, the Portal of Glory in Santiago de Compostela (Fig. 2) being the most relevant. The Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela's western entrance, the Portal of Glory is considered the most important Romanesque sculpture masterpiece. This historic sculptural piece located in the pilgrimage center situates Galicia at the summit of spirituality, culture and power of a period, a time of Galicia's greatest splendor. Vicente García Lobo called this inscription "Renown, meaning, promotional" (García Lobo, 1999: 151–190), because the author, Maestro Mateo, considered by many to be the greatest artist of the 12th century, who "directed the work from its foundations" (López Ferreiro, 1975), engraved the constructions' start date, and more importantly, his name on the gate to commemorate its completion.

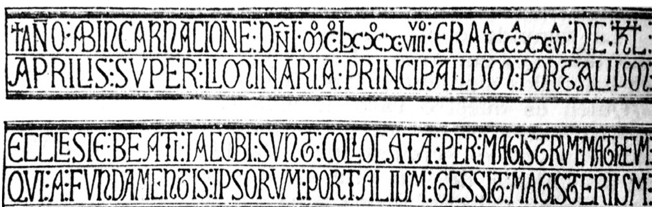

Fig. 2 Pórtico de la Gloria (Portal of Glory), Santiago de Compostela.

As we have mentioned before, there are many examples of epigraphs in Galicia, such as the Portal of Paradise of the Cathedral of Ourense and an infinite number of churches like Santa Columba in Rianxo (A Coruña), birth place of the Galician intellect Alfonso Daniel Rodríguez Castelao, a church where he drew its epigraph as well as its heraldry. Castelao was a Galician intellect and reference of Galician nationalism in the early 20th century. Even though he was a doctor by trade he developed different facets as a painter, drawer, actor and comedian. He is considered one of the key figures of Galician culture of the 20th century.

With all this historic, artistic, and cultural baggage, Castelao along with other intellects of the time would rescue and reinterpret these epigraphic forms. The intentional and conscious use of these epigraphic forms, which ranged from bar and tavern signs to political publishing products, slowly began to represent a Galician identity that would be established in a good part of the Galician public imaginary.

It is precisely in newspapers and magazines at the end of the 19th century till the beginning of the 20th century where these typographic forms would appear. If we go back to the end of the 19th century we could find the first use of Galician typography printed on the magazine cover of *Galicia Dipmática, revista de archivos, bibliotecas, historia, arquelogia, heraldica, literatura, ciencias y artes* (1882), which was owned by Bernardo Barreiro de Vázquez Varela and whose modernist influenced and decoratively drawn typography was attributed to Manuel Mirás y Álvarez. This publication becomes especially important after knowing that Bernardo Barreiro, archivist of Santiago, Republican Party activist, secretary of Santiago de Compostela Revolutionary Committee and founder of Centro Gallego in Buenos Aires, is considered the precursor to Castelao's investigations on stone crosses. These investigations were collected and published in 1950 in Buenos Aires in the book *As cruces de pedra na Galiza por Castelao* (Rodríguez Castelao, 1950), a book whose header is illustrated with this Galician typography.

The nationalist newspaper *A Nosa Terra* (Fig. 3), a Galician newspaper founded in 1947 as a vehicle of expression for the "As Irmandades da Fala" and Galician Nationalist Party in which almost all nationalist intellects participated (Vicente Risco, Ramón and Antón Villar Ponte, Castelao, Cabanillas, Losada Diéguez, Carballo Calero, Otero Pedraio…) also used these typographic forms and had a clear political intention. From the 25th edition in July 1917, its header was designed by Castelao. According to graphic designer Pepe Barrio: "Behind the design of A Nosa Terra's logotype there is an artist committed to his country, there is an intellectual that not only wants to transmit prestige but looks for signs of identity" (Barro, 2015: 54).

The magazine *Nós Boletín Mensual da Cultura Galega* (Fig. 4) (Carballo-Calero, 2011) is the first magazine to be written in Galician, published from 1920 to 1936, through which its pro-

A·NOSA·TERRA

Fig. 3 Header of *A Nosa Terra* (1947). Alfonso Rodríguez Castelao.

moters, Grupo Nós (Risco, Castelao, Cuevillas, Losada, Otero Pedrayo, Noguerol, etc), who were determined to incorporate Galicia in modernity, carried out their primordial objective: the defense of Galician culture and the pledge to define the identity of its people by delving into the deep roots of its history and immersing into its language as well as its culture, replanting Galician problems from rational and cosmopolitan perspectives. Castelao assumes the artistic direction of *Nós*, which uses a clear identity promoting typography in its header. In the header of Galician nationalist newspaper *Galicia, Diario de Vigo* (1922–1925) (Beramendi, Justo, 2016), Castelao started an overview process of this typeface dropping the modernist decoration, which was fruit of his contact with historical avant-gardes (Rodriguez Castelao, 1977). There are many graphic samples that we can find of the use of this typography by Castelao and almost every one of them is tied to institutions, publications, or actions related to nationalism. Hence we can find several examples like the "Irmandade Nacionalista Galega's" seal, a group that Castelao belonged to and whose seal he designed, as well as some book covers, for example the extraordinary cover designed in 1925, which the Museum of Pontevedra conserves. This Galician typography also appears in the symbols of the Philharmonic Society of Pontevedra of 1925, the Choral Society of Pontevedra (1926) as well as the Seminar of Galician Studies (1933).

Fig. 4 Header of *Nós* (1920–1936). Alfonso Rodríguez Castelao.

After these first incursions, a group of intellects and artists with Galician nationalist ties adopt these typographic forms as an identity-vindicating vehicle, which sinks their roots into the most indigenous elements. Castelao's contemporaries also began to design variants of this typography. Painter Carlos Sobrino used it in Santiago de Compostela's 1926 tourism poster and Camilo Díaz Baliño in several other posters, like in *El Cebrero* in 1929, Santiago de Compostela's 1932 festival posters or Ruada Choir's 1931 program. These are simplified versions that leave behind modernist influences to construct an almost sans-serif typeface.

Subsequently, there are many more variants of this typography in painter Unbano Lugrís' work; for example in Restaurante Fornos' cavern (A Coruña), the oldest in the city (1951), in the eight pieces done in Malpica's Casa del Pescador (1956) and in the Arrumbambaya Tavern's advertisement published in *Vida Gallega* in April of 1959.

During the second half of the 20th century, starting from the 1960s, the before mentioned model of Galician typography goes through a second phase driven by intellects Luis Seoane and Isaac Díaz Pardo, from exile in Argentina at first but later in Galicia, at the Laboratorio De Formas (Río Vázquez, 2014: 30–41) and Sargadelos ceramic company. Isaac began to manage the Cerámicas do Castro (Fig. 5) artistic, industrial and technical project in 1948. However Isaac decided to move to Argentina, where he would meet up with Luis Seoane and a group of friends which he had meet before with his father (Díaz, 2006), due to difficulties such as pressure from the regime, the cancelation of several exhibitions, and competition from German kaolin exportation company Rosenthal, who was considered the best in Europe and who decided to set up camp in the Sargadelos region. Isaac made his first trip to Celtia, Porcelanas de Magdalena, a company started by Núñez Balboa in 1957 that used the aforementioned typography (as we can see in the pottery and Celtia S.A.'s documents in 1960), to study the possibilities of an industrial project. It was not merely a company to produce and reproduce industrial objects but, according to Sargadelos' promotional brochure, "it had to collect the works and documents of Castelao's revolutionary Galician art movement for its study and dissemination, it had to promote and divulge the study of Galicia's contemporary history, it had to recover the image that Sargadelos had; it had to improve the image and communication and, in general, it had to carry out and support any type of investigation that focused on Galicia" (Seoane; Díaz, 1987).

Fig. 5 Cerámicas do Castro. Symbol. Isaac Díaz Pardo.

Isaac Díaz Pardo along with his team of artists and designers would revolutionize this typography by introducing an infinite amount of variants which constructed an independent and recognizable graphic identity, which was ahead of the times when it came to creating personalized typographies for companies' and institutions' corporate identities. Publishing house Edicións do Castro, Cerámicas do Castro and de Sargadelos, the Instituto Galego de Información, the Laboratorio Geolóxico de Laxe, the Seminario de Estudios Galegos and the Museo Carlos Maside worked in collaboration with the Laboratorio de Formas, all of which were using (and still use today) these Galician typographic variants in their logotypes, signs, packaging, book and magazine covers, posters and publications (Fig. 6). When we look at Sargadelo's typefaces we can see coherent forms with Laboratorio de Forma's political and cultural intentions: to recover Galicia's rich heritage and impoverished cultural activity through the study of the forms constructed in the past and those that still exist today. Just like The Laboratorio de Formas' manifesto explains, "our goal is to find these forgotten forms that survived cen-

turies, and in these inherited remnants, the signs of a system of self-expression" (Seoane; Díaz Pardo, (1970). These typographies made an important contribution in the political and cultural resistance during Franco's dictatorship, which was characterized as a persecution of Galician identity, culture and language.

These formal singularities repeat themselves using a recognizable pattern despite the fact that the Galician typography period has stretched out through time and has seen a great diversity of protagonists.

DEPARTAMENTOS 5,6,7,8,11 E 12

Fig. 6 Signage system for IGI (Instituto Galego da Información). Isaac Díaz Pardo.

CASTELAO

Fig. 7 Discretional ligatures.

Conclusions: Formal and Conceptual Galician Typography Characteristics

There were many different variants of what we call Galician typography, however, a series of common formal and conceptual characteristics exist, making it recognizable. Just like in other similar cases, for example, the Basque and Danish, these typographies were developed in small geographic areas, linked to a native and minority language, like in Galicia's case, and were removed from centers of influence. Its ductus distances itself from classic models based on calligraphy and was more influenced by chiseling tools used in lapidary writing and later on by painting and drawing tools. Its reproduction and transmission methods are based on drawing, blueprints, diagrams and indications using low-tech solutions like templates and stencils. Most fonts are created for a specific function, which are generally unique and personalized and are not available on classic printing presses (hot metal typesetting or photocomposition). There are not any planned typographic families and their alphabet is often incomplete. Therefore their creators are not associated with the printing press guild, but are more often than not artists, drawers, illustrators or artisans without any formal training. This is the reason why this typography is developed in a field where there is a fine line between art and design. We can find Galician typography's formal references in the forms of nature, in petroglyphs and in epigraphy. Avant-garde influenced modular geometric forms with little optical adjustments prevail. These typographies generally have big counters and wide joints where strokes meet. Some terminals, like the diagonal stroke of the letter R, are helical while others like T and E have traces of Medieval writing.

In some letters, like the capital A, there is a characteristic cross stroke at its apex and it has a bent crossbar. These characteristics along with a smooth geometry give this typography a humanistic character despite its modularity. Another recognizable characteristic is the frequent use of ligatures, which depending on the context, have a double function. On one hand, there is a clear expressive intention in ligatures that leads to very pronounced formal variations, often reducing the size of several characters, deforming them to fit into a word in an extreme kerning.

On the other hand, these adjustments have a functional intention that permits the saving of space, especially with text in signs, posters or logotypes where space is very limited. We can see that this practice is a strategy to alleviate the lack of an existing planned typographic family that has different variants and which also permits different font styles, for example, bold and heavy. The reproduction methods, like stone carving at first, painting and drawing later on, encourage improvisation (Fig. 7).

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Babbling Type Bodies (Barcelona, 1507–1529)

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Type measurement / Type body names / Type specimens / Incunabula period / Pere Posa

For many centuries, long before they were simply numbered, type bodies were addressed by names. Such names, of course, did not spring up overnight. They arose through a modelling process that echoed technological progress in printing, particularly from the incunabula period to the late sixteenth century.

This is the guise in which type body names are to be seen: as a reflection of how measure was conceived at the time and, ultimately, as a sign of the cultural backdrop and value. Therein lies the purpose of this paper: to provide a rough outline of how type bodies came to have their names. To this end, the paper looks at a basic selection of significant sources: type specimens and legal documents. The discourse is framed by well-known European examples and focuses on the Barcelona area, thereby turning twice local, both in time and in space: native phrases are set alongside extensive expressions, which may be global in nature or just plain common sense.

This paper addresses a rather marginal issue: type body names. It is well known that for many centuries type bodies were 'named' by means of substantives and/or adjectives. Names, like measures, followed a general, common pattern but obeyed local reason (and rhyme), resulting in many variations from place to place.

From the late seventeenth century well into the nineteenth century, names would gradually be threatened by the progress of numbers. Numbers gave a sense of objective scientific precision that would eventually do away with the previous verbal scheme. Of course this was due not to numbers alone, but to their association with widespread, uniform measuring systems (say, Fournier's, Didot's, American).

Old type body names were then, in the main, to become disregarded as fancy relics of the past, souvenirs of the picturesque. Picturesque they may be, but also meaningful (as much as, or even more so than, their ultimate numbering)—that is, fully indicative of their time and place. With this thought in mind, the present paper seeks to give a broad overview of the years that preceded—and prompted—the full naming scheme. It will focus on local Catalan examples framed by European milestones in printing. Our sole requirement will be to allow for a more general, all-embracing notion of 'measure': this is not a question of actual measurement, so there will be no numerical data.

In cunam words for letters

Let us start, quite bluntly, by taking the incunabula period as a good time for experiment and trial when printing workshops were small, self-sufficient laboratories that tested the new art of writing, and commercial exchange, though international, still tinged by strong, local, family-sized scales of operation. At some point, the question must have arisen as to how to address and what to call those new writing *things*, those new 'letters' that were now solid 'type'. And since they were in the cradle (*in cunam*), they started by babbling.

This is what seems to happen in Schoeffer's booklist (ca. 1469) and in Ratdolt's *Indicis* (1486).

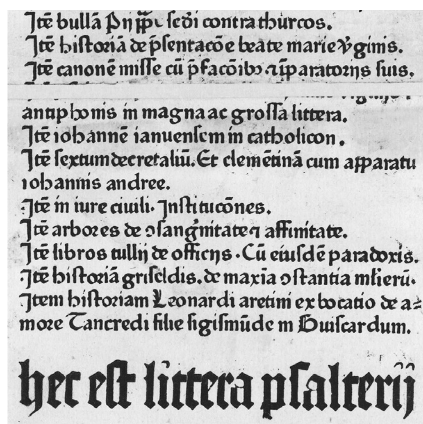

Itē bullā Pii ppē scdi contra thurcos.
Itē historiā de psentacōe beate marie v'ginis.
Itē canonē misse cū pfacōibȝ ↄ ꝑparatorȝs suis.
antiphonis in magna ac grossa littera.
Itē iohannē ianuensem in catholicon.
Itē sextum decretaliū. Et clemētinā cum apparatu iohannis andree.
Itē in iure ciuili. Institucōnes.
Itē arbores de ↄsanguinitate ↄ affinitate.
Itē libros tullij de officijs. Cū eiusdē paradoxis.
Itē historiā griseldis. de maxia ↄstantia mlierū.
Item historiam Leonardi aretini ex bocatio de amore Tancredi filie sigismūde in Guiscardum.
hec est littera psalterij

Fig. 1 Detail from Peter Schoeffer's booklist *Volentes sibi comparare infrascriptos libros…* (ca. 1469). The singular Psalter letter stands out from the generic great and large used in the antiphonary. [Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Einbl. VIII,1 m, urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00101543-7.]

1469? Schoeffer: littera psalterij, magna ac grossa

Around 1469, Peter Schoeffer the elder publishes a list of books for sale at his workshop (Fig. 1). At the bottom of his list appears the earliest—most rudimentary—known sample of moveable type: *hec est littera psalterij*, or 'this is the Psalter letter'. The phrase captures the 'spirit' of the incunabula period, of being deeply rooted in the particular: this one here, and only this one, is the letter from *that* Psalter that Schoeffer and Fust published in 1457.

Singularity is underlined in an exceptional manner. Magnitude, graphic form and bibliographic use are woven together; the letter constitutes an aggregate in which these particular qualities seem difficult to disentangle. One can guess how this particular, limited stage will evolve and be superseded—from 'this Psalter' to 'Psalter' body, as from 'my foot' to 'the' foot—but the reality is quite different and still marked by babbling.[1]

Proof of this is provided by an earlier entry in the same list: *antiphonis in magna ac grossa littera*. In this case, the letter is not addressed as a (quasi-)substantive like that of the Psalter. Rather, it appears as a quality of the subject-book, with its implicit magnitude being emphasised because antiphonaries are supposed to be large. *Magna ac grossa*, 'great and large', qualify the antiphonary in length and width; conversely, it also means that 'the' antiphonary letter may be of different kinds, and ultimately, at

[1] There was never a type body called *Psalter* anywhere, but there might well have been—pretty much in the way that *Bibel* actually existed in German lands, and *Canon* all over. *Missal* and *Brevier* surely existed, too, and are discussed below.

the core, it acknowledges the generic condition—typographically typical—of book and letter.

All in all, Schoeffer's list stands at the crossroads of extreme singularity and generic qualification.

1486. Ratdolt: [...]

Ratdolt's *Indicis* is thought to be the first 'type-specimen' (Fig. 2).[2] Fourteen *founts* are displayed double column in as many paragraphs. However, they are not given any explicit written reference: with no single mark to identify them, characters are deprived of intrinsic value. 'Type un-reference' is subject to the conditions of the sheet, made clear by the title (appearing at the bottom, colophon-like): *indicis,* an index that lists typefaces in a certain order and shows them (*indicare*) with no further details.

[2] See note 14 below.

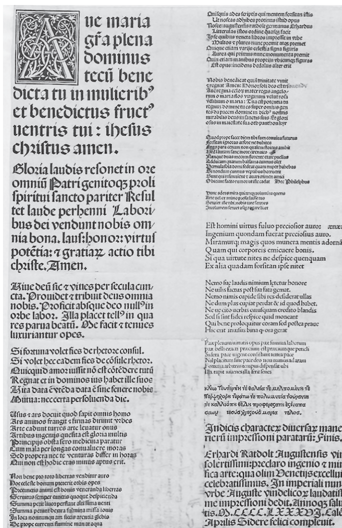


Fig. 2 Ratdolt's *Indicis characterum diversarum manerierum impressioni paratarum* (1486), a display of dumb letters waiting for an indication. [Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Einbl. VIII,6§2, urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00095388-4.]

The sample-index displays characters to another person (e.g., an editor or author) so that he or she may choose and distinguish those that suit him best. Though it may seem coincidental, the simplest way to choose and point at characters on a sheet like this is by indicating them with the help of the index finger ('I want *these*').

So the indication—and identity—of letters stand at the opposite extreme from Schoeffer's Psalter letter, which was indicated in terms of a singular authority, that is, it was self-indicated. By contrast, Ratdolt's letters are left waiting to be indicated and singled out.

Barcelona's local babblers

The two examples above may suffice to give an idea of the shilly-shallying over type bodies: the qualifiers that prefigure substantives, the public anonymity. Such a description may be applied elsewhere and it would still fit. Take Barcelona, for instance. Printers and booksellers babbled here too, though through notaries' words. Because printed specimens are missing, the examination will turn to legal documents.

The selection includes four documents: Pere Posa's inheritance inventory (1507), two of Joan Trinxer's contracts (1520) and Rosenbach's donation (1529). The focus will be on plain content, with other details being kept to a minimum.[3]

[3] Pere Posa was the first printer–amongst other occupations–of Catalan origin to work in Barcelona. Joan Trinxer was an important bookseller of the time. 'Joan' Rosenbach, of German origin, was one of the most active printers of the sixteenth century, working in Barcelona, Tarragona, Perpignan and Montserrat. Additional biographical details may be found in Madurell; Rubió (1955) and Lamarca (2015).

1507. Posa: letra groça, e letra mitjana, e letra de glosar, e letra manuda

> 2. Item vuyt caxons de fusta ab diverses casses, fornit de letres de stampa, ço és, letra groça, e letra mitjana, e letra de glosar, e letra manuda.[4]
>
> *2. Idem eight wooden drawers/boxes with various cases, equipped with stamping letters, this is, large letter, and medium letter, and gloss letter, and small letter.*[5]

[4] 7th December 1507. Inheritance inventory… AHPB (Arxiu Històric de Protocols de Barcelona). Caixa I. The full document is transcribed as Doc. 251 in Madurell; Rubió, 1955: 455.

[5] Excerpts of documents are first shown in their original old Catalan language, as transcribed by Madurell (Madurell; Rubió, 1955). The loose English translation follows in italics. This may be against the submission guidelines, but it makes most sense.

The words used for the 'stamping letters' illustrate the notion of measure at the time (Fig. 3). Their designation responds to a measurement criterion (and not, for instance, to graphic form: Posa used only black letter). From this point of view, it draws out a basic, essential scheme of relation and proportion. The letter is qualified; qualifiers—large, medium, small[6]—may nowadays be considered imprecise but, as in Ratdolt's samples, precision was to take place at the time of actual, in situ contrast.

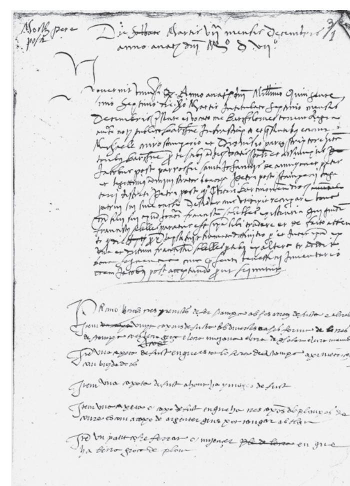


Fig. 3 Posa's inheritance inventory (1507). At full size, it is possible to read the charming *letra groça, e letra mitjana,* e *letra de glosar, e letra manuda.* [Old photocopy, AHPB (Arxiu Històric de Protocols de Barcelona). Caixa I.]

[6] *Groça* (*grossa*) is a bit larger (and louder) than *large* and *manuda* (*menuda*) is a bit smaller than *small*, but the names will do. The note is only written here to draw attention to the variety of relative qualifiers for actual type bodies: the English *Great* (Canon, Primer), *Long* (Primer) and *Small* (Pica); the French *Gros* (Canon, Parangon, Romain, Texte) and *Petit* (Canon, Parangon, Romain, Texte); the Spanish *Gran* (Cánon, Parangona), *Gorda* (Lectura) and *Chica* (Lectura). The list would grow longer if other languages were included. The quantitatives (*Double*, *Two-line*…) have also been left out.

Moreover, these particular, interrelated qualifiers convey the idea of a 'typographic set', which is reinforced by the expression *ço és* ('this is') to indicate its completeness. The four-piece set makes up the necessary building blocks for typographic survival and sufficiency at the time, with the letters relating to different ranges (e.g. titles, text, glosses, notes): ten letters of Ratdolt can be reduced to four in Posa.[7]

Within the set, the *letra de glosar*, or gloss letter, stands out: it is placed between the medium and the small letters, so there is no doubt as to its size. But what makes the letter so striking is that its naming stems from specific bibliographic and typographic usage: it is a generic culmination that was still lacking in Schoeffer's Psalter letter.[8]

(It should be noted that type bodies are listed in 'decreasing' order, from large to small. This was the usual order within the printing craft until the eighteenth century, when the influence of numerical quantification would invert the scheme.)

[7] The comparison considers black letter only: in Ratdolt's *Indicis*, ten *founts* were black letter.

[8] Jumping to conclusions is usually not wise, but it does seem more than likely that some *letra de glosar* would lead to the Spanish type body *Glosilla*.

1520. Trinxer: letra e juxta forma, forma e manera

> Item lo dit Joan Trinxer, librater, promet e convè als dits reverents senyors bisbe y Capítol que dins un any, Déu volent, farà estampar los dits set cents sinquanta missals semblants al missal li és stat donat, [...] e aquells farà estampar de la letra e juxta forma la letra que és stada per dit Trinxer donada mostra.[9]
>
> *Idem the said Joan Trinxer, bookseller, pledges and agrees with the said reverend bishop and Chapter that within one year, God willing, he will make print the said seven hundred and fifty missals similar to the missal that has been given to him, [...] and those he will have printed with the letter and just form [of] the letter of which the said Trinxer has given a sample.*
>
> Item lo dit Joan Trinxer promet e en bona fe convé a les dites reverend priora e convent, que stamparà, ho stampar farà, sinch cents breviaris de la forma e manera e semblants al dit original que per les dites reverend priora e convent li és donat, e açò a totes ses pròpries despeses del dit Joan Trinxer.[10]
>
> *Idem the said Joan Trinxer pledges and in good will agrees with the said reverend prioress and convent, that he will print, or have printed, five hundred breviaries in the form and manner similar to the said original that has been given to him by the said reverend prioress and convent, and this at the said Joan Trinxer's own expense.*

The excerpts above capture one of the key roles of samples in trade commissions and printing contracts. The original missal and breviary—in manuscript form or printed—become models for comparison or proofs for verification.

No additional data are provided to define or qualify the characters, the letters: there is no need when a physical sample is attached. Letters are silenced to be pointed at as on Ratdolt's sheet; they await collation as in Posa's inventory.

In fact, there is no mention of letters along the lines of Schoeffer or Posa. Only the books—missal, breviary—are mentioned. This might have been common sense at its most basic level: 'any letter in a missal is a missal letter'.[11] Be that as it may, a similar common sense—as well as a too common, inaccurate use, or even nonsense—will follow: it will prove only a matter of time before missal and breviary 'become' type bodies, measuring patterns of letters.[12]

[9] 15th October 1520. Contract… ACB (Arxiu de la Catedral de Barcelona). Manual 5 en 8.º del notario Joan Vilana, f. 240. The full document is transcribed as Doc. 355 in Madurell; Rubió, 1955: 620.

[10] 22nd October 1520. Contract… AHPB (Arxiu Històric de Protocols de Barcelona). Joan Lunes, llig. 1, man., 1519-1521 and Caixa III. The full document is transcribed as Doc. 356 in Madurell; Rubió, 1955: 621–622.

[11] It would be interesting to check if and how letter sizes were referred to within scribal practice, determining whether the printing industry only borrowed names from its precursor or had to devise names for new practices. Both options (yes and no) look equally plausible.

[12] The *Missal* name will only be used for a type body in Spain (and its colonies); the Spanish *Breviario* will have its Dutch and English equivalents in *Brevier*.

1529. Rosenbach: letra missal, test y glosa, y letra breviari, test y glosa; y letra mijana y letra bastarda

> quatre sorts de letreria en que sien compreses letra missal, test y glosa, y letra breviari, test y glosa; y letra mijana y letra bastarda, lo que's necessari per lo offici de stamper.[13]
>
> *four sorts of letters that comprise missal letter, text and gloss, and breviary letter, text and gloss; and medium letter and bastard letter, all of which are necessary for the printer's trade.*

We raised the spectre of nonsense and a reading of Rosenbach's donation may well heighten the issue. His 'four sorts of letters' are most likely the ones explicitly designated as a 'letter' in the document itself: missal, breviary, medium, bastard. However, they belong to three different spheres: missal and breviary are letters in which the measure is implicit (as in Schoeffer's Psalter letter, Posa's gloss letter, or Trinxer's letters); medium is a propor-

[13] 15th June 1529. Donation… AHPB (Arxiu Històric de Protocols de Barcelona). Antoni Anglès, llig. 5, man. 28, 1529. The full document is transcribed as Doc. 400 in Madurell; Rubió, 1955: 699.

tional measure qualification (as in Posa); and bastard (italic here) refers to a graphic form. So far, the apparent conceptual inconsistency of the list appears to follow or develop that of Schoeffer's.

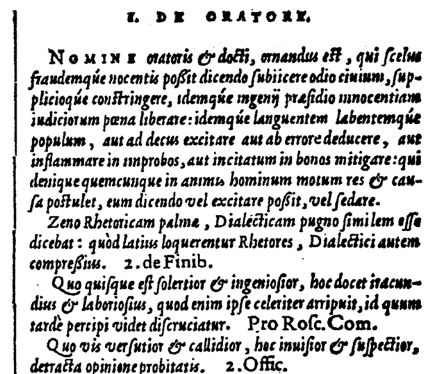
However, the verbal expression contains an additional change. Text and gloss, when applied to missal and breviary, have no self-identity; they are not proper sorts of letters. They are second-order qualifications, measure qualifiers of letter-measures, modulations of sorts. What distinguishes text from gloss is their measure, in any letter they are embodied in—letter and measure are no longer inseparable, measure is a quality that can be extracted from the letter.

They reformulate, then, Posa's scheme of relative qualifiers using large, medium and small: they specify the scheme in bibliographic terms (text, gloss) in accordance with a 'concrete' module that is also bibliographic (missal, breviary).

In reality, the referential framework—the scale—has shifted between the two schemes of measure. While qualification in Posa related to the set of typographic 'measures' as a whole, here the new qualification is filtered by 'each' sort that is a part of the set. The sort, the letter, appears to establish its 'own' scale—or the scale is derived from the book or bibliographic genre to which it 'belongs'.

Qualitative precision takes place at two levels. Firstly, the typographic set is fragmented because letters are seeing their 'own' functions and roles recognised, with each letter acknowledged as a 'specialisation'. Such a distinction is made explicit in the name of the letter and leads to a sort of canonisation: the name that qualifies the letter has become generic, as generic as the bibliographic genre that it 'represents' or is inscribed in (it is no longer 'the' letter of 'the' missal—or Psalter, for that matter—but the 'missal letter'). Secondly, the shift of letters towards a more generic stage forces the development of new descriptive schemes: text and gloss are not designations of measure of absolute value, but descriptions of an internal relationship that can be applied to 'any' typographic letter.

Finally, it should be noted that the four sorts of letter make up 'what is necessary for the printer's trade'. What is necessary for Rosenbach is greater than what is sufficient for Posa: Posa's sufficiency is no longer enough for Rosenbach, as the necessities seem to have increased. This may well have been the case. In terms of number (quantity), it is certainly true if we accept that Rosenbach's four sorts of letters are actually Posa's six letters. In terms of quality, it proves a bit more difficult to judge, but text, gloss and bastard hint at an expansion of the typographic spectrum. The typographic spectrum is being specified (text and gloss, in relation to the letter) as much as it is being diversified (bastard, in relation to the full set of typographic letters).


I. DE ORATORE.

NOMINE oratoris & docti, ornandus eſt, qui ſcelus fraudemqúe nocentis poſſit dicendo ſubiicere odio ciuium, ſupplicioqúe conſtringere, idemqúe ingenij præſidio innocentiam iudiciorum pœna liberare: idemqúe languentem labentemqúe populum, aut ad decus excitare aut ab errore deducere, aut inflammare in improbos, aut incitatum in bonos mitigare: qui denique quemcunque in animis hominum motum res & cauſa poſtulet, eum dicendo vel excitare poſſit, vel ſedare.

Zeno Rhetoricam palmæ, Dialecticam pugno ſimilem eſſe dicebat: quòd latius loquerentur Rhetores, Dialectici autem compreſſius. 2. de Finib.

Quo quiſque eſt ſolertior & ingenioſior, hoc docet iracundius & laborioſius, quod enim ipſe celeriter arripuit, id quum tardè percipi videt diſcruciatur. Pro Roſc. Com.

Quo vis verſutior & callidior, hoc inuiſior & ſuſpectior, detracta opinione probitatis. 2. Offic.

Fig. 4 Detail from *Plantin's Index sive specimen characterum* (1567): dumb (mute) letters turn out in a dummy specimen. [Coarse scan from Dreyfus, 1972.]

Plantin's sampling change

The definitive change, which will come some years later, can be traced through two 'specimens' by Plantin: the *Index sive specimen characterum* (1567) and the so-called *Folio Specimen* (ca. 1585). His large-scale, wide-ranging business makes him a key figure in the 'normalisation' of type bodies and their designations.

***1567. Plantin:* [...]**

Plantin's *Index* from 1567 was apparently conceived to attract funding for his polyglot bible. His aim determines the order in which he presents the type: Hebrew, Greek, Latin; then black letter and *bastarda*. Type is set in paragraphs on the pages and most sample texts are preceded by a sort of title. But there is no actual information about the type bodies. Again, the silent 'index' condition seems to arise, but in fact a hybrid formula between Schoeffer's and Ratdolt's has been adopted: a *fount* may be indicated by means of an expression like 'that which was used to set up the passage from *De Oratore*' (Fig. 4).[14]

Fonts can only be referred to by identifying the text extract, as a sort of indirect 'pre-nomination'—very much like 'the Psalter letter', though in simulation. Strange as it may sound, this simulation was indispensable to proceed towards the generic designation of type bodies: the systemisation in Plantin's Index leaves behind the samples of 'letters like these' and points the way forward towards a 'new' definition of characters.

[14] "While his title [*Index sive specimen characterum*] is reminiscent of the colophon on Ratdolt's Augsburg sheet of 1486, it is the new word, used here as a sub-title, 'Specimen', rather than the old word 'Index' that was destined to become conventional until our own day." (Morison, 1963: x). Morison was of course thinking and writing about English(-speaking) conventions; he did not develop the Index/Specimen issue.

1585? Plantin: winner names all

Such a definition appears in Plantin's so-called *Folio Specimen* (1585?), an inventory presumably composed for the purpose of selling matrices. What is plain to see is that the *founts* or type bodies are named, most likely in response to production and commercial needs, that is, to record them for internal organisational purposes and for external transactions: the listing of original pieces for sale requires indicators of unique and unambiguous identification.

Characters are listed from large to small, regardless of graphic form or language. Measure determines the order: formal groups (roman, italic, black letter, Greek, etc.) are 'mixed' under measure. The measure of the type body brings together and unites all different forms, because it is a question of 'the measure of the type body' and not 'the type body': the samples from the *Folio Specimen* attest to the fact that the relationship between body and size, or body and eye, is in no way a close one, and that it can be opened out; that is, a single set of punches (and matrices) can be used to produce moveable type of a different body, in different bodies.

Eventually, the rupture becomes clear when it is put into words and the names are qualified in terms of measure: *Parangonne sur la Reale, Augustine sur la Mediane*, etc. Type bodies, type measures are now substantives.

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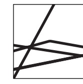

2 Design Studies

2.1 Design Aesthetics: Beyond the Pragmatic Experience and Phenomenology

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The contemporary world needs to address nuclear topics, those that should put the human being at the centre of statements and decisions. Aicher's assertion that "the world in which we live is the world we made" also gives design responsibility for collective destiny. In effect, the designer is not only a *homo faber*; a designer thinks what he makes. Design aesthetics intends to discuss how aesthetics participates as a driving force for humanising mankind. We are interested in bringing to the discussion how design aesthetics may inspire the interpretation of archetypal human questions that are also associated with giving meaning to the experience of things.

The purpose of this strand is to reflect on the extent to which design aesthetics contributes to transforming ways of living and constructing new paradigms. We invite researchers to present theoretical frameworks and empirical studies within this context.

2 Design Studies

2.1 Design Aesthetics: Beyond the Pragmatic Experience and Phenomenology

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INTRODUCTION

2.1 Design Aesthetics: Beyond the Pragmatic Experience and Phenomenology

The contemporary world needs to address nuclear topics, those that should put the human being at the centre of statements and decisions. Aicher's assertion that "the world in which we live is the world we made" also gives design responsibility for collective destiny. In effect, the designer is not only a homo faber*; a designer thinks what he makes. Design aesthetics intends to discuss how aesthetics participates as a driving force for humanising mankind. We are interested in bringing to the discussion how design aesthetics may inspire the interpretation of archetypal human questions that are also associated with giving meaning to the experience of things.*

The purpose of this strand is to reflect on the extent to which design aesthetics contributes to transforming ways of living and constructing new paradigms. We invite researchers to present theoretical frameworks and empirical studies within this context.

Anna Calvera / ICDHS 10th+1 Scientific Committee

This panel was created together with Anna Calvera and she remains the inspiration behind the arguments that frame our thoughts.

The papers presented within this panel can be gathered under four main topics.

The first topic addresses aesthetics as a discipline. It is related to how arguments on the role of design aesthetics are brought to the discussion on contemporary design and practice. Three papers give shape to the discussion. Based on the statement that aesthetic categories are historic and temporary, Folkmann focuses on a theoretical investigation of these categories that may respond and correspond to design today. The binding value of aesthetics allows previous form-related questions to be considered according to cultural diversity in the consumer society. Thus, a triad between aesthetics, sociology and design culture emerges, giving a glimpse of design as an engine of social change; the consolidating ingredient of society; and a factor in the awareness of pluralism and diversity. This reflection, proposed by Nuria Peist, is in line with Augusto Solórzano's idea of adventuring down new interpretive avenues that will bring to the fore cognitive, political and ideological values that depend on material life. Claiming a place for a design aesthetic means inspecting in detail essential conditions that prevail in art tradition. This means assuming that design is a language that singles out experiences, forms ways of acting and living, and conditions or determines the way individuals treat each other. Through different tracks, these three papers agree that design is inseparable from the historical, natural and social world, and requires new interpretive horizons that overcome the idea that everything related to aesthetics is automatically exclusive of the artistic field.

The second topic addresses the embodied appropriation of the designed space beyond the physical, pragmatic experience of it. Three texts explore the narrative approach of architectural spaces through tools from the disciplines of storytelling, photography and fashion. The design aesthetics of living spaces and consequent experience of atmospheres underline the role of designing spaces as humanised, embodied environments (Tvedebrink et al., and Rebelo and Pombo), as designing clothes is beyond functionality once clothes are the "architectural" space for the body (Kipöz).

The third topic approaches interdisciplinarity mainly by focusing on the relations between art, artistic practices, design and design education. Examples from the history of design and the blending of western-eastern cultural contexts frame the arguments of the three papers in this topic. Yokoyama discusses the educational programme of the Working Men's College (opened in 1854), John Ruskin's arguments for teaching drawing and the foundation in 1861 of the design manufacturer Morris, Marshall, Faulkner and Co. The paper by Breidenich and Bildgen addresses the role of creativity in graphic and communication design. Within this context the authors highlight connections between fine arts and graphic design sustained in the history of design through the paradigmatic examples of De Stijl, Bauhaus, and Minimalism, and discuss a revision of study programmes for contemporary design education. Punsongserm, Sunaga and Ihara investigate the reasons and consequences of using Roman-like Thai typeface by Thai designers namely in comparison with conventional typefaces.

The fourth topic takes an eminently interpretative position on the role of design—including design aesthetics—in shaping the future, and a position that evidences the application horizons of information design. The emerging title of 'Design for the Future of Mankind' that Alfonso Ruiz presents gives a glimpse of how today's design expands on the responsibilities outlined by modern design. New nuances and guidelines about material culture update the goals proposed since the Age of Enlightenment.

Fátima Pombo, Augusto Solórzano

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The End of the Beautiful? Aesthetic Categories in Design

Mads Nygaard Folkmann
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Aesthetics / Aesthetic categories / Beauty / Reflectivity

This paper is a theoretical contribution to the ongoing development of aesthetic concepts relevant to design. Focusing on the role of aesthetic categories in articulating what is regarded as aesthetic, this paper will consider aesthetic categories as historically contingent. It will question which aesthetic categories are appropriate for contemporary design, which is often multifaceted, dynamic, use-oriented and interactive. Historically, a dominant aesthetic category has been the beautiful, and aesthetic judgment has been seen as operating according to what has been regarded as beautiful. In contemporary aesthetic theories, the category of beauty as a norm for contemporary aesthetic experiences has been severely contested, and this paper further argues that the field of design may open up a variety of aesthetic categories related to nexuses of affirmative vs. challenging and static vs. dynamic. Beauty is not, however, to be neglected, as it still plays a role as an entry point to certain aesthetic experiences of design, which are often related to positive responses affiliated with pleasure. But as society and design have changed, so too have aesthetic experiences, and this paper proposes a series of contemporary aesthetic categories relevant to design.

Introduction

To investigate aesthetics in design is in many ways to investigate constituting factors for how aesthetics relates to contemporary design. The question of how design is aesthetic and the role aesthetics plays in the perception and understanding of design is not answered once and for all but is opened to a wider investigation of changes in culture, design and aesthetics.

This paper contests aesthetic concepts in order to better understand how they may be appropriate for contemporary design in its many forms, e.g. as interactive, dynamic or reflective. Design objects may not only be perceived aesthetically due to their qualities of form, e.g. in an evaluation as 'beautiful', but also as intriguing, interesting or related to play. Also, what is regarded to be 'aesthetic' and to be the location of aesthetic experience has changed during the last 150 years from being intimately attached to art to entering the sphere of everyday life and mass culture.

What is important is that aesthetic experiences are not just given through some inherent qualities of objects but are culturally produced. Already in his seminal 1971 *Kritik der Warenästhetik*, Wolfgang Fritz Haug pointed out that aesthetic qualities of objects are—along with aesthetic judgments—produced, bound and framed by factors external to the objects themselves (Haug, 2009). More recently, the philosopher Gernot Böhme has coined the concept 'Inszenierungswert' (Böhme, 2016), or stage value, to describe a kind of aesthetic value produced in the market through staging of products.

In this paper, I will direct attention to a central mechanism in this cultural production of the aesthetic in design, that is, the role of aesthetic categories in articulating what is regarded as aesthetic and what aesthetic experiences are in design. In doing so, I will question which aesthetic categories are appropriate for contemporary design. To investigate which aesthetic categories are at stake goes to the heart of contemporary design aesthetics as this investigation contains a double question of what is evaluated as aesthetic in the objects and what conditions this evaluation, e.g. with regard to factors in culture and in the market. In the following, I will start out by investigating the role of categories in aesthetics. Building on this, I will propose and discuss a series of aesthetic categories which will broaden the perspective from the 'beautiful' to, among other things, the 'pleasurable', the 'reflective' and the 'interesting'.

The Role of Categories

From a philosophical perspective, aesthetic categories function as ways of articulating what is regarded as aesthetic, that is, how 'our way of relating to the [aesthetic] idea [Vorstellung] of an object comes to expression' (Gottschlich, 2017: 27). The category opens the way for an understanding of what presents itself as aesthetic in experience.

Judgments Framed by Categories

The aesthetic category sets the framework for aesthetic judgment. In Kant's groundbreaking work *Kritik der Urtheilskraft* (1790), which formulates aesthetics to be a matter of epistemology, aesthetic judgment evolves in the special situation when we encounter a sensual appearance with pleasure, without being able to comprehend it with a given concept (Kant, 1995). We encounter something we cannot comprehend and try to grasp it through putting the faculties of the mind, e.g. imagination and understanding, into play in a search for concepts that fit the appearances.

In the most developed treatment of the aesthetics of design from the perspective of the discipline of philosophical aesthetics, Jane Forsey describes aesthetic judgment as a 'certain mental activity, rather than a set of properties or qualities that we call aesthetic' (Forsey, 2013: 118). From her perspective, following Kant, the aesthetic is neither given in the things themselves as an objective element, nor is it solely a subjective, and thus arbitrary, judgment, as the faculty of judgment operates according to common principles in a play in the human mind. The point is that our finding something 'beautiful is a product of the form of *our* aesthetic judgments' (128, my italics). Thus, the aesthetic judgment may be seen in a constructivist light to produce the aesthetic experience in different ways, due to its constitution and aims.

The point is that the category in question frames what is in focus in the aesthetic experience and, furthermore, which kind of conceptual constructions might be at stake. Hence, the category can influence how aesthetic judgment operates in its linking of concepts and sensual meaning. As the aesthetic categories change, so do the experiences they give access to; furthermore, if the aesthetic categories might prove to be historically contingent, we can challenge the notion that aesthetic experiences per se or a timeless essence of aesthetic experience exist.

Changing Categories

In the tradition of Kant and further back to the British Empiricists of the 18th century, it has been pointed out that beauty is a central category for aesthetic experiences. Beauty may be central to aesthetic experiences, but as suggested by Gernot Böhme, it may also have changed its character according to new 'technical conditions', which have enabled new 'perceptual pleasure' as well as a new 'generation of practically unlimited aesthetic effects' (Böhme, 2010: 29). So for Böhme, beauty can exist everywhere as a 'quality of impression', which could have the effect of 'intensifying our existence' (30). In Böhme's analysis, beauty as a notion of symmetry and harmony may be antiquated, but it is still relevant as a category produced by contemporary culture in advertising and design, that is, due to the cultural process of aestheticisation and the mechanisms of aesthetic capitalism (cf. Böhme, 2016).

In tradition, beauty may have been the leading category of aesthetics along with the sublime, but actually, the tradition is full of proposals of aesthetic categories. Aesthetic experience can be also articulated in accordance with categories such as the 'comic' or the 'uncanny' (Schweppenhäuser, 2007) e.g. as testified in Jean Paul's 1804 work, *Vorschule der Ästhetik*. Also, the sheer opposite of beauty is investigated in Karl Rosenkranz's 1853 work, *Ästhetik des Häßlichen*, with an interest in all possible expressions of the ugly, the unformed and the deformed (Rosenkranz, 2015).

In Modernism and afterwards, the dominance of beauty as a central aesthetic category has been contested. In his seminal work *Ästhetische Theorie*, the critical theorist Theodor W. Adorno severely criticises beauty to be deceptive with regard to the real conditions of modern society (Adorno, 1970). Recently, cultural theorist Sianne Ngai has stated that 'aesthetic experience has been transformed by the hypercommodified, information-saturated, performance-driven conditions of late capitalism', whereby new aesthetic categories have developed (Ngai, 2012: 1). In her analysis, the major aesthetic categories of the late 18th century, such as beauty and the sublime, are in part replaced with the new, minor and more 'trivial' categories of the cute, the zany and the interesting. Furthermore, building upon e.g. Ngai's notion of the zany as a 'synthesis of fun and unfun', design theorist Thomas Lee points out that contemporary aesthetic experiences related to 'proliferation, dilution, and intermixing of experiences that characterize cultures of abundance' always contain a dialect of positive and negative, e.g. of pleasure and friction, of luxury and morbidity (Lee, 2017: 313, 309).

Categories in Design Aesthetics

As a complex cultural phenomenon, design calls for a variety of aesthetic experiences which are, in turn, circumscribed by a variety of aesthetic categories.

One way of approaching the aesthetics of design is to point out the separation in the early 20th century between, on the one hand, avant-gardist experimentation of form and expression, and, on the other hand, more classical notions of the well-formed and the beautiful which were segregated from modern art and left for design to develop as part of the upcoming consumer-oriented product culture.

Since then, the field of design has been closely affiliated with the creation of positive sensations and experiences, and the terms 'beauty' and 'beautiful' have operated as metaphors for the positive appearances and effects of design.

Even if artistic experimentation is still part of the design field, art and design went separate ways and, subsequently, also found different aesthetic discourses. Roughly, aesthetics in art relates to a conceptualisation of communicative abilities of the aesthetic medium, which more often focus on communicative complexities than beauty, whereas the discourse on aesthetics in design has normatively focused on beauty, pleasure and positive, emotional responses to products, e.g. in focusing on 'the aesthetic pleasure we gain from designed artifacts' (UMA, 2017).

My point is, however, that not only has the category of beauty as a norm for contemporary aesthetic experiences in general been severely contested, but the field of design may even open up other aesthetic categories. Contemporary design represents a transformed object culture, e.g. through interactive design objects with embedded digital technology and service design solutions operating in larger networks, which calls for new aesthetic categories to frame new kinds of aesthetic experiences.

My contribution is to propose a framework which connects aesthetic categories to different modalities of design objects. I will organise the designs—and the aesthetic experiences they call for—according to two nexuses which deal with the ontological base and the ideological bias of the design.

The first nexus is constituted through an ontological differentiation of design objects as static vs. dynamic. Of course, all design objects can be said to be dynamic in the sense that they are intended to be used and not just to be objects of contemplation. On this point, though, I will state that static objects are closed entities which in principle do not change

in their being as definite objects when they are in use, even if concrete use actually (especially long periods of use) may modify the objects (cf. Brandes et al., 2008). This regards objects such as chairs, toothbrushes, plates and vases. In opposition, dynamic objects are interactive in the sense that they change or respond when being used or handled. The development and employment of digital technology in design has led to new interactive possibilities, not only in onscreen interface design but also in responsive objects such as clocks only showing their function when touched. Material objects do not, however, need to employ digital technology to be responsive. Many ordinary utensils are dynamic in the sense that they only work when operated through an interaction whereby they change their appearance. Corkscrews are examples of this last kind and have, accordingly, been studied in relation to interactive design (cf. Cila et al., 2015).

The second nexus is structured through an opposition of affirmative vs. challenging design. This differentiation resembles the one made by Anthony Dunne and Fiona Raby in the book *Speculative Everything* where they differentiate between an 'A' list of design being affirmative, problem solving, solution-oriented and 'for how the world is' and a 'B' list of design being 'critical' and problem-finding, a medium for questioning and 'for how the world could be' (Dunne and Raby, 2013: vii). Whereas I will agree with Dunne and Raby on the definition of affirmative design as the confirmation of the given, for instance by creating a higher degree of user-efficiency and user-satisfaction, I also understand affirmative design as discretely forming the texture of everyday life without the user necessarily noticing it. With regard to challenging design, I understand it not only as design which is overtly critical in the way implied by Dunne and Raby and often thought of as an implication of being experimental, I also suggest it is challenging in the communication with the user through a 'self-reflective aesthetic function' (Folkmann, 2013: 48) in the design encouraging the user to reflect upon the meaning of the design. The design is being noticed; it gets visible for the user. This kind of design may be product designs, interiors and interfaces attracting attention beyond the purely necessary.

In combining the static vs. dynamic and the affirmative vs. challenging, four possibilities for aesthetic categories are produced (Fig. 1). In other words, it is possible to have other aesthetic experiences than that of the beautiful and the pleasurable (more appropriately to be described non-normatively as sensuous experience); aesthetic experience may also be evoked in being challenged by the code of communication, e.g. when we stop in front of an object and ask what it is. I will briefly comment on the four different possibilities for aesthetic categories.

	Affirmative Discreet	Challenging Reflective
Static objects	The **beautiful:** Appreciation of form (and function) **The appealing:** The aesthetic experience focuses on **special sensations** called for by **appealing or outstanding elements of the design** The **cute**: simple relations to commodity goods	The **reflective**: The aesthetic experience focuses on **reflection** and the **coding of meaning** The **zany**: Dialectical uncertainty of fun and unfun
Dynamic, interactive objects	The **pleasurable** in the interaction Interactive **playfulness** Experience of the **function**	The **interesting**: Circulation of information in new ways through objects Possibly, the **sublime** may be found here

Tab. 1 Proposal of different aesthetic categories in design.

Static and Affirmative
This modality of design—static objects affirming given conditions—relates to a rather traditional aesthetic appreciation of beautiful or sensually appealing elements in design. Being static, these design objects may encourage a contemplative appreciation in an evaluation of formal and material qualities. Hereby, this modality of design constitutes a link back to design's heritage as applied art, craft and objects of and for decoration. However, we have to be quite aware of what we mean by the concept of 'beauty', as rightly suggested by Daniel Martin Feige, when he points out that relating to principles of proportion, symmetry and (good) shape today belongs to a theory of kitsch rather than a theory of beauty (Feige, 2018: 91).

An important contribution to the theory of beauty in design is, however, given by Jane Forsey. Building on Kant's analysis of aesthetic judgments and the notion of beauty in *Kritik der Urtheilskraft*, she makes two important claims. First, beauty in design is not free-floating, but 'dependent beauty' because the aesthetic judgment of design objects always requires 'some amount of conceptual knowledge of the purposes we attribute to the objects we encounter' (Forsey, 2013: 148). Second, beauty in design is always to be appreciated according to the functional, as a relation of the design of form and function: 'while we can aesthetically appreciate the function of an object, we can also appreciate the *way* it fulfills that function by considering its style' (166, her italics). In her Kantian approach, Forsey avoids the risk of letting 'beauty' be an imprecise metaphor of positively evaluated elements in the design.

Still, (static) design objects are often being aesthetically evaluated for their positive effect. In this way, Sianne Ngai attaches her category of the 'cute' in relation to commodities on the market and, hence, closer to design than to art, and states that the cute deals with a 'paradoxical complexity of our desire for a simpler relation to our commodities', e.g. in terms of intimacy and care (Ngai, 2012: 13).

Dynamic and Affirmative
An important element of recent developments in design aesthetics is an interest in the pleasurable in design, again with a clear bias towards positive responses in relation to design. This interest has been carried by cognitive and psychological approaches aimed at appli-

cation in design practice: how to design more pleasurable products (e.g. UMA, 2017). In this context, I will relate the feeling of the pleasurable to the modality in design where the objects are dynamic-interactive, but still affirmative. In this way, dynamic, responsive objects have been investigated for their ability to create pleasurable experiences, for instance in the previously mentioned case of corkscrews (CILA et al., 2015).

Of course, pleasurable experiences are not exclusively bound to objects which actually change or respond when being handled. The handling of a static 'beautiful' vase can also be pleasurable. What is important in this context, however, is to state that a category for aesthetic experiences in design has to do with the interactive and use-oriented dimension of design objects. Accordingly, playfulness may also be a category. Importantly, these kinds of experiences can be facilitated and enabled by design objects in different ways, in much the same way that Forsey talks of appreciating different ways design objects fulfil their function.

Instead of form, the function is in focus as a vehicle for aesthetic appreciation. In a recent, ambitious philosophical analysis of design, philosopher Daniel Martin Feige follows Forsey by suggesting the functioning of design objects to be the defining element of the 'aesthetic definition' of design (FEIGE, 2018: 89). Feige aims to define what characterises design in opposition to art and does not deal with the responses evoked in the users. But as a consequence of Feige's analysis, the merely functional may be suggested as an aesthetic category.

Static and Challenging

In the modality of static objects challenging the given, the reflective potential of design objects comes into view. Whereas it is commonplace in art theory to deal with the often self-reflective potential of design objects, this approach to aesthetics has been little acknowledged in relation to design, even if there are exceptions (e.g. FOREITA, 2011). Nevertheless, design objects may not only evoke positive or pleasurable experiences, but also contain a reflection of themselves. Additionally, design objects may direct the user's attention to themselves as objects of a certain category or type of design and thereby engage the user in a reflection of what the object is about. Objects where the function is difficult to determine or, for instance, kitchen utensils with overt ornamentation that mislead from the function, may lead to such reflection.

The way design objects can contain a surplus of meaning and/or challenge given understandings can be described by their mode of 'aesthetic coding' (FOLKMANN, 2013: 44). This concept allows for examining how design solutions can attract attention and appeal to the senses while being constituted in a way where they demand or even command a specific order of alignment or mode of understanding what the design is about. In relation to the question of aesthetic categories, I will simply suggest the 'reflective' as a category. The complexity of fun and unfun in the 'zany' can also be conceptualised as an aesthetic category dealing with pleasure but without simply confirming it.

Dynamic and Challenging

The last modality—dynamic-interactive objects challenging given conditions—may be the most difficult to grasp as it not only deals with objects reflecting their own meaning but with objects opening up new meanings through their responsive character. The 'interesting' may be a way to open up this modality for aesthetic experiences. Actually, the interesting is a rather old aesthetic category, dealt with by e.g. the Romanticists and the philosopher Søren Kierkegaard. In Ngai's cumulative approach, the interesting is 'an aesthetic about difference in the form of information and the pathways of its movements and exchange' (2012: 1). Following this approach to the interesting in design would be to relate it to conceptual design and service solutions in analysing how they create frames for enabling new meanings.

The 'sublime', another old category, may be relevant in this context. In Kant's theory, the beautiful evokes pleasure [Wohlgefallen], whereas the sublime evokes a feeling of awe [Achtung], where the subject by meeting something immensely large experiences an 'expansion of imagination' (KANT, 1995: 116) which may bring her to the borders of her ability of experience. The analytical question in the aftermath of Kant that has been raised by, among others, the philosopher Jean-François Lyotard, has been how aesthetic media can challenge the mode and habitual coordinates of experiencing and understanding. In relation to design, the category of the sublime can thus be seen in relation to interactive design which challenges normal perception, such as in HCI environments of virtual reality or augmented reality, where the virtual layer of reality imposed on the physical reality provides new dimensions of this reality and, hence, reflects what 'reality' is.

Conclusion

In this paper, my ambition has been to initiate a discussion about the variety of aesthetic categories in design and, hence, the aesthetic experiences design objects may facilitate. My starting point has been to question the role of 'beauty' as a major entrance point to aesthetic experiences in design, not least through the perhaps provocative title, asking whether we can talk about the end of beauty in design.

In my analysis, through combining the nexus of the static vs. dynamic with the nexus of the affirmative vs. challenging, leading to the formulation of four modalities in design, I have pointed to several possible aesthetic categories in play. These do not mutually exclude each other, but may represent dimensions in the design objects and, accordingly, different kinds of aesthetic experiences. Hereby, the answer to the question of the title is that we are not at the end of the beautiful, but it appears to be a problematic category and, not least, several other categories with relevance for design exist at the same time.

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The Consideration of Design Aesthetics as a Tool for Analysis and Social Change

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Design / Aesthetics / Social change / Cultural sociology

In this paper we will develop a theoretical framework on the potential of design aesthetics for functioning as an element for social change and human inclusivity. As a starting point, we will not consider aesthetics as a quality value, but analyze the diverse ways in which this value is attributed to objects. As the design field was evolving and seeking a balance between form and function at the beginning of the 20th century, the idea of a new material and formal culture emerged, which would promote a new historical culture, a social revolution. From a present-day perspective we suggest that aesthetics in design—in contrast to that which is considered art—reveals a diversified consumption that works as an exceptional framework for the analysis of cultural diversity. From this standpoint, we will suggest three analytical areas: aesthetics and its potential for revealing the limits and the formal logics of different social spaces, aesthetics as a tool for social change, and aesthetics as an integrative space in the modern world and as a space for the consciousness of human heterogeneity within the sociocultural order.

> *"It's well worth remembering here and now that the past design utopia was aesthetic in essence."*
>
> Anna Calvera, *De lo bello de las cosas*

The design field allows for a very productive and specific analysis of cultural and artistic practice and consumption, both in regard to individual as well as collective and institutional aspects. One of its most remarkable characteristics is the ever-present tension between functional and formal, aesthetic values, which are usually attributed to design by different areas. This opened a debate that has most significantly impacted the history and theory of design. Can the aesthetic value of an object of use be considered art? Is it legitimate to talk about aesthetics in any case? In this paper, we are going to circumvent this debate by proposing that the question is not whether an object is beautiful or ugly, good or bad, artistic or vulgar, but understanding that the integrity of human actions and productions are charged with shifting values that should be observed, analyzed and understood from the perspective of cultural analysis. In that way, it's a defiance to ask whether the formal value of an object, message or space can contain a certain degree of autonomy and thus be analyzed by momentarily suspending everything related to its usage.[1]

On the one hand, analyzing the constitution of the aesthetic value associated to an object or message, enables the question of whether these values can be useful for research, especially when it comes to defining the cultural logic of different social spaces. Assuming a certain degree of Manicheism, we will propose an ideal situation in a Weberian sense: while the art object is primarily valued for its formal and intellectual aspects and the artist's intent to create a distinctive audience that won't limit a priori his/her creativity, the design object should be assessed considering the communicative act upon which it relies. By doing so, it's easier to analyze the aesthetic value of an object which historically was already created based on a formal appreciation, than an object or message that has to accompany its formal reality with a preset requirement. However, we suggest that this limitation is, at the same time, its heuristic wealth. That which is considered art follows a more or less hegemonic model, more or less homogenous and dominant in evaluation. In spite of its evident diversity, which is related to social factors like age, or economic and cultural capital, that which is considered art is part of what is designated the dominant culture. Any form of analysis that enables us to talk about the tastes and lifestyles of its consumers based on the artistic fact, necessarily has to leave out social spaces whose logic is distinct from high culture. In a more plural space, design objects and messages reveal an immense diversity, which results in many different formal production and appreciation models, as well as in different consumption niches. Its plurality then enables developing an analysis of aesthetic preferences which is highly relevant to the field of cultural studies, as well as to art research.

[1] When trying to differentiate form from function when analyzing design this always means forcing a non-existent reality. Nevertheless, the importance of the aesthetics in design has been present since its beginnings and by focusing on its value we will be able to develop an analytical tool in this paper. This operation is justified because aesthetics is usually associated to art and its application to everyday objects is fairly marginal. Different theorists specialized in design have highlighted its value, like Marín and Torrent, who state that "communication is an important part of design and objects communicate through their form". In other words, thanks to the form we're able to understand how the object is used (Marín and Torrent, 2016: 80).

On the other hand, the study of aesthetic values can also contribute to pondering whether the criteria upon which the formal is based are more likely to be maintained or capable of being modified in order to change the conditions of inequality that characterize our contemporary societies. Having emerged from the industrial revolution, the design field and its development and consolidation as a production and consumption field throughout the 20th century showcases remarkable examples of this. When the first experiences around these new beginnings were sparked—experiences that combined aesthetics, function, and pedagogy (like the famous German Bauhaus or the Soviet Vkhutemas)—it was believed that in order to change the world it was necessary to first change the material culture. On one side, aesthetics had to abandon the stiffening bourgeois space of the museum and to enter the domestic space in favor of a democratization of the art form. On the other side, the formal experimentation of the avant-garde presented an image of a new world that promoted far-reaching historical social change. Whether it was with more or less romanticism and major or minor contradictions, it was believed that this revolution was set in motion by aesthetics, a revolution whose material aspects revealed the great impact of the industrial revolution on the new western society. Little by little, what dominated was the aesthetic of the machine and its close relationship with the emerging consumer society, which rose to avant-garde status without much difficulty. The possibility of formal aesthetics as a redeeming power—as a, for the first time, historical autonomous space distinct from ethics or knowledge—was served.

Based on these two premises, the high level of formal communication of design alongside very diversified social spaces and the aesthetic value in design as a motor of social change, it's possible to suggest a theoretical framework for evaluating the impact of aesthetics on people's lives. We will divide this framework into three themes: aesthetics which signifies, aesthetics which modifies, and aesthetics which integrates.

Aesthetics as a social significant

The study of that which we are drawn to, that which moves or challenges us, can be easily applied to the concept of "aesthetics" since the beginning of the modern world when the idea of subjectivity flourished. English empiricists, particularly David Hume (1757), undertook the task of defining it. Already in the 18th century, his theories revealed that subjectivity was a rising value, that the individual displayed tendencies that were even considered new faculties, namely, the faculty of taste. In Germany, Immanuel Kant (1790) finally associated taste to form: what we like corresponds with the configuration of the human mind, that which a priori connects us to the world. That's how formalism was consolidated; thanks to the possibility of valuing an object for its form and not for its function—be it ethical, pedagogical or utilitarian. Likewise, the form intrinsically associated to human taste, namely aesthetic perception, was consolidated and, without a function, became disinterested, universal.

So how can an object whose primary value is its usage be associated with aesthetic taste? By paying attention to what each social space chooses when it feels attracted to certain forms. If we focus on individual taste, we're touching the terrain of psychology and a particular phenomenology. If we consider people as a part of a web of relations, with its rationales, norms, history, identity and all of its associated values, we'll see that there are tendencies that refer to a shared aesthetic taste, in other words, an attraction to forms that speak about us as social beings. In all its diversity, to me, design is the most adequate field for analyzing the constitution of aesthetic values. Far from focusing on a sole aesthetic value, as happens with this ideal Weberian type which we call art in this paper, it doesn't possess a universal or highly specialized logic as a *sine qua non* condition, giving us the opportunity of analyzing cultural diversity based on the formal. In other words, analyzing different consumption trends reveals rationales and social spaces, while helping us define them and, at the same time, presents the difficult task of thinking about aesthetics as something pluralistic.

Pierre Bourdieu explains the diversity of tastes in his well-known book, sporting a significant subtitle: *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (1979). Each social space, originally defined by profession and education level, as well as other social factors like sex, age and residence, tends to choose a type of food, a type of sports, a type of clothing, a type of culture, meaning that the conditions of existence (social position) are related to preference (taste). Taking into consideration the French sociologist's proposal, we suggest that formal preferences, on the one hand, allow us to grasp the aesthetic tastes of diverse fractions of the population and, at the same time, they help us delineate, define the borders of these very fractions. An example could be the traditional women's robe. A formal solution that speaks clearly of a sort of utilitarian, but also an aesthetic culture that we associate with a certain social space. In contrast, for his spring/summer 2018 collection, the designer Christopher Kane presented a robe with a formal solution related to the sophistication of high culture: light forms, chiffon, transparencies, intricate prints. An aesthetic that clearly speaks of the tastes of particular social space.

Aesthetics as a means for change

In the previous example, aesthetics reveals the social. This is the moment to ask ourselves if the formal value of objects, messages, and spaces can modify our way of living and improve it. Pragmatic aesthetics—especially its most recent elaborations by the likes of Richard Shusterman—has helped to define the social function of aesthetics: to help living more profound vital experiences, to integrate people and to resonate with others and in time. Like the beautiful example of John Dewey's take on the function of songs within labor, that not only help at work but also integrate us with

others and live on beyond their praxis (Shusterman, 2002: 12). What's more complex is defining the social function of aesthetics not as an experience but as a formal value of an element. Although we no longer believe in the liberating force of the material culture in an avant-garde utopian sense, we can think of a more fair, equal society, characterized by better modes of consumption that improve their path from a formal perspective.

Let's take a closer look at an example. The logos by many big corporations that rule the world today convey ideas of exploitation, competitiveness, and inequality. In a postindustrial era where big corporations sell an imagery of brands linked to different lifestyles—let's recall Nike's formula "brands yes, products no" explained by Naomi Klein (2000: 422)—it's even more important to evaluate what kind of ideology the brand's aesthetic reveals. In fact, Nike's logo conveys speed, perfectionism, competitiveness, and success—the name of the famous sports shoe was inspired by the Greek goddess of victory, Niké, and the logo refers to the shape of her wings. In addition to the continuous allegations of slave labor and exploitation, we can see that the essence of the company is conveyed by a form charged with the imperative of perfection that people pick up and internalize, albeit in diverse ways. It's not about orders being communicated immediately by the form; each social space follows a certain logic that stands in negotiation with exterior stimuli in diverse ways. But if our aim is to change the state of things, reflections on form can't be considered a side effect.

The Top Manta shoe and t-shirt brand, which was developed by the Street Vendors Union in Barcelona (*Sindicato Popular de Vendedores Ambulantes*), stands in stark contrast to the former example. The brand was built in order to confront the accusations of copy and falsification, create their own line, consolidate themselves as a social company and denounce the illegal status and persecution that many of their members are subjected to. Their slogan "legal clothing made by illegal people" and their designs communicate the unfair conditions under which they are forced to live as immigrants.[2] Taking the logo of the sneakers as an example, we see a blanket that is softly falling. A form that contains the history of a harsh working reality, in addition to having soft and wavy lines that are very distinct from the imperative of success, evoked by the aggressive form of the Nike logo. There are numerous examples that allow us to think about form as a means for social change: a new form in the design of classrooms can contribute to defusing the hierarchy between teacher and student and inspire engagement and creativity, the clothes a woman in a high position wears to work reveal the tension between masculinity and femininity, as well as the associated demands, urban design can oftentimes enable integration and participation in public spaces, brown bags free from logos and images that are available in package-free shops convey the concept of sustainability in a wider sense, etc.

But good intentions are not enough. Conscious consumption can also disguise problems and generate false solutions. Oftentimes companies will offer "sustainable and fair" products as a marketing strategy also known as "greenwashing". This allows us to consume objects that reproduce the exploitation of humans and the planet, but without the associated guilt. On the other hand, the problem and the danger resides in that they offer apparent solutions to the troubles in the world from the peace and quiet of our homes and our sustainable shops. This oftentimes leads to anesthesia and deceit while reproducing unequal life conditions and opportunities only accessible to high-income sectors. One of the historical rationales that allowed bypassing this impasse was the famous "less is more". Less added value implied fewer aesthetics associated to the product on sale while avoiding the trap of "easy cosmetic operations"—as mentioned by Anna Calvera in reference to the complex of the design field as a mere ornament only dedicated to positioning itself in the different market spaces (2007: 14).[3] But the role of the consumer and the conscious designer—from whatever perspective—should always be followed by social policies launched by the government and supported by companies that favor conscious production, distribution, and consumption. It's not the designer nor the consumer who is going to change the world with self-complacent gestures, but the development of policies that people can assimilate collectively.

Aesthetics as an integrating element

Nevertheless, if we maintain that aesthetics as an added value provides more negative than positive values, we are neglecting the space that design conquered in its initial stages, namely the possibility of thinking about material culture as part of a world that can also solve its own problems. One of the most powerful ideas in this sense is remembering that thanks to its functional aspect design objects have not only helped to make people's lives easier but also in making development, modernity, and progress available to a greater number of people, also from an aesthetic point of view. And within this Gramscianian idea aesthetics plays a crucial role: it allows forms specific to an era, and forms that prevail throughout the hierarchy of economic and, most of all, cultural values to become accessible to the most disadvantaged social spaces. In other words, it's become easier for a person to buy products with a modern aesthetic that allows him to understand other forms that are more valued within the product hierarchy and legitimate forms of high culture than to inspire him to visit a museum or appreciate auteur cinema.

As we've mentioned before, the experiences of rationalist design at the beginning of the 20th century pursued the simplification of ornament in service of functionality and the democratization of rational aesthetics; forms that result from those times: the machine could also be understood to be in service of the im-

[2] "La marca Top Manta da un paso al frente con su primera línea de moda", *El Periódico*, 12/03/2018, available at: https://www.elperiodico.com/es/barcelona/20180312/la-marca-top-manta-da-un-paso-mas-con-su-primera-linea-de-moda-6683447 [Viewed 5/06/2018].

[3] There's a wide array of literature related to the entrance of aesthetics into people's everyday lives as a commodity adorned with marketing strategies targeted at positioning itself in diverse market niches. We mention some related references: (Jameson, 1984); (Francalanci, 2006: 19); (Rambla, 2007: 97).

provement of the people's living conditions. After World War II, the German Gute Form continued with this social idea of design. In the 1960s Dieter Rams' designs for Braun, specifically his ten principles of good design and his motto "less is more", revisit this rationalism. They are a paradigmatic example of the ways in which modern aesthetics spread, including more and more sectors of the population in its formal rationale. The famous Braun razor or the RT20 radio assist in pinning down the aforementioned thought: the added value of an object can help to introducing the hegemonic cultural rationale to more people.

In order to understand all the above we must accept that we're living in hierarchical societies, not only economically, but culturally. In this way, when allowing people access to an object with a legitimized aesthetic, you are enabling more and more people to take part in dominant discourses. But it's also possible to think the contrary. Before we were mentioning that the type of aesthetics that are consumed reveals the varied forms of consumption of the different social spaces, of course, from a functional, but also from a formal, aesthetic perspective. Furthermore, that this plurality was one of the biggest gifts for studying cultural diversity. Well then, another integrating element that potentially resides in design is its capacity of accepting different "forms" of consumption and not discriminating in regard to its value. An example that illustrates how a certain aesthetic that might not be included in dominant models can be integrated into the urban space is the new, re-designed façade of the Mercat de Sant Antoni (the Sant Antoni market) in Barcelona. The exterior of the market is surrounded by clothing stands that are commonly known as "street market" clothes, giving way to a presentation of the market that stands out due to its architecture and because it integrates a type of clothing aesthetics very distinct from what you would expect from such a representative building. Sant Antoni is a neighborhood that is more and more dominated by "hipster" aesthetics, namely, a type of young, bourgeois modernity that is oftentimes described as spearheading gentrification processes. Nevertheless, the improvement processes of a neighborhood can also be at the service of the people, while speculation can be restrained in favor of not pushing out the residents. At the same time, the aesthetics and services of a neighborhood can be representative of the diversity of its inhabitants.

While this task might seem utopian and charged with good intentions, it should be one of the goals of political, cultural and educational institutions, as well as of public and private companies. Institutions can help to convey that there's not only one set of aesthetics liable for appreciation, but that there are alternative forms that serve other kinds of people that don't participate in legitimized discourses, while still being logical and correct options for each sector and situation. The form is a demonstration of what we are, not only in terms of an expression of a historical period or regional cultural customs but also in terms of the diverse social spaces with their associated rationales and tastes. It should also be pointed out that in Scandinavia there's a difference between adapted design and inclusive design.[4] While in the first case design is targeted at specific sectors of the population with functional diversity, the second design concept is targeted at the entirety of the population, while containing elements that make it functional for people with functional diversity as well. When applying this rationale to the design field it's possible to include a wide variety of aesthetics and tastes in the image of a city center. But to reclaim and place value on alternative forms can't imply resorting to kitsch, that perverse manner of appropriating popular tastes in a mocking way.

[4] Marín and Torrent, 2016: 205.

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Guidelines for an Aesthetic of Design

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Aesthetics / Aesthetics of design / Values / Practices

This text delves into the demarcation of the romantic aesthetic postulates. From this split, some structural aspects that would lead to sediment an aesthetics of design are explained. Its approach involves differentiating between an aesthetic that tries to capture the truth of objects in artificially simplified conditions and an aesthetic that perceives the truth of its objects in everyday life. It is assumed that an aesthetic imagination of design (*imaginación estética del diseño*) could be the trigger of meaning for the foundations of an aesthetic that traces its own routes and interests and that delves into how systems of objects are generators of daily practices, rites and customs.

Preliminary notes

This essay delves into the demarcation of the aesthetic premises of romanticism which try to explain many of the structural aspects of current design. It must be said that this aesthetic in general is used for many purposes which are constantly changing. Its notorious positioning and growth in the world of culture causes many conflicts. On the basis of those tensions, new questions arise which broaden the aesthetic field. Is it possible to understand the dynamics of design today by resting on the foundations of the romantic and idealist aesthetic of the 18th century? Can we continue to regard art as the indispensable foundation of aesthetics? Is the idea of a disinterested aesthetic, the universality of beauty or the myth that there are objects which have an aesthetic power applicable to design?

The answer to these questions must be “no”. The scope of design in daily life and its social dimension lead one to think that the aesthetic of design combines more profound aspects. The ethics of values, morality and politics are pierced by a worldly pragmatism (De la Calle, 2006: 40) which imposes the pleasant as the dominant focus of the contemporary subject. Design is a guide to referents and norms related to what is convenient, suitable and opportune in social life. Design is inserted into the social, historical, cultural and individual occurrences of contemporary mankind.

This marks a substantial difference from the aesthetic vision of the conservative kind, which was exclusively associated with the world of art, the private and the world of Nature. Design is characterized by its complex and holistic view of reality and everyday human phenomenology. In addition to expressing, it represents. Everyday objects and images are not only functional means to make life easy but also a reflection of our imaginaries, hopes, tastes and desires.

The aesthetic is the means and the ends, the object and the objective, the raw material which is reflected both in the form of the objects and the way they are adopted by the social world. The creation of practices, rites and customs depends on it. Beyond its transcendental and metaphysical nature, the aesthetic of design is inseparable from human experience.

It is not essentially an exercise in knowing about objects, but of *understanding* how the objects are inseparable from private and collective occurrences. The manner in which design validates the concept of *experience* for an aesthetic of design breaks down the categories of subject and object as the protagonists of the knowledge which the classical aesthetic focuses on. Thus, it is possible to focus on how society transforms the *values* which enable one to recreate and negotiate multiple significances and meanings in daily life.

To go beyond the ruling tradition, called “art as aesthetics” or “artistic aestheticism” in the 19th and 20th centuries, we need to merge *experience* into our vital practices. Thus, for example, you could reinterpret the accessory beauty, which is still in force in design today. Classified as “adherent” by Kant, it not only links the beautiful to the useful, but it also sets forth matters related to *experience*. Among them, the dilemma of the interest in the object, the implications of having it as a possession or being able to control it, taste, consensus, the communicability of the standard of taste, opinion, the pleasant, inter-subjectivity, etc.

A culture of design is created when a series of ideas crystallize which illuminate a field of institutions and practices. Organizing them into systems of ob-

jects, into collections which reflect common experiences, becomes possible when the concepts explain the changes in the historical experience and shape experiences beyond its limits. For that reason, the aesthetic of design finds that its rationale is associated with a community in which things are part of a language which explains the formation of the social and cultural creature. Here, the idea of the *sociological imagination* which Mills came up with in the 1950s is invaluable. Men and women give meaning to their lives, so long as, when they use objects, they build a bridge between their personal lives and historical events and structural processes.

By doing so, we think about how dealing with things gives meaning to an epoch, changing our institutions, ideas, values and representations. As a language, design singularizes experiences and shapes manners of acting and living which condition the communicative dealings between individuals and social life. Material culture reveals the intimate knowledge of the lives of men and women: the way their daily experience takes place, the way that objects project personal and collective anxieties, hopes and aspirations, but also the way in which the objects are protagonists in the shaping of vital experiences.

In the context of what is known as fictional capitalism (Verdú, 2003), the capitalism of seduction (Lipovetsky, 2016) or post-industrial capitalism (Touraine, 1969), understanding the full reach of experience presents new challenges to the designer. In the midst of the instability, fluidity, superficiality and mobility of our times, we must find some *values*, which, as general agreements, should guide the aims of the practice. It is on the basis of them that the social actors determine and acknowledge the way in which their vital experience is reflected in material culture.

Hence, the aesthetic of design should not be an aesthetic of the singular and the detached, nor an aesthetic of genres and arts which emphasize egotism and individuality. On the contrary, it should be a self-affirmation of life, pluralism and sociability: an order with a purpose, a relational decision or, if you like, the stabilization of distinctions linked to the world and created on the basis of a justifiable distinction. All of these standpoints lead to the same conclusion: an aesthetic which goes beyond the romantic premises which, par excellence, define it, art as ontology and an aesthetic theory of the arts.

Guidelines

You think philosophically when you look at the present through the eyes of the past and new expectations of meaning are created. This gaze presupposes a careful observation of a phenomenon and the concepts which frame it, which implies laying down new historical borders for new experiences which reflect our current reality. It is a process of dialogue and exchange and of translating into the present. But as in any translation, some of the meaning of the original is heightened, some is changed and some is lost. With the passing of time, the concepts are distorted and destabilized and serve to give an inflection to the object (Bal, 2009: 35).

Therefore, to speak of an *aesthetics of design* implies subjecting the aesthetic foundations of the past to a scrutiny applicable to the cultural objects of current design, with the aim of revealing historical and cultural differences. In the words of Bal, this is known as the *focus of interest*. From that is derived a redefinition of categories and meanings in the phenomenological and social field. In a similar manner, the concepts come to determine the relevant questions which one may set forth and the meanings which may be given to the observations of these phenomena (Bal, 2009: 48).

To focus one's interest on an aesthetic of design means to enter into interdisciplinary terrain. Even though objects of use are representations of the imaginaries of every society, the questions we ask about them vary in accordance with the way we provisionally frame them. As early as 1966 Barthes said that all of the objects which form part of a society have a meaning and that to find absolutely improvised objects, one would have to arrive at absolutely asocial states (Serrano and Biel, 2013: 9).

To frame presupposes repositioning the objects as live objects. This implies "associating them with the social life of things" rather than with the hypostasis of the objects or a rhetorical strategy of personification (Bal, 181)—an aesthetic of design as a specific cultural analysis which links material practice with the values and imaginaries, rites, practices and customs which define a society. To undertake it implies inquiring into the raw materials and manufacturing processes which allow the supposed values to be expressed in things.

Therefore, an aesthetic of design cannot be divorced from a cultural history built around encounters, points of view, dialogues and conflicts. To open up possibilities of analysis, surpass disciplinary barriers, abolish fixed categories which the aesthetic takes for granted and resort to history as a bridge which links the object with the world and its practices instead of opening a breach between them: these are some of the frameworks which govern the aesthetic of design.

Hence the importance of the *values* which are inferred from the object before being turned into goods. While a property is regarded as a valuable thing, values are qualities which certain objects known as goods possess. When you think of it in this way, you wind up redefining a traditional history of design which is only focused on the object, understood as a property; the successive outdating of styles; and design as the result of an author who is regarded as a genius. An aesthetic seen in such terms thus unites cultural phenomena which are more ample than those which have emerged.

While it is true that beauty, as a value, still remains a central concern in design, we must acknowledge that the axiology of the 21st century sets forth new interpretative challenges for it. At the current time, it is impossible to approach it as an isolated area or in terms of its psychologistic dimension, which regards it as an "essence" in the best style of romanticism. As Husserl points out, values do not have substantiality. Values are mere possibilities, though that does not imply that they are unreal.

> Today, the study of those isolated values takes on a new meaning as we become aware of the subtle thread which binds them and the light shed on each of these sectors by any joint investigation of the nature of value itself (Frondizi, 1994: 287).

As an example, we may consider the value which superficiality has in post-modernism. The social forms in which it is embodied, as well as the individual and collective imaginaries, are seen to be represented in an objectual culture which materializes, esteems and disseminates it through an aesthetic refinement. Framing interest in an aesthetic of design starts with the recognition that there are no values as such.

Society is responsible for creating them and making them function as an ethical-aesthetic interface between the person and the world. Values are subjective and objective at the same time and allow one to attain an intimate knowledge in daily experience. Objects are the depositories of them. Aesthetic categories operate alongside them. They are the pillars on which our beliefs rest. Elegance, usefulness, comfort, beauty, curiosity, comicalness, pleasantness, ridiculousness are determinants for the existence of any object.

In its aesthetic aspect, the superficial or trivial turns into an anthropological necessity, a principle of social and technological organization. In its ethical dimension, it deposits a doctrine of being, but also a creative doctrine which enables us to constantly reinvent our existence. Insofar as design permeates all aspects of daily life, the value embodied in things turns into a model which is reflected in technical, cultural and social devices. The physical superficiality of objects was accompanied by an imaginative superficiality under the banner of fun, sensuality and entertainment (Lipovetsky, 2016: 239).

Despite the effort to broaden aesthetic categories, which Solger (1980), Souriau (1966) and Blanché (1978) are good examples of, the classificatory paradigm of the 18th century still predominates, one whose interest in beauty goes back, in turn, to antiquity. In the face of the question of whether superficiality is a value and not a physical characteristic, we may say, instead, that it is an ethical-aesthetic, pragmatic-creative and ethical-political imperative which other values revolve around—the amusing, the beautiful, the elegant, the curious, etc.—and which structure daily life. The same might be said of other values like the childishness imposed on our culture (Amador, Ramírez and Ramírez, 2009), eco-design (Aranda, 2010), dematerialization (Lippard, 2004) or the *objet ambigu* (Bodei, 1998), the emotional (Norman, 2004) or the experiential (Press and Cooper, 2009).

In modern life, these ethical-aesthetic imperatives embodied in design come to model a series of cultural phenomena which were not foreseen centuries ago. We should recall that in the epoch in which the aesthetics emerged the question of values revolved around freedom and reason, a term which wound up framing the "ills of culture". Its historical experience, linked to the material aspect, is the reflection of a bourgeois ideal inseparable from heaviness, ornamentation and accumulation.

As a field forged in modernity, design promotes other ethical-aesthetic values which recover their analytical and theoretical strength by basing themselves on the logic of functionalism, serialism, comfort, the emotional, the experiential, futurism, etc. As one can intuit, this framework is a tool of practical intervention which defines the difference between an aesthetic *and* design, and an aesthetic *of* design.

The first focuses on shifting the traditional premises of the aesthetics and setting them to converse with design, with an emphasis on production, the object and the author. Thus, and as happened with the work of art, the object of design continues to be circumscribed by the Kantian parameters which isolate it from a number of sociological, anthropological and political interests. This historical view separates objects from their natural and everyday surroundings.

In the second, the framework affords an opposite stance. The object is taken to be the trigger, the mirror, of ethical practices and ethical policies, of an aesthetic pluralism which rests on a life which is pragmatic, on the temporal and unfinished: does that mean an enriched and improved understanding of the aesthetic, or a negation of its essentialist character, or the establishment of new interpretations of its task? We would probably have to give a positive answer to all of those questions. Framing an aesthetic of design is a wager on analyzing how artefacts reorganize cultural phenomena, giving rise to new forms of understanding which are more important than the artefact itself.

The guiding concept

In Kantian philosophy, a guiding concept appears which lays the foundations of an aesthetic of design. In his *Anthropology from a Pragmatic Point of View* the idea of the worldly thought of philosophy shines forth: "The goal of all of the progress of culture, by means of which man learns, is to make these acquired bodies of knowledge and skills useful for the world" (Kant, 2004).

The above supports the idea of moving from a rational knowledge of the aesthetics to a knowledge from experience which characterizes the field of design. Centuries after Kant, from the horizon of hermeneutics, Heidegger would sum it up by saying: "We understand ourselves in work, in the handling of tools and instruments, in our daily communication with others" (Ruiz, 2012: 197).

For that reason, the notion of getting close to an object without the mediation of an interest is hardly valid—the idea that the creation of an object depends on a genius or that there are artefacts which strengthen the aesthetic experience. All of these aesthetic myths collapse in the face of the fact that:

> The attitude which we, as percipient subjects, have to something implies a relation with that 'something' [...] it is obvious that this

> relation will be linked to the curiosity of knowing what it [the object] is and what it may be used for [...] while at the same time, as subjects who experience things not only through those 'forms'—substantiated as paths/channels or sensitive and intellective channels—in a neutral or aseptic manner—but also experience pleasantness or unpleasantness in the process, the type of inclination we have in that respect is the basis of how we obtain a satisfaction of an aesthetic kind from the object, of different degrees or intensities or no satisfaction at all (Rambla, 2007: 43).

It is evident that rational, historical and empirical bodies of knowledge converge in design. The first are the foundation of criticism. The second of propaedeutics and the third, of anthropology as an empirical science. The worldly meaning of the term enables the aesthetic of design to be deployed in a double sense: through the school where the designer is trained and through the world the designer shares with others where his creation is anchored in the everyday.

With the essential aim of human reason, design stages the art of interpreting, judging and assessing. The usefulness of an aesthetic of design as a propaedeutic interdisciplinary field consists of the following: it provides a prior concept (utility), places a topological scheme of different aesthetic categories (pleasantness, comfort, beauty) at our disposal and deploys a shared worldly *experience* with others. In that way, design becomes vital for our knowledge of the world: as has been said, it is not a knowledge which is only limited to reason. An aesthetic framed in that way puts the meaning of experience (in a worldly context) into play.

The worldly meaning implies that the foundations of the aesthetic may be revised in the light of our historical experience. Taking advantage of our acknowledgment of the uniting value of the aesthetics (Mandoki, 2006) is the first step towards looking, from the other side, at the romantic idea that the beautiful in art would allow for the reconciliation of the spirit and Nature, Nature and freedom, sensibility and intelligence; in other words, the subjective with the objective.

> Design presupposes an idea (with what that implies of spirituality) which speculates about the best way to tackle a problem, that is, to think up a project (imagine a solution), so that, when it manifests itself and/or is applied by means of a physical or actional device (an artefact or action/service), the problem is solved (Rambla, 2007: 195).

The romantics probably asked themselves the same question and that, which is based on the reconciliation of two opposites—reason and freedom—is still valid today, except that it requires a different framework. We can infer this framework from what Lipovetski says:

> The intention is not so much to come up with symbols which proclaim modernity as objects which reconcile the functional and the psychological and sensitive needs of the consumers. Superficiality does not appear as a hymn to constructive rationality but a vehicle for ease of use, of a sensitive well-being which individuals may appropriate (Lipovetski, 2016: 241).

If, in the past, to oppose reason to sensibility was the starting point for thinking about the freedom of the subject, its faculty of taste, today the exhaustive display of aesthetic categories falls short, in the face of frameworks which determine the social dynamics which values deploy. The beauty of art is no longer a fertile field for the exploration of this reconciliation. The romantics forgot that the sensitive dimension was too broad and that each epoch brings different expectations of meaning with it.

In the quotidian, there is a proliferation of unauthorized objects which are full of values whose "beauty" is determined by their own historical limits. Thus, the aesthetic experience appears in many forms. It is not a reconciliation of aesthetic categories, which would imply polarizations, antinomies or at least hierarchies.

Aesthetic experience which comes from design or everyday objects is an attitude—attitudes which mankind does not think of as irreducible but rather as a matter of personal decisions.

> It is conceived of as a rebellion which is not thought out and does not wish to think but to express itself in a language which does not seek to be coherent [...] or which wishes to express itself in an action (Weil, 2002: 102).

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Tales of Past Tables
Karen Blixen's Storytelling as a Foundation for a New Narrative Design Tool

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Storytelling / Imagination / Settings / Emotions / Narrative approach

As any skilled host or hostess knows, the success of the dinner party often hinges on the atmosphere of the setting. The setting not only shelters the table but influences the course, content, and mood of the conversations that happen around it…

(Robinson, 2015: 6).

Such is the thought-provoking statement put forth in the book *Mind in Architecture* edited by Robinson and Pallasmaa (2015). This book presents and discusses how the notion of 'embodiment' brings the perception of architecture beyond pragmatic experience and phenomenology, and into complex user-centred, psychological-emotional domains and concepts of cognitive science. Here the notions 'memory' and 'imagination' are key because the human brain supposedly is 'primed' to run on narratives and imagine scenarios. According to Sussman and Hollander (2015: 133), '…the unusual ability of the mind to create stories, and in the process, find multiple ways of linking to the environment and securing a place in it'. They continue: '…you are because of the way you are enabled to create, remake, and remember stories' (Sussman and Hollander 2015: 134). Following that line of thought, we ask if a new tool for design with a narrative approach and educational perspective can be developed with a point of departure in the Danish author Karen Blixen's use of storytelling? This is done, first, by presenting a hermeneutic study of a series of Blixen's own spaces to explore her narrative approach—then by reflecting on the implementation of such a narrative approach in the teachings in the educational programs *Integrated Food Studies* and *Architecture & Design* at Aalborg University.

Architecture, food and storytelling

'Real art must always involve some witchcraft.'

Karen Blixen. *Letters from Africa*

At a first glance, it seems peculiar to let researchers from the technical and structural fields of architecture and civil engineering engage with interpretations of one of Denmark's most famous and internationally recognised literary personalities and the spaces around her narratives. Secondly, it seems perhaps even more peculiar to compare teaching perspectives across diverse academic domains as architecture and food studies. However, it is our hypothesis that the past knowledge of this great storyteller and especially her narrative approach is still very relevant in the future teachings and methodology of both architecture and food studies. According to Walter Benjamin, storytelling is a cumulative, communal, multi-voiced discourse (Benjamin, 1969: 87), and we point out that Blixen had such a unique capacity to use storytelling and the creation of tales and strong narratives to capture and describe atmosphere and personal emotions.

The fictions that Blixen named *tales* were often delivered as performative utterances, evoking a special orality. Susan Hardy Aiken has argued about this in her work *Isak Dinesen and the engendering of Narrative*, mentioning the proliferation of their interior narratives, plurally framed like *The Thousand and One Nights*, which, Aiken highlights, Blixen claimed as one of her preeminent models (Aiken, 1990: xx).

Blixen's homes were unique, adventurous in both taste and style; like in Blixen's work, the role, the purpose, the fate and destiny are intertwined. That is the main reason and source for us to pursue a fascinating trajectory through the fiction of Karen Blixen to the didactic settings of practice-led work with students of architecture, design and food.

Blixen and her spaces

Besides being an extraordinary literary creator, storyteller and personality, Karen Blixen, the Baroness of Rungstedlund, who died in 1962, was also a great aesthete very focused on her own appearance and that of her architectural surroundings. At Rungstedlund she decorated her living rooms seasonally, using certain curtains in the spring and others during the fall, and she made unique flower arrangements for her dinner parties; a curious routine documented in photography by her friend the Danish architect Steen Eiler Rasmussen (Hertel et al., 2016). Everything was arranged in the same way an architect or interior designer would approach the enterprise today.

The eldest of us authors still remember the first lecture she attended with Steen Eiler Rasmussen where he, as a fragile old man, hypnotised the audience of students with his story about how he met Karen Blixen the first time in the local train to Rungsted, and how he immediately invited her for tea in his home. Here she was introduced to his daughters Ida and Una, and their architectural piece of a dollhouse, and Blixen made up a story at once about how she could make herself very tiny in the night and how she would sneak into the small miniature home. The family of Eiler Rasmussen were captivated, and so were

we as students picturing the small house, which we still do—as a memory of Blixen and as a unique metaphor for architecture.

In our opinion, Blixen had a particular talent for creating a setting and staging an atmosphere, often using her own surroundings to progress inspiration herself. Blixen decorated and arranged the rooms, and the interior is giving a vivid impression of the writer's day-to-day surroundings. Some of the furniture came from the farm in Africa, including Denys Finch Hatton's favourite chair.

In our research, we have studied Blixen's design of "*Ewalds Stue*" (Ewald's Room) in Rungstedlund where she, placed at a writing desk, with a view over Øresund on one side and into the garden and forest on the other, wrote many of her novels and found inspiration for the famous stories. During the last years of her life, Karen Blixen arranged this study as a kind of memorial room celebrating the Danish writer Johannes Ewald who was lodged there, and where he wrote many of his poems.

In Ewald's Room, Thomas Dinesen's collection of African weapons was hung on the wall behind Blixen's desk; and the Danish National Gallery lent Blixen the bust of Johannes Ewald that still stands on top of Wilhelm Dinesen's gun cabinet. Karen Blixen's painting of a stuffed toucan bird hangs on the wall; she painted it in Africa and gave it to Denys Finch Hatton. Ewald's Room is so saturated with the spirit of Africa, the life that once was.

Furthermore, we want to pay attention to the Manor house at the African Farm Blixen had in Kenya; with great nature surrounding it outside, and with an interior adorned with, among many beautiful things, the folding screen decorated with Chinese figures, which would shape the many tales Blixen spun Scheherazade-like for her lover, Denys Finch Hatton, while they were dining (Aiken, 1990).

It was in Africa that Blixen first seriously considered literature as an occupation, and so appropriately she invoked Scheherazade, an Arab-African voice, to be her female muse. Like Scheherazade, Blixen told stories to stay alive; as Hannah Arendt has observed in her work, *Daguerreotypes and Other Essays*, Blixen's stories saved her life after disaster had struck (Arendt, 1979: xix).

Yet more like the Sultan perhaps, than Scheherazade herself, Blixen found that the tale as form lent perspective to the losses she had suffered, and the infidelity she feared, significantly, in her life in Kenya. Blixen both *told* stories all through the night with the urgency of Scheherazade, trying to keep her lover, Denys Finch Hatton, from leaving with the dawn, and she *listened* to stories as an interested modernist with an ear for oral cadences, and the mechanics of oral memory.

The Arabian Nights Tales provided a paradigm for the oral culture on the farm. In *Out of Africa*, Karen Blixen writes: '[Sometimes] to entertain me, [Farah's women] would relate fairy tales in the style of the *Arabian Nights*, mostly in the comical genre, which treated love with much frankness. It was a common trait to all these tales that the heroine, chaste or not, would get the better of the male characters and come out of the tale triumphant' (Blixen, 2001: 188).

Blixen's tales insist that this kind of listening-with-an-ear-towards-authorship represents a mode of reproduction, and a habit of memory, unique to oral texts. Storytelling as the art of narrating a tale from memory rather than reading it is one of the oldest of all art forms, reaching back to prehistoric times; especially the storytelling of Blixen has been a great inspiration in our work with a new teaching method.

Finally, to be able to draw out a reflection upon the extent to which a new more emotional and story-based design aesthetics can contribute to transform ways of living and to construct new paradigms and vice-versa, we have also scrutinised the table of the festive dinner in *Babette's Feast*.

Just as the meal in the film *Babette's Feast*, directed and with a screenplay written by Gabriel Axel in 1987, effaces the discord among the disciples, so, too, does Blixen in the story about *Babette's Feast* use senses, emotions and atmosphere to illuminate and transcend the everyday. The film mutes the political because it takes us beyond conflict. We see not only the effects of consumption but also, and most importantly, the fable of French cuisine, the care of preparation. In our study, we have focused on how the film *Babette's Feast* follows the meal from beginning to end, from the trip to procure ingredients, through the multiple activities of cooking and serving and the pleasures of dining. Consistent with the emphasis on the construction of beauty, the film glosses over the less appealing, destructive aspects of preparation—being based on a unique storyteller's words.

The movie celebrates the senses, at the same time; it invents cuisine—very pointedly French cuisine—with incomparable transformative powers. Professor of sociology Priscilla Parkhurst Ferguson has in her work argued that the spectacular repast that crowns the film conjures up a vision of spiritual well-being created by the transcendent artistry of a chef who sacrifices all for her art and, through that art, recreates her country. This restitution of place and resurrection of time makes the most powerful case yet for the intimate drama of culinary metamorphosis (Ferguson, 2004: 188).

In conclusion, our studies of these spaces or atmospheres of Karen Blixen reveal an interesting connection between the way Blixen decorates her space and the way she writes. Both in her stories as well as in real life, the tales of the tables, often partly based on her own past memories, turn into an eclectic blend of aesthetics and philosophy. Her past stories reveal a splendid ability to observe society, and her literary skills provide us with a deep understanding and *empathy* of the different characters. She is quoted as saying: 'I am not a novelist, really not even a writer; I am a storyteller' (Mohn, 1957). And indeed it is the storytelling, i.e. Karen Blixen's use of storytelling, that directs us to foster a new narrative understanding of settings, emotions and imagination in future architectural design and food studies.

Ideas for a new teaching tool

In Blixen's writings, complex life-worlds and personal stories are unfolded, weaved together and entangled. Often a magic scenario is created and a dramatic or theatrical atmosphere is established, which becomes an almost trans-historical and mythic perspective on human society and culture (Stecher, 2014). This perspective, we find, aligns with Otl Aicher's assertion that 'the world in which we live is the world we made' (Aicher, 2015). An assertion which also, as mentioned in the call for this paper, places 'substantial responsibility on design for the collective destiny'.

Visually, details can be remembered for a long time. What we see on the street can vary enormously from what we sense when observing the specific element. The physical environment plays a significant role in mental activity, i.e. memory, learning, perception and spatial orientation (Zeisel, 2006: 15).

Our physical environment leaves diverse impressions due to its physical qualities, to experience architecture is a complex cognitive process; it takes time for newcomers to make sense of the entire surrounding, to be able to separately track details and signs. Steen Eiler Rasmussen gave an elegant description of the architect's responsibilities: 'It is the task to bring order and relation into human surrounding' (Rasmussen, 1959: 34). Rasmussen writes about significant types of places: streets, squares, plazas, parks, the spatial organizations oriented on a viewer, who is supposed to be standing in a certain spot. The size, the position—everything is laid out in a way to give the best impression of the depth of the perspective.

Introducing Otl Aicher, in relation to Karen Blixen, Steen Eiler Rasmussen and the topic of storytelling, is the human ability to make sense of places and situations through stories, but also the human ability to remember significant events, places and situations through stories, as well as pass such significant knowledge on through stories. The point is the relationship between memory and imagination. That remembering is a creative, reconstructive process, which provides us with the unique human ability to empathize with others and to imagine scenarios or unfold stories. Hence, the stories not only reveal an important relationship with the past, but also contain a valuable tool for speculating and dreaming about the future, which is a crucial element in any design process. It takes imagination to design (Frascari and Goffi, 2017). Therefore, whether we call it witchcraft, myth or magic, it is this artistic translation and transformation of memories, which can be turned into a useful source for creativity through imagination (Frascari, 2011; Frascari and Goffi, 2017; Emmons et al., 2017).

To follow another of Aicher's notions about communication, which he argues in his book, *Die Küche zum Kochen*, the whole dialogue in *Babette's Feast* is suited to go beyond theoretical approaches of design thinking, all leading forward to an approach that can be transferred into future educations and teachings dealing with the complexity of understanding how places, people and perceptions are interlinked (Aicher, 2016: 25–26).

To summarize, storytelling involves two elements—selection and delivery. A successful storyteller chooses adequate stories and must be a good performer, for the delivery is crucial and requires both preparation and rehearsal. Storytelling can be seen as an original form of teaching because it has the potential of fostering emotional intelligence. In teaching this can, we believe, for example, help to gain insight into human behaviour. It is our thesis that storytelling promotes and enriches the learner's vocabulary and can initialize a more creative motivation and performance and that this can add a new dimension to design, and our contention for developing design teaching is based on storytelling.

Storytelling as a teaching method and creative tool

An example of the above-mentioned educations is Architecture & Design taught at Aalborg University. Here students in the 8th semester are introduced to the task of designing a health centre. This semester focuses on teaching concepts of atmosphere, emotions, imagination and creativity from a human-centred and user-oriented perspective. In a similar fashion, in the education of Integrated Food Studies at Aalborg University a key point in the 7th, 8th and 9th semesters is that the concept of a meal contains complexity and emotional richness well beyond the individual sensory input and specific taste of what we eat (Tvedebrink, 2017a, b, c). A series of researchers from various academic disciplines have tried to pinpoint this (Finkelstein, 1989; Meiselman, 2008; Edwards and Gustafsson, 2008; Spence and Piqueras-Fiszman, 2014; Korsmeyer, 2002) and conclude how a meal is a subjective and collective constructed phenomenon arising across political, psychological, social, cultural, and aesthetic domains (Tvedebrink, 2017a). Again this holistic perspective possibly reaches beyond traditional understandings of pragmatic experience and phenomenology; instead, on one hand, engaging in more user-specific solutions with deep complexities of atmosphere and emotions. As part hereof, a strong focus on research methodologies engaging imagination, memory and creativity to begin to understand how future meal solutions and healthcare facilities is created.

Storytelling—to extend a narrative approach

Our paper examines how the keywords of *settings, emotions, memory, imagination* and *creativity* are shared across the teaching domains of both architecture and food studies through storytelling. In both educations, the students find that especially the notion of atmosphere and human emotions are rather difficult to quantify and describe, as well as to start analysing, evaluating and applying when developing new conceptual ideas or solutions. Our teaching experience thus shows that students within both domains often struggle to comprehend this complexity. They simply tend to forget that people and their personal emotions and memories are a very central part of any architectural or food-related experience. Further, they do not know how, on the one hand, to capture, document and understand atmosphere, memory and emotion. As well as, on the other hand, use that information to spark imagination and creativity when developing their own design concepts or solutions. As an attempt to overcome this complex challenge, we have tried throughout the past five years to introduce a new design aesthetic tool, drawing on a narrative approach inspired by the concept of storytelling. This approach introduces the students first to classical design and architectural history and then a series of design ethnographic tactics—like persona, scenario writing and storyboarding (Nielsen, 2002; Bødker, 2000; Davids, 1999)—to help them research, document, analyse and understand existing contextual, societal and technical problems within each of their domains. However, more importantly as key visual tools to help them capture elements of memory and emotions, as well as spark imagination and creativity and thereby develop innovative conceptual design solutions. In the below we will elaborate on these perspectives.

For instance, the tactic called *'persona'* (Grudin and Pruitt, 2002, 2003; Stickdorn and Schneider, 2011; Bechmann, 2010; Nielsen, 2002, 2013) is focused on providing the student with an in-depth and more profound ability to understand other people or future users and their everyday lives. The purpose of using this tactic in the teachings is to train the students' ability to use empathy to pay more close attention to the personal emotional details that set different people apart. Relative here, *'scenario writing'* (Grundin and Pruitt, 2002; Stickdorn and Schneider, 2011) encourages the student to transform the user-based knowledge from the work with personas into specific written narratives and fictive stories, unfolding not only a critical lens on the design problem at hand, but also revealing possible ideas for future design solutions. Hence, triggering not only the personal experiences and memories of the past, but also the imagination in the individual student. Finally, in continuation, *'storyboarding'* helps the students illustrate the knowledge and ideas established with the personas and scenario writing in a cartoon-like format (Tvedebrink, 2017a, b, c).

Consequently, together all three tools help students remember and rediscover that distinguished relationship between atmosphere and emotions. In addition, they are tools which use the elements of storytelling and character-building to move beyond time, gender, age and demographics into important creative levels of sympathetic insight and empathy. So, instead of using a ruler and a pen now the students have to "draw" the first lines of their draft ideas or concepts with words, emotions and user-oriented stories. The persona profiles, narratives and visual moodboards/storyboards translate facts, needs and dreams into constructed worlds—they help the students conceive the conceptual ideas based on a personal intertwining of imagination and emotional forecasting (Frascari and Goffi, 2017). Thereby, the overall narrative approach and methodology stand in contrast to the classical teaching, with the examining of existing structures, studying their measurements, aesthetics and applicability. By using words, emotions, and user-centred scenarios together with measurements and drawings of existing environments and daily life, the future architects and young food designers learn to focus more on staging different atmospheres, as well as understand how the story and emotional impact of a meal, a room, a building or a public space can spark certain user behaviours even before the first pen is put to paper. Another key point with the narrative approach is the user-centred perspective, which encourages students to see the complexity rooted in the past and present of every single person. It is a reconceptualization of who and what we design for—both within the domain of architecture and food design thinking. In that way, the approach contradicts our scientific and educational heritage, and instead strongly encourages the notion that the environments we create with memory, imagination and personal stories can alter our minds and our capacity for thought, emotion, and behaviour. And also, how storytelling may inspire the interpretation of archetypal human questions beyond pragmatic experience and phenomenology.

Karen Blixen had the ability to induce a wonderful powerful myth that we would gladly follow her into, willingly letting her seduce us with her inspiring universe of a story with all its picturesque and artistic motifs, which proves her immense talent as a storyteller. Karen Blixen posed herself or crafted herself as sibyl, witch or clown, literally making a spectacle of herself, transforming her dying body into a speaking text, defying mortality by *becoming narrative* (Aiken, 1990: 255).

Blixen's use of storytelling fostered for us a new narrative understanding of settings, emotions and imagination, and we are convinced that we have found important elements to the future of creative education in the past of literary storytelling.

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Photography and Designed Space: A Shift in Perspective

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Designed space / Photography / Atmosphere / Multisensory experience

Acknowledging the historical dominance of architectural imagery by objective, disembodied approaches and its influence on our understanding of designed space as well as architectural practice itself, the paper addresses the need for a different perspective. Within the phenomenological approach to designed spaces, this paper interrogates the role of photography in reflecting designed spaces as embodied, humanised environments, where reality takes place. The writings of Pallasmaa, Zumthor and Böhme support the theoretical framework of discussing photography's contribution to an understanding of built environments as places for embodied experience. The works of Rut Blees Luxemburg and Guy Tillim, two contemporary photographers, are examined as examples of perspectives in which the representation of atmospheres is central to the reflection on built environments as a multisensory perceptive experience.

1. Modernism: photography and architecture
Since its emergence, modernist architecture has relied on photographic imagery for the dissemination of its achievements and most notably of its ideals (Elwall, 2004). The iconic images of the works of modernist masters like Mies van der Rohe or Le Corbusier, by photographers such as Julius Shulman, Lucien Hervé or Dwell and Wainwright, are indissociably connected to the history of modernist architecture. Timeless idealizations, they present modernist buildings in a praising light, playing a fundamental part in the public perception of modernist architecture as a symbol of progress and establishing a role for architectural photography as the representation of architectural ideas, which remains its main function today.

The period saw the emergence of a narrow relationship, in which photography went well beyond mere documentation, being used in advertising, propaganda, architectural education and also as a tool in the design process (Higgot and Ray, 2012). Through widespread international circulation, these images became the means through which the majority of people —including architecture students—experienced architectural work. For this reason, photographic representation ultimately came to influence architectural practice, displacing design's concerns from function, use and experience to bi-dimensional representation. This aspect of photography's influence in architectural design has been acknowledged by several authors [1] and the concern for its negative impact has acquired an even greater significance, considering contemporary ease of production and dissemination of images.

Moreover, the replacement of buildings by their photographic representations has been seen as a reinforcement of the dominance of vision in western culture, which reflects itself in architectural practice by the neglect of other aspects of spatial perception, and consequently leads to the impoverishment of the experience of architecture (Pallasmaa, 2005).

The modernist emphasis on function and rationality met the emergence of a new photographic approach in which the concern for objectivity dictated formal abstraction and developed a 'dispassionate, sharply precise style' (Elwall 2004: 120). 'New Objectivity' was, as Elwall recalls, a reaction to 'Pictorialism's concentration on mood and atmosphere'. The seminal works of influential photographers such as Werner Mantz and Renger Patzsch in the beginning of 1920s inaugurated a tradition of objectivity that has crossed generations, having its most radical example in the typological grids of Bernt and Hilla Becher and reaching the work of their students, many of whom became acclaimed contemporary artists. This movement, known as the Düsseldorf School, is arguably the most significant influence in current representations of architecture.

If the works of such authors, for their conceptual and critical character, have provided undeniable contributions to the reflection on architectural production and built environment, the influence of their formal language in contemporary architectural photography, and to a great extent also in artistic approaches, has been less positive, as this paper will argue. Emptied spaces, elevated perspectives, overall sharpness, have become imperatives of architectural photography, dismissing immersive experience in favour of a comtemplative stance. These detached images place us as disembodied observers of crystalised contextless objects and are evocative of architectural ideas, more than actual environments. In those perspectives the embodied experience of space remains unaddressed.

In his landmark history of architectural photography, Robert Elwall acknowledges the consequence of the dominance of this path: 'We need, and currently lack, an architectural photography that communicates the experience of the building not just as the architect hoped it might be but as it is perceived in reality by the user' (Elwall, 2004: 201). This assessment makes clear that beyond the roles of seduction and conceptual abstraction, photography can and should have a role in reflecting buildings' existence and their transformations worked by time and use.

2. A shift in perspective
In times when major architectural practitioners and thinkers express the need for a humanization of designed space (Julhani Pallasmaa, Peter Zumthor, Gernot Böhme), what can be

[1] See for example Campany (2014), Elwall (2004), Higgot and Wray (2012)

photography's contribution to an understanding of built environment that places embodied experience at the core of its concerns? How can photography participate in this shift in perspective that, as Böhme recalls, is not exclusive of architecture's or photography's domains, but is part of a wider renewal of the interest and emphasis on the bodily character of human existence? (2006) If photography's proverbial objectivity has promoted an abstract and disembodied vision, how can it be used as a tool to approach phenomenological experience?

Fig. 1 *Interior of Broad Street Station*, Richmond, 1917, by G.E. Kidder Smith.

Fig. 2 *Student Residence*, Zurich,1936, by Hans Baumgartner. © Hans Baumgartner / Fotostiftung Schweiz.

Peter Zumthor's 'Atmospheres' provided this investigation with its most substantial theoretical reference, certainly due to the architect's particular relationship with photography. It is worth noticing that photographs occupy almost as many pages in Zumthor's book as text does. In the first chapter, two photographs by photographers G. E. Kidder Smith (Fig. 1) and Hans Baumgartner (Fig. 2), are presented as a personal reminder of the architect's aims for his own work. He asks himself: 'How could I design something like the room in that photograph?' (2006: 11) 'Can I achieve this as an architect—an atmosphere like that, its intensity, its mood?' (2006: 19) From the perspective of photography, an inversion of this question arises: how can photography communicate the atmosphere of designed spaces?

Let us delve into Zumthor's account of the concept of atmosphere, for it is particularly valuable to our investigation's purpose. When Zumthor says 'an atmosphere like that', what kind of atmosphere is he interested in? Later in *Atmospheres*, he describes a scene he observes from a particular view point, on a holiday, emphasising the interaction between all of its elements. These elements are not only visual: there is sound, there is temperature, there are haptic sensations. The autonomy of each element, their interaction and the configurations that arise from that interaction of which Zumthor himself is part, are what he calls 'the magic of the real'.

> So what moved me? Everything. The things themselves, the people, the air, noises, sound, colours, material presences, textures. Forms too—forms I can appreciate. Forms I can try to decipher. Forms I find beautiful. What else moved me? My mood. My feelings, the sense of expectation that filled me while I was sitting there (Zumthor, 2006: 19).

This particular dimension of atmosphere, in which the autonomous reality of life plays a central role, is of fundamental interest here, for it is precisely the dimensions of time and use that are in need of further examination both by photographic and architectural understandings of built environment. It is the exploration of these quotidian atmospheres that can bring important contributions to the reflection on architecture as an environment.

It is important to clarify that this interest in the real is quite different from the objective ontological scrutiny that by means of distance and detachment aims to have access to the 'true' characteristics of things. In directing attention to external elements, the observer does not suppress himself from the scene but rather participates in it as a multi-sensory being. He blends with other elements, permeates the space and is penetrated by it.

Zumthor's architecture was often photographed by Hélène Binet, whose work is frequently cited for its ability to convey atmosphere: 'the Faaborg's photographs of Hélène Binet invite to explore the phenomenological understanding of the architectural space as an experience of atmospheres that express the "spirit of the place" (Pombo and Fisker, 2017: unpaged). Her chosen viewpoints declare her position in space with a clarity that is rather unusual in her work, proposing a perspective the viewer can identify with and easily imagine to assume. Binet is best known for her black and white abstract and ethereal images, whose silence no one seems to inhabit. Not only in the literal sense that people and objects are not portrayed, but also in the fact that the viewpoints are not those of potential users, but those—as so often happens in architectural photography—of a floating entity whose position in space can hardly be acknowledged.

The photographic approach we advocate must emphasize the bodily presence of the photographer that in a particular position and through his senses, relates to space and the elements that inhabit it, proposing his encounter with a particular moment in the life of a building. Zumthor finds the 'magic of the real' in Kidder Smith's and Baumgartner's images, because the spaces are not only

inhabited by 'real life', in the form of people and 'surrounding objects' (Zumthor's expressions), but also by the photographer whose position is evident among them. In *Thinking Architecture* Zumthor again revisits the abovementioned scene, giving very clear indications about his position in space in relation to what surrounds him. He also underlines the momentary character of the 'magic of the real'. When addressing this 'magic', photography is to capture this momentary character, not a sense of timelessness.

It seems unquestionable to Zumthor that photography can convey atmosphere. Nevertheless, this valuable ability has been neglected in favour of something for which photography is often automatically credited: objectivity. For this reason, many architectural theorists identify architectural photography with superficial renderings. In *The Eyes of the Skin*, for example, Pallasmaa describes photographed architectural images as 'centralised images of focused gestalt' (2005: 13). This is indeed a very shrewd characterization of the formal approach of a strong tradition in architectural imagery. When it comes to the support of a multisensory approach to designing architecture, photography is understandably not a natural ally.

Despite his distrust towards photography's influence upon architecture, Pallasmaa acknowledges the value of poetic images that offer a mediated experience of space (2011). His emphasis on the importance and usual neglect of peripheral vision and hapticity in addressing the multisensory experience of designed space (2005) and his criticism of architectural photography's obsession with sharpness and form (2011) are suggestive for a photographer. Technical possibilities such as short depths of field and even blur, or formal strategies such as the close exploration of textures are not obvious to use in the depiction of space, but have been proved fruitful.

Relating and furthering the works of Zümthor and Pallasmaa, Gernot Böhme has proposed three groups of spatial characteristics that are depicted as generators of atmosphere, namely: intimations of movement, synaesthesia and social characteristics (2006). Suggested movement, of which expanse and confine are primordial examples referred to by Böhme, is a strategy that both architecture and photography can resort to, in their different spaces: the physical space of architecture and the photographic space of the frame, as well of the three-dimensional depth it can suggest. By framing a subject closely, but also by creating frames within frames, through the arrangement of architectural lines or the use of peripheral blur for example, photography can suggest confinement and thus suggest a certain atmosphere. This approach may be suitable to convey the atmosphere of a certain day and moment of a certain space, as perceived by a given individual, and the opposite strategy may be applied to the same space on a different moment, in which a different atmosphere arises.

Böhme refers to synaesthesia as an overlapping of different senses, when addressing the relevance of the identification of architectural properties that can trigger synesthetic experience. This issue also applies to photography, in particular when it comes to the interpretation of atmosphere as a multisensory experience. Basic elements of photographic language such as colour and texture can trigger synaesthesia. The exploration of these and of also of less understood synesthetic possibilities, is of particular interest to photography.

Besides the concepts drawn from the theoretical perspectives of the abovementioned authors, this research is informed by the less known legacy of photographers such as Edwin Smith, Eric de Maré, John Donat and Guido Guidi, and the work of contemporary photographers such as Joachim Brohm, Heidi Specker and Richard Pare, which must nevertheless be acknowledged for having provided poetic and critical views of built environment.

The works of Rut Blees Luxemburg and Guy Tillim were selected as examples of contemporary photography addressing the atmospheres of built environments, that by different means emphasize the real. The first case is a highly subjective artistic approach with a sense of bodily presence that explores multi-sensory perception. The second denotes a photojournalistic influence which addresses the reality that surrounds and permeates designed space. They are examples of the relevance of contributions that artistic and photojournalistic approaches can provide to architectural photography and architecture itself.

2.1 Rut Blees Luxemburg (b. 1967)

Rut Blees Luxemburg's early images of London streets by night address our senses in different ways. As our vision recognizes wet floors and tall buildings under the yellow cast of public lighting, our memory suggests sensations that address our skin: the texture of tar roads, the dampness of rainy weather, the reassuring warmth of city lights (Fig. 3).[2] As photography's visual information evokes haptic memory, synesthetic experience takes place. In the words of Pallasmaa: 'Vision reveals what the touch already knows' (2005: 42).

The associations of touch with vision and of colour with temperature are the most evident forms of synaesthesia in photography's reach. Still, if our memory can draw haptic memories out of visual information, could this be possible with echoic memory? Could it be argued that through Blees Luxemburg's images we can access memories of the sound

Fig. 3 'Indeeper' from the series *Liebeslied, 2000 Exhilaration*. Courtesy of Rut Blees Luxemburg.

[2] Black and white reproduction. For the original colour image see: http://rutbleesluxemburg.com/liebeslied-2.html.

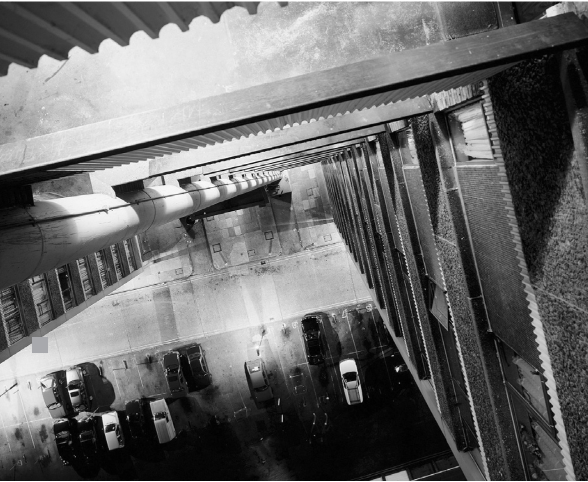

Fig. 4 'Vertiginous Exhilaration', from the series *A Modern Project*, 1997. Courtesy Rut Blees Luxemburg.

[3] Black and white reproduction. For the original colour image see: http://rutbleesluxemburg.com/london%20-%20a%20modern%20project.html.

of dripping gutters, or speeding cars in a highway close by? Is it this possibility that Hélène Binet suggests when she states that although photography should not 'compete with the complexity of the perception of architecture' it 'has to be able to create an atmosphere and to drown you in it and perhaps to remind you of something else' (2010). These are possibilities worth exploring when aiming at an immersive representation of built environment.

One of the most distinguishing aspects of Blees Luxemburg's work is her use of colour. The saturation of yellows provides her images with a warm tone that contrasts with the harshness of textures and of the situations she portrays, while artificial green tones give a surreal ambience to some of the images. Colour is not used to inform about reality, but to synesthetically convey atmosphere.

Variation in scale and angle is another distinctive feature of Blees Luxemburg's work. Often very close to the ground, she allows the viewer to have a close look at textures and traces that indicate past events. But we are also shown what is around us: tall buildings towering over the streets, with their multitude of small windows recalling the presence of anonymous life. Far from the conventions of distance and frontality, inherited from 'New Objectivity', her plunging angles and 'worm's views' rather remind us of Moholy-Nagy's experiments in the 1920s, at the emergence of 'New Vision', (Fig. 4).[3] Despite the absence of human depiction, her work addresses the presence—be it transitory—of people in space. And most importantly, Blees Luxemburg makes herself present by giving evidence of her position in space, as if saying: I am here and from here this is what I see. This is my subjective point of view. All of these choices value sensory experience, proposing an interpretation of urban space that addresses human condition in a particular environment and its specific resonance in an individual.

Finally, the inclusion of objects and traces as elements that convey everyday life underlines the presence of the real introducing temporality. Referring to her recent series 'London Dust', Blees Luxemburg says that it 'challenges the image as bearer of a cleansed urban future by focussing on the remnants of the real: the dust and dirt, the dense, disorderly and overwhelming material reality of the everyday' (Blees Luxemburg, 2016).

Fig. 5 *Grande Hotel Beira, Mozambique*, 2008. © Guy Tillim/Agence VU.

[4] Black and white reproduction. For the original colour image see: http://www.agencevu.com/stories/index.php?id=588&p=137#&gid=1&pid=26.

2.2 Guy Tillim (b. 1962)

The work of Guy Tillim has a very different character. With a background in photojournalism, Tillim wishes to keep a respectful distance from the reality he observes. In his series 'Avenue Patrice Lumumba' (2007–2008), he addresses African post-colonial identity by focusing on the late modernist architecture—present in several African cities—as the background to contemporary processes of change. His images, strongly anchored in time and history, show us the decaying architectural remains of the colonial era, as a strangely inadequate stage for contemporary everyday life. The contrast created by the penetration of a sophisticated designed setting by the country's currently harsh reality, results in a very peculiar atmosphere, where time, in all its tenses, is heavily present (Fig. 5).[4] These atmospheres are the result of momentary configurations. To use Böhme's words, they 'are spaces insofar as they are "tinctured" through the presence of things, of persons or environmental constellations' (1993: 121). It is from the interaction of all of these elements that the atmosphere arises.

As in Blees Luxemburg's work, there is a deliberately unrealistic use of colour. Saturation is carefully edited to enhance the contrast between washed out architectural settings, and the coloured shapes—often people, objects or organic elements—that punctuate them. Again, colour is interpreted so it helps to convey atmosphere.

Tillim underlines the importance that the search for context assumes in this particular series, as opposed to 'looking for drama', which he connects to his former work in photojournalism (as cited in Lane, 2009). The context Tillim refers to is landscape, but it is interesting to notice how it is people and objects

who become context, when the focus is architecture (Fig. 6).[5] As a photojournalist, Tillim missed context like architectural photography misses action. In the same way, what he points out as a frequent absence of people, is inversely understood when seen in the context of architectural imagery, where human depiction is rare.

Indeed, photojournalistic perspectives can provide interesting contributions to the representation of designed space, instilling an inquisitive spirit and a sense of time. An earlier example of this is the work of John Donat, who collaborated with *Architectural Review* at a time when an editorial effort was made to address buildings' existence over time and their daily use (Wilkinson, 2015). Donat advocated for an approach of architectural environments as lived-in social spaces, depicting quotidian activity and its interaction with designed settings. Architecture's temporal and social dimensions, often overlooked, may be reinforced by such an influence.

Conclusion

Acknowledging the fact that, as the representation of architectural ideas, photography has dismissed the real existence of architectural objects in the world over time and that as an objective attitude towards things, it has dismissed the reality of the bodily presence of the observer in space, this paper makes the argument for the importance of critical and poetic approaches that place social and emotional dimensions of built environment at the centre of its concerns.

The question we pointed out before about the way photography could communicate atmospheres that emerge from the interaction between designed spaces, the observer as a multisensory being, and the reality that permeates them can be answered in multiple ways. Throughout the text we have identified and suggested several methods that can be conducive to some of them. The works of Tillim and Blees Luxemburg are examples of such answers. They highlight distinct aspects of the real, using different strategies to suggest atmospheres which in any case are found in space construction and every element that through its presence, participates in the emergence of a particular atmosphere. Importantly, they demonstrate that this sense of the real is not, as might be expected, in the objectivity the photographic medium is known for, but in its capacity to suggest bodily presence and to invite time and movement into the representation of designed space.

From this perspective, photography can inform design as well any discipline concerned with built environment, in a very valuable way. Not by providing timeless idealizations or abstractions of buildings, but by offering precisely the opposite: an immersion into the lived experience of designed spaces.

Fig. 6 *Apartment Building, Avenue Bogamoyo, Beira, Mozambique*, 2008. © Guy Tillim/Agence VU.

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[5] Black and white reproduction. For the original colour image see: http://www.agencevcom/stories/index.php?id=588&p=137#&gid=1&pid=28.

A Quest For Interdisciplinary / Cross-disciplinary / Multi-disciplinary Design Practices at the Intersection of Fashion and Architecture

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Fashion design / Wearable architecture / Body and space / Collaborative design

The postmodern conversion by crossing the boundaries of modernist territories changed the conception of fields, thus creating "an expanded field" (Krauss, 1979). In addition to the blurred boundaries between creative fields and disciplines, such as fashion design and architecture, as well as media such as body and space, the lexicons and metaphors of fashion and clothing have been appropriated by architectural language, through the use of digital technologies in shaping and constructing architecture. Unconventional use of forms and geometrical limits are increasingly identified through clothing metaphors such as folds of fabrics, corsetry, pleating, gathering, draping, pattern, seams and stitches. In addition to the physical and structural dimension, the social and temporal dimension (Rendell, 2010) of these categories created a narrative for fashion beyond wearability. Thus, fashion has become related to architecture not only in the construction, but also in the deconstruction of garments.

In an exploration of design in the intersection of these two disciplines, this paper analyses a series of interdisciplinary, cross-disciplinary and multi-disciplinary workshops for both fashion and architectural design students between 2005–2011. The contextual frame and research methodologies of these workshops investigates the role of architecture in fashion; the impact of fashion and clothing on architecture; and the interaction between architecture and fashion in both structural, ontological and social contexts.

1. The place of fashion in architecture

The relation between architecture and fashion is as old as the relation between space and the body. There has always been a morphological association between a period's architectural style and its clothing. However, the division of arts, crafts and design due to the modernist categories of fields also created a clear distinction between fashion and architecture. There was criticism that fashion was a by-product of the doctrine of functionality of modernism, to the extent that relegates fashion to the status of decoration. Adolf Loos, who was heralded as the father of the modern movement in architecture, stated in his canonical essay "Ornament and Crime" that "the lower the culture, the more apparent the ornament"(Wigley 2001: 9). He thus conceived of clothing as a neutral envelope, characterised by discretion and simplicity, and needing no ornamentation. He also distinguished durable and ephemeral referring to the difference between functional and the ornamental and decorative objects (Houze, 2001: 31).

In contrast to Loos, German architect and theorist Gotfried Semper (1803–79) stated that architecture, through its simple form, is already highly decorated from birth (Wigley, 2001: 11). For instance, he cited weaving as the origin of enclosures (walls), being formal creation of the idea of space. He used the lexicon of clothing and textiles in the definition of weaving as the extent of overlap between the discipline of architecture and the tailor's quotidian craft: curtain wall, window dressing, skirting board, outskirts, underpinning, foundation, dress, coat, uniform, formal, margin, border, facing, fringe, fabric, fabricate, fashion, fold, bias, tack, cut, alter, pin, pattern, and patch (Fausch and Singley, 1996: 9).

Le Corbusier sought for the essential, and found whiteness of as a means of purifying architecture by eliminating the "superflous" as a paradigm of modern architecture. This essentialism in the understanding of clothing was epitomized by the story of Diogenes, who abandoned all his excesses, including his clothing and possessions, and lived in a barrel, which became both his house and clothing. Taking this as a model of purification and fundamental identity between clothing and housing, Corbusier believed that architecture is clothing, and that modern architecture is a form of tailoring (Wigley, 2001: 15–19). "The Secessionists" Viennese Art Nouveau school by developing the "Reform dress" in reference to Gustav Klimt's painting *Nuda Veritas*, 1899, illustrated a metaphorical representation of "naked truth", which draws parallellism with Le Corbusier's nakedness (Houze, 2001: 32). The artistic realm of clothing reform was brought further by Secessionist artists Henry van de Velde, Josef Hoffmann and Hermann Bahr, who suggested that clothing should be more individualized, in the same way a house is. Correspondingly, the Wiener Werkstatte fashion division in Vienna set out to create ways for modern art ideology and fashion to become intertwined, and this approach was summed up by another Secessionist architect, Otto Wagner: "style (of architecture) and fashion are one"(*ibid*).

In contemporary architecture and design culture, the clear-cut distinction between design disciplines has blurred, and modernist categories are challenged, and the fields are expanded, as addressed by Krauss, in a reference to sculpture (1979). Foster remarked that this transformation started in the 1950s, when Barnett Newmann quipped, "Sculpture is what you back into when you back up to see a painting". Architecture also expanded its field primarily towards art, before

fashion. As addressed by Rendell (2010), art and architecture operated in an interdisciplinary terrain, creating a "place between". In the 1970s, as well as minimalist sculpture, other factors contributed to this transformation, including the emergence of land art, earth art and marked site, which not only changed the ontology of art, but also the social reception of art as a critique of the commodification of art. In regards to the appropriation of architectural practice in fashion there were two main drivers; the first was the effect of deconstruction in fashion practice, and the second was the novel know-how of architecture through digital technologies beyond the boundaries of conventional modernist forms and geometrical limits. These methods inevitably meant the appropriation into the definition of architecture of clothing lexicons and metaphors, such as folds of fabrics, corsetry, pleating, gathering, draping, pattern, seams and stitches, etc. Correspondingly, refusal of the use of intricate forms and decorative surfaces, in reference to the ideas of Loos, has remained limited to the modernist doctrine, and there has emerged a new architectural style, "structural ornamentation", which can construct almost every sculptural form and intricate ssuch as Odile Decq's pleated surfaces and Frank Gehry's draperies, or Herzog de Meuron's crochet surfaces. Also, the increased speed of change has brought architectural practice closer to the cycle of fashion. As Lehman states, "a new line in dress reflects continuous change and heralds new social conditions, and makes fashion a point of reference, reflection, and response for architecture'' (2001).

2. Architecture in fashion

The design of clothing can be considered as an architecture of body. Structurally experimental designers in fashion history, such as Christian Dior and Cristobal Balenciaga, created garment constructions which were the signs of transforming the plasticity of buildings into structures of dresses. Hubert de Givenchy, a former trainee in Balenciaga's fashion house, stated that, "The architecture of Balenciaga's work is superb, because he really was an architect" (Givenchy in Walker, 2006: 4). According to Richard Martin, he was a virtuoso in knowing, comforting and flattening the body (Martin in Walker, 2006: 131).

By the 1990s, contemporary fashion designers were adopting architectural principles as a way to expand the body, in order to create an alternative relation between body and space, as well as to search for a fresh meaning and narrative beyond wearability. Fashion, then, is concerned with architecture not only in garment construction, but also in deconstruction. McDowell addresses how the work of Rei Kawakubo of Comme des Garçons relies on the potential of architecture, citing her inspiration from the formal integrity of the Pompidou Centre in Paris, designed by Renzo Piano and Richard Rogers between 1971–77, which is considered as an updated expression of Le Corbusier's dictum of "a house is a machine for living in" (McDowell, 2000: 428). Visibility of mechanical and engineering aspects of the building was apparent in her spring/summer collection 1998/99, which featured dresses with exposed seams, items left unfinished, and fabric turned inside out. Conceptually, Kawakubo translated the building into clothing by exposing the inner layers, as if the intimacies of dress have been brought into the public domain (*ibid.* 446), thus she fused the public and private, body and space into a single entity.

For Vinken, Kawakubo undoubtedly stands in the tradition of the avant-garde movements of classical modernity, and was strongly influenced by movements such as Bauhaus, and its heroes, such as Le Corbusier (Vinken, 2005: 101).

Contemporary Japanese designers like Kawakubo and designers from Antwerp created a fashion language strongly linked with the philosophy of deconstruction. Based on the philosophical language of Jacques Derrida, which focused on what is left unsaid, deconstruction was first appropriated to design through architecture (Wigley, 1995). The exhibition "Deconstructivist architecture" (1988) presented the works of Frank Gehry, Daniel Libeskind, Rem Koolhaas, Peter Esienmann, Zaha Hadid, Coop Himmelb and Bernard Tschumi (Loschek, 2009: 190), and introduced a design style characterized by a controlled chaos or disorder with undefined, convoluted geometry, folds, structural flaws and cracks, and distortion in structure and surfaces. Referring to Heidegger (1995: 32), Wigley defines deconstruction as an "undoing of construction" for critical un-building and dismantling.

The impact of deconstructive language on contemporary fashion design has become visible through Antwerpian designers: Ann Demeulemeester, Walter Van Beirendonck, Marina Yee, Dirk Van Saene, Dries Van Noten, and Dirk Bikkembergs, known as the *Antwerp Six*. However, Martin Margiela from the same academy has become known as 'the founder of deconstruction' in fashion (Vinken, 2005: 139) and a 'programmatic fashion designer of deconstructivism' (Loschek, 2009: 187). In line with his philosophy "in order to say something new, you don't have to produce brand new things"(Mears and Sidklaus, 2006: 35), he re-incarnated old garments by "deconstructing couture techniques" (Evans, 2003: 35), which are imbued with new meanings in order to resist the temporality of fashion. Antwerp designers applied deconstruction techniques with unfinished and hidden hemlines and seams, inside-out surfaces with their imperfections polished and arranged as ornamentation (Pantellini and Stohler, 2004: 171). Structural details, which are generally concealed through dressmaking skills, were prominently displayed. For Loschek, deconstructed clothing makes every single part of a garment visible, even those usually rendered as nonvisible by construction, as part of a continual search for fresh meaning (2009: 187). Gill, attuned to Wigley's definition, stated, "as a practice of "undoing", deconstructionist fashion liberates the garment from functionality, by literally undoing" (1998: 35). Through this association,

dress not only challenges the notion of wearability, but also "becomes theoretical with its position developed in a philosophical thought" (*Ibid*).

3. Transgressing the boundaries between fashion and architecture in design education. In the light of these connections and interactions between fashion and architecture, a series of workshops involving fashion and architecture students were conducted between 2005–2011 to explore the interdisciplinary, multi-disciplinary and cross-disciplinary character of collaborative design. In an exploration of design at the intersection of these two disciplines, five pedagogical workshops were conducted to highlight the two disciplines' similarities and differences, and thus mark out a common ground through the design thinking methods and processes used in each. Respectively, workshops explored fashion design students' understanding and interpretation of architectural influence in fashion; architecture students' understanding of the influence of fashion in defining an architectural space in relation to the body; architecture students' understanding of the extension of the body as an architectural space; and students of both departments' understanding of mutual interaction between fashion and architecture through collaboration. Below, these workshops are explained and analysed in chronological order:

Fig. 1 "Hidden Clouds" by Simge Yükselen; "Holy Sky" by Merve Candaş; "Coming Out" by Duygu Atalay.

Fig. 2 Clothing interpretaton of Le Corbusier's "La Ronchamp Chapelle"; clothing interpretation of Frank Gehry's "Bilbao Museum".

a. "Architectural Fashions: New Ways of Communication between Architecture and Fashion". This project was prepared for and presented at the 22nd World Congress of Architecture, UIA 2005 Istanbul. The project, for second and third year fashion design students, was supervised by fashion design instructors with guidance from an architecture academic.[1] Adopting a cross-disciplinary method, well-known architectural works were read and analysed through their photographic and discursive representations. Along with their ontological character, there was an examination of these architectural styles, including their role in city scapes, their cultural identities and life experiences, to determine possible contributions to the language of fashion and clothing. The works chosen were those of globally known architects Charles Correa, Cengiz Bektaş, Zaha Hadid, Zvi Hecker, Kengo Kuma, Peter Esienman and Massimiliano Fuksas, who participated in the Congress as keynote speakers. Visual research was done using mood boards, which reflected project concepts and design language of clothing designs. In regard to the architectonic character of the inspired buildings, students followed three main routes: structural volume, structural texture and visual texture.

Exploring *structural volume* was epitomized by a dress design inspired by Fuksas's Congress Hall, constructed in Rome as an expression of his dream of designing a building without a crystallized form, thus creating a spectral and invisible cloud-like space. The building is conceptualized into a clothing design in a similar manner, in a project called "Hidden Clouds", in which a cloud-like organic form is achieved through random puffiness within a semi-transparent surface (Fig. 1).

Architect Charles Correa's British Council + Building in New Delhi has been inspirational for creating a *visual texture* through its black and white visual pattern in its interior. In clothing design, the relation between linear structure and organic black and white pattern was used as a metaphor of savage nature to obscure the linear structure, while the vertically placed fringes along the body symbolized the building's sense of freedom and borderlessness within the movement of the body.

Lastly, Zvi Hecker's residential site was used to epitomize *structural texture*. Hecker's spiral building was transformed into a clothing design entitled

[1] Project Conception and Coordination: Ş. Kipöz. Studio Supervisors of second and third year Fashion Design studios: Ş. Kipöz, Ö. Dikkaya Göknur. Lecture and workshop support: D. Güner, B. Aksu, Izmir University of Economics, Department of Fashion Design.

"Coming Out", in a form of deconstructive layering from the inside out, which was literally represented through dressing up, from underwear to the dress itself. Structural layering of these elements was represented with 3D geometrical extensions made of local materials so that it simulated the building's spiral prismatic surface (Fig. 3).

b. "Body-Space-Clothing" was jointly organized in 2007 for Architectural Design students by Architectural and Fashion Design instructors.[2] Students were required to dress the body with 3D metaphors for contemporary iconic buildings, using structural materials such as cardboard, wire mesh, and paper. In a cross-disciplinary approach, the students transformed the buildings' essential character through their formal structure, to create a structural and visual analogy (Fig. 2).

c. "Enclosing Bodies: Wearable Structures" was an interdisciplinary project organized through the cooperation of Fashion Design and Architecture design instructors in 2009.[3] Second year fashion and architecture students worked in groups (of two fashion, and three or four architecture students). Design concept: a fashion material, an architectural material, and a design variable were chosen randomly from "hidden boxes" by each group,[4] whose task was to match these three elements. The groups conducted their visual research through moodboards, which architecture design students had not previously used, and after presenting preliminary sketches, materialized their ideas into free standing/wearable structures.

This project referred to Quinn's statement on parallelism between architecture and fashion:

> Both fashion and architecture revolve around existing form, and therefore require an understanding of mass as well as space. Dwellings and garments rely on the scale of the human form to signify their dimensions more than they do other structures, but invariably, existing buildings and preconceived standards of dress determine their result (Quinn, 2003: 205).

The following are examples of questions for students: What image comes to your mind when you think of architecture and fashion together? What encloses a body? How could the body be enclosed? What are the spatial characteristics of a body? What is the body of the space? Bearing these in mind, students searched for the potentials of the spatial entity that the human body forms, and designed a free-standing enclosure that is also wearable. Apart from fitting the requirements of a design problem, the interdisciplinary dialogue created a challenge and experience, as well as knowledge transfer among the students. They created hybrid structures, which cannot be clearly classified either as an architectonic structure, or as a wearable garment. Within the second part of the workshop, these interdisciplinary projects were developed further into creative fashion outfits by the same students within the department of fashion design (Fig. 3).[5]

d. Another cross-disciplinary workshop entitled **"From Body to Space"** explored the architectural potential of body space through the design of wearable structures conceived by groups of four[6] architecture design students.[7] The students explored concepts such as protection, transparency, expansion, cocooning, scattered, ice, wind, shell, intimacy, and reflection. These concepts were then associated with relevant surface and structural materials to create an architectonic morphology as a basis for the design and production of wearable structures, thus exploring how the body can be expanded to space (Fig. 4).

Fig. 3 The wearable structure with concept of fluidity; the use of perforated metal sheet and neoprene with a design variable of lightweight structure; the concept of absence-presence with the use of rubber with a design variable as transparency; the concept of ambiguity through the use of felt material and cubic MDF architectural modules to create a noisy ambiguous structure; the concept of adjustability is explored through the use leather and denim fabric to empower the body.

[2] The project is coordinated by Dokuz Eylül University, Department of Architecture. Project supervisors: Z. Ersoy, A. Almer, Ş. Kipöz, G. K. Erk.

[3] Project Conception and Supervision: Ş. Kipöz, S. Göker, G. K. Erk, B. Pasin, A. Burns. Second year Fashion Design and Architecture students in Izmir University of Economics, Faculty of Fine Arts and Design.

[4] The contents of the boxes are listed below. Design concepts: absence/presence, adjustability, ambiguity, collapsibility, deterioration, expansion, explosion, flexibility, fluidity, fragility, hybridity, mutation, robustness, symbiosis. Fashion materials: denim, felted wool, fleece, fur, lace, leather, lycra, mesh, neoprene, nylon, organza, polyester, rubber, spandex, velvet, yarn, zipper. Architectural materials: acrylic sheet, aluminum, bamboo, bitumen membrane, ceramic tile, copper, cork, fiberglass, glass, MDF, perforated metal sheet, plaster, polycarbonate sheet, steel mesh, timber, vinyl, wire/cable. Design variables: bulky, dull, earthy, glossy, lightweight, metallic, monochromatic, muted, noisy, rough, sharp, smooth, soft, transparent, vivid.

[5] Project supervisor: Ş. Kipöz , Izmir University of Economics, Department of Fashion Design.

[6] Project conception and lecture: Ş. Kipöz. Project supervisors: R. Zengel, Ö. Arıtan, E. Yıldırım. Dokuz Eylül University, Department of Architecture.

[7] Project Conception and Supervision: Ş. Kipöz, D. Güner.

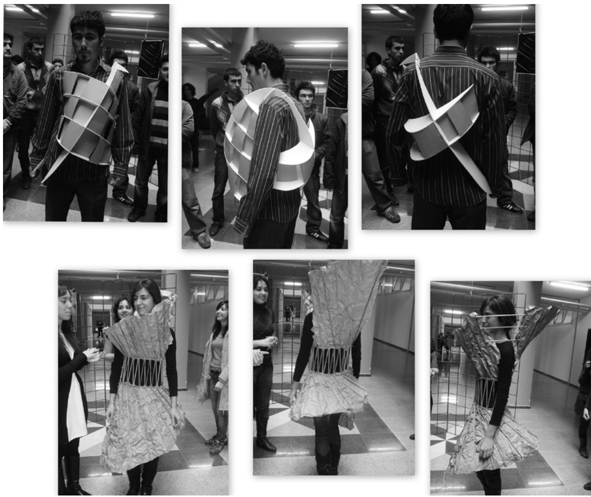

Fig. 4 The wearable bodice, which is both a protective and organic architectural surface, using the color dimension in a structural way; "Scattered in the wind" represents a structured crinkled craft paper surface using strips of wood enclosing the body.

e. The last workshop, **"Design for All–All in One"**, was organized in a nearby village in coordination with one supervisor and five students from each department.[8] As well as exploring the boundaries of body and space relations, the aim was to reflect in the creative process the tacit knowledge and local experiences emerging from the location of design process. As opposed to rapid production and consumption and high-technology, luxury-oriented contemporary fashion and architecture, characteristic of modern metropolitan life, the design approach adopted was authentic, ethical, "self-sufficient" and "for all / all together". Even the final presentation, which targeted village residents, searched for the possibility of communicating the design process and product to all, rather than the professional elite. Hence, the project reflected an interdisciplinary, multi-disciplinary and cross-disciplinary character to create multi-functional, transformable wearable structures that were at the same time conceptual designs.

Starting from the village-here-local, it was aimed to create a more inclusive design universe beyond "here", by creating first-hand sources which constitute the project's visual and conceptual inspirations. Pairs of students who had similar design approaches, one from each department, collaborated on a single concept developing their individual interpretations to produce innovative design solutions. These designs, which can be defined as "wearable structures", are low-tech handcraft products, produced with local materials (Fig. 5).

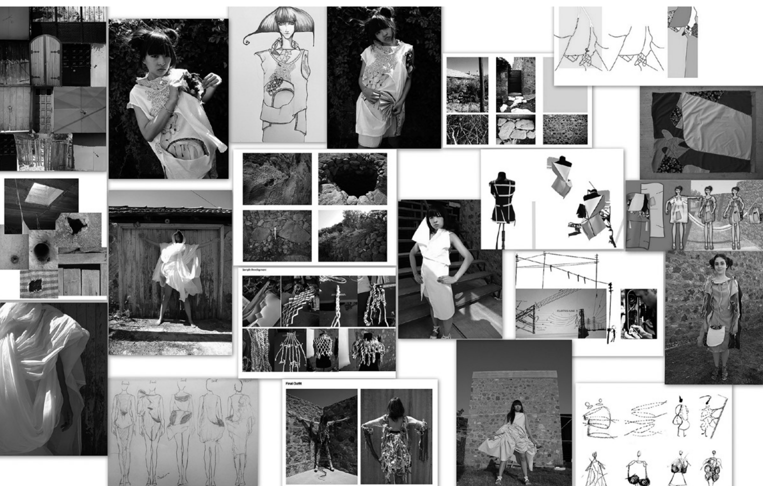

Fig. 5 "Doors of Yahşibey", designed by Oğuzhan Öndeyer, focused on transformation in "identity" by translating the concept of doors, as spatial openings that allow transition from interior space to the outer world, to the openings of garments; "Continuous bond" designed by Fulya Selçuk, created a tent-dress focusing on the connective elements, such as hammocks, which enables the body to extend into space, through an analysis of the connective, portable and extensible structures in the village; "Hopeful", designed by Simon Tilly Henry, explored the effects of holes and voids, through the re-formation of a hole opening up to light from the inner space, with Revealing and Enclosing connotations; "Incessant", designed by Ning Lai Tam, translating the formation of a private space and creation of a protective structure by imitating rocks and bushes in the village, integrating woven and knitted structures into garments; "Snap", designed by Çiğdem Yönder, who, from the idea of controlled ambiguity, created a personalized deconstructive pattern with a structural alteration in line with the principle of diversity in usage; "Thing", designed by Elif Tekcan, was a structure that was transformable from bag to a ground cloth, and from a hammock to a dress, through a patchwork technique inspired by the village map.

Last word

The disciplines of architecture and fashion have their own established territories and principles; within the doctrine of modernity, fashion and clothing has been associated with temporality and decoration, as against architecture's stability and functionality. However, the human body, being the intersection of these territories, has always been the central focus for the creative processes of both. The spatial essence of the body is valid for both territories; in architecture, the body refers to an inner space, for clothing, an outer space.

Correspondingly, Singley and Fausch address the two conflicting equations between fashion and architecture, which suggest that architecture remains simultaneously "in" and "out of" fashion: 1. the transitory; unlike fashion, architecture is static; 2. the vestimentary; like fashion's garment, architecture clothes the body (1996: 7). Paradoxically, due to the transgression of the boundaries between these disciplines, although architecture denies temporality of fashion, it tends to exhibit a similar cycle, with rapid stylistic changes, whereas the fashion garment becomes "transvestimentary", as Wigley proposes.

The series of workshops has been undertaken to observe the homologies and differences between these two disciplines, as well as to encourage the transfer of knowledge and experience between them in design education. The workshops explored the possible formulations of this interaction by looking from the

[8] Project Conception and Supervision: Ş. Kipöz, D. Güner. Students are selected based on their portfolio from Turkish and European design schools. Organized by Emre Senan Design Foundation, Yahşibey workshops 27.

frames of architecture and fashion design, and by developing a mutual communication. In these five workshops, fashion students were introduced to the discipline of architecture, and architecture students were introduced to fashion design, through an understanding of the relation between body and space, to create a wearable structure and free-standing enclosure. The village workshop entitled "Design for All—All in One" went even further in crossing these boundaries, not only through the construction of a wearable structure, but also by opening a cross-disciplinary path through this transgression of boundaries, allowing the deconstruction of the body and its relation with its enclosed space within its social and cultural context.

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From Drawing to Design—John Ruskin's Teaching and Morris & Co.

Chiaki Yokoyama
Keiō Gijuku Daigaku

Working Men's College / South Kensington System / John Ruskin / Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood / Morris & Company

The first Western educational institution for the working class, the Working Men's College opened in October 1854. Victorian art critic, John Ruskin, offered to teach a drawing class there. The College's opening coincided with the British government's interest in applying practical art and design to manufacturing. The Normal School of Design in London had been opened in 1837 and the Department of Practical Art of the Board of Trade was established in 1852 after the Great Exhibition. Ruskin protested against these educational schemes, which connected art directly with manufacturing, and the idea that some limited instruction could teach students good design. Consequently, his teaching put emphasis on drawing accurately from nature. Also he persuaded younger artists to join in this teaching project. Dante Gabriel Rossetti joined first and through him other Pre-Raphaelite members or disciples, such as Thomas Woolner, Ford Madox Brown, and Edward Burne-Jones, joined the staff. While teaching at the College, they started a new design firm, Morris, Marshall, Faulkner & Company. Was there any connection between their teaching of drawing and the creation of a new design firm? This paper will investigate this link between teaching at the College and the birth of the Firm in 1861.

1. John Ruskin and the Drawing Class at the Working Men's College

The idea of establishing the Working Men's College began with a series of meetings first organised by a Lincoln's-Inn barrister, John Malcolm Ludlow. Ludlow was inspired by the Paris February Revolution of 1848 to think about the privileged class's duty to the poor. The newly-appointed chaplain of Lincoln's-Inn, and a Christian Socialist, Frederick Denison Maurice soon joined Ludlow, and shortly afterwards others such as Charles Kingsley, Thomas Hughes, and Frederick James Furnivall attended a series of meetings. They launched such educational activities as the opening of an infants' school and teaching boys and men at night. In order to create a Working Men's Association, they asked for the cooperation of a Chartist tailor, Walter Cooper. Thus, they formed the Society for Promoting Working Men's Associations and built the Hall of Association where classes and lectures were offered to working men and women. These activities led to the foundation of the Working Men's College (WMC) with Maurice as its Principal.

In May 1854, the founding members held a discussion on what subjects they should offer and asked several people to take part in teaching certain subjects in which Music and Drawing had been already listed. At this stage, they would never have thought to ask John Ruskin, the renowned art critic who had already published his acclaimed works, *Modern Painters* I and II, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* and *The Stones of Venice* I, II, and III, to join their teaching staff. Instead, Furnivall, who had already developed a friendship with Ruskin, sent the Circular hoping to get his patronage. To their surprise, Ruskin offered to teach a drawing class at the College himself.

There would be several reasons for Ruskin to wish to try his hand at teaching working class students. One of them is that the College gave him an opportunity to justify his harsh criticism against the government's educational programme by a practical demonstration of his own opposing ideas.

Interest in applying practical art to manufacturing led the government in 1837 to establish and sponsor the Normal School of Design in London, a vocational training school for improving the design of British commodities. They also ran provincial centres in concert with local institutions. The Great Exhibition in 1851, despite its success, impressed on the government the necessity of improving the quality of its design, which was compared unfavourably with other European countries. This led to both the founding of the Department of Practical Art of the Board of Trade at Marlborough House and the construction of the Museum of Ornamental Manufactures in the following year. In 1853, the Department of Science and Art was established. The central figures in these activities were Henry Cole and Richard Redgrave, who tried to introduce an educational system that would nurture art masters who could teach at elementary schools. Consequently, they created the 'National Course of Instruction', which was the official art training scheme. Through this, elementary drawing examinations were introduced into public day schools.

The 'National Course of Instruction' was eventually known as the South Kensington System, since the Central Art Training School of the Department of Science and Art moved from Marlborough House to South Kensington in 1857. It was a rigid, mechanistic course emphasising manual dexterity for purely utilitarian purposes. It followed printed examples of flat diagrams in hard

outlines. Students were instructed to copy them diligently and, instead of natural objects, they used ornamental casts. Competitions, prizes and examinations also played an important role in the System.

Some of the students who took drawing classes at the WMC were taught according to the government system and the WMC expected to keep its ties with the government school since it lacked the ample facilities necessary for conducting drawing classes.

Ruskin effectively cut this supposed tie. Joining the faculty, Ruskin provided the College with specially made high-quality drawing paper, easels, and all sorts of materials. Furthermore, he made arrangements for a third-floor studio with two small rooms knocked into one to be available to students who would like to draw or study during their free time. He also donated to the library a variety of books of all genres including quite a few volumes of art books, and to the College Museum a collection of minerals, including the beautiful set of Alpine specimens, which could be used in his drawing class.

The fact that Ruskin was strongly against the South Kensington System is well-known. At the WMC, he focused on teaching to 'see'. The skill of drawing was, for Ruskin, to develop 'sight', or the ability to look at things properly. With this ability, 'we can see things as they are' (Ruskin, 1905: 180). His purpose was not to turn working men into professional artists or designers as the government intended. Rather, he believed that we all should learn how to draw in order to perceive our environment correctly and by doing so enrich our lives.

In his book *The Elements of Drawing* (1857), written based on his teaching at the College, he condemned the methodology of the government schools, observing that they were 'all too much in the habit of confusing art as *applied* to manufacture, with manufacture itself' (Ruskin, 1904: 12, emphasis in the original). He also asserted that good design cannot be created by merely copying or imitating good design.

Ruskin's approach to teaching focused on developing individual talent, since he was strongly against the notion of competitions and examination. In Ruskin's class, students were made to draw from natural objects. He carefully chose a different object for each student and, instead of starting with an outline, Ruskin made students first pay attention to local colour and shade. While the government school made the students carry out such exercises by following the order of outline, shade, and colour, Ruskin put mass first, colour next, and details afterwards. Students who had become accustomed to copying from flat diagrams were perplexed by Ruskin's first exercise of drawing a white leather ball suspended by string, which was lighted with multiple gas lights from different directions. It was intended that students should learn that adding shade gave the appearance of projection.

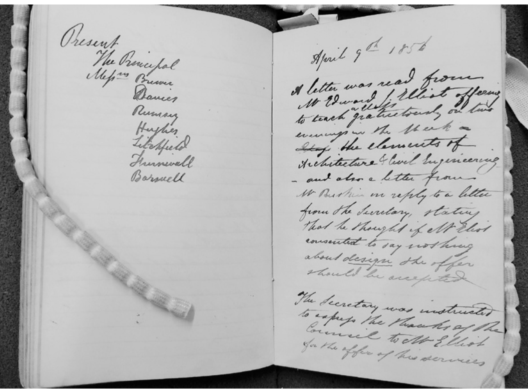
2. Pre-Raphaelites at the Working Men's College

Another of Ruskin's reasons for joining the College was to introduce young artists to an environment in which they could learn while teaching. Before the opening of the College, he had already asked Dante Gabriel Rossetti, a member of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood and his recent protégé, to join him as a teacher at the College. Rossetti visited Ruskin's class with another Brother, Thomas Woolner, on December 7th, 1854. Impressed with the enthusiasm of both teacher and students, Rossetti joined Ruskin's class as an instructor, and in the end of January 1855, he started teaching a figure class separately from Ruskin's class, which was focusing on drawing natural objects in black and white. Eventually the scheme of drawing classes took shape. First, students learned the basics of drawing from Ruskin, and were then passed to the landscape class taught by Lowes Dickinson, one of the founding members of the College, and finally learned colour and figure drawing from Rossetti.

Teaching at the College was satisfying as well as inspirational for Rossetti. Soon he introduced other PRB-related members into the College. First, the sculptors Thomas Woolner and Alexander Munro took up modelling classes in 1855, and later, in 1858, Ford Madox Brown took over Rossetti's class when Rossetti became busy. Edward Burne-Jones joined to help Brown and later, in 1859, started his own class. Val Prinsep, W. Cave Thomas, and Arthur Hughes followed as instructors of drawing classes, and the other PRB affiliates sometimes visited Ruskin's classes, as well as those of their fellow-artists, where they were challenged by Ruskin to demonstrate their ability in front of the students.

Ruskin was rarely concerned with the day-to-day running of the College. The College administration also gave him a free hand to conduct drawing classes, which continued to be one of the most popular courses in the College curriculum. Ruskin, in his turn, gave autonomy to the young artists when they taught their classes. For example, Ruskin never allowed his students to use colour before they mastered the effect of light and shade. He let them use only Prussian blue in order to get them accustomed to the usage of the brush. When Rossetti found this out, he confiscated all the stock of "this fearful colour" with which, he declared, Ruskin spoiled their eye for colour. Later when Ruskin was told the reason why all his Prussian blues were gone, he burst into laughter (Georgiana Burne-Jones, I, 1904: 192).

Still, it can be said that all of those artists shared Ruskin's, and the PRB's principle: to draw only after/from nature. As long as the students understood this founding principle, they could develop their talents and abilities according to the various methods which the young artists offered in their classes.



Present
The Principal
Messrs Brewer
Davies
Rumsey
Hughes
Litchfield
Furnivall
Barwell

April 9th 1856

A letter was read from Mr Edward J. Elliot offering to teach a class gratuitously on two evenings in the week the elements of Architecture & Civil Engineering — and also a letter from Mr Ruskin in reply to a letter from the Secretary, stating that he thought if Mr Elliot consented to say nothing about design the offer should be accepted

The Secretary was instructed to express the thanks of the Council to Mr Elliot for the offer of his services

Fig. 1 The entry of the Working Men's College minutes on Ruskin and design education (London Metropolitan Archives).

Fig. 2 Angels for tracery designed by D. G. Rossetti, 1862 (Morris & Company, c. 1920).

3. From Drawing to Design: Teaching at the WMC. While Ruskin rarely interfered with the curriculum of the College, he advanced his opinions regarding the art classes. The minutes of the College meetings for April 9th, 1856, record that a letter was read from Mr Edward J. Elliot offering to teach a class in the elements of Architecture and Civil Engineering. Following that, a letter from Ruskin in reply to this letter was read, stating that he thought, if Mr Elliot consented to say nothing about 'design', the offer should be accepted (Fig. 1). Ruskin's meaning can be easily understood when one remembers his criticism of practical art education.

Ruskin, however, did not intend to exclude the whole sphere of design. Design should come after the process of seeing and drawing correctly. In *The Elements of Drawing*, Ruskin insisted that we should '[t]ry first to manufacture a Raphael; then let Raphael direct your manufacture', and '[t]hen leave your trained artist to determine how far art can be popularised, or manufacture ennobled' (Ruskin, 1904: 12). Also many draftsmen and artists emerged from his students at the College, some of whom, such as George Allen and William Ward, became indispensable in the compilation of Ruskin's published works.

Design was also an important element of the aesthetic interests of young artists teaching at the WMC. As early as 1857, with Rossetti's suggestion, Burne-Jones and his friend William Morris joined the mural project to decorate the wall of the Oxford Union, only to find their lack of skill at fresco painting. This experience must have made them realise the importance of a first-hand knowledge of decorative art.

In the same year Rossetti received a commission for designs of stained glass windows from James Powell & Sons, a famous stained-glass manufacturer. The Church Building Act in 1818 and the religious revival movement from the 1830s had opened a lucrative market for stained glass. Still, most of the designs were taken or copied from the works of past master painters. Manufacturers needed original drawings from which they could produce stained glass for their own time. Stained glass offered a shared working place where drawing and designing, and artists and artisans, work together.

Rossetti passed that commission from Powells to Burne-Jones, who produced his first design in 1857. In the same year, Brown also started providing cartoons for Powells. While teaching at the WMC, Burne-Jones and Brown kept offering cartoons of stained glass and improving their skill of this craft. Later at the Firm, both of them were prolific in their production of designs for stained glass while Rossetti offered fewer than three dozen (Fig. 2) (Sewter, 1974: 66).

Teaching at the WMC should also have provided young artists such as these with opportunities to link drawing and designing. We find that, according to the first annual report of the WMC, quite a few students were engaged in the decorative art and design listed as 'Decorators' and 'Designers' (The Working Men's College, 1855: 4). While instructing them to draw after nature, teachers must have learned how to adapt their drawing skills to decorative design and the students how to adapt what they learned to their professional skills. The influence must have been reciprocal. Thus the WMC became, as Ruskin suggested, the place which tried first to manufacture a Raphael who could then apply the skill he had acquired to design.

Eventually Rossetti, Burne-Jones, and Brown started planning to establish a decorative arts manufacturing firm with William Morris, Philip Webb, P. P. Marshall, and Charles Faulkner. In 1859, they experienced a new form of 'brotherhood' by building a house for Morris and his new bride, Jane Burden, from scratch. They also designed and made furniture for the house. This camaraderie led to the plans for the new Firm, Morris, Marshall, Faulkner & Company.

Probably this new scheme and their interest in decorative design may have influenced Rossetti and his associates' teaching at the WMC. Glass painting was one of the major productions Burne-Jones and Brown had already been actively engaged in, and one for which the future Firm was to receive a formidable number of orders. In his drawing class, Rossetti, with students, tried various

methods of colouring. While sharing new techniques with students, he might have also been exploring colour schemes for glass painting. One of his students, Thomas Sulman, recalls that:

> One day Rossetti scribbled in ink on the back of a letter a motive for a picture, two lovers embracing in a turret of a castle wall. The subject pleased him and he blotted in a scheme of colour. Both figures wore red. The wall against which they stood was red also. Red also was the woman's hair. The fields beyond were vivid green and the sky blue. This scrap of paper had an indescribable dignity and a charm almost Titianesque (Sulman, 1897: 550–551).

This rather unnatural treatment of bold colour reminds us of the vivid colour massing of Victorian glass paintings.

As a result of the autonomy given to each teacher, the methods of teaching were also different. Rossetti, like Ruskin, stuck to drawing from nature and forbade his students to make a firm outline. Sulman remembered that he strongly opposed not only outline, but also drawing from imagination:

> He objected to pencil outlines. He would say: 'The masses of shade are the drawing, begin with them. The first fact to notice is the shade on one side the nose, put that in as tint; then the shade on cheek and chin'. He thought it insincere to put drawing where it was only inferred. Thus, when I had once drawn the return to an eyelid, he said: 'Get rid of that academic fribble! draw only what you see' (Sulman, 1897: 549).

Brown's approach, on the other hand, was totally different from Rossetti's. His teaching was much more systematic when compared with Rossetti's free style. Unlike Rossetti, Brown insisted on a firm outline. J. P. Emslie, one of the students of drawing classes who later became an instructor of the drawing class himself, expressed his initial perplexity at the teaching of Brown, who took over Rossetti's class in 1858:

> [...] he introduced two old practices which had never been seen in the class in Rossetti's days. He would tell the students to hold up a plumb line to see where different parts of the model fell below each other, and he would also tell the students to hold out their pencils at arm's length and measure with the thumb-nail on the pencil the length of the model's head and compare it with the measurement of the arm or body taken in a similar manner, so as to get the proportion (Hueffer, 1896: 426).

Emslie mentioned that Brown would himself work while instructing students, and would show them where their works were wrong in order to open their eyes to the application of practices which they had neglected. Here again, Brown might have explored new decorative methods of glass painting in emphasising outline and measurement/proportion. Those students had already been trained in the effects of mass and shade by Ruskin, and in the effect of colour by Rossetti, under the credo of drawing from nature. Now, by focusing on outline, and introducing measurement and proportion, Brown might have been exploring the possibility of adapting their drawing skills as well as his own to glass painting design (Fig. 3).

In January 1859, the name of Edward Burne-Jones, who had been assisting in Brown's class on Mondays, was listed as an instructor of the Friday Drawing Class ('*The Figure and Animals—Colour*'). Paul Thompson maintained that Burne-Jones taught glass painting at the WMC in 1859 (Thompson, 1991: 138). Although the College never offered a course on glass painting at the time and so far I have not been able to find any material to support Thompson's assertion that Burne-Jones was teaching glass-painting design in his class, Burne-Jones had certainly acquired enough knowledge and skill to be an accomplished glass painter before the Firm was established in 1861 (Fig. 4). It is probable that Burne-Jones as well as Brown might have been able to learn the practical skills of decorative art including stained glass from his students

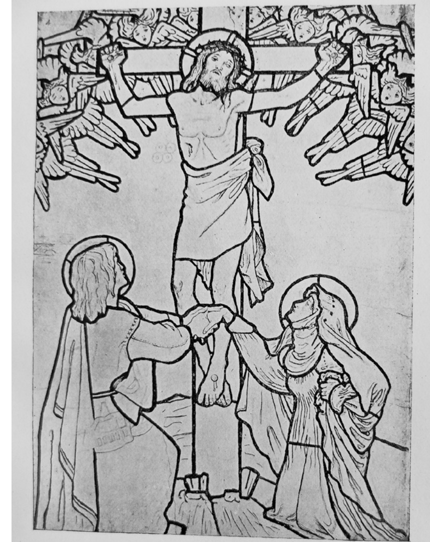


Fig. 3 *The Crucifixion*. Cartoon by Ford Madox Brown, c. 1862 (Morris & Company, c. 1920).

Fig. 4 St Martin stained glass design by Edward Burne-Jones (Christie's Images).

Fig. 5 *The Annunciation*. Stained glass window of the Church of All Saints, Middleton Cheney, 1865.

while teaching aesthetic skills to them. Burne-Jones' wife, Georgiana, quoted Emslie who recollected that, 'he left with his pupils a feeling that he was their fellow-worker as well as their master' (Georgiana Burne-Jones, I, 1904: 192).

4. From Working Men's College to the Morris, Marshall, Faulkner & Co. One of those craftsmen was George Campfield, who was a glass-painter and a student of drawing classes at the WMC, and who offered much needed professional knowledge to the Firm. He came to Morris's notice and was hired as the foreman of the Firm before its opening. Morris first encountered Campfield at the WMC. Campfield had evidently been introduced by other members of the Firm who taught at the College. Soon the stained glass produced by the Firm established and secured its reputation (Fig. 5). Campfield's name was included in the designs of trees in the background of several works and he was still working as foreman of the glass painters at the time of Morris's death.

In recruiting craftsmen for the Firm Morris favoured untutored working men. At the end of 1861, five men and boys were employed. The boys were from the Industrial Home for Destitute Boys in Euston Road. Morris strongly believed that 'art and skill is latent, ready to be drawn out of the least superficially promising of people' (MacCarthy, 1994: 175–176). Though Morris himself did not join the faculty of the WMC, he tried to educate youngsters through the practices of the Firm.

'Education' was one of the major roles and concepts of the Firm, one which was shared by the founding members. The current WMC possesses a notice which was considered to have been posted around January 1862. It reads:

> Wanted by a firm of Decorative Artists and Glass Painters, A Young Man able to draw and wishing to improve himself, for which he would have unusual opportunities. Any student of the Drawing Classes of the College who thinks that the situation might suit him is requested to apply to Mr Rossetti in his Class Room on Monday, Jan. 27, or on Monday, Feb. 3, between the hours of 9 and 10 p.m.[1]

It is obvious that Rossetti and probably other members of the Firm, which was set up in the previous year, tried to extend their brotherhood to their workingmen friends, or to introduce the brotherhood they had promoted while teaching at the WMC into the Firm. And there might have been an interaction between the Firm and the College. Some of the boys hired by the Firm were younger than 16, which was the minimum age to be accepted by the College. Those boys might have enrolled in the WMC later.

Ruskin kept teaching at the WMC on and off until 1862. Also Rossetti left the College after the term which ended on March 10th, 1862. Although the WMC network of artists constructed by those two eventually dissolved, its influence is very apparent in the development of later aesthetic movements.

Through the activities of the Working Men's College, drawing and design came to be strongly linked, thereby providing an important conduit into the new era of Arts and Crafts.

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[1] This notice was pasted in a black scrapbook belonging to the library of the Working Men's College. The scrapbook does not have any reference title or number.

The Creative Potential of the Avant-garde—
Inspirations from Modern Art and Postmodernism for Graphic and Communication Design

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Avant-garde / Communication design / Design education / Modern art / Postmodern art

The transformation of our working and living worlds from an industrial to a digital society calls for updating the existing concept of design both in professional practice and education. Enterprises, brands, services, and organizations are increasingly turning to strategic innovation, resulting in a great deal of new organizational and production-oriented requirements. The art of the international avant-garde, whose most important creative principle was the invention of new aesthetics, had a great influence on graphic and advertising design since the beginning of the 20th century. This brings up the question of the influence of art and its significance for today's communication and graphic designers. To what extent are the aesthetic concepts of modern and contemporary art inspiring designers and role models in the struggle for creative innovation in everyday work? The expectations of designers are exactly at this junction. On the one hand, a high degree of creativity and innovation is demanded, on the other hand, the new designs have to be simple, understandable, and usable.

Introduction

The activities and communications of graphic and communication designers have been subject to fundamental changes over the last 30 years, extending far beyond the technical domain. In addition to the transformation of design into a predominantly digital practice and many challenges such as relevant processes and methods, we are in particular confronted with the topic of inspiration, exemplary functions, and the associated training and education offers in a digital information society.

The obligation to creativity is a categorical imperative for design students, employees, freelancers, and also in general for startups and management. An obligation to a ubiquitous creativity dispositive is becoming more and more prevalent (Reckwitz, 2012). This poses the questions of how designers constantly come up with innovative aesthetics, where they come from, and what actually constitutes creativity?

What could be more appropriate than to get to the bottom of aesthetic strategies that have exemplified the highest possible degree of freedom in dealing with the new and, on the other hand, have reacted directly to social processes, namely in the avant-garde trends of the 20th century and thus look into the history of fine art? For example, Beat Schneider exemplifies aesthetic derivations of fine art on graphic and advertising design. Among other things, he finds parallels to cubist aesthetics in Georges Braque and A. M. Cassandre (Schneider, 2009: 77).

As a result, two questions were asked:

– with regard to the role model function of the fine arts on graphic and communication design;
– with regard to the degree of implementation of visual arts knowledge in design education.

The answers to these questions should form an important basis for the concept of design and designers.

Modern and Avant-garde as Inspiration

The industrial revolution created an extreme change and surrounded man with machine-made commodities. Even today, people are repeatedly flooded with new advancing technology. However, "much of what happened in the 20th century is repeated today in a different form. New technologies appear and radically change the modern landscape" (Maeda, 2013: xi). From this one could deduce that similar conditions and challenges will occur in the age of the digital revolution.

Modern artists were faced with the challenge of "transforming traditional artistic subjects and techniques" (Breidenich and Pohl, 2016: 46). The call for changes in creative traditions, techniques or materials involved "renewal through variation at the risk of failure" (*Ibid.*: 46). The willingness to take risks, which artists faced during the 20th century, meets the ubiquitous demand for innovation on a breeding ground, which raises the question of possible parallels to the creativity dispositive of today's fields of work. Thus, modern artists become role models for taking risks posed by the imponderables of innovative aesthetics as an offer to a more or less potential audience (Brock, 2002: 316).

Since the late 18th century, the interrelations between applied art and free art have become obvious. The industrial revolution radically changed the production of commodities. Reform movements that criticized the consequences of industrialization formed rapidly. The representatives of the reform movement wanted to prevent both the poor living conditions of the workers and also "the useless and qualitatively bad utensils and furnishings which were over-loaded with ornaments from mass production" (Hauffe, 2008: 28). The Arts and Crafts movement as well as the efforts of Adolf Loos attempted to change and influence the design of industrially produced goods. At the same time, visual artists turned away from traditional salon painting in order to engage in individual impressions and self-determined pictorial forms. The differentiation of the design of earmarked objects and fine art is reflected in countless efforts of artist groups and the associated styles.

> Even avant-gardes—Futurism, Dada, Surrealism—created design forms for advertising that expressed their particular visions and ideologies. [...] For the avant-garde, producing advertising for technologically progressive corporations, which incidentally often sponsored artistic innovation, was such a modern idea that they

> proudly referred to themselves as 'artists for industry' or 'advertising engineers' (Heller, 2010/1999).
> Some of these modern movements, such as fauvism, had a limited effect on graphic design. Others, such as cubism and futurism, Dada and surrealism, De Stijl, suprematism, constructivism, and expressionism directly influenced the graphic language of form and visual communications in this century. The evolution of twenty-century graphic design closely relates to modern painting, poetry, and architecture (Meggs, 2006: 248–268).

Ludwig Mies van der Rohe liked to use the phrase "less is more" to express his preference for plain and simple forms in architecture. Thereafter, Dieter Rams, the former chief designer of Braun AG, adopted the terminology in many of his publications. He published a book entitled "Less but better" in 1994. His principle "less design is more design" (Bürdek, 1999: 27) later inspired Apple founder Steve Jobs.

Jonathan Ive, the designer of Apple products, has unmistakable success with his simplicity principle. Apple plays a visibly important role in the aesthetic principle that postmodern art calls minimalism. Other corporations are inspired by their success as well.

British cognitive scientist Edward de Bono wrote, "Getting involved in trying to make things more simple is good for you and good for society. It is almost as important as ecology. Simplicity should become a permanent fashion" (De Bono, 1998: 12). According to De Bono, complex systems and ideas can always be expressed simply. That includes technology. Apple has perfectly implemented this concept.

> How do we get the idea that *simple* also means *good*? Because people want to feel that they have physical tangible products under their control. By putting order into complexity, you achieve at the same time the concept that the product is fundamentally subordinate to you. Simplicity is not just a visual style. It does not just mean minimalism or that something is not overloaded. Simplicity means working your way through the depths of complexity. To be really simple, you have to dive pretty deep. For example, if you want something to have no screws, you might end up with a very intricate and complex product. It's better to start at a lower, deeper level, and understand the product, including its manufacturing process. One has to fully understand the nature of a product in order to be able to get rid of the non-essential parts (Isaacson, 2012: 402).

It becomes clear that minimalist postmodern aesthetics could help make functional goods functional and attractive.

Using the example of De Stijl, the new design elements of the visual arts and their influence on the design of the everyday world are particularly evident. The De Stijl movement was founded in 1917 by the Dutch artists Theo van Doesburg and Piet Mondrian.

> For the artists of the De Stijl group, pure abstraction and a strict geometric order were the formal-aesthetic expression of modern industrialized and technological society. And because they placed art at the forefront of society, the ideal of pure forms was to be transferred to all spheres of life in order to create order and harmony independent of nature (Hauffe, 2008: 70 et seq.).

Every natural reproduction was rejected and applied to the non-colors black, gray, white as well as the primary colors red, yellow, and blue by strict non-objectivity and a complete reduction of the color palette. All emotional and individual characteristics were banished in painting (Hauffe, 2008). The radicalism of the minimization of design elements of De Stijl can still be found today in numerous everyday objects. The cocktail dress by Yves Saint Laurent from the 1960s is probably the best-known example.

The De Stijl movement not only influenced architecture and fine arts, but also the Bauhaus style. The idea of functionalism in design as well as the foundations for a new design got significant progression during the Bauhaus phase. It must be noted that the arts had great influence on the design in the Bauhaus phase, since most Bauhaus masters were also avant-garde artists.

After the Second World War, a new attempt was made in the 1950s to give priority to function rather than strengthening ideology or emotion. Especially in Germany, the future after the Second World War was to appear tidy and orderly. The College of Design in Ulm supported "a functionalism that propagated simple forms with right angles, restrained colors and especially the system idea" (Hauffe, 2008: 121). Braun AG is considered "the realization of Ulmer concept in the industry [...]. The devices from Braun are simple in their design, clear and timelessly modern, the technology perfect in every detail" (Hauffe, 2008: 130).

A direct, conscious reference to the artistic avant-garde was created by the fashion concept COS, which is characterized by its minimalist aesthetics. COS supported a major retrospective of the American painter Agnes Martin in 2016 at the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum in New York. The work of the American artist inspired the Swedish COS chief designer Karin Gustafsson to a limited collection (Braatz, 2017). In an interview Gustafsson said: "I find my inspiration in art. This is nothing unusual. All creatives look for inspiration in all sorts of creative fields. Art and fashion belong together so naturally" (Hackober, 2015: w.p.). Agnes Martin's early works (1960–1962), which emerged before the actual period of minimal art, already focus on form and structure and are characterized by a minimalist impact (Meyer, 2005).

Fashion designer Jil Sander, who became known for her clarity and purism in her designs from the early 1970s, lists Agnes Martin as one of her key sources of inspiration. In an interview with Monopol magazine she said, "Agnes Martin is another American painter for whom I feel a strong affinity. She also asks the fundamental question of how to deal with colors. There is no signal, no loud language in her work, but occur as restrained moods in which the overstrained emotions can regenerate" (Frenzel, 2017: 91).

Collectively, the examples demonstrate clear trends towards the interface of modern

art as well as graphic and product design. Do the design practitioners relate directly to well-known works, artists or styles, as the examples and cases described above, or do the practitioners merely have an affinity to the visual arts?

Online expert survey

A standardized online expert survey was used for the research question. It consisted of an online expert interview and a standardized questionnaire. This format was chosen in order to be able to interview experts “at the same time and spatially independent” (Baur and Blasius, 2014: 662). In this case, the standardized online expert survey method was used, with each expert receiving the same questionnaire and the results then being easily comparable. The qualitative data that resulted from this survey were then evaluated and analyzed in January 2018.

The interviewees were “interviewed as experts based on the status attributed to them” (Baur and Blasius, 2014: 570). This attributed status of expert knowledge is controversial, because who is considered an expert and who is not is unclear. As a middle ground, people are regarded as experts if they “have a specific role knowledge, are credited with such knowledge, and claim special competence based on this for themselves” (Baur and Blasius, 2014: 571). All respondents are characterized by their multiple years (up to 30 years) of practice in graphic and communication design. Some respondents are specializing in web and interface design, 3D and motion design. The experts were selected by the authors based on personal knowledge of their work.

The questionnaire consists of eight hybrid questions, for which the answers are given but in addition there is the possibility to choose “Other” or “I don’t know”, six closed questions, five scales and two open narrative requests. Open questions provide a “more extensive and differentiated material” (Baur and Blasius, 2014: 678). The closed questions as well as the scales and hybrid questions are comparable and can be evaluated more easily.

Socio-demographic questions were asked at the beginning of the survey. This was followed by simple and easy to answer questions about the first topic. The questionnaire is divided into two topics. This helps the interviewer focus on answering all questions that belong to the same topic, one after the other. All questions should be answered, but the main questions are in the middle of the questionnaire so that, even if the interviewee breaks off the interview, the most important answers were collected (Baur and Blasius, 2014). A distinction is made between direct and indirect inspiration in the questions. Examples of direct inspiration:

- How do you assess the influence of fine art of the 20th century on your graphic works?
- How often do you view works of fine art to generate inspiration? 7-level scale (very rare, rare, rather rare, (neutral), rather often, often, very often)
  And for indirect inspiration:
- How regularly do you visit art exhibitions (museums, galleries, etc.)?
- Have you been taught the importance of 20th century art in your studies?

Results

The result of the survey shows the relationship of designers to actors and works of visual art. A distinction is made between direct and indirect inspiration in the questions. Does the design practitioner relate directly to well-known works, such as the examples and cases described above, or do the practitioners merely have an affinity for the visual arts?

Expert profiles

60 experts were contacted via email or Facebook and asked to complete the online questionnaire. 41 experts have completed the questionnaire. The majority (68%) of respondents are male. In addition, 39% are between the ages of 30 to 39 years and have 10 to 14 years (24%) work experience in their profession. Almost all (93%) have studied and specifically in Germany (93%). 24% of respondents studied in the 1990s. However, 37% studied in the 2000s, between 2000 and 2009, so that they, as digital natives, grew up and studied completely in the era of new technology and the digital age. A large majority (71%) studied communication design, followed by graphic design (24%) and media design (24%). The vast majority (76%) of the respondents are currently self-employed, followed by employees in agencies (42%), in corporations (24%), and in educational institutions (20%).

Expert knowledge in the field of visual arts

34% of respondents say that they are rather well-versed in the visual arts of the 20th century.

However, they only visit an art exhibition in a museum or gallery one to five times a year (51%). It can be concluded that they acquire their knowledge through other platforms, such as the Internet or magazines, or they have been taught the basics in their studies or academic career.

81% of respondents stated that they were taught the importance of the fine arts. Accordingly, 17% respond with no to this question.

In the questions that follow, the opinions of the respondents are more different and, accordingly,

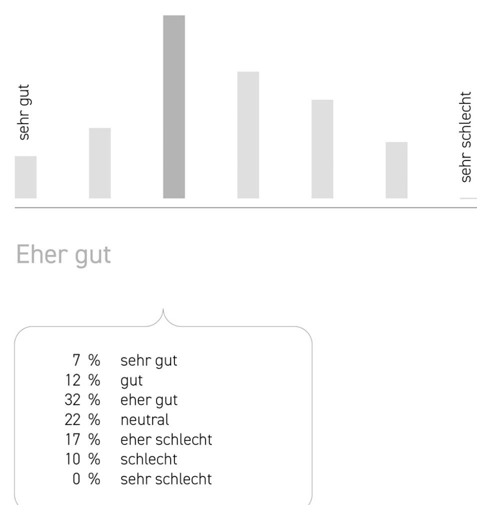


Fig. 1 How good is your knowledge of fine arts?

they are less clear. 32% are satisfied with the artistic education in their studies or training career. However, only 10% are very satisfied, 22% are neutral and 15% are rather dissatisfied. It can be concluded that the many different ways to teach art are the reason why the results were so unclear here.

Current examination of visual art

Also, the questions “How often do you look at works from the visual arts to generate inspiration?” and “How would you assess the influence of the 20th century visual arts on your graphic works?” did not yield clear answers. Unfortunately, the result does not provide a clear answer to the question of whether creatives are inspired by works of 20th century artists or the visual arts in general. Nevertheless, the majority of respondents (44%) classify the influence of fine arts on their graphic work as a lot to very much.

Minimalism as an influencing factor

A large majority (90%) said that they know minimalist works of fine art of the 20th century. In addition, 42% consider the topic quite up to date. It is clear for all respondents (93%) that doing without and reduction in visual communication provides clarity and simplicity. In addition, functionality (78%), orientation (68%), and in third place, quality (61%) are listed as intentions for minimalist forms.

Outlook and conclusion

Creative and innovative aesthetics has become a significant design paradigm since the modern age. This creative attitude was transferred from art to architecture, fashion, furniture, and consumer goods.

There is no doubt that creative people like to refer to the visual arts. The influence of art has not died even today. However, the results of the survey did not provide a clear indication as to whether creatives are now being specifically inspired by works of 20th century artists. It is obvious that the subject of minimalism plays a certain role among the respondents. However, to what extent they can be inspired by works of the 20th century artists in their daily work cannot be clearly stated. The fact that they rarely visit museums or art exhibitions for inspiration suggests that either other channels are being used by the interviewees or that these works do not provide such a great source of inspiration.

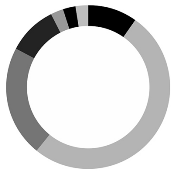
Short summary of the results:

- Half of the designers are quite to very familiar with fine art.
- 83% of designers visit fewer than 10 exhibitions, most of them only 1 to 5 exhibitions a year.
- Less than half have their work influenced by fine art. Slightly more than half are consciously looking at art to be inspired.
- More than half are satisfied with their art or higher education

The survey yielded a clear answer to the question: “What intentions are realized through forgoing and reduction in visual communication?” The purpose of forgoing and reduction in visual communication is above all clarity and simplicity according to the results of the survey. This is followed by functionality, orientation, and quality. The fact that the term quality is among the most chosen intentions shows that minimalism can be used as a tool that will result in high-quality projects. Clear design parameters are effective. Minimalism is a principle that is not just a trend but has endured though time and is therefore also a benchmark.

In the age of digital transformation, designers generally accept fine art as a model for their work and agree with the importance of teaching this subject in design education. Due to the fact that the experience of exhibitions is relatively small, one can assume that alternative, perhaps digital, media will be used for information purposes.

WIE REGELMÄSSIG BESUCHEN SIE KUNSTAUSSTELLUNGEN (IN MUSEEN, IN GALERIEN, USW.)?



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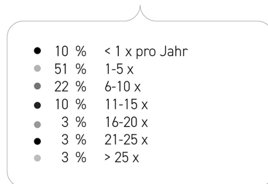
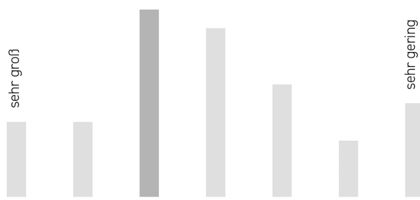


Fig. 2 How regularly do you visit art exhibitions?

WIE SCHÄTZEN SIE DEN EINFLUSS DER BILDENDEN KUNST DES 20. JH. AUF IHRE GRAFISCHEN ARBEITEN EIN?



Eher groß

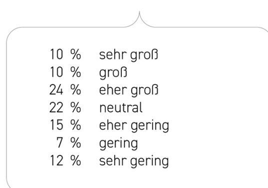
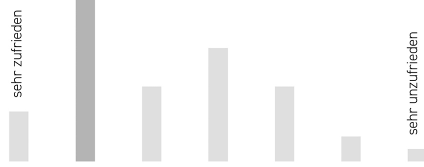


Fig. 3 How satisfied were you with the mediation of fine arts during your studies?

WIE ZUFRIEDEN WAREN/SIND SIE MIT DER VERMITTLUNG VON KENNTNISSEN ZUR BILDENDEN KUNST IN IHREM STUDIUM/IN IHRER SCHULISCHEN LAUFBAHN?

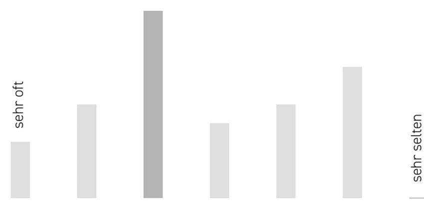


Zufrieden

10 %	sehr zufrieden
32 %	zufrieden
15 %	eher zufrieden
22 %	neutral
15 %	eher unzufrieden
5 %	unzufrieden
3 %	sehr unzufrieden

Fig. 4 How do you assess the influence of the fine arts of the 20th century on your graphic works?

WIE OFT SCHAUEN SIE SICH WERKE AUS DER BILDENDEN KUNST AN UM INSPIRATIONEN ZU GENERIEREN?



Eher oft

7 %	sehr oft
12 %	oft
32 %	eher oft
22 %	neutral
17 %	eher selten
10 %	selten
0 %	sehr selten

Fig. 5 How often do you look at works from the fine arts to generate inspiration?

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Roman-like Thai Typefaces: Breakthrough or Regression?[1]

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History of Thai typefaces / Type personality / Visual accessibility / Legibility / Readability

Roman-like Thai typefaces are virtual representatives from the West that laid the foundation for the growth of the era of dry transfer lettering in Thailand. Although these typefaces are currently highly popular among Thai designers as source users, they may also have a considerable influence on end users' reading capability. This incompatibility between users may illustrate some aspects of these typefaces. This study reports the state of knowledge of Roman-like Thai typefaces through documentary research, with a focus on discourse, agitprop, method of dominance and its aftermath on Thai legibility. Our findings are interwoven with a criterion based on a scientific approach to enhance arguments by discussing their reasonable consequences. This study suggested several reasons to design or use Roman-like Thai typefaces, such as its ease of usability, modernity and the limitations and influences of businesses. However, the progressive ideology of Thai designers means that it is always intentionally used while reducing the readability of information. In addition, Thai people did not recognize Roman-like Thai typefaces as easily as conventional Thai typefaces.

1. Introduction

Factors influencing the design, use and recognition of Thai letterforms are reviewed in this study through a brief history of Roman-like Thai typefaces with some observations on their use, type characteristics and significant issues that negatively and directly impact their audiences. The performance of Roman-like Thai fonts was compared with that for conventional Thai fonts.

2. Roots, influences and dissemination

The origin of Roman-like Thai typefaces may be from the use of Western writing tools to express Thai letterforms and the influence of Western advertising styles and culture for goods and services, which was made possible by the similarity of some Thai characters to Roman letters. As Thailand entered the era of dry transfer lettering, a group of foreign investors produced Roman-like Thai typefaces in dry transfer lettering for distribution in Thailand (Suveeranont, 2002). Typefaces mimicking Western typefaces were used widely in the media, especially in advertising (Figure 1; [A][2], [B][3] and [C][4]). In the digital age, Roman-like Thai typefaces have been used more extensively in the print media, packaging, screen media, and environment media.

The early 21st century provided more evidence of the significant territorial expansion of the use of Roman-like Thai typefaces in Thailand. A transnational joint venture between Telcom Asia and Orange S.A. (True Corporation, 2016) employed an advertising agency to produce advertising media for their new mobile carrier, TA Orange. A custom Roman-like Thai font similar to the PSL Kittithada font was used as the typeface for the brand identity of the mobile carrier (Figure 1; [D][5]). Not only was this typeface published widely to a Thai audience, it also influenced other media, including agencies, graphic designers and media producers, to such an extent that it became a typical model for typefaces used in Thailand. This typeface was superfluously used as body text for continuous reading. In addition, other Thai typefaces were created for use as both retail and custom fonts, such as the typefaces for the brand identities of other Thai mobile carriers, including AIS (Advanced Info Service Public Company Limited) and dtac (Total Access Communication Public Company Limited) (Figure 1; [E][6] and [F][7]), and magazines, such as *Wallpaper* (Thai edition; Figure 1; [G][8]). Furthermore, this influence also extended to international acceptance, i.e., some Roman-like Thai typefaces won awards in the type design category while others are available on a leading German foundries website (Linotype, 2018), in Japan (Morisawa, 2017). Thus, it is not surprising that they are familiar typefaces. However, this popularity does not mean that they are useful typefaces for continuous reading.

[1] This paper is a revision of the study, 'Legibility and readability of Roman-like Thai typeface' (Punsongserm, 2015), which was supported by research grants from Thammasat University.
[2] The Manop 3 typeface by MCCANORMA, which was published in the Thai Typefaces font catalogue ('แบบอักษรไทย' in Thai) (p. 6).
[3] The Manoptica 1, 3, 4, and 6 typefaces by MCCANORMA as shown in the Thai Typefaces font catalogue ('แบบอักษรไทย' in Thai) (p. 8).
[4] Thai lettering 'พริ้งพระอภัย' on a book cover composed using the Manop 3 typeface.
[5] An example of TA Orange's advertising media using a Roman-like Thai typeface as its brand identity font (source: https://f.ptcdn.info/810/002/000/1362454363-615164img3-o.jpg).
[6] A brand identity font for AIS (GSM Advance) as shown in body type throughout its website (source: https://www.gsmadvance.ais.co.th) (accessed March 2, 2009).
[7] A brand identify font for dtac as shown in body type throughout its website (source: https://www.dtac.co.th) (accessed March 2, 2009).
[8] A Roman-like Thai font composed in body type on a page from *Wallpaper* magazine (Thai edition) (source: https://www.bloggang.com/data/rainynight/picture/1284028745.jpg).

Fig. 1 Examples of Roman-like Thai typefaces.

Analogues between Thai and Roman letterforms

Sans-serif Roman-like Thai typefaces

DB Futhaira
DB Gill Siam
DB Helvethaica
DB Moment
DB Ozone
DB Manoptica
PSL Kittithada
Kanit
Noto Sans Thai

Serif Roman-like Thai typefaces

DB Satawus
DB CoolLetter
JS 75 Pumpuang

Fig. 2 Top: Analogies between Thai and Roman letterforms. Bottom: Sans-serif and serif Roman-like Thai typefaces.

3. Type characteristics of Roman-like Thai typefaces

Roman-like Thai typefaces include both kinds of Roman type classifications: i.e., serif and sans-serif. The sans-serif Roman-like Thai typefaces are currently widespread in both appliance and type design. Based on this Romanized approach, Roman-like Thai typefaces modify Roman letterforms into Thai letterforms. For example, the Roman characters /U/, /u/, /s/, /K/, /w/, /n/, /v/ and /a/ (double storey) are subrogated into Thai characters /บ/, /น/, /ร/, /ห/, /พ/, /ท/, /ข/ and /ล/, respectively, while the characters /u/, /G/ and /B/ are reversed and adapted into characters /ม/, /อ/ and /ย/, respectively, and /U/ is inverted to become character /ก/. Figure 2 illustrates the common analogues between Thai and Roman letterforms (top), along with examples of Roman-like Thai typefaces in sans-serif and serif styles (bottom).

Those mimicked letterforms in Roman-like Thai typefaces (mainly the characters /บ/, /น/, /ร/, /พ/ and /ท/) rely on visual word recognition and their context for visual recognition. However, as single characters, they do not show good performance in visual letter recognition because each may be confused with the original Roman letters. For example, the mimicked characters 'พ.ร.บ.' may be confused with the abbreviation 'W.S.U.' or two adjacent characters may be misread, such as 'nu (ทน)' or 'uwws (นพพร)'.

A serif and an *uroko* (i.e., Romanization in Chinese and Japanese typefaces) may be realized as decorative parts of each natural letterform; however, a loop in Thai letterforms is not part of the decoration of the letter. The loop (including other essential parts) in Thai letterforms is an essential feature of the letter, which allows similar letters to be differentiated. For instance, the loop positions assist in distinguishing between /ภ/ and /ถ/. If the loop has a reduced degree, such as a small loop or a little line, the reader may confuse them with each other or confuse them as the letter /ก/. Thus, the loop is a critical feature reinforcing the legibility of Thai typefaces. Not only have the glyphs of Roman-like Thai typefaces been patterned on and adapted from the original Roman typeface, but the key features have also been diminished and omitted. Even though they are popularly used, Roman-like Thai typefaces may be inefficient in general reading situations, particularly when the font size is small, or if they are used in an environment with low visual acuity and poor lighting. In addition, using Roman-like Thai typefaces may have a negative impact on visually impaired people, people with poor vision, and beginners learning to read Thai.

4. Remarks on Roman-like Thai typeface use

We conducted an initial survey using the Roman-like Thai typefaces, which were displayed as four types of graphic media: i.e., publications, packaging, screen, and environmental media. The survey results showed that the use of a Roman-like Thai typeface in small font size, justified, or in bold affected both the legibility and readability of the main body text. Four factors were identified by the research results. First, Roman-like Thai typefaces are more popularly used and feel more modern because they mimic the Roman typeface; therefore, they are considered more advanced than the traditional Thai version, which is seen as more obsolete. Second, business limitations and influences, especially when advertising various products using the business's brand identity, may be directed or assigned from the parent company in another country. Third, Roman-like typefaces are deliberately used when manufacturers want to conceal the presented information from their consumers, such as clearly shown in the case of a product's nutritional

Fig. 3 Thai typefaces displayed in iOS 7.

information or the terms and conditions in the purchase of goods and services. Roman-like typefaces are often used with a small font size and a long line length placement, which results in most consumers not attempting to read it. This is an important ethical design issue that must be considered by designers. The final factor reflects progressive ideas and beliefs about Roman-like Thai typefaces, such as the belief that existing Thai typefaces should be adapted and if they are Romanized continually, then people will become more accustomed to reading them. This critical issue needs to be investigated further using more empirical evidence.

5. Conflict, discourse and defence

Some suspicions have arisen regarding the type and typographic design issues of Roman-like Thai typefaces. A significant example of this problem began with a consumer's criticism of the use of a Roman-like Thai typeface as the body type for an international design magazine, i.e., *Wallpaper* (Thai edition) (Wongsunkakon, 2007). The typeface used in the Thai edition of *Wallpaper* magazine was designed based on a Roman typeface and reflected the brand identity for the magazine. The consumer observed that the design of some Thai glyphs did not achieve familiarity based on appropriate Thai letter recognition. Some letterforms were easily confused between English and Thai; e.g., the style of the character /ห/ had a high possibility of being interpreted as the letter /K/. The typeface designer responded to the consumer in an article arguing that the character /ห/ in the *Wallpaper* magazine typeface was inspired by the letterform of the original glyph of the character /R/ from the Frutiger typeface (Luangsupporn, 2007; Wongsunkakon, 2007). However, no explanation was based on reliable academic evidence, except for clarifications based on a Romanized approach and the employer's requirements.

Another critical issue emerged from the significant effect of using a Roman-like Thai typeface as a system font for Thai on iOS software (version 7; Apple, Cupertino, CA, USA) instead of the conventional Thai font employed on previous versions of iOS (Sakawee, 2013). The new typeface was used for displaying various words on the OS's user interface. However, a surprising contradiction emerged while determining the font used for the main operating system. The Thai text on iOS was presented using a Roman-like Thai typeface (Sukhumvit Tadmai font)[9] in a message area of the iOS 7 interface, while a keyboard showed a familiar Thai text typeface (Thonburi font) (Fig. 3, top left).[10] Thus, the cloned characters consequently could not be used on the Thai keyboard because when the letters are isolated they have weak visual recognition. A few months later, the Sukhumvit Tadmai font was removed as the main font for iOS 7.1 beta because end users continually found the font to be inaccessible and disagreed on their recognition of Thai characters (Apple, 2013; Thai-language.com, 2013). This example shows that Roman-like Thai typefaces are negatively perceived by most iOS end users because of its limitations from the aspect of visual accessibility, while typeface designers have only recently realized the issue of Thai readers' inability to read Roman-like Thai typefaces (Usakunwathana, 2015).

Figure 3 (top right)[11] shows the Sukhumvit Tadmai and Thonburi fonts used for Thai words on iOS 7.0.4 (left) and iOS 7.1 (right), respectively. The comparison shows that the Roman-like Thai typeface has larger consonant glyphs than does the conventional Thai typeface while the top vowels and tone marks of the Roman-like Thai typeface are smaller than in the conventional Thai typeface. In addition, Apple has used the Sukhumvit font for a typeface that reflects its brand identity on their website (Fig. 3, bottom).[12]

Some writers and designers have always praised Roman-like Thai typefaces in advocacy advertorials. In the literature, a Roman-like Thai typeface was always representative of a more contemporary and modern style, while conventional Thai typefaces are more traditional (Mitchell, 2014). Some interviewers referred to modernity and popular culture, where designs should be well-timed, and observed that traditional Thai culture limits the expression of Thai typography (Cornwel-

[9] The Sukhumvit Tadmai font was published in 2013 (source: http://font.cadsondemak.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/SukhumvitSet1.pdf).

[10] Apple's 'Sukhumvit' font in iOS 7 (source: http://www.siampod.com/2013/06/12/sukhumvit-font-set-as-default-thai-font-on-ios-7/).

[11] The new Thai language in iOS 7 (source: https://www.macthai.com/2014/03/11/ios-7-1-thai-font/amp/).

[12] Apple's contact web page for Thai customers (source: https://www.apple.com/th/contact/).

Smith, 2014). Most Thai letterforms have been suggested to be more similar to Latin letters than letterforms in other languages (Mitchell, 2014). Mitchell (2014) also suggested that some glyphs found on stone inscriptions indicated that there was no loop-at-origin because the origins were drawn as a curved line, not a loop.

Thai handwriting includes characters such as /ร/, which uses a refrained loop when written and its glyph is similar to the Roman letter /S/; therefore, creating any characters similar to Roman letterforms may not be Romanization (Mitchell, 2014). This interpretation may not entirely be valid because of the distinction between handwriting and fonts that are not both based on the same system. Handwriting depends on its author and Thai letterforms can be written in refined or cursory handwriting styles.

Roman-like Thai letterforms have fewer details, which means that it works better at a small size (Mitchell, 2014). However, its legibility becomes weaker and its meaning more inexact because 'less detail' means simplifying and omitting the key features of Thai letterforms. Although providing 'less detail' allows better white space (counter and interletter spaces), it can result in lower letter identification and speed of reading, especially in low visual acuity or low contrast environments. In addition, most of the Roman-like Thai fonts have more Bo Baimai height than do conventional Thai fonts, which allows Roman-like Thai fonts to have larger consonants than conventional Thai fonts at the same point size. This is an advantage of the Roman-like Thai fonts (Usakunwathana, 2015). However, this expediency may not enhance legibility as much as it provides strong letter features and better counter and letter spacing.

6. Evidence for visual word recognition

Some Thai typeface designers follow an ideology assuming that using Roman-like Thai typefaces for a long time will enable Thai readers to build strong familiarity with the Romanized letterforms and they will eventually acquire the experience needed to be able to read them easily. Roman-like typefaces emerged over 40 years ago as dry transfer lettering, which developed into the currently used digital fonts; therefore, it is possible to presume that Thai readers may be familiar with the glyphs and letterforms of Roman-like Thai typefaces.

Following our suspicions that we mentioned in the previous section, we conducted a pilot study as an initial investigation to reveal the capability of some Roman-like Thai typefaces. The aim of this examination was to test the legibility and readability of the Roman-like Thai fonts compared with conventional Thai fonts.

This study was conducted based on a method of distance study (Tinker, 1963) and a method of identification of word strings in a low-illuminance environment, which were used to measure the legibility and readability of the typefaces on the visual words. Fifty young Thai people with normal visual acuity were invited to participate in this study. The Thai fonts selected as test materials included five conventional Thai fonts (Angsana New,[13] Cordia New,[14] DB Fongnam,[15] TH Sarabun New[16] and PSL Text[17]) and five Roman-like Thai fonts (DB Adman[18], PSL Display[19], DB Helvathaica[20] (currently called DB Heavent), PSL Kittithada[21] and DB Ozone[22]), with a high frequency of use in Thailand.

6.1 The first method

In the first method, the Bo Baimai height of each set of Thai words (character height) (Punsongserm et al., 2017) were sorted into two sizes (i.e., 6.5 mm and 10 mm). The legibility of eight characters on visual word recognition was examined in this task using black characters on a white background. The target characters included /พ/, /บ/, /ท/, /น/, /ก/, /ถ/, /ศ/ and /ส/ in the context of composing ten Thai words (e.g., /พบ/, /บอกบท/, /ทน/, /ทำกำไร/, /เถิน/, /นท/, /ศอก/, /สน/, /กราบ/ and /ทาน/) (Fig. 4, top right). The distance between the stimulus and observers was approximately 400 cm with an illuminance of 700 lx.

[13] A standard font used in Windows software (Microsoft, Redmond, WA, USA).
[14] A standard font used in Windows software (Microsoft).
[15] (source: https://www.dbfonts.biz/dbxvol1.php).
[16] A new version of Sarabun New (source: http://www.f0nt.com/release/th-sarabun-new/amp/).
[17] The PSL Text font is available from Font PSL (source: http://www.fontpsl.com/webpage/myfont/show.php?id=23).
[18] (source: http://www.dbfonts.biz/dbxvol3.php).
[19] The PSL Display font is available from Font PSL (source: http://www.fontpsl.com/webpage/myfont/show.php?id=29).
[20] (source: http://www.dbfonts.biz/dbheavent.php).
[21] The PSL Kittithada font is available from Font PSL (source: http://www.fontpsl.com/webpage/myfont/show.php?id=49).
[22] (source: http://www.dbfonts.biz/dbxvol4.php).

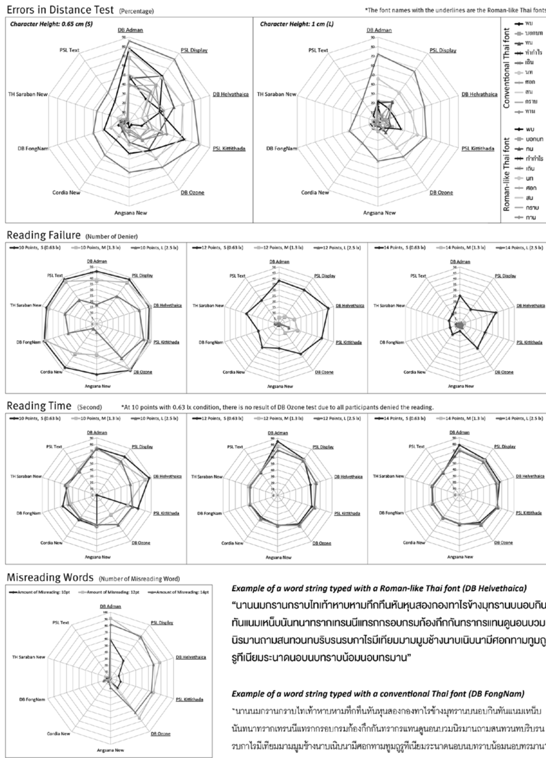

Fig. 4 The results of the tests.

6.2 The second method

Three factors were considered in measuring the efficacy of the typefaces: i.e., reading failure, reading time, and misreading words. Word strings were composed into a paragraph to examine the reading time and the accuracy of words read. Like the first test, this method tested the legibility of visual word recognition, but also explored the readability of crowded words. The target characters included /น/, /ม/, /ก/, /ร/, /บ/, /ท/, /ห/, /ข/, /ด/, /ถ/, /ส/, /ช/ and /ศ/. These characters were composed into several Thai word strings (Fig. 4, bottom right). Each word within a word string was swapped in position of word order to produce different paragraphs. Although a Roman-like Thai font provides a larger consonant character than a conventional Thai font in the same point size, we accepted this condition and did not adjust the Bo Baimai heights of the selected fonts equally. Three regular point sizes were provided for the word strings of each type sets for the ten typefaces, i.e., 10, 12 and 14 points. We determined three low levels of illuminance in a dimly lit environment, i.e., 0.63 lx, 1.3 lx and 2.5 lx. All participants in both methods were asked to enunciate the sample text in response to this stimulus.

6.3 Findings from the first method

The first method found that the accuracy of identifying single words at a character height of 6.5 mm showed more errors in most of the Roman-like Thai words than for the conventional Thai words. Highly incorrect responses were elicited by the words /เถิน/, /นท/ and /ทำกำไร/. At a character height of 10 mm, the errors in each tested word decreased; however, the words /เถิน/ and /นท/ as presented in the Roman-like Thai font showed more errors than when presented in a conventional Thai font (Fig. 4, Errors in Distance Test).

6.4 Findings from the second method

The second method found that participants experienced reading failures for word strings typed using both kinds of typefaces equally at 10 points with the lowest illuminance in the reading failure test (Fig. 4, Reading Failure). When the point size and light intensity was increased, reading failure also decreased for both kinds of typefaces; however, conventional Thai fonts demonstrated lower declines than did Roman-like Thai fonts. At 14 points with the lowest illuminance, the failure rating showed more significant differences; i.e., the readability of Roman-like Thai fonts declined more than for conventional Thai fonts. With medium and the highest light intensity, however, reading failures for both kinds of typefaces were small but identical. As for reading time (Fig. 4, Reading Time), the results indicated that an overall lower reading time was needed for the word strings typed with conventional Thai fonts than for Roman-like Thai fonts. When misreading words (Fig. 4, Misreading Words), the results showed a dramatically larger number of misread words in the Roman-like Thai fonts compared with the conventional Thai fonts.

6. Conclusion

Foreign investors and an advertising agency were originally responsible for producing a Roman-like Thai typeface for a media campaign advertorial. This typeface played an essential role in determining the trajectory for the use of Roman-like Thai typefaces in Thailand and set the tone for others to design and use their own Roman-like Thai typefaces. Thai font foundries, graphic design firms and mass media have taken up the use of Roman-like Thai typefaces because it represents modernity. Although participants made several observations concerning the effect of

using a Roman-like Thai typeface on reading recognition, there is no substantial evidence to indicate that a Roman-like Thai typeface destroys meaning for the reader. This study reported a set of pilot experiments that explored the legibility of Roman-like Thai typefaces and found that the selected Roman-like Thai typefaces elicited negative legibility and readability, and caused more reading errors than did the selected conventional Thai typefaces.

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Design for the Future of Mankind

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Future / Design social responsibility / Design and technology / Modern design / Postmodern design

In his book *Architecture, essay on art*, published in 1979, Étienne-Louis Boullée referred to the work of architects as "beneficial Art". Loyal to the ideas of the Enlightenment, this architectural revolutionary could only make sense of his work if it was intended to promote the progress of humanity.

Since then, modern design has followed this Enlightened "dogma" in affording changes in the social function of art, in design and architecture, in the aesthetics of objects, and also in modifying teaching by pulling it away from academic tradition. This paper aims to demonstrate the current situation of design and the new challenges faced, which emerge from the need to recover the agenda of the Enlightenment in the era of Post-humanism, reclaiming it from the point at which it was disrupted by Post-modernism and Neo-liberal politics. Thus, "beneficial Art" focuses its efforts on the total eradication of poverty and inequality, heading towards a kind of industrial development which aims to improve our quality of life—respectful of Nature and capable of reaching the final objective of achieving a society guided by the idea of progress and the hope of a better future.

In his book *Architecture, essay on art*, published in 1979, Étienne-Louis Boullée referred to the work of architects as "beneficial Art". Loyal to the ideas of the Enlightenment, this architectural revolutionary could only make sense of his work if it was intended to promote the progress of humanity. Since then, modern design has followed this Enlightened "dogma" in affording changes in the social function of art, in design and architecture, in the aesthetics of objects, and also in modifying teaching by pulling it away from academic tradition.

The desire to be of beneficial use became a founding principal of design in the centuries which followed: in order to do away with the past, it was necessary to move away from art (in the broad sense that of course included architecture, and later, design) based on aesthetic and formalist approaches, that were themselves proprietors of the decline of the Baroque that the agenda of the Enlightenment had sought to overcome. The idea goes back a long way, from a lengthy dispute, which design exacerbated in the industrial era: the "Querelle" between the old and the modern. Architecture has remained at the forefront of the debate over modern design, and it was indeed an architect, Charles Perrault, a member of the Academy of Sciences, who coined the term; it was back in 1667, in a famous speech defending science's modern stand against obeisance in the face of the artists' antiquity.

This debate, almost Manichean at the start, was reclaimed by design when the industrial era was in full swing, with the machine at the heart of the debate. The mechanical signified progress in the face of craftsmanship, which was viewed as outdated. From the mid-19th century, the clash intensified, the "Querelle" returned, leaving the ornament adversely affected, though this time it served as wake-up call. The machine was objectively anti-formalist (since it was able to produce abstract shapes much better than symbolic ones), in a sense that, for the first time in history, something totally artificial was able to produce objects with their own aesthetics. Functionalism, influenced by the artistic avant-gardes, unleashed an idea of modern design on which there was a broad consensus. At last, the agenda of the Enlightenment was going to be fulfilled, with a protagonist that beneficial art was certainly destined to be.

This point served as a catalyst for the consolidation of ideas that had been already on the table in the years prior to the Enlightenment. At the beginning of the 20th century, what we will define as "modern art" in this paper, had already been identified, in essence, as art which culminated in the introduction of the principals of good design, advocated ethical practice in the profession, and was socially responsible and functionalist from a formal point of view. The dream that had begun in architecture was drawing to a close as a result of industrial technology: an end to the "Querelle"—modernity had won. It was not easy to adapt artisan methods for the new industrial processes. The theoretical debate over the ethical and aesthetic implications of industrial manufacturing has left us with a legacy that still persists today. In any case, according to Campi (Campi, 2007: 32), the modernists of the industrial era (which this paper is primarily about) brought forward the argument of functionality in order to bypass the topic of design. Together with the ornament, which was associated with the artisan and impossible to execute with machines at that time, the intention to bypass the consideration of design as a style has been the basis of modern design, and similarly modern art has fled from formalism as long as it has been possible through the demand for abstraction.

What design did was to apply this idea to the industrial field. The designers of the modern era thus put forward new forms (with the creation of a modern style), helping to spread visionary ideas on the future associated with technology, and to contribute to the democratisation of luxury and industrial items. Thanks to the industry, technology has become affordable to an increasingly large number of people, and design has taken the initiative to act as a mediator in this matter. But above all, design for the majority of the 20th century served to raise awareness in society and further helped to assume future responsibilities on important issues, such as the environment or those related to the universality of technology.

This unifying and democratising role was opposed to the idea of luxury-based design that had been so commonplace in the Baroque period. Due to the strength it possessed owing to its roots in the Enlightenment, the idea of beneficial art was opposed to the Colbertist economy that arose in the court of Louis XIV (DeJean, 2008), in which style was the driving force of a system rooted in luxury and formalism. However, it did not succeed in eradicating it. In essence, today we have two visions of design that generate wealth. Both have coexisted since the 17th century: the first considers design as a style and driving force of luxury-based design, and in the second, design still regards itself as beneficial art. The former had been practically wiped out with the arrival of the Modern Movement. Art deco, the popularisation of consumerism, and the artworks of popular and visionary designers like Norman Bel Geddes, designer of "Futurama" (which featured as the first attraction of the World Expo in New York in 1939), granted it extraordinary power. For modernity, the future was a project of the present that guaranteed the continuity of the future. After the Second World War, the optimistic vision of the future as beneficial changed and as we grew closer to the Post-modern vision of history, beneficial art grew more and more in style. Post-modernism had lost interest due to the dynamic concept of history, and thus, the future (in the modern sense of the term), which allowed a return to the production of banal and elitist objects, thus hindering the democratisation of luxury. An age in which design preferentially served the needs of stylistic design ensued across all sectors.

According to Thomas Frank (Frank, 2001), the Modern Movement was sucked dry by consumerism to the point of neutralising it and rendering it a product of consumerism. It was the beginning of a crisis of modern values. In a social context with more fears than ever about technology, the utopias of previous centuries stopped making sense. The future stopped generating interest to the extent of asserting that it did not exist. Moving towards the light in pursuit of change was replaced by the present, a fun place that invited us to linger within it (Molinuevo, 2006). The system, which had learnt to metabolise the youth rebellions and turn them into a consumer choice, immediately installed this idea in us, selling to us a happy world of fiction devised as a kind of department store in which to revel in the development of consumerist lust.

Because of this, all futurist form born out of these new interests were distinguished from those that came before due to a lack of ideological sustenance, and therefore it presented itself to us, generally speaking, as an aesthetic premise. The shift from this idea of the future as a utopia can also be found on a societal level in the proliferation of discussions concerning the dehumanisation of skill resulting from the two world wars, the nuclear fear, and additionally those fears that proceeded them, such as the computer system or global terrorism, as well as other discussions that had frequently generated fear. Another of the causes, at least as regards design, is the intervention of an economic system guided by the interests of the industry, which has revived a system that is quintessentially Baroque: first of all, reviving the formula for steering design towards an affluent and extremely exclusive market, and secondly, upholding this system within a tailor-made economic regime.

Yet while these events were taking place, during the Post-modernist era, science and technology continued to advance, producing objects that were unimaginable even in the most optimistic years of the Modern Movement. So today we find ourselves facing a more fascinating future than we could ever have dreamed of, awakening from the Post-modern hiatus, yet still searching for the light that shows us the path to a better world.

At this point, what are the responsibilities of modern design at the dawning of the Post-humanist era, and what are those of the designers in future design? Since the beginning of the 21st century, there are numerous authors who insist on the necessity of design for a better world. One clear symptom of this is the credit given to Victor Papanek's classic *Design for the Real World* (Papanek, 1992), a title once scorned and condemned to oblivion in the Post-modern years. In Spain the book had to be reprinted in 2015 thanks to a crowdfunding campaign, having disappeared from the market ever since it lost public interest after the sell-out of the first edition during the 1980s. Other authors, such as Victor Margolin (Margolin, 2004), or Milton Glaser (Glaser, 2014), have recently been credited for their role as designers for the ethical and sustainable building of the future. It seems that everything begins by reclaiming the agenda of the Enlightenment and by undertaking four tasks left incomplete: the first is to redefine (in order to recover) the endeavour of design as something which links man, industry and technology and thus advocates science from a humanist perspective.

As in the beginning of the 20th century, in this century manifestos and statements of intent have also flourished, this time on the part of the designers. After the republication of "First Things First Manifesto" in 2000 (Kalman, 2000) others followed suit, such as the professional association of designers in Finland, who in 2010 published the document "The Role of Design in the 21st Century" (Grønbech, 2010: 3) which, basing itself on the UK-based consultancy firm SustainAbility, proposed a plan that is primarily based on three ideas: People, Planet and Profit, but with an understanding of the benefit that design brings as inseparable from the first two concepts. Secondly, it is required to continue focusing on people and the benefit to humanity, and to continue proposing new forms that arouse the public's enthusiasm about the progress of mankind. Finally, it is necessary to continue contributing to the democratisation of forms as detached from the tenets of Neo-liberalism. As designers we can again use design as a design value. Lest we forget that Post-modern design has managed to again draw attention to issues that Modernism had forbidden, such as the ornament, or symbolism in the discussion of objects.

There is an array of signs which demonstrate the changes that are taking place, such as the way in which we force ourselves to understand each other as a society (more tolerant, egalitarian and diverse), the way in which we relate to our environment, how we understand production (local, sustainable and democratic) or the fact that issues in design are being rehashed that we had considered forgotten or that were looked down upon in Post-modern society, like the restoration of traditional or artisanal methods.

We must be prepared in light of the impending changes, given that in all of them design will play a vital role and will not repeat the errors of the past. Designers are expected to feature in everything we have been told about the 21st century: robotics, new materials, new construction and manufacturing methods, Internet, interface, artificial reality, virtual reality, new modes of transport, etc. It is necessary this time for design to function as a true regulator of the situation, using style to educate and to moralise, not to create elitism. Elitism is opposed to democratisation of consumption and perverts the idea of the designers' work, changing its candour for the benefits of fame and wealth—precisely the values that Neo-liberalism has acclaimed. Furthermore, designers must learn from the errors of the past and reinstate discussions of other periods that warned us of the consequences of a human development which centred exclusively around the technical and the economic, like those declared by William Morris, who was disregarded in the years of the Modern Movement, but who today has been vindicated and represents the artisan designer with a sense of social commitment, in the broad and Senettian sense of the term (Sennett, Richard, 2010).

Since the 17th century, the work of designers and craftsmen has been underpinned by the joy of doing things well and of social responsibility, which is in fact part and parcel of doing things well, since there is no greater satisfaction for the modern man than to contribute to the progress of humanity. This is an interesting idea, because the Modern Movement had always considered the craftsman a paradigm of the anti-industrial. There are many defining examples of the design emerging from the 20th century, and practically all of them associate this activity with industry. In the earlier years of the profession, "industrial designer" was a generic term which served to identify all designers. Craftsmanship was the past, a past to which one had no desire to return, one opposed to the idea of a future bound to progress. Nevertheless, before, during and after the Industrial Revolution, designers had enjoyed designing, remaining totally aware of their social responsibility. Today designers are reviving artisanal production and revitalising old methods, meanwhile the historiography of design gains more importance by the day.

They are also reclaiming their role as benefactors of humanity who in their early days possessed characteristics that were not anticipated by the visionaries of modernity: design with environmental responsibility, social and inclusive design and the ultimate democratisation of luxury and technology. Everything seems to indicate that in the years to come, changes will occur at a professional level: design will certainly be global, rendering it indispensable in all companies. Designers will never again work alone, and new, hybridised profiles of designers will emerge, for example, in engineering. The relationship between design and methods of real-time data analysis will increase in a world in which design, function and experience will be inseparable.

According to Nick Monfort (Monfort, 2017), "the future is something to be made, not predicted". This conception of the future as a work in progress is the main difference between the future imagined at the beginning of the 20th century and the future that we imagine today. The great visionaries of the future in the age of the machine, like Normal Bel Geddes (Bel Geddes, 1934) set the limits of technological development in a hypothetical enhancement of machines, especially in modes of transport, based on concrete improvements, like, for example, the increase of speed, reflected aesthetically in the functionalist analogy of aerodynamics. In other words: designers turned modern style into the crystal ball that would reflect the modern utopia, but they did not seek to participate in the changes much beyond the speculation over the role that the technologies of their time would play in the future. Today we are clear that the role the designers play has a much broader reach.

Therefore, we no longer talk about the future, but rather about multiple futures, in the same way that we no longer talk about one design, but rather many designs, owing to the fact that Post-modernism abandoned the idea of a single style based on our surroundings. Although its intentions were more formalist, it did serve to prove design as a very versatile tool that continues to function as the beneficial art that we need today, far from what it was in the 20th century.

Raquel Pelta (Pelta, 2004: 49) claims that today designers are both constructors and mediators in all processes of innovation. They are no longer just fortune-tellers. If we look back in history, we will see that they always have been, even long before the advent of the machine. Thanks to this role as mediator, and in line with the predictions made by cutting-edge centres of innovation, like MIT or the Institute of the Future [http://www.iftf.org/home/], as well as the increasingly frequent informative talks on the topic, like TED Talks (Negroponte, 2014), us designers are able to venture a series of changes that will take place in the future.

Changes will in occur in manufacturing and in materials, making the use of digital manufacturing tools widespread. Production will be local, which will offer an opportunity to distance ourselves from the stronghold of the multinational corporations and their marketing campaigns. Objects will democratised and personalised like never before, with users even being able to intervene in the final outcome.

The Internet will play a major role, taking control even over the spaces through which we move. We will live in the cloud, in the sense that everything related to apps, browsers and storage will continue to surprise us. The social will become increasingly virtual, something which we are already seeing in online games or on social media.

All of this will lead to changes in our relationship with objects: design centred on mankind and produced for human interface will gain importance, strengthening the significance of interface and human interaction with technology. Objects will become intelligent and will interact with us, from clothes to furniture, but will be increasingly less important in favour of the immaterial and increasingly more complex and interrelated objects that will be a kind of portal towards ever greater capacities and features. Mobile devices, the arrival of artificial intelligent devices in the home, intelligent vehicles and automated homes are clear examples of what to expect in this regard.

In terms of people, it will be necessary to design for the undoubted ageing of the population, abandoning the young market, which has become the centre of all production in the last decades. It will be necessary to have an increasingly greater empathy with users in light of a progressively ageing society whose life expectancy will increase. Universal design will reach everything that surrounds us. The trend towards sustainable design will also evolve, reaching an absolute regeneration of resources.

As mediators between industry and man, the challenge for designers in the 21st century is to spearhead the change towards a better world, as a continuation of the objectives of the Modern Movement. As designers we must be conscious of the fact that we still can and must be beneficial to humanity as we play an important role as conduits of knowledge and mediators of progress and technology.

The society of the 21st century faces the challenge of thoroughly implementing the agenda of the Enlightenment, reclaiming it from the point at which it was interrupted by Post-modernism and by Neo-liberal politics, by focusing on "beneficial art" for the complete eradication of poverty and inequality, onward to an industrial development orientated towards improving our quality of life, respectful of Nature and capable of reaching the final objective of establishing a society guided by the idea of progress and the hope for a better future.

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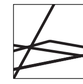

2 Design Studies

2.2 Public Policies on Design and Design-driven Innovation

This strand encompasses papers on totally or partially state-funded plans and institutions for the promotion of design. The intertwinement between politics, economics and culture is most evident here. Far from being neutral, the state has used design in many ways, as an element to reshape national identity, stimulate domestic consumption or conduct international diplomacy. The dissection of these actions should arouse debate and pinpoint ethical and moral controversies.

2 Design Studies

2.2 Public Policies on Design and Design-driven Innovation

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INTRODUCTION

2.2 Public Policies on Design and Design-driven Innovation

This strand encompasses papers on totally or partially state-funded plans and institutions for the promotion of design. The intertwinement between politics, economics and culture is most evident here. Far from being neutral, the state has used design in many ways, as an element to reshape national identity, stimulate domestic consumption or conduct international diplomacy. The dissection of these actions should arouse debate and pinpoint ethical and moral controversies.

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Public policies aim to generate instruments for the welfare of the state. When they involve design, these policies combine economic and cultural questions, affecting public and private spheres. Generally, they have been implemented as ways to remedy unfavourable situations. For example, in times of economic crisis, public policies have sought to mitigate the problem. In times of supra-national integration, they have been focused on making local products competitive in an increasingly global market. Manufacturers have been persuaded to work with designers to enhance the quality of their products. Consumers have been mobilised to purchase national products to protect the domestic market. Public policies connect the global and the personal. Macroeconomic issues, national interest and industry intermingle with domestic advice, chauvinism, and taste.

To disentangle this complexity, studies on design policies need to look both at the ideal formulation of these policies and their actual implementation. Their historical and geographic localisation also present challenges. This strand offers a historical overview of cases, and concludes with current developments in the field pointing towards future scenarios.

Javier Gimeno Martínez, Pekka Korvenmaa

Decorative Paternalism:
Analysis of Two Books of the National Campaign for the Education of Adults Devoted to Interior Decoration – 1956

Carlos Bártolo
CITAD, Universidade Lusíada de Lisboa

Interior design / Portugal / Adult education / Authoritarianism / Tradition vs. modernity

During the 1950s – a political turning point of the Portuguese dictatorship (1926–1974) – the official organism responsible for adult education published in the same year two books about interior design.

The books have similar objectives and style; nonetheless, they reflect two distinct contexts of this decade. A time when the regime began to abandon the traditionalist fantasy nation it had (re)invented, and reluctantly accepted that the external world was evolving. Under an idealist tone, the storylines and characters present in the books depict situations that reveal enough divergences to associate them with these antagonistic socio-political moments.

At the same time the advice, illustrations, and expected outcomes of both cases also reveal different understandings of what design's social-functional purpose could be, years before it was assumed as an autonomous discipline in Portugal.

In 1951, eighteen years after the implementation of *Estado Novo* [New State] – the authoritarian corporative regime that consolidated the Portuguese dictatorship – the government decided to fight one of the country's most devastating problems – in comparison to the other western civilizations – in the illiteracy of its adult population (Carvalho, 2011).

In addition to the various measures taken in order to regulate and promote education the government tried to tackle the lack of education of the adult population. The measures taken by the National Education Ministry were named *Campanha Nacional de Educação de Adultos/CNEA* [National Campaign for the Education of Adults]. *CNEA* regularly organised special courses to prepare students for the elementary school exam and published around 100 books, framed into nineteen themes: doctrine, political information and propaganda, history, national ethnography and geography, agriculture, cattle raising, home industries, among others (Proença, 1996).

One of these series – '*Série i*' – was called *Educação Familiar* [Family Education] and its first two volumes, both published in 1956, were, strangely, about the same subject: interior design.[1]

Although the subject matter was the same and both books tacked it in a similar manner, they presented two different views of a country that was about to change.

The Turning Point

On the one hand, these were the last years when the majority supported the regime. Consequently, the moral, ethical, even aesthetical values promoted by it during the 1930s and 1940s – based on the traditions of a rural Portugal that should abnegate modernity – were still widely accepted.

The regime's acceptance during the early 1950s was the result of different factors: an atmosphere of political stability, achieved by the dictatorship after the failed democratic endeavour of the previous century; economic stability achieved in 1929 after decades in the imminence of bankruptcy; the implementation of *Política de Obras Públicas* [Public Works Policy], which for the first time consistently created a set of basic infrastructures (education, health, communications, etc.) that prioritised the improvement of people's living conditions; and, lastly, unconditional appreciation for external political manoeuvres that had managed to keep Portugal out of World War II. These were all propagandized as being the work of Antonio de Oliveira Salazar – prime minister, but *de facto* dictator – who cultivated the *persona* of the self-sacrificing protective father of the nation.

However, the victory of the Allies brought forward a clamour for democracy – a movement swiftly asphyxiated. There was also the recognition of Europe's economic and industrial development, embracing a new modernity[2] and leaving behind a Portugal that proudly persisted in its traditional rurality. As the country began taking part in intergovernmental organizations the regime progressively renounced the isolationism promoted since the 1930s.[3] Finally, from 1953 onwards, the regime structures, aware of the failure of the path taken hitherto and in face of the new international paradigm, implemented a series of development plans that strove to create infrastructures, which facilitated the transport of people, goods, and capital, in order to foster industrial growth.

[1] The series included, besides the two books from 1956 being discussed here, another one on childcare titled *Bendito é o Fruto…: conselhos às mães* [Blessed is the Fruit…: advice to mothers], and another about home construction *Como construir uma casa* [How to build a house], both from 1957 and, many years later, *Móveis que poupam espaço* [Space-saving Furniture], published in 1972.

[2] Here it should be clarified the difference between this educational campaign and the governmental initiatives that took place in other countries during the 1940s and 1950s, created as a response to the goods shortage caused either by World War II or by the rebuilding that took place afterwards. For instance, the British *Utility Scheme* (1942–52) was a direct response to the need of controlling the creation, production, and commercialization of furniture, or any other kind of goods, due to austerity. Thus, people's tastes were educated through these conditionings, which inherently embraced some of the most austere aesthetical *Arts and Crafts* propositions (Margolin, 2015: 853–854; Wood, 2016; Woodham, 1997: 117–119; 2004: 432). Portugal, one of the few European countries that took a neutral position during the war, had been less affected by rationing and goods shortage. The aim of these books, written a decade after the end of the war, was from the start to educate the illiterate and unschooled. This study looks at the indoctrination of social and aesthetical values according to the ideals of an authoritarian regime, through design, during a time of change.

[3] Portugal was one of the founding members of the future Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development/OECD in 1948. Also, as a response to the Soviet threat, Portugal was again one of the founding members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization/NATO in 1949. In 1955 Portugal joined the United Nations/UN.

Fig. 1 Covers of *Quem Casa Quer Casa* and *O Nosso Lar.*[4]

The 1950s marked the moment when the dictatorship reluctantly had to abandon the traditionalist fantasy that it had reinvented for itself, slowly accepting that the external world was changing and that there wasn't a way of preventing the entrance of modernity in Portugal.

Each of these innocent books illustrates each of these moments.

The Books

The first to be published was given the title *Quem Casa Quer Casa* [Those Who Marry Want a Home] (San-Payo, 1956), which is a popular saying that plays with homonymies (*casa*=to marry and *casa*=house), and makes reference to how young couples have to move out of their parents house when they get married. The second book, published during the same year, was simply called *O Nosso Lar* [Our Home] (Marimilia, 1956).

Both (Fig. 1) give advice on how to decorate the house by making it more functional, confortable, and pleasurable. The method used to give this advice was similar to many other books from this collection. Through quasi-puerile narratives certain characters when faced with problems look for answers and are helped by respectable and informed people. The stories are complemented by drawings of rooms or furniture pieces, freely representing some of the advice. Photographs are never used. Being drawings, they were conjectures, possibilities or aspirations.

There are pictures throughout *Quem Casa*... but only two illustrate the narrative. The other pictures show rooms or various furniture pieces and are often sided by technical drawings – section views, multiview projections, schemes – as to better explain the depicted possibilities.

O Nosso Lar doesn't have many drawings punctuating the text (19 throughout 66 pages) and none truly illustrates the story. The depictions of furniture pieces or rooms are only vaguely related to what characters discuss. Only one of the drawings is technical, a section view of a cabinet with a fold-down bed explaining its movement. At the end of the story there are 107 full-page pictures depicting different rooms. Once again there isn't a straightforward connection to the narration.

The book authors are practically unknown in publishing; there aren't many works by them in the national libraries' inventory.[5] The writing in both books is straightforward and simple – similar to children's literature – notwithstanding there are significant differences in the imaging. In *O Nosso Lar* constancy can be found in the figurative drawings, denoting a certain level of quality – both in the representation of rooms (accurate details, textures and shades) and isolated furniture pieces (more linearly depicted). *Quem Casa*... is a different case, the drawings of both furniture pieces and rooms are predominantly linear. These more descriptive drawings can be divided into two different groups: one has more rigorous representations and another careless ones – there are errors in perspective, scale, etc. These last ones correspond to the drawings that either illustrate the story of the book or present models closer to the regime's taste. This raises suspicions about the authorship of the other drawings that were possibly inspired by foreign models taken from magazines.

Stories: Places and Characters

Quem Casa... follows the love story of a young couple: Armando – a carpenter who worked in a factory – and Luzia – a paternal orphan who became a seamstress to help her mother, a modest baker. They dreamed of getting married but didn't have the economical means to find a house and properly furnish it.

[4] All photos by the author.

[5] Ruth San-Payo (1921–2015) and Irene San-Payo (1930–?), respectively writer and illustrator of *Quem Casa*... both worked in education (Ruth taught English at an all girls military school; Irene wrote drawing schoolbooks up until 1990). They were both daughters of Manuel San-Payo (1890–1974), one of the most important portrait photographers in the 1920s and 1930s, and sisters of Nuno (1926–2014), painter and architect of Portuguese second-generation modernism. In relation to the authors of *O Nosso Lar*, there isn't much information. The writer wrote under the pseudonym Marimilia. Fernando Carlos, the illustrator, from 1940 until the mid 1950s illustrated four other publications.

In *O Nosso Lar* the wealthy siblings Jorge and Gabriela were slowly trying to convince their parents to change the decoration of their old fashioned and uncomfortable house. In the last chapters Jorge gets married, has a child and decorates his new home.

Both stories take place in non-specific urban landscapes outside the country's main cities. During *Estado Novo* these were always seen as sites that were more permeable to the foreign *bad influences*. It was in countryside that the most genuine and incorruptible national spirit could be found.

Quem Casa... takes place in Fontanelas, an imaginary village close to a pine forest. There are summerhouses being constructed in its outskirts for the city people. The landscape is forcefully being transformed by modernity, a possible pronouncement of major changes.

O Nosso Lar is geographically more vague; it probably takes place in a small provincial town. Gabriela and Jorge's family had earned their fortune recently, thus they don't possess an educated taste – apart from the children who are students. Lídia, a friend of Gabriela and future wife of Jorge, was the niece of a doctor and her family was from a higher and more educated class. The transformation that took place in the other story isn't perceptible here – the landscape status quo remains unaltered.

The characters to whom the youth in both books ask for help are also from two different Portugals.

Gabriela and Jorge went to Lídia's uncle, Dr. Cunha, for help, 'a very intelligent man that was still young and to whom the white hairs better highlighted his respectable and affable face' [6] (Marimilia, 1956: 24). A doctor by occupation that:

> whenever I'm on holidays I entertain myself by drawing. Since I was a child I was passionate about drawing and ... ended up studying medicine! I don't regret it. I like my profession; but I never forgot my favourite hobby (*Ibid*: 24–25).

[6] All translations by the author.

Being a doctor was one of the most honourable professions in traditional Portugal – comparable only to being a judge, priest or teacher. Drawing is here seen as a response to the dilettantism cultivated by the posh taste that he and his wife, D. Leonilde, shared. In short, the brothers longed for the good taste of this respectable couple.

Armando, on the other hand, spoke to his fiancée of his boss' client:

> he often went to the factory. The boss used to call him Mr. Architect. He came from the city in an automobile, always in a hurry, bringing with him furniture drawings where all measurements had been noted and whoever followed his instructions wouldn't have problems. Now, this gentleman had rented a house close to Fontanelas' pine forest and asked Armando to go and fix some things (San-Payo, 1956: 15–16).

Contrary to *O Nosso Lar* the *wise person* here is unfamiliar with the couple, but as he was more knowledgeable his opinions were taken into consideration. *Mister Architect* was from the city, from a place and time which were different; his ideas and way of thinking were foreign to the locals. This detachment can also be seen in how he is never called by his name but always by his profession; in the same manner his wife is always referred to as *Mrs Architect*.

In one the wise person has an old and respected profession, recognized by all, in the other he has a profession of modernity not always understood by the majority of the population.

Advice

The advice given in *O Nosso Lar* is predominantly about taste and lifestyle. Descriptions of a house decorated with old-fashioned furniture, ornaments, and materials reveal a style that had inherited the late 19th century eclecticism, responsible for stale and unwelcoming homes,[7] are counterposed to a new decorative style that relies on bright and cheerful colours that create welcoming and harmonious homes. Conviviality, comfort, and wellbeing were prioritised over the old-fashioned formal ways of being. However, it was also mentioned that this *modernity* shouldn't be excessive:

> these modern ideas, when they don't go astray, they can be very ingenious. Look, the divan where Dr. Cunha's son sleeps – also studying to become a doctor –, is enclosed in a cabinet with books on top and one can't tell that there is a divan inside. Only when he wants to sleep does the bed come off, ready to be used! (Marimilia, 1956: 16–17).

[7] 'They returned to the dining room, where the family normally gets together in the evenings. […] It wasn't confortable to be there, it didn't invite reading or resting. Mother would knit without being able to rest her back; father would do the accounting of the wine and olive oil store, where during long years of prosperous business he had gathered the wealth that allowed him to give his children high quality education […] the illumination coming from the ceiling bothered him, and it was with great effort that the family man distinguished the different digits, having to stretch his neck to look at the papers scattered on the table, along with knitting lines, and checkerboards […]; the disorderly appearance accentuated the uncomfortableness of the tastelessly decorated room' (Marimilia, 1956: 14–15).

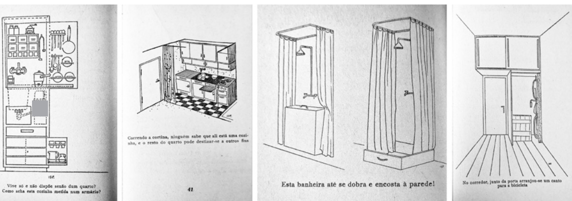

Fig. 2 Practical advice in *Quem Casa*… Kitchens, showers, and cabinets.

The book only offers more practical advice towards hybrid furniture pieces (a bookshelf that hides a bedroom sink, a sofa that becomes a bed) thought for boys' bedrooms – the sole characters to whom a taste of progress was allowed – or, in the advice D. Leonilde gives to Lídia on furnishing the baby's bedroom, the sewing room, or the pantry. The young girl is a personification of the feminine tradition in society, exclusively as a mother and housewife; the teachings are passed from woman to woman.[8]

In *Quem Casa*... the writing is equally simple but most advice is more practical than that in *O Nosso Lar* (Fig. 2). Looking at the drawings and furniture pieces that *Mister Architect* asked Armando to make for his summerhouse, the young couple idealises their future.[9] While visiting the construction site they talk with the owners about how to design a basic kitchen or the need to install sanitary facilities, even if there isn't plumbing and sanitation. During the move Armando and *Mister Architect* talk about what furniture is adequate to better fulfil their function – tables, chairs and lamps. Luzia talks with *Mrs Architect* about children's bedrooms and curtains, while Nelinha, the couple's chaperon, inquires about keeping her brother's bike indoors, 'I'll find a space for your brother to keep his bike in the house without it being in anybody's way. Does he know how to cut wood and hammer some nails?' (San-Payo, 1956: 91).

[8] 'I taught Lídia as my mother had taught me…' (Marimilia, 1956: 60).

[9] 'These architects have ideas! – said Armando. […] I'll also build a wardrobe that takes the whole wall and uses all available space, from ceiling to floor' (San-Payo, 1956: 23–24; 28).

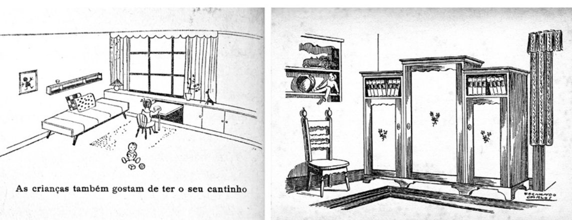

Fig. 3 Children's bedrooms in *Quem Casa*… and in *O Nosso Lar.*

Like in *O Nosso Lar*, here it's also mentioned that the colours used should vary, at times making contrasts instead of monochromes, but there are long passages about colour and the correct usage of cold and warm colours in relation to the function and solar disposition of the rooms.[10] Comfort and purpose punctuated the text:

> For a house to be comfortable the furniture should be simple, cosy, carefully thought for their use. [Mr Architect] doesn't like opulent furniture, those pieces that one can buy in stores, full of mirrors, knobs, and twists, they take too much space and don't have any stowage (*Ibid*: 16).

The story has a happy end: the young couple buys and adapts an abandoned barn. They made the most of the sole room by using curtains and cabinets that both divided the space and provided storage.

[10] In another part of the book, Nelinha learns how to correctly mix primary colours, enunciating this way colour theory.

Similarities and Differences

These books are similar in several aspects. For instance, the narrative constantly reveals women's domestic status and the closed social stratification defined by the reactionary corporate state. In both books there is a general cry to the creation of homes that promoted the comfort and wellbeing of its inhabitants. Both also stress that decorative possibilities can be found in regional crafts or in reusing old objects.[11]

However, the differences are striking when analysing how the notions of comfort are illustrated. For example, in both books the feminine advice about the children's bedrooms favour new pedagogies and children's freedom – enough room for playing, storage, and sleeping – but the images depict two radically different realities.

In *O Nosso Lar*, the pictures invariably show furniture pieces that follow the rustic style. Fashion since the 1940s was influenced by the *Campanhas de Bom Gosto* [Good Taste Campaign] organised by the Secretariado de Propaganda Nacional/SPN [Bureau of National Propaganda], the governmental organism responsible for propaganda.[12] Although some of the drawings in *Quem Casa*... still present influences of this so called *rustic* furniture, the majority were of furniture and rooms in the fashion of post-war organic modernism. Some of these pictures so closely followed foreign examples – similar to spacious American suburban houses – that it almost seemed inappropriate to publish them in a book thought for a predominantly uneducated national audience.

The difference between the two books can also be seen in how the characters produce the solutions. In *Quem Casa*... the young couple is described as being

[11] 'There are unique pieces of regional pottery, copper, or woodwork; and they can all be equally beautiful' (Marimilia, 1956: 32). 'In these villages, even in the most humble homes there are so many things one could use! So many people have colourful quilts and woven or embroidered old bedspreads! And where do they keep them? Closed in a trunk from where they only come out for Easter celebrations […] Why don't they decorate their houses with them?' (San-Payo, 1956: 69–71).

[12] The *rustic style* was the result of reinvention based on the details, lines, and forms found in Portuguese vernacular furniture, turned into pieces that could give a better response to contemporary life. By promoting this style the regime had not only found a solution that could oppose the influence of international modernism while getting way from the stale historical national styles – reinforcing the idea of renovating the nation – but it would also find the image of a home that faithfully illustrated the ethical and moral values based in the nationalistic bucolic rural lifestyle (refer to Bártolo, 2014; 2019).

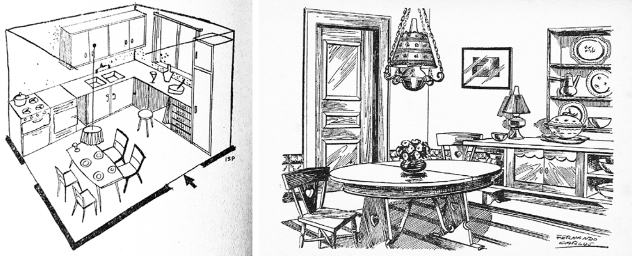

Fig. 4 Meals areas in *Quem Casa…* and in *O Nosso Lar.*

economically challenged – but honourable, as the popular adage would have it. In *O Nosso Lar* both families were wealthy but modest. The latter uses 'a carpenter [who Dr. Cunha knows] who makes less common furniture' (Marimilia, 1956: 19),[13] in *Quem Casa*... all the suggested ideas are within the characters reach, foreshadowing diy culture, 'Some were easy to make, any skilful person can build them. A couple of wooden slats, burlap cushions, linen [...] and a comfortable sofa is made (San-Payo, 1956: 53).

Conclusion

Each book presents a different reality, from the cover to the content, but the reasons behind these two almost simultaneous editions remain unexplained.

Inexplicably *Quem Casa*... – the first to be published – is closer to modernist aesthetics (Fig. 5), presenting an unexpected quasi-neorealist[14] narrative in how it defines its universe, class system and characters aspirations.

Quem Casa... seems to be directed towards a disadvantaged audience. *O Nosso Lar*, on the other hand, seems to have been written for the middle class, as were the majority of the aesthetical doctrines produced by the regime, namely by spn,[15] following a 'top-down approach' (Gimeno-Martínez, 2016). However, this was strange as this social class wasn't the main target of the adult education campaign.

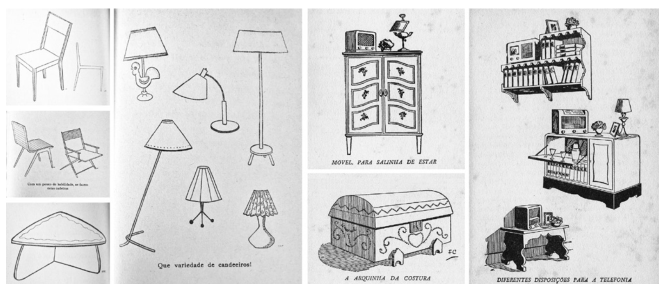

Fig. 5 Objects in *Quem Casa*… and in *O Nosso Lar.*

It can be deduced that the second book was a response to the belated discovery of the cutting-edge attitude of the first publication. Nonetheless the second book presents higher graphic qualities, thus it seems that it was made over a long period of time, not in haste. In any case they were both republished.

O Nosso Lar was less inventive and presented economical unachievable solution. It was an oneiric object for the masses, frozen in time, maintaining *status quo* as the regime wanted. *Quem Casa*... was more carefully created as an educational tool to the aimed audiences. Ironically, it was more appealing, in terms of aesthetics and education, to a more educated audience.

The comprehension of this social and practical value of interior design was unquestionably foreshadowing how a few years later Design would be assumed as a professional and artistic autonomous discipline (Mude, 2017).

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[13] The textile pieces were all obviously made by the female characters: 'Mom prepare yourself that you are going to have to help me sewing to decorate the room of our student' (Marimilia, 1956: 19).

[14] In Portugal, the neorealists were engaged in critiquing the government, social issues and questioning the *status quo* of the corporate government.

[15] The target audience was usually the middle class in hope that they would in turn influence the people.

Danish Design on Exhibition. The Cultural Politics of Staging the Everyday

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Design exhibitions / Design promotion / Danish design / Aesthetics / Cultural politics

Since the exhibition *Design in Scandinavia* travelled across the US and Canada in the 1950s, exhibitions have been used as an important means for promoting and profiling Danish design on the international design scene. In this paper, aspects of how promotional exhibitions have contributed to constructing the profile of Danish design are analysed. The paper will reflect upon: 1) aesthetic profile, 2) the ideology of the underlying meaning and 3) the role of those involved, especially governmental institutions aiming to involve cultural politics in the exhibitions. Focusing foremost on the exhibition *Everyday Life – Signs of Awareness* (2017, at 21st Century Museum of Contemporary Art, Kanazawa, Japan), the paper analyses how the aesthetic strategies at the exhibition provide a cultural image of Danish design through a highly aestheticised focus on the everyday. This is considered to be in contrast to the exhibition *Dansk Form* in 2000, which offered a more design-focused reflection on the meeting of industrial design and craft objects. The aspect they both have in common is the high degree of aesthetic coding, suggesting that aesthetics is a central aspect of Danish design.

Introduction

Exhibitions offer controlled platforms for showing and constructing various perspectives on, entries to and profiles of design. Those involved in the cultural circuit of design can use exhibitions as a means of promoting design, e.g. in the form of displaying the best of a nation's design. In this way, exhibitions may operate as mediums for cultural politics or business promotion.

An early example of this, which in many respects initiated the notion of Scandinavian design deriving from delimited, unified and harmonious nations, is the promotional exhibition *Design in Scandinavia* which travelled across the US and Canada in 1954–57 and was showcased at more than 20 different locations. At the exhibition, which was organised by the Nordic associations of craft, applied art and design in corporation with the American Federation of Arts, large pictures of Nordic landscapes suggested a more a less direct link from the place of origin (often set in nature) to materials and forms of the exhibited pieces. This exhibition has laid the foundation for a discourse on 'Scandinavian Design', or rather 'two different discourses [...]: a commercial one in which "Scandinavian Design" stands for a general brand, and a design cultural one' relating to topics of endurance, coherence and harmony underlying the 'Scandinavian product culture, its ethics and aesthetics' (Guldberg, 2011: 58, 56).

Design in Scandinavia inaugurated a trend of small-scale exhibitions which were mobile to travel and be displayed in many places. Other models of promoting design through exhibitions can be found in the world exhibitions from the middle of the 19th century and in museums which date back to the late 19th century, but specific 'design' museums have developed massively over the past 20 years (Michaëlis, 2016).

In this paper, I focus on small-scale exhibitions with a potential to travel as an important means for promoting and profiling Danish design on the international design scene. In analysing and discussing how promotional exhibitions have contributed to constructing a certain profile of Danish design in the cases of two exhibitions, I will ask three interrelated questions regarding *aesthetics, ideology* and *actors*: through which aesthetics are the national markers of Danish design being constructed? Which ideology of design is proposed? In particular, I will raise the question of the role of the everyday as an ideological marker for Danish design. Finally I will discuss who the actors behind the exhibitions are and how they influence the setting of aesthetics and ideology.

The two exhibitions in question are *Everyday Life – Signs of Awareness* (2017, 21st Century Museum of Contemporary Art, Kanazawa, Japan) and *Dansk Form* (2000, stilwerk, Hamburg, Germany). Before analysing aspects of the exhibitions, I will introduce the notion of the "national" in design and aesthetics as methodology for the analysis.

Danish Design

What does it mean when we speak of a specific 'Danish' design, and what constitutes national markers in a global design culture?

We live in an increasingly global design culture where products may be designed in one country, manufactured in a second and marketed globally, and where the character and boundaries of national identities of design become blurry. At the same time, national markers play new roles and increase, paradox-

ically, in importance in global situations; '[a]lthough design might be more global than ever before, it is still conditioned by, and in turn informs, its global, regional, national, and local contexts at once' (Fallan and Lees-Maffei, 2016: 5). Furthermore, design theorist Javier Gimeno-Martínez points out in the book *Design and National Identity*, that national identities take form as cultural, collective identities which not only are products of 'social interaction, but also of cultural representation' (Gimeno-Martínez, 2016: 29).

The question is, then, which form and expression design has as a cultural representation of a national identity: if it takes place as a homogenising expression pinpointing a specific national idiom, or if a larger heterogeneity is at play? As specifically pointed out by design historians Kjetil Fallan and Grace Lees-Maffei, the 'pigeonholing of a nation's design culture by means of a few idiosyncratic traits is reductive'; not only may any proposed essence of national character be problematic and national identities be understood 'as subtle and nuanced', but it may also be difficult 'identifying a design or a designer, as a product of one country' as all possible exchanges across borders in production and consumption take place (Fallan and Lees-Maffei, 2014: 5).

Despite the difficulties in the 'pigeonholing of a nation's design culture', national markers are still effective at many levels: for manufacturers in positioning products at the market, for consumers in buying into e.g. 'understated, "affordable luxury"' associated with New Nordic design (Skou and Munch, 2016: 11), or in nations branding or positioning themselves through design. The national brand is often employed in marketing products on foreign markets and/or is nurtured by governmental institutions, e.g. through exhibitions.

When considering how national markers of Danish design are being constructed in exhibitions, concepts from aesthetic theory can be taken into account: how is Danish design being aesthetically coded in the exhibitions; what does it mean and by whom is it done?

Aesthetics in design can be seen as a question of how objects create an appeal to be experienced not only as objects of function, but also a) *sensually* through sensual qualities of e.g. form, material and texture, b) *conceptually* with a potential to critically reflect conventions of form, their own status as design objects and their meaning potential, c) *contextually* in their framing in the cultural context, e.g. in media and exhibition settings, as this conditions how the aesthetic appeal is created in a process of aestheticisation (cf. Folkmann, 2013). Related to the question of constructing a specific profile of the objects at the exhibitions, the questions are:

1. What is the logic behind the aestheticisation and how does it relate to the aesthetics of the actual objects in question?
2. What meaning does this constructive act give to the objects? Which ideological meaning content do they get imbued with, and how does this relate to a possible potential to critically reflect conventions of form and design?

Exhibitions as Cultural Politics

Since 2000, official activities in promoting Danish design have mainly been organised by people linked with the Danish Ministry of Culture. On different occasions Danish Craft/crafts.dk, since 2014 a part of the Danish Arts Foundation, has worked on promoting Danish design through exhibitions. Thus, the Danish Arts Foundation can be identified as the main instigator for promoting Danish design abroad today, as it operates on behalf of the Danish Ministry of Culture with the overall aim being to nurture the development of competences for artists and designers and to promote Danish art and design in many contexts, nationally as well as internationally. Since 1999, the exhibition Danish Crafts Collection has operated as a platform for promoting Danish craft and design by selecting objects by designers at the beginning of their career, and since 2008 this concept has been supplemented by mindcraft, an exhibition of 'the best of Danish craft and design' to be displayed at Salone del Mobile in Milan (Mindcraft, 2017). Prior to this, the Danish Design Centre, an organisation created in 1978 by partners in Danish industry in order to promote the use of design in Danish companies and to market Danish design abroad, has been the main actor on behalf of the Ministry of Business and Growth in promoting Danish design through exhibitions.

In the following analysis I will concentrate on the exhibition *Everyday Life – Signs of Awareness* from 2017 and start by investigating the aesthetic profile and the expressed ideology of the everyday. In a comparison with the exhibition *Dansk Form* from 2000 and, briefly, the travel exhibitions of the Danish Design Centre from the 1980s and 1990s, I will discuss the role and cultural politics of the people behind the exhibitions.

Aestheticising Danish Design

The exhibition *Everyday Life – Signs of Awareness* was displayed from the 5.8.–5.11.2017 at the 21st Century Museum of Contemporary Art in Kanazawa, Japan, and organised to celebrate the 150th year anniversary of diplomatic relations between Japan and Denmark. Its main curator was the renowned Danish designer Cecilie Manz in collaboration with chief curator Hiromi Kurosawa from the museum in Kanazawa. Over 800 m² of exhibition space, 130 pieces of Danish design from 70 designers were displayed along with Japanese design. I will concentrate on sections in the exhibition displaying Danish design.

The chosen conceptual and ideological entrance to the exhibition was based on the everyday, and the main strategy at the exhibition was to aestheticise the material artefacts of everyday life. In relation to the concept of the everyday, Cecilie Manz has stated the importance of 'functional and aesthetic craft and design objects and solutions' for the organisation of the everyday, and Astrid Krogh, chair of the Danish Arts Foundation committee for supporting this exhibition, has said that it is 'exactly through everyday objects that *our* ability to combine function, understanding of materials and handicraft with a strong artistic sense of form and a clear perception of the user is testified' (Statens Kunstfond, 2017, my italics). In the exhibition catalogue, Manz further claims a focus on sensory details and the importance of

Fig. 1 *Home* curated by Cecilie Manz and Kenya Hara. Installation view of the 150th Year Anniversary of Japan – Denmark Diplomatic Relations Exhibition *Everyday Life - Signs of Awareness*, 2017, organised by 21st Century Museum of Contemporary Art, Kanazawa. Photo: Keizo Kioku. Courtesy: 21st Century Museum of Contemporary Art, Kanazawa.

Fig. 2 *Home* curated by Cecilie Manz and Kenya Hara. Installation view of the 150th Year Anniversary of Japan – Denmark Diplomatic Relations Exhibition *Everyday Life - Signs of Awareness*, 2017, organised by 21st Century Museum of Contemporary Art, Kanazawa. Photo: Keizo Kioku. Courtesy: 21st Century Museum of Contemporary Art, Kanazawa.

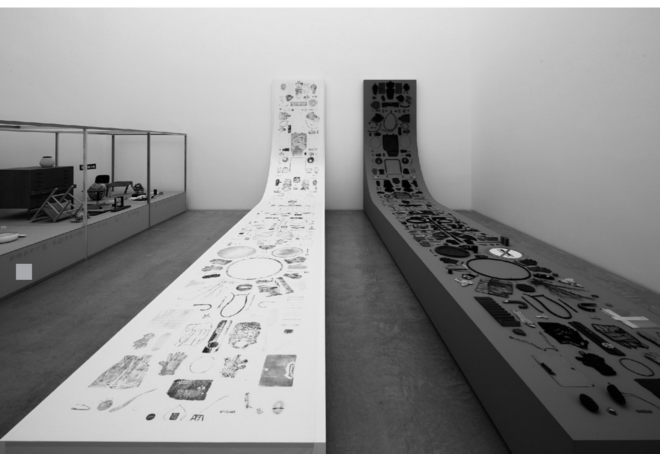

Fig. 3 Anne Fabricius Møller, *Street Print*, 2013. Installation view of *Everyday Life – Signs of Awareness*, 2017, Organised by 21st Century Museum of Contemporary Art, Kanazawa. Photo: Keizo Kioku. Courtesy: 21st Century Museum of Contemporary Art, Kanazawa.

the 'right materiality' in Danish design which contributes to giving 'shape to and defining our everyday life' (Manz, 2018: 40).

What is interesting, then, is to look at how the exhibition focuses on and displays the sensual materiality of everyday life. First of all, the exhibition design itself creates a framework for the exhibited design in the way that the objects of design are taken from their original context of everyday life and are de-contextualised by being displayed in what appears to be close to the white cube setting of design modernism (and many museums). Through the de-contextualising white cube setting the attention is directed away from situations of practical use and towards formal and material qualities of the objects; not only as singular objects but also as constellations of objects which cast light on each other and – so to speak – co-construct the abstract, formal meaning potential of each other. The strategy of de-contextualisation is often used in design exhibitions: as viewers, we should therefore not see exhibited objects as objects of use and as part of a more or less muddled everyday filled with stuff, but as special objects worthy of a dedicated, special and even – in a Kantian sense – disinterested interest through the optics of the art museum as an institution.

As an example, the section called *Home* displays a sort of home setting with kitchen and dining table (Fig. 1 & 2). Here, abstracting organising principles are at play in the use of large shelves and in the arranged staging of everyday situations which never break the illusion of being arranged for an exhibition (even if the dining table is slightly disorganised and a recipe book lies open on the kitchen table). The aim is never to create an illusion of real everyday situations, but to let the everyday life and its objects aesthetically saturate each other: the audience should learn that the otherwise aestheticised objects at the exhibition are also objects representative of everyday life in Denmark and, vice versa, the exhibition will make it clear to its audience that the everyday objects do indeed have aesthetic characters of form, material, texture, colour and abstract graphic forms – as in the use of black, a little yellow and dominant white at the dining table.

A different strategy of aestheticising the items of everyday life can be seen in the *Materiality* section of the exhibition. In the installation *Street Print* (Fig. 3), the textile designer Anne Fabricius Møller has collected an array of materials and objects which may be a part of everyday life, but as found objects, parts of objects or even waste found on the street. She has then made a textile reproduction of the forms and patterns of the objects. The objects are more heterogeneous in form, material and expression, if not in size. As found objects, the selection principle by Møller is close to being random, and her selection of objects could be said to testify an anthropological or even archaeological approach to the material culture of Denmark. Many of the objects are dark (and dirty) and far from the clean norm of aesthetic minimalism. The objects are, subsequently, being aestheticised by their organisation and by losing their materiality and obtaining a new status as an abstract pattern in the textile reproduction. The heterogeneity gets homogenised and, in the same instance, the objects lose their importance as material objects.

The home setting in the section *Home* aestheticises the design of everyday life by the means of the exhibition display, which encourages the viewer to perceive this material stuff of everyday life as saturated with aesthetic meaning. In contrast, the installation *Street Print* demonstrates the process of aestheticisation as part of the design itself when the print provides an abstracted, aestheticised version of the found objects. By openly displaying its method, this installation offers a critical

reflection of how print as a medium of design can represent materiality and everyday life. In this interpretation, the aestheticising principle in the installation comes from the reflective capability of the installation and its transformative principle of form rather than from the exhibition setting.

At the *Dansk Form* exhibition in Hamburg in 2000, which was curated by the design group Octo (of which Møller was a member), yet another strategy of aestheticising objects could be seen. Here, industrial design artefacts and craft objects were paired in accordance to form, e.g. a thermostat and a lemon squeezer, a hearing device and a piece of jewellery or a vacuum cleaner and a heavy ceramic object (Fig. 4; cf. Folkmann, 2000). In the 'dialogue' between the two kinds of objects, the aesthetic reflection has more emphasis on the relation between the two objects (similarities of form and expression) than on the context of the exhibition room or exhibition setting. Furthermore, the juxtaposing of two objects, which are different in function but have similarities in form, may touch upon the sensual impact of materials, but mostly evokes a conceptual reflection of conventions of form and what design is about.

Fig. 4 Juxtaposing of industrial design object and ceramic object at the *Dansk Form* exhibition, 2000. *Backuum* vacuum cleaner with design by Gunilla and Steen Mandsfelt and manufactured by Nilfisk-Advance. Ceramic object (no title) by Karen Bennicke.

In comparison, the main strategy employed at *Everyday Life – Signs of Awareness* aims at a cultural reflection of how objects of everyday life can have aesthetic meaning, whereas the objects at *Dansk Form* encourage a more design-focused negotiation of what design is when industrial design and craft objects meet. *Dansk Form* invites a deeper reflection on the potential meaning of designs, whereas *Everyday Life – Signs of Awareness* encourages a deeper consideration of the role of aesthetic means and parameters in the cultural context of everyday life.

The strategy of the latter exhibition to let the audience see the details of everyday life in a new light is epitomised by the entrance to the *Materiality* section, where a door is taken off its frame and set in isolation on the floor (Fig. 5). Hereby, the audience does not just pass through the door opening it without noticing the door; instead we see and notice the door (its texture and weight) and, especially, the door handle designed by Arne Jacobsen: the door handle is, then, not only something that we grasp, more or less without noticing it, in order to open a door, but also something we can perceive as having a special presence through form and material – and designer name. In this way, the subtitle of the exhibition, *Signs of Awareness* is represented.

There may be a fine line between aesthetic enhancement of an experience; when we notice how we engage with utensils and how they frame our experience; and strategies of conceptually tinted alienation (cf. Munch, 2018). *Everyday Life – Signs of Awareness* and *Dansk Form* are placed on either side of this line, respectively.

The Role of the Actor

Both exhibitions were, with a time difference of 17 years, supported by the Ministry of Culture. But commercial, cultural and art-oriented interests are mixed in different ways. *Everyday Life – Signs of Awareness* was set in an art museum but bears clearly the mark of a broader cultural agenda of demonstrating the sensual aesthetics of Danish design. *Dansk Form* was displayed on the upper floor in stilwerk, a private shopping mall for high-end design in Hamburg. In its collaboration of public and private partners, *Dansk Form* recalls the tradition of promotional exhibition as platforms for showing the best of a country's or a region's design, relating back to *Design in Scandinavia* in the 1950s. Furthermore, this exhibition had a stronger emphasis on industrial design, that is, design not necessarily aimed at the domestic sphere which otherwise dominates the perception of Danish design (Munch, 2018).

Upon closer scrutiny, the gathering of actors organised by the Ministry of Culture has changed between the two exhibitions. In relation to *Dansk Form*, the Danish organiser was craft.dk which had a stated their commercial aim as promoting and selling Danish craft. On the one hand, *Dansk Form* is more art-

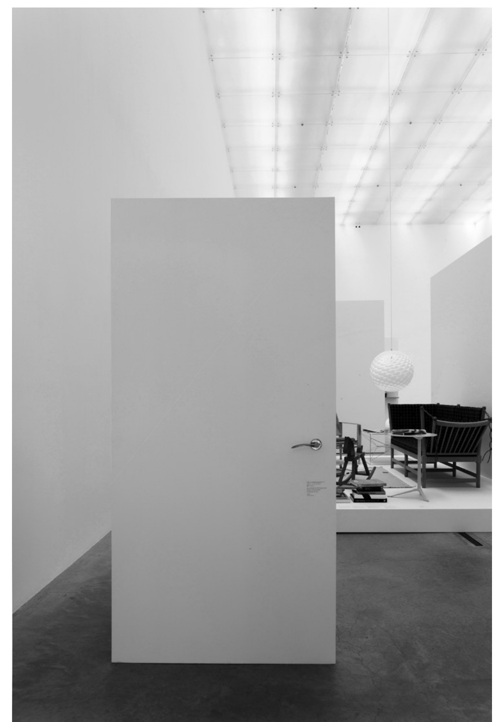

Fig. 5 Entrance to the Home section at *Everyday Life – Signs of Awareness*, 2017. Image credits and photographer: Cecilie Manz Studio.

oriented in its aestheticising strategy of reflectively staging objects than *Everyday Life – Signs of Awareness*; on the other hand, it was set in a shopping mall and most of the craft objects were for sale, as also testified by the catalogue. The approach to *Everyday Life – Signs of Awareness* testifies that the Ministry of Culture today works from an increasingly professionalised angle of creating 'culture in the form of value narratives' (Ravn, 2018). Furthermore, the Ministry participates in the International Culture Panel, a cross-ministerial collaboration with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Business and Growth with the purpose of providing a shared focus on cultural exchange. This gathering of actors, bringing interests involving culture, business promotion and foreign affairs together, operates as a structuring principle behind the broader cultural agenda of *Everyday Life – Signs of Awareness*, even if it is set in the culturally more limited space of an art museum.

The shift in actors follows and is being followed by a shift in what is being emphasised in design. Prior to these initiatives supported by the Ministry of Culture, a central actor in promoting Danish design abroad was the Danish Design Centre operating on behalf of the Ministry for Business and Growth. Operating in the 1980s and 1990s, the focus had been on travel exhibitions with simple, geometric and movable exhibition displays, e.g. the exhibition based on the book *Problemet kommer først* (Bernsen, 1982) (The Problem Comes First), displaying Danish design as being inventive, based on the logical simplicity of its engineering and a superb choice of materials.

The shift towards cultural actors has caused an increasingly cultural agenda in design, but the reverse movement can also be detected: as design increasingly is being perceived not only to be a means for business promotion, but a complex cultural phenomenon, culturally oriented actors have taken over.

Conclusion: Aesthetic Markers of the Everyday

A main strategy of the exhibitions analysed here is to promote cultural politics and to profile Danish design through the focus on the form and the everyday. At the exhibition *Everyday Life – Signs of Awareness*, the aestheticisation of the objects is a constructive act which not only lets the objects be imbued with an abstract ideology of being 'democratic' or related to 'welfare', but also lets them be a prism for an experience of what the everyday life feels like through form and materials. Hereby, the exhibition aims to encourage a *cultural reflection* of how objects of everyday life can have aesthetic meaning. In contrast, *Dansk Form* invites a discussion and negotiation of what design is when industrial design and craft objects meet. What the exhibitions have in common is to display that some kind of aesthetic element or aesthetic coding is part of perceiving design at the exhibitions and, consequently, can be seen as a part of Danish design.

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Scottish Independence and Design Education: Historical Reflections and Contemporary Observations

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Scottish independence / Design education / Public policy / Creative Scotland / The Scottish Government

This paper intends to examine the impact of the current Scottish independence movement on design/design-education enterprises initiated by Creative Scotland, a national executive body responsible for the advancement of Scotland's arts, culture and creative industries, established in 2010 by the pro-independent, centre-left, minority government of Scotland formed by the SNP, the Scottish National Party. The particular focus of this paper will be on how the 300 years of the history of design education in Scotland, following Scotland's loss of independence in 1707 through the Union of the Scottish and English parliaments, has inspired the development of Scottish design education since the beginning of this millennium and is reflected in the present pro-independent Scottish Government's interest in design, creative industry, and design education, with a non-nationalistic, creative vision of vast scope reaching beyond the geographical boundaries of Scotland.

Introduction

Creative Scotland, a national executive body responsible for the advancement of Scotland's arts, culture and creative industries, was established in 2010 by the pro-independent, centre-left, minority government of Scotland formed by the SNP, the Scottish National Party. This paper intends to examine the impact of the current Scottish independence movement on design/design-education enterprises initiated by this public body.

In my previously published paper, 'Scottish Challenge in Design Education: The Trustees Drawing Academy's Pedagogical Vision for Post-Union Scotland' (Kondo, 2017), I examined how importantly and enthusiastically the education of utilitarian/industrial arts had been pursued in Scotland in the age of the Enlightenment. The present study proposes to trace the creative inspirations for the present pro-independent Scottish Government's interest in design, creative industry, and design education back to the 'Enlightenment' days when Scotland had been forced to accept its loss of sovereignty.

The Rise of the Independent Movement of Scotland

In 1998, when Enric Miralles, a Catalonian architect, had been commissioned to design the new Scottish Parliament building, not a few Scots connected the announcement to the rise of expectations for greater autonomy in Scotland, if not the attainment of complete independence. Following the Scottish referendum of 1997, in which 'voters in Scotland voted emphatically for the establishment of a Parliament and convincingly in favour of it having tax-varying powers' (Mitchell, 1998: 166), the Scottish Parliament opened on 1 July 1999, using the General Assembly Hall of the Church of Scotland and the properties owned by the University of Edinburgh, both on the Royal Mile in the Old Town of Edinburgh, as its temporary home.

The Scottish Parliament deals exclusively with devolved laws related to day-to-day Scottish lives, while the UK Parliament at Westminster deals with those with a UK-wide or international impact.

Nevertheless, the opening of the Scottish Parliament was a historically significant event, especially for those who dreamed of realizing complete independence for their homeland, a previously sovereign state. Alex Salmond, leader of the SNP at the time, was convinced after the 1997 referendum that 'Scotland [would] be independent in his lifetime'. For him and his fellow SNP supporters, the new Scottish Parliament was the first step in the Scottish nationalist 'pursuit of an independent Scotland' (MacAskill and Donegan, 1997).

The numbers of seats that the SNP was able to win in the first Scottish parliamentary election in 1999 was, however, only 35 of a total of 129 MSP seats, while the Scottish Labour Party won 56 and formed a coalition with the Scottish Liberal Democrats, who took 17 seats, thus securing an overall majority. The pursuit of full independence, then, was for many not yet a realistic choice. In fact, the situation became even worse for the nationalists in the following 2003 election, since they lost eight seats, leaving the SNP with just 27 MSPs.

The 2007 Scottish parliamentary election, however, was unforgettable for those who sought independence. The SNP won 47 seats to Labour's 46, and formed a minority government. Four years later, in 2011, the pro-independence movement gained even more support, giving the SNP an overall majority through winning 53 of 73 constituencies, as well as returning 16 list MSPs. The scale of the victory convinced the party to 'proceed with its core manifesto pledge to hold a referendum on Scottish independence' (Mccall, 2016).

The result of the 2014 Scottish Referendum was surely a disappointment for SNP supporters and pro-independent Scots, since complete independence was not achieved. Yet the result of the referendum was not a total defeat for Scotland's pro-independence movement, since it gained greater autonomy for Scotland. 'Only days before the vote', David Cameron, then British premier, then Labour Party leader Ed Miliband, and Nick Clegg, then leader of the Liberal Democrats and Deputy Prime Minister, jointly published, in the Scottish tabloid newspaper *Daily Record*, a 'pledge to work together to transfer more powers to Holyrood [Scotland's government]' if the referendum was rejected (Clegg, 2014).

In the 2015 general election, the SNP won 56 of 59 constituencies in Scotland. Following the 2016 referendum on the UK's

EU membership, another general election was announced in 2017 by British Premier Theresa May in the hope of strengthening her leadership in the Brexit negotiations by winning a larger majority in the House of Commons. The SNP lost 21 seats in this election, yet the crucial issue in this election was Brexit, not the future independence of Scotland. Moreover, as a result of the 2016 Scottish parliamentary election, the SNP currently holds 59 of 73 constituencies.

The progress the SNP has made in the past twenty years evinces the fact that the pro-independence movement in Scotland is at its highest point since the Union of 1707.

The SNP Government and Design Enterprises: Creative Scotland

The Scottish independence movement and extensive art/design enterprises undertaken in Scotland to gain international recognition for Scottish brands arose in tandem. Glasgow, once called 'Second City of The Empire' due to its industrial/commercial success, saw its industries fall into a depression in the 1920s, but recovered and came to identify itself as a centre of art/design enterprises. In 1999 it was named UK City of Architecture and Design. The Scottish Design Awards, instituted in the late 1990s, have become a driving force in furthering Scotland's world reputation in art and design. In 2004, the Edinburgh College of Art, one of the leading institutes of art and design in Scotland, became an affiliate of the University of Edinburgh, and in 2011 it merged with the College of Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences at the university. This marked the beginning of a new era in which education in art and design came to be closely aligned with the humanities and social sciences, just as in the days of the Enlightenment, when painters, architects, and others took part in extensive humanistic/scientific debates.

A government investigation of 'the link between those who study arts subjects at school and later employability' was published in 2006, signifying the increasing importance of education in the fields of art and design in the context of Scotland's economy and prosperity (Marsh et al., 2006). By May 2007, the Scottish Government had come to identify the furtherance of creative industries in Scotland as one of the top priorities of its administration, since it was expected to 'offer the opportunity to strengthen Scotland's areas of international comparative advantage' and 'contribute to the Government's overall purpose of increasing sustainable economic growth' (Carr, 2009). Defining creative industries as '[t]hose industries which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property' (Carr, 2009), the government placed particular emphasis on advertising, architecture, the art/antiques trade, crafts, computer games/software/electronic publishing, design, design fashion, music, visual and performing arts, publishing, radio and TV, video, film, and photography. In 2010, the nationalist Scottish Government inaugurated Creative Scotland, a new agency for the development of Scotland's arts, film and creative industries (Schlesinger, 2013: 276). The strategic leadership of the Scottish Arts Council in funding, development and advocacy of the arts in Scotland, and the works of Scottish Screen as the national development agency for the screen industries in Scotland, were replaced by this new public body.

While Creative Scotland was 'a new body for the arts' (Lambert, 2013: 286) in Scotland, it was not created from scratch. The notion of the need for such institutions itself had a history of more than a half of a century in the UK. In August 1946, the Arts Council of Great Britain was established, and two decades later, in 1967, it was 'granted a new charter of incorporation, with the objectives of "developing and improving the knowledge, understanding and practice of the arts; of increasing the accessibility of the arts to the public throughout Great Britain; and of advising and co-operating with departments of Government, local authorities and other bodies on any matters concerned"' (Lambert, 2013: 287). The 'semi-autonomous' committee of the Arts Council of Great Britain in Scotland was instituted in the same year, and named the Scottish Arts Council.

The Scottish Arts Council had received its funding 'from central government via the Arts Council of Great Britain' until 1994, when it became an entirely separate organization, 'receiving its funding directly from the Scottish budget' (Lambert, 2013: 287). It was the work of this Scottish public sector that Creative Scotland, the new Arts agency created by combining Scottish Screen with the Scottish Arts Council, succeeded in 2010; yet it is distinctively unique in its scope, aiming specifically to develop Scotland's international brand through the expansion of creative industries in Scotland.

Creative Scotland's emphasis on those arts, vaguely defined as 'creative industries', had the firm, clear purpose of realizing Scotland's national objectives; however, it was soon to be severely attacked by Scottish artists, for it appeared to them that 'what Creative Scotland really wanted to be like was *a bank*' (Lambert, 2013: 290), employing art as a tool of economic policy. In May 2012, Creative Scotland had to deal with the decision made by the Scottish Government to cut £2 million of support, intending 'the shortfall to be more than made up with funds from the National Lottery' (Fisher, 2017: 265). This shift was soon to be criticised by artists, for 'lottery funds could be used only for one-off projects', and therefore could not be used to support arts organizations which needed long-term funding support. Thus Creative Scotland had become a mere provider of project grants with a strong inclination toward strategic commissioning and investment in the arts. In short, Creative Scotland was conceived by artists as 'a new prototype of the cultural agency: an investor rather than a funder, the leader of a number of partners sharing risks and finance' (Schlesinger, 2013: 279). Holding the power to

decide which arts organizations were to be funded exacerbated the tension between Creative Scotland and artists, for their inter-relationship looked as if 'the funding body were becoming more important than the artists' (Fisher, 2017: 265).

This led to the rise of an anti-Creative Scotland move amongst Scottish artists. On 8 October 2012, a group of Scottish artists held a meeting in one of the Scottish Government buildings in Edinburgh and signed a letter accusing Creative Scotland of 'ill-conceived decision-making; unclear language; lack of empathy and regard for Scottish culture'. The letter stated:

> Routinely, we see ill-conceived decision-making; unclear language, lack of empathy and regard for Scottish culture. We observe an organisation with a confused and intrusive management style married to a corporate ethos that seems designed to set artist against artist and company against company in the search for resources ... The arts are one of Scotland's proudest assets and most successful exports. We believe existing resources are best managed in an atmosphere of trust between those who make art and those who fund it. At present, this trust is low and receding daily (Lambert, 2013: 285).

When this letter was published, 100 artists signed it, and since then it is said that the number has risen to more than 400.

Historical Inspirations of Creative Scotland

It is not for us, in the context of the present paper, to judge whether the establishment of Creative Scotland was a welcome development in terms of strengthening arts and design education in today's Scotland. This is not a matter of ethics, but rather a realistic-political facet of Scottish struggles for developing Scotland's international brand through the encouragement and support of education and enterprises in arts and design. Indeed, it is true that 'much of Scotland's cultural production, not just in this period, but over centuries, has been "about" Scotland', and 'that it has preserved/created an idea of identity/nation' is 'true also' (Lambert, 2013: 291).

What is worth mentioning here is that the policy of Creative Scotland and arts/design related enterprises reflect policies of the leading circle of the Enlightenment 300 years ago, who enthusiastically encouraged art education applied to the improvement of Scottish industries, and eagerly debated various issues which ultimately led to the institution of the first publicly funded design school. In other words, one can discover common ground between art educational enterprises in the days following Scotland's loss of independence and those of Creative Scotland, undertaken in order to develop an international presence, brand, and identity for a nation with no diplomatic sovereignty.

In 2005, James Robertson, a well-known literary figure in Scotland and the first writer-in-residence in the Scottish Parliament, published *Voyage of Intent: Sonnets and Essays from the Scottish Parliament*, a book written from his experiences during his parliamentary residency the previous year, in which he refers to the significance of the days of the past for 'twenty-first century, democratic and multi-voiced Scotland':

> We need our history, to be aware of it [the best thing about 'our national identity', that is 'a refusal to be easily categorised'] and to understand it ... (Lambert, 2013: 291).

Robertson's words remind us how Creative Scotland had related itself to the historical past, for the vision of Creative Scotland, under the strong leadership of the pro-independent SNP government, resembled that of such eighteenth-century organizations as the Edinburgh Society for encouraging Arts, Sciences, Manufactures, and Agriculture in Scotland and the Honourable Board of Trustees for Fisheries, Manufactures, and Improvements in Scotland, both strongly motivated by the national objective of education in utilitarian/useful arts capable of contributing to the development of Scottish industries.

In 1707, when Scotland paid the painful price of loss of political independence through its union with England, it nevertheless anticipated economic progress due to access to the English colonies. Yet Scotland hardly gained any economic benefits from the Union during the first half of the eighteenth century, and it was only in the second half of the eighteenth century that Scotland finally started to reap economic benefits from the Union. In 1755, the Select Society, an interdisciplinary circle of Scottish leading intellects, announced its intention to contribute 'by every means' in its power to 'the encouragement of arts, sciences, manufactures, and agriculture' through a society established to implement improvements in art, science, industry and manufacturing (Anonymous, 1755: 127, 129), and this was named the Edinburgh Society for Encouraging Arts, Sciences, Manufactures, and Agriculture. Later, co-operating with the Honourable Board of Trustees for the Improvement of Fisheries and Manufactures, established in 1727, the Edinburgh Society for Encouraging Arts, Sciences, Manufactures, and Agriculture instituted 'the first School of Design in the three Kingdoms established and maintained at public expense' (Mason, 1949: 67), with the aim of advancing Scottish industries and manufacture through the fostering of many talented designers.

In post-Union Scotland, the focus of interest gradually shifted, as Scottish industries progressed, to the advancement of artistic skills and abilities of designers employed in the art of drawing for use in manufacturing. It is not surprising that this shift led to an awareness of the necessity for design education for Scottish industries and manufactures. The establishment of a School of Design was thus based upon both the need to improve artistic skills and abilities of Scottish artists to encourage Scottish industries and manufactures and the realization that a 'proper education', conducted under the guidance of experienced masters, was essential for Scotland to be able to flourish economically.

Scotland's interest in art education as the most effective driving force for developing Scottish manufactures and industries was to be passed on to the twenty-first century in the works of Creative Scotland: for the most important feature of design enterprises initiated by Creative Scotland was design education as related to creative industries.

Creative Scotland's support of the arts, screen and creative industries includes design education enterprises in cooperation with College Development Network, 'a skills and sector development company' with the mission of maximising 'the impact of education for learners across the vocational and college system in Scotland';[1] Education Scotland, a national body for 'supporting quality and improvement in learning and teaching';[2] The General Teaching Council for Scotland, the world's oldest body dedicated to the enhancement of professionalism in education;[3] and Skills Development Scotland, a national agency contributing 'to Scotland's sustainable economic growth by supporting people and businesses to develop and apply their skills'.[4]

The significance of education for the purpose of further development in creative industries is highly regarded in Scotland. Probably the most important point to be noted here is how closely and significantly the roles of design schools and art colleges affiliated to Scottish universities have been followed by both the Scottish Government and Creative Scotland.

In 2010, a report on the role and contribution of higher education to the growth of the creative economy in Scotland, *Scotland's Creative Economy: The Role of Universities*, was published. The report states that, according to 'Universities UK's report *Creating Prosperity*', '[o]n average 60 per cent of those working in the creative industries are graduates compared to around 31 per cent of the UK's workforce as a whole' (Universities Scotland, 2011). Certainly being the primary source of creative talent for the creative economy is not the only way universities engage with creative industries. Universities, those in Scotland in particular, are expected to 'span local, national and international forums which can be a very powerful facilitating role', and to build 'close links with industry and industry bodies' (Universities Scotland, 2011). In fact, '[e]vidence shows that Scotland's universities collaborate directly with creative companies and industry bodies in the design and development of courses at undergraduate and postgraduate level' (Universities Scotland, 2011).

The report cites notable examples of design education enterprises currently conducted in design-related departments and faculties at Scottish universities.

The Mackintosh Environmental Architecture Research Unit at the Glasgow School of Art (MEARU):

> Operating 'at a unique interface between architectural design and science-based research', this research centre at the Mackintosh School of Architecture of the University of Glasgow specializes in low-cost energy architectural design and sustainability.

The Scottish Academy of Fashion (SAF):

> The aim of this academy, led by the Edinburgh College of Art of the University of Edinburgh and Heriot Watt University's School of Textiles and Design, is to 'establish Scotland as a global centre for excellence in fashion related learning, primarily at postgraduate level, and commercially relevant research'.

Scottish Medical Visualisation Network:

> The network was established by the Digital Design Studio at the Glasgow School of Art of the University of Glasgow in 2007 with partners, including the Royal College of Surgeons in Edinburgh. It brings together 'multidisciplinary teams of medical practitioners, medical educators, and academics with technical, visualisation and industrial experts to identify key areas where 3D visualisation and interaction will support medical learning and teaching, surgical planning and rehearsal'.

Creative Scotland's emphasis on design education enterprises in Scottish universities is quite significant, in fact a distinctively Scottish feature of design enterprises in Scotland; for, '[i]n contrast to creative industries policy at UK level, Scotland has arguably paid more attention to the role of higher education in supporting the growth of the sector' (Universities Scotland, 2011). This reminds us once again of post-Union, Enlightenment days in Scotland when the roles of teaching/educational activities in the progress of the nation, support of Scottish manufactures, and the intellectual growth of its people had been always underscored.

Closing Remarks

Following the Union of the Parliaments in 1707, Scotland set aside a considerable amount of public funds for the establishment and management of design schools in order to provide practical instruction in utilitarian arts for Scots involved with design for manufacture. Yet the vision of the leading circles of the post-union Scotland was not limited to seeking industrial prosperity only within Scotland's national borders. Enlightenment thinker and historian David Hume wrote in a letter addressed to Adam Smith that he personally found Scotland to be a 'narrow' place, lacking opportunities for him to be able to thrive. The same view was held by Robert Adam, a personal friend of both Hume and Smith and the most well-known Scotland-born architect at that time. Reflecting this anxiety about the narrowness of Scotland in terms of opportunity and creativity, post-union generations of Scots strove to overcome limitations and develop internationally. Today, Creative Scotland's attempt to develop Scotland internationally recalls the ambitious visions of the famed Enlightenment thinkers of eighteenth-century Scotland, who all had struggled to broaden horizons.

[1] CDM Strategic Plan 2017–2020.

[2] Cf. https://education.gov.scot

[3] Cf. http://www.gtcs.org.uk

[4] Cf. https://www.skillsdevelopmentscotland.co.uk

The SNP has always promoted the necessity of EU membership for Scotland. It has been reported, based on a recent analysis made by the think tank UK in a Changing Europe, that, while 'Brexit is unlikely to be the "constitutional game changer" that leads Scots to vote for independence' (Macdonell, 2018), it is surely undeniable that Scotland and its people enjoy today its unique international recognition and reputation. Hence, Creative Scotland will continue to struggle to broaden the international possibilities of Scotland through funding arts, supporting creative industry, and vitalizing design education for the future prosperity of Scotland, both economically and culturally.

Enlightenment sociologist Adam Ferguson stated in 1767 that '[t]he virtues of men have shone most during their struggles, not after the attainment of their ends' (Ferguson, 1966: 206). Two and a half centuries later, Creative Scotland's furtherance of Scotland's creative industries and design education enterprises, with its focus on the development of Scotland as internationally viable, evidences this.

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Designing from the Centre: State-sponsored Design in Britain and Politically Driven Decision-making

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Britain / Government / Design / National identity / Politics

In this paper I intend to survey state-sponsored design in Britain today. Instead of more overt forms of 'British-ness' in design, I am interested in the designs that are often taken for granted and not always considered to be designed by anyone, let alone the state. Tax returns, currency, official typography, city sightlines and official uniforms can all be described as state-sponsored design. Each one of these examples represents an interface between the state and its citizens, accommodating the complexities of government, political decision-making but also a shifting understanding of how one relates to the history and culture of the nation to which one belongs. This paper will investigate how the contemporary British state expresses its agenda through policy documents and by looking closely at two particular design examples: the forthcoming changes to the British passport, and the Baby Box scheme. My broad objective is to show that, in any public design process, the agency of the designer is limited and in fact a wide variety of agents tend to be responsible for design. Far from being neutral, the state is one of the most powerful and privileged of these agents.

Introduction

What constitutes state-sponsored design in Britain today? For some, both in Britain and abroad, designs associated with official forms of 'British-ness' start and stop with the Union Jack flag. But what about less obvious forms, those that are taken for granted and not always considered to be designed by anyone, let alone the state? As the scholar Mahmoud Keshavarz has noted while researching the relationship between design and politics, 'the articulations that states make, fabricate and design involve various levels and scales including artifacts, sites and spaces'.[1] In Britain, official ephemera such as ballot cards, tax discs, census forms, tax returns and passports could be described as state-sponsored design; so too could currency, council housing, embassies, official uniforms as well as the channels through which official information is accessed, such as gov.uk. Less obvious design examples might be the sightlines over British cities, official typography, street furniture, and the design of license-payer funded BBC television news studios.

Each one of these examples represents an interface between the state and its citizens, accommodating the complexities of government, political decision-making but also a shifting understanding of how one relates to the history and culture of the nation to which one belongs. While some examples might appear overly familiar and might even be considered unworthy of attention since they form such a basic part of everyday life, it is precisely for this reason that they ought to be more closely considered. They are, in a sense, the design handwriting of Britain, reflecting the decisions and tastes of those responsible, and shaping the designed environment of a nation. But is there an overarching national design strategy or policy in Britain today? Why do objects 'designed' by the state look the way they do, and who gets to decide? And, how does design shape and become shaped by politics?

This paper seeks to address these questions. It forms an early part of a broader research project to investigate the relationship between the government and design in Britain today, with a view to eventually preparing an exhibition on the subject. The paper will investigate how the contemporary British state expresses its agenda through policy documents and by looking closely at two particular design examples: the forthcoming changes to the British passport, and the Scottish government's Baby Box scheme. My broad objective is to show that, in any public design process, the agency of the designer is limited and in fact a wide variety of agents tend to be responsible for design. Far from being neutral, the state is one of the most powerful and privileged of these agents.

A brief history of state-sponsored design in Britain

Throughout the twentieth-century there existed, in one form or another, various initiatives established or supported by the British government with the aim of influencing and encouraging higher standards in British design and manufacturing. Many of these initiatives were implemented by organizations set up with government support—financial or otherwise—which acted on behalf of the government where design matters were concerned. Often those bodies—among them, the Council for Art and Industry, the Council of Industrial Design, the Roy-

[1] Mahmoud Keshavarz (2015). "Material practices of power – part I: passports and passporting", *Design Philosophy Papers*, 13: 2, 97.

al Fine Art Commission, the Civic Trust—had no direct powers and operated mainly through persuasion and education, but they were also powerful in terms of the influence they held, as well as their ability to promote an official version of 'good design' on behalf of the state.[2] While divided on the question of how this could best be achieved, such bodies—alongside several well-placed individuals, civil servants and government ministers—passionately believed that, through their public service, good design would improve the day-to-day lives of Britain's citizens, and ensure the country's place in the modern world.

[2] See Eleanor Herring, *Street Furniture Design: Contesting Modernism in Post-War Britain* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016).

In retrospect, the design landscape of the past—particularly post-war Britain—looks relatively unique. The state, and its role in our lives, has clearly changed since then. From the 1980s onwards, the post-war vision of a powerful state—with its belief in government intervention, nationalization, public service, welfare and centralized planning—was slowly dismantled and replaced with a different set of values based on the primacy of the individual, choice, free enterprise, privatization and financial deregulation. As a consequence, the reach of the state has shrunk considerably. These ideological changes had a specific effect upon design, the provision of which was taken out of the state's hands and placed in the hands of private authorities, trusts, corporations, companies and individuals. In some cases provision of state services was eradicated altogether. The state-funded organizations that once educated the British public on design and lobbied for higher standards have been substantially weakened, and there is no longer any sense of overarching ideology shared by those in government about what constitutes good design. The various agents responsible are increasingly fragmented and have few regulatory standards to work with. There is also a general feeling that government fails to adequately support the design industry. But does this mean that the state has stopped trying to express its social, political and cultural agenda through design altogether?

Recent activities affecting design policy

Despite the fact that so many state services have been privatized, the state continues to engage with design, and express itself through design. Within central government, there are various groups that engage with design directly. Policy Lab, which is based in the Cabinet Office and was established in 2014, accommodates designers to evaluate trouble spots across government departments with a view to trying to solve such problems.[3] Design methods and design thinking, a concept pioneered by IDEO to help companies think like designers, is increasingly harnessed by government departments to look critically at areas of difficulty.[4] The Government Digital Service has addressed issues of accessibility through the design of its typography.[5] In terms of Britain's wider design infrastructure, the state increasingly capitalizes on British design's soft power, and official events like the 2012 London Olympics act as a showcase not only of British identity and culture, but also its economic and political position in the world. Similarly, museums, events, festivals and expos that promote design, all contribute to how British design is recognized abroad. Design education is another important means through which Britain exports its design expertise.[6] Evidently, the relationship between the state and design in Britain is represented in many ways. But is there an overarching national design strategy or policy in Britain today?

[3] Policy Lab, https://openpolicy.blog.gov.uk/about/ [accessed 11.06.18].

[4] Policy Connect, 'Thinking, Testing, Making: A Manifesto for Design. A report by the All Party Parliamentary Design and Innovation Group', 03.12.15, http://www.policyconnect.org.uk/apdig/research/thinking-testing-making-manifesto-design [accessed 11.06.18].

[5] The Government Digital Service, 'A few notes on typography', 05.07.12, https://gds.blog.gov.uk/2012/07/05/a-few-notes-on-typography/ [accessed 11.06.18].

[6] All-Party Design and Innovation Group and Design Commission at Policy Connect, 'Developing Creative Education After Brexit: A Plan for Economic Growth', http://www.policyconnect.org.uk/research/developing-creative-education-after-brexit-plan-economic-growth [accessed 11.06.18].

In fact, design policy, if it exists, is fragmented and exists only in isolated pockets. In organizational terms, there are several bodies and schemes that continue to represent different parts of the design community and which could influence policy, including the Design Business Association, the Royal Designers for Industry, the Chartered Society of Designers, D&AD, and the Design Council. As the former Council of Industrial Design, the Design Council represents a link to past state support for the design community, and it continues to define itself as a charity 'using design to improve people's lives', and as the government's advisor on design.[7] While the original organization extended its reach across a broad understanding of design, the remodeled Design Council focuses on business, the built environment, and public services. They offer 'providing design support services and training; delivering partner-funded programmes and running campaigns to raise awareness about the value of design'.[8] The language used tends to focus on design's economic value, e.g. design as a lever for growth, design as a way to save money and boost competitiveness. In other words, using design effectively can reap significant rewards.

[7] Hugh Dalton quoted in Fiona MacCarthy, *A History of British Design 1830–1970* (London: George Allen and Unwin 1979), p.73–4; Design Council, https://www.designcouncil.org.uk/about-us/our-mission [accessed 11.06.18].

[8] Design Council, https://www.designcouncil.org.uk/what-we-do [accessed 11.06.18].

The Design Council is not alone in relying on such rhetoric. A further body that acts as a mediator between the design community and the state is the Design Commission, which is the in-depth research arm of the All-Party Parliamentary Design & Innovation Group. It was established in 2010 in order to further its aims of 'promoting intelligent debate of design policy', and is composed of parliamentarians and representatives from business, industry and the public sector.[9] According to the Design Commission, its purpose is to explore, through research, how design can drive economic and social improvement, and how government and business can better understand the importance of design. The Commission claims that,

> there is currently a need for more strategic thinking to link design, policy and politics more consistently. The strength of the Commission is in bringing the variety of ideas and considerable experience of its members to bear in thinking about policy, society and the economy; in establishing new frontiers where design thinking can contribute; and in using the cumulative weight of its members' standing to gather support and encourage receptiveness from government.[10]

And yet, despite all the hard work that the Design Council and the Design Commission have done to persuade government of design's value, alongside others from the wider design community, the overall feeling is one of frustration. Though the Design Council still receives some government funding, it is no longer a non-governmental public body; a de-grading that means that it continually has to justify its existence. Frequent mentions are made in reports published by the Design Commission that the government simply is not listening, and more work needs to be done to really effect change. [11] Indeed, as recently as 2013, papers were still being produced that called for more articulation about what design actually is and how to define it to others.[12]

In Jonathan Woodham and Michael Thomson's recent article 'Cultural Diplomacy and Design in the Late Twentieth and Twenty-First Centuries: Rhetoric or Reality?' they observed that the type of design rhetoric seen in reports produced by such groups does not accommodate failure nearly enough. They point out that,

> virtually none of these publications embrace failure as part of their discourse since the vast majority of these seductive documents are written not so much as reports but as implicit bids seeking further government funding or support from the private sector, businesses, and shareholders; naturally they present a vision of success as a means of achieving their objectives.[13]

Indeed, much recent literature produced and published by groups such as the Design Commission, tends to focus on the groups aims and recommendations. In the post-Brexit report published in 2016, with the support of the website Dezeen, it reads like a wish-list.[14] So, where then does this leave state-sponsored design? And, how does the rhetoric used by these groups affect the designed objects that are still produced on behalf of the government?

Objects as bearers of policy

For the purposes of this paper, I have selected two contemporary examples of state-sponsored design: the British passport, and the Scottish government's Baby Box scheme. These examples have been chosen both for their differences and also for qualities they share. Both, however, articulate the act of designing by the state.

The British Passport

In December 2017 the Home Office issued a press release announcing that following Britain's exit from the European Union—commonly referred to as 'Brexit'—the British passport design would change from the standard EU burgundy colour to a blue and gold design. Blue covers on British passports had been standard from 1921 until the burgundy common format colour was agreed and adopted when the UK joined the EU. According to Prime Minister Theresa May, abandoning the burgundy design introduced in 1988 was an expression of 'independence and sovereignty' that reflected 'citizenship of a proud, great nation'.[15] And Immigration Minister Brandon Lewis said, 'leaving the EU gives us a unique opportunity to restore our national identity and forge

[9] The Design Commission, http://www.policyconnect.org.uk/apdig/design-commission [accessed 11.06.18].

[10] The Design Commission, http://www.policyconnect.org.uk/apdig/design-commission [accessed 06.06.18].

[11] See *Thinking, Testing, Making: A Manifesto for Design. A report by the All Party Parliamentary Design and Innovation Group*. Policy Connect 2015.

[12] APDIG Term Paper December 2013, *Defining Design: The Debate*, apdigtermpaperdec2013-definingdesign [accessed 06.06.18].

[13] Jonathan Woodham, Michael Thomson, 'Cultural Diplomacy and Design in the Late Twentieth and Twenty-First Centuries: Rhetoric or Reality?' *Design and Culture* (2017, 9: 2) pp. 230–1.

[14] *Brexit Design Manifesto, Dezeen*, http://downloads.dezeen.com/brexit-design-manifesto-dezeen.pdf, quoted in 'A Design for Brexit: How the design sector can be an engine for growth'. Submission to HM Treasury ahead of the 2016 Autumn Statement by the Design Business Association and the All-Party Group for Design and Innovation – October 2016, 6.

[15] Theresa May quoted in 'Blue passports could send UK citizens to back of queue, EU officials say', *The Guardian*, 23.12.17.

a new path for ourselves in the world'.[16] The passport, he told the Sun newspaper, was 'one of the most iconic things about being British'.[17] Language like this mirrors the Leave campaign slogan 'Take Back Control', and suggests that national identity is a collective and fixed concept.

[16] Home Office press release, 'Blue UK passport to return after EU exit', 22.12.17, https://www.gov.uk/government/news/blue-uk-passport-to-return-after-eu-exit [accessed 06.06.18].

[17] Tom Newton Dunn, 'Back and Blue', The *Sun*, 22.12.17, https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/5192542/uk-dark-blue-passport-back/ [accessed 11.06.18].

While the current passport in circulation depicts both rural and urban scenes of Britain, famous figures and achievements, supporters of Brexit and the country's Eurosceptics have consistently argued that the burgundy passport brought them a considerable degree of shame. The change from burgundy to blue, critics argue however, is an empty patriotic gesture, intended to deflect from the ongoing EU negotiations, and appeal to the Leave voters who seek affirmation of Britain's new independent status. Whether the change qualifies as an improvement is also disputed. According to the British Labour MEP Claude Moraes, it might simply mean 'greater queues, greater checks and more inconvenience'.[18] Moreover, like much of the misinformation that has characterized the process of Britain's departure from the EU, the standard burgundy design was never imposed upon Britain. In 1981 Margaret Thatcher's government voluntarily agreed to harmonise the EU passport design in a joint resolution of member states in the European council; a decision which was, according to Council member and Britain's then ambassador to the EU, Michael Butler, intended to 'strengthen the feeling among nationals of the member states that they belong to the same community'.[19] Ironically, since Britain currently remains part of the EU, the tendering process for printing the new passports has taken place under existing EU procurement rules. As such, the passport will be printed by the Franco-Dutch firm Gemalto.

[18] 'Blue passports could send UK citizens to back of queue, EU officials say', *The Guardian*, 23.12.17.

[19] *Ibid.*

According to Keshavarz, 'one of the very specific artifacts of nation-state making, designed and fabricated in order to articulate the relation between a body, nationality and the state in the context of mobility and immobility is the passport'.[20] And its role in the Brexit process articulates the anxieties, contradictions and divisions that characterize the current political climate in Britain. The language used in the argument over passport design reflects not only how patriotism can be manufactured and nationalism constructed, but the prevalence of nostalgia and nationalism in British political discourse at times of change, from both the Left and the Right. It also raises ethical questions about the role of central government in design decision-making, consent and representation —particular when the vote was won by a slim majority—and how material artifacts can shape and become shaped by a changing political landscape.

[20] Mahmoud Keshavarz (2015) "Material practices of power – part I: passports and passporting", *Design Philosophy Papers*, 13: 2, 97-113, DOI: 10.1080/14487136.2015.113313

Baby Box

The second example draws from regional politics. The Baby Box was launched by the Scottish government—led by the Scottish National Party—in August 2017 and is modeled on a similar scheme in Finland. It is essentially a cardboard box given by the government to expectant mothers, containing items such as clothes for newborn babies, a digital thermometer, books, a specially commissioned poem in Scots dialect, condoms and breast pads. It also contains a mattress so the baby can sleep inside the box. It was designed by the graphic design student Leanne Young, who won a competition organised jointly by the Scottish Government and the V&A in Dundee.[21] The design exhibits typical motifs associated with Scotland, including the Loch Ness Monster.

[21] BBC, 'Forest fairy tales design wins baby box contest', 10.03.17, https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-39224091 [accessed 11.06.18].

The discourse coming from the Scottish government reveals their political motivations as well as their anxieties. The scheme was introduced as part of the SNP's commitment to eradicating social inequality, and aims 'to promote a fair and equal start for all children and to aid in achieving the best possible outcomes for all Scotland's children.'[22] It seeks to create a sense of social cohesion, foster good parenting and help vulnerable women feel valued. The pilot study listed the intended benefits as 'informing parental behaviours that will positively impact on outcomes for the child, including safe sleeping practices,

[22] The Scottish Government, 'Scotland's Baby Box Pilot Research', June 2017.

attachment and parent–child interaction'.[23] The scheme is clearly described as a means of encouraging behaviour change, for example, breastfeeding.[24] Responding to the findings from the pilot scheme, the developers recommended that 'the Baby Box should be clearly positioned as a gift from Scotland and the Scottish Government, for every newborn baby irrespective of socio-economic background and not just for those from a deprived background'; and added that the inspirational aspect to the scheme should be emphasized, particularly by 'tapping into the potential "halo effect" from Scandinavia'.[25]

The scheme is aspirational, and as a way to ensure that all children born in Scotland start life with at least a degree of equality, it is well meaning. It has also proven successful, with a high uptake among parents. However, critics have pointed out that the scheme reflects a wider trend towards evidence-free modern politics. Dr. Peter Blair, chairman of the International Society for the Study and Prevention of Perinatal and Infant Death, stated earlier this year that, while not actively dangerous, the Scottish government should not be promoting the boxes 'as safe or safer than cots or Moses baskets' and that the claims the SNP make about the box's benefits have been overstated.[26] The SNP reacted by disputing his claims as 'nonsense', and accused detractors of 'scare-mongering'. Other critics include the parents themselves who, even in the pilot study, objected to the absence of bottles and disposable nappies.[27] Who made the final decision for the box, what it looks like and what it contains, is at this stage in my research unknown. However, one could argue that were the Scottish government genuinely committed to ensuring a fair start for all children, they would instead address the political and economic systems that negatively affect families, including the lack of support after the birth of a child, poor maternity and paternity pay and the high cost of childcare. These measures are more complicated and costly than the introduction of a baby box, and it is worth questioning to what extent design in this instance is more of a political distraction than a civic improvement.

Conclusion

So, how does design shape and become shaped by politics in Britain today? The policy documents, the passport and the baby box scheme all show that, while state-sponsored design continues to be discussed in terms of improvement, the ethics and agency of these 'improvements' are not always so transparent, and decisions remain politically motivated. And yet, questioning how the state engages with design seems particularly pertinent given the current level of discussion about what citizens' relationship to the government is and the impact of broader cultural forces upon the country. The Scottish referendum in 2014 and the EU referendum in 2016, indicate that there is more awareness than ever before about national identity and how it is forged within Britain, issues which have become even more pressing in light of 'Brexit'. As Woodham and Thomson have warned, Britain's decision to leave the EU in March 2019 may potentially lead to a more insular approach to design, one that excludes 'foreigners', resists perceived outside influences, and celebrates instead an ideologically-driven concept (and aesthetic) of 'Britishness'.[28] The baby box points to efforts to maintain links with Europe—albeit within the framework of 'Scottish-ness'—but the aesthetic changes proposed to the British passport reflect not only a break with Europe, but also a re-construction of 'Britishness'. However, as the anthropologist Nigel Rapport observed, as cited in Javier Gimeno Martínez's book *Design and National Identity*, it is through a confrontation with difference that national identity is activated.[29] Without difference, it is worth asking, will 'British-ness' even be relevant?

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[23] *Ibid*: i.

[24] The Scottish Government, 'Baby Box Development Research', June 2017, 7.

[25] *Ibid*: 4.

[26] Dani Garavelli, 'The SNP has caused its own baby box blues', *The Guardian*, 09.05.18.

[27] The Scottish Government, 'Baby Box Development Research', June 2017, 3.

[28] Jonathan Woodham, Michael Thomson, 'Cultural Diplomacy and Design in the Late Twentieth and Twenty-First Centuries: Rhetoric or Reality?' *Design and Culture* (2017, 9:2): 237.

[29] Javier Gimemo-Martínez, *Design and National Identity*, (London: Bloomsbury, 2016): 155.

How the Public Sector Redefines our Notion of Design-driven Innovation

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Design driven innovation / Human-centered design / Public sector / Government innovation labs

The term 'design-driven innovation' mistakenly suggests and implies that of the many forms of innovation only one is shaped by design thinking, design processes, design methods and design practice. This paper contrasts common uses of the term with the growing awareness of how design thinking, principles, processes and practices give shape to public policy and policy implementation. The paper argues that this is an area that deserves more consideration from design studies and design history.

Introduction

Design-driven innovation has emerged as a topic in design management and in business where it insinuates that it presents a special kind of innovation (Verganti, 2009). In this paper, I argue that innovation per se is driven by some kind of design thinking and some kind of design methods. Innovation is therefore something that has its roots in the way we go about designing. Rather than innovation being special, it appears that the various kinds of design thinking, design methods, design processes and design principles we employ as we strive to innovate 'the new' are of interest and of relevance. I suggest that design studies and design history can help us better understand contemporary developments in design in the public sector, particularly those found in the context of 'public sector innovation labs'. Public Sector Innovation Labs are described as safe spaces on the municipal, regional and national level that allow for experimentation with new approaches and new methods, including human-centered design (Mulgan, 2014; McCann, Bloomkamp and Lewis, 2018). Their aim is generally to arrive at innovative citizen-centric polices and/or citizen-centric public services. In many, the principles and methods of human-centered design are being applied to foster new thinking and new doing within public administrations and ministerial resorts that traditionally have been divided into functional silos, focused on organizational matters and slow in recognizing and integrating the experiences of those who make use of their services. Inquiring into design-driven innovation in the public sector from the vantage points of design studies and design history offers an opportunity to ground this term and to reveal it as a powerful concept beyond tempting innovation hypes.

Design in the Public Sector

As an activity with inherently social outcomes and consequences, design cannot be overlooked for its central role in the state and in government. Public institutions, public policies and public services are products of and by design: conceived by people (politicians and lawmakers), planned by people (lawmakers and lobbyists), developed by people (public managers and civil servants), delivered by people (civil servants and frontline workers) and predominantly for the people (citizens). It is therefore possible to describe the public sector as a design-driven environment, that is, an environment where design principles, design thinking, design processes and design methods inform design practices and give shape to certain kinds of products. Historically, we can trace the drivers of public design to principles and practices of management: the division into resorts and responsibilities in the German public sector, for example, derived directly from the hierarchical principles successfully instilled by the Prussian Military (Hartmann, 2004: 144). A chain of command instilled linear processes further fragmented by the division and specialization of tasks and responsibilities. Scientific Management later merely refined these tasks and responsibilities but changed little in the overall, one-directional design approach that promoted hierarchal, linear and fragmented work to conceive of, develop, and implement laws, public policies and public services. New Public Management, too, did not challenge these principles per se. New Public Management simply introduced the notion that the citizen is not the lowest rung on the chain of command but instead a client or customer.[1] It appears then that design studies and design history are challenged to take a closer look at a topic and an area that so far has been dominated by authors in business and management (cf: Verganti, 2009).

Current Uses and Applications of Design-driven Innovation

In his book *Design-Driven Innovation*, Roberto Verganti defines design-driven innovation as "the R&D process for meanings".[2] This interpretation has been adopted widely, for example by *Design for Europe*, a program funded by the EU Commission.[3] *Design for Europe* positions design-driven innovation as an approach to innovation "based on the observation that people do not purchase products, or services, they buy 'meaning'– where users' needs are not only satisfied by form and function, but also through experience (meaning)". In contrast, *DesignDriven*, a

[1] For a good though dated overview of Public Administration Programmes in Germany from which one can derive the various influences see Leutenecker, S. (1999). "Public Administration Programmes in Germany". In Verheijen, T., and Connaughton, B. (Eds.). *Higher Education Programmes in Public Administration: Ready for the Challenge of Europeanisation?,* Centre for European Studies University of Limerick, 1999, 169–197.

[2] Verganti, R. (2009). *Design Driven Innovation: Changing the Rules of Competition by Radically Innovating What Things Mean*, Boston: Harvard Business Press.

[3] See: http://www.designforeurope.eu/what-design-driven-innovation.

Facebook group with a membership of over 2,500 practicing designers, highlights that passion for design is the key characteristic of being design-driven.[4] In a similar fashion, *FastCompany* offers "10 Lessons for Design-Driven Success" on its blog that focuses both on passion and people.[5] For Claudia Acklin (2010) introducing design and design management into the strategy building and innovation processes of firms constitutes design-driven innovation. This is but a brief summary of some of the key uses and applications of design-driven innovation. My point being solely that all of these overlook that existing design practices, principles, processes and methods have a significant impact on how innovation takes place and with that design is already driving innovation. Design culture and attitude is all around us. Some people just simply fail to see and recognize the kinds of design approaches they are prone to loath to use. What is true when one agrees with Herbert Simon's observation that "everyone is a designer who devises courses of action to turn an existing situation into a preferred one" (Simon, 1996 [1969]) also holds in the negative: everyone is a designer who devises courses of action to turn an existing solution into a preferred one yet fails to achieve an improvement.

Design-driven Innovation: Is there any other?

The term design-driven innovation, one can thus argue, mistakenly suggests and implies that of the many forms of innovation only one is shaped by design thinking, design processes, design methods and design practice. It is mistaken because people conceiving, developing, planning developing and realizing an innovation inevitably make use of design principles, design methods and design processes in order to arrive at a final product or solution. Therefore, isolating innovation that is being design-driven from one that is not seems like splitting hairs and distracts us from grasping the deeper relationship of design and innovation.

Common innovation definitions like those offered by the OECD point to a further overlap of design and innovation: of the four types of innovation that relate to organizations, the OECD describes the first innovation as a focus on the product level (object/thing); the second as a focus on the process level (action/interaction); the third centering on the marketing level (communication), and the fourth as concerned with the organizational (systems) level (OECD 2017).[6] These classifications are similar to those introduced by Richard Buchanan (1992) as the 'Four Orders of Design'. Buchanan suggests that design research and practice can be organized around problems of symbols (communication); things (construction); interaction (interfaces) and organizations (systems). Innovation looks therefore strikingly similar to design and the term design-driven innovation becomes – once again – rather complicated. After all, if someone designs around the principles that drive organizational processes, any innovation following from these activities are just as 'design-driven' as if the principle for the design effort would be ease-of-use or centered on technological advances. Thus, the term design-driven innovation in and by itself is not of great use for design researchers.

The current developments in public sector innovation present a formidable opportunity to move beyond the simplistic and limited notion of design-driven innovation. Efforts to understand design in government – the realm where laws, public policies and public services are the products of design thinking and design doing – have already produced two promising areas for design studies and design history. Yet, so far, research into how government agencies and public administration apply design thinking and make use of design methods and processes is rare.

Great economists like Mariana Mazzucato and sociologists like Sandford F. Borins are dedicated to studying the production of public value and their insights underline that a) innovation persists in government (Borins, 2014) and b) that often innovation originates within government before it leads to breakthrough products and businesses in the private sector (Mazzucato 2013; 2018). Interesting from a design perspective is the presence of innovation in these organizations that are evidence of design thinking and design doing. Bringing such literature into the fold of design studies therefore presents no difficulty. Furthermore, they underline and highlight how much of these design activities remain invisible to this day, just as Lucius Burckhard (1995) pointed out two decades ago. They also still tend to be conducted in silence (Gorb and Dumas, 1987). These kinds of design studies would contribute to the history of design management as much as to the history of organizational design.

Design-driven Innovation in the Public Sector. For the sake of brevity and to make my point quickly, I will recount the developments in the Berlin City District Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg. I will leave my discussion of public sector innovation labs to a revised and longer form of this paper. Friedrichshain is a part of former East Berlin. Kreuzberg has a well-established reputation for anarchy, anti-capitalism and anti-government. After the wall fell in 1989, these two districts were put together to create today's district of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg. In this combined area, community activism thrives just as much as distrust of anything relating to government. The

[4] See: https://www.facebook.com/groups/DesignDriven/about/.

[5] https://www.fastcodesign.com/3016247/10-lessons-for-design-driven-success.

[6] https://www.oecd.org/site/innovationstrategy/defining-innovation.htm.

district is governed by the district parliament, which traditionally has been among the most liberal and socially as well environmentally engaged elected representatives across Berlin. Like anywhere else in Berlin, one of the key public issues currently is the rising cost of apartments and housing. Especially since the area has become hip and gentrification has begun to take hold, demonstrations have been held to protect long-term tenants with lower incomes from being pushed out of their neighborhood. At the same time, suspicions against investors and against the district government has grown. This has led to a reflection of the processes with which the city arrives at decisions in regards to building and housing and generated new forms of engagement and involvement of different citizen groups and representatives. The newly proposed development and decision-making process – to be presented to the parliament in June 2018 – centers on co-production. Participants in this co-production include, as a first, representatives of the public administration, members from civil society and real estate developers with a focus on the common good. This core group in turn is connected with all other relevant stakeholders, ranging from elected politicians to organized owners, renters, networkers, and others who form the city's community. This then presents a form of design-driven innovation that we are missing in the research and literature so far. It is but a small example and, as so often in design, the evidence and proof that this works and leads to innovative outcomes has yet to be generated. But already, there is evidence that design thinking and design practices are shifting and that new design methods are being employed to arrive at new outcomes.[7] This then appears to be a way to think of design-driven innovation in the public sector and is part of what Howlett, Muherjee and Woo (2015) call 'a new design orientation' that is leading policy design studies into a new territory 'in terms of the theory and practice of policy formulation and to move well beyond the studies of single policy tools and policy implementation which informed earlier design work'.

Summary and Outlook

This paper is far from where I would like it to be. It has been amazingly difficult to get it even to this stage, owing to many factors most academic authors are familiar with. Illustrations would have helped but alas, there were deadlines. Yet in the least, I feel this is the start of a discussion I consider important and relevant for design studies and design history. I am no historian and the motivation to tackle this topic derives purely from my continuous exposure to simplistic and reductive interpretations in my own field of design. Parallel, there is a growing hunger for fundamental design theories in those fields and professions that are pursuing public sector innovation in earnest and for whom design is opening new means and avenues to do so.

The above discussion indicates that both the design field and the policy field are missing opportunities by not being in greater dialogue with one another. These two domains of research and practice are in reality closely linked but have developed in isolation from one another. This is particularly regrettable because the insights from each domain can inform the other. And perhaps even more importantly if the two areas engaged in a more integrative discussion they could generate greater benefits for society and for academic research (Peters and Rava, 2016: 4).

> Too often, there is insufficient collaboration and cross-fertilization between the design and the policy research communities. This can be noticed in the tendency for research from the design community on policy design to lack in-depth understanding of the policy literature, and research on policy design from the public policy community to lack understanding of the more comprehensive design literature. However, and unfortunately, there is often a convergence on treating policy design from a narrow perspective. It is not uncommon to have policy defined as mere decision-making by designers, or to see designers equating administrative innovation (e.g. redesign of administrative procedures or the use nudging in application forms for documents) as a policy design. On the side of policy researchers, we can notice the tendency to consider design primarily in terms of industrial design or engineering, or narrowly in terms of creative problem-solving. The latter is often the fault of certain design practitioners who frame design in terms of the so-called "design thinking" (Peters and Rava, 2016: 2).

The quote above from Peters and Rava who are lamenting the absence of such research in regards to design and policy – while pointing out that there is more to 'design thinking' than creative problem solving – is just one case in point. This conspicuous silence among design researchers to engage critically with design related terms and concepts and their uses in other fields gives prominence to the language and thought of

[7] I wish I could share the sketch of the new design approach here, which I have on record. However, this is too late for inclusion in the proceedings.

dominant business, technology and management paradigms. The consequences are neither good for design nor the respective domain seeking to engage and benefit from new design practices with an eye towards innovation: failing to illustrate and demonstrate the design principles and design processes that shape present organizational practices, managerial thought and action adds another obstacle for those seeking to instil new design approaches to affect significant or transformative shifts. It means that design-driven innovation is limited to producing one of a kind, specific products or services that may or may not be sustained as the design principles and practices of an organization are exempt from change and transformation. This is what Woodham (2010) hones in on when he dismisses the claims of many designers that they effect change.

> It considers the extent to which self-confident, yet historically very familiar, assertions about the capacity of design to engender real change in national and international settings stand up to scrutiny. Furthermore, given the often mantra-like repetitiveness of such contentions, it also considers the possibility that their reiteration is more a reflection of an underlying desire to effect transformation than any comprehensive articulation of a series of well-researched arguments that would, in fact, be likely to bring about significant change. Indeed, if such propositions show little that is new, design historians and others with a longitudinal perspective of design activity may see them as reminiscent of the "Emperor's new clothes", insofar as it can be argued that "none of design's various suits had ever made so great an impression as these invisible ones" or, if viewed more positively, their recycled equivalents (Woodham, 2010: 27).

But as the example of the Berlin city district shows, design-driven innovation can be revisited and re-examined and in doing so we can open new paths and directions for design studies that will also satisfy design historians.

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Future Scenarios as a Significant Complement for Innovation Methodologies in Chile and Latin America

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Future scenarios / Innovation methodologies / Significant results / Latin America / Chile

This paper ponders the results obtained in Latin America, especially in Chile, when using innovation methods based on Human-Centred Design (HCD), which despite achieving valuable progress (in terms of learning, knowledge acquisition, and the creation of community solutions) are not necessarily generating significant results and/or gauging regional/global scenarios. To analyse possible reasons for this, the article reviews ideas from Andrés Oppenheimer, studies from the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), and the case of *Laboratorio de Gobierno* (Chile), among others. Moreover, to understand the development of successful projects, this paper examines texts by John Petersen and Alex Blanch related to the INDEX: Award, which recognises design that has a positive impact on people's lives. It also discusses works by Joseph Voros and Dave Gray, among others. This analysis states that innovation developments have been based on methodologies that have positively contributed to the implementation of participative projects, but have failed to integrate a previous understanding of local or global agendas, resulting in efforts that are not necessarily linked to relevant problems. In conclusion, when executing projects, the integration of an understanding of the local scenario, and its future, could enhance the results of local innovation.

Introduction
This paper reflects on the results achieved in Latin America, particularly in Chile, regarding issues related to innovation processes. The methodologies based on Human-Centred Design (HCD)[1] that are taught in the region have introduced important achievements on the understanding of users/people and/or their communities. However, currently, there is no approach that focuses, at an initial stage, on reviewing which topics are relevant and thus no significant impact is achieved. Integrating areas of interest in the innovation processes, which are pertinent to regional and/or global future scenarios, is necessary in order to accomplish better results.

The value of innovation in the region and the relevance of integrating local scenarios. Latin American economies are primarily based on finite natural resources, which is risky. As stated by the United Nations (UN), said resources have a structural weakness, including high dependence on commodities and low productivity growth. Therefore, it is important to promote investment in physical and human capital, as well as strengthen innovative capacities across the region (2018). In light of this, areas such as innovation are an opportunity to diversify incomes and improve the potential of the region.

Recently, new innovation departments have appeared within Latin American governments, integrating citizen's opinions as part of state policies (IDB, 2016). Moreover, innovation has also been implemented in universities and the private sector (World Bank, 2017).

The methodologies implemented to teach innovation in the region get communities involved in achieving results. Some examples have great results in certain environments, but their implementation is not necessarily aligned with industry issues pertinent to the country/region. Integrating future scenarios in the process could help to focus the efforts and improve the possibilities of success.

Innovation methods currently practiced in the region
Two of the main innovation methods implemented in the region are Design Thinking (Fig. 1) and the Double Diamond (Fig. 2). The first one is used by the design and consulting firm IDEO, and the Design Institute (d.school) at Stanford, integrating previous ideas and techniques from others authors. It has five stages: Empathise, Define, Ideate, Prototype, and Test (IDEO, b). The second method is used by the Design Council and it has four similar stages: Discover, Define, Develop, and Deliver. It also uses Design Thinking ideas related to Tilmann Lindberg, Christoph Meinel and Ralf Wagner (2011). Moreover, both methods have stages of divergence and convergence, and use empathy with users/people to enable researchers to better understand the environment, thus helping them create projects that are more engaging.

In fact, according to the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) 11 out of 12 public innovation departments are focused on Human-Centred Design throughout Latin America (2016) and 10 implement Design Thinking techniques. Some of them, like ViveLab Bogotá (Colombia), use adaptations of Design Thinking (Parra, 2018).

Another case is *Laboratorio de Gobierno* (Chile), which mainly uses the Double Diamond methodology (2018) and includes co-creation techniques. This consists in gathering together all stakeholders of a single policy or social issue in order to integrate diverse profiles and involve citizens, service users, public employees, private sector representatives, and academia (IDB, 2016).

The following is a good example of the abovementioned. In 2016, the *Superintendencia de Electricidad y Combustible* (SEC,

[1] *Human-Centred Design* is based on creating ideas and design solutions with the people for which you are working (IDEO, a). It entails different stages, in which empathic strategies such as ethnography and co-creation are used throughout.

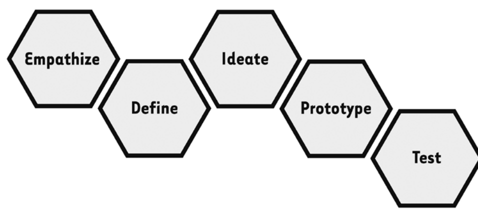


Fig. 1 *Design Thinking* Methodology (IDEO and d.school).

per its acronym in Spanish) in conjunction with the *Servicio Nacional del Consumidor* (SERNAC, per its acronym in Spanish), created *Cuentas de la luz claras, simples y transparentes* (Clear, simple and transparent light bills). Resulting from this project was a new clearer light bill that was co-created with citizens from all over the country. Their participation made it possible to think 'outside the box' (Laboratorio de Gobierno, 2018).

In addition, they run a programme called *Experimenta*, in which public sector employees develop and spearhead innovation projects on topics of their own selection (BID, 2016). As it usually occurs in innovation processes, when the participants start the programme they select a problem without previously doing research on the region/country context.[2]

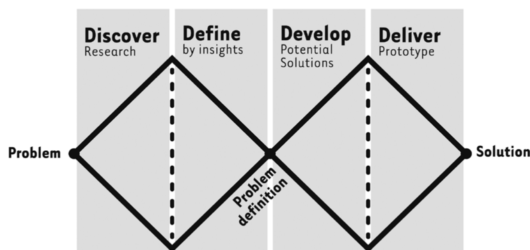


Fig. 2 *Double Diamond* Methodology (The Design Council).

Failure and innovation in Latin America

It is important to note that these methodologies allow participants to fail, in a safe environment, as part of the learning process. Some of the departments aforementioned acknowledge that innovation testing can result in failure, treating it as an inevitable by-product of an experimentation process (IDB, 2016).

In this regard, Robert Mckim emphasises the importance of creating a relaxing environment, without pressure (1972); and Alex Osborn discusses the importance of not criticising when using his brainstorming tool (1949), as building a trusting environment, without judgment, is pivotal to obtaining results that are more creative.

It could be said that failing during the creative process is an opportunity to achieve better ideas. Nonetheless, it is important to understand that this occurs as part of the creative method, in environments that already have a clear initial goal, and in projects for which the result is not the main goal, or in which learning is central to the process.

The explained methods have successfully introduced failure as part of a learning process despite the fact that fear of failure is installed in the region at a cultural level. In this connection, Andrés Oppenheimer (2015), journalist and Pulitzer winner, supports this idea and discusses the link between this fear and the lack of innovation in the region. To have a better understanding of why this happens, it is relevant to review Latin America's scenario and its challenges. For instance, the BID mentions that in this region society does not offer equal opportunities. One of the reasons for this is that poor individuals are often unable to provide their children with a good education or a network of contacts that will help them get desirable jobs and/or encounter good business opportunities. Furthermore, middle-class entrepreneurs have more restricted possibilities of financing a new company than in developed countries (2013), to which Oppenheimer adds that entrepreneurs receive more support to face their failures in developed countries; for this reason, innovation is more widespread. Unsurprisingly, the quantity of patents in the region is still low. In 2013, the United States registered 159,000 and Great Britain 7,100, while all of Latin America and the Caribbean registered around 836 (OPPENHEIMER, 2015).

In developing countries it is necessary to consider a local perspective within a global scale; in contrast, richer economies can work with irrelevant topics and still manage to succeed. In light of this, it can be argued that for better chances of success, in terms of local innovation results, the understanding of future scenarios is key. This could help to focus on areas of greater demand, enabling the development of an appropriate framework, and in consequence help to better identify local needs.

Integrating future scenarios to detect working problems

To understand how to detect areas of interest, this paper proposes the use of future scenarios in order to think about local agendas. In this regard, Alex Blanch (former jury member of INDEX: Award in Copenhagen and Director of Design at San Andrés University in Argentina) and John Petersen (Founder of The Arlington Institute and author of INDEX: *Looking Foward to 2010*, 2004) mention that future scenarios are motivated by Drivers, which are defined as global problems that tend to cause critical uncertainties about the future.

Blanch explains that to detect them it is necessary to review a large amount of information from the media, which must be reliable, diverse, and contrasted, because Drivers can come from every field; however, they tend to be related to politics, technology, society, and science. From these fields, the following Drivers are derived: demography, climate change, energy, natural resources, globalisation, insecurity, health, and new technologies (2007), among others. Arup Foresight (Arup's inter-

[2] This conclusion was reached by the author after participating as a mentor in the programme. More details can be found in Laboratorio de Gobierno (2018).

nal think-tank consultancy) also works with Drivers like food, oceans, poverty, urbanisation, waste, and water.

To build different future scenarios, Blanch refers to a method that can work specially with shorter-term studies (like construction of consumption scenarios), called *Reacciones a drivers* (Reactions to Drivers), for which it is relevant to review a large amount of information on how people react and behave to certain drivers, consequently creating different events. With this review it is possible to speculate different future areas and scenarios, defining which ones are going to be relevant, therefore better to work with.

Regarding the above, it is interesting to note that the different regions of the world are affected on different levels by different Drivers. This is why, on a global and local level, it is necessary to consider these drivers as they could affect not only government agendas but also people's lives, directly or indirectly. For example, in the case of climate change, the reactions can range from climate migrations to changes in people's behaviour, who may turn to 'conscious consumption'. Although they are responding to the same problem, they are affected differently; in other words, they do it with more or less 'pain'.[3]

To complement this idea of prospective scenarios, Joseph Voros (PhD in Philosophy, BA in Science and Senior Lecturer of Strategic Foresight at Swinburne in Australia) proposes a way to classify different possible futures, starting, as Blanch, by firstly analysing the information, which must be interpreted and prospected. Voros called this process *Foresight Work*, which can take place after classifying possible futures. Moreover, he mentions that it is useful to distinguish four kinds of potential alternative futures (the definitions for these types of futures are similar to those proposed by Trevor Hancock and Clement Bezold, 1993): Possible Scenarios, Plausible Scenarios, Probable Scenarios, and Preferable Scenarios (2003). He also mentions Preposterous Scenarios in the Global Future International Congress 2045 (2012) (Fig. 3).

Voros describes these scenarios as follows:

Preposterous Scenarios are fiction and will not occur; there are no previous events that could cause them.

Possible Scenarios are similar to the above, they might appear as a result of incorporating knowledge we do not yet possess, no matter how far-fetched or unlikely they are.

Plausible Scenarios encompass those futures that 'could happen'. They stem from our current understanding of physical laws, processes, causation, systems of human interaction, etc. This is clearly a smaller subset of futures than the Possible Scenario.

Probable Scenarios are those futures that are considered 'likely to happen' and stem, in part, from the continuance of current trends. Some are considered more likely than others and are often called 'business-as-usual'. They are a simple linear extension of the present. However, trends are not necessarily continuous over long periods; some trends may fade out, while new ones may emerge unexpectedly. These give rise to much smaller types of futures than the previous two.

[3] Pain, defined as how much the Driver affects the people involved.

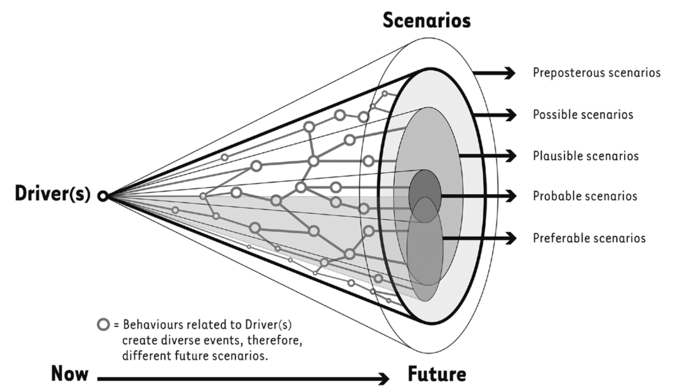


Fig. 3 Future Cone (Joseph Voros, modified by Florencia Adriasola). For the purpose of this paper, the cone was modified to also include empty circles, which represent Blanch's previous mentioned ideas of events, created by behaviours that respond to Drivers, and result in the creation of future scenarios. This cone could also be used as a canvas to display the information and create a more comprehensive narrative of a chosen future. It gives space to storytelling, as Blanch mentioned, by narrating the consecutive order of events from the future to the present.

Preferable Scenarios, by contrast, refer to what we 'want' to happen; they are more emotional than cognitive, derive from value judgements and are more overtly subjective than the previous three. Because values differ so markedly between people, this type of future is quite varied and can be part of any of the previous classifications, except the Preposterous Scenario (Voros). It is in this future that design can generate a positive impact.

In sum, a deep understanding of the Drivers that transform our present allows us to visualise the future with less uncertainty and reduce the risk when developing strategies for any type of enterprise (2007). To empower innovation results in the region, the visualisation of future scenarios can boost projects that generate a greater impact on people's lives.

Choosing a scenario problem/topic before using an innovation method of the proposed approach. Based on the previous ideas, the first stage will be to choose one or two Driver(s) and investigate the reactions and events around them to project scenarios in a divergent process.

In a convergent process, the second stage will be to choose a scenario that may happen or is wanted, review the problems or relevant topics around the chosen scenario (they do not need to be negative matters) and decide on one to work with within a specific community. This will allow to create a better framework for the context. After a problem/topic is chosen, an innovation method can be used.

This process of divergence and convergence, from authors like John Chris Jones (1970) and Tim Brown (2009), is also used in innovation methods like Design Thinking and the Double Diamond (Fig. 4). They help to not expand in excessive theory or make choices without analysis.

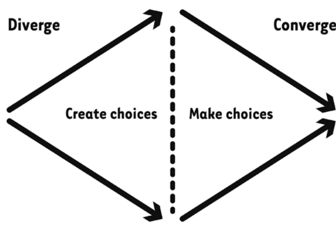


Fig. 4 Convergent and divergent thinking (Tim Brown).

To avoid centring only in the theoretical aspects of the design process, this paper proposes some tools that help to converge and decide on an area of interest.

A tool for convergence

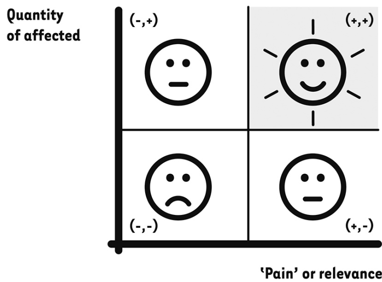
A simple tool can help in the convergence process of selecting the best problem or relevant topic to work in a region/country. This tool was originally created to help select the best solution when there is more than one. It is a tool called Impact Effort Matrix created by Dave Gray, which uses a Cartesian plane (2012), and was modified in this paper with different variants in order to focus on the selection of problems.

As a result, the matrix has a horizontal axis 'x', with the variant 'pain or relevance', and a vertical 'y', which measures the quantity of affected people. Thus, four quadrants are formed that can help to point which are the most important problems or relevant topics; which would be those in the quadrant with greater 'pain or relevance' in the axis 'x', and a larger number of affected people in the axis 'y' (Fig. 5).

It is important to understand that there may be different solutions for the same problem (e.g. developing a book, creating a community, or an educational programme, etc.). Once problems or relevant topics are selected, Gray's original variants in the innovation method can be used, especially to converge in the search for the best solution. For this purpose, it is possible to use the original matrix with an axis 'x', with the level of effort that a solution demands, and 'y' to measure the level of impact; in this way visualising which solutions demand more or less effort, thus obtaining more pertinent results.

Although this paper focuses on the selection of a relevant problem, this tool is also useful when choosing a relevant solution. When this is accomplished, a project has more possibilities of materialising, which is the end objective of any innovation/design process.

Finally, it can all be structured in a simple pitch structure, as the one previously proposed: Problem, Insight, Solution and Benefit.



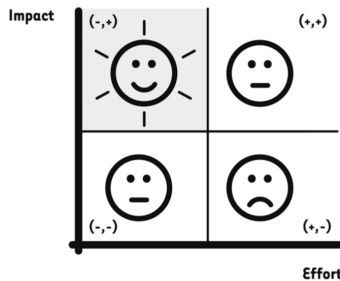


Fig. 5 Matrix of Problems (Florencia Adriasola) based on Gray's but focused on *Problems* and *Impact Effort Matrix* (Dave Gray, adapted by Florencia Adriasola).

Case examples

The anticipated revision of local future scenarios before the use of innovation methodologies, as this paper proposes, can improve the chances of a project receiving support.

Case examples as INDEX: Award, an international event that hands out the biggest design awards in the world, supports this idea. They also work with an international network of designers, creative leaders, businesses, and authorities, whose main goal is designing to improve people's lives.

They believe that part of improving life is foreseeing the future, which is a difficult task; however, global Drivers can be projected to try to figure out their impact on the future and its possible scenarios, which serve as a guide in the creation of a desired future.

In fact, Petersen, in collaboration with other experts, created a framework for INDEX: in order to build possible future scenarios by thinking in terms of Drivers, which was initially published for students in Latin America and selected designers over the world, and afterwards it was broadly distributed to inspire others in the creation of a wanted future (Petersen, 2004).

The idea of future scenarios can be seen in some of the INDEX: finalists; for instance, Eating, Design & Dementia in the United Kingdom, which is a set of special tableware and table setting created for old people with this disease. The solution is motivated by the increasing aging population (Driver) which, as they mention, will double in 2050 (INDEX: a). Another case is Living Light in Germany (driven by future issues regarding energy). It is a lamp that uses a living plant to generate its own electricity. Their plan is to scale up to power entire smart cities by converting the chemical energy that a plant naturally produces during photosynthesis into electricity (INDEX: b). Another similar case, but for a different context, is the Solar Bottle Bulb in Brazil; a cheap and simple device created with a transparent plastic bottle used for drinks, filled with water plus a little bleach, fitted through the roof of a house. During the

daytime, the water inside the bottle refracts sunlight, delivering light to the interior enabling an affordable, environmentally friendly alternative for disadvantaged people (INDEX: c).

The idea of working first with scenarios to frame the topic area, and using innovation methodologies afterwards to create HCD solutions, was implemented at an educational level in the *Taller de Diseño Estratégico* (Strategic Design Workshop) at *Universidad Diego Portales* (UDP) and it was used as field research for this paper. Here, students' work is based on Drivers and innovation methods. For example, in the 2017 exam, students were challenged to participate in the contest *Marca Chile* (organisation that promotes Chile internationally) to represent the country abroad. Among 200 applicants, 22 were selected. The class developed 11 projects of which eight were selected. This participation was published at the Chilean design association, *Chile Diseño* (2018).

One of the projects (by Consuelo Javia and Damaris Marín), *Bivalva*, was driven by climate change and was a simple solution for problems caused by shellfish waste, as a consequence of the massive export of the country's seafood. They realised that this material has beneficial properties for lands damaged by droughts, so they grinded it and presented it for domestic uses. Thus, through Drivers and innovation methods, a quick solution was achieved helping to mitigate local problems with a country perspective, and global reach. Their project also used the Problem and Impact Effort Matrix (solution) to choose the best options to work with and was designed with this paper's proposed pitch structure.

The anticipated revision of future scenarios, prior to applying innovation methodologies, helps to focus on areas of more interest for a local scenario, but within an international agenda, which, ultimately maximises the possibilities of the project to come to fruition.

Conclusion

In short, innovation projects in Chile and Latin America have managed to deliver lessons about innovation processes, but they seem to find it difficult to concretise significant projects for the region.

The problem could lie in the fact that innovation methodologies were created in contexts with better conditions for success and where failure is not a deterrent. In contrast, Latin America is in a scenario where failure has mainly negative connotations and the local interests have different agendas.

To face this, the paper integrates short methodologies that support the understanding of future scenarios and its Drivers before initiating innovation results. Reviewing and selecting Drivers could focus the region's efforts on innovation and improve their chances of obtaining significant results.

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A Proposal for a Regional Design Policy in the Canary Islands: Design System Mapping, Strategies and Challenges

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Design system / Design policy / Regional policy

In the Canary Islands (CI), despite some tenuous attempts, there is no regional public design policy as such, yet. This article presents a research contribution to help revert this lack. It incorporates the Design System concept to identify and map the actors and their interrelationships in order to raise the sector's own consciousness and needs, thus setting up the foundations for a policy adapted to the context.

One of the greatest barriers to the strategic implementation of design is the lack of understanding of its potential among policy-makers. Academics have provided evidence of the impact of design on socioeconomic and cultural performance; however design, unlike innovation, is not well integrated into policy.

The formulation of the Canary Islands Design System (CIDS) model included literature review on the theoretical Design System models and documentary study of cases of other territories. The proposal was tested and refined through a publicly funded workshop, where a wide range of stakeholders representative of the different sub-sectors met for the first time. This allowed us to have a diagnosis, to know the state of the art of design in the region. Finally, policy recommendations were co-proposed and published in a report, awaiting a second phase of further developments.

1. Introduction

There is a broad international and European consensus that design is a catalyst for innovation in companies, in the public sector and in society. The Montreal Design Declaration,[1] recognises design as "a driver of innovation and competition, growth and development, efficiency and prosperity" (World Design Summit Organization Inc., 2017) and it appeals to the different governments to develop public policies of support, promotion and recognition of the value of design in all sectors of society.

In this sense, since 2009, the European Union considers design as a discipline and a key activity for the innovation drive. The Innovation Union, a flagship initiative of the Europe 2020 Growth Strategy, recognises the role of design for internal market, industry, entrepreneurship and small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs).

> A more systematic use of design as a tool for user-centred and market-driven innovation in all sectors of the economy, complementary to R&D, would improve European competitiveness (European Commission, 2013: 4).

There is general political agreement in Europe that all forms of innovation need to be supported to ensure competitiveness, prosperity and well-being. Under this premise the European Commission has promoted the adoption of strategies and plans to accelerate the incorporation of design in public policies.[2] However, these measures have had an unequal impact among the different community partners. The role of design in innovation policies is very fragmented in the different policies of European countries and regions. Only a few governments have developed clear national or regional strategies to include design in innovation policies.

All this has motivated that, on 10th of May, 2018 in Spain, a Motion related to the creation of a National Design Strategy, which is currently lacking, was approved unanimously. Until the date, design had been a forgotten topic in all the documents written of the different plans and strategies that have directed the actions in matters of innovation.

Similarly, the Canary Islands (Spain) do not have a Regional Design Strategy. The lack of a public design policy in the Canary Islands makes it necessary to detect opportunities for promotion and collaboration from the different areas of design action for the contribution of regional public design policies. The creation of such policies is a historical demand of the professional sector.

2. Aim, Methodology and Research Process of the Inquiry

The aim of this research has been to provide proposals for the development of a Regional Design Policy for the Canary Islands with the participation of the agents involved. This study has dealt with the development of a theoretical, instrumental and operative model for the analysis of design in the region through the mapping of its Design System.

[1] The Montreal Design Declaration, held from October 23rd to 25th, 2017 in Montreal (Canada), recognises the potential of design to help better achieve global economic, social, cultural and environmental objectives. Drafted by four Working Committees, the Declaration is the outcome of the collaboration and contribution of fourteen international design and non-design organisations, all with a common objective: developing an international action plan for harnessing the power of design to address pressing global challenges.

[2] For example, "Action Plan for Design-Driven Innovation" (2013), the Action Plan aims to accelerate the take-up of design in innovation policies and to create the capacity and competencies needed to implement these policies: https://ec.europa.eu/docsroom/documents/13203/attachments/1/translations/en/renditions/pdf or "the European Design Innovation Initiative", which consisted of six projects to improve the impact of innovation policies and speed up the uptake of design for innovation.

Due to the systemic nature of the study, to achieve this aim, the research approach identified as appropriate was based on the qualitative method of action research and participation. On the one hand, it was necessary to formulate a model that facilitated the identification and mapping the actors related to design in the Canary Islands, and to interact with stakeholders that would allow obtaining a holistic diagnosis and provide proposals for the formulation of regional design policies. For this reason, the formulation of the Canary Islands Design System (CIDS) was made, based on bibliographic research on theoretical models of design systems of other authors and the documentary study of other territorial realities. Subsequently, the proposed model was tested in a workshop with representatives of stakeholders.

This workshop was conceived as a space of opinion and reflection, with qualified criteria, on the potential of design as an innovation and development agent in the Canary Islands. It counted on the participation of relevant stakeholders' representatives based on their experience and/or professional position of each one of the components of the system: the business sector, the designers, the education, the culture, the financing, the Administration and the research, development (R&D) and innovation. There had never been before a work session that brought together the representatives of the parties involved in design in the Archipelago.

To achieve the objectives set, different tools created ad-hoc, techniques and participatory dynamics were used (Fig. 3). The workshop was developed in two phases: the first, a symposium on the Design System and design in the Canary Islands, with the aim of introducing the theoretical concept under which the analysis is based and explaining the status of the issue to the attendees; the second, consisted of three participatory activities to propose design policies; 1) mapping of agents and interactions, 2) SWOT analysis, 3) co-development of public policy proposals adapted to the regional design system. To validate the results of the proposals that emerged, an online survey was conducted in order to know the state of opinion and prioritization of the same.

To sum up, this event allowed us to map agents and interactions of the regional design system, diagnose their status, and propose design policies adapted to the Canarian reality.

3. The Canary Islands Design System. A tool for the formulation of design policies

3.1 A brief approach to Design System models

In brief, the Design System concept is a model that visualizes on a single map the different dimensions, actors and relationships across design industry with-

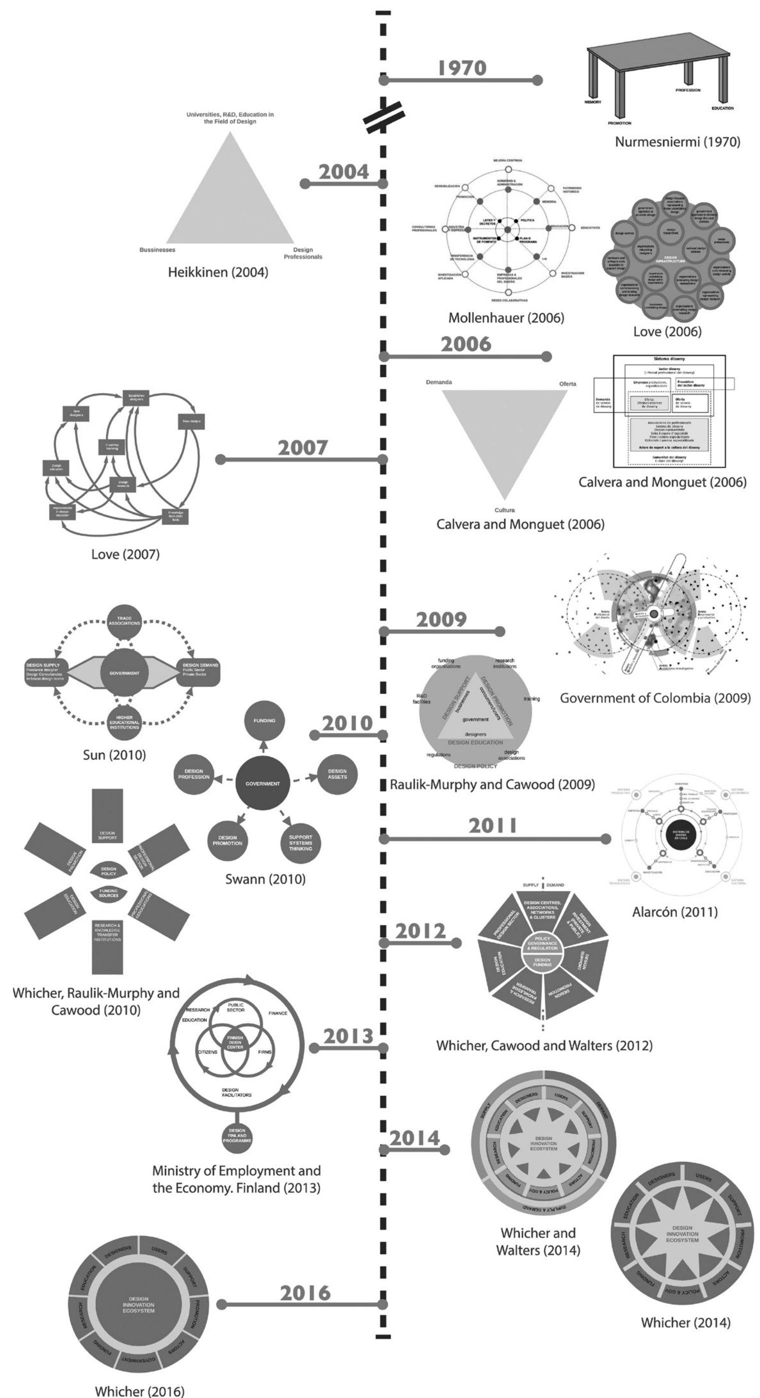

Fig. 1 Design System models.

Fig. 2 Canary Islands Design System (Bernardo Candela & Carlos Jiménez-Martínez).

in a well delimited context, allowing thus to detect their strengths and weaknesses, and to help designing design policies.

One of the first appearances of the term is found in a publication by the Politecnico di Milano about the design industry in the Italian city.[3] This research revolves around the terms *Design Milano System* and *Design System Italy* based on the description of the design phenomenon in Italy as "a *system of relationships* composed by the integration of components and subjects, roles and figures, parts in play with diverse specific interests" (Chelaschi, n.d.) in opposition to the historical conception that interpreted the success of Italian design as a punctual result of some entrepreneurs who had known how to take advantage of the creativity of the artists.

There is no single agreed definition of the Design System concept. It has been defined by different authors resulting in visual models with disparate nomenclatures (Fig. 1). But all of them have common elements that identify the Design System as: a set of actors with interactions in a territory for the development of design as a factor of innovation.

The European program Design in European Policies (DeEP)[4] provided a glossary with the aim of creating a knowledge framework on the impact of design innovation policies and facilitating their exchange, defining the Design System as:

> The actors, environment(s) and structures required to support design as an enabler of people-centered innovation at a regional or national level. The eco-system is characterised by the interactions between actors, and between actors and their environment. (DeEP, 2013: 11).

Its study has been approached from different perspectives: one focused on the analysis of the interrelationships of its components for its understanding and identification of the "formula of success", and the other, dedicated to developing tools to facilitate the formulation and evaluation of design policies. Likewise, the different studies and practical applications have attributed to the Design System a functional dimension; identification and mapping (Politecnico di Milano, 1999; Heikkinen, 2004; Love, 2005; Mollenhauer, 2006; Calvera and Monguet, 2006), diagnosis (Calvera, 2014), assessment (Whicher, 2014). For all these reasons, the Design System concept is a tool that facilitates the formulation of design policies.

[3] See Politecnico di Milano (1999). *Sistema design Milano – Milan design system*. Milan: Abitare Segesta.

[4] Design in European Policies (DeEP) is a consortium that aims at creating an understanding of the impact of design innovation policies by building frameworks and indicators to evaluate these actions both at a macro (regional, national, European) and micro (specific initiative) level. The DeEP Glossary clarifies the meaning of keywords used for investigate about European design innovation policies.

3.2 Modelling the Design System of the Canary Islands

Research on the design sector in the Canary Islands has been very little addressed. There is practically no bibliography on the state of design in the Archipelago. Mapping the Design System in the Canary Islands required the development of specific tools and methods in order to identify stakeholders and their relationships, to obtain a diagnosis and to evaluate the current design status. Once the above knowledge is obtained, the adequate conditions are given to formulate design policy proposals adapted to the conditions and potential of the territory.

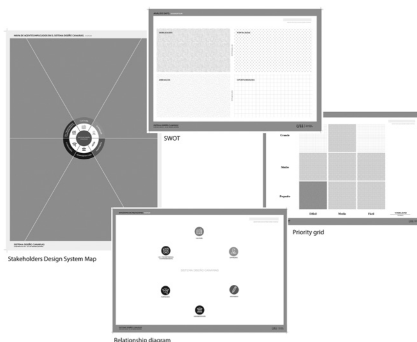

Fig. 3 Some of the tools used at the workshop (Bernardo Candela & Carlos Jiménez-Martínez).

Canary Islands Design System model is composed of six components: 1) Designers; 2) Companies; 3) Governance; 4) Education; 5) R&D, Innovation, Knowledge transfer and Entrepreneurship; 6) Culture.

1. Designers: supply of design services in the different professional specialties through varied business formulas to meet the demand.
2. Companies: demand for services from each of the professional design specialties by companies.
3. Governance: entities with competencies to implement public policies on design and innovation, support programs for the use of design, financing, dissemination and promotion of design between the supply and demand of design services.
4. Education: educational institutions in design at the different educational levels.
5. R&D, Innovation, Knowledge transfer and Entrepreneurship: entities dedicated to research, promotion and management of design research and the promotion of creative entrepreneurship.
6. Culture: agencies that support the design community and offer services to the sector.

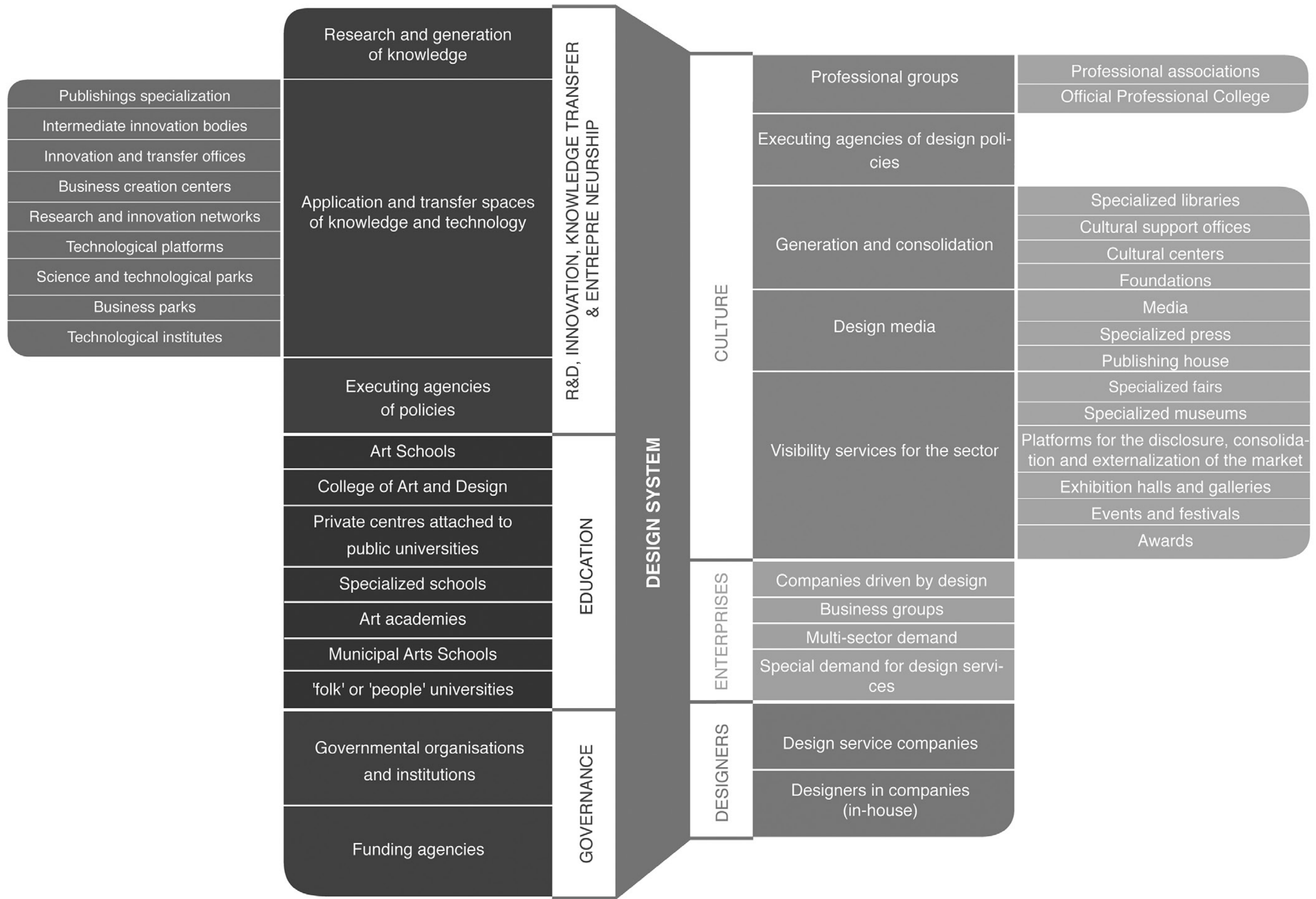

Fig. 4 Design System framework (Bernardo Candela & Carlos Jiménez-Martínez).

3.3 Diagnosis: Characteristics of the Canary Islands Design System

The Design System in the Canary Islands is characterized by:

- territorial fragmentation and the atomized presence of its actors.
- the multitude of agents that make them up and their different functions.
- the variety of relationships between actors. Although the strongest link is that among the professionals who offer design services and the demand for them by companies, there are many and varied synergies around design that go beyond their consideration as an economic sector to establish themselves as a system.
- a system that has not been able to take advantage of the peculiarities of its socioeconomic and territorial environment to benefit from them and position itself as a regional priority sector.
- disconnection between the Canarian Design System and the Canary R&D and innovation system.

4. Proposals for a Regional Design Policy in the Canary Islands: Strategies and Challenges

One of the main challenges for the Canaries in this sense, is to position design as an economic, social and cultural sector in regional development strategies. In addition to this challenge, there are others of a more specific nature that should guide a future design strategy:

- **Knowledge of the volume and real impact of the design sector in the territory:** For solid development towards a mature design system, we need to provide quantitative arguments that illustrate the dimension and impact generated in the region. Collecting data from the sector involves mapping of supply and demand, and analyzing the use of design in companies and public institutions. It also involves measuring the contribution of design to economic growth and job creation, among other aspects.
- **Knowledge of the impact on the Canarian business fabric network:** There is a small change in awareness about the potential of design in the business environment as a factor of innovation and competitiveness. Even so, there is still a long way to go to raise awareness about the use of design and its impact on profitability. Previously, the impact of design on business, must be measured, known and recognized, as a means to evolve towards a culture of design within companies.
- **Opening of the offer of design services:** In a changing environment, the offer of design services must adapt to the context so as to find fruitful collaborations in unexplored market niches. Therefore, the design sector must be aligned with the priority axis of innovation and the strategic

sectors of the territory. Similarly, training—as an entity that nourishes future professionals—has to adapt to both; territorial challenges and companies' demands.

– **Find research spaces in design and knowledge transfer:** Design research needs to be consolidated and associated with other strategic fields in the region, with the support of knowledge transfer entities, so that the business sector —mainly formed by SMEs with limited strategic capacity and innovation—can benefit from the regional R&D and Innovation system.
– **Promotion of design support in regional policies:** Currently, design presence in strategic territorial plans is almost absent, ambiguous or poorly defined. If European institutions are committed to designing a tangential integration in regional strategic economic sectors, the presence of design in these plans should have a greater role and be more clearly defined, associated with the innovation process, beginning from the initial stages and not only in its final phases.

5. Conclusions

The formulation and test of the Canary Islands Design System model, allowed us to obtain both a panoramic and detailed view of the design situation and its challenges in the region, in order to detect intervention opportunities from ad hoc public policies. To do so, the design field was considered here in a wide sense, either as a professional activity, a creative industry, an academic discipline, or a cultural, socio-economic reality. Its stakeholders and their relationships were mapped.

Besides, a series of initiatives for such public design policies have been made and prioritized by the agents involved, so as to correct the weaknesses and to promote previously identified strengths. Building a strategic framework for regional action in the face of a changing future scenario, can only be achieved through a path of collective reflection and synthesis that generates opportunities for the socioeconomic and cultural development of the Canary Islands.

Betting on design in the Canary Islands from a systemic approach, incorporates a vision that goes beyond the economic benefit for the Archipelago that can report to the sector. It is therefore, a matter of setting up a participatory development model, transverse to different areas and closely linked to the culture of the project, where all the actors intervene. For this reason, in order to establish initiatives in future public policies, all agents involved in the Canarian design system must be taken into account.

Finally, research results suggest that, in addition to the unavoidable commitment from public institutions, the creation of entities or initiatives such as a Regional Observatory of Design—even linked to already existing research groups—is strongly advisable, allowing thus to measure, monitor and report on policies, with the aim of fulfilling and effectively maintaining them in the long term.

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Rhizomatic Design for Survival and Inclusion

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Rhizome / Creativity / Evolution / Epistemology / Aesthetic turn

In order to tackle a world-system based on expansionism and exploitation—which is expressed in diverse expressions of design—it's very important to find its epistemological basis. It is also essential to develop an alternative epistemological platform for design to overcome its disciplinary limitations and to extend its comprehension as a way of knowing by doing. The starting point of this proposal is the ontological comprehension of human creativity that will allow us to overcome historical contingency, as well as the value of design based on rhizomatic thought. Likewise, such a platform will present design as a creative activity through the proposal of the aesthetic turn of epistemology.

The Problem

Expansionism and exploitation had threatened Planet Earth, gathering power in the hands of few people, leading to the marginalization of the most, and showing an inability to think on the basis of interdependence. As part of the domination of small groups that decide over the rest, exclusive forms of thought seek to reproduce themselves establishing a quasi-unmovable order that had created an unequal world.

Design has been an instrument of the latter model (Papanek, 1972), exploiting humans and our planet, placing the discipline in the eye of the hurricane. Therefore, we propose an answer to the problem that emerges from landing creativity only in a professionalized field: design.

Our Objective: an alternative epistemology for design

From a perspective of complexity, coupled with Deleuze and Guattari's rhizome concept (Deleuze and Guattari, 1980; Vázquez Pérez, 2015)—which advocates the mutable character of human thought and its multiplicity—an epistemological platform for a Rhizomatic Design is proposed. It starts from an evolutionary perspective that could lay the foundations for a discipline that seeks to create a world based on a systemic logic.

Our Proposal. Ontological premises: Homo sapiens and the ontology of creativity. ***A new look at evolution: the demystification of "progress".*** It seems unthinkable to combine design and evolutionary perspectives, but the truth is that evolutionary theories have advanced from the first Darwinist and Lamarkist approaches, reaching contemporary theories in response to scientific and technological progress, resulting in a complex development that has unleashed communions between the natural and social sciences, even in theoretical perspectives that allow us to understand reality in an integral way and with diverse positions of analysis; factors that can contribute to a comprehensive and complex perspective on design.

Although *On the origin of the species* is still valid and Darwin's theories have not been completely discarded, new evolutionary theories and perspectives have been expanded, merging in what is now known as *The Extended Evolutionary Synthesis* (EES). In general terms, it's a set of theories that conserve the foundations of the theory of evolution but differs in its emphasis on the role of constructive processes in development and evolution, and in the reciprocal representations of causality (Fuentes, 2015). In this sense design is tacitly alluded to as a factor of constructive incidence and reciprocal representation of causality, reaching in this way the evolutionary perspectives. Of course, there are many points where we converge with contemporary approaches to evolution: homo sapiens produces culture, and design is culture too. Hence one of the crucial points that have already been questioned in evolutionary studies, but not yet in Design Studies, are the concepts of progress and perfection. Agustín Fuentes in the article *Evolution Is Important—but May Not be What We Think* (Fuentes, 2015) talks about the different conceptions that we have about evolutionary theories. For the purposes of this article, we will focus on one of the myths that have led us to create a production system that addresses design:

> A second false conception of great influence on evolution is oriented towards progress, which results in a perfect adjustment between organisms and their environment. The corollary of this is that if something works well we perceive that it has "evolved" for a particular purpose. This is incorrect. Life on earth (as well as evolution) is disordered and often hazardous (Fuentes, 2015).

If we look at the organisms, we also look the great diversity of forms that exist and that manifest themselves in the different kingdoms: it seems then that hierarchies and orders exist, the survival of the fittest, as well as the importance of winning: food, couple, territory, etcetera; precisely the way in which we think the production system should operate. But perhaps things are not as we have thought, because what reigns in the realm—says Fuentes—is a *continuous transformation through time* (Fuentes, 2015). In terms of culture, it's likely that things actually operate differently from our disposition to progress and our unattainable standards of perfection because we have established as a starting point something that is not even inscribed in our role as a species, nor the others. The proposal of a Rhizomatic Design could function in a similar way to how our environment operates and the species with which we coexist, where disorder and randomness are part of a transformation through time.

Another trace of communion between EES and design is inscribed in the Theory of Niche Construction, (Laland and O'Brien, 2011), which points out how organisms receive information from the environment where they exist and emit information to an environment that is transformed into said response, also with some random results. If we transfer it to design, creation of objects is the information, and our species is the one that collaborates the most with the transformation of the environment based on the information (objects) that we send to our cities and everywhere we look around. Understanding our work from this perspective, first as humans and then as designers, and understanding that everything we produce is information that the environment receives and answers back, we can infer that through our creative faculty we have the power to modify our environment and it will affect us and other species back, and at least we could manage—taking into consideration randomness—this impact back.

Creativity

If the motive that allowed us to modify the environment, in terms of Niche Construction, has been creativity that is articulated with cultural production, from that same motive we must operate, taking into account these two points:

1. Creativity has been given as a distinctive feature to some, usually those who have acquired the creative credential for their profession.
2. Creativity in this term—besides its random nature, as evolution—operates as a mechanism that seeks perfection and discards expressions that move away from this notion.

In the field of design, the success of a proposal lies in the commitment to creativity that leads to a certain point of innovation. Creativity is not only important for what it produces, but also for the advantage it gives us as a species in relation to others and that has allowed us to evolve; therefore, it is a key parameter to continue evolving taking in consideration the close relationship between the creativity activity with the size of the neocortex area within the human brain (Laland et al., 2015). As a result of these premises, we must understand our discipline in a new way, so that we understand briefly the ontological origin of creativity and the responsibility we have between our hands and mind.

But we humans are not as fabulous as we may think, calling only to our creative faculty. At this time it is still impossible to establish if the other species possess this faculty, in general terms they have built their niches and we could call that a creative exercise. In contrast, other species haven't taken their niches to the magnitude that humankind has made: cities. However, if in any case creativity was not the distinctive feature of our species, what ends up strengthening this hypothesis is the inseparability between this faculty and the sophisticated language we have developed (Fuentes, 2017), which has led us to place ourselves above other species in the food chain and to turn the environment to our mercy. So that what we have, including credentials, is a design excessive that operates from these two powerful faculties, creating and talking about creations or those of others.

From a rhizomatic perspective, we begin by building extensions of our body, tools, and over time the technology to survive and beyond; the development of tools from the Neolithic to Modernity is an expansive *momentum* with endless ramifications where there's a relationship between the human being and his imagination who expels an idea, with his body, and the collaboration with other bodies, and then materializes it creating a technology that someone else will transform modifying the initial proposal: creating a technological evolution, a Cultural Evolution (Lewens, 2015); also random and sometimes full of disorder. In this sense we can expand the idea of creativity from creative professionals to everyone else because creativity is not only expressed in the form of tools or technology, but it does so too through a great diversity of expressions where any human activity can be considered a creative act.

However, the world in which we live has defined for us what creativity is, making us believe that it's something inherent to artists or designers, which restricts the possibility of exercising both the creative and imaginative muscles since everything it's given: we have built a world that gives us very few possibilities to express ourselves in creative terms, at the same time that we have created a structure that generates different degrees of specialization in which design is understood as a distinctly creative exercise. From this perspective, it should be noticed that design bases its exercise on the creative faculty that all we homo sapiens possess, which drifts from imagination and is translated into innovation, and which has given us the legitimacy to take ownership of creativity at the same time that it has prevented us from exercising our creative muscle (Fuentes, 2017) which enables us to evolve.

Rhizomes as a biological metaphor

The rhizomatous stems are the result of about 190 Ma. of evolution; a rhizome is a type of stem, frequent in monocots and in some dicotyledons, that grows horizontally and if some part of it is cut, specifically the buds, this could be transplanted and will grow autonomously, being an asexual organism. Most monocots that have developed a similar morphology respond to both adaptive and phylogenetic issues. It's probable that initially the adaptation was given in an aquatic habitat to move to a terrestrial environment later, through the development of its roots, which even moving will look for water to subsist, generating roots that extend horizontally allowing the possible growth of long stems that will have stability, while some of their roots will look a little more deeply for water that feeds the whole organism. In this way we have an order that not only worked to survive, but this adaptation process developed mechanisms that promote diversity and new possibilities that will be reflected in the variety of plants that have rhizomatous stems. Considering that creativity is the road that allowed us to adapt our environment to endure, a rhizome creating branches to expand itself looking forward to subsisting can be similar and, we can assume that the development of human creativity over time resembles, in some way, a rhizome in search of "water and stability", which means that we could elaborate a metaphorical equivalence between the evolution of the rhizome as an organism through time, and human creativity.

Premises: Rethinking Design

The rhizome metaphor resonates with the ideas of the anarchist Ivan Ilich, who argues that the problem of disabling professions (1972) is not specialization by itself—which allows to deepen—but the expropriation of knowledge by few people, accompanied by the exclusion of non-experts, an issue that, as we saw, implies that while their power of action is not allowed, their creative capacity also diminishes in a physiological way. Therefore, understanding the biological concept of rhizome and elaborating an analogy with human creativity, allows us to establish a way of understanding design, based not only on its rhizomatic ontology if we think of it as creativity, but also based on the deliberate ethical mandate of building an *episteme* that allows us to develop theory and methodology for an inclusive discipline that favors the survival of life. To be able to talk about this epistemological basis of design, it is necessary to review it first.

Knowledge

Is design a kind of knowledge? To assert this, it is required to ask ourselves what is knowledge; which is not easy to answer because there are different traditions that define it, in a very different way: while *Neopositivism* considered it a representation of reality (Wittgenstein, 1921), philosophical pragmatism—among others, Wittgenstein in a second stage—understood it as a tool that models the world and that works as an interface between us and this one (Wittgenstein, 1953); that is to say that *techne* by itself is also knowledge because, in short, from the pragmatism point of view, all knowledge is also doing.

Therefore, since knowledge is not understood in one way only, it's necessary to establish a standpoint. In our case, we come from a genealogy based on Nietzsche (Nietzsche, 1876), coupled with Deleuze and Guattari (1991), which establishes that knowledge is a tool that allows us talking about the world and dealing with it, so that it isn't (only) a "representation" of reality, but a way to reconfigure it: a machinery (Deleuze and Guattari, 1980). In this sense, knowledge is a creative act that, while trying to explain reality, also alters it by making us act on the world in a certain way, transforming it accordingly.

Science, Art or Practical Reason?

If knowledge is action on the world, design can also be understood this way since its activity consists in the creation of interfaces that mediate our relationship with everything that exists to adapt it to our expectations (Bonsiepe, 1999), at the same time that we are transformed in such a way that, in this presentation of possibilities and in the affectation of the existent, there always appears a response from the medium to which we are not strangers (although we pretend to be).

In the same vein, numerous design theorists such as Papanek (1972), Ezio Manzini (2015) and Victor Margolin (2005), consider that this discipline extends beyond the boundaries of their professional practice. They consider it an intrinsically human activity of a heuristic nature whose product is the anthropogenic medium that even though it's basically a human product, is not abstracted from the biological system that contains it.

However, not all the theoretical positions identify design as an anthropogenic practice in general, but there are divergent approaches to its nature: for some, like Herbert Simon (1969), it is a science; others such as Richard Buchanan (1992) and Margolin (2005) argue that it is an activity of pragmatic filiation linked to action; whereas Andre Ricard (2003), for example, recognizes an artistic nature. At the end the underlying argument is whether design is knowledge, practical reason or aesthetic expression.

Design as a Disciplinary Field

Since, as a product of the specialization of knowledge in the Enlightenment (Foucault, 1984), and as a derivative of the Industrial Revolution (Salinas, 1992), design appears explicitly as a differentiated discipline (although the case of architecture is old-fashioned), it has other ways of explaining itself. The act of professionalization of the activity in charge of configuring the anthropogenic physical environment, would fall on a new specialist, the professional designer (Cruz, 2015), who would become a fundamental agent in the new distribution of power by concentrating it in a few hands: a new "disabling" profession (Ilich, 1977). In addition to this serious political consequence of the expropriation of the creative faculty, as it has already been explained, there are physiological consequences: design "disabling" profession castrates the creative brain possibilities for people who do not enjoy disciplinary privileges.

Therefore, even if we assume that the know-how of design is a form of knowledge as a tool, and maintaining that we respond to contingencies and for this there are no general formulas for everything—which implies a necessary distancing of the neopositivist proposal of unified science, the universal design idea of Bauhaus, and modernity itself (Neurath, Carnap and Hans, 2002 / Dominguez, 2005)—one could continue reproducing a design practice where only the specialists would subrogate the right to create. From this position, design is understood as a discipline that only exists in its professional structuring.

Given this, we argue that design is not a specialized knowledge that is born in a specific time, but the activity of Homo *sapiens* itself: design is, above all, a form of creativity (Galland, 2017). We subscribe to the return of the power of all humans who play a part in the invoice of their world, because we recognize the perversity of the monopolization of knowledge by certain epistemological communities (Villoro, 1982) and we think of the need to recognize all creative faculties and the specific knowledge of their circumstances.

The Aesthetic Turn of Epistemology for a Rhizomatic Design. Finally, it is necessary to reflect on one more issue: the aesthetic turn of epistemology that allows us to answer the problem about the kind of knowledge that design is, always immersed in technological, practical, artistic and even scientific disputes. For this, we resort to a philosophical genealogy derived from the philosophical thought of Friedrich Nietzsche, followed by thinkers such as Michel Foucault, Georges Bataille, Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari (Valen-

ZUELA, 2017), who endorse the role of sensitivity in shaping our relationship with the world and highlight the role of the aesthetic experience as knowledge.

The above allows us to overcome the old Cartesian conflict between the mind and the body since, in addition to considering knowledge design from a pragmatic approach, we also subscribe to the fact that it is aesthetic knowledge, because it is not only in the cavils but in the actions that the bodies fulfill and in turn in the transformations that are suffered (we suffer) due to them.

In this sense, following Foucault (DELEUZE, 2013), each era has designed certain devices to give form to the "ideal subject" of its history. Each era and system of thought have proposed "ideal" life forms, which have built an ideal main character: a subject who has been modeled, so that his body and the way he/she inhabits the world, are outlined in favor of the general purposes of the dominant system; and has made design an effective and efficient instrument for such modeling-domestication. In opposition, we propose a design practice that does not subsume singular individuals to model subjects but allows singularity at the same time as collaboration and respect for otherness (GUATTARI, 1996), as a political, ethical and even biological response required to survive, since the need for diversification is a condition of ontological order in the very development of adaptation to the environment: rhizome.

From this logic, we think that, as design has often been a weapon of domination, it can be an antidote to liberation when placed in the hands of all (BENJAMIN, 1936). For this, we have explored the concept of the rhizome as an emergent organization structure that enables us to act horizontally, sovereignly and, in turn, as a concept whose guiding principle is creativity, and not necessarily a system of compositional rules (DOMÍNGUEZ, 2005). The bet of the rhizome rests on the contingency of the concepts and their immediate relationship with immanence, not on the generalities that it considers a trap of the intellect.

For that reason, thinking about design as an aesthetic expression that is *episteme*, allows us to understand its gnoseological character where the Kantian separation of thought forms (KANT, 1876) is synthesized in a knowledge that includes the world and also operates transformations in it. In return, the world will operate conceptual transformations, in such a way that the stable and definitive categorization of hierarchical knowledge would be pernicious because it hinders the performative character that this way of thinking-doing requires: design must always offer possibilities in feedback with the environment if we pretend to subsist, because far from being a predictable practice, it must know how to redefine itself in front of contingency: being a rhizomatic design.

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Design in Visions: Visions of/on Design from the Events, Declarations and Policies in India

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Design and development / Design visions / Design education / National Institute of Design / Industrial Design Centre

In the last six decades in India, like many developing nations, Design has been repositioned and elaborated in/by various visions. This research studies these changing positions of/on Design in the events, declarations and policies at different Design schools of postcolonial India. A mix of primary and secondary study looks into the timeframe from India's independence in 1947 to the present and reflects on the nature and making of these positions and visions. Through the people and documents of/about events, declarations, charters, documents, working papers, and formal proposals, it analyses and presents the visions of Design as foundational, developmental, postmodern, neo-liberal and retrospective visions.

Introduction

The past and present-day discourse on/of Design History has primarily been Euro-centric as the voices from the 'other' and developing worlds, like India, are still under-represented in the various anthologies, journals, groups and conferences regarding the discipline. As numerous developing nations are witnessing a surge in the initiation of new Design-related institutions, innovation and practices, and formulation of Design policies by the governmental organisations, this research aims to unearth relevant clues for various stakeholders in the academia, industry and policy. The study hopes to find intellectual companions in the contemporary design histories of Social Design, Design Education, Design Visions and Design Organisations.

Research Focus and Methodology

In India, through the years, Design has been repositioned and elaborated in various visions associated with the institutions such as Art, Craft, Architecture and Design. The study highlights shifting positions and visions through the various records of Design (Industrial Design and Visual Communication) schools in postcolonial India. It looks into the timeframe from India's independence (in 1947) to the present, analysing the visions on/of Design of these institutions in its events, charters, documents, working papers, and formal proposals. The study here aims to bring a reflection from the under-represented world of design by discussing the various positions of/on Design through various visions.

In the last decade, the emergence of new private institutions dealing with Design in India, like ISDI Mumbai, Pearl Academy Delhi, Srishti Bengaluru, MITID Pune and The Design Village Delhi and more, has once again positioned Design as one of the emerging and 'new-age' disciplines for the new generation of students. These schools too have come up with various design streams and are now aggressively conversing about the present and future scenarios which can be influenced by Design. The government institutions too are realising the potential of design education and have approved various courses, departments and schools in the last decade. However, a better historical understanding can avert 'reinventing the wheel' in all these efforts and can contribute to its purpose. Hence, it becomes a critical and beneficial to revisit the various visions of/on Design that has been taken and happened in various Design institutions in the country. With an under-addressed 'wish list' (Ranjan, 2007) and the demands of recognising Design as a Ministry (Balasubramaniam, 2014) it becomes more relevant to study positions of/on Design in various visions elaborated in the last six decades.

The study wanders through the various visions of Design from the established Design institutions: National Institute of Design at Ahmedabad (NID), the oldest 'Design' school in the subcontinent, and Industrial Design Centre at Indian Institute of Technology Bombay (IDC), the oldest 'Design' department in a technological institution, to the recent initiatives. The library and online resources of the above institutions and the associated people become the subject of study with following to be looked into in detail:

1. Documents of the individuals, groups, events, at the four identified institutions' libraries, to act as historical records.
2. Documents and literature related to the individuals, organisations and events as secondary sources.
3. Personal interviews of the participants (or professionals) related to the institutions, events and policymaking, like the present and retired faculty members, as the primary source.

Background: Pre-independence Visions of/on Design (before 1947). In the beginning of the 20th century India witnessed the initiation of Shantiniketan in Bengal as a revivalist school of learning. Rejecting the European techniques, it accommodated folk expressions in search of a pan-Asian identity (Nangia, 2004). In the West, Shantiniketan and Sriniketan were seen as the Indian versions of Bauhaus as they included the progressive studies of art and craft. However, primarily based on revivalist ideas from the context, their pursuance of 'universality' differed from the ideas of International Modernism. In the mainstream political landscape of pre-independent India, Gandhi too communicated a vision based on intrinsic values and social reform mainly through a method of product symbolism (Balaram, 1995). Be it his attire (*khadi*), possessions (like *charkha*) or living space (Sabarmati Ashram in Ahmedabad), they all communicated ideas of morality, simplicity, austerity and non-violence.

In comparison to the philosophical tools of Tagore and Gandhi, Sris Chandra Chatterjee attempted 'identifiable' Indian

elements in his architecture in the name of 'Modern Indian Architecture' and varied from the ascetic ideas of Shantiniketan and Sabarmati. Under him, 'All India League of Indian Architecture' visioned 'Indian Architecture' through creating manuals and books for design practitioners. One of the manifestations of this ideology with visible 'Indian' elements is Laxmi Narayan Temple in Delhi (Nangia, 2004). Hence, this 'nationalist' vision stressed the need of teasing out the Indian identity through a distinct style of work amplifying the design glories of the past.

Post-independence Visions of/on Design

No postcolonial study on Indian Design can ignore the first Prime Minister Nehru's contribution. He famously invited Le Corbusier to build India's symbol of modernity, Chandigarh. Departing from Tagore and Gandhi's revivalist approaches, Nehru's global vision involved large-scale infrastructure building. Other than Nehru's interest in public infrastructure, Balaram (2009) notes that his commitment to industrial development was also directed towards craft and small-scale industry.

Foundational Visions: Establishment of Schools of Thought

In the year 1957, along with the Ford Foundation, the government invited the famous architect couple, Charles and Ray Eames, from the United States to India to present a proposal regarding the possibilities in India. After visiting the numerous resource centres, bureaucrats, artisans, architects, educationists and people related to craft and small-scale industry the designer couple came up with a now iconic document, India Report (Eames and Eames, 1958, 1998). Overwhelmed, Eames acknowledged the rich design traditions in India, referencing through one of the everyday examples of the Indian design tradition, 'Lota'.

Though the document was primarily for the development of craft and small-scale industries, it can be seen as the first vision document for modern 'Design' in India through NID at Ahmedabad. In the document itself, the Eames write again in anticipating the possible influence Design can bring in a traditional society: "In order to even approach the quality and values of a traditional society, a conscious effort must be made to relate every factor that might possibly have an effect".

Along with the NID at Ahmedabad, another cradle emerged visioning Industrial Design for India in Mumbai. In 1969, the concepts and pedagogy of western schools like HfG Ulm and the Royal College of Art, London, transported its influence to the Industrial Design Centre, IDC. In India's premier Technology education setup, Indian Institute of Technology Bombay, the school explored beyond the engineering solutions into the realm of social aspects of Design. With both the schools completing five decades of existence, NID and IDC form the foundational vision in Indian Design History.

Developmental Visions: Design and the Real World

Works like Schumacher's *Small is Beautiful* (1993) and Papanek's *Design for the Real World* (1984) turned the world towards the idea of 'need' and 'development'. India too witnessed a similar turn towards the 'people'. One of the first design voices from the developing world at a global design forum was V. N. Adarkar. An honorary advisor to IDC, Adarkar (1973) presented a series of three papers under 'Design and Man in Developing Society' at the 8th ICSID General Assembly and Congress at Kyoto in September 1973. Adarkar's first and second essays elucidated the promise, potential and problems of the Indian scenario. He lamented the loss of identity and increasing nature-culture gap. He argued for a shifting designer's focus on the neglected geography, rural India and proposed the nature of Industrial Design to be more humane. In the first essay, he predicted and defined the work for Industrial Designers in the future of India. In the second essay, he gives a sense of environmentalism in his writing.

The idea of 'need' was taken further by one of the early exhibitions, Products for People, from the first decade of IDC. This three-day exhibition hosted at the iconic Jehangir Art Gallery received more than six thousand curious visitors. 'Industrial Design Centre: A decade of design experience', by A. G. Rao (1979), acted as the precursor to the 1979 ICSID event bringing out several themes of early projects such as Design for industrial, domestic, rural, and public usage, healthcare and children.

In 1979, NID and IDC came together to manifest their more considerable commitment and hosted the ICSID/UNIDO congress. With the contemporary dialectics of social design, another vision of Design (and its education) was proclaimed in India, as *Ahmedabad Declaration: Design for Development 1979* (Balaram, 2009; Clarke, 2016). Ghose (1995) notes that it called for (i) understanding the values of one's society and then defining a quality of life within its parameters; (ii) seeking local answers for local needs by using local materials and skills, while making use of advanced science and technology, and (iii) creating new values, addressing priority needs, and preserving plural identities. Clarke (2016) calls it a "golden moment" and a crucial turning point in recognition of the social potential of Industrial Design in the developing world. Interestingly, Clarke also defines this event as "an extension of India's policy-making, rooted in Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru's post-Independence stance of national industrial development, in which design was viewed as an element to improve the quality of life".

The ICSID's 1979 event's sole objective was the promotion of Industrial Design in developing countries (Balaram, 2009). It remains one of the significant landmarks in the discourse of Design for Development, and together with the overall discourse at NID and IDC, it contributes to developmental visions of Design in India.

Postmodern Visions: Diversification and Reflection

In his third essay, Adarkar (1973) identified the role of Visual Communication Design in social development. He argues that communication design can address several social issues of/in the Indian visual environment. A Terminal Report (De and Nadkarni, 1984), presented to UNDP and the Ministry of Education and Social Welfare, detailed the role of IDC in and its importance at various levels of existence. The project, which intended to "improve the quality of

Industrial Design through the improved training of designers", promised to fulfil specific objectives including the initiation of a Visual Communication Programme, and several other functions like Ergonomics, Environmental Design, Design and Development, Information, Training and Education, and Consultancy at the institution.

Through the course, the Visual Communication programme initiated at IDC and claimed to go beyond the basic and foundational explorations of NID's programmes. The admission brochure proclaimed,

> The Visual Communication Programme at IDC will be at an advanced level to create graduates with greater analytical and problem-solving capabilities. The provision of a unique theoretical and applied technological infrastructure at this centre, with an analytical yet creative approach, will put the designer in a 'problem-solver' role, who will in turn influence the Indian design and technological environment (Industrial Design Centre, 1984).

Within the developments, a workshop 'Designing for Children' (Trivedi, 1984) conducted by Kohei Sugiura in 1983 prepared the platform for the programme's launch. It was also one of the first workshops in the IIT system to focus on children's books and their needs. The idea was to develop on the post-Ulm ideas and a search for Asian-ness. The initiation of Visual Communication marked a seminal shift in Design Education not just in its purpose but also in its form and meaning. In 1985, a seminar on 'Indian Symbology' at IDC discussed the role of symbols in Indian culture and R.K. Joshi (1985) talked about the everyday symbols and myths in India. Further, in 1987, IDC anchored 'Arthaya' as one of the first international events outside the emerging Euro-centric discourse on Semantics (Sarkar, 1987). Interestingly, 'Arthaya' means 'meaning' in Sanskrit, and it marked one of the pluralistic turns in the discourse of Design. Krippendorff (2006) reflects that the designers embraced the developments in Product Semantics in multicultural and multilingual contexts.

Along with the broader philosophical development in fields like Architecture and Literature, Design in India too witnessed a postmodern turn. Industrial Design's extension to Communication forms the postmodern vision in the 1980s.

Neo-Liberal Visions: Global Collaborations and Expansion of Design and its Education. As a public-funded institution, IDC continued its focus on design and development for the people. Through the course of time, it attempted to do vice versa, develop the discipline of Design through dissemination and external collaborations. Through 'Design as a Strategy for a Developing Economy' (Industrial Design Centre, 1989), it attempted to build a case for creating design capabilities in India. This report suggested including Design as part of the Government Plan, formalising foreign tie-ups for indigenous design practices and promoting design in industries. It sought financial assistance for design research activities and craft documentation. It also proposed the propagation of Design Education at higher and basic education levels and vocational training schemes.

In continuation, in 1996-97, Nadkarni initiated the Department of Design with the first undergraduate programme of design at IIT Guwahati in the North-East region of India (Rane, 2017). It was the first inclusion of the third field of study other than Science & Technology and elective courses in Humanities & Social Sciences in the IIT system at the undergraduate level. The period also witnessed the postgraduate initiation of Design Education at technical-education hubs like Indian Institute of Science Bangalore (Centre for Product Design and Manufacturing) and IIT Delhi (Instrumentation Design and Development Centre). Their contextual understanding of Design, often rooted in engineering design methods, shaped the curriculum and pedagogy of these new centres.

A parallel, in 1993 at Ahmedabad, in the new economically liberalised scenario, NID sensed the opportunities in the industry collaborations and held an outreach activity, Think Plastics. Its impact was visible on the plastic industry as a broader event with more exposure followed it, PlastIndia'94 in New Delhi, organised by Plastindia Foundation and NOWEA Germany. Explorations from the associated projects and student competition went to the ICSID conference in Taipei in 1996 (National Institute of Design, 2013). It was the first of its kind of instance in India when a Design Institute explored plastic, as material and technology, and proposed products with private organisations.

With the rise of the new millennium, NID came up with a National Design Policy (National Institute of Design, 2010) which attempted to holistically include the views of the active actors: government, policymakers, industry and academia, along with the forms and practices of Design in the past and future. Through policy intervention, NID's focus was on creating an institutional framework. On the other hand, to broaden Design Education's accessibility at various levels at grassroots, IDC came up with a Proposal on introducing 'Design and Innovation' in the school curriculum (Industrial Design Centre, 2010). The event brought along recommendations on three domains: curriculum, learning methods, and the implementation of the idea in schools.

To bridge the gap between the industry and academia, India Design Council, an autonomous body under the Ministry of Commerce & Industry, organised DDEI: Designing Design Education for India. The ideas were to "facilitate improvements in the quality of outcomes from design education leading to highly knowledgeable and skilled design graduates suitable for a competitive world" and to develop "a guiding (not binding) framework that represents a common rationale/philosophy for design curricula and its implementation" (India Design Council, 2013). The purpose of this event was also to facilitate the needs of new Design schools. Further, reflecting and realising the strength and outcomes of Design Education in India, the Ministry of Human Resource Development, in collaboration with various Design, Technology, Fashion and Architecture schools like IIT Bombay and IIT Hyderabad, came up with 'Design Manifesto: For a Design Enabled Technical Education' (Industrial Design Centre, 2014). The vision acknowledges the power of design and design thinking in the problem-solving pedagogy of technological pursuance at India's technological institutions. It largely suggested the integration of design in India's technological schools by introducing design as an

open course or elective to foster innovation among engineering students.

With the facilitation of economic liberalisation, the period after the economic liberalisation (1989 onwards), the initiation of several design programmes and collaborations initially by two premier design institutions IDC and NID, and later by various other agencies, the neoliberal visions of design formed in its education and its manifestation as design practices. It focused on collaborations and expansion of Design and its education and broader collaborations.

Retrospective Visions: Search for Identity, Sustainability and Purpose of Design in Society. With future-oriented events, there have been some visions, which have offered reflections on the discourse of development, design, and its education. 'Design Education: Ulm and After', a seminar organised in 1989, marked the 20 years of initiation of IDC and evaluated Hfg Ulm's legacy in the institution and other parts of the world. 'Readings from Ulm', an anthology by Kirti Trivedi (1994), carried the discussion further. This collection of 41 excerpts from Ulm's teachers, like Maldonaldo, Bonsiepe, Aicher, Krampen, Albers, and Gugelot, were reproduced in three sections: Issues (Philosophy of HfG), Theory (Design Methodology) and Opinions (Comments and Reviews). The collection not only re-stresses the Hfg Ulm's ideas and visions for a better-designed world but also presents a vision for further discourse in Design Education.

Later, in 2003, NID hosted the conference 'Design Education: Tradition and Modernity' and brought together stakeholders "to tackle issues related to the age-old design traditions, and the urgency to develop a relevant and holistic approach to design education to meet the demands of the global economy" (Katiyar and Mehta, 2007). Numerous Design and related international organisations also joined in exploring reflections, hearing and addressing contextual voices to expand the respective domains like 'Graphic Design' at ICOGRADA 2007, 'Design Histories' in 2013 or 'Sustainability' in 2015. Design History Society's first annual conference outside the Western Hemisphere, 'Towards Global Histories of Design: Postcolonial Design', held at NID in 2013, discussed perspectives to amplify voices of postcolonial design and the conference uncovered non-conformist views in Design History (Kachru and Balasubrahmanyan, 2016). In a planet of our own (Industrial Design Centre, 2015), an international event endorsed by Cumulus and hosted by IDC, aimed at creating design awareness on sustainability. It came up with 'White Paper Recommendations' for 'Design Practice and Sustainability' and 'Sustainability and Design Education'.

Developing on the democratic potential of Design, in 2014, IIT Gandhinagar organised a vision conference 'Design for a Billion', which again focused on designing for the people and the real world. Building on the theme, Klaus Krippendorff in his keynote address urged to "invest in the responsible use of discursively informed design". The organisers included the brochures of the engineering students foraying into 'discursive design', which are reminiscent of social design explorations of the 1970s.

As the new millennium brought the advent of globalisation to the nation and its Design schools, there were attempts at retrospection in Design Education to address plural and historical ideas, the journey of design practices, its dialectics within tradition and modernity, and the wicked problems of the developing world.

Epilogue

Design in India has witnessed various visions of Design in the last six decades of its journey. From problem-solving to design for development, from design for the people to design as an economy booster, from an agency of nation branding to maturing as a form of policy, it has travelled as interacting streams in the discourse. The positions and visions on Design in India have shifted, but not faded with time. The attempt here has unearthed several forms of visions. At the same time, it can't be claimed as an exhaustive exercise, as several forms of discourse overlap and continue beyond its chronological boundaries. Perhaps they converge, amalgamate and diverge with the mechanics of internal and external actors like technology, policy, culture, institutions and people.

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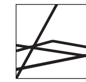

2 Design Studies

2.3 Digital Humanities: How Does Design in Today's Digital Realm Respond to What We Need?

Today, as never before, humans are evolving with and facing new challenges associated with digitally constituted objects, interactions, and environments. As ubiquitous digitisation has made visual culture more present and perceivable, deeper inquiries into design practice through digital transformations have become necessary. Digital humanities seek to explore human culture with digital technology and to address pertinent social questions through cross-disciplinary collaboration and research. This strand welcomes critical examination of established and emerging theoretical, methodological and analytical frameworks in researching digital humanities, such as in literature, drama, history, anthropology, visual analysis, social networks, digital ethnography, sentiment analysis, information visualization, digital archives, media analytics, and so forth. Digitally enabled collaborative, participatory and reflexive approaches in design research and practice are also welcome.

Back to the Future
The Future in the Past

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Conference Proceedings Book
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2 Design Studies

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INTRODUCTION

2.3 Digital Humanities: How Does Design in Today's Digital Realm Respond to What We Need?

Today, as never before, humans are evolving with and facing new challenges associated with digitally constituted objects, interactions, and environments. As ubiquitous digitisation has made visual culture more present and perceivable, deeper inquiries into design practice through digital transformations have become necessary. Digital humanities seek to explore human culture with digital technology and to address pertinent social questions through cross-disciplinary collaboration and research. This strand welcomes critical examination of established and emerging theoretical, methodological and analytical frameworks in researching digital humanities, such as in literature, drama, history, anthropology, visual analysis, social networks, digital ethnography, sentiment analysis, information visualization, digital archives, media analytics, and so forth. Digitally enabled collaborative, participatory and reflexive approaches in design research and practice are also welcome.

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Technology infiltrates life and work, trades and crafts. People are crazily curious about what the future holds and how artificial intelligence will collaborate with human intelligence. The SciFiQ algorithm created by Adam Hammond and Julian Brooke can analyse literary databases and identify structure and stylistic aspects within the descriptive texts. Can a computational system really help writers to write a story by applying an algorithm? Steven Spielberg's *Ready Player One* (2018) takes us to the virtual universe of OASIS in 2045, imagining that "you can do anything, be anyone, without going anywhere at all!"

In response to the conference call, papers in this strand fittingly approach issues in social media, digital transformation, 3D printing, and service and design strategies in the digital era.

Tingyi S. Lin

The Mediatization of Design on Social Network Media

Toke Riis Ebbesen
Syddansk Universitet

Social media / Mediatization / Media logics / Social design / Discourse analysis

The representations of design on digital network services, like Instagram or Twitter, is of central importance to design today. However, although the production–consumption–mediation paradigm is well established within design history, culture and theory studies, little research has been published on the role of digital social mediation. Through the lense of a case study of an artistic social design product, the solar lamp Little Sun, this paper discusses how design is mediated on digital social media, Instagram, Twitter and Amazon. The discursive staging of products, values and sentiments in visual and textual social media posts are analyzed in order to understand how producers, consumers and intermediaries interact with the design of platforms to co-program the meaning of the product. It is suggested as a starting point for further research into discovery, preservation and deeper understanding of the role of the multitude of mediations of design products on digital social services, as well as the design of the services themselves.

Introduction

This paper is a case based explorative study on how users and companies negotiate the meanings of design products through mediations on digital social media services like Instagram. The approach has been to examine the communicative activities on digital social media by a heavily designer-led company, Little Sun, which in different ways and in different scales engages with consumers and other intermediaries on digital social media. The broader issue is how the meaning of design products are represented and negotiated by producers and consumers on digital social media, and how these mediations are affected by the design of the digital social media themselves.

Exceedingly little has been published specifically on digital social media within the fields of design history, theory and culture. In her influential article, "The Production–Consumption–Mediation Paradigm", Grace Lees-Maffei called for further research into how various media shape consumption practices and consumer conceptions of designed products, as well as the how the mediating channels themselves are designed and how products mediate (Lees-Maffei, 2009). Notably, she mentions traditional mass media channels, such as magazines, tv, museum displays, but no digital media at all. However, continuous digitizations and changes in the communication infrastructures of modern societies increasingly has led to a general mediatization of society (Hepp, Hjarvard and Lundby, 2015) which calls for serious consideration of digital social media. Mediatization research claims that digital media are often where consumers engage first with designers, companies and their products (Jansson, 2002; Smith, Fischer and Yongjian, 2012). Since Lees-Maffei's call for mediation research, little has been published which engages with the now dominant mediating role of digital media, with the possible exceptions of Satell's recent PhD thesis on mediagenic furniture (Satell, 2018) and Folkmann and Lorentzen's study of Fritz Cola (2015). The present case study thus serves as an interdisciplinary and exploratory incursion into the study of design representations on digital social services. It is inspired by qualitative hermeneutic studies of text and visual expressions in digital media (Budge, 2017; Rose, 2016) and by studies of hash-tag-led mediation and consumption patterns on social network media (Highfield and Leaver, 2016).

Social media logics and mediation

According to widely cited researchers (Dijck and Poell, 2013), social media share four traits, or "logics", that separate them from regular mass-media, like magazines or television: connectivity, popularity, datafication and programmability. Of these concepts, the present study has chosen to focus on the role of programmability in relation to the consumption and production of design, although they are inevitably interlinked.

Programmability means on the one hand that what gets shared and how, is determined partly by obscure algorithms, following programmed rules that are hidden or opaque to the consumer, partly the interactional design of the social media service. As Stanfill writes, "the kinds of interaction a site offers expresses a normative choice on behalf of users of the service" (Stanfill, 2015; see also Smith and Kollock, 1999). On the other hand, *what* gets shared and liked, and *how*, when and where, is also to a large extent determined by networked consumers use outside of professional routines and practices (Smith et al., 2012: 61). Consumers can both sustain designer and company produced promotions of product by sharing or liking posts, or they can reactively produce and circulate their own reactive *re-mediations* of these products, often with completely new meaning potentials, be they satirical or critical, or otherwise idiosyncratic. This is often expressed in creative media artefacts such as collages, memes, photo-loops or gifs, but also in more modest status updates (see Gal, Shifman and Kampf, 2016; Gürsimsek, 2016; Literat and van den Berg, 2017; Silva and Garcia, 2012). Hence, consumers, producers and various other intermediaries may all *co-program* both the visual and temporal scheduling of social network media, as well as the visual and textual representations of the mediated product. To sum up, on digital social media traditional communication produced by companies and designers, in order to promote it, is mixed with communication produced by other cultural intermediaries and consumers, as well as influenced by algorithmic decisions inherent and expressed in the interface design of the specific media services.

Case presentation: Little Sun

This study is based on the social co-programming of a single product, the solar lamp "Little Sun", designed in 2012 by the Icelandic-Danish designer Olafur Eliasson and Danish engineer Frederik Ottesen and produced and marketed by their Berlin based German company Little Sun. The product is a simple portable solar lamp, however rather conspicuously shaped, unusual for this product type. A front solar panel and an LED light on the back is encased in a yellow ABS plastic form in the figure of an Ethiopian *Meskell* flower or perhaps a sunflower, with an attached hanger strap.

Little Sun has continuously been mediated in traditional advertising, promotion, gallery catalogues, news media, and other outlets outside social media as an environmentally and socially responsible device, created by an artist, "an art object that works in life" (see Ebbesen, 2017). Eliasson's continuous active presence at many, many academic and art related conferences and galleries has ensured that the product has been associated with him and his other works of light art, in effect connecting the utility of the product with the artist's particular aestheticized vision of social and environmental improvements through avantgarde design. The lamp is not only distributed by NGO's using so-called "microeconomic" business models to people from "areas without electricity" in southern developing countries like Namibia or Uganda, it is also sold and marketed to affluent northern consumers through web shops, boutique lamp shops, museum stores, and art galleries. Thus, in spite of a discourse by which to sell the lamp to socially conscious western art lovers, the intended users of the lamps live in areas without electricity, well outside western art circles. Interestingly, the toy-like lamp itself is certainly not designed in line with earlier images of social and sustainable design, for instance the shabby bric-a-brac DIY aesthetics suggested by Papanek in the seminal work *Design for the Real World* (1972).

As Janzer and Weinstein have argued (2014), limits between persuasion and neutral product information are often in danger of collapsing in such social design projects. Instead of liberating, they posit the alleged primary intended users as passive recipients of a western neo-colonialism which only mirrors western ideals and elevates the originators. An example is the *One Laptop per Child* project (Huppatz, 2011), which extended a problematic global digital utopia through design in the name of laudable goals of social and environmental sustainability. This makes Little Sun particularly interesting as a case of how negotiation of meanings and values of design products takes place on social media. How do consumers, given the choice, mediate the laudable goals, values and sentiments of the product? Is the very positive enchanting communication of contexts and values for the product affected by the co-programming by platform services and networked consumers, and how does this affect the overall interpretation of the product?

Methods

The focus of this case study was to explore programmability operationalized as the discursive stagings, sentiments and valuations of the product. Three groups of communicative agents were analytically identified, based on the distinction between communication *for* and *about* the product suggested by Proni (2002). Communication *for* the artefact united the promotions of both Little Sun by the company, NGO's which distribute and promote the artefact, and other companies which directly sell or advertise the artefact. Communication *about* the product may either sustain existing communication for the product, by liking and sharing posts containing communication for the product, or it may assign independent values and contextual meanings to the product in creative or reactive remediations of the product. For analytical purposes, communication about the product divided into two groups. First, general *consumers*, assumed to be the core users of social network services, and second, *intermediaries*, a varied class of art galleries, academic conference organizers, magazines, newspapers, NGO's and artists. This last group may sometimes play a more ambiguous role in communication, but always recontextualize the product independently from product promotions. Furthermore, the role of design and user cultures of the specific social media services was interpreted in order to understand how this may have co-programmed these engagements.

A wide range of digital sources was initially surveyed for images, texts and hashtag posts related to Little Sun. These sources included Twitter, Instagram, FaceBook, Kickstarter, Tumblr, Vimeo, YouTube, Amazon and Pinterest. Of these, in order to focus and balance the analysis, Twitter, Instagram and Amazon were selected for further analysis because here we found the most posts communicating about the product, while

the other services were found to be dominated too heavily by communication for the product, leaving little material for analysis.

Amazon can be broadly characterized as an online store where consumers buy and find information about products and services (Hennig-Thurau et al., 2004). All verified customer reviews on the product page of Little Sun were selected as a source of consumer mediation of the product. Also included for analysis were functions common to all Amazon product pages, the "Customers who viewed this item also viewed" and "Customers also shopped for" functions, which for any given product presents consumers with a wide range of related products based on previous user interactions on the site.

Twitter and Instagram can be broadly characterized as social network media, based on the centrality of the networks, profiles and content streams, in which users evaluate, comment and share images, text comments, hashtags and likes as their main features (Klastrup, 2016). Posts on Twitter and Instagram were gathered by browsing for hashtags like #eliasson, #littlesun or #connectedbythesun. This was done on the assumption that such hashtags assemble producers, consumers and other stakeholders in loosely connected networked publics (Lindtner et al., 2011) or brand publics (Arvidsson and Caliandro, 2016) defined by ephemeral aesthetic practices of following and liking of the product. For this paper, searches for the hashtag #littlesun was selected for analysis. Results without direct textual or visual representations of the product or Eliasson were removed from the main analytic sample, although the whole collection were used to gain insights into the general themes and emotional context present for the consumers searching for these hashtags.

The analysis has focused specifically on differences between communication for and about the following analytical traits in the selected sources:

- The rhetorical visual and textual staging (mise-en-scene) of the product (Rose, 2016; Stanfill, 2015). This was operationalized as interpretation of patterns of visual atmospheric situational contexts of the product, either visible in images or found in textual descriptions.
- Specific attributions of value to the product. This was operationalized as interpretations of mostly textual and visual cues of value types, using the design value typology suggested by Boradkar (2010: 50ff), i.e. use, aesthetic, social, emotional, economic, historic, cultural, political, environmental, brand and symbolic values.
- The overall product sentiment or valence towards the product (positive/negative/neutral) (Hoffman and Fodor, 2010), as represented by visual markers (e.g. people smiling, colocation of the product with objects with strong connotations) and by markers in the texts of posts (e.g. use of words like "happy, smileys", etc.).

For the social network media services, Twitter and Instagram, more than 2500 posts were sampled in the period 1 January – 25 June, 2017 with posts without product references filtered out to keep the sampling scope manageable for qualitative analysis, but still capture a reasonably representative set of product-related posts. The Amazon sample included all reviews dating back to 15 July 2013. This resulted in a total of 47 Amazon product reviews, 52 product-related Twitter posts and 147 product-related Instagram posts selected for detailed analysis. Posts and comments from all sources were coded according to their contextual staging, sentiments and value attributions and general patterns have been extracted. So, what were the results?

Analysis

On Amazon, the product sentiment was almost universally positive (80% positive, 20% neutral), and posts had no negative comments, which is quite uncommon for product reviews, especially for six-year-old products. The product was dominantly appreciated for its use value (35%). This was reflected in the textual staging of the product, i.e. as a camping, night reading or emergency light or similar very practical use, not connected at all with art and social issues. Another means of assessing the staged contexts of the product is looking at the product suggestions, typical of Amazon product pages, "Customers also viewed" and "Customers also shopped for". These were mostly camping, hiking and survival kits and solar lamps, again more utilitarian designs.

However, many Amazon customers also explicitly dedicated their love to the "great", "cute" or "brilliant" Little Sun, i.e. emotional (20%), aesthetic (14%) and symbolic (12%) values, mainly in their staged capacity as gift objects or as props in kids' rooms. Social, environmental and political valuations also occurred, but were clearly of minor importance for reviewers on Amazon.

In contrast, on Twitter and Instagram services the mediations generated by consumers and intermediaries of Little Sun to a much larger degree echoed the artistically and socially oriented discursive staging of the product in communication outside digital social media. Little Sun was mainly staged in artistic and academic settings, such as galleries, conferences, art exhibitions' or in commercial settings (shop display windows, museum shops). Sometimes with Eliasson with celebrities or consumers implicitly or explicitly endorsing the product. Other variations depicted the product in beautiful "exotic" looking local settings in countries without electricity, typically with one person, clearly identifiable as a "local", non-western person, wearing the product around the neck. Only a small minority of consumer and intermediary posts staged the solar lamp in other more private, but equally highly aestheticized settings, like in a window frame, on a breakfast table or in the garden. Of significance, the product was seldomly depicted in use, with the light turned on. The rare exceptions were images of children reading at night or the more frequent depiction in posts by intermediaries as a light source in artistic recontextualizations of Little Sun in art installations.

Product sentiments on Twitter and Instagram also differed somewhat from Amazon. Although the general sentiment was again rather positive, with only one critical comment identified in the 199 total posts analyzed, interesting differences were found between platforms and communicator types. On Twitter, only 40% deemed the product in a positive manner, while 60% of posts were neutral, compared to 75% positive and 24% neutral on Instagram. This difference was espe-

cially due to a much more neutral communication for the product on Twitter (64% versus 16%) and by consumers (55% versus 23%). It was also significant for intermediaries, but less pronounced (60% versus 40%), as the product was generally described in fewer and more distanced terms, especially when the product was staged as part of art installations. As to specific values associated with the product, they were similar across the two services, except that symbolic and aesthetic values played a larger role on Instagram, while environmental issues were more important in descriptions and staging of the product on Twitter.

Users on both social network services saw brand values, i.e. mentions of Olafur Eliasson or the company's merits as very important. It is also significant that more kinds of values were found on both social networks than on the heavily use-focused Amazon reviews. These differences can partly be explained by differences in the system design of each service and the interactional cues these provide. For instance, a service like Instagram offers a very simple "click and like" interaction with posts. Users mark posts with a little "heart" icon. In this way functional and aesthetic interaction cues are visually connected to normatively promote only positive social interaction (Laestadius, 2017). Also, the overall discursive framing of the social media service affects how consumers may express themselves. In the case of Little Sun, it is apparent that as soon as a direct purchase is involved, as on Amazon and Kickstarter, this predisposes for a much higher focus on use value and eventually critique than in services where the main interactional mode is merely to comment on or like the product, especially in visually dominated platforms such as Instagram and Pinterest. Sales and information-oriented sites, like Amazon, naturally posit consumers as individuals whose primary purpose is to buy products or services. Hence Amazon also predisposes for a discourse focusing more narrowly on individual use potential, rather than the more abstract social or environmental issues posed by the communication for the product elsewhere. In contrast, Instagram, with its discursive focus on aesthetics and positive emotional and symbolic photo sharing, may be better suited to express more symbolic values, and the heavily aestheticized visions inherent in the professional images of the product in "exotic" local settings, shared by Little Sun the company and its commercial and NGO partners. Finally, especially Twitter users are immune to obvious advertising (Voorveld et al., 2018: 52), which may explain the more neutral sentiments and fewer aesthetic and symbolic values expressed on that service.

Conclusion

To sum up, the result of this investigation was bleaker than anticipated. There was some degree of independent user programming, but most social media consumers and intermediaries really seemed to express themselves within the frames and valuations of the promotional discourse programmed by Little Sun the company. Clearly, although all these media—due to their programmability— are supposed to be "social" and potentially give a voice to the underprivileged, as well as provide a potential channel for independent co-programming, in this case they were also limited in this ability. Significantly only one consumer advanced a critical voice in terms of wider critique of the product and its production and distribution concept itself. As social media scholar Christian Fuchs has forcefully argued, this lies in the constitution of social media themselves. Not only are they means of production which many users don't have access to, they are also massively dominated by commercial companies and spun in a commercial, appraising discourse of connectivity which makes it difficult to differentiate even between outright lies and genuine facts (Fuchs, 2011). In this case, not outright lies, but the enchanted communication for the product through digital social media.

However, important differences were also found across the digital social media services studied, of which some can be explained by the co-programming in different discursive logics, interaction designs and user cultures of the services. As Voorveld et al. notes (2018), in reality the difference between various social media can be bigger than the differences from old media.

This by nature limited study is a case in point as to the many selections and trade-offs that are necessary to conduct research on digital social media. It calls for studies in much further detail and wider scope, on how social network media affects the mediation of design. Design historians have a huge task ahead of them, in discovering, understanding and preserving the multitude of different mediations of design on social network services.

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Linked Objects: Relational Memory of Design at Barcelona Design Museum

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Design / Research / Digital development / LAM / Collections

'Linked Objects' is the title of a project promoted by the Documentation Centre of the Barcelona Design Museum that has two main purposes: to show the objects of the museum's collections in an enhanced consultation environment, and to facilitate access to essential materials in order to promote research. The project is based on the enrichment and establishment of relations between the museum catalogues (bibliographic, archival and objects), as well as on other internal and external documentary sources that allow us to discover and establish new links between designers and works, helping us make decisions in the processes of increasing heritage and opening up new paths to research.

In the first stage, we analysed the processes related to the life cycle of the objects in the product design collection. We studied the way of materialising them taking as a starting point established bibliographic, archival and documentary descriptions. The necessary relationships and enrichment have been created to provide contextual information, seeking a balance between the descriptive tasks and the project's sustainability. Finally, we made a first digital development in order to visualise the results.

Introduction

Museums are systems in which objects, their representations and the resources that help interpret and contextualise them shape a set of pieces that are not always sufficiently well assembled (Jones, 2018: 5). The uniqueness of museums devoted to design, whose objective is far removed from that of pure contemplation, adds pressure to these mechanisms.

In such museums it is essential to explore and reveal processes, to show 'how things are made'.[1] The object intrinsically incorporates the idea of process, and with this purpose in mind documentary proof is gathered, more or less deliberately or systematically, to support its referential record.

Museums gradually discover the value of documents that nevertheless seem to be condemned to lead a life separate to those of objects, forming documentary subsystems with a secondary, instrumental function and a physical, technical and technological isolation: different spaces and conditions of conservation, different reference catalogues and specialised work teams and different databases subject to different descriptive traditions, etc.

The progressive digitisation of heritage enables what in the late nineties was almost utopian: the availability of a single access point to a range of materials (Rayward, 1998: 214). In the case of a museum, this would mean facilitating searches throughout the various collections and archives without necessarily having any previous knowledge of their internal organisation or having to resort to different catalogues or search environments. Digital representations of objects and documents free them of the physical characteristics that distinguished them, and the interoperability between databases opens up new paths to establish relationships between different resources (Waibel and Erway, 2009: 323).

The question that remains is whether, by satisfying the 'ideal of universal and democratic access to information' (Robinson, 2014: 211), we have reached the end of the path that leads to meeting the needs and expectations of a broad and diverse community of users or whether, as we have suggested at Barcelona's Design Museum, we are just starting out on the journey.

The Documentation Centre at the Barcelona Design Museum

The Documentation Centre at the Design Museum in Barcelona combines the functions of a specialised library and an archive centre. It was officially opened in April 2014 and brought together the bibliographic, archival and documentary collections of the Museu de les Arts Decoratives, the Museu Tèxtil i d'Indumentària, the Museu de Ceràmica and the Gabinet de les Arts Gràfiques. These collections are complemented by the libraries and archives of private individuals, companies and institutions that over the years have either been donated as gifts or deposited as long-term loans, such as the library of the Barcelona Design Centre (BCD, for its initials in Catalan), the archives of the Association of Industrial Designers at Fostering Arts and Design, or ADI–FAD, (for its Catalan initials), the archives of designers like Miguel Milá, André Ricard and Yves Zimmermann, among others, and of companies such as Vinçon. The centre also compiles monographs, periodical publications and commercial catalogues, and fulfils the main mission of supporting the characteristic functions of the institution, like virtually all museum libraries and archives. However, the expansion to new external audiences is a commitment that, as in other European muse-

[1] Sudjic, D. (27/3/2014), *Live at Southbank Centre: Contemporary Curating, World Thinkers, The Language of Peace. Free Thinking.* BBC Radio 3. http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b03yqt1b (last accessed 14/06/2018).

ums, is becoming increasingly relevant. In our case, we also address the entire community of students, researchers and workers in the field of design.[2]

Be that as it may, we should not forget the chief objective of the Barcelona Design Museum, and therefore of its documentation centre: the protection, custody and dissemination of design-related heritage (Vélez, 2014: 20–23) in order to promote new knowledge.[3] In this sense, the Documentation Centre has focused on preserving the archives of designers, companies and institutions related to the discipline. We have drawn up a work plan in which we prioritise the inclusion of archives important for furthering knowledge of the discipline, archives that are at risk either because their producers are reaching the end of their careers, because they are about to disappear out of neglect, or because the institutions or private individuals who preserve them can no longer bear that responsibility. To obtain as much information as possible in order to further our knowledge of the objects in the museum's collections is also, of course, of primary importance.

The Uses of Documentation

Documents permit multiple readings of the objects in collections, ranging from the documentation related to the creation and distribution of products to that of the specific objects kept in museums, not to mention the contextual information of a social and cultural nature. All these elements favour research, reflection and new creations.[4]

Archives are key factors in the work of historians and design theoreticians, as starting from these primary sources they are able to develop their research. Documents allow them to discover or compare data, resolve doubts and delve into the knowledge of their producers. For designers, this documentation is a source of inspiration and practical knowledge, in the sense that it enables them to find the answer to similar problems to those they had faced during the development of a design. Hence, the knowledge and study of archives triggers new historical studies, new design theories and even new products.[5]

Yet besides the research, the Documentation Centre of the Barcelona Design Museum has another key objective: dissemination. In order to fulfil both goals, we follow a digital strategy that allows us to provide open access through the Internet, when there are no restrictions derived from applicable law, and to preserve and facilitate access to the documentation we consider more sensitive. With this objective in mind, over the past two years we have digitised 131,911 pages that correspond to the collection of heritage books (650 books) and four archives (Litografía Bastard, Taller Joan Busquets, Antoni Badrinas and Rigalt, Granell i Cia) (La Vanguardia, 2017). All these documents are compiled in a digital repository and can be consulted in catalogues from the museum library and archive, located on its website.[6]

The next objective is to bring the museum's contents closer to citizens, transcending the 'internal' vision of the collections which is more related to their management than to their dissemination. In this way we hope to address the issue of the different types of public—general and specialised—who come into contact with the museum and its contents without necessarily having any previous information regarding its organisation. We feel the need to find a different path that will trigger dialogue between the objects in collections and bibliographic and documentary resources, a new form of gaining access to all these digital contents so that their present and future links can also be registered and thus become genuine tools of knowledge concerning the museum's ob-

[2] Taking information from 2017, 94% of the more than 7,000 in-person enquiries made at the documentary collections of the Design Museum in Barcelona were made by people from outside the institution. *Museu del Disseny de Barcelona (2018). Memòria 2017.* http://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/museudeldisseny/ca/memories-anuals (last accessed 14/06/18).

[3] Other countries like the Netherlands have adopted extensive patrimonial policies, considering that design is an important engine for innovation that bridges the gap between economy and culture. See the article by Tollenaar, A., Meihuizen, J. (2016) 'No Future Without a Past: the Dutch National Design Archive (NDA)', *Journal of Design History.* 29 (3): 287–295.

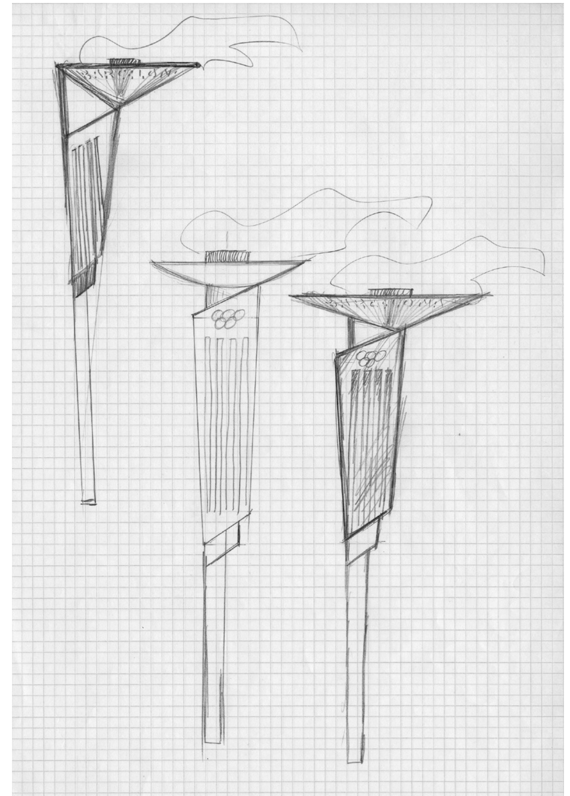

Fig. 1 Sketches of the Barcelona '92 Olympic torch (c. 1990) that reveal the creative process of the object (© Barcelona Design Museum. André Ricard Archive).

[4] One of the main objectives of the Documentation Centre of the Barcelona Design Museum is to publicise the resources preserved in its collection and put them in the service of design research in the sense suggested by authors like Bruce Archer: research about practice, research for the purpose of practice and research through practice.

[5] The articles by Elisabetta Terragni, Louis Snoad and Federico Vacca provide examples of each of these cases. See Snoad, L. (2010). 'Step into the Past'. *Design Week*. 23 (22); Terragni, E. (2012). 'Twist and Shout'. *Abitare*, 527: 38–41; Vacca, F. (2015). 'Knowledge in Memory: Corporate and Museum Archives', Fashion Practice'. *The Journal of Design, Creative Process & the Fashion Industry.* 6 (2): 273–288.

[6] http://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/museudeldisseny/es/centredoc.

jects. The project entitled 'Linked Objects: Relational Memory of Design' was born out of this reflection under the leadership of the museum's Documentation Centre.

Linked Objects: Relational Memory of Design

This project is based on the enrichment and establishment of relations between the main catalogues of the museum (bibliographic, archival and objects) complemented by other documentary sources, both internal and external, that will allow us to create connections, discover gaps and open up new paths for investigation both within and without the museum.

The intention of the project is to ensure that the knowledge acquired during the various processes of documentation and cataloguing of the museum's collections is registered in such a way that makes it reusable, providing the necessary context for a better understanding of some of the objects shaping them. The collaboration between the different teams involved in carrying out this task and establishing links between objects and documents is essential and helps us form the first connections, outlining what could easily become a network of relations thanks to future interactions with internal and external researchers and which could extend to extremes hitherto virtually unimaginable.

In technical terms, 'Linked Objects' is a project designed to integrate data from different catalogues and digital resources through ETL (Extracting, Transforming and Loading) processes. The data are extracted from different sources and then homogenised and enriched in a process based on the CIDOC Conceptual Reference Model (CIDOC CRM), barely interfering in the usual standardised processes of cataloguing contents. This makes it easy to reuse data to respond to the new needs of exploitation. It was also important to normalise the controlled vocabularies so that each object, person or feature received the same name in all places. The correspondences established between names have formed a knowledge base that, in turn, is the element that allows the automation of all the emerging changes and adaptations.

Before developing the project, we gave much thought to choosing the most appropriate way of initiating the process of informative and search enrichment, and which collection or collections will allow us to achieve our aim as best and as quickly as possible. Analysing the different documentary sources at our disposal and the state of their processes of cataloguing and digitization, we realised that product design was the discipline that enabled us to better construct representative narratives of several decades of design, although the compilation and treatment of documentation related to graphic design, interior design, fashion and textile design are among our other objectives. This led us to initially steer the project towards industrial design. After much reflection and a number of tests, we decided we would analyse the objects starting from their life cycle: the different phases of the design process (commission, creation, production), the commercialisation (advertising, fairs, retail outlets and systems) and commercial and social impact (prizes, exhibitions, media exposure, publications, consumption and use). Taking this premise as a starting point, we also managed to generate a product capable of helping construct narratives on design, often unknown or unpublished, and transforming them into indispensable research tools. The project is useful for revising history through objects and their analysis from multiple points of view—ideological (ideas), formal, aesthetic, cultural, technological (technical changes and technological advances)—favouring reflections on how design influences companies (modernisation, changes in work systems), communication, the markets (popular, luxury, exportation), what they reveal about consumers (tastes, modernisation of habits, needs) and, last but not least, the influence of the media and critics on the product and its history.[7]

Fig. 2 Designer Carles Riart assembling one of his items of modular furniture at Sala Vinçon in Barcelona (1974). This photograph would appear in the commercial and social impact phase of the product's life cycle (© Barcelona Design Museum. Carles Riart Archive. Photograph: America Sanchez).

'Linked Objects' is therefore constructed starting from the object and its life cycle, which we decided to condense into five phases: commission, creative process, manufacture, commercialisation and commercial and social impact. All this information is offered thanks to the different resources kept by the Documentation Centre: archives belonging to designers, companies and institutions; commercial catalogues, specialised bibliography, etc. (BALCELLS and DÍAZ, 2016). Reflecting on these stages, trying to answer questions such as who, why and how a product is created, who manufactured, commercialised or consumed it, we reached the conclusion that in order to improve the dialogue between the collections of objects and documents we needed to reconsider and enhance the descriptions of their individual components, establishing meaningful relations between these.

Thanks to the aggregating quality of this new tool, the addition of few new data in the different catalogues helps establish the most obvious relationships between objects and

[7] Some of these parameters appear in what Anna Calvera has defined as the 'Barcelona Design System'. See CALVERA, A. (Coord.) (2014). *La formació del sistema disseny Barcelona* (1914–2014), *Un camí de modernitat.* Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona.

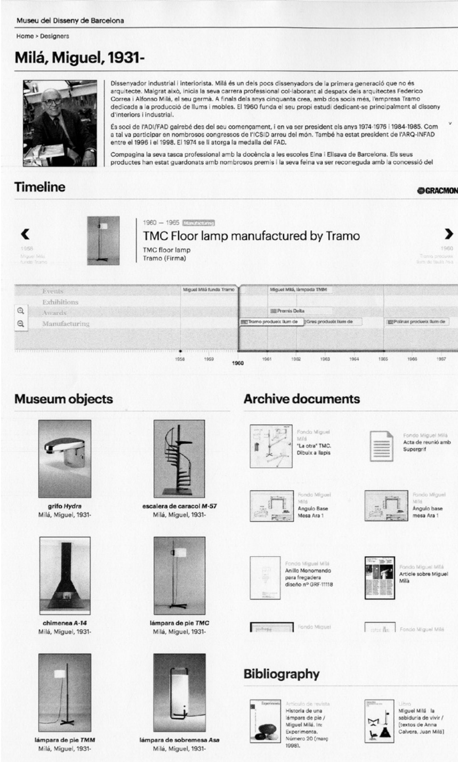

Fig. 3 Screenshot of 'Linked Objects' that gathers all the information about designer Miguel Milá (biography, timeline, objects in the collections, archival and bibliographic documents in the museum) (© Barcelona Design Museum).

documents, but it also favours the emergence of other links that are not so obvious as a result of the different combinatorial possibilities between documents and objects that eventually trigger connections between designers, institutions, etc.

The interoperability of the tool also allows us to add the contents of catalogues or databases generated by other organisations with whom we may reach collaboration agreements. Thus, from the very beginning we have included the chronology of design drawn up a few years ago by GRACMON research group in history of art and design at the University of Barcelona. CronoSDB is an interactive search environment accessible from the research group's website.[8] Once their data are integrated in 'Linked Objects', they strongly encourage researchers to approach the museum's contents and promote their comprehension. This reveals all the events related to a given object or designer, and to all that has taken place in design since the 1950s.

Unlike other relational environments in the spheres of design and archives where links are established by and between design professionals, as in the case of the University of Brighton,[9] the core of our project is objects that bring different narratives to the surface according to the itinerary followed by each user. Despite being in an embryonic stage of the project, these links between objects and documents in the museum's collections have so far been useful for identifying and certifying the authorship of new acquisitions, learning and correcting the dates certain products were made, certifying awards and recognitions, documenting and contextualising objects on display in exhibitions, facilitating documentary material for educational activities, and so on. As a tool of dissemination, the system is designed for surfing and discovering rather than for seeking information and allows users to follow different paths through the museum's contents. Visitors will come across dynamic descriptive files that explain the life cycle of objects based on the descriptions found in archive or bibliographic documents.

A deeper study will lead users to the museum's standardised catalogues (library, archive and object collections), in which researchers can view other similar documents (such as commercial catalogues or magazines) or the entire dossier of a specific object as it appears in the archive of the designer who created it, the company that produced it, the institution that awarded it a prize, the shop that distributed it, etc.

For this first phase we have chosen approximately fifty objects from the product design collection that allow us to survey the most outstanding typologies, decades, designers, companies, prizes, exhibitions and events in the history of our design. This information enables users to choose their own itinerary through the different stages in the life cycle of the chosen product, which are represented by the various documents kept in the documentation centre, such as drawings, plans, photographs, correspondence, briefs, technical reports, commercial catalogues, advertisements, press dossiers or award diplomas. Thanks to the descriptive systems used, the tracking of the documents sheds light on the relations between the object and the different agents involved in its life cycle. So, observing a production plan, for instance, will reveal information about the manufacturing company and lead us to other products in the collection manufactured by the same firm, or other documents concerning the company that can be accessed. Clicking on a manufacturer will show all those documents related to the object and the firm, such as plans, commercial catalogues, photographs, diplomas, etc. On the other hand, when we have no documentary proof of a specific stage in the object's life cycle, either because no such evidence

Fig. 4 When we click on the name of one of the manufacturers of the TMC floor lamp, the only documents that appear are those related to this company (© Barcelona Design Museum. Miguel Milá Archive).

[8] http://www.ub.edu/gracmon/docs/cronosdb/

[9] In 2015, the University of Brighton, that has an important archival collection gathered from design institutions and professionals, announced the project entitled 'Exploring British Design' (http://exploredesign.archiveshub.ac.uk./) that connects the information from the various archives in its custody in order to reveal the professional ties between designers.

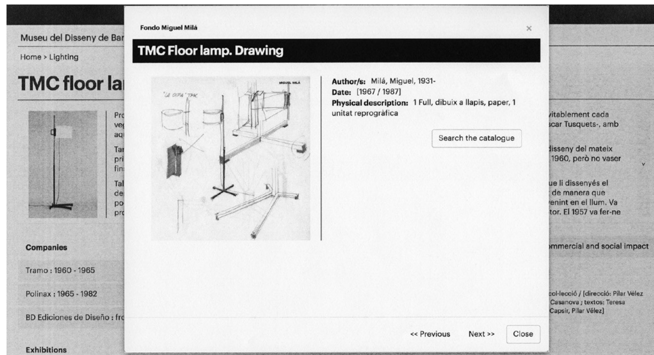

Fig. 5 Description of a sketch for the TMC floor lamp. It provides direct access to the complete catalogue of the designer's archive, revealing all the documents in the report on the TMC lamp (© Barcelona Design Museum. Miguel Milá Archive).

has survived or else it has been impossible to obtain, whenever possible we resort to oral sources, recording statements by the chief exponents who provide the required information. André Ricard, for instance, told us about the commission—or self-commission—of his ice-cube tongs. Entrepreneurs can explain the manufacturing or editing of their products, and users can describe how and why they use them. We have confirmed that such audiovisual content, conveniently indexed and transcribed, can be integrated and combined with other resources, thereby favouring concrete answers to specific questions in the right contexts. For all these reasons, even though the initiative of the project comes from the documentation centre at the Design Museum in Barcelona, a number of designers and companies have offered us their collaboration, providing the maximum information to enable optimal development.

The project, envisaged as an important instrument of communication of the collections, is also a tool for research and discovery. The fact that users can choose their own itineraries through the objects, documents, designers, companies, institutions and events they find more appealing, is an attractive feature that can spark the curiosity and interest of visitors and that of audiences in search of new knowledge, as the number of possible itineraries is endless.

One of our main intentions is that 'Linked Objects' be an important tool for design professionals from all points of view, enabling them to revisit products, designers and companies, i.e., the history of design, but also that it be a source of inspiration for new products, a place for finding solutions and, of course, an indispensable means in design teaching.

Conclusions and Continuity of the Project

From here onwards through 'Linked Objects' we should be able to 'link' and connect with products from other design disciplines (graphic, textile, etc.), and thereby reveal the relationships that have emerged over the years, representing a much more comprehensible reality in which there are no isolated elements. A much more cross-curricular and contextualised vision of design from the city of Barcelona.

With 'Linked Objects', the Documentation Centre of the Barcelona Design Museum furthers the development of the museum's organisational culture that builds bridges between the different professional traditions it contains, in the service of common objectives for disseminating and promoting research and generating new knowledge around design in Barcelona. We have attempted to bring citizens to the museum's contents without dividing them up according to the physical characteristics of the preserved heritage, or to the professional profiles of the authors describing them, yet always showing the utmost respect for the different traditions, professional roles and standardised working methods.[10]

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[10] Translation from Spanish by Josephine Watson.

Snippets: Designs for Digital Transformations in the Age of Google Books

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Snippet view / Google books / Knowledge design / Copyright / Reading

In this paper we shall argue that, in the digital realm, design issues relative to literature have shifted in a number of crucial ways. In particular the role of design in relation to epistemological and legal issues of digitized books has become more volatile, more pressing and at the same time more complex. The Google Books project has been a major force in defining what we know today as the digital realm of literature. Google Books presents a set of new design solutions where design, among other things, responds to what stakeholders of the digital domain of books 'need'. Drawing on the concept of 'knowledge design' our focus will be on the ways that the 'snippet view' design of Google Books on the one hand invites new ways of reading and correlating and, on the other hand, challenges the traditional legal status and relationships of books and their actors sustained by copyright law in the analogue world. We aim to identify a number of distinct needs of the involved actors – Google, authors, publishers, readers – that the 'snippet view' design addresses. Moreover, we shall consider the normative question of which needs should be directed in the digital realm of literature.

Since the Enlightenment, we have built up a knowledge production system, which is based on the assumption that the prime form of expression is the printed page. In the history of publishing, design issues associated with printed volumes have included, foremostly, layout. Thus, typographical, legibility, commercial, logistical and more aspects of book production have been matters for designerly concern. This approach is a legacy bestowed on digital design.

However, in a number of fields in the sciences, social sciences and humanities, the model of knowledge expression in the form of the printed text is breaking down. As Geoffrey Bowker notes, the net-worked, data-intensive landscape opens up for new and rich types of knowledge expression that take current infrastructures of knowledge into account (Bowker, 2014).

Hence, in the digital realm, as we shall argue, design issues to be associated with literature have shifted in crucial ways: the role of design in relation to epistemological and legal issues has become more complex. Posing the question of how design, in today's digital realm, responds to what we *need* calls also for an answer to the normative question of how design *should* respond to what we need? In this paper we would like to consider these questions within the framework of recent systematic mass digitization of literature. Studying the case of Google Books we believe that the snippet view design plays different roles for different stakeholders, including Google, authors, publishers and readers. This has important implications for appreciating the way that digital reading is developing these years, which, in turn, is of consequence for digital design. We intend to inform our discussion of this subject with the concept of 'knowledge design' as defined – and applied in various ways – by Digital Humanities scholars Johanna Drucker and Jeffrey Schnapp. As we see it the notion of knowledge design is both descriptive and normative. We shall also draw on Katherine Hayles' distinction between different modes of reading.

Mass digitization of books has taken place since the 1990s in various institutional forms and guises across the globe (Thylstrup, 2018). Yet, despite the heterogeneity of mass digitization, Google Books, which Google initiated in collaboration with libraries and publishers in 2004, has today become *the* major force in defining what we know as the digital realm of literature: books available online and searchable on the Internet (even if only by the Google browser). Google Books' status and impact stems not only from the monumentality of the endeavour or its technical ingenuity – which is otherwise often foregrounded as the reason of importance – but equally from the fact that it contains books in copyright and that it is free for users. These affordances sets it apart from other mass digitization projects such as Project Gutenberg, Gallica, Europeana and other online digital collections of books, not only in terms of the scale and content of mass digitization, but also the ways in which this content is presented.

Crucially, our argument is that Google Books presents a set of new *knowledge designs* – where design responds to a 'need' in various senses – with a number of associated epistemological and legal implications. We shall pursue this argument by, first, looking at the notion of knowledge design and then using the litigation over Google Books – where the United States Authors Guild brought a class action suit against Google over copyright infringement – to examine the ways that the snippet view design is at once symptomatic of and operational in digital transformations of literature and reading.

Knowledge Design

The concept of knowledge design stresses that knowledge is design-dependent (Drucker, 2014: 66) and is useful when thinking about the 'conception, creation, and implementation of projects in digital environments' in terms of theorizing user interfaces, their underlying information infrastructures and the relations between these two.

Applying the concept of knowledge design on the digitization of literature we shall pay special heed to three insights, the first of which is that more than mere acts of mass digitization and online publishing is required in knowledge production (Schnapp, 2013: 8). Digital books as digitally constituted interface objects and infrastructures must be *designed* to, interface-wise and infrastructurally, open up to new and adequate ways of interacting with them. If mass digitization fails to effectively implement and integrate these two dimensions, the potential reader will meet a mess of content rather than experiencing a meaningful archival encounter. Indeed, mass digitization should not be thought of as a 1:1 transposition of analogue cultural works into the digital realm. Rather, mass digitization profoundly changes both the interfaces and infrastructures of cultural works (Thylstrup, 2018). The design questions relating to the knowledge production of mass digitization should therefore also rethink the knowledge expressions of digitized books, asking questions such as 'How could such objects be better captured and described in screen environments?' and 'How might techniques and practices be developed that deepen, expand, and enrich our experience of objects, rather than providing impoverished digital doubles?' (Schnapp, 2013: 16). Design interventions, then, should be directed not only at creating enhanced access but also at creating improved cultural and social value for users.

Accordingly the second fundamental knowledge design insight relates to how mass digitization can add value to, rather than subtract value from, cultural works. This question relates to the interfaces of mass digitization as well as their infrastructures, prompting the designer to consider both how objects can be enriched more in the digital sphere in terms of navigation and description as well as how the designer can foreground objects not as singular entities devoid of context, but rather as networked infrastructural objects (Schnapp, 2013: 17). Thus the designer's role is to work actively with knowledge production in an ecology that exceeds the knowledge objects themselves.

This brings us to the third insight which, as Johanna Drucker puts it, is that knowledge is dependent on the systems it is embodied in: its embodiment is integral to knowledge itself (Drucker, 2014: 79). Thus the concept of knowledge design ties an operational level of how to exploit the affordances of digital media with a critical realization of their organizational, operational and epistemological principles:

> At the higher levels of knowledge production, the very expectations about what constitutes our objects is constantly being transformed by digital tools and analysis. If I can read a large corpus of materials through a natural language summary or see the range of topics/themes covered in a set of materials too large for me to ever read directly, then *what* constitutes knowledge in a digital environment is different in character and quality from what it was in an analog environment. To implement the analytic tools to extract and make legible some 'reading' of materials at that scale and level is a design challenge that is part of the knowledge production system (Drucker, 2014: 79).

Taking these interrelated insights as our point of departure we aim to analyse Google Books through the lens of knowledge design. In the below, we shall pursue the argument that the so-called 'snippet view' design in its capacity as a knowledge design invites new ways of reading and creating value while, simultaneously, it challenges established relationships of books and their stakeholders. The US copyright infringement cases involving the Authors Guild and Google Books set a new norm for legal and literary infrastructures. Crucially, the copyright system was designed for printed volumes: its logics and structuring of relationships reflected a system of knowledge expression tied to printing technology and the associated knowledge infrastructures (Teilmann-Lock, 2016). In order to make the argument we shall take a closer look at the Google copyright infringement cases, spelling out the design effects of the Google Books project.

Google Books

In the Google Books project books from a number of partners (libraries, archives, publishers) were digitized, establishing a database where users of Google Books can make word searches in the whole corpus of digitized books. Search results include a list of the books in which the words appear and an indication of the number of times the words appear. Furthermore, users are typically allowed to see a limited number of so-called 'snippets' (typically amounting to an eighth of a page) of the book that contain the search term with the exception of the 'blacklisted' pages in books which imply that snippet view of them is permanently disabled. From its earliest instantiations Google Books offered different levels of visibility: 'full view', 'limited preview', 'snippet view' and 'no preview available'.

Snippets, which Google likens to card catalogues,[1] were shown without the authorization of rights owners. While snippets appeared harmless in Google's description (who could object to card catalogues?), they nevertheless soon led to legal disputes over copyright. In 2005 the American Authors Guild and the Publishers Association filed a class action against Google. In 2008–2009 a settlement agreement was attempted (but never came to be accepted by all the involved parties). In this process Google's lawyers introduced the legal concept of 'non-consumptive research', which is comparable to the concept

[1] From Google's description: 'The Snippet View, like a card catalog, shows information about the book plus a few snippets – a few sentences to display your search term in context'. https://www.google.com/googlebooks/library/screenshots.html

of 'non-consumptive reading' used in Digital Humanities (Schreibman, 2014). In the amended settlement agreement between the Authors Guild, the American Publishers Association and Google a legal definition of non-consumptive research was presented:

> "Non-Consumptive Research" means research in which computational analysis is performed on one or more Books, but not research in which a researcher reads or displays substantial portions of a Book to understand the intellectual content presented within the Book (Amended Settlement Agreement, 2009: sec. 1.93).

A number of categories of non-consumptive research were listed in the agreement including computational image and text analysis, text and information extraction, analysis of historical and synchronic linguistic patterns, automated translation, indexing and searching. Moreover, a series of 'non-display uses' were defined as

> uses that do not display Expression from Digital Copies of Books or Inserts to the public. By way of example, display of bibliographic information, full-text indexing without display of Expression (such as listing the number or location of search matches), geographic indexing of Books, algorithmic listings of key terms for chapters of Books, and internal research and development using Digital Copies are all Non-Display Uses (*Ibid*.: sec. 1.94).

By introducing the two concepts of non-consumptive research and non-display uses Google was effectively delineating a series of uses to be non-copyright infringing by definition (inasmuch as these uses were defined in a way that was said to not involve reproduction or display of copyright content, both of which require authorization by the copyright holder). This was one of the clues to Google's success in the copyright infringement cases that were to be heard following the breakdown of the settlement agreement.

In 2015, when a decision was finally reached in the Authors Guild's case against Google the appeals court ruled in favour of Google. Crucially, the court considered the snippet view to be adding 'importantly to the highly transformative purpose of identifying books of interest to the searcher' *(Authors Guild v. Google Inc*., 2015: 218) and as such to fall under fair use as defined by US Copyright law. The fair use defense for snippet view was further strengthened by the fact that although snippets display 'a fragment of expressive content', any snippet would have been 'arbitrarily selected' (by the searcher's search term) and as such, as was found by the court, 'the snippet function does not provide searchers with any meaningful experience of the expressive content of the book' (*Ibid*: 227). In this way snippets would not constitute a substitute for the plaintiff's books. Accordingly, the court declared that the search function of Google Books was a non-infringing use of the copyrighted books of the Authors Guild's members. In particular, the court affirmed that

> the purpose of Google's copying of the original copyrighted books is to make available significant information *about those books*, permitting a searcher to identify those that contain a word or term of interest, as well as those that do not include reference to it. In addition, through the ngrams tool, Google allows readers to learn the frequency of usage of selected words in the aggregate corpus of published books in different historical periods (*Ibid*.: 217).

As maintained by the court there was no copyright infringement insofar as Google Books does not provide readers with access to 'reading' books, taking in their 'expressive content'; it only provides searchers with access to 'information' about the books.

Snippet View

Google strategically likened the snippet view function to card catalogues: both constitute the user interface of machines where 'information is available on separate, uniform, and *mobile* carriers' that may be 'further arranged and processed according to strict systems of order' (Krajewski, 2011: 3). However, there are significant differences between the two technologies, not least on the level of impacts, scopes and associated actors; we maintain that it is worthwhile considering the interests at stake when analogue metaphors are used to describe digital technologies. (Thylstrup and Teilmann-Lock, 2017). As pointed out above, in the Google Books legal case, it effectively framed Google's fair use defence.

The 'snippet view' may be considered a design solution in different ways. It works as knowledge design in that it activates knowledge that would be unavailable without it and the design opens up to new and adequate ways of interacting with a vast bulk of literary works. Thereby it serves to fulfil Schnapps ambition of enhancing value by deepening, expanding and enriching our experience of objects ('rather than providing impoverished digital doubles'). Google Books furthermore approaches books as parts of various networks of relations: snippet view allows us to navigate in a way to expose both known and hidden interrelations. At a different level the snippet view design is integral to the knowledge it conveys – this is what Drucker pointed to as a defining feature of knowledge design. 'Literature' in the Google Books project is different in character and quality from analogue literature; the 'consumption' that snippet view enables differs from analogue reading. Importantly, the digital transformation that snippet view occasions is part and parcel of Google's legal defence. Thus it should not be overlooked that the snippet view represents a design solution, which plays a key role in making Google Books law-

ful. As such Google's legal argument is both symptomatic of and instrumental in the digital transformation. Law is a test for new norms: particularly, in this case, norms for consuming literature. Google proposed that snippet view facilitates only legitimate 'non-consumptive reading' and 'non-display uses': the court ruled in Google's favour holding that snippet view provides access to information rather than expression. And this distinction is decisive in copyright law: (original) expression is copyrightable while information is not. Historically, the distinction has been important for limiting the monopolizing effects of exclusive rights. However, with the snippet view design Google sets a new norm for the distinction between expression and information.

It is helpful to use Katherine Hayles' division between three modes of reading in *How We Think* (Hayles, 2012). Hayles proposes to think of reading in the modalities of close reading, hyper reading and machine reading. Close reading implies reading with an eye for rhetoric, linguistic register, ideological layers and so forth that requires slow and precise attention to a text (Hayles, 2012: 57ff). Hyper reading refers to reading on screen typically assisted by a computer that filters the text for search words and allows for a reading practice of skimming (for meaning), scanning (for keywords), juxtaposing, hyperlinking and picking out fragments of interest (*Ibid.*: 61f). Machine reading may be supervised (in different degrees) by humans or wholly unsupervised and is useful for text corpora that are too big for humans to read but where a computer may be able to draw inferences about the texts given its capacity to recognize patterns, systematize, summarize, and describe (*Ibid.*: 70ff). Hayles points out the overlaps between the three different modes of reading arguing that in combination they add up to an expanded repertoire of reading strategies. For example close and hyper reading may work in synergy and hyper reading and machine reading have in common the recognition of patterns (*Ibid.*: 75ff).

Notably, all three modes of reading apply to snippet view. There is usually enough context to grasp meaning, style, register and so forth through the close reading of a snippet. Snippet view facilitates hyper reading in multiple ways and allows access to machine readings of more books than any human could ever flip through. Returning to the question of the distinction between expression and information, which we suggest is being blurred by the snippet view design, it is significant that multiple modes of reading apply to the snippet view. The significance lies in the fact that close reading (and 'understanding') is taken by Google and the court of justice to be the implied and defining mode of consuming 'expression'. Google maintained that no user of Google Books would be able to understand the 'intellectual content' of the books presented there. Crucially, Google's argument, upheld in court, that what Google Books provided was mere 'information' about books, rests on the premise that insofar as the snippet view provides the options of non-consumptive reading and non-display uses (that are forms of hyper reading and machine reading) this excludes the possibility of simultaneously providing expression. But Hayles' reading modulations show us that expression and information relate to each other in the shape of an overlap and not as mutual exclusion. This disruption of the opposition between expression and information, we maintain, is a result of the knowledge design character of the snippet view design. It is a digital transformation that, as Drucker argues, is linked to the constitution of the knowledge production system in a digital environment.

This brings us back to the initial questions of how design, in today's digital realm, responds to what we need? And in normative terms, how design *should* respond to what we need? In a nutshell the Google Books case and the snippet view design highlights that design solutions in the digital realm of books serve different purposes for different groups of stakeholders: authors, publishers, readers – and internet service providers. Since the demise of systematic state censorship copyright law has been the chief regulator of literature. Coming out of Enlightenment thinking copyright law sustained particular economic and social relationships between authors, publishers and readers. Authors got exclusive rights in exchange for their contribution to the production of knowledge for the sake of public good. Publishers were the intermediaries between authors and readers. With the entrance of Google Books the regulatory logics of the copyright system has come under pressure, as it is an entity which does not naturally conform to the logics and categories of copyright law.

Against this background we can begin to recognize the distinct needs that the snippet view design fulfils for authors, publishers, readers and Google respectively. In reverse order, apart from playing a role in Google's overall business model of generating user data from services free for consumers, the snippet view design met Google's obvious need for ensuring the legality of presenting copyright works without authorization from rights holders. *Authors* and *publishers* have overlapping interests. To be sure neither group had itself defined a need for the snippet view design. Indeed they objected to it by suing Google. However, given Google's increasingly dominating status both groups would, undeniably, need presence in the Google ecosystem. They got it but without the compensation they believed copyright entitled them to. Authors' need

of attribution was fulfilled by the listing of bibliographic details adjacent to the text view in Google Books. *Readers* got a free service and enough view of texts to facilitate the present-day defined need for web-browse-style reading: the particular mix of close reading, hyper reading and machine reading that we perform daily on screens.

What are the needs that design *should* address in the digital realm of literature? In the notion of knowledge design there is a strong normative element, which revolves around attending to epistemological and infrastructural conditions and effects of digital transformations on knowledge production. The notion of knowledge design gives directions for designerly actions in this environment. Accordingly, granted that design is integral to the production of knowledge, ethics should play a key role: designers are arguably more responsible than ever for the expression of knowledge. Design in the digital realm calls for an informed view of the shifts in infrastructures, reading modalities, stakeholder relationships and knowledge expression that add up to the digital transformations of literature in the age of Google Books.

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Parameters for Documentation and Digital Strategies of Communication for Temporary Art Exhibitions in Brazilian Museums

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Referentiated parameters / Digital cataloging / Temporary exhibition / Strategy design / Multimedia platform

A base ground for a proper documentation process on contemporary scenarios should consider not only the potential of new technologies, but the variety of publics apt to benefit from structured and systematized documentation practices in multi-platform devices. Considering the variety of the Brazilian cultural programs spread among its museums, the challenge of this research project is to offer qualified curated information in an open platform: the "Museu Brasil" website and social media. The paper intends to present the "Museu Brasil" case study by means of documentation of relevant temporary events easily accessed by anyone. The discussion highlights the strategy design, data base development, wireframe and content management, the guidelines for use of social media, and documentary reports on the user experience and interaction through the contents provided by the platform. Our goal is also to establish referentiated parameters of documentation about the whole process of temporary exhibitions' production regarding digital strategies, social media and database visualization.

Museu Brasil.org website: a prototype of new parameters of cataloging

As a result of an initial exploratory investigation of temporary art exhibitions in Brazilian metropolitan areas, it has been detected that general guidelines regarding documentation processes and its diffusion are not clearly enunciated. The result, as often observed, has been inadequate in many cases and does not fulfill its own goals. A base ground for a proper documentation process on contemporary scenarios should consider not only the potential range assured by digital media technology, but the variety of publics apt to benefit from structured and systematized documentation practices. The idea of a "live museum" pursued by many Brazilian institutions must take into account its duty to build up its contents as important knowledge fields, mostly by making its events accessible to the local and global community. All aspects of the diverse specialized work involved in the production of a temporary art exhibition, regarding space, curatorial approach, design layout, graphic products and communication in various formats must be properly registered as multiple sources of information and expertise, suited to be appropriated by different subjects: children, students, professionals, technicians, researchers and the general public.

Considered as the most common product of temporary art exhibitions in the Brazilian context, the printed catalogue of an exhibition is still an important document to register the activity of museums. As a matter of fact, the catalogue's expensive production and limited circulation does not correspond to the ideal way to register the sensorial universe involved in the event of an art exhibition and all the rich experience that it proposes regarding its spatial configuration, scenography, the whole ambiance – all of which disappears, as an ensemble, at the end of the event. The exhibition involves multidisciplinary professional and educational activities and these do not fit properly into a printed register, especially considering that most times it is produced before the whole process of building the exhibition. The video recording, relatively simple to run, fast to produce and of low cost, comes closer, with greater fidelity, to the real experience of an event of this nature, including its architectonic aspect. This video register, along with documents such as the curatorial text, the exhibition's design, the catalog and the technical information about the exhibition, constitutes valuable matter of easy and quick disclosure that, by revealing the various aspects of production involved in these events, make up rich material for the constitution of museums' archives. The practice of documentation of temporary events adds on another layer of action and interaction to museums' activities that is multifold: by making its own archive, the museum legitimizes its place as cultural producer in its local and also in the global community, at the same time constituting itself as a knowledge source of valuable research material for several expertises, such as curators, historians, architects, artists, scenographers, researchers, technicians. The broader public will surely benefit from this practice, presented as an alternative set of activities offered by contemporary museums.

The internet and social networks presents itself as the best vehicle to disclose and spread this documentation, offering a completely new field of interaction between museums and community, with over amplified scale. The online interaction itself offers a potent source of content production, adding another perspective on museum activities. As early as 2012, Britain's Tate has come up with the concept of a "fifth gallery": a virtual museum aimed at producing content at the same level as the other galleries, and a new museum closer to its public.[1] It is a difficult task that must be mastered, that includes the necessity to keep the past alive in the future, as analyzed by Katharina Baisiegel:

[1] Baisiegel, K. "Keeping the Past alive in the Future: A New Digital Museum Age". In: *New Museums – Intentions, Expectations, Challenges*, 2017, p.10.

> In recent years the digital world has taken on increasing importance in museum operations. Along with now standard online communication through websites and newsletters, numerous new assignments have been added, ranging from content management and digital collection administration to digitalization projects and the development of target-group-specific applications to branches of E-publishing. For a long time museum websites were mainly only digital brochures that could be consulted for such information as opening times and collection contents. With the arrival of so-called "social media" and the attendant desire of users to be able to communicate with the museum faster and more directly, this has radically changed. Nearly every museum is now developing its own digital strategy, led by major houses like New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art, which was quick to climb aboard (Baisiegel, 2017: 10).

In the Brazilian cultural context, the intellectual and economic effort involved in cultural production and its maintenance is huge. The printed catalog is often a luxury with which few institutions can count on, even though it continues to be the most popular vehicle to disclose exhibition's technical material. In most cases, some technical material such as videos, articles, design drawings, pictures and critical texts have been produced, but remain scattered with the absence of an up to date cataloging system to gather it. In the current context of scarcity of public support and sponsorship, production actions need to provide maximum efficiency to achieve their goals and still expand, diversify and spread the results through actions simultaneously layered and evolving in time: local, regional, national, global. At the same time targeting the varied public that museums historically have and the ones it must conquer: the citizen, the student, the professional, the teacher, the technician, the researcher and the children.

Beyond communication: the use of algorithms for all museographic instances. It is fundamental to highlight that the use of new technologies and digital strategies involving algorithms such as thematic tagging for search and organization procedures of museums' data banks archives needs to be applied not only as communication strategy but can be present in all institutional levels: curatorship, collection, conservation and management councils. All these instances must benefit from expanded fields of information enabled by virtual architectures that connect works of art, collection, artists, museum spaces and diverse public interaction.

In today's context where museums all over the world are adopting new digital cataloging and new interaction strategies towards the public – such as media actions via social virtual networks – cataloging procedures must be revised and amplified.

The book *Possible Futures* brings new perspectives about the subject enriching this discussion. Ana Magalhães, editor and curator of the Museu da Arte Contemporânea da Universidade de São Paulo (MAC USP) talks about the necessity of adopting new cataloging practices that consider more contextual and historicized than technical approaches.

> It would be worthwhile to rethink the artistic collections documentation and cataloging processes (of any period) in the light of the development of these practices and its consolidating history of agencies and regulatory organs that emerged in the second half of the 20th century, according to its political dimension (Magalhães, 2014: 40).

Considering the historiographic and sociopolitical approach proposed by Magalhães, it becomes relevant to include the imagetic and textual contents posted by the exhibitions' public on social virtual networks such as Facebook and Instagram. The public participation through virtual channels constitutes valuable material for a renovated contextualization of catalographic criteria.

The public interaction with the works of art, with the exhibition space and with the artists constitutes a sociocultural event that produces new relational data, adding another layer of information to the exhibition. This new content is liable to be incorporated to the event's happening and, by doing so, becoming available to be accessed and acknowledged in the future. The online public's contribution may expand the exhibition's aesthetic,[2] educational and communicational reach in an exponential way.

The physical museum conquers its place in cyberspace, in the World Wide Web. Digital tagging strategies considering the specific contexts in which exhibitions happen and the repercussion that a determined work of art or artistic action gains inside it can be adopted as a new parameter of temporary exhibition cataloging procedures. The thematic #s (hashtags) associated to the images produced inside exhibition spaces – museums, galleries, cultural institutions – give new context and information to the images that are in the big flux of social networks, mainly Instagram.

In an exhibition, a specific work of art is often turned into an icon through the public's interaction with it. This image can be chosen to represent the context and related discussions arising by each exhibition's conceptual proposal, broaden its reach and earn it a more collaborative aspect. The set of posted and tagged images under the same keyword may acquire new meanings, expanding the exhibition space beyond the museum walls from new polyphonic narratives as a result of the public's interaction.

Expanded expographic experience online: public / work of art interaction. The set of images produced and posted by the public represents the mediated experience through mobile devices. Inside the expanded expographic experience context, the images produced online could be classified in at least three types:

[2] It is considered here necessity to reevaluate the meaning of what is aesthetic, as proposed by Rancière: "(…) not the theory of art in general or a theory of art that would remit to its effects over the sensibility, but a specific regime of identification and thought about the arts: a mode of articulation between ways of doing and ways of thinkability of its relationships, implicating in a determinate idea about the effectivity of thought" (2005: 13). Translation by the authors.

1. The images produced as result of the aesthetic fruition of a specific work of art;
2. The images that represent one's relation to the architectonic, expographic and/or scenographic space;
3. The "selfies" taken with the works of art, on site at the exhibition, as powerful space-time witness of the public/work of art/exhibition space interaction.

The public's experience registered through the taggings attached to the posted image represents the "musealization" of daily life. From this perspective, the repercussion of a temporary exhibition can be measured by the amount of images posted on line, images that represent the quotidian as aesthetic and synaestesic experiences of the general public inside an exhibition. These images also represent valuable contextual and subjective data to the proposal, as presented in this discussion.

The images captured at the social virtual networks through algorithmic search, when interpreted with the help of referentiated parameters, produce documental, aesthetic and spontaneous data. Information that complements and enriches cataloging processes with the public's interaction at the exhibitions, producing "aesthetic acts as experience configurations that long for new modes of feeling and induce new forms of political subjectivity" (Rancière, 2005: 11). These images are the "sensitive partition" through the shared aesthetic experience of the quotidian as defined by Rancière. The image produced by the anonymous citizen-artist contributes to the exhibition's documentation. Spatial and sensorial experiences are an essential part of an exhibition, in fact the very reason why people line up in museums

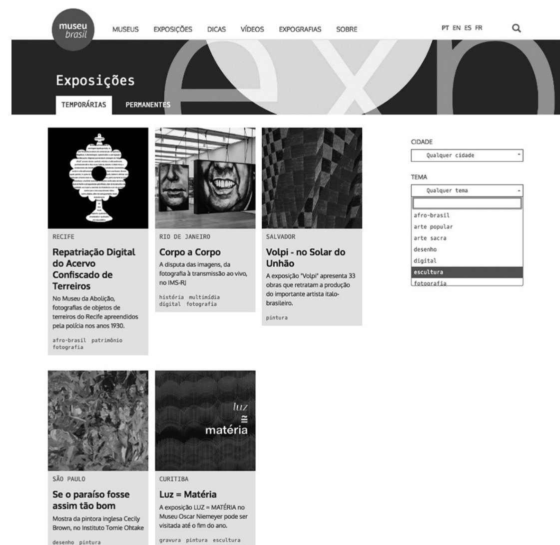

Fig. 1 Screen print of the web page "temporary exhibitions", desktop version. The information is organized by algorithms of city name, thematic tags, institutions and period.

– places conceived specially for that happening, involving many design specialities: architecture, scenography, graphics, lightning, sound and projection design. As architects and graphic designers we regret that it's rare to find technical information regarding the shows' spatial configuration. In printed catalogues or websites, the narrative that structures the exhibition's layout is rarely mentioned. Proper documentation and diffusion of the diverse expertise involved in a temporary exhibition could be of great interest to museum professionals, enhancing their own performance and contributing to the visibility of the related fields of knowledge. General public could also benefit from this practice by preparing their visits or remembering them. The public's fruition itself is a rich source of material worth exploring, especially by educational programs.

One can find on the Internet lots of random content about past and present art events. By failing to display online structured information about their own actions, and of their public, museums waste the opportunity to keep and conquer broader publics.

Case study: Museu Brasil

The concepts discussed so far were applied to the proposal of Museu Brasil's website[3] redesign, comprehending the following fields: graphic design, web development, tagged content, main exhibitions' archive, digital strategy and social networks, topics discussed ahead.

This project proposes new documentation parameters and new digital strategies of communication and exhibitions' cataloging based on tagging criteria. The set of keywords was expanded including new search contexts. The strategy design and the data base development, the site's architecture and the content management also include directions to social media use. The interaction experience gained through this multimedia platform aims at a new connection paradigm among the public, services and archives.

The objective is to establish referentiated parameters for the documentation of the exhibition design: the curatorial concept, the layout, the graphic design, scenography, audio and lighting design, spatial experience, besides the works of art themselves with their different support structures and media, including net art, videos and performances.

The idea of an online platform as a data bank of referential temporary exhibitions is strategic in a continental country as vast in area and in cultural backgrounds as Brazil. As an internet portal, "Museu Brasil" is host for a documentation tool such as the one discussed here, considering around 200 participant museums and cultural institutions, representing enormous possibilities of connection.

Considering the variety of the Brazilian cultural programs spread among its museums, private galleries and cultural institutions, the challenge of this project – partially launched in Beta version in April 2018 – is to offer qualified curated information in an open platform, the "Museu Brasil" website, where the documentation of relevant temporary events can be easily accessed by anyone.

Another important aspect of the project is to develop digital strategies of communication in social media while the temporary exhibitions

[3] The museubrasil.org project is an achievement of the Instituto Brasiliana, which is sponsored by Petrobras. The Center for Digital Culture of the Brazilian Center for Analysis and Planning (CEBRAP) collaborates with the production of content and support in the development of systems. The project has the institutional support of the Brazilian Committee of ICOM (International Council of Museums). The website offers information about more than 200 museums in Brazil and also a curated selection of temporary exhibitions, in four languages.

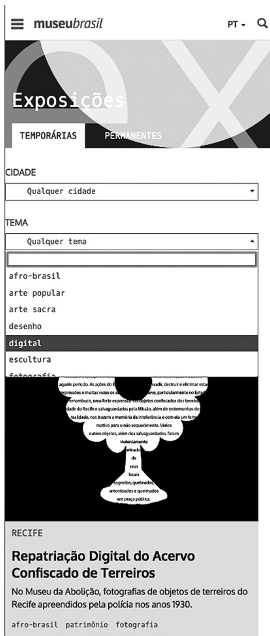

Fig. 2 Screen print of the web page "temporary exhibitions", mobile version. Algorithm search by more than 40 thematic tags.

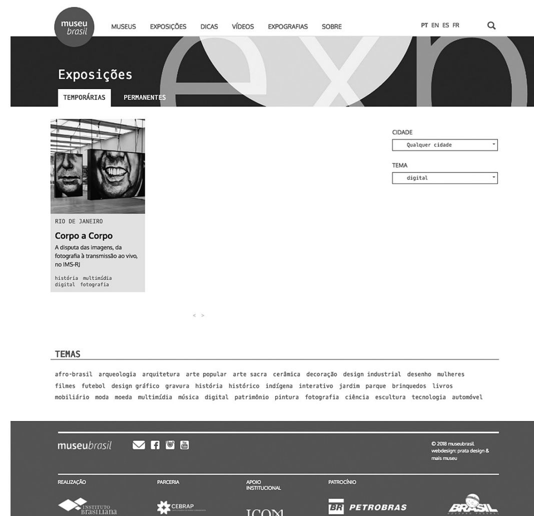

Fig. 3 Screen print of the page of the result of search by TAG "digital".

are on, as an essential part of the documentation process. The approach consists of cross-border and collaborative methods based on the public's voice and interactions via online platforms such as Instagram, Facebook and YouTube. The institutions and museums will be invited to voluntarily contribute sending qualified information to Museu Brasil's editorial team in order to build relevant content. Some collaborative actions between museums and the platform are already taking place.

The publishing and the use of personalized # in Museu Brasil's posts were strategically meant to build a data bank based on the images produced and published by the exhibition's public in a long time span.

New parameters for publishing and cataloging exhibitions. Temporary exhibitions are very popular in Brazilian metropolitan centers, attracting big audiences that exceed by far the attendance of regular collections. Great effort is put into the production of these events, but after its end, it's often hard to restore its memory. Brazilian museums' web sites generally fail to explore the multiple possibilities to display these events' experiences. A big portion of the material produced gets lost or is filed without a proper method. It generally remains astray somewhere with restricted access by the general public. All of these can be properly organized and rearranged through a virtual platform to reconstitute the spatial ambiance of the live event, revealing the exhibition design process.

Researchers, scholars, architects and graphic designers were responsible for the museubrasil.org web redesigning. The conceptual guidelines, the site's architecture and its content were the result of a design thinking process in which the professionals' team aimed to solve the difficulties of creating a more relevant exhibition archive data base, organized under referentiated criteria, going further than the basic "artist/place/institution/date" set, in order to contribute to the Brazilian museographic memory. The museubrasil.org site is now searching for financial support in order to build an integrated data base with the participant museums and institutions, so the first data collection assembled to constitute the folder "Expography" happened through the museums URLs online. By this process, the diversity of criteria adopted by the different museums and institutions on their online communication strategy was made clear.

The public's interaction via social networks is limited to the museum's online pages, rescued, by chance, through a #. There is not a broad idea about the tripod museum/work of art/public in catalographic terms. The public's interactions, regarding the historiographic archives and the collections aimed to build an exhibition memory, still misses social online networks as a valuable data source.

Considering this context, the site's design was strategically thought to, in the near future, constitute a reference on expography and exhibition design contents. There is a web page at museubrasil.org in which the user can find Brazilian temporary exhibition expographies collections under new parameters such as the ones discussed above. The known catalographic card was renewed and amplified with data and algorithms used on Museu Brasil website and on social virtual networks:

1. Exhibition's name
2. Main tags
3. Artists' short profile
4. Date
5. Curatorship and curatorial texts
6. Iconography (photos and videos)
7. Architectonic space: expographic design, display structures, light, sound and image design (blueprints, films, virtual reality, photos)
8. Communication: catalogue, online posts (catalogue PDF, online prints)
9. Public interaction: visitors' statements, selfies, and images posted on Facebook and Instagram

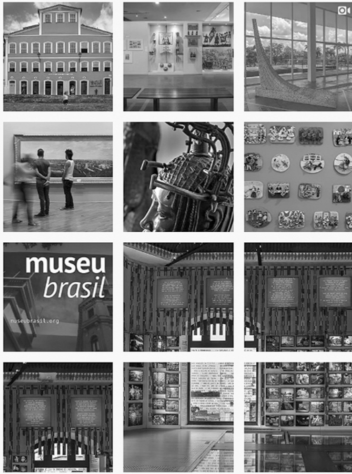

Fig. 4 Screen print of Museu Brasil page on Instagram.

Fig. 5 Screen print of Facebook post about Museu Afro Brasil; use of personnal "#" as #exposicoesmuseubrasil and #museubrasil.

Final considerations

The discussion regarding new documentation parameters for art exhibitions that considers the online universe reflects a global concern. "Hyperconnected Museums – new approaches, new publics" was the proposed theme to celebrate the International Museum's Day sponsored by ICOM (International Committee of Museums) on May 16th, 2018. The IBRAM (Brazilian Institute of Museums) has organized the 16th Museums' Week under the same theme, when more than 1130 Brazilian institutions have participated in the related activities confirming the interest towards this subject.

The use of digital strategies for data cataloging requires a strategic web design project that ensures a friendly *front end* allowing the user a nice navigation experience besides an extremely codified *back end*, to level up the new parameters and documentation contexts mentioned above. The use of algorithms ensures the cataloging, archiving and disclosure of the information to various publics.

The Brazilian social, political and economic context needs to be considered in its own special conditions, particularly regarding the numerous museum institutions localized in the country's periphery with poor infrastructure and no conditions to proceed about collection management. The creation of a central data bank connecting all national museums and institutions is still a faraway target, depending on effective cultural politics. Initiatives like the Museu Brasil rely on public/private partnerships to play an important role as powerful examples of new practices in the museum management field, such as: thematic tagging archiving and cataloging systems, communication data inclusion and, most important, the use of collaborative data generated by exhibitions diverse publics.

As discussed at the International Museum Week, museums and cultural institutions are asking themselves who is their public and how to connect to them. The capture of online social networks data can be a good start in that direction, used not only in communication and marketing strategies but in all museum areas: curatorship, educational programs, administration, collection, conservation etc.

The parameters used in the Museu Brasil project proposes the expansion of the basic catalographic file including, besides the thematic tags related to the exhibitions and the works of art, items related to expography, such as the expographic design, light, sound and image design, multimedia, social networks, among others.

The importance of new contexts of cataloging using digital strategies to build an accessible data bank attending various layers of information is a fundamental initiative to understand the Brazilian exhibition's historic context in times of hyperconnectivity. To be able to comprehend this exchange of information and data may be relevant to extend museum actions towards effective educational, cultural and historic fields. To produce the access of a more collaborative content via cultural institutions' online platforms with quality seems to be the big challenge to be faced by contemporary museums.

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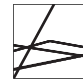

2.4 Design Studies: Design Methods and Methodology, the Cognitive Approach

Far from the more academic and philosophical theories of design and philosophical aesthetics, issues such as taste, design and creativity are enjoying a resurgence of interest. Due to the fields of cognitive science and neurosciences, helped by magnetic resonance and other imaginative experiments, understanding of the human brain is reopening the methodological debate about design performativity with new and astonishing empirical evidence, and so brings new light to old problems.

Papers approaching design as a cognitive process of creation and action will be welcome, whatever the scientific background.

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Back to the Future
The Future in the Past

ICDHS 10th+1 BARCELONA 2018

Conference Proceedings Book
Oriol Moret (ed.)

2 Design Studies

2.4 Design Studies: Design Methods and Methodology, the Cognitive Approach

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INTRODUCTION

2.4 Design Studies: Design Methods and Methodology, the Cognitive Approach

Far from the more academic and philosophical theories of design and philosophical aesthetics, issues such as taste, design and creativity are enjoying a resurgence of interest. Due to the fields of cognitive science and neurosciences, helped by magnetic resonance and other imaginative experiments, understanding of the human brain is reopening the methodological debate about design performativity with new and astonishing empirical evidence, and so brings new light to old problems.
Papers approaching design as a cognitive process of creation and action will be welcome, whatever the scientific background.

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Design is understood as a series of methods and techniques used in almost all disciplines in a (more or less) unknowing and informal way. It was not until the mid-20th century that design was recognised as a methodology, related to intellectual and psychological processes, and this late recognition has induced research into design and the self-conscious inclusion of the discipline in the teaching of design studies that were previously only phenomenological and empirical. Design methods and methodologies have also become a field of research, concerned with the mental activities at play in design activities and the cultural cross-influences and implications of design products. More recently, research is uncovering the pedagogical potential of design-related activities for our post-modern world.

The papers accepted for the three sessions in 'Design Studies: Design Methods and Methodology, the Cognitive Approach' cover recent studies in these areas.

Session 1. Complementing the more historical and cultural-critical approaches to design and design history, this session covers the virtues of some design methodologies for new cognitive and pedagogical approaches to teaching and learning, such as project-based learning and active learning, and metaphoric thinking.

Session 2. In the background of this session are the following very general questions: how "scientific" is design and how "scientific" can it and should it be? Central to these issues is the endeavour to establish design as an academic discipline in its own right, and therefore the search for and building of a strong theoretical core for design. The papers address these issues from three different standpoints. 1) A historical case study, namely the rationalisation of the curriculum of HfG Ulm and its influence on other institutions, particularly in Catalonia. 2) The confrontation of diverse research paradigms in doctoral programmes on design, following Archer and Frayling's widely discussed typology. 3) Following the Design Methods Movement of the 1960s and based on a corpus of 1641 papers from 17 DRS conferences (1962 to 2016), a broad panorama of the evolution of the relationships between theory and practice in design organised into three categories that are considered pivotal.

Session 3. The papers in this final session gather a few disperse aspects of design thinking history, namely the early history of the creation of computer-aided design as a case study in trans-disciplinary collaboration, the teaching of semiotics, and the role of visual thinking in scientific discoveries, as exemplified by the case of Darwin's *Origin of Species*.

Pau Solà-Morales, Alain Findeli

A Metaphoric Thinking Styles Taxonomy to Promote Students' Metacognitive Self-reflection in Design Learning

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Design education / Design cognition / Thinking styles / Metacognition

Recent literature suggests that the development of cognitive skills should include explicit learning objectives in design education, helping students to become managers of their own cognitive process and abilities. Currently design educational models are mainly based on design projects that students develop under the supervision of a teacher-tutor. How much students learn from those design experiences strongly depends on their ability to reflect on them, which some students naturally do, while others don't unless they are asked to. Design education must focus on promoting students' reflective capacities, especially metacognition, which is related to the ability to regulate and control one's cognitive activities. To help design students in that metacognitive process, a seven-part Thinking Style Taxonomy was developed. The presented taxonomy relates each one of the styles with a profession and the attitudes required by that activity: Imaginative (Artist), Focused (Olympic Athlete), Determined (Surgeon), Empathic (Anthropologist), Analytical and Evaluative (Judge), Holistic (Professional Traveller) and Reflective (Travel Writer). The work presented here aims to provide a full description of that taxonomy as well as the students' and teachers' perceptions about their main advantages.

Introduction

In ever-changing contexts, where consumers' requirements and demands are like 'moving targets', there is an increasing demand for design professionals who have the wide perspective that is needed in the complex environment we face today and we are likely to face in the future. Consequently, there is a definite and growing need to invest in instruction strategies that can help students learn how to think (Wells, 2013).

Learning in design courses is usually based on problems that students must define and explore and for which they should propose solutions, under the supervision of a tutoring teacher who provides guidelines through an iterative process, "in which knowledge is frequently implicit" (Oxman, 2004: 66). This process requires specific 'ways of thinking' in which experienced designers are proficient but design students haven't yet developed (Roberts, 2006). However, educational approaches currently adopted rarely address the explicit learning of the cognitive process. In this commonly practiced tutorial learning model, it is the tutor's vision, based on his own personal experience, about what must be learned and which knowledge must be transferred, that prevails. Consequently, a great part of knowledge remains implicit, without being explicitly verbalised. Each student acquires knowledge according to his own interpretation of the experienced process.

Following that, Tschimmel (2006), Hargrove (2013), Kamp, Admiraal, van Drie and Rijlaarsdam (2015), among other authors, defend that design education should be focused on helping students to adopt a system where they decide, by themselves, the strategies to apply to accomplish a given task. That means that students must become managers of their own cognitive process and abilities. To that end, these researchers argue that students must develop metacognitive skills, so they can self-regulate their own creative process. If they don't, there is the risk they start their professional practice without knowing how to fully explore their own potential.

Design Thinkers' Education and Metacognition Learning

Metacognition involves self-knowledge and control skills for regulating one's cognitive activities. "Students have to become conscious managers of their own cognitive abilities", their "own strengths and weaknesses" as thinkers so they can find "ways to use these strengths and mitigate the weaknesses" (Tschimmel, 2006: 673). As explained by Lizarraga and Baquedano (2013), any successful creative process requires, among other things, the selection and conscious combination of relevant prior knowledge, questioning of ideas generated, implementation of a plan of action, evaluation of the concept developed, the communication and transfer to new situations and contexts and the monitoring and management of all these activities. All these functions are metacognitive in nature.

Although content learning is important, knowledge is only effectively internalised through metacognitive competences. Students do not necessarily learn from an experience, especially if they do not think about it. While some students naturally reflect on their actions and experiences, some do so only occasionally or when they are asked to do so. A reflective professional is one who learns from his experiences reviewing his actions critically, considering the impact of these actions and planning what he would do in similar circumstances in the future. It is important for professionals and for those who are preparing to be professionals to reflect on their learning experiences. Only experiencing an event is insufficient without taking time to review the experience and consider the implications of repeating these actions in future situations: "teaching such metacognitive competences needs to go beyond isolated information acquisition in certain subjects, toward holistic learning through experience and reflection in projects" (Scheer et al., 2012: 8).

Also, Winters (2011) refers to the "ontological" dimension of design learning having to include the "tangible enrichment of lived experience" and to the development of perception and identity. Being self-conscious about one's own cognitive pro-

cesses requires the involvement of the individual in metacognitive activity.

Thus, it is crucial that design educators use specific strategies to promote students' reflective capacities, especially the metacognitive, which are essential for being a self-directed learner, throughout life. These strategies include, for example, students verbalising their thinking process during problem solving, followed by interviews with reflective questions (Dixon and Johnson, 2012), the application of questioning maps (Winters, 2011), students' materialisation of their own cognitive process through artefacts (Hargrove and Nietfeld, 2014) and explicit teaching about metacognition (van de Kamp et al., 2015), among others.

The position sustained in this work is that design education must provide the acquisition of metacognitive knowledge in an explicit way because it plays a structuring role in the professional future of students. To that end, a taxonomy of seven thinking styles aiming to help the student to revisit his own design experience, in a self-reflective exercise, is proposed as a tool for metacognitive self-reflection in design learning.

A Metaphoric Thinking Style Taxonomy

Several proposals regarding thinking styles classification in the field of creative problem solving have been presented, over the last 20 years, by authors such as Herrmann (1995), Basadur and Gelade (2003) or Puccio, Murdock and Mance (2007). Although those proposals were not necessarily developed in the design field, they provided an important framework for the development of the taxonomy presented here.

Starting from the analysis of those models and our own experience as design educators, and especially considering the results of a three-semester empirical study with a group of 15 Portuguese design students, 40% male and 60% female, with an average age of 21.07 years (Clemente, Vieira and Tschimmel, 2017), we propose a Seven Thinking Styles Taxonomy developed to foster students' metacognitive reflection. To facilitate students' comprehension and memorisation, each one of those styles was associated with a profession and the behaviour and attitudes required by that activity (Table 1).

Taxonomy appropriateness was assessed by collecting participants' perceptions through written questionnaires (students) and focus groups (teachers). Students were specifically asked about their perceptions on "Self-reflexion about thinking styles is facilitated by the jobs personification" and "Self-reflexion about thinking styles helps me to identify my strengths and weaknesses as a future designer". To both questions students answered with average, median and mode around 7 on a 0 to 10 scale. Teachers' perceptions were evaluated through a focus group session. As a main observation, teachers were very secure about the advantages of the taxonomy especially because it is based on a metaphor which students can easily understand. That perception is aligned with Burnette's (2013) position when he states that "a suitable theory must recognise the need for compression of neural complexity into representations that can be recognised, interpreted, transformed and applied by ordinary people" (:1).

Job (Thinking style)	Attitudes	Actions
Artist (Imaginative)	Unconventional Fun Observer with all senses Emotional Dreamer With a certain amount of madness	Generates a lot (a "torrent") of ideas Identifies possibilities, what could be
Olympic Athlete (Focused)	Ambitious, Visionary Injects huge amounts of time and energy in their work Attention and concentration in a field	Focused on objectives Distinguishes the essential from the irrelevant Has a clear vision of the desired output
Surgeon (Determined)	Lives well with uncertainty and ambiguity Determined, Independent Sees error and failure as an opportunity to evolve Relies on his own intuition Ability to work / manage a multidisciplinary team	Performs activities to achieve objectives Takes into account deadlines and events Takes advantage of the skills of each team member
Anthropologist (Empathic)	Impartial Rejects preconceived ideas Curious Thirsty for knowledge Sensitive Attentive to details	Puts himself in the role of the other Identifies and assesses the emotional state of another Relates various information about a context to achieve a holistic picture
Judge (Analytical & Evaluative)	Disciplined, Rigorous Shrewd, Cautious	Evaluates ideas according to predefined criteria Compares what he has, given the intended purpose
Professional Traveller (Holistic)	Global and systemic thinking Ability to plan, manage and control the process Acceptance of chaos Openness with respect to random events	Sees the process as a whole Understands the structure of the problem Determines the next step of the process
Travel Writer (Reflexive)	Self-conscious Ability to take advantage of the merits (strengths) Recognise personal singularities and use them to their advantage	Analyses the driven learning process Reflects on experiences, transforming them into useful knowledge

Tab. 1 Proposed Thinking Styles Taxonomy.

1. Imaginative (Artist)

The Imaginative thinking style should be mainly active, so that a great number of ideas can be generated. To that end, the student must adopt a nonconformist, dreaming, unconventional attitude. The thinking is unconventional, in the sense

that it requires rejection of the status quo, the previously accepted ideas, those that might block progress. This way of thinking, for example, directly opposes what Crilly (2015) terms 'design fixation', a fixation on the conventional function of artefacts which inhibits one's capacity to see new possible functions, a blind adherence to a set of ideas or concepts that inhibits creativity.

The Imaginative thinking style is very close to the concept of fluency, from creativity research, which is the individual's ability to generate ideas in great quantity, perceiving that the more ideas someone produces in a limited time, the more likelihood that among them there will be good ideas and that is foolish to believe that one's initial idea is good enough.

The Imaginative style is associated with the Artist, a profession which is almost always associated with the disposition of questioning the status quo and breaking the rules. Unless the student mobilizes the Imaginative thinking mode in different phases of the design project, he will be unable to generate original concepts:

> If cynicism reigns, design can become an uninspired cut-and-paste profession [...] you should strive to always do things that are new to you, irrespective of the novelty-value they might have to the rest of the world. [...] the longer and more intense your journey of discovery, the further you will be able to wander off the beaten track, and the greater the chance that you will eventually achieve novelty in your designs (Dorst, 2006: 50).

2. Focused (Olympic Athlete)

Throughout the entire project the student needs to constantly keep in mind the final goal of the design project by activating the Focused thinking mode. In design projects, it's crucial not to allow that superfluous details distract from what is essential:

> Design projects can easily become skewed. We often tend to become a bit too enthusiastic about a certain part or aspect of our design problem. If we let ourselves be carried away the interesting features get all our attention. Other aspects, that may be just as vital to the functioning of the final design, can be underevaluated or even forgotten (Dorst, 2006: 59).

It is considered that the Olympic Athlete provides a good parallelism for this type of thinking since, firstly, it is impossible to imagine an athlete running towards the goal and not being exclusively focused on that goal. Dorst (2006) states that "you can only work efficiently if you know what your goals are" (: 58). Focused style is related with the individual ability to recognise, in each step of the process, the central point, issue or problem that must be addressed at that exact moment. The focused thinker is always asking himself questions such as: what is happening? What is most important here? What is it all about? What am I trying to prove? What is the main problem? What is the central purpose?

During training, the Athlete continually sets goals for himself and focuses on working hard for those goals. Thinking in design work "requires high motivation and persistence, taking place either over a considerable span of time (continuously or intermittently) or at high intensity". Specially because although designers must remain open to the new possibilities (Imaginative style), at a given point, they need persistence and tenacity in developing their nascent ideas in the face of negative feedback. "This persistence is critical because new concepts always have problems and some commitment to them is required" (Crilly, 2015: 67).

This ambitious and tenacious attitude of the Olympic Athlete, who injects enormous resources of time and energy into his work, is also emphasised by Dorst (2006):

> You challenge yourself by aiming high, by being as ambitious as possible. Because you have inserted your own goals, you become personally attached to the project [...]. How far can you get in realising your ideal? In most of the design firms I know, the lights are on until 11 pm every night. It's a sure sign that someone there [...] can't stop playing the game of design [...] And when a good idea that you have put a lot of energy into is finally adopted, it really feels like winning. Design is highly addictive (Dorst, 2006: 19).

3. Determined (Surgeon)

The Determined thinking style, here connoted with action (with activity and not only with thinking), is identified with the profession of Surgeon. It is hard to imagine a surgeon, faced with the need to make a quick decision during a surgical intervention, who is not able to do so because he does not have all the data, or because he does not have the time to do a full analysis of the situation. What is expected of the Surgeon is that he is able to make a quick decision, based on his intuition and experience, and to act accordingly.

Likewise, the ability to decide on the basis of intuition, "relying on their own tacit knowledge rather than explicit criteria" (Milton and Rodgers, 2013: 142) as well as dealing with ambiguity, uncertainty and risk-taking, by acting 'spontaneously', is inherently linked to design projects:

> designers [...] have learned to live with the fact that design is ambiguous [...] they are prepared to regard solution concept as necessary, but imprecise and often inconclusive [...] the sense of risk taking that accompanies creative design. [...] there comes a time when the designer has to make a personal commitment. [...] design is risky – it is not comfortable and it is not easy (Cross, 2007: 53).

In those situations, a practitioner's action is not governed by a rational thought process but, rather, by an intuitive feeling that has been cultivated through experience, a 'feel for', 'an intuitive ability', an 'implicit knowing', in the tacit realm of experience (Herbert, 2015).

Another aspect of the Surgeon's way of thinking that applies to thinking in design, is dealing with errors. Perhaps like in no other job, error in medicine (often at the expense of a life) is viewed as a forced opportunity to learn and evolve (saving more lives in the future). The importance of error in design is explained by Dorst (2006) when he argues that the analysis of design projects that were "not successful, messy projects, full of friction [...] false starts, trials and error" (: 41) is much more useful for design students than the analysis of exemplary projects "that are not only unhelpful to design students, but in my opinion positively damaging" (: 106). Failure projects are extremely useful for the learning experience they provide, "including the difficulties and failures that are part and parcel of being a designer" (: 106).

4. Empathic (Anthropologist)

Empathic thinking is mobilised whenever it is necessary to put oneself in the role of the other and to understand the context. On the importance of empathic thinking in design projects Dorst (2006) states:

> The ability to empathise is a real gift for a designer: it enables you to feel what future users of the design will experience. [...] To develop this empathy ability, you have to be a very good observer of people, so that you will start imagining what to be like to be them. [...] Most design students [...] just design for themselves. They miss a lot (Dorst, 2006: 125).

In terms of attitudes, Empathic thinking requires an impartial, curious attitude that rejects preconceived ideas. This type of thinking was connoted with Anthropology because it is easy to imagine the professional who, in order to study a population, is willing to live with it—or more than that—to live with and like it in order to have an in-depth knowledge of its population.

5. Analytical and Evaluative (Judge)

Analytic-Evaluative thinking, connoted with the profession of Judge, is characterised by being disciplined and rigorous, making decisions based on criteria. This cognitive style can be related to the following words of Cross (2007): "The designer is thinking of the whole range of design criteria and requirements set by the client's brief, of technical and legal issues, and of self-imposed criteria such as the aesthetic and formal attributes of the proposal" (: 34).

One can then look at the Analytical and Evaluative (Judge) and Determined (Surgeon) styles as cognitive styles associated with complementary modes of decision-making in solving design problems: critical rationality on the one hand and intuition on the other (Milton and Rodgers, 2013). Or, as Marques, Silva, Henriques, and Magee (2014) explain: "deliberately blend rational and intuitive reasoning rather than forcing a decision between these two modes of thought" (: 7).

6. Holistic (Professional Traveller)

Holistic thinking, connoted with the profession of the Professional Traveller, corresponds to a type of thinking that must be present, transversally, in all phases of the project. Holistic thinking is related with the ability to plan, manage and control the process, namely managing deadlines, resources, and deciding what to do and what to do next. For example, this would be one of the thinking styles involved in deciding whether an acceptable solution (one found quickly and inexpensively) might be preferable against a superior solution (one that takes more time and resources). Dorst (2006) establishes an analogy between design and travel through a path not yet travelled. In that analogy, the Holistic thinker is the one who chooses, as does a Professional Traveller, when to climb the mountain or when to bypass it.

This Holistic perspective is also related to the ability to integrate elements, because as Dorst (2006) points out, in design projects there are several elements that are developed in parallel so that "from time to time you must stop running around, and create a renewed overview of your design" (: 48).

7. Reflective (Travel Writer)

Reflective thinking, associated with the Travel Writer profession, is related to the ability to transform lived experience into useful knowledge. In the same way that the Travel Writer first experiences the journey and then reflects on that experience and, from that reflection, creates knowledge—the design student needs to turn each of his projects into useful knowledge:

> Design schools base their curriculum on the idea that design is something that must be learned, not taught. When you experience designing and you reflect upon those experiences, you will pick up what design is and how to do it. This assumes that you are to be able to reflect [...] about what you are doing. [...] If you cannot reflect on your work, the whole educational system collapses (Dorst, 2006: 87).

The taxonomy presented here does not intend to help each student to reflect about which is the thinking style in which he is more proficient but, instead, to be aware of the different cognitive styles that need to be mobilised throughout a design project, and of the moments that he must alternate between them, "fluently flowing from one to the other" (Dorst, 2006: 81). According to Dorst (2006), who compares a designer's cognitive profile to a platypus, "with his duck's beak, webbed feet, furry coat and the habit of producing eggs", what we are asserting with the taxonomy presented is that design students need to learn how to play different roles within the different design project phases.

Conclusion

In this work, we present a detailed description of a Design Thinking Styles Taxonomy to promote students' metacognitive self-reflection in design learning. The taxonomy, which is based on a metaphor between cognitive styles and professions, was previously developed and tested in an empirical study. We

also synthesise the taxonomy's theoretical foundations, by discussing the role of metacognition in design education and identifying taxonomies proposed by authors outside the design field. Our main claim is that design education needs to promote students' metacognition. With this work, we expect to contribute to that, by providing a generic tool that design educators can apply and adapt to any kind of design project to address metacognitive knowledge in an explicit way.

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Communicating in the 21st Century: New Materials as Creative Boosters

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Visual communication design / New materials / Futures thinking / Design thinking

New materials have recently represented breakthroughs in the fields of architecture, engineering and product design. However, and despite their potential, they are still far from exploitation in visual communication design, where a certain methodology is needed for that purpose.

Nowadays, the way in which engineers, architects and product designers think about materials has noticeably changed, and new approaches like Material Driven Design or the Expressive-Sensorial Atlas have helped them to achieve notorious goals. These approaches rely on combining a profound knowledge of the physical properties of the materials with the visual and tactile experiences they transmit. Nevertheless, one step further seems necessary when trying to apply similar techniques in visual communication design. In this work, we propose to resort to creative problem-solving strategies like futures thinking and design thinking to foster the application of new materials in visual communication design. As a proof of concept, we performed a workshop in which different groups of people had to choose a given material and a future scenario, and see how the material could improve one's daily life. Creative problem-solving techniques were offered to one of the groups, who presented more imaginative and elaborate solutions than the others.

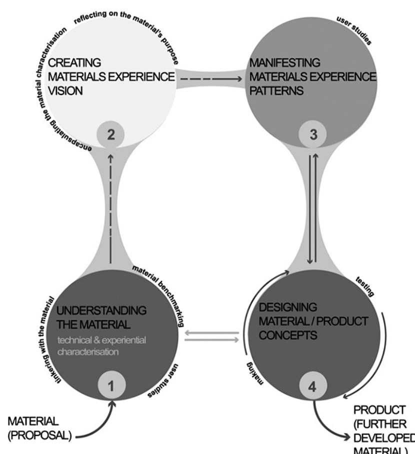

Fig. 1 MDD method (reproduced from Karana, et al., 2015, with permission).

Introduction

The evolution of materials has strongly influenced the history of humanity, from the prehistoric age up to our times (Doordan, 2003). In the past few centuries, scientific and technological advances meant a significant leap in the field of materials. In particular, the industrial revolution demanded a profound understanding of the structural components and properties of materials, to build new machinery. Since then, the progress has been amazing, and in the 21st century we have been able to exploit revolutionary materials such as graphene (a thin layer of carbon atoms with extraordinary properties), or to build tailored materials with properties that cannot be found in nature, the so-called metamaterials.

Product designers and engineers of very different disciplines have understood the potential of those developments, and elaborated several methodologies to explore and foster the use and creation of new materials in design. The Material Driven Design (MDD) method (Karana et al., 2015), see Fig. 1, or the Expressive-Sensorial Atlas method (Rognoli, 2010), investigate how materials contribute experiences, reaching a mix of sensory appraisals, meanings, sensations, and thoughts, based on observation. These methods push designers towards a humanistic vision, in addition to the technical one, when selecting and working with materials.

Besides, the evolution of visual communication has always explored and interacted with the materials around us. Visual communication designers (VCD) could therefore very well benefit from the aforementioned methodologies, when trying to deal with new materials. Visual codes have always been the main focus of VCD, since the creation of the phonetic alphabet until the invention of the printing process, and the change from mechanical to electric technology (McLuhan, 1967). However, we believe that nowadays the future for VCD demands disruptive technologies and approaches which allow them to exploit the potential of new materials.

A challenge then emerges: how can we generate the appropriate creative environment for VCD to achieve that goal? In the authors' opinion, creative problem-solving techniques offer a possible approach to the problem. For instance, it is of paramount importance [for designers] to develop the future from a futures context (Dunne and Raby, 2013). We, designers /design students/VCD, can draw from futures thinking methodologies and frameworks of future scenarios and narratives that define, or imply, a context from which designers can launch their ideas/projects.

People like the experiential futurist, educator, and designer Stuart Candy (Candy and Dunagan, 2016) have made use of thinking 10+ years ahead for strategic design. The Scenario Planning methodology is used to stretch the imagination and look beyond our immediate constraints (Ogilvy and Schwartz, 2004). Under the Foresight principles described by Maree Conway (Conway, 2016) which state that the future neither exists, nor is it predetermined, fixed, or predicted, the Futures Cone presented by Joseph Voros (cf. Conway, 2016) indicates that there are different types of futures—preposterous, possible, plausible, probable, projected, and preferable. The premise that preposterous or "impossible" futures could exist opens the door to the imagination and frees designers to explore unknown territories, without the limitations of what we currently know.

The futures thinking methodologies fall in line with the ideas proposed and put forward by Alain Findeli (Findeli, 2001), who argues that the future of designers should become a 'proactive' route instead of the 'reactive' one we are used to. Although Findeli presented these ideas almost two decades ago, we have observed from our undergraduate students in visual communication and strategic design that proactivity is still challenging for most of them.

Also, it is necessary to consider these creative problem-solving strategies in the context of the widely recognized methodology of Design Thinking (Szczepanska, 2017), to understand that a multi-disciplinary approach to design teaching is the proper way to proceed.

In this work, we have chosen to investigate a multidisciplinary approach to support a more 'proactive' process in visual communication design. To that purpose, a workshop was carried out to boost creativity and innovation in the application of new materials. Several groups of people were challenged to apply new materials to possible future scenarios, one of them being supported by an expert in creative problem-solving techniques. In what follows, we will detail how the workshop developed and the discussions and conclusions that followed it.

The Workshop

Introduction

The workshop took place in the context of ADC*E Festival at Disseny Hub Barcelona under the title of *Communicating in the 21st century: new materials as creative boosters*.

From our previous professional work in both design and business schools, entrepreneurship centers, makers spaces, and professional art studios, we recognized the influence a designated space has on the "success" or outcomes of a creative workshop, and its impact on the group's creative process. For that reason, we specifically chose Materfad FAD+ELISAVA (Fig. 2) as the environment for this workshop with two main objectives: 1.) to draw awareness to the new materials 2.) to promote creative thinking, new innovations, and to increase imagination capacity by allowing participants to interact and explore the materials. In Materfad all the families of materials [for design] are represented: biomaterials, ceramics, composites, polymers, etc.

In addition to the materials, the space is intimate and organized to inspire exploration. It is located inside the library of Disseny Hub Barcelona (Design Museum of Barcelona).

We divided the workshop into two parts to develop the following points:

- Part A: A Brief Introduction to New Materials
- Part B: A Collaborative Exercise Utilizing New Materials as Creative Boosters

Our main objective was to gain insights from the observation of individuals, experimentation with new materials and their creative capacity during group collaboration with an exercise prompted by future scenarios. Additionally, in order to better understand if the futures thinking and design thinking methodologies we applied were effective, we joined one of the four groups as co-collaborators to monitor the process and uncover any immediate challenges participants faced using the new methods and techniques.

Fig. 2 Materfad space (Design Museum of Barcelona).

Part A: Brief Introduction to New Materials

Exploration and human connection. In Part A of the workshop, attendees were given ample time to explore the Materfad materials lab and interact with the materials. They were asked to choose one material that resonated with them, and introduce themselves to the group by using their own connection to the material's properties (texture, color, general use, etc.). Interestingly, the materials provided further inspiration and participants reflected on moments of their past experiences and even their emotions. A common thread in their descriptions included the words: flexible, transparent and pure.

We discovered that by orchestrating an opportunity for human connection with the new materials, attendees made bonds with one another while also being introduced to a handful of materials previously unknown to them.

Following this exercise, in a brief presentation, we introduced the history and evolution of materials used in design for communication, and through project examples demonstrated several reasons why materials can enhance creativity in the 21st century.

Part B: A Collaborative Exercise Utilizing New Materials as Creative Boosters

Presenting new materials. Regarding the materials methods that we researched previously, we proposed several new materials for the participants to work with. Each group chose one among the following:

- Nitinol
- Trasta07 (Fig. 3)
- ChroMyx
- Luminous Tex
- Graphene
- Ligneah

In order to gain a minimum understanding of the materials, each group was provided with a large canvas (Fig. 4) explaining the properties, advantages, disadvantages and transformation process of their chosen material. This information laid a foundation for attendees that permitted them to go beyond the properties of the materials and explore the emotions that a material can transfer when interacting with it.

Fig. 3 Material: TRASTA07.

Additional design methods as support

Because participants generally lack the awareness of new materials, it cannot be expected that they will have the foundation of knowledge required to utilize these materials to full capacity when first introduced. Therefore, we used the following methodologies in Part B of the workshop to support this introduction of new materials and increase imagination capacity:

- Prompts
- Futures thinking
- Design thinking methods & principles

A new context—The future as a prompt

Within the creative constraints of a 1.5 hour time limit for collaboration in the workshop, groups were given prompts from the future as inspiration for developing a new future context that would include the use of a new material:

- No water, no trees
- Abundance
- Neuroscience
- Hyper-reality

From these futures presentations, the group of attendees stirred up a very interesting debate on the different topics. Some of the controversial topics generated a reaction at some point about human rights, ethics, environmental sustainability.

Case study: One group's process

We divided the participants into four groups of three persons. We designated that one of the four groups would include our leadership and participation. During this process we contributed our own knowledge and expertise in the practices of design thinking facilitation and futures thinking to help guide the group (Fig. 4). While leading we made observations of the limitations participants have to embrace unknown territories and stretch and utilize their imaginations beyond their current knowledge. Here, we will explain the step by step process of our collaboration, and the 'points of difficulty' the group overcame using the practice of design thinking and futures thinking methodologies.

Tools provided to the group of three people for collaboration:

- A futures prompt for developing a future context—'No Water, No Trees'.
- A new material and its properties, advantages, disadvantages, transformational processes—TRASTA07, *extremely light, transparent, conductive fabric, easy to manipulate, very drapable, highly breathable.*

Fig. 4 Material provided to each group and one group's process.

The decision-making process: Choosing a future scenario and a material. What we observe here in choosing a future scenario and a new material is the first sign of reluctance to work with things we do not know or are unfamiliar with. One member of our team was eager to choose "hyper-reality" because of his previous work experience and familiarity with this space. After some debate about how we would utilize a new material in this proposed future scenario, as well as the lack of trust we had in our own abilities to explore such a tech related future, we agreed upon a world with 'No Water, No Trees'. Choosing a new material was less challenging because we had little or no knowledge or reference of which to compare it to. We chose TRASTA07—*Extremely light and transparent conductive fabric; allows air flow and light to go through; drapable; easy to cut with scissors; can be sewn with a standard sewing machine or soldered with a soldering iron.*

Locating creative space: Work area and materials. After exploring the materials in the Materfad Lab, our designated collaboration space was in the Disseny Hub library. We were presented with large tables, floor space, the privacy of bookshelves, and a quiet environment. Our working materials consisted of post-it notes and markers, a large print out of our material's characteristics, a separate print out of our future scenario, and most importantly, a physical sample of our new material TRASTA07. Having the opportunity to interact with the physical material was useful to the process. This physical interaction inspired new uses for the material that the descriptions alone could not have provided.

Collaborating together: Trust, momentum, and ideation. Three minds with distinct work experience and diverse cultural backgrounds were gathered together for the first time to build a future with a material unknown to all three of us. Where to begin?

While listening to our group collaborators, we observed the urgency participants have to use what they already know and develop immediate solutions from this knowledge. For example, when pro-

posed with—'No Water, No Trees'—a dystopian, lifeless future was first introduced into the conversation by one member of our group. He suggested, "Without water we cannot live. Without trees and plants we cannot eat or breathe. There is no future". Statements like these, built from current knowledge, stifle creativity and present the group with little to work with for collaboration.

We learn from the principles of Design Thinking to 'embrace ambiguity', and that not knowing all of the answers opens doors to explore many different possibilities (IDEO, 2015). As practiced design thinking facilitators we used this opportunity to also introduce basic methods of futures thinking to support participants to embrace unknown territories and encourage them to imagine all possibilities, even the "impossible" ones.

First, we asked the group to think 10, 20, 30+ years into the future and choose a specific date. This is the first step used in futures thinking methodologies in order to allow participants to look beyond immediate constraints, and begin "futures thinking". Next, we proposed examples of possible key forces, certain or uncertain, understood in our "present" to help lead the group to begin building a new futures context, i.e. advancements in neuroscience, or a future with little or no verbal communication.

From these small steps in the methodology, our group was able to unlock its imagination capacity and begin thinking in "impossible" possibilities to develop a futures context from the 'No Water, No Trees' prompt. From this future context we built a narrative for 2070:

> Thanks to the advancements of science, in 2070 humans no longer require water to survive. Breakthroughs in neuroscience, and the momentum of various global spirituality movements, have made nonverbal communication channels, such as telepathy, accessible. The material TRASTA07 is worn by members of society to support nonverbal communication by transmitting thought and feelings between us.

A first step for ideation: New materials as creative boosters. Utilizing futures thinking methodologies with design thinking principles opened the floodgates of an otherwise underutilized imagination. With a little guidance in futures thinking methods, we observed that attendees were able to let go of their own creative limitations under the pressures of what they did not know about the new material, and instead were able to focus on the characteristics that they were able to grasp. Thus, allowing them to grow more comfortable with the new material, while sparking creative ideas on how to use it in a new context (Fig. 5).

All groups shared their innovations through brief presentations. We recognized that the groups that were not guided by these methodologies lacked a capacity for developing future contexts. Instead, what we saw from the groups that did not begin their ideation process with a futures context or narrative were current ideas and trends adapting to the use of the new materials.

From this exercise we concluded that in addition to observing that participants are generally unaware of existing new materials, we also detected their underuse of the imagination and limited capacity to develop new future contexts for "productive" exploration and innovation.

Discussions and Conclusions

The development of the workshop in the framework of the ADC*E Festival allowed us to put forward a practice to think about how materials can help to improve creativity. We have successfully exhibited the use of materials as a tool for design exploration and creative inspiration in the setting of a creative workshop. During this process an opportunity to further explore the possible outcomes that could occur from combining materials "as creative boosters" with other design methodologies was also revealed. In applying the use of materials as creative boosters we identified that participants need not only materials as a tool for design and experimentation, but they also require a (new) context for applying those materials. With the most basic introduction and facilitation of the futures thinking methodology and principles, participants were far more capable of developing a [futures] context.

Fig. 5 'No Water, No Trees' project presentation and conclusions.

The results from the introduction of futures thinking methodologies indicates that design practitioners are under-utilizing their imagination capacities within the confines of their current design education. Therefore, we suggest they are also not employing the full capacity of their skills and areas of expertise in their design knowledge.

Because of the evolution in the field of design and the complexity designers face to manage wicked problems, it is essential to the design process to make human connections. For this reason, we continue our focus of using new materials as a tool for inspiration in making those connections, and incorporate storytelling methods as boosters for visual communication design.

Moving forward we would like to investigate new approaches to merge design disciplines together by blending their methodologies (data expertise, material science engineering...) and also challenge the format of design education by working and playing with the structure of workshops.

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The Ulm School and the Teaching of Design in Barcelona

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Hochschule für Gestaltung Ulm / Design teaching / Braun / Semiotics

The Hochschule für Gestaltung Ulm (hereafter the Ulm School) is one of the most relevant design schools of the past century in Europe. Some of the objects and systems that it produced, and its research, were pioneering.

The Ulm School's radical decisions on education made a break with how design pedagogy had been understood up to that point, somewhere in between art, crafts and industry. This pedagogical renewal exerted a major influence in Germany and, later, through the exodus of its teaching staff, in Latin America. In Catalonia we can also identify its traces with the opening of ELISAVA and in the pedagogical reform that took place at La Massana. Nevertheless the cultural reality of Barcelona in the 1960s avoided any deeper influence of the School's methodological principles.

In conversations on design in Catalonia, establishing a relationship between the Ulm School of Design (Hochschule für Gestaltung Ulm, hereafter referred to as the Ulm School) and the teaching of design in our country is a recurring theme. It is taken for granted that there was a close relationship and that the teachings of Ulm were assimilated into the design teaching model in Barcelona. However, this connection is often taken as a given, without any analysis of the real content of either the programmes or of the connection between the ideologies and objectives of the two systems. We are going to analyse this relationship, taking as an example the first phase of teaching at the ELISAVA School, between 1961 and 1967.

The Ulm School

The Ulm School was founded in 1955 against a background context of the post-war era in Europe. ELISAVA was inaugurated in 1961 within the context of the start of Spanish developmentalism.

The Ulm School took as the basis for its foundation the experience of the Bauhaus through sculptor and architect Max Bill. The project was initially funded by the American education programme which aimed to influence the post-war period, with the de-Nazification of German youth. The Ulm project was the second most funded by the Americans, after the Freie Universität of Berlin. The project was supported by the fact that two of its main founders, Inge Sholl and Otl Aicher, were recognised anti-fascists, siblings of two of the victims of the Weisse Rose resistance. Therefore, the project came about with a humanist vocation that initially transcended the context of the world of design and, deep down, was closely related to the social project of design that the School intended to promote.

The third founding member was Max Bill, a former student of the last phase of the Bauhaus. The Bauhaus, as we know, was not a unitary project. Each of its directors impressed their mark on the School, sometimes even in a contradictory way. The rift between Gropius and Hannes Meyer with respect not only to the School's project but to the very idea of design itself is well known.

Max Bill was commissioned with the task of founding the Ulm School under the auspices of the Old Bauhaus and under the umbrella of a prestige that had already spread around the whole of Germany following the trail of the exodus of its students in both the Communist and the Allied zones. Max Bill's ideas on design education equally had a solid humanist base and were sustained in equal parts by the teachings of Gestalt Theory and by knowledge of contemporary culture.

Although the relationship between art and design was always present in the pedagogy of the Swiss architect, it was soon ousted from the School by younger teachers who went on to expand an old obsession of Bill's, explained in his famous article of 1951 about the mathematical conception of the art of our times (BILL, 1949).

Art as a guideline for good design was in the thoughts of Max Bill, even though he himself admitted in his answer to a student interested in admission to the Ulm School, that it was not a place for teaching someone to be a painter and that beauty should be just another function, incorporated into all objects used in everyday life (BILL, 1951).

This humanist base of his thought survived throughout the entire existence of the School itself and also in other schools that were subsequently founded under its auspices.

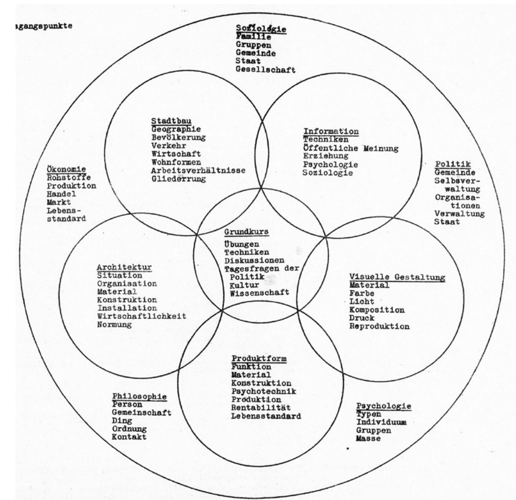


Fig. 1 Programme of the Ulm School, 1953. Archive of the COAC (Association of Architects of Catalonia), Barcelona.

Tomás Maldonado

In 1956, the youngest teaching staff had taken up the reins at the School. This Argentinean "concrete artist" along with Otl Aicher, who also had pre-war artistic training, redesigned

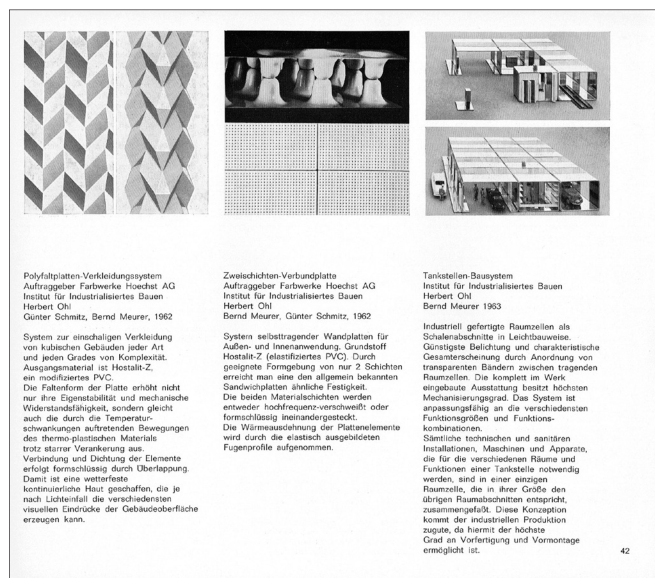
the programme, which was aimed at the more technical and methodological aspects of design.

However, the cornerstone of the training, its foundation, was based on a preliminary course, copied from the Bauhaus programme, which was founded on Gestalt Theory. This basic training, which also had a broad run in the theory and practice of training of architects and designers beyond the Ulm School, remained present until the closure of the School in 1968, and was taught by Tomás Maldonado himself for a long time.

Tomás Maldonado, Hans Gugelot (an engineer who joined the School in 1955) and Otl Aicher (who became one of the most relevant German graphic designers), insisted on the teaching of the methodological aspects, based on needs analysis of design and ergonomics and on practical resolution in the design problems workshop. The basis was not exactly functionalist, but methodologist. Beauty is deduced from the function, undoubtedly, but the function is solidly founded on the needs of the user and of the production process. It is here where the Ulm School consolidated its teaching: the technological society born out of the European post-war period favoured the development of new needs which needed to be given form. At the same time, the sentiment of a democratic design, which still prevailed, dictated the designer's mandate in responding to the needs of the new middle and popular classes of a society that was increasingly technified and undergoing continuous growth.

During this phase, the most representative elements of Ulm design would take shape: systems design, the corporate identity, communication as a basis for graphic design in mobility spheres, packaging, technical information, beyond artistic graphic design; industrialised architecture and the new elements that emerged from urban needs in architecture: industrial units, road networks and urban elements, the motor industry and housing.

For all this, new findings in geometry and mathematics were adapted, such as generative geometry and graph theory, originating in topology, which was also developed at this time within



Polyfaltplatten-Verkleidungssystem
Auftraggeber Farbwerke Hoechst AG
Institut für Industrialisiertes Bauen
Herbert Ohl
Günter Schmitz, Bernd Meurer, 1962

System zur einschaligen Verkleidung von kubischen Gebäuden jeder Art und jeden Grades von Komplexität. Ausgangsmaterial ist Hostalit-Z, ein modifiziertes PVC.
Die Faltenform der Platte erhöht nicht nur ihre Eigenstabilität und mechanische Widerstandsfähigkeit, sondern gleicht auch die durch die Temperaturschwankungen auftretenden Bewegungen des thermo-plastischen Materials trotz starrer Verankerung aus.
Verbindung und Dichtung der Elemente erfolgt formschlüssig durch Überlappung. Damit ist eine wetterfeste kontinuierliche Haut geschaffen, die je nach Lichteinfall die verschiedensten visuellen Eindrücke der Gebäudeoberfläche erzeugen kann.

Zweischichten-Verbundplatte
Auftraggeber Farbwerke Hoechst AG
Institut für Industrialisiertes Bauen
Herbert Ohl
Bernd Meurer, Günter Schmitz, 1962

System selbsttragender Wandplatten für Außen- und Innenanwendung. Grundstoff Hostalit-Z (elastifiziertes PVC). Durch geeignete Formgebung von nur 2 Schichten erreicht man eine den allgemein bekannten Sandwichplatten ähnliche Festigkeit.
Die beiden Materialschichten werden entweder hochfrequenz-verschweißt oder formschlüssig ineinandergesteckt.
Die Wärmeausdehnung der Plattenelemente wird durch die elastisch ausgebildeten Fugenprofile aufgenommen.

Tankstellen-Bausystem
Institut für Industrialisiertes Bauen
Herbert Ohl
Bernd Meurer 1963

Industriell gefertigte Raumzellen als Schalenabschnitte in Leichtbauweise. Günstigste Belichtung und charakteristische Gesamterscheinung durch Anordnung von transparenten Bändern zwischen tragenden Raumzellen. Die komplett im Werk eingebaute Ausstattung besitzt höchsten Mechanisierungsgrad. Das System ist anpassungsfähig an die verschiedensten Funktionsgrößen und Funktionskombinationen.
Sämtliche technischen und sanitären Installationen, Maschinen und Apparate, die für die verschiedenen Räume und Funktionen einer Tankstelle notwendig werden, sind in einer einzigen Raumzelle, die in ihrer Größe den übrigen Raumabschnitten entspricht, zusammengefaßt. Diese Konzeption kommt der industriellen Produktion zugute, da hiermit der höchste Grad an Vorfertigung und Vormontage ermöglicht ist.

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Fig. 2 Catalogue of the exhibition, *hochschule für gestaltung ulm*, Munich: *Die Neue Sammlung,* May–June 1964.

mathematics. The School was a pioneer in the use of computers in design, even though no computer had ever been seen in Ulm.

Next to the preliminary course, the School divided its teaching into the departments of communication, industrial design, industrialised architecture, information and cinematography. This last department functioned autonomously with respect to the rest of the School, under the direction of Alexander Kluge and Edgar Reitz.

Information theory made itself present from very early on through philosopher Max Bense. Later, semiotics was an important subject introduced by Tomás Maldonado from the beginning and continued by Abraham Moles. Information theory was clearly based on the cybernetics of Norbert Wiener and of Claude Shannon, and they marked an extremely important tendency at the Ulm School.

The impact on the teaching of design in Europe, and especially in Latin America, occurred not only due to the exodus of its students after 1968 to Germany, Brazil, Chile and Argentina, but also due to the constant dissemination efforts made by the School's directors and lecturers at seminars and conferences and their presence at design congresses all over the world.

The influence of Ulm on the teaching of design

The pedagogy of design forms part, as indicated by Anna Calvera, of a system of design that includes the professional activity of its members, specialised journals and its reception by the economic system that sustains its existence (Calvera, 2014). The Ulm School found an echo in all of these spheres.

In the field of education, staff would make contact with Brazil, upon the initiative of an art museum in São Paulo, and subsequently in Rio de Janeiro, where they sponsored the founding of the ESDI (Higher School of Industrial Design) through a former student, Alexandre Wollner, who had studied at Ulm from 1955 until his arrival in Brazil in 1962.

In the professional field, Gui Bonsiepe went to Chile together with two former students, once the School had closed, to participate in Salvador Allende's modernisation project to renew Chilean industry. In 1970, they formed part of the Industrial Design Group which was promoted by, among others, the Cybersyn, a data generation and decision-making project that foreshadowed the Big Data society at a time when computers were practically inexistent (Bonsiepe G., 2016). Subsequently Bonsiepe moved to Brazil and in 1983 he created the LBDI (Brazilian Design Institute), whose aim was the training of university teachers and the introduction of design into all scales of everyday life.

One of Tomás Maldonado's students, American citizen William S. Huff, introduced the Ulm theories into the architecture courses at the University at Buffalo through the development of its preliminary course based on Gestalt Theory.

In Argentina, Bonsiepe and Maldonado collaborated with the CIDI (Centre for Research in Industrial Design) from 1962 onwards. At the same time, other design institutions were created between 1950 and 1960 at the University of Cuyo in Mendoza, University of Litoral in Rosario, the Design Department of the National University of La Plata and the Instituto Torcuato di Tella in Buenos Aires.

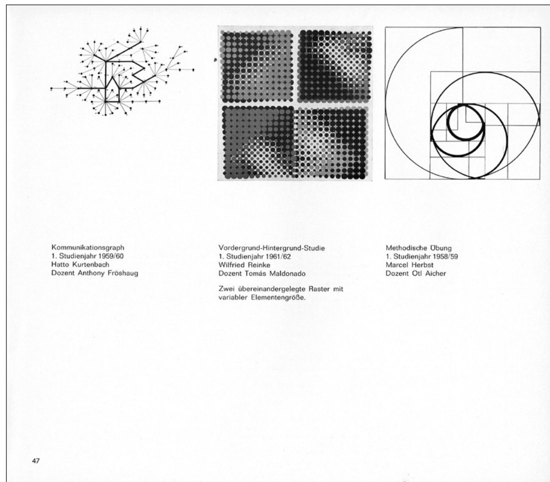

Fig. 3 Catalogue of the exhibition, *hochschule für gestaltung ulm*, Munich: *Die Neue Sammlung*, May–June 1964.

In Chile, several courses in design were opened in 1966 at the University at the Faculty of Architecture.

In Mexico, studies in design started in 1960 at the Faculty of Architecture of the Universidad Jesuita de Latinoamérica with Ulmian influence, and in 1975 the UAM invited former Ulm students to its design programme.

Maldonado, Bonsiepe and Claude Schnaid were invited to Cuba in 1973 for a seminar on design pedagogy (Fernández, 2003; Bonsiepe, S. F., 2008).

Contacts in Barcelona

The contacts maintained with the Ulm School in Barcelona took place on various levels:

1. *Through trips by teaching staff and other academics to the Ulm School for the purpose of training in design teaching*. Towards 1960–61, Tomás Maldonado would teach a seminar to some teaching staff from the ELISAVA School. These were namely Albert Ràfols Casamada, Maria Girona, J. Rodrigo, Ll. Cantallops, Subirachs, M. Colomer and Maria Rosa Farré (Pericot, 1996).
   At that point Maldonado had already taken up the reins of the School's management following the resignation of Max Bill and was teaching the preliminary courses that were common to all students and a seminar on semiotics, an emerging discipline at that time.
   We have not found any records of the contents included in the seminar. The Ulm journal usually reflected any visits to the School, but it was not being published at that time.
   Other visits and occasional contacts with the School took place, such as that of Daniel Giralt Miracle in 1968, the architect Emili Donato and Jordi Mañà, although we are unable to establish the connection with teaching at ELISAVA.
   The ELISAVA teaching staff visited other design schools in Europe and the United States.
2. *With the attendance of Spanish teaching staff at design conferences at which Ulm School teachers explained their theories on teaching design*. The attendance by teaching staff from the Ulm School at international congresses was a constant. Thus, Maldonado gave lectures in Venice in 1961, which Marquina highlights in an article in *Serra d'Or* in 1962 (Marquina, 1962).
   The architects Tous and Fargas also highlight Maldonado's influence through a lecture at the ICSID published in the same *Serra d'Or* journal (Casanovas, 1963). With this, the degree to which information was sought by the Catalan designers through trips and lectures is highlighted.
3. *Invitations to teaching staff from the School to seminars and conferences in Spain*. Tomás Maldonado himself was also invited on two occasions to Barcelona and Valencia to give lectures: in 1963 for a conference at ELISAVA and in 1967 to participate in the Conversations on Industrial Design in Valencia. The previous year, in 1966, he had given another lecture in Barcelona.
4. *Invitations to teaching staff from the School to act as jury members for the Delta and FAD awards*. Equally worthy of highlight is Max Bill's presence as a jury member for the Delta Awards in 1964, at the 4th edition of the Awards. Gui Bonsiepe was a jury member at the 7th edition of the Delta Awards in 1967.
5. *The written contributions of Ulm School teaching staff to Barcelona publishing houses and journals such as* Cuadernos de Arquitectura *and the publishing company Gustavo Gili*. Their presence in the printed media occurred in the journal *Cuadernos de Arquitectura* with an article by Gui Bonsiepe in 1971 and by Tomás Maldonado in the same issue.
   On several occasions the design line of the Gustavo Gili publishing company published texts by teaching staff from Ulm, especially through its director Yves Zimmerman: in 1978, it published a book by Gui Bonsiepe with a prologue by Santiago Pey in the Comunicación Visual collection, advised by Yves Zimmerman and Tomás Llorens among others. The GG de Diseño collection published the book by Otl Aicher and Martin Krampen *Sistema de signos en la comunicación visual* in 1979 and from the same publishers, texts by Otl Aicher, outside of the realms of our study.
6. *The presence of teaching staff with Ulmian tendencies at ELISAVA and EINA*. The professional activity of the ELISAVA teaching staff with the influence of the Ulm spirit, such as Yves Zimmerman, Alexandre Cirici Pellicer and Jordi Mañá, was undoubtedly the guarantee of the transmission of a way of doing things in design that was not only reflected in the study programmes.
7. *The presence in Barcelona of the company Braun, which acquired PIMER and set up a design and manufacturing plant in Catalonia, Esplugues de Llobregat, under the direction of Dieter Rams*. The company Braun, which established a close connection with Ulm design from the School's very beginnings, was

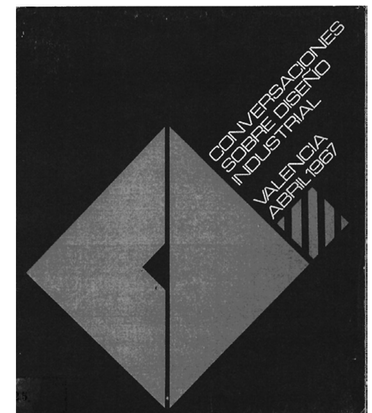

Fig. 4 Conference on Industrial Design in Valencia, 1967.

established in Barcelona in the 1960s and acquired the Spanish company PIMER. Its artistic director, Dieter Rams, established close contact with the plant in Catalonia where products were designed for the Spanish market.[1]

Within this context, also worthy of analysis are, firstly, the content of the theoretical writings on design in the journal *Serra d'Or*, where Alexandre Cirici Pellicer and Oriol Bohigas published systematically. In the *Conversations on Design* which took place in Valencia in 1967, participating together with Tomás Maldonado as speakers were prominent representatives of design promotion in Catalonia, such as Antonio de Moragas and Alexandre Cirici Pellicer. Secondly, we will analyse the content of the design teaching at ELISAVA in this first phase until the appearance of the EINA School in 1967.

What was the design context in Barcelona in the early 1960s?

Enric Bricall mentioned in 1996 the absence of any memory of the past that characterised the Catalan model: "The design that appeared from the 1960s onwards was structured without being able to resort to the assets that explain its appearance in other societies" (BRICALL, 1996). The theoretical and industrial infrastructure basis around the birth of industrial design in Catalonia does not permit us to speak of the continuity of a design system as occurs in other countries. At the start of the 1960s it was the journal *Serra d'Or* that marked the tone of a debate that was faced with growing and unstoppable industrialisation, even within a context as precarious as the Spanish one, with regard to industry.

Since its beginnings in 1960, *Serra d'Or* included a section on art and another on design and architecture, headed respectively by Alexandre Cirici Pellicer and Oriol Bohigas. Also participating assiduously with articles on design were Santiago Pey[2] and Antonio de Moragas.

Oriol Bohigas became established in those early articles as a momentary defender of craftsmanship with his articles "Architecture between Industry and Craftsmanship" in October 1960 and "Towards a Realist Architecture" in 1962. His position was to defend the status quo and the constructive tradition against the unstoppable – although at that time precarious – arrival of industry, and it would somehow mean a contradiction against the schools which at that time were starting to be constituted around design: ELISAVA in 1961 and the Massana School, which with Santiago Pey founded its design section in 1963.

In the same year, 1961, a group of ELISAVA teaching staff arrived in Ulm to attend a seminar by Maldonado, the man that had expelled artistic teaching from the design school and had connected it definitively with industry. At Ulm, it was not only industry that sought design and achieved the major success of Braun, but design also sought its rationality in industrial manufacturing in the spheres of graphic design, industry, architecture, information and even cinematography.

At the very same time, in Catalonia, opinions were clearly divided into two and it was fundamentally in the field of architecture where debate took place. Unlike Ulm, this discipline would not have any place at ELISAVA or other design schools in Barcelona, even though the majority of ELISAVA's lecturers were architects. The debate arose between the defence of craftsmanship and tradition with Oriol Bohigas and in favour of the introduction of industrialisation into design with Enric Tous and Josep Maria Fargas, with the prefabrication of industrial elements for architecture such as that which started to be practised in the Banca Catalana building on Passeig de Gràcia (FALAGAN, 2013). Alexandre Cirici Pellicer, in both the pages of *Serra d'Or* and in the Conversations on Industrial Design in Valencia in 1967, clearly opted for a rationalised and mathematised design such as that advocated by Ulm (VALENCIA, 1967). In contrast, it was Oriol Bohigas who criticised the Bauhaus heritage from his position at the *Serra d'Or* journal and managed to create a polemic around tradition and industrialisation (BOHIGAS, 1965–a).

This controversy was not reflected in the programmes of the ELISAVA School, the first to start out on the design route. However, both the theoretical considerations expressed by Bohigas, and the surrounding reality, led to the school's programmes suffering from a certain methodological weakness from the start, something that contributed to constructivist rationalism being quickly replaced by more imaginative and perhaps more commercial postmodern tendencies.

Comparison of the Ulm and ELISAVA programmes

The starting point for the Ulm School was social and ideological. It was based on the Bauhaus through Max Bill and subsequently through its young teaching staff, but especially through Maldonado, it headed towards the more socialist school tendency and the one that was closest to industry, such as the Hannes Meyer phase. In fact, the first monograph on this architect and director of the Bauhaus was the work of an Ulm School student, Claude Schnaidt, with a prologue by Maldonado himself, who defended precisely this more social phase of the Bauhaus (SCHNAIDT, 1965). This strong social tendency, the conviction that the School worked for the user, unlike the design schools linked to major companies, led it to reject advertising or marketing in its information and graphic design departments. It was a starting point that brought it closer to the Catalan design schools at the height of opposition to the Franco regime and with growing social awareness, and this is made patently clear in the prologue that Santiago Pey dedicated to the book by Gui Bonsiepe, *Teoría y práctica del diseño industrial* (PEY, 1978).

Secondly, both study programmes reflected the concern with the humanistic training of the student: both schools introduced a common preliminary course, and over the course of the degree programme subjects related with 20th century culture. The ELIS-

[1] Information obtained from a conversation with Dieter Rams in May 2018.

[2] In 1960 Pey contributed with the articles "Problemes de Disseny" (Problems of Design) and "Repercusió social del decorativisme" (Social Repercussions of Decorativism).

AVA programme incorporated the humanities area with subjects including oral expression, religion, history of culture, history of art, 20th century thought, anthropology, artistic criticism and literary currents, and at the higher levels, information theory, sociology and cinema.

Among the first common courses, a course was also taught on colour (Albert Ràfols Casamada, Yago Pericot) as well as one on volume (Jordi Roura), where the Gestalt Theory that Maldonado had incorporated into the preliminary course at Ulm was introduced.

Unlike the Ulm School, ELISAVA did not incorporate so decidedly the methodology of design as a central part of its curriculum, with a strong mathematical tendency that is reflected in the work with topology in graph theory, and parametric geometry and the theory of symmetry. From the 1960s, Abraham Moles introduced cybernetics and systems theory into the curriculum and incorporated Shannon's Formulas for the determination of the complexity of the objects designed.

The focus of the Ulm School towards resolving design problems and its unconditional adaptation to industry positioned it at the head of a new conception of design, totally distanced from craftsmanship (MOYANO, 2016).

At ELISAVA, one gets the impression that it was people and not programmes who had the most intense influence on the introduction of new design problems, in such a way that the teachings of Cirici Pellicer, Yves Zimmerman, Jordi Mañà and Albert Ràfols Casamada were those that most approached the Ulm School's methodology (BOHIGAS, 1965–b).

In 1967, a group of teachers split from ELISAVA to found EINA. The dispute apparently arose from a disagreement regarding the history of cinema. But it is necessary to fast forward to 1973, with the oil crisis and the end of a phase of constant growth, to situate the crisis of an idea of rationalist and constructivist design that was increasingly distanced from the influence of Ulm. "The liberation from the old orthodoxies favoured the acceptance of relative heterodoxies, logically also in the field of design" (BRICALL, 1996: 61).

PREPARATORI	BASIC	PRIMER	SEGON	TERCER
MATEMATIQUES TEORIQUES Lògica matematica Teoria de conjunts Revisió d'Aritmè- tica, àlgebra i geo- metria.	MATEMATIQUES APLICADES Planteig i solució de problemes típics dem disseny. Propor- cions. Equacions. Practiques de càl- cul. Regla de id. Trigonometria. Corbes. DESCRIPTIVA GENERAL	FISICA APLICADA Estàtica Dinàmica Cinemàtica Unions. Transmissions COMBINATORIA DESCRIPTIVA APLICADA	FISICA APLICADA Electrònica. Aerodinàmica Hidràulica ORGANITZACIO I PRODUCCIO Exigències industrials Tolleràncies. Verifica- ció. Control de quali- tat. Planificació. Ci- bernetica. Treball en sèrie	MATEMATIQUES PROFESSIO- NALS Algebra de Bool Camins crítics. Teoria dels graf Perth Organigrames Codificació Ordenadors
PLASTICA Mitjans d'expressió, comunicació i repre- sentació. Recursos gràfics i plàstics. Dibuix a mà alçada d'objectes. DELINIACIO I PROJECCIO	PLASTICA Colors. Claror. Clarobs- cur. Valors. Interferèn- cies. Proximitat-llunye- dat. Obriment-tancament. Contorns. Perfils. Tex- tures DIBUIX DE CONSTRUCCIO | NORMES PERSPECTIVA (mètodes ràpids)	PLASTICA Topologia. Variacions Geometria de la forma Simetria. Trasmudances PERSPECTIVA CONICA	PLASTICA Geometria de les estruc- tures i del moviment Grafisme. Tipografia. Fotografia PERSPECTIVA CONICA-OMBRES	PLASTICA Investigació d'una forma. Fotografia. Cartel
MATERIALS I EINES DISSENY Estudi comparatiu de formes naturals i de la ma de l'home. Analogia de formes Descobriment intui- tiu de les exigen- cies del disseny.	MATERIALS I MAQUINES-EINES Procediments de tre- ball. Treball singular i de sèrie. Ergonomia antropometrica DISSENY Teoria del disseny Critica de dissenys Concepció creativa Planteig: Funció, necessitats, valors teorics i practics Disseny d'objectes senzills	TECNOLOGIA INDUSTRIAL Motlles. Matrius. Utillatges. Ergonomia: Esforç i llum DISSENY Analisi Metodes Envolvents	TECNOLOGIA INDUSTRIAL DISSENY Motivacions Treball d'equip Investigació Objectes complexos	DISSENY Modulació Ambiental
PSICOLOGIA GENERAL TEORIA ESTRUCTURAL: GRAMA- TIQUES HISTORIA DE LA HUMANITAT	TEORIA DE LA FORMA TEORIA DEL COLOR SIMBOLOGIA GENERAL HISTORIA DE LES ARTS I LES FORMES	PSICOLOGIA DINAMICA I DE GRUPS CREATIVITAT | Estudi del Producte. Motivacions. Marketing SEMIOLOGIA DELS OBJECTES HISTORIA del segle passat fins la 2a guerra	FORMES DE VIDA. BIONICA ESTETICA (Teoria i hist.) SEMIOLOGIA AMBIENTAL HISTORIA 2a guerra fins ELS MOMENTS PRESENTS	DRET Contractes, prop tat intellectual, pa- tents, etc. ENQUESTA. Estadistica INVEST. HISTORICA (objecte, forma, conte

Fig. 5 Programme of Pey's design studies at Massana, 1963. Courtesy of Josep Tremoleda.

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Methodologies in Doctoral Research in Design: The Role of Research Paradigms

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Doctoral design research / Research methodologies / Research paradigms / PhD design / Design education

As part of a process of academic legitimation, those who have represented design research at universities have been encouraged to build the epistemological and methodological foundations of a discipline that can be recognised and legitimated by other disciplines in the academic community. Consequently, the construction of a consistent and coherent methodological theory for design research has been an ongoing concern of the worldwide academic design community. In this paper, we argue that those efforts need to be supported by a wider paradigmatic approach, addressing not only methodological issues, but also ontological and epistemological ones. Following a previous study where we discussed the boundaries between academic research in design and design project research, and presented a four-category framework for doctoral design research, from which emerged the concept of "Research from Design", the present study aims to propose a reflection about the way these four design research categories fit the four research paradigms widely applied by other well established academic disciplines. More than presenting a final statement, this study intends to stimulate a discussion about the role of research paradigms in academic design research.

Introduction

The notion of Paradigm was introduced by Kuhn (1962) in his treatise *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* referring to the set of common beliefs and agreements shared between scientists about how problems should be understood and addressed, including what is to be studied, what kind of research questions are supposed to be asked and how they should be formulated, with which methods these studies should be conducted, and how their results should be interpreted. Many researchers, especially inexperienced doctoral students, are frequently unconscious of those "silenced, implicit or even hidden, but fundamental" philosophical assumptions underlying their own research and their consequences and implications (Lukka, 2010). Consequently, they are unaware of the wide range of available methodological approaches and possibilities that they could apply to conduct their research.

This lack of awareness is probably even more evident in newer academic disciplines that are still struggling to build their own epistemological and methodological foundations, as is the case of design. As part of the process of legitimation by the academy, the academic design community started to focus on such topics as methodology and research methods. There is a strong movement within international conferences and research meetings to discuss methodologies and processes as a paramount contribution to defining scientific research in design, particularly at the level of doctoral research. However, among these important contributions, little has been said about research paradigms.

An important advance in relating design and paradigms was made by Dorst (1997) in his PhD dissertation *Describing Design: a Comparison of Paradigms* where he presented an empirical comparison of two paradigms and their ability to describe design practice as experienced by practicing designers. The two paradigms addressed by Dorst's study were (i) the Rational Problem Solving paradigm and (ii) Reflective Practice. Dorst's conclusion was that both paradigms deliver relevant descriptions of design-as-experienced and that their different perspectives on design could well complement each other. He proposed the combination of the two paradigms by presenting a dual-mode model of design and design practice methodology. Although Dorst's work was a major contribution to the comprehension of how design relates to paradigms, it was focused on design practice. This is not the scope of our work. Our research approach aims to address the relation between Academic Design Research and Research Paradigms. Going back to Dorst's research work, the scope of our study would be: which research paradigm drove Dorst's empirical study itself, as a piece of academic research aiming to contribute to the advance of knowledge in the design domain itself?

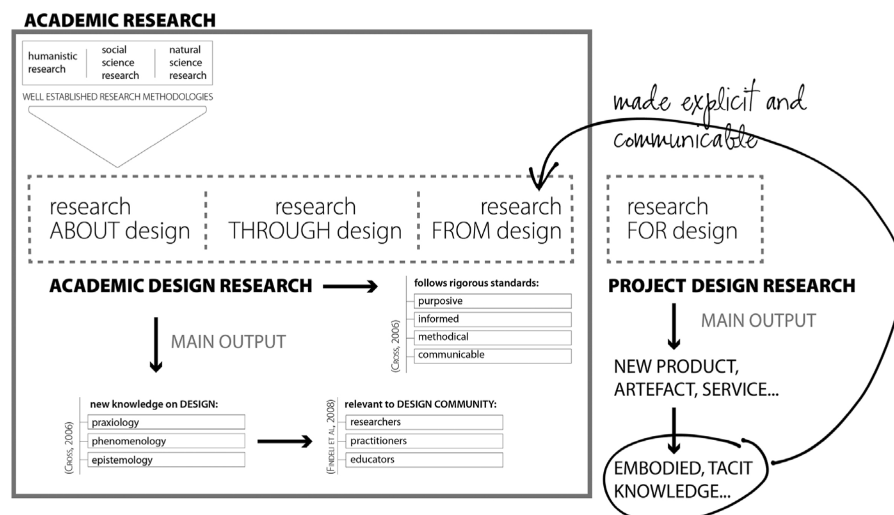

Fig. 1 Design Research Classification Model (Clemente, Tschimmel & Pombo, 2017).

Design research categories and research paradigms. In previous research work (Clemente, Tschimmel and Pombo, 2017) we proposed a consensual model to categorise academic design research types (Fig. 1).

We started by synthesising the contributions from authors such as Frayling (1994), Cross (2007), Friedman (2008), Findeli et al (2008), among others, on a three-category design research taxonomy. Following that, we conducted an empirical analysis of a corpus of 32 PhD design theses from which a fourth category emerged. We then presented a four-category Design Research Classification Model that includes Research (i) *about* Design, (ii) *through* Design, (iii) *from* Design and (iiii) *for* Design. Research *about* Design is usually performed by disciplines outside of the design field, following scientific standards already well established in the academic community. The issue about Research *about* Design is its relevance for the design field. Frequently conducted by other disciplines' scientists, its main goal is to contribute to the advancement of such disciplines, and not necessarily to design. It should be the design community which decides if such knowledge is relevant for designers and, if such is the case, how the new knowledge may be implemented in their respective practices (Findeli et. al., 2008).

On the other side, and clearly out of the range of the academic realm, is Research *for* Design which, in our perspective, is the same as design project research. The main outcome of Research *for* Design is a product, service or process, and even producing some new tacit knowledge, it does not necessarily create new communicable and explicit knowledge, and it does not follow rigorous scientific standards. Frayling (1994), Friedman (2008) and Findeli et. al. (2008) all agree that that kind of research is not considered scientifically acceptable.

However, it is recognised that design practice produces tacit knowledge that, if made explicit and communicable, contributes to the advancement of the design field. As stated by Cross (2007), for practice work to qualify as research, "there must be a reflection by the practitioner on the work, and the communication of some re-usable results from that reflection" (p. 126). That leads to Research *through* Design and Research *from* Design. The difference between these two categories lies in the *time* and *context* in which that reflection, pointed out by Cross, takes place. Figure 2 summarises the relation between Design Project and Research *about*, *through*, *from* and *for* Design.

Research *through* Design involves design projects developed inside universities. Therefore, in this kind of research, theory is produced inside the academy, and the author's reflection about the project occurs during the project itself, at the same time. In Research *from* Design, the design project is developed outside the academy, but theory is produced inside the academy. The author's reflection about his own work

Research ABOUT Design	Research THROUGH Design	Research FROM design	Research FOR design
No design projects involved (except on an historical perspective)	Design project developed ***inside*** the academy	Design project developed ***outside*** the academy	Project developed ***outside*** the academy
	Theory produced ***inside*** the academy	Theory produced ***inside*** the academy	No ***explicit*** theory production
	Reflexion ***through*** (during) the design project	Reflexion ***after*** the design project	No ***structured*** reflexion
	Theory precedes practice (practice being an application or an illustration of a previously developed theoretical intentionality)	Practice precedes theory (theory being the confirmation of an implicit and intuitive knowledge embodied in the practice products)	Theory embodied in the process and final products but not made explicit or communicable

Fig. 2 Design Project and Academic Design Research (©authors).

within the project happens after the project is finished. Research *through* and Research *from* Design both directly result from design projects, although they differ in the way theory and practice are related. In Research *through* Design, theory precedes practice, practice being an application or an illustration of a previously developed theoretical intentionality. In Research *from* Design, practice precedes theory, theory being the confirmation of an implicit and intuitive knowledge embodied in the practice products.

The present work aims to go further with that discussion, moving to the paradigm level, which includes ontological, epistemological and methodological considerations. Ontology addresses the study of reality, concerning what is reality, what is "true", what is knowledge. Epistemology is related to the study of knowledge, including considerations about how knowledge is achieved, for example, if the researcher is part of it or external to it. Different paradigms inherently contain differing ontological and epistemological views; therefore, they have differing assumptions about reality and knowledge which underpin their research approach. This is reflected in their methodological approach. Methodology is the study of methods that can be applied to acquire knowledge. Thus, methodology is concerned with why, what, from where, when and how data is collected and analysed. Methods are the specific ways and procedures used to collect and analyse data (Scotland, 2012).

Trying to perceive how the categories of our Design Research Classification Model fit four well-known paradigms commonly applied by other disciplines, we focused our attention on the following paradigms: Positivism, Interpretivism, Socio-critical and Pragmatism (Fig. 3).

Paradigm	Ontology	Epistemology	Methodology	Question type
Positivism	There is a single reality	Reality can be measured	Quantitative	What works?
Interpretivism	(There is no single reality) Reality is created by individuals	Reality needs to be interpreted	Qualitative	Why do we act this way?
Socio-critical	Reality is a social constructed entity under constant internal influence	Reality and knowledge can be changed	Mixed methods	How can we change the situation?
Pragmatism	Reality is what is useful	The best method is the one that works		Will that solution improve the situation?

Fig. 3 Research Paradigms (©authors).

Positivisms' ontological and epistemological assumptions are Realism and Objectivism, which means the researcher impartially seeks to find absolute knowledge about an objective reality. Positivist methodology is directed at explaining relationships and seeks predictions and generalisations. A deductive approach is undertaken. It advocates the use of a scientific approach by developing numeric measures to generate knowledge. Applied methods are often quantitative, usually involving the test of theory in the form of hypotheses and statistical tests (Scotland, 2012; Wahyuni, 2012).

The ontological position of Interpretivism is Relativism, the view that reality is subjective and differs from person to person, and for that reason there are as many realities as individuals. Interpretative epistemology is one of Subjectivism. Regarding the same phenomenon, different people may construct meaning in different ways. Therefore, interpretive methodology is directed at understanding phenomena from an individual's perspective. Interpretive methods are usually qualitative, including case studies, phenomenology, hermeneutics and ethnography. Interpretive theory is usually grounded (inductive). The applied tools include, for example, open-ended interviews, focus groups or think aloud protocols.

The ontological position of the critical paradigm is the perspective that realities are socially constructed entities that are under constant internal influence. Socio-critical epistemology assumes that knowledge is both socially constructed and influenced by power relations from within society. The emancipatory function of knowledge is embraced. Socio-critical methods include, for example, critical ethnography and action research. Applied tools can include open-ended interviews, focus groups, open-ended questionnaires, resulting usually in qualitative data, similar to Interpretivism, but data analysis involves the researcher's explicit values. That means that research findings are mediated by research values (Guba, 1994; Scotland, 2012).

The essence of a pragmatist ontology is change. This means that Pragmatism has an interest not only for what 'is', but also for what 'might be'. Pragmatist epistemology assumes that knowledge is constructed to better manage existence. Pragmatism is concerned with an instrumental view on knowledge. This instrumental view looks beyond any methodological affiliation. Pragmatists believe that objectivist and subjectivist perspectives are not mutually exclusive. The emphasis is on what works best to address the research problem. For that reason pragmatism admits mixed methods, both quantitative and qualitative (Melles, 2008; Goldkuhl, 2012; Wahyuni, 2012).

Following the above presented definitions, we revisited our previous 32 PhD theses *corpus* (all documents were produced at the University of Aveiro and presented up to October 2016) now aiming to answer the following research question: "Do the analysed theses fit the four presented research paradigms?"

Results and discussion

For all theses considered to be on the corpus, the title, the abstract and the methodology chapter or section, if existing, were reanalysed. Also, and because all the files were readable in PDF format, the *Find* tool was applied to locate the words "paradigm" and "research paradigm" with the aim of analysing the context in which the terms were being used. Based upon that global analysis of each document, it was verified how each thesis, already classified in accordance with our Four Categories Design Research Model in our previous paper, now fits the research paradigms under analysis.

Because our analysis revealed that the word "paradigm" is almost always used by authors regarding the theme under investigation (painting, illustration, feminism, sustainability, human computer interaction, among others), sometimes in abundance, but rarely regarding to research methodology, the counting of the number of references to the term "paradigm" was only considered when referring to research paradigms. Following that criterion, 26 of the 32 theses (81%) do not refer to research paradigms. Among those 26 documents, one dissertation dedicates an entire section to the discussion of the dominant paradigms on design practice. However, it doesn't address the issue of research paradigms and that's why the number of references was not counted. Of the other six documents (19%), "research paradigms" are explicitly referred to and, with only one exception, the research paradigm under which the research was conducted is clearly identified. In every case where the research paradigm was identified by the author, either explicitly or implicitly, it was the Interpretivist paradigm. However, one of the authors felt the need to associate a second paradigm (Performative paradigm) to correctly frame his research. In one particular case, the author starts by describing three of the most common research paradigms (Positivist, Interpretivist, Critical), identifying Interpretivist as the paradigm under which the research was conducted, then he goes from the ontological level, down to the methodological level, explaining how the applied method (content analysis) fits the proposed research paradigm. Among our research *corpus* this is an almost unique case, where the author describes his own research options from the ontological, epistemological and methodological perspective. In most cases, this description is either rather incomplete or inexistent.

From our analysis, 13 theses (41%) follow the Interpretive paradigm, although it is not always declared by their authors. Among those documents, are the ones previously identified under the Research *about* Design category. They include descriptive, historical and phenomenological studies about, for example, signage, poster design, branding, museums exhibitions or user comfort.

An equal number of dissertations (41%) describe research, that from our perspective, were conducted under the Pragmatic paradigm. Those correspond directly to the theses that fit Research *through* Design—where theory precedes practice, practice being an application of the developed theory. Or as clearly stated by one of the authors from the analysed theses when affirming that the last chapter is "an experi-

mental project, as a moment of verification, application and materialisation of the study developed along this dissertation". Some examples of those projects as a moment of theory application include the graphic redesign of a newspaper, ceramic jewellery design, textile collages, holographic painting, among others.

From our point of view, five theses (16%) follow the Socio-critical paradigm approach. Although none of the authors ever explicitly declare this fact, what happens is that their critical position, their intention to change, their agenda, appears here and there throughout their theses. For example, when arguing about creative thinking in design, and how it should be fostered by design education, or in another case, by defending the 'maker movement', in which students need to go to the workshop "to make" with their own hands. When the author's values are involved in the research, which is the mark of Critical paradigm, this should be explicitly stated because it influences the way the research is conducted and how the data are analysed and presented.

Again, in our analysis, one thesis remains isolated. The same dissertation that fits (and had motivated) the fourth research category, Research *from* Design, is the one that raises doubts about its categorisation in relation to the research paradigms. Like the theses conducted under the Research *through* Design category (and that we have associated with the Pragmatic paradigm), it also describes a research based on design projects. However, what this author presents, in his own words, "is not a practical production that illustrates downstream a theoretical intentionality, but on the contrary, a theorisation drawn by practice, trying to perceive what it seemed to unconsciously suspect, confirming it". For that reason, as the author also explains, his design production is not under evaluation at the moment the thesis is being written. It was already evaluated before, in the professional context, by users, market and consumers. There is a time lapse between the project and what can be extracted from it. As the author affirms, it is "a diachronic study" about the outputs of his professional practice, seeking to find "what can be extracted for public benefit", regarding "knowledge production and transference" within the academic design field.

Because it describes research based on experience, this thesis should also fit the Pragmatic paradigm. This is in accordance with Denzin (2012), who argues that classic pragmatism "rests on the argument that the meaning of an event cannot be given in advance of experience. The focus is on the consequences and meanings of an action". That is why we provisionally proposed that Research *from* Design works can also fit the Pragmatic paradigm.

However, a second thought about Research *from* Design ontology, epistemology and methodology led us to consider another possibility. In relation to ontology, in Research *from* Design the 'knowable' is embodied in the products of professional practice. With respect to epistemology, which is related to the nature of the relationship between the inquirer and the 'knowable', the inquirer has a privileged relation, because the 'knowable' is fruit of his own work, as its 'creator' and 'maker', and he will probably find his own idiosyncratic way (methodology) to make it explicit and public.

Barret and Bolt (2007) refer to "embodied knowledge or 'skill' developed and applied in practice and apprehended intuitively" as "a process that is readily understood by artistic researchers who recognise that the opposition between explicit and tacit knowledge is a false one" (p. 4). In the same book, the Performative paradigm is presented as adequate to 'artistic' research.

Rodrigues (2016) argues that the Performative paradigm is appropriated to design research because reality/knowledge "should be regarded in terms of the artefacts' effect on the world" and the inquirer seeks to identify the transformations introduced by the artefact. Additionally, Rodrigues (2016) refers to Poetic Research presented by Rosenberg (2000):

> The notion of poetic research emerges from a questioning of practice (design) which tries to locate parts of its creative drive so that it may be brought through in regard to research. The poetic in research can be seen as an attempt to develop a technicity of the "hunch" (Rosenberg, 2000: 2).

Whether the Performative paradigm and Poetic Research constitute an adequate framing of Research *from* Design or not, needs further investigation. However, it is interesting to notice that the unique thesis that we have categorised under this category is entitled "Poet, or one who does: poetics as an innovation in Design". And although the author never refers to Rosenberg's concept, he evokes the word poetics Greek origin, "poetikos", literally "creative, productive".

Conclusions and future work

The present work provides a provisional understanding about how design research categories relate to the four research paradigms addressed. Our preliminary conclusions are:

1. The fact that we tried to fit each thesis in only one research paradigm does not exclude the possibility of multi-paradigmatic research. Doctoral research can be designed to combine methods drawn from two or more paradigms. In fact, in several of the examined theses, and as it was not clearly stated by their authors, it was not easy to decide between the Interpretivist and the Socio-critical paradigm, and sometimes even between Interpretivism and Pragmatism.
2. Research *through* Design, being always based on a design project should be conducted mainly under the assumptions of Pragmatism, which assumes the instrumental function of knowledge. However, we accept that a design project can involve issues like, for example, minority rights, refugees' protection, among others, about

which the researcher has a strong opinion. Depending on how the researcher approaches the investigation, perhaps using it to make a political statement, design research could also assume the emancipatory function of knowledge, which is the mark of the Socio-critical paradigm.

3. Research *about* Design, depending on its aims to only describe an existing reality or stand up for some political point of view, can follow the assumptions of Interpretivism or, in the second case, the Socio-Critical paradigm. For example, Research *about* Design education can address questions, such as education democratisation and accessibility, which can be researched under a Critical approach rather than an Interpretative one—if the researcher chooses to criticise reality, instead of just describing it.
4. Research *from* Design, which we started to consider as fitting under the Pragmatic paradigm is now under examination regarding the Performative paradigm and Poetic Research possibility.
5. Given the open, ill-defined and unstructured nature of design problems, in our opinion, design research can hardly be conducted exclusively based upon the assumptions of Positivism—neither within the academic nor the professional context.

Ongoing research aims to strengthen these conclusions by continuing the analysis of the 32 theses corpus at the methodological level, relating the paradigmatic framework with the research procedures and methods.

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DRS Conferences: Barometer and Mirror of Theoretical Reflection on the Design Discipline. First Discussions

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Design research / Design theoretical evolution / Design praxiology / Design phenomenology / Design epistemology

The so-called 'Design Methods Movement' emerged in Europe in the late 1950s, connected with ongoing technological developments and new theories–systems and problem solving–within an economic-social-cultural space where new productive economic paradigms, new social demands, environmental issues, etc., compelled designers to deal with complexity, using methodological (ergo theoretical) tools. 'Design Methods', different from 'Scientific Method', improved the approach to design process problems–a non-predetermined process, at the same time rational and creative. Design reflection elaborated conceptual constructs that, today, have already gone beyond design discipline itself, such as 'design thinking' or 'designerly ways of knowing'. The first 'Theory and Design Methods Conference' gave rise to the Design Research Society (DRS), which has organized Design Research Conferences to the present day. The present work will describe–over the timeline of Design Conferences, from 1962 (pre-DRS) until 2016 (last DRS Conference)–the evolution of theoretical design reflection regarded in a wide context, in order to provide a new theoretical perspective, contributing to critical visions and disciplinary discussions.

1. Introduction

This work is an effort to comprehend the visions, approaches and emphases that have been produced during almost 60 years of design research and design theory.

The emergence (origin) of methodological reflection in Design is closely associated with the new post-World War II scenario, where the same technological advances that served both to carry out, and to finish off, that conflict changed society forever, as a result of new productive and economic paradigms, new social demands, environmental issues, etc.

As Nigel Cross described:

> The origins of the emergence of new design methods in the 1950s and 1960s lay in the application of novel, 'scientific' methods to the novel and pressing problems of the Second World War—from which came OR and management decision-making techniques—and in the development of creativity techniques in the 1950s. (The latter was partly, in the USA, in response to the launch of the first satellite, the Soviet Union's 'Sputnik', which seemed to convince American scientists and engineers that they lacked creativity.) The new 'Design Methods Movement' developed through a series of conferences (De Vries, Cross and Grant, 1993: 16).

In that scenario, with technological developments in progress and the influence of new theories—Cybernetics (late 1940s to 1970s), Morphological Method (Zwicky, 1948), General Systems Theory (developed from the 1950s to the 1960s), Synectics (1950s)—Design had to deal in a better way with complexity—in engineering words—with an 'open system of decisions' (Gregory, 1965: 83), where use of methodological/theoretical tools would be unavoidable.

At the beginning, visions and theoretical conceptions regarding the design process planted fundamental questions regarding a process that is not predetermined—a process that is at the same time creative and rational—where an essential aspect is decision-making. Some simple and revealing questions contained in the initial reflections were:

> Is there a science of design? (Gropius, 1947, in Gropius, 1955: 30)
> If science is concerned with knowledge and design is concerned with action, is it reasonable to speak of scientific method in design, or a science of design? (Esherick, in Jones and Thornley, 1963: 78)
> What is it that makes a form-making process good or bad? (Alexander, 1964: 36)
> What is a decision?
> How are these decisions made?
> How does a designer decide what information to feed in next, and how much of it, and in what detail, and how does he decide when to do it?
> How does a designer decide what to do with this information, when and how to carry out consistency testing or comparison and selection?
> And, in making these decisions, how much discretion has he?
> What is it that limits his freedom to exercise this discretion?
> (Levin, 1966, reprinted in Cross, 1984: 107–115)

The methodological reflection behind those questions found a convergence space at the so-called Conferences on Design Methods, the first version of which was organized by John Christopher Jones and Peter Slann in 1962, in London, with a very simple purpose. In Jones's words:

> It was the first conference of its kind and enabled everyone who had an interest in 'systematic and intuitive methods' on design to get to know of each other's existence (Jones, 2002).

Jones, at that very conference, defined design methods as 'a means of resolving a conflict that exists between logical analysis and creative thought' (Jones and Thornley, 1963: 54).

Later, in 1970, Jones published his book *Design Methods, Seeds of human futures*, reflecting on design, designers, their role, their performance in the world, and especially making a compendium of methods—a taxonomy—that would allow others to value and differentiate the way in which the design process can be approached.

At the time of publication of *Design Methods* there were still more questions than answers in methodological reflection, and those questions revealed the uncertainty, inherent in a theoretical attempt, that would propel the search for answers through design research, initiating the construction of a theoretical *corpus* which is still in process.

Thus, the Conferences, from the beginning, received the theoretical concerns of the discipline, materialized in research works, proposals and methodological reflections, case studies, etc. Thereby, the Design Conferences have become a space of visibility and dissemination of theoretical effort in Design.

2. Core questions of the present inquiry

What kind of theoretical approaches have emerged in these almost 60 years?

How do these approaches reflect, confirm, or deny emerging interpretations around 'Design Methods' or 'Design Theory'?

3. Objectives

General Objective

Visualize the evolution and state of the art of Design's theoretical effort in order to collaborate in understanding the role of theory and research in the design discipline.

Specific Objectives

- Establish a synchronic panorama, review and discussion of results.
- Collaborate with a wider insight about the 'invisible threads' of Design's theoretical reflection, closely engaged with the origins, birth and growth of the DRS and DRS Conferences.
- Collaborate with a wider understanding of the influences, and the way that influences have impacted the development of the discipline in other scenarios, such as the Latin-American.
- Create a database of proceedings of all the DRS Conferences over almost 60 years (and back to the origins in the 1962 Design Methods Conference), accessible to other scholars.

4. Working hypothesis

The topics addressed at the Conferences on Design Methods reflect the evolution of design and methodological reflection and reveal the predominant research areas of the discipline.

5. Description of the inquiry

This work, in its first stage, consists of visualizing the key areas of research and reflection that have been addressed at the Conferences on Design Methods, Design Theory, and Design Research from 1962 to 2016. To do so, it will utilize the taxonomy proposed by Bruce Archer in 1980 (Jacques and Powell, 1981), where he identifies ten areas of design research, as follows:

1. Design history. The study of what is the case, and how things came to be the way they are, in the Design area.
2. Design taxonomy. The study of the classification of phenomena in the Design area.
3. Design technology. The study of the principles underlying the operations of the things and systems comprising designs.
4. Design praxiology. The study of the nature of design activity, its organisation and its apparatus.
5. Design modelling. The study of the human capacity for cognitive modelling, and the externalisation and communication of design ideas.
6. Design metrology. The study of measurement in relation to design phenomena, with special emphasis on the handling of non-quantitative data.
7. Design axiology. The study of worth in the Design area, with special regard to the relations between technical, economic, moral, social and aesthetic values.
8. Design philosophy. The study of the logic of discourse on matters of concern in the Design area.
9. Design epistemology. The study of the nature and validity of ways of knowing, believing and feeling in the Design area.
10. Design pedagogy. The study of the principles and practice of education in the matter of concern to the Design area.

(*Op. cit.*: 33)

Archer synthesizes these ten areas into three broad areas:

1. Design Phenomenology, in which I would include, for the time being, design history, taxonomy and technology, as I described them earlier;
2. Design Praxiology, in which I would include design modelling and metrology; and
3. Design Philosophy, in which I would include design axiology, epistemology and pedagogy.

(*Op. cit.*: 35)

To clearly differentiate these three categories and considering that 'Design Philosophy' refers to knowledge (its acquisition and value), it has been decided to name this category according to the proposal of Nigel Cross (Michel, 2007: 48), also based on Archer's categories:

Design phenomenology—study of the form and configuration of artefacts
Design praxiology—study of the practices and processes of design
Design epistemology—study of designerly ways of knowing

6. Research domain

The research domain includes the papers published at the Conferences on Design Methods and Design Theory, between 1962 and 1967, in England, and those organized by the Design Research Society (DRS) from 1971 to the present day.

The time range is 1962 to 2016, according to the following list:

Foundational	Conferences on Design Methods (pre-DRS)[1]	
1962	Conference on Design Methods	London, UK
1965	The Design Method	Birmingham, UK
1967	Design Methods in Architecture	Portsmouth, UK
DRS	Conferences organized by the DRS	
1971	Design Participation	Manchester, UK
1973	Design Activity	London, UK
1976	Changing Design	Portsmouth, UK
1978	Architectural Design: Interrelations among Theory, Research, and Practice	Istanbul, Turkey
1980	Design: Science: Method	Portsmouth, UK
1984	The Role of the Designer	Bath, UK
2002	Common Ground	London, UK
2004	Futureground	Melbourne, Australia
2006	Wonderground	Lisbon, Portugal
2008	Undisciplined!	Sheffield, UK
2010	Design & Complexity	Montreal, Canada
2012	Research: Uncertainty Contradiction Value	Bangkok, Thailand
2014	Design's Big Debates	Umeå, Sweden
2016	Design + Research + Society Future-Focused Thinking	Brighton, UK
Other DRS Conferences not included:		
Since not all the Proceedings of the Conferences have been published, there are five Conferences for which, at the moment, there is no detailed information available.[2]		
1964	The Teaching Of Engineering Design	Scarborough, UK
1972	Design and Behaviour	Birmingham, UK
1974	Problem Identification For Design	Manchester, UK
1982	Design Policy	London, UK
1998	Quantum Leap	Birmingham, UK

7. Management of data
Methodology
a. Collection of conference data

The papers have been collected, counted, and all data has been represented in tables and charts allowing comparison of the quantity of research works published at the Conferences. On doing this count, all keynote speeches and introductions of each session have been left out. Figure 1 depicts this first stage, where the growing publication of papers in the Conferences can be seen.

b. Papers grouped by Session Titles or Chapters Titles

For each conference, the papers have been separated by session title, according to available digital Proceedings and Conference Programs (e.g. 'Design Culture' or 'Sustainability'). In the case of printed publications (specifically the pre-1990s Conferences), the publication's chapter titles were considered (e.g. 'User Participation' or 'Products and System research').

In the case of the Conferences of 1962, 1967 and 1971, these Proceedings did not organize the papers into chapters so, for the moment—since there is no information about daily programming—the titles of the books (printed Proceedings) have been considered as a category/concept (i.e. 1962 and 1967: 'Design Methods', 1971: 'Design Participation').

The total quantity of papers is 1641.

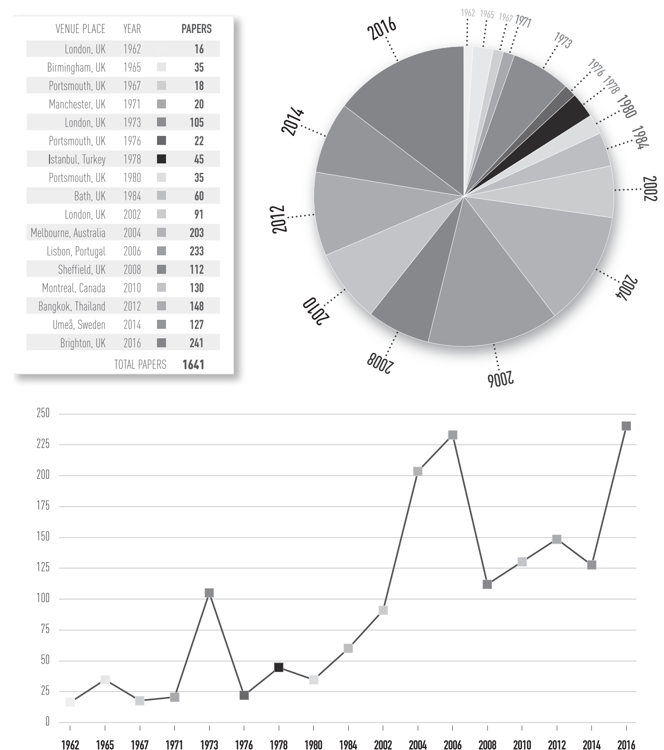

Fig. 1 Foundational Design Methods Conferences and DRS Conferences 1962–2016. Table and charts, showing Years, Venue Places and Quantity of papers.

c. Categorization criteria

Once the list of topics and the quantification of papers by theme was complete, the next stage was the classification of each topic (and the papers within each one) in one of the three defined categories of design research:

[1] The Design Research Society was founded in the UK in 1966. As it is described in its website: 'the origins of the Society lay in the Conference on Design Methods, held in London in 1962, which enabled a core of people to be identified who shared interests in new approaches to the process of designing'. Since 1971 the DRS organize International Design Research Conferences. See: https://www.designresearchsociety.org/cpages/history.

[2] See: https://www.designresearchsociety.org/cpages/publications-1.

Design Phenomenology, Design Praxiology or Design Epistemology
The process was carried out considering the affinity of the concepts expressed in the titles of the sessions (or chapters/sections in printed texts) with one of the three design research categories. Also, in some cases, when the session title is not clear enough, or is not descriptive enough, the procedure was to review the titles of the papers and their keywords. Figure 2 allows visualization of the existence, ascent and/or descent of each kind of design research category, over almost 60 years.

First discussion about categorization criteria:
The categorization of papers by topics in the Conferences, in some cases, could not give a true account of the precise meaning of a specific work within that category. Therefore, their assignment to the major research categories—Phenomenological – Praxiological – Epistemological—should be adjusted, at a later stage of the investigation.

To verify the results, it could be necessary to re-categorize the papers based on a new reading considering hypotheses and research objectives. The new categorization should be compared with the first one. This will be particularly relevant for the Conferences of 1962, 1967 and 1971, where, the categorization criteria have considered the general theme (title) of the Conference.

8. Construction of a synchronic timeline

There is an ongoing process of constructing a comprehensive synchronic timeline.

Methodology used on data organization over a timeline
The total papers, ordered by year and classified into one of the three categories, will be displayed on a timeline, where it will be possible to appreciate the range of time between Conferences.

Also, some significant events have been added to the graphic, in order to provide a 'Design Context':

– Emergence of first design institutions, organizations or associations.
– First conferences organized by these groups, which continue to this day.
– First specialized publications on design.

Foundational Design Methods Conferences and DRS Conferences 1962–2016
Table and chart, showing quantity of papers categorized in one of the three research areas.

VENUE PLACE	YEAR	PAPERS	design phenomenology	design praxiology	design epistemology
London, UK	1962	16	0	16	0
Birmingham, UK	1965	35	6	25	4
Portsmouth, UK	1967	18	0	18	0
Manchester, UK	1971	20	20	0	0
London, UK	1973	105	40	65	0
Portsmouth, UK	1976	22	22	0	0
Istambul, Turkey	1978	45	18	17	10
Portsmouth, UK	1980	35	9	7	19
Bath, UK	1984	60	22	23	15
London, UK	2002	91	28	33	30
Melbourne, Australia	2004	203	79	102	22
Lisbon, Portugal	2006	233	109	78	46
Sheffield, UK	2008	112	57	32	23
Montreal, Canada	2010	130	69	49	12
Bangkok, Thailand	2012	148	92	47	9
Umeå, Sweden	2014	127	64	35	28
Brighton, UK	2016	241	127	66	48
	TOTAL PAPERS	1641			

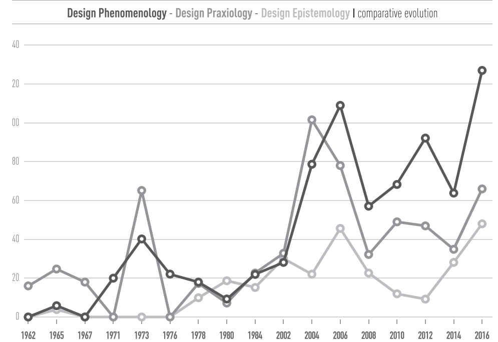

Fig. 2 Table with quantity of papers categorized in one of the three research areas. 1962–2016, and chart comparing quantity of papers categorized by one of the three research areas.

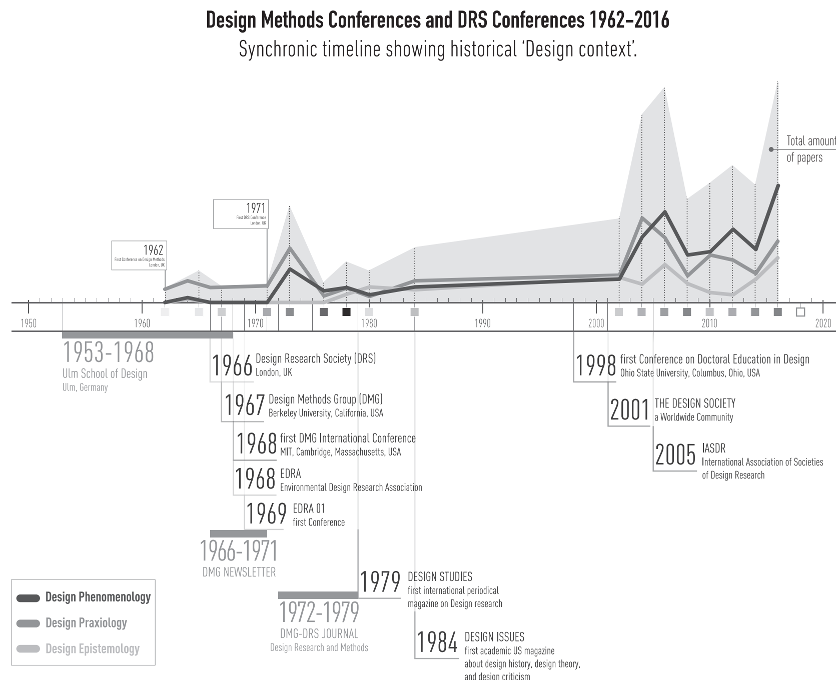

Fig. 3 Synchronic timeline showing Conferences in historical 'Design context'.

Figure 3 shows the big picture, where Conferences have taken place in the past almost 60 years.

9. First descriptions about the relationship between Conferences and 'Design Context'

Methodology
Two comparisons were made over the timeline, using the theoretical conceptions and/or description of the two authors as reflexive tools, which will help to achieve critical perspective.

a. Relationship between Conferences and 'method generations' concept by Horst Rittel
First, the concepts of Horst Rittel (1972)—identifying two 'generations` of Design Methods—are compared with the synchronic timeline.

> **First generation:** In the 1960s, Operations Research predominance, with 'a particular type of systems approach' (RITTEL, 1972).
>
> **Second generation:** Early 1970s, where design problems are defined by Rittel as 'wicked problems' (RITTEL, 1973).

Some relationships observed:

> **First generation:** As can be seen in Figure 4, during the 1960s the focus

of design research work is predominantly aimed at design procedures (Design Praxiology).

Second generation: At the beginning of the 1970s, along with the Praxiological line, the line of Phenomenological research emerges and grows.

Those two interpretations are consistent with the areas approached by design research at the Conferences.

b. Relationship between Conferences and the emerging of Design PhD programs, according to Fatina Saikaly

A second 'tool' that allows for 'reading' the relationship between Conferences and context is the research work carried out by Fatina Saikaly (2004), who offers a detailed overview about doctoral research in design.

Figure 4 highlights the space of time where there is an absence of International Conferences organized by the DRS. In this period, according to Saikaly, the first PhD programs began in the United States, Australia, Europe and Japan.

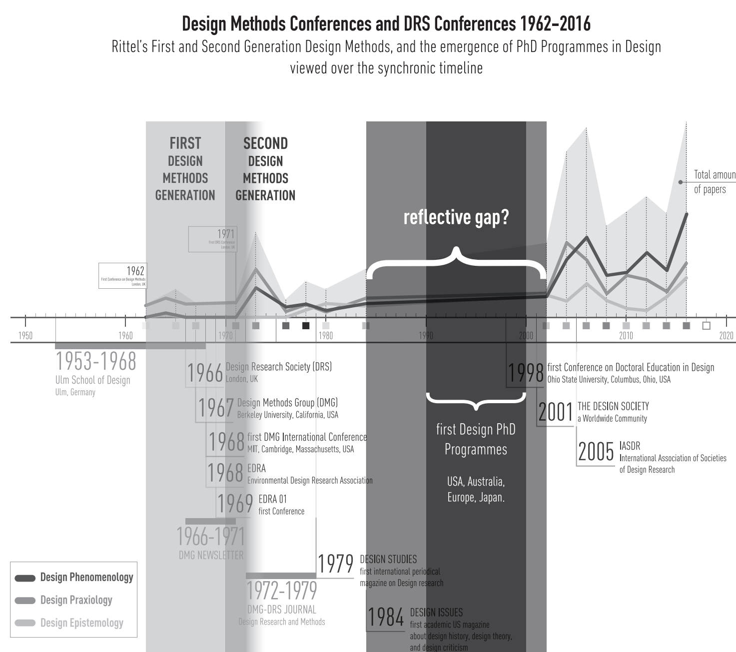

Fig. 4 Synchronic timeline showing Design Conferences, 'Design Context', and highlighted zones referring to Rittel's Design Methods Generations and Saikaly's research results about first Design PhD programs.

About the hypothetical 'reflective gap'

The period between 1984 and 2002 has been named a 'reflective gap' as a way of interpreting the lack of DRS conference activity. Even though one conference was held (the DRS 1998 Conference) of which there is no information—as it was explained before—that single conference cannot be considered enough activity within a period of 18 years.

A 'reflective gap' is the way to characterize a period where, since theoretical efforts were focused on postgraduate design education—in the US, Australia, Europe and Japan, there could not be the space or even designers available to be dedicated to the kind of effort needed for Conference organization.

10. First discussion

The construction of a timeline based on and/or describing design activity has already been carried out by other researchers. In the present document, a first discussion will be made based on a description of the 'design discourse' made by Gui Bonsiepe.

Gui Bonsiepe's Hypothetical Timeline

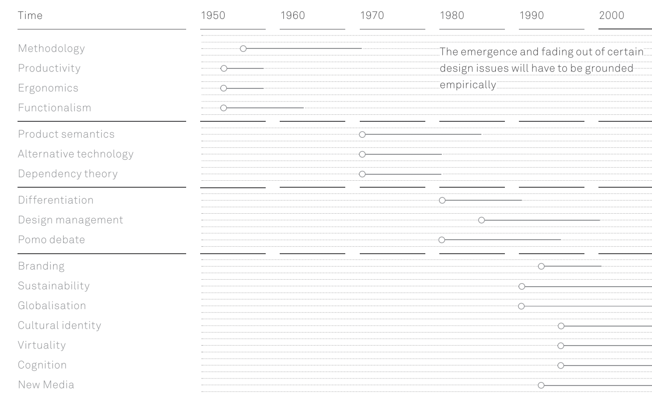

Fig. 5 Gui Bonsiepe's *Hypothetical Timeline of the designdiscourse* (Gui Bonsiepe 2004, *On the Ambiguity of Design and DesignResearch*). From: MICHEL, R. (2007). *Design research now: Essays and selected projects* (p. 33). Basel, Switzerland: Birkhäuser. Reprinted with permission.

In 2004, Gui Bonsiepe proposed a timeline that he called 'Hypothetical Timeline of the designdiscourse'. Then, in 2007, the same timeline was published in his article 'The Uneasy Relationship between Design and Design Research' (MICHEL, 2007: 25–39).

Figure 5 depicts his speculation about the evolution of 'designdiscourse', from the 1950s to the 1990s.

According to Bonsiepe, the 1950s were predominantly focused on: Methodology, Productivity, Ergonomics and Functionalism, which can be categorized within Praxiology and Phenomenology. Nevertheless, the 1950s period is not considered within the range of Conferences of the present paper.

In the 1960s, the main 'designdiscourse' appears to be Methodology and, in part, Functionalism. The taxonomy constructed in the present work shows a Praxiological emphasis during that period, which means design processes would be the kind of issues that researchers would be more focused on.

The 1970s were focused on Product Semantics, Alternative Technology, and Dependency Theory. Compared with the results of this inquiry, they correspond to Phenomenology and Praxiology.

In the 1980s, the 'Pomo Debate' (Post-Modern debate) appears to be the first different focus, a Phenomenological view that—compared with the results of this inquiry—is consistent.

Finally, in the 1990s, according to Bonsiepe, many subjects of discussion emerged: Branding,

Sustainability, Globalisation, Cultural Identity, Virtuality, Cognition, and New media. All of them seem to be closer to Phenomenology too.

11. First conclusions

1. Results of the present work show an increase of design research works within the period studied; this would reflect the growing number of researchers and also the need for this reflection for the discipline.
– In general, Phenomenological and Praxiological lines of design research have tended to prevail against the Epistemological line.
– One possible interpretation is that Epistemological reflection would not have had the urgency of the other two, at least from the 1960s to the 1990s.
– However, the Phenomenological line has prevailed in the last three Conferences.
– This tendency would reflect that theoretical approaches and inquiries have been predominantly oriented toward the users and contexts in which Design acts as well as the procedures that allow carrying out the design process.
– Besides, an increase of Epistemological research (in the same last three Conferences) would reveal an emerging focus on design knowledge and also design education.
– However, the upward trend of the Epistemological line will have to be evaluated (confirmed or not) after a review of, at least, the two Conferences programmed in the current decade (2018, 2020).
2. After contrasting Rittel's ideas about 'Generations' there is a consistency between the emphasis shown by the Design Research areas, within the Conferences, and Rittel's descriptions. It is very clear that in the 1960s (First generation), the big focus was on Praxiological issues. Then, in the following years (Second generation) a Phenomenological turn takes place.
– In the same way, Saikaly's research results fit with a stage where efforts were oriented predominantly toward reflective activity.
3. Regarding the comparison made with the hypothetical timeline of Bonsiepe, the subjects that 'designdiscourse' has addressed, and its relationship with design research areas or emphases, reflect the near absence of Epistemological research efforts between the 1960s and 1990s, as Figure 2 depicts.
– In general, the Hypothetical Timeline of Bonsiepe is consistent with the evolution described in this investigation.

12. Further inquiries

Faced with these first results, new questions arise, in order to more precisely describe the scope of investigation of each paper, considering their particular hypotheses and research objectives.

Another research issue would be to explain the fluctuation of certain lines of research over time, considering other aspects, such as the technological, cultural and social context in which these reflections took place and the specific historical moment in which they occurred.

This research could take several future paths, trying to answer new questions and, with them, other hypotheses will also arise regarding the kind of theoretical approaches that are observed and also with respect to those that are not yet reflected in the DRS Conferences.

Finally, this research should address the relationships, influences and connections between the DRS Conferences and the beginning and evolution of theoretical reflection in Latin America.

The closure of the Design School of Ulm in 1968 generated the emigration of its scholars and former students toward other academic spaces (influencing them and the first Conferences), and, in Latin America, drove the constitution of the new Design Schools, "created in the period between the fifties and the eighties of the 20th century" (Fernández, 2006).

The inquiry adventure is ongoing.

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Transdisciplinarity in Architecture as a Digital Change: Back to the Future

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Digital design / Transdisciplinarity / Digital architecture / Bauhaus / Sketchpad

This paper outlines a historic perspective of transdisciplinarity in digital architecture through the work of several key figures (architects, computer scientists, mathematicians, engineers and artists) from the 20th century. Transdisciplinary Digital Architecture deals with digital means and science. The research methodology adopted in this study allows analyzing historic documentation available on the Internet (text, audio, picture, video) to establish the links between them and their relevance to present time digital architecture. This paper aims to describe the first preliminary results of the research to establish a new theory of the digital in architecture based on a body of theoretical foundations that link "first age" transdisciplinarity to Bauhaus teaching methods, and to the early use of computers in architecture.

Introduction

> The objective of the Computer-Aided Design Project is to evolve a man-machine system which will permit the human designer and the computer to work together on creative design problems (Coons and Mann, 1960: iii).

The emerging field of digital design theory takes digital architectural design research to different meanings in the context of different design practices, theories and methods. Digital in architecture has become a more dominant subject in architectural theoretical writings. Digital architectural design emerges as a holistic integrated process from conceptualization to materialization to fabrication. Digital in architecture has begun to foster a new set of methods to promote new theories and practices.

Transdisciplinary architecture can be considered a new approach in architecture but transdisciplinarity itself is a relatively new concept, less than fifty years old (Nicolescu, 2006). It was used for the first time in an Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (oecd) congress by Jean Piaget (1972) and two other speakers. It is also possible to consider transdisciplinary architecture as a new way of teaching, researching and practicing. Architectural researchers like Mark Burry, Carole Després, Roderick Lawrence Isabelle Doucet and Nel Janssens have given important contributions to the concept of transdisciplinary architecture. That transdisciplinary architecture can be briefly described as an architecture of a hybrid nature redefined by other disciplines to target complex problems (Burry, 2012; Lawrence & Després, 2004).

However, what was the path to what architecture is today? To answer this question, it is necessary to explore outside the fields of design and architecture, focusing on the important developments in electronics and computation that made it possible for architects to deal with digital means and science. Over the last two decades, there were important works of authors from academia that started writing about digital architecture history with different perspectives on the way that digital technologies changed architectural theory (Rocha, 2004; Picon, 2010; Llach, 2015). Nevertheless, these PhD dissertations and books were not focused on producing a historical perspective of transdisciplinarity in digital architecture.

Therefore, this paper introduces a new perspective by focusing on the question of the beginning of transdisciplinarity in digital architecture relating key figures of the process. It pays particular attention to the role of transdisciplinarity as a way of thinking, of teaching and as a research methodology with a great influence on current architectural practice and namely on architectural design.

Additionally, it suggests that it is possible to trace the evolution of transdisciplinary architecture from Bauhaus to Sketchpad and from there to the pioneering work of digital architecture's beginnings, focusing on relationships and interactions between people, places, and institutions in a five-decade period, using mainly historiography, aided by computational methods.

This paper considers it essential to outline a transdisciplinary vision of digital architecture by linking key people in five groups: (1) Bauhaus teachers—Walter Gropius and László Moholy-Nagy; (2) Second generation Bauhaus—friends and colleagues of Bauhaus teachers—Serge Chermayeff, György Kepes and Leslie Martin; (3) Design theorists and contributors to architectural design research—Steven Coons and Herbert Simon; (4) Interactive CAD inventor—Ivan Sutherland; and (5) Pioneers of digital architecture—Lionel March, Christopher Alexander, Nicholas Negroponte, William Mitchell and Charles Eastman.

Besides their importance to transdisciplinary digital architecture, all the personalities have in common the fact that they were teachers and researchers, not all architects but almost all educators and advisors to next generations of architects (Fig. 1).

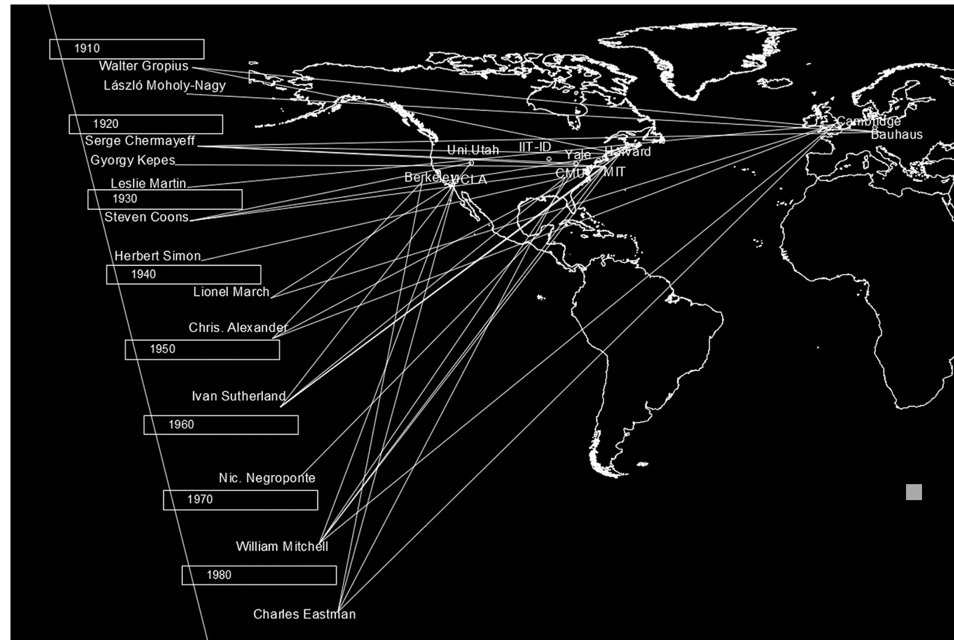

Fig. 1 *Transdisciplinary digital architecture.* From the author.

The adopted methodology is grounded on archival and oral historical research. The criteria for selecting data is its relevance to transdisciplinary digital architecture history and the connections between personalities involved, aiming to help the understanding of the historical process. The aim is to establish a theory of the digital in architecture and to identify how these theoretical foundations could be related to the issue of whether there are emerging distinctive architectural characteristics that might constitute a transdisciplinary digital architecture.

Transdisciplinary Digital Architecture in a historical perspective: from science in architecture to computer science in architecture. This paper considers the idea that to describe the digital technology background in architectural design it is necessary to study the association of science and architecture. Throughout history, the association of architecture with science and technology has helped to develop new tools that originated new representation methods.

Going further back in time, in the Renaissance, this relationship between science and architecture became very clear (Picon, 2010). Nowadays, several authors consider the possibility that digital design had its origins in Leon Battista Alberti's treatises and on the geometrical demonstrations about perspectives made a few decades before by the architect of Florence's Duomo, Filippo Brunelleschi. Mitchell (2008) goes even further on this idea, considering that Alberti was doing computerized design more than five hundred years before the computer was invented.

The historical perspective of this research also gives prominence to the antecedents of the digital change, made by the representation of an architectural idea with a growing relation between science and architecture, with beginnings in academic circles. It explores the connection between a first generation of architecture teachers, who used science as a learning method, and a second generation of followers, the first practitioners of digital architectural design, protagonists of an era in architectural research that Keller (2005) called "The Scientific Sixties".

Focusing on the early sixties and on the key figures it is possible to relate both the first interactive CAD and the contemporaneous use of non-interactive computation in architectural research, as well as the extension of interactive CAD to architecture, a few years after, in the late sixties.

In a historical perspective of transdisciplinary architecture, the importance of the first interactive CAD to architecture is vast. However, it is possible to draw a timeline that begins on January 7th, 1963 when the interactive CAD inventor Ivan Sutherland submits his PhD dissertation *Sketchpad: a man-machine graphical communication system* at MIT, even considering that there was a movie to promote a first version of the *Sketchpad* software, almost a year earlier (Sutherland, 1963). *Sketchpad* was developed in a bit more than two years by a researcher, in his early twenties at MIT, creating a tool that gave a man the possibility of interacting with a computer through a light-pen. A software that used a computer screen to design. Although an almost uncontested inception point, it is not completely solid because *Sketchpad* was associated with people and knowhow from MIT's Project CAD, research which had started around a year before Sutherland's PhD. From this moment on, architecture interacts with other scientific areas more oriented to technological research. Then, the first signs of that interaction emerge with the search for a link between the human creative capacity and the automation of processes. It is important to describe the backgrounds of interactive digital design

through academic circles, the linking of science with architectural design. *Design Methods Movement*, usually described as the outcome of work of Bruce Archer, John Chris Jones, Christopher Alexander and Horst Rittel, introduced scientific thinking of cybernetic, biological and linguistic natures into architectural design. The conceptual process becomes scientific and the construction of knowledge in the field of architecture arises from the articulation between science and computing (Krüger, 1986).

Nevertheless, it is possible to establish an inception point in transdisciplinary architecture if we go back to the beginning of the association of technology, science and architecture at Bauhaus. If we have a look at Gropius and Moholy-Nagy's teaching we can consider that architectural design stepped out of the pure fine arts field. The school is associated with a machine based learning. Bauhaus school's curriculum, mainly after Moholy-Nagy's arrival in 1923, contemplated not only technology but also science (Findeli, 2001). This association of technology and science can be related to the transdisciplinary architecture idea, even considering that is a long shot trying to relate Bauhaus and digital computers, because we are talking about times when an electronic artistic interaction could only be made through phone, like Moholy-Nagy did with EM1, EM2, and EM3, better known as Telephone Pictures (Moholy-Nagy, 1929). Nevertheless, it is possible to relate Bauhaus architecture teaching and science. The architecture of Bauhaus marked a change of attitude towards science, to the point that the architects of the Bauhaus were treated by their contemporaries as scientific architects. Another important idea is related to the fact that the designers of Bauhaus observed science as a vehicle for the development of drawing (Anker, 2005).

In the late thirties Moholy-Nagy founded the *New Bauhaus* in Chicago. This school's curriculum had even more science than the original Bauhaus, also including social sciences. He later directed two other design schools in Chicago, the *School of Design* and the *Institute of Design*, where he developed a pedagogical method in which students designed, in collaboration with art, science and technology (Findeli, 2001).

But before Moholy-Nagy went to Chicago and Gropius to Harvard, there was a period of a couple of years when some of the Bauhaus faculty lived and worked in the UK. In that period in Great Britain, they took part in a British avant-garde movement that promoted a culture of scientific research that was extended to architecture. The Second World War planning effort also made it possible for architects to work together with other scientists. And those emigrated architects would carry those ideas when they emigrated again, this time to the US, right before the start of World War II. This allowed those transdisciplinary ideas to flourish on both sides of the Atlantic (Rocha, 2004).

Serge Chermayeff, Gyorgy Kepes, Josef Albers and Marcel Breuer and Herbert Bayer were also exploring these transdisciplinary ideas. With the concepts brought by the Bauhaus faculty and their disciples and friends, it was easier to use science and specially mathematics in architecture. This "Second generation Bauhaus", Serge Chermayeff and Gyorgy Kepes in the US, and also Leslie Martin, in the UK, justify particular attention, especially for the role they would play as teachers and advisors of the digital architectural design pioneers of the sixties (Rocha, 2004; Steenson 2017).

After the death of Moholy-Nagy in 1946, Gropius suggested Chermayeff to replace the Hungarian artist and educator as the Director of the Chicago Institute of Design, a place he occupied until 1951. He then went to Massachusetts, one year at the MIT and then to Harvard where he helped to establish the teaching of the Environmental Design Seminar (Chermayeff, 1985). But more important for transdisciplinary digital architecture was the fact that less than 10 years after Chermayeff left the Institute of Design, he was doing research with Christopher Alexander at the "The Urban Family House Project", developed at the Joint Center for Urban Studies of MIT and Harvard. Chermayeff was also Alexander's advisor in his PhD dissertation. The project conclusions were edited, after the PhD conclusion, in an important book of architectural design, jointly authored by Alexander and Chermayeff (1963), called *Community and Privacy*.

Christopher Alexander's PhD dissertation, *The Synthesis of Form: Some Notes on a Theory*, was a groundbreaking work because it was, in the early sixties, one of the first architectural researches that applied mathematics to urban modeling. The dissertation would be known for posterity by the name of its literary edition, *Notes on the Synthesis of Form*. He was using computers but not yet on an interactive drawing basis. Alexander, besides being an architect, was a University of Cambridge trained mathematician and developed a systematic approach jointly using mathematics, design and computation. That gave Alexander the ability of being one of the few architects in the early sixties capable of using and programming a computer (Alexander, 1971; Keller, 2005). It also is important to mention that Alexander's period at University of Cambridge, after studying mathematics, coincided with a time when the Department of Architecture was led by the British friend of the Bauhaus teachers Leslie Martin (Steenson, 2017).

In the early sixties, Alexander was modeling urban problems through computation at Harvard, a few kilometers away from the place where Sutherland was improving his *Sketchpad*. But it is important to distinguish that Alexander in his research, such as *Notes on the Synthesis of Form*, "HIDECS (Hierarchical Decomposition of Systems)" or "A city is not a tree", was using computers on a non-interactive basis, programming a com-

puter to design through punched cards and tapes while Sutherland was contributing to architectural design through a new representation method that went through designing directly on a screen in an interactive manner (Steenson, 2017).

Alexander made very important contributions to architectural design through systematization of design processes through a non-interactive computer while Sutherland literally invented a new tool. But Sutherland was an engineer and invented a computer-aided design to be used by mechanical and electrical designers and engineers. Yet, although *Sketchpad* had independent funding it used the ideas of the MIT's military backed research Project CAD of using the new design machine for other kinds of design (Coons and Mann, 1960; Llach, 2015).

The MIT mechanical engineering design teacher Steven Coons was the important design theorist and contributor to architectural design research—Project CAD. Sutherland did not conceive *Sketchpad* for architects but soon after he left MIT for a short military career. Coons became *Sketchpad*'s main advocate and promoted it to creative designers. He even starred in a National Educational Television documentary (NET – PBS ancestor), in 1964, to spread the word of *Sketchpad*. Coons talked about the level of interactivity reached by *Sketchpad* in a very eloquent way, claiming that with *Sketchpad* a man could talk to a computer, taking a few moments to explain that was a graphical dialogue made through design (Llach, 2015; Morash, 1964).

By the end of that year, Coons made a presentation of *Sketchpad* at a congress of architecture called "Architecture and the Computer", one of the first to debate computation in architecture. He was the *Sketchpad* presenter on a day, December 5th, 1964, when two key figures of 20th century architecture, Christopher Alexander and Walter Gropius were also speakers. Coons' presentation was named after the ideas of the project he helped to develop, "Computer-Aided Design", and one more time he accentuated the importance of the architect / computer symbiosis through design interactivity. Alexander, who was a non-interactive computer user, saw CAD as a substitute for clerk work but his advisor Chermayeff, who was the keynote speaker, argued that computers could save time that might be used in creative work and could also give the architectural designer more drawing alternatives (Rocha, 2004).

In 1967, Coons chose as a substitute, to teach CAD design to mechanical engineers, the young architect he taught in a master's thesis. Nicholas Negroponte took the idea of mixing architecture and science a step further by establishing the *Architecture Machine Group* (AMG) the following year, one of the first research centers to be dedicated to architectural computer research. At the AMG, Negroponte associated science to architectural research and namely interactive CAD to architecture with projects like URBAN 2, URBAN 5, SEEK and HUNCH. All of them with military funding to study interactivity in architecture. That research would originate two important books in digital architectural design research in the seventies: *The Architecture Machine* (1970) and *Soft Architecture Machines* (1975). The last one with a chapter called *Computer Graphics* with an introduction by Coons (Rocha, 2004; Steenson, 2017).

Also important were the contributions from other key figures in the second half of the sixties. Lionel March was Alexander's colleague from Cambridge, also a mathematician and a pioneer of digital architecture, who went with him to the United States but returned to the UK to work with his former teacher Leslie Martin on the Whitehall Plan research (March, 2000; Sharr and Thornton, 2013). Together, they used quantitative ideas in land use planning and computers to study urban shapes, in a research center they established called Land Use and Built Form Studies at Cambridge (Rocha, 2004; Keller, 2005). Herbert Simon (1969) was not an architect but his book *The Sciences Of The Artificial* contained a chapter concerning research in design, "The Science of Design", that was very important to design research in architecture. Charles Eastman, who was both Simon and Alexander's disciple, himself a pioneer of digital architecture, made important progress in architectural design research using protocol analysis, a method from cognitive psychology (Eastman, 1969).

This paper goes through transdisciplinary digital architecture's origins aiming to make the link between the Bauhaus ideas to both non-interactive and interactive use of computation in architecture in the sixties.

Both Alexander and Sutherland are very important to establish an historical perspective of transdisciplinary digital architecture but are also great influences on the generations of IT programmers that follow. The influence of Alexander on digital architecture was direct when he started using digital non-interactive computers in design, while Sutherland exercised an indirect influence by developing the tool. It was Coons who had the vision of interactive parametric CAD being used by architects and had an advisee architect who could use it in architectural research (Steenson, 2017).

Negroponte, like Alexander, had an advisor that came from the Bauhaus lineage, Gyorgy Kepes, a visual artist that taught at Chicago's New Bauhaus and that can explain his use of science and art in transdisciplinary digital architectural research. Negroponte and Alexander, like March, Eastman and

Mitchell, are amongst a first generation of digital architects that had teachers and advisors that can be connected to the Bauhaus and to the tradition of architecture and science.

Preliminary results and discussion

This paper is part of ongoing research whose purpose is to gather relevant information in the matter of the connections between people, places, and institutions comprising a fifty-year period to make an historical perspective of the transdisciplinary change in architecture as an important step to a digital change. A change that started with a first generation of transdisciplinarity teachers with the Bauhaus research and learning methods to the teachers of the pioneers of digital architecture in the sixties.

This paper presents some preliminary results suggesting that is possible to link the use of science and technology in architectural design teaching in schools like Bauhaus and New Bauhaus / School of Design / Institute of Design to the groundbreaking use of computation in architecture, in schools like MIT and Harvard that led to changes in architectural research, teaching and practice methods.

This paper suggests a new theory for digital architecture based on the relations between the Bauhaus lineage of teachers and some of the pioneers of digital architecture, as well as how it is possible to relate those pioneers with the main figures responsible for the creation of interactive CAD. The use of science in architectural research before digital computation can thus be linked to the use of computer science in architecture. It is possible to link Bauhaus ideas of art, architecture, technology and science to both non-interactive and interactive use of computation in architectural research in the sixties through the pioneering work of personalities that have links between them.

In a certain way we are going back to the future because nowadays digital architectural design can possibly be more easily related to Project CAD ideas of a human designer working together with the computer on creative design problems than with an eighties or nineties CAD where the screen almost mimicked the paper sheet.

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The Teaching of Semiotics for Design: How Do We Do Today?

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Design / Semiotics / Design education / Methodology / Pedagogical approaches

This paper presents the initial phases of PhD research in development at the Paris 1 Panthéon–Sorbonne University, whose theme is the teaching of semiotics in undergraduate design courses. In general, the research aims to show how semiotics has contributed to the teaching and development of design nowadays, based on pedagogical approaches in French and Brazilian courses, comparing their modus operandi in different schools and pointing out their practices, their differences and their goals. It is understood that the teaching of semiotics in design should contribute to the clear understanding of the processes of sense and meaning that are established in different instances and cultures. Paradoxically, it's based on the empirical assumption that there are great difficulties in understanding and, consequently, in the use of semiotics by design students. As a result, the research aims to give light to different teaching contexts, to update the role of semiotics in design courses and to understand how the academy has been acting in the training of the designer and in the understanding of the design area, taking into account the semiotic approach as a discipline within design courses.

Introduction and objectives

This work presents the initial stages of doctoral research that has as its theme the teaching of semiotics in design courses. In general, the research aims to elucidate how semiotics has contributed to the teaching and development of design nowadays from the analysis of pedagogical approaches and contexts of design teaching in French and Brazilian schools.

Considering the history of the insertion of the discipline of semiotics (and its different schools) in curricula of design courses in both countries and the changes that have occurred in the area of design in recent decades (due to new technologies, devices and materials, new services, new types of interpersonal relationships, new values, etc.), the study aims specifically: a) to update the role of semiotics in design courses (why is it taught?); b) understand how the academy has been acting in the training of the designer and in the understanding of the area of 'design' from semiotic approaches (how do you teach?); c) identify and understand possible problems in the understanding of the discipline and its consequent use in design processes; and d) identify the pedagogical practices / proposals that present the best results for the teaching-learning process of semiotics in design (what are the results in academia?).

We believe that the comparison between different cultural contexts can bring interesting data about the teaching of the semiotics discipline in design courses. The knowledge about teaching practices in this field can highlight the causes of possible problems regarding students' understanding, as well as indicate how to transpose them.

Problematization

Several studies have already been developed to understand the semiotics of design, especially in the form of semiotic analysis of communication, information and use (products) systems (e.g. Farias, 2004; Beyert-Geslin, 2012). However, there are few studies that focus on how this course is taught in design courses, with what objectives and what its current role for project development and understanding of the area is (theory and practice). Taking this gap into account, the main research question is posed: how is semiotics nowadays in the context of teaching design in France and Brazil?

Considering the more than 50 years of inclusion of semiotics in design courses (pioneers) and the changes that have occurred in the last 20 years in this area, the research intends to update the way in which the discipline is treated in courses in France and Brazil, comparing its modus operandi in different schools and pointing out their practices, their methods, their problems, their differences and their objectives. In this sense, several questions arise from the general question:

Is it possible to understand the role of semiotics in design (and of design) by analyzing the teaching of this discipline in design courses? How has the discipline been developed / taught in design courses (can it be possible to identify semiotic methods for teaching design)? Is there a difference in the way semiotics is handled in Brazilian design courses and in French courses? How has semiotics been contributing to the teaching and development of design today? What is the relation with the beginnings of its insertion / proposition in the curricula of design courses? What are the 'semiotics' studied and worked on in design? In what way? For what purpose? What are the problems faced in the teaching–learning process?

The motivation and restlessness that led to such questions came from the experience as a semiotics teacher in design courses in Brazil and from debates in the conferences in the area.

In the Brazilian context, although several semiotic approaches are known and worked, Peircean semiotics seems to find greater adhesion in the design context, according to the programs of the courses and publications in the main events and journals of the area (e.g. P&D Design, Design Studies, InfoDesign).

In the last decades several works have been published relating semiotics and design and several design courses that bring the 'semiotic' discipline in their curricula both in Brazil and in France. According to Deni and Zingale (in press) the contribution of semiotics to the training of designers is decisive, since design nowadays projects not only products and interfaces but "social objects", whether material or immaterial. Design projects relationships, experiences, ways of living and being; promotes improvements to people's lives. And thus, by modifying interactions and habits through semantic and pragmatic reconfigurations, design contributes to the establishment of new values and beliefs. Therefore, it is paramount that this process, that semiotic thinking and making of design, is strongly understood and incorporated by the students.

As Darras (2011) states, a designer's learning period is a crucial moment in the relationship (and perception of this relationship) between semiotics and design. Understanding the design processes, the processes of use, and the ability to analyze the different modes of meaning production by means of different signs becomes crucial for the designer's doing and for the evaluation (success or failure) of the processes and products.

Pioneers

Considering modern semiotics, we have as a starting point the work of the American philosopher Charles Sanders Peirce (1839–1914) and the Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure (1857–1913), who simultaneously and independently conceived a study of the systems of signs, and, more generally, a study of the systems of meaning, named "semiotics", by the founder of American pragmatism, and "semiology" by the Swiss master. Several developments and proposals have developed from the foundations of these thinkers. In 1969, the International Association of Semiotics, at the initiative of Roman Jakobson, decided to adopt *Semiotics* as the general term for the field of investigations in the traditions of semiology and general semiotics (Nöth, 1995).

The teaching of semiotics in design courses goes back to the first half of the twentieth century. In the 1930s, Charles Morris, as a professor at the New Bauhaus in Chicago, taught his semiotic theory to the school's design students with the goal of connecting art, science, and technology. His philosophical approach belonged to pragmatism (of total Peircean influence), emphasizing the importance of taking into account the thought, the understanding of the interpreter (that is, of the user of the signs) and very much influenced the conceptions about the relation between semiotics and design (Vihma, 1995). In *Foundations of the Theory of Signs*, 1938, Charles Morris, based on the foundations of Charles Sanders Peirce, established three 'semiotic dimensions' replacing, according to Serra (1996), the names of Peirce by those of Syntax, which studies the signs in their relations with other signs (positioning, identification and relation between elements); Semantics, which studies signs in their relations with referents; and Pragmatics, which studies the signs in their relationships with interpreters or users.

In 1950s Europe, at the Ulm School (Hochschule für Gestaltung Ulm, 1955–1968), the designers' interest in semiotics and its applications began. Tomás Maldonado and Gui Bonsiepe taught semiotic theory and analysis, applying semiotic concepts to the study of visual communication (Vihma, 1995). One of his main contributions was the proposition of a new visual / verbal rhetoric, developed from classical rhetoric, but under the semiotic approach (Kinross, 1986). Also Abraham Moles and Max Bense, both professors of Ulm, developed a semiotic and aesthetic approach applied to design. In the mid-1950s Bense relied on Peirce's semiotics to analyze products and advertising images (Walther-Bense, 2000; Vihma, 1995).

Between the 1950s and 1980s, important contributions to a semiotics of design can be highlighted, as Deni (2015) points out: since Barthes in *Mythologies* and his proposal of analysis of objects as producers and reproducers of meaning, through Baudrillard in *The system of objects* and its production of meaning during use, and Umberto Eco notably in the chapter "Function and Sign: Semiotics of Architecture" (which is part of his well-known work *The Absent Structure*) where he questions the theoretical and epistemological role of semiotics for architecture and design. At that time, in Italy, semiotics was already taught by Umberto Eco at the Faculty of Architecture of the University of Milan and Florence (Deni and Zingale, 2017).

The School of Paris, based on the foundations of Greimas, produced important contributions to the study of design semiotics, considering, above all, its potential for the analysis of verbal-visual texts of plastic semiotics. One of the most important names is, notably, J.M. Floch and his studies, from the 1980s, in the field of syncretic semiotics; with emphasis on the work *Visual Identities*, 1995, the closest to design practice (Fontanille and Arias Gonzalez, 2010).

Some contributions from the last 20 years

In the course of the 1990s and 2000s, following Peirce's semiotic precepts and adapting the Bense model, Susan Vihma (1995) approaches the product of design as a representation (as a sign) using the semiotic classes of signs to better understand it. According to her point of view, "the analysis of signs can help the designer to find new solutions (...) because products must (...) be interpreted as expressions and representations of a certain cultural context" (Vihma 1995, p.178–179).

At the same time, Darras (2004, 2006, 2007, 2010; 2011) also develops several studies in the area of design, information design and cultural studies taking pragmatic semiotics as a methodological and epistemological basis; with emphasis on the proposal of the "Metabolism" tool (Darras, 2016) for the study and diagnosis of communication systems (whatever the artefact, such as images, products, websites, etc.) and collective construction of meaning. Names that are also important in advancing the understanding of semiotics of design are notably Anne Beyard-Geslin (e.g. 2012), which is based on greimasian semiotics for object analysis and comprehension, and Michela Deni (2010, 2015, 2017) who, from different semiotic approaches, has been investigating the relations between design projects and semiotics, and more recently, the teaching of semiotics for design.

In Brazil, Lúcia Santaella (e.g. 1999; 2004; 2005) – acting mainly in the field of social communication – widely spread the work of Peirce. In "Applied Semiotics" Santaella (2005) presents semiotic analyses applied to design and advertising, with the purpose of making explicit the communicative potential that a product, graphic piece or image can present, exploring what effects they can produce in a receiver. In order to understand this communicative potential of messages, Santaella (2005) uses three points of view from which to analyse: a) qualitative-iconic, which refers to the qualitative aspects, to the material quality of the analysed object, such as colors, luminosity, composition, form, etc., being those responsible for the suggestion of abstract qualities, such as lightness, sophistication, severity, strength, monotony, etc.; b) singular-indicative, which refers to the contextual and utilitarian analysis of the object in question, that is, what informs that object with respect to its origin, use and purpose to which it is provided (functions it performs); and c) conventional-symbolic, which analyses the type of the product in question, where cultural patterns are inserted and what it represents (values, status, concepts), as well as the type of user it aims to meet and the meanings that it can transmit to this user.

In the field of communication and design itself, Flávio Cauduro made important contributions notably in the 1990s and 2000s. For Cauduro (1998) semiotic practice is intrinsic to graphic design, since it seeks to optimize the aesthetic (iconic, emotional, subjective), persuasive (indicative, factual, contextual) and informative (symbolic, conventional, communitarian) aspects of diverse messages. Also, Priscila Farias (2004; 2008), especially in the field of information design, has been helping to strengthen the ties between Peircean semiotics and design, more specifically the potential of semiotics for thinking and doing design.

Nowadays, semiotics is present in most of the curricula of design courses, and seems to be still closely related to the approaches proposed in the 1950s and 1960s by pioneering schools. In many cases – as can be seen from the teaching activity of the author of this article in recent years – it sometimes seems not to be in line with the actual purposes of design practice or not to be understood (and assimilated by the designer) by most students, as if the theory were 'detached' from the practice of design. Semiotics 'for' design (teaching) needs to be 'demystified', bringing semiotic concepts closer to the processes of design, its operations of meaning creation, and analysis of the production of meaning in different contexts. The discipline could be worked, for example, beyond design methodology (or isolated theory), as a connection between the different disciplines, instances and actors that participate in the semiotic processes mediated by the created interfaces.

Methods

For the development of the research, the option of the pragmatic semiotic approach is assumed, both theoretically and methodologically. The use of a semiotic approach to investigate social phenomena, according to Morentin (2004), aims to explain the process of production and interpretation of such phenomena, identifying, through analysis, how to construct the "systems of interpretants that represent, in turn, the social habit of interpretation actually in force". In this line, the qualitative research begins with a survey of the main courses of design (graduation) at French and Brazilian schools in the area of communication and product design, and that contain the discipline of semiotics in the curriculum. The main method includes case studies, with curriculum and teaching plans analysis, observation of classes, interviews with teachers and interviews with students. A focus group will also be held with specialists working with design, communication and visual semiotics to consider different approaches to this discipline in design teaching. At the end of the investigation it is also planned to carry out workshops to investigate the teaching processes considered as best practices.

Final considerations

Semiotics in (teaching) design, much more than analyzing or classifying isolated signs, can aid in the analysis / understanding of how habits and beliefs are produced and operated upon things in the world, how values and perceptions are established, and how these processes legitimize new forms of understanding and new 'social objects', material or immaterial. The evaluation that a designer is able to make of the context and its variables will always be decisive for the development of coherent and efficient projects. In this way the research proposes to understand how the academy has been acting in the training of the designer and in the understanding about the area, considering the dimension and semiotic approach as a discipline within the design courses. It is proposed a comparative study to precisely understand the processes based on latent differences. In addition to this contribution we understand that the proposed research is a way to promote continuous thinking about the area of design and the activity of the designer, updating the way one can teach design.

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Intelligible Design: The Origin and Visualization of Species

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Design and science / Charles Darwin / Information graphics / Design history / Visual thinking

In this paper, I argue that visual ideation helped Darwin shape his revolutionary notions about evolution. Visual ideation is part of design thinking, a range of thinking methods that are used to generate and develop concepts. I discuss how Darwin's "Tree-of-Life" sketches are design experiments–hand-on-pencil-on-paper activity that helped him to see evolution as an unpredictable, change-driven, time-based set of processes with an indeterminate beginning and end. I also touch on how immersion in a richly disordered visual context contributed to Darwin's ideas while sketching. I next consider Darwin's tree diagram in the *Origin of Species* as a designed artifact, an infographic that was based on the mid-nineteenth century visual vocabulary of tree diagrams. I believe this visual vocabulary limited how Darwin could give expression to his ideas about evolution. In my conclusion, I underscore how visual thinking is a vital component of both design and science.

Darwin's Visual Environment

Nineteenth-century British scientists, including Darwin, gathered a "vast, bewildering array" of biological samples (Voss, 2010: 88). The disordered and overabundant collections—in which Darwin was often immersed—called into question commonly accepted species classifications, and, according to Julia Voss, made it possible for Darwin to "recognize... variation within species" and "to ponder evolution" (Voss, 2010: 8–9). But precisely *how* did being immersed in these vast disordered collections catalyze Darwin's thinking?

Visual ideation, which is a part of design thinking is, in fact, fueled by disorder and uncertainty (Leski, 2015: 1–8). The massive array of samples that for Darwin shattered species classifications created the perfect environment for visual ideation. In the book *Design Things*, the authors observe that: "an immersive mass of material... means space for odd, surprising, or useless objects in the studio and the chance to find something unexpected in surprising or interesting combinations of those objects" (Binder *et al.*, 2011: 33–34). As happens in design thinking, immersion in a jumbled environment of items helped Darwin to imagine that species variation can move in multiple directions at once, and to ponder the invisible forces behind such a phenomenon. So did sketching.

Darwin's Design Experiments

Visual ideation, in which designers think and sketch in order to imagine possibilities for yet-to-be-conceived designed artifacts, requires suspension of preconceived notions about what these artifacts could be. Evolutionary processes likewise require visual imagination to comprehend: we can't see the processes of natural selection, mutation, or evolution taking place. Darwin had to, as Jonathan Smith writes, find ways to "visualize how one scene modified into another via a mechanism... that could not be directly observed in the present"—which is in essence a design problem, even if Darwin would not have conceived it as such (Smith, 2009: 10). To visualize these hidden mechanisms, Darwin used his hand (and pencil or quill) to let his mind roam on the page.

Darwin sketched and wrote in a series of notebooks. James Costa describes Notebook B as the space in which Darwin thinks through species transmutation (Fig. 1). He writes of the 1837 "I think" sketch in this notebook: "this beautiful diagram is prefaced with the words 'I think'—a vision that clearly set Darwin's conception of transmutation apart from all earlier attempts" (Costa, 2009: xiv).

Researchers have interpreted the didactic scientific content of Darwin's "I think" sketch. Voss describes it this way: "as the lines branch off, they symbolize how species vary over the course of generations. The abrupt end of a line indicates extinction. Lines that end with a cross stroke stand for... those still living" (Voss, 2010: 63). A close reading of Darwin's sketches through the lens of design can show that these sketches have more than a didactic meaning; it can show that, in these sketches, we can glimpse the halting and limited but also stunningly creative emergence of a revolutionary idea.

The "Tree of Life" from Notebook B is an active thinking sketch. Its branches go in random directions in a seemingly disorderly manner, "a fragile, irregular pattern—a sprawling growth with nodes and gaps" (Voss, 2010: 62). Darwin was conceptualizing, imagining, and rendering various evolutionary mechanisms. In Darwin's hand, the sketch line moves, morphs, starts and stops, and changes course as he thinks. This is a sketching action that architect

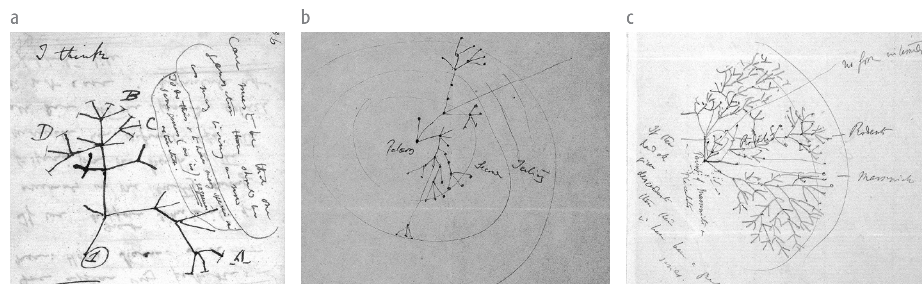

Fig. 1 **a,** Charles Darwin, Tree-of-Life sketch from Notebook B, 1837; MS.DAR.121:p36; **b,** 1850s tree sketch showing geological time, MS.DAR.205.5:f183r; **c,** 1857 sketch showing geological time, MS.DAR.205.5:f183r. Reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

Richard McCormick describes in a different context as "a process of criticism and discovery" (McCormick as quoted in Cross, 2011: 71).

The handwritten "one" in the diagram indicates a starting point for the processes that Darwin is considering; it may represent the origin of species or some random origin, and it suggests an indeterminate beginning (Grosz, 2004: 21). We can see that Darwin jotted down his thoughts in handwriting at two different angles on the page. The handwritten notes that surround the diagram aren't mere text, however; they're a visual component of his ideation. His written comment "I think" runs parallel to the edge of the paper at the top of the page, giving it a hierarchical prominence: this page is for *thinking*.

But the right side of this "I think" text also aligns visually with an angle that runs along right edge of the line drawing—between the sketch and the text in balloon shapes. This formal relationship indicates the importance of the sketch to Darwin's thinking: "I think" refers first to the processes that are expressed in the diagram, and then to the textual content on the right side of the page. This text reads:

> case must be that one generation should have as many living as now. To do this and to have as many species in same genus (as is) requires extinction. Thus between A + B the immense gap of relation. C + B the finest gradation. B + D rather greater distinction. Thus genera would be formed. Bearing relation (next page begins) to ancient types with several extinct forms.

In other words, Darwin is sorting out some theoretical insights into how a genus—a category that includes a group of related species—might originate by divergence from a starting point. The written idea of extinction balloons from Darwin's tree sketch and practically extends off the right side of the page, suggesting to me how immense these ideas must have seemed to Darwin, and reaffirming once again an indeterminate timeframe—right off the edge of the page—of both the origin and extinction of species.

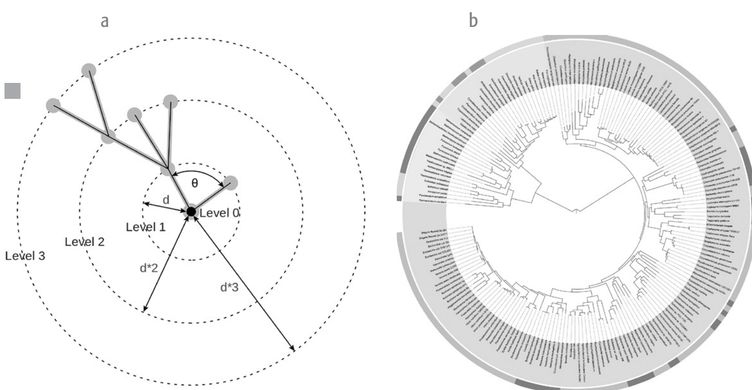

Fig. 2 a, *General structure of radial tree diagrams*; Wikimedia https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Radial-graph-schmatic.gif; b, David Hillis plot of the Tree of Life, based on completely sequenced genomes. The very center represents the last universal ancestor of all life on earth. The different shades of gray represent the three domains of life: eukaryota (animals, plants and fungi); bacteria; and archaea. Note *Homo sapiens* (humans) second from the rightmost edge eukaryote section. Wikimedia http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:TreeoflifeSVG.svg.

The messiness of Darwin's Tree-of-Life diagram, the uneven line widths, the fuzzy ink blobs, the sprawling, irregular pattern, suggest that this diagram was drawn fairly quickly, while Darwin imagined the processes that he was trying to represent. Although most designer sketches are quick and messy, the messiness of the Tree-of-Life sketch also suggests the untidiness, unevenness, and unpredictability of the organic natural processes that it delineates.

Darwin's visual ideation itself shared striking similarities with the evolutionary processes he sought to pin down. Like evolution by natural selection, visual ideation is a trial-and-error process in which abundant ideas or series of ideas come to fruition, morph, or die off in response to internal and external factors.

Darwin, in fact, felt that the character of evolutionary processes that he struggled so hard to pin down got lost in translation in what I will talk about shortly—the tidy Tree of Life image in the *Origin of Species*. His dissatisfaction with the *Origin* diagram is a testament to his sense that evolutionary processes such as the multiplication of species, and natural selection, were organic and plastic rather than clean and orderly.

Darwin Attempts to Depict Deep Time

Darwin also struggled to find ways simultaneously to depict time and species variation and divergence in his diagrams. Including information about the passage of time and the relationships among species in a succinct diagram, along with the other abstract information that Darwin needed to incorporate, is difficult to accomplish in two-dimensional still media. Although "Darwin emphasizes the superiority of two-dimensional diagrams", over text for showing species relations, Darwin writes that even diagrams are "unable to capture adequately both the complexity of natural relations and the element of time" (Brink-Roby, 2009: 249). Yet Darwin persisted.

Darwin didn't fully resolve the time/species relationships depiction dilemma. But he did design two sketches using tree diagrams between his 1837 Tree of Life and the publication of the *Origin of Species* in 1859, in which he attempted to sort out ways to depict time and evolutionary processes simultaneously (Figs. 1b and 1c). The concentric circles or horizontal divisions that represent geological time periods in these sketches, though, didn't work well with Darwin's complicated ideas. These sketches layer complex process (evolution) upon structure (deep time), in effect mixing visual metaphors. Darwin's attempt to utilize time as a circular form, though, foreshadowed contemporary radial tree diagrams (Figs. 2a and 2b), one of several sorts of diagrams that are used today to portray the relationships among groups of organisms. In radial tree diagrams species relationships and time both build from the center outward. These radial trees unify time and aspects of species evolution: time is depicted as a series of concentric circles into which a number of complex interrelated tree diagrams are mapped.

Darwin's Infographic

Darwin's sketches helped him think, but he also needed to communicate his ideas to others. His sketches of and visual

experiments on evolutionary processes led to the diagram that was published in the *Origin of Species*—an infographic that helped make his complicated ideas available to readers (Fig. 3). Darwin says of this diagram:

> The complex action of these several principles, namely, natural selection, divergence & extinction, may be best, yet very imperfectly, illustrated by the following Diagram, printed on a folded sheet for convenience of reference (Darwin, 1987: 238).

The *Origin* Tree of Life indicates how distinct one species is from another by varying the amount of space between them on the horizontal axis. The dotted lines below the letters effectively show that the species have diverged from one or more common ancestors in an indeterminate timeframe as indicated on the vertical axis. The branching lines communicate the idea that species give rise to other species that may either continue to exist or go extinct.

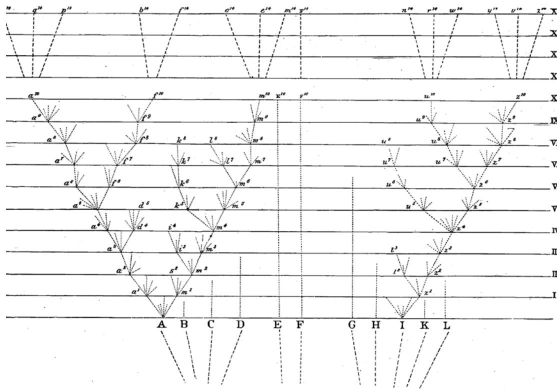

Fig. 3 Charles Darwin, Tree-of-Life diagram from *The Origin of Species*, 1859. Reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library. Syn.7.85.6.

Darwin's Tree of Life in *Origin*, however, required eight pages of accompanying text to communicate his dynamically networked rendition of unpredictable genesis, change, and eradication over an expanse of time with no clear beginning or end. Voss writes that Darwin's ideas about "competition, effort, and struggle" were delivered through his text, and his concepts of "chance, variation, disorder, and incompleteness" were expressed in his diagram. But I would argue that the *Origin* diagram—with its tidy minimalist geometric two-dimensional representation of Darwin's ideas—fell far short in its attempt to show disorder. Darwin understood that the visual vocabulary of this diagram was missing a fundamental quality of his ideas. He writes:

> I must here remark that I do not suppose that the process[es of species divergence, natural selection, and extinction] never [go] on so regularly as is represented in the diagram, though in itself made somewhat irregular… for natural selection… will depend on infinitely complex relations (Darwin, 1987: 238).

Although Darwin couldn't capture all of the complexity of his ideas in one diagram, his thinking sketches communicated disorder better than the *Origin* diagram precisely because they conveyed "a fragile, irregular pattern—a sprawling growth with nodes and gaps" (Voss, 2010: 62). The visualization of information typically requires a balance between clarity and complexity. Because an infographic is a succinct presentation of information in one unified artifact, designers must use each and every part of it to make meaning—this includes the infographic's formal, material, and aesthetic qualities. Although Darwin's *Origin* Tree of Life communicated didactic information well—species divergence and emergence, and continuation and extinction—it was far too orderly to show the disorder, unpredictability, and randomness that are so vital to Darwin's ideas.

Despite the shortcomings of his *Origin* diagram, though, Darwin managed to communicate his complex theories—and the sense of disorder, randomness, and indeterminate time they embodied—using both the diagram and his descriptive text. "It was largely his diagram and carefully worded step-by-step explanation", Theodore Pietsch writes, "that sold his revolutionary ideas to an initially skeptical audience" (Pietsch, 2012: 87). His design experiments that considered ways to show Deep Time and species transmutation helped him to formulate ideas that influenced both the reconceptualization of time and the way people understood the function of the organic realm in the nineteenth century (Creed, 2009: 29).

Darwin's Ideas and Complexity Science

I'd like to argue that it wasn't just the multiple factors that he needed to embed in one graphic, or the tidy visual vocabulary of his *Origin* diagram that hindered a more capacious visual representation of evolution by natural selection. Darwin's ability to express his ideas using Tree-of-Life diagrams was inevitably colored by the design limitations of these popular tree diagrams. Although the branching tree diagram was good for showing organizational relationships and classification systems, it was hardly adequate for representing Darwin's complex impressions and comprehensive concepts. Darwin's novel approach to biology—which underscored the interrelationships among Deep Time, organisms, and hidden dynamic biological processes—didn't yet have a visual language on which to hang its hat in the mid-nineteenth century. While using the simple tree diagram to undergird his thinking enabled the depiction of some aspects of his theories, it foreclosed on other aspects.

Darwin understood that the phenotypical traits—that is, the visible traits of organisms—that individuals expressed were infinitely varied. He figured that natural selection and extinction are slow moving, random processes that act upon these varied traits in conjunction with a whole host of environmental factors. Darwin described the mechanisms behind variation and natural selection as "the infinite complexity of the coadaptations between all organic beings…" (Darwin 2009, 109). In other words, his ideas about evolution went far beyond just the structure of the relationships among species.

You see here three ways of organizing natural systems (Fig. 4). In the early twentieth century scientists began to apply what Darwin had already observed: the idea that some natural systems had multiple variables that didn't interact; and other systems had multiple variables that inter-

acted—sometimes randomly and chaotically (Lima, 2013: 45). The study of these complex linkages at various scales is the main goal of complex systems theory. The scientific application of complex systems is often called "complexity science", which is the scientific study of systems with many interacting parts that produce outcomes. These larger outcomes, though, can't be discerned through the interactions of the individual parts.

The random traits and unpredictable forces that Darwin describes in *Origin* and another publication, *Natural Selection*, fit what mid-twentieth-century American scientist Warren Weaver called "disorganized complexity". In disorganized complexity, natural systems have variables that are random (Lima, 2013: 45). Systems of disorganized complexity typically have a large number of elements, with no correlation among these elements. The large number of possible variations among members of a species, for example, and the large number of possible environmental forces that can act upon these variations are systems of disorganized complexity. But Darwin's ideas also have characteristics of what Weaver called systems of "organized complexity" (Lima, 2013: 45).

Fig. 4 Schematic of three different ways of visualizing natural systems.

Systems of organized complexity are characterized by non-random or coordinated interaction among its elements—these systems are typically complex networks with multiple interconnected variables. The interrelationships among forces and traits in Darwin's theories are systems of organized complexity.[1] The forces of natural selection, for example, act upon the random variations within a species to precipitate evolution, divergence, and extinction of species.

Darwin understood that evolution was a complex system. He presciently points out that, "The relation of all past & all present beings may be loosely compared with the growth of a few gigantic trees" (Darwin, 1987: 249). A group of trees, however, is not a unified representation of all species relationships. "Perhaps realizing this", Costa suggests, "Darwin opted to represent the profusion of life with the single-tree metaphor" (Costa, 2009: 129). His metaphorical few gigantic trees, though, are elements of a nascent system of organized complexity.

Darwin had to use text and image together to try to depict the systems he intended to communicate to his audience. His passage about a group of trees suggests again that at some level he understood that his single tree image—even with his textual descriptions—was too rudimentary to properly represent his ideas, although he may not have fully figured out why. The evolutionary mechanisms that Darwin intuited are explained by DNA, but DNA and the idea of random genetic mutations weren't known yet. And Darwin certainly hadn't figured out how to best represent this complexity in an infographic.

Darwin's speculation about multiple trees, however, foreshadowed a kind of contemporary phylogenetic infographic that uses interrelated multiple trees in webs or nets (Fig. 5). "Net-of-life" diagrams developed out of research on DNA and RNA sequencing in the late twentieth century. The information that's encoded into DNA and RNA, and how that information responds to environmental forces, provides the missing explanation Darwin sought for species variation. DNA and RNA are the unknown mysterious stuff—that perplexed Darwin—that precipitates the mutations upon which natural selection acts.

Called molecular evolution, this contemporary field developed techniques to read DNA and RNA sequences and those of other biomolecules such as proteins. Scientists first sequenced bacterial RNA from ribosomes—organelles that are found in cells—which bore out Darwin's evolutionary tree structure. According to Graham Lawton of *New Science* magazine, the pioneers of molecular evolution believed that DNA sequencing would likewise validate the accuracy of Darwin's tree of life. In fact, DNA sequencing called into question the very premises behind Darwin's tree.

DNA sequencing in microorganisms, plants, and some animals indicates that they have crossbred at times, "meaning that instead of genes simply being passed down individual branches of the tree of life, they are also transferred between species on different evolutionary paths" (Sample, 2009). The diagram I show you here, for example, depicts a "three-dimensional representation of the net of life—an updated version of the tree of life. Red lines depict horizontal gene transfer. These lines tie together individual bacteria and archaea (another group of microscopic life forms), all of which originate from a common root shown in orange" (Lima, 2013: caption Figure 24, 68).

Bonnie DeVarco and Eileen Clegg argue that phylogenetic tree-of-life infographics evolved from Darwin's limited flat hierarchical phylogenetic tree to two-dimensional radial as well as three-dimensional spherical configurations in response to the new ideas in molecular evolution (DeVarco and Clegg, 2010). Yet, in *Origin* Darwin paints for the reader a version of a net of life, an image of a spatial thicket of interrelatedness. He writes:

> It is interesting to contemplate an entangled bank, clothed with many plants of many kinds,

[1] Organized complexity still characterizes contemporary thinking about natural systems, which are understood as complex networked systems with multiple interconnected variables.

> with birds singing on the bushes, with various insects flitting about, and with worms crawling through the damp earth, and to reflect that these elaborately constructed forms, so different from each other, and dependent on each other in so complex a manner, have all been produced by laws acting around us (Darwin, 2009: 489).

In the entangled bank text Darwin describes a dynamic three-dimensional web of life, a prescient image of evolutionary nature that evokes contemporary net-of-life diagrams like the one I show here. Although Darwin renders this in text rather than as an image, the reader comes away with a mental picture of what Gillian Beer describes as the "richness of the variety of life", its "complex interdependency", and its "weaving together an aesthetic fullness" (Beer, 2000: 159). This text would be a challenge to depict as an infographic, but it suggests sites of tension between clarity and fluidity in Darwin's infographics.

In 1843, Darwin sketched a flowing seaweed-like tree on a loose piece of paper. He writes about it: "As all groups by my theory blend into each other... there could be no genera or orders 'in same sense that no part or branch of a tree can be said to be distinct'" (Darwin, sheet of paper, 1843). On the other side of the paper he writes: "a tree not a good simile—**endless** piece of sea weed dividing". Darwin's use of the term "endless" suggests how essential Deep Time was to his ideas. The implied plasticity of seaweed, and Darwin's statement that there is not necessarily a barrier between the species of two genera, leaves room for processes such as the horizontal gene transfer depicted in net-of-life diagrams. Of course, Darwin wasn't referring to horizontal gene transfer. And entanglement is a design problem that Darwin only partially solved. Without a knowledge of genetics, he couldn't have known how fully entangled that bank was. Yet Darwin presents a remarkable netlike version of variation, natural selection, and extinction in his diagrams and text—it was as complex as his inherited visual vocabulary would allow.

Science and Visual Thinking

Darwin pushed against the scientific conventions of his time. Many aspects of his theories, such as the large number of random variations that can occur within a species, or the range of unpredictable forces that act upon these variations, presage twentieth and even twenty-first century thought. To some extent Darwin pushed against nineteenth-century visual conventions as well. He observed that the Tree-of-Life diagram didn't really do justice to his ideas. Despite this realization, however, he couldn't summon a more fully eloquent visual solution. Contemporary phylogentic infographics exemplify new concepts in evolution, but they, and Darwin's entangled bank text, also shed light on why nineteenth-century trees of life failed Darwin.

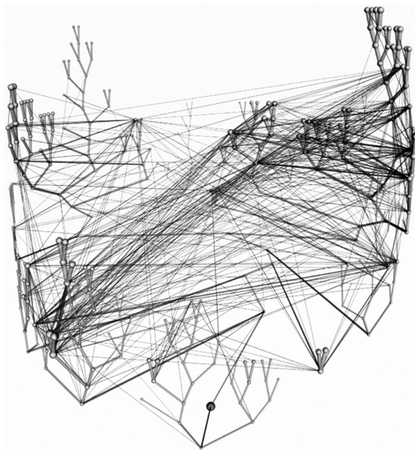

Fig. 5 *The Net of Life*, 2005, from V. Kunin, L. Goldovsky, N. Darzentas, and C.A. Ouzounis. Microbial phylogenetic network, with the dominant vertical gene flows represented by tree-like branches (cyan for bacteria, green for archaea in colour version), and horizontal gene flows represented by horizontal vines (red in color version). Note that certain species (represented by nodes) are hubs connecting horizontal gene flows across certain areas of the network.

When asked if information visualization is science or design, Lev Manovich responds that they exist in the same space (Manovich, 2013: 12). Design and science are both rooted in culture. Both are characterized by cultural paradigms that falsify some ideas and reveal others. And they are constructive partners in the evolution of our ideas about evolution.

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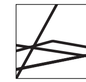

2 Design Studies

2.5 Vehicles of Design Criticism

Although from a historical perspective design criticism has a lot in common with architectural criticism and art criticism, in the 20th century it developed into a genre in its own right. Critical reflections and observations on new design products, exhibitions and other related events appeared in professional journals, popular magazines and newspapers, and later on also in television programmes, blogs and social media. This strand invites contributions that focus on vehicles of design criticism. What were or are the key media of this genre of criticism in a particular geographical area or time frame? How did or do they mediate critical thought? Which public did or do they address and what was or is their geographical scope? The aim is to map out the diversity of design critical media and to discuss how they contribute to the (transnational) circulation of ideas and the continuous shaping of the discipline of design criticism.

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2 Design Studies

2.5 Vehicles of Design Criticism

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INTRODUCTION

2.5 Vehicles of Design Criticism

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The sessions on 'Vehicles of Design Criticism' tackle the subject in two ways. One set of papers critically reflects on the discipline of industrial design, on the standards that have been employed over the years and on the agency of users in expressing criticism. They remind us that we have a responsibility to act as critics of our disciplinary fields and be aware of the temporality of the criteria we use for assessing design products and of the rich potential of participatory processes. A second set of papers sheds light on the potential of graphic design and drawing as a critical practice. How can knowledge be produced through artistic production? How does research through drawing contribute to design criticism? One way of addressing these questions is by focussing on the work of key personalities or protagonists in the field. What can we learn from their graphic production?

Fredie Floré

Something to Cure or Salute:
Reconsidering Industrial Design Historically at the Edge of Dissociative Identity Disorder

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Industrial design / Design education / Dissociative Identity Disorder / Design history

Industrial design has witnessed many definitional modifications and implications in its core practice as a profession since 1959. Through its evolution process industrial design has been continuously reformulated. This study aims to investigate how the notion of industrial design is challenged by various definitions in its evolutionary process and reshaped by industrial formations in its recent history. Methodologically, a review of psychological and physical health history is derived from the literature, and utilized as a metaphorical approach to explore a phenomenon of Dissociative Identity Disorder (DID) for the current state of the industrial design profession. As in the psychological model example, industrial design has grown a creative survival strategy that helps to cope with the overwhelming trauma caused by various definitions. This study highlights that, in different regions and different eras, industrial design has had substantially different implications. However, if it does exist, what kind of difficulties does this identity crisis raise for professionals? What problems have arisen that require being 'cured'? Or does this variety of identities have some advantages, thus is it worthy of 'salute'?

Introduction

This paper adopts a discourse analysis to analyze multiple definitions of industrial design proffered by various organizations. However, a term's definition as a reflection of objective fact needs to be further considered. An examination of the context in which various definitions emerge would help to clarify behind-the-scenes attempts by institutions to establish their professional identities. In terms of methodology, the present study uses Dissociative Identity Disorder (DID) to describe the chaotic state of industrial design but, apart from posing criticism, can this approach further deepen our understanding of industrial design? The profession of industrial design originated in Europe and the US in the early 20th century. The term industrial design prevailed in the US before and after WWII, but the practical content of the field has changed over time. Later a variety of professional practice models developed in different regions and countries, through different technical learning channels, or according to various individual economic and cultural conditions, making it difficult to establish a common identity.

In each definition, industrial design has been revisited, restructured, changed, and relatively advanced or deteriorated. The aim of this paper is to discuss the nature of industrial design through definitions. It examines the evolution of industrial design through relevant organizations including the World Design Organization (WDO), the International Council of Societies of Industrial Design (ICSID), and the Industrial Designers Society of America (IDSA), from the perspective of Dissociative Identity Disorder (DID) as a metaphor for the state of industrial design today. The paper explores how the notion of industrial design is challenged by various definitions in its evolutionary process and (re)shaped in recent history. The findings argue that the industrial design profession has matured significantly during the past decades, and evolved considerably due to the adoption and modification of definitions and practices.

A Discursive Approach to Industrial Design Definition

The particular approach to designing products for consumers has a relatively brief history, and industrial design as being principally a discipline emerged in the early 1900s. It is rooted in the philosophy and movement of the Crafts and the Bauhaus in Europe, and in the US as a stylish tool for increasing product sales. The former word 'industrial' has been given to concerns with products manufactured by industrial methods for effectiveness in time and money.

In 1959, the first ICSID Congress and General Assembly held in Stockholm, Sweden where the ICSID Constitution was officially adopted formed the very first definition of industrial design as where an industrial designer is qualified "by training, technical knowledge, experience and visual sensibility to determine the materials, mechanisms, shape, colour, surface finishes and decoration of objects which are reproduced in quantity by industrial processes... The industrial designer may also be concerned with the problems of packaging, advertising, exhibiting and marketing when the resolution of such problems requires visual appreciation in addition to technical knowledge and experience" (WDO). Designs based on drawings or models were counted for their commercial nature, manufactured in batches in quantity, not personal works of the artist craftsman. After the 1960s industrial design started to be seen as an intersection of designers from all backgrounds within a more collaborative manner. The definition was revised for the profession, and the rendering of the notion of human life efficiency and satisfaction was centralized. What design brings to conventional consumer products was of immense importance. Then, industrial design activity was devoted to practically every type of human artifact. The mass production that was mechanically actuated as a manufacturing method came onto the agenda. Following, industrial design became a major player in many developmental projects for the enhancement of the human condition. In 1969, the third definition of industrial design was anticipated as a creative activity aiming at formal qualities of objects produced by industry. These formal qualities were regarded as not only the external features but also structural and functional relationships. The professional perspective became more of a system, indicating

both the point of view of the producer and the user. Shortly after, ICSID decided to remove any definition from its constitution in 1971. By 1985, the Industrial Design Act in Canada used the terms of design and industrial design interchangeably with meanings of "features of shape, configuration, pattern or ornament and any combination of those features that, in a finished article, appeal to and are judged solely by the eye" (Industrial Design Act, 1985; 2). A decade later in the US, IDSA reformulated industrial design as a "professional service of creating and developing concepts and specifications that optimize the function, value and appearance of products and systems for the mutual benefit of both user and manufacturer" (IDSA, 1996).

In the beginning of the 2000s, the definitional difficulty struggled to adopt a general or abstract definition of industrial design. Ulrich and Pearson (1998), and Gemser and Leenders (2001) defined industrial design as the activity, which converts a set of product requirements into a configuration of materials, elements and components that together create an artifact. Industrial design was perceived a key element in the wider process of product development including research and development for product creation, product testing and development, and the interface with manufacturing production systems as well as engagement with market research and marketing. Furthermore, the same period also overlapped with the emergence of creative industries and the role of industrial design in geographies, with the emphasis on design as part of the cultural economy (Florida, 2002; Pratt, 2002).

The recent trends in defining the profession have moved towards the relationships of designer, design (not merely a product), client and experience. "A demanding and core characteristic of industrial designers' work is that they must seek originality (expansive partitions) whilst also being immediately comprehensible by their potential clients" (Hatchuel, 2013: 7). Likewise, in 2016 industrial design has been revisited and defined in ICSID as an innovative strategic problem-solving process that realizes business success, better quality of life through innovative products, systems, services, and experiences. An extended version of this definition has been currently in use as follows:

> Industrial Design is a strategic problem-solving process that drives innovation, builds business success, and leads to a better quality of life through innovative products, systems, services, and experiences. Industrial Design bridges the gap between what is and what's possible. It is a trans-disciplinary profession that harnesses creativity to resolve problems and co-create solutions with the intent of making a product, system, service, experience or a business, better. At its heart, Industrial Design provides a more optimistic way of looking at the future by reframing problems as opportunities. It links innovation, technology, research, business, and customers to provide new value and competitive advantage across economic, social, and environmental spheres (WDO).

Today, the definition of industrial design, regarding its limitlessness and hybrid nature, raises a number of discussions. As it is plausible to consider industrial design as artistic creation, it can also be regarded as a functional solution to existing problems.

Dissociative Identity Disorder (DID): Chaotic State of Industrial Design

The methodology of this study consists of, initially, forming a metaphorical approach to the phenomenon DID as an analogy from psychology studies to understand the chaotic state of industrial design. According to this phenomenon, "multiple identities are usefully conceptualized as rule governed social constructions, neither childhood trauma nor a history of severe psychopathology is necessary for the development or maintenance of multiple identities, and multiple identities are established, legitimized, maintained, and altered through social interaction" (Spanos, 1994: 143). Spanos' (1994) investigation on the subject of DID claims that it is socially constructed, where the characteristics of the disorder change through time in order to meet altering expectations. The present argument for industrial design then focuses on the changes of given roles between cultures and the changes in definition by various scholars, institutions and organizations in the theoretical formation of industrial design along with previous industrial shifts in production and changing market needs over time. Then, this raises the question of whether the case of DID is indeed another condition that is rather chaotic?

Institutional Perspective

The main concern here is what consequences might appear if this phenomenon is applied to the profession of industrial design. John Heskett's (2006) "Design is when designers design a design to produce a design" definition reflects a challenging yet problematic representation of a profession not only in terms of linguistics and grammar but also an identity crisis in psychological terms. Industrial design is easy to describe, however it is hard to be precisely defined due to its hybrid nature. As it can suggest solely form-based considerations and suggests an element that is independent from the product itself, it can also be a functionally irremovable element of the product. In most cases, it is not only purely artistic, but also concerns the function and technology of the product (Heskett, 1980).

The major disorder implications resulted from various definitions in different contexts outlining the several given roles, from being qualified by training, technical knowledge, experience and visual sensibility through materials, mechanisms, shape, colour, surface finishes and decoration of objects towards strategic problem-solving process for innova-

tion, business success, better quality of life through innovative products, systems, services, and experiences, consequently enabled the profession grow symptoms of fragmentation, in its own history, identity, and activities. In other words, such disorder becomes a form of manipulation caused by the institutional approach to the profession. Thus, it needs to be diagnosed as something else, and that has been institutionally constructed.

Education Structure

A similar disordered pattern can also be observed in industrial design education as well. Where there is a considerable standard pattern of formal and contextual education for other professional disciplines like law, medicine, engineering, industrial design education varies a lot in terms of formal structure and content. Different institutions follow different durations of professional industrial design education from short term certified programs to three to four and even longer years of education. Some industrial design education programs are structured and defined as schools (as in the case of Stanford or Parsons), where some others are academies (as in the case of Domus) or departments within faculties (as in the majority of programs). But the displacement of these industrial design departments changes from faculties of architecture, to engineering and fine arts. Finland and today's Aalto University, which combined these separated bodies in a very strategic and tactical process and established a unified body of industrial design education, represents a significant example with its facts and figures before and after this unification.

Legislation Problems

Similarly, legislators have not agreed on a generally applicable definition of industrial design due to a natural ambiguity in industrial design. Currently, in the US industrial design "consists of the visual ornamental characteristics embodied in, or applied to, an article of manufacture" (USPTO). On the other hand, industrial design is defined as "outward appearance of a product or part of it, resulting from the lines, contours, colours, shape, texture, materials and/or its ornamentation" (EUIPO). Therefore, what is officially defined as design in the EU cannot be validated as design within the US legal terminology. Unfortunately, there is no clear answer to this question (Schickl, 2013: 6).

Something to Cure or Salute

The concept of industrial design has been established in various ways, however none of these definitions has been universally recognized. Institutions, academics, and practitioners have emphasized that the role of industrial design in product development is not only to consider aesthetics, but also to provide fundamental aspects, such as ergonomics, ease of manufacture, efficient use of materials, and product performance.

More recently, attempts to define design are seen in the terms of design thinking, which is more problematic. Any definition of design thinking is mostly the definition of designing and you can take the term thinking out of these definitions. Yet, it highlights the essence of designing which is a very human act like thinking, and as in the case of thinking you can use it either for positive or negative outcomes. If very basic human activities, such as designing and thinking, are desired to be essential operations of the dominant socio-economical system, then such variations of design definitions occur. Herbert Simon's approach towards design as courses of action aimed at changing existing situations into preferred ones (Simon, 1969) still remains at the heart of the definitions going through revisions after revisions, as if the newest one is an attempt to cure the previous one.

Building on these findings helps to establish that, due to different cognitive and social history, and developments in the industrial systems, various definitions merely cause a chaotic structure of industrial design, in theory and practice. On the other hand, design is now regarded as a collaborative process, consisting of a range of different, particular and diverging expertise. The concept of the creative industries, and their importance, is now widely recognized in the world, and becomes a driver of a wider creative economy. At this point, the design function is evolving from being merely the product itself to a vital part of thinking methodology within the creative economy structure. Therefore, the design process puts industrial design into a crucial role in accounts of the economic geographies of products and services as well, utilizing a systematic approach to generate new ideas and solve problems that deliver value.

Conclusion

This paper employs the DID approach as a metaphor with a complete psychological and physical health history to explore various definitions for industrial design. The present examination helps us to acknowledge the need for reformulating the definitional and practical problems of industrial design. But rather than taking these facts as a negative disordered diagnosis, these might also be a very positive reality reflecting the true nature of the design practice of humankind in a broader sense and even it can be something to be preserved and sustained. The very internal and even abstract human activity of designing very close to thinking as courses of action aimed at changing existing situations into preferred ones still remains as the action to be saluted, while other external courses of action towards creating surplus in todays socio-economic system where wealth is being defined through design with respect to monetary innovation will ask for new cures in the times to come. Economic agents and economic theory still look at human agents as "decision makers" (Hatchuel, 2002:4) through design, and as long as design defines itself as a professional activity within this system it will be constrained to fix itself.

All in all, the identity crisis of the industrial design profession is not something new, yet the causes and the actors of that crisis are still there for investigating.

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Critical Design and Representation of Conflicts

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Critical design / Politics of representation / Representation of conflicts / Knowledge production / Design research

This paper is part of a PhD research project that focuses on speculative approaches and critical practices within the field of visual design. The research tries to define the necessary conditions for the production of critical forms of knowledge, and to direct design practices towards the articulation of a specific problem, rather than its solution. In this paper I will discuss the need for a political dimension in critical design research and practice, and the need to understand design – at least by its critical drive – as problem-seeking or problem-posing, rather than problem-solving. The theoretical background refers to the concepts of "antagonism" and "dissent" given by Chantal Mouffe and Jacques Rancière. This theoretical background is shared among some of the speculative and critical projects that have arisen in the field of design in the past twenty years, where design practice is addressed towards the articulation and representation of conflicts. These projects add a political dimension to their work: they try to improve a re-framing process of social reality by visualizing the conditions that define a certain aspect of that reality. In this way an issue will be represented as the product of specific choices or agencies and will therefore emerge as a political problem.

Solutionist design

Between December 2013 and January 2014, the blog Design&Violence, edited by Paola Antonelli and Jamer Hunt, hosted an intense discussion between several designers and researchers. The debate turned around a critical issue that affects critical and speculative design, and in general those projects committed to produce environmental, social, economical, and cultural changes to improve more equal living conditions – projects that are commonly gathered under the "social design" label. The starting point was given by the project *Republic of Salivation*, by which designers Michael Burton and Michiko Nitta explored new ways of food production and their social consequences through the articulation of a future scenario torn by famines.

However, the project has been harshly criticized: for example, Brazilian researchers Luiza Prado and Pedro Oliveira expressed strong doubts about the project's premises, since the scenario of *Republic of Salivation* – which adopts the form of a possible dystopian future – describes a problem that has been already affecting some of the poorest countries (Prado and Oliveira, 2015: 63). They underlined how critical design projects reproduce the point of view of a privileged society blind or indifferent to the problems of the rest of the world. On the other side, researcher James Auger replied as follows: "What is this obsession with class systems? The UK may have its financial problems but most of us stopped obsessing about these divides in the distant past".[1] This sentence sums up one of the main problem of critical design: for the British researcher the idea that in 21st century England we still have to talk about class struggle is an absurdity, an obstacle to the idea of a pacified society. By analysing and representing a problem (e.g. food production) exclusively from a technical-scientific point of view, these projects leave aside the political and ideological elements that define that same problem – which seems to be a characteristic that goes through critical design and in general through many of the projects that claim a critical role.

This trend, transforming political problems into technical issues by adopting a "solutionist" approach,[2] seems to characterize many of the socially engaged design projects. The refugee shelter designed and produced by Ikea in collaboration with the UN refugee agency is a good example.[3] The project addresses one of the most urgent problems of our daily life with the adoption of a purely technical approach. Even if these shelters introduce some improvements compared to the ones customarily used in the refugee camps, the project fails since it does not modify any aspects of the main problem – it thus reveals its powerlessness in addressing the social, ethical, political, cultural, and economic problems implied by the migration issue. In other words the Ikea project represents a political failure despite its social value and effectiveness as an "emergency measure", since what seems a solution appears to be instead a palliative.

The lack of a political reflection within critical and social design (Prado and Oliveira 2015; Tonkinwise, 2014), far from being an anomaly, tends to confirm a widespread tendency of the contemporary cultural scene. What is defined as the post-political phase of Western societies is believed to characterize also design practices (Fezer, 2010; Laranjo, 2015; Grant, 2016). However, the absence of a political dimension appears suspicious, or even harmful in the field of social and critical design (DiSalvo, 2012; Metahaven, 2011). To include a political perspective or dimension within design practices means to articulate different conditions of visibility around those phenomena or subjects that are represented with a low degree of definition – subjects or phenomena excluded or stigmatized within the public sphere of representations – or within a technical or post-ideological framework or discourse – where the issue at the centre of the design practice is approached as a technical prob-

[1] http://designandviolence.moma.org/.republic-of-salivation-michael-burton-and-michiko-nitta/.

[2] Drawing on Evgeny Morozov's thought, Metahaven has described the design approach of so-called social design using the term "solutionism" (Metahaven 2015: 132–133). Solutionism can be described as a design methodology characterized by a post-politic or post-ideological approach.

[3] https://www.ikea.com/ms/en_US/this-is-ikea/ikea-highlights/Home-for-a-refugee/index.html.

lem; the analysis of those premises and conditions that define the issue itself is thus avoided.

In this way these projects would be oriented towards the production of new forms of knowledge by trying to create a shift in the cognitive framework within which a problem is usually understood, represented and addressed – thus by improving new possible ways and interventions within the social fabric where that particular problem manifests itself.

But what does it mean to include a political perspective or dimension in design practices? And how can this dimension represent a potential field of action and experimentation for the critical and speculative practices of design?

The political dimension of design

In political philosophy the adjective "political" describes, at least in its broadest meaning, the actors, the processes, the tools, and the practices that revolve around the organization, development, and maintenance of a society or a social group. According to this definition, any design practice is characterized by some political agencies, and the issue introduced in this paper would seem out of place: if any design practice is characterized by a political agency, why are we talking about a political dimension proper to critical and speculative design?

The answer to this question can be found in a deeper understanding of the category of the "political", and by the different meanings hidden behind the generic definition it has been given. The Belgian political theorist Chantal Mouffe marks a distinction between the sphere of politics and of the political. While the first term refers to the set of practices, discourses, and actors necessary for the organization and functioning of a state or of another social order, the political describes the proper condition of every democratic society, a condition of continuous opposition and competition, experienced and expressed through different ways: debates, acts of provocation, protest, resistance, etc. (Mouffe, 2007). The political is therefore defined as the antagonistic and conflictual dimension of a democratic society, where conflicts become a necessary and constitutive part of it (Mouffe, 2007: 10). Jacques Rancière is somehow close to the antagonistic perspective of Mouffe: through the concept of "dissent" *(mésentente)* the French philosopher tries to rethink the idea of democracy placing the conflict at the centre of the democratic process (Rancière, 2004b).

Furthermore, both Mouffe and Rancière are well aware of the close relationship between the sphere of aesthetics and the mechanisms at work in the political dimension. In the article "Art and Democracy" Mouffe describes this relationship as something implied both by the artistic practice and the political one (Mouffe, 2008: 11). For Rancière, too, the political practice is framed within an aesthetic dimension – a dimension which should be understood in the same way as the Kantian a-priori, i.e. the conditions of possibility within which the human subject is able to experience – and thus to represent – the external world (Rancière, 2004a: 13). The way in which Rancière describes the relationship between aesthetics and politics – expressed by the terms "distribution of the sensible" or "sensible order" – calls into question the practice of the visual designer, who participates in the definition of the symbolic order, and especially the practice of the designer driven by a critical and speculative approach.

The production of several practitioners and authors allows us to glimpse at how the concepts of dissent and antagonism can help us rethink design practices. On the other hand, these same concepts gain a concrete meaning when declined within the sphere of design. Design practices would thus be directed towards the production of a fracture within the visual regime and the main cognitive framework; in the same way, the concept of conflict would be characterized as "a break in the way we perceive and experience the world in which we are presently located and its taken-for-granted sensible and social orders" (Keshavarz and Mazé, 2013: 19).

We begin to grasp the conceptual and strategic shift introduced by the concept of conflict within the field of critical design. The articulation of a given problem through the representation of its conditions of possibility allows us to visualize the theoretical framework within which the problem is described and understood. To visualize those conditions or coordinates means to give them a specific form and presence; we thus enable the possibility to modify, enlarge, redefine, replace or link them with aspects, concepts or subjects that were previously excluded. In this sense, a critical and speculative design approach should be directed towards the redefinition and articulation of a certain problem, in order to represent its conflictual character.

Designing the conflict

The political dimension of critical and speculative design is not simply given by the content or the subject of the analysed problems, but it involves the way in which the problem is addressed. In other words, a project acquires a political value when the phenomenon or the subject is analysed and represented as a conflictual aspect of reality – something able to produce a difference within the hegemonic discourse (Mouffe) or the distribution of the sensible (Rancière).

Considering projects like *Republic of Salivation*, or the Ikea refugee shelters, we can recognize how what is defined as social design or critical design is actually characterized by a technical rather than a political approach. Similarly, the problem of the digital environment's safety is usually approached through a "solutionist" method – for example through the implementation of more efficient encryption systems (Metahaven, 2015: 147). But as curator Clare Birchall underlines,

> the risk of still appealing to privacy in an era of ubiquitous dataveillance is that it might reduce rather than increase political agency

precisely because it misunderstands the technological, datafied subjectivity in question and because privacy claims are particularly weak when it comes to collective politics, as they deal with the aggrieved as sovereign individuals. In this way, we could say that privacy has lost the ability to function as a political category (Birchall, 2016: 55).

Facing this technical framework – which surrounds and defines the problem of safety and privacy – critical and speculative design should adopt approaches, practices, and methodologies able to improve a politicization of the problem. The project *False Positives* (2015) by Dutch designer and photographer Esther Hovers, moves towards this direction. *False Positives* consists of a series of photos and illustrations that represent "deviant behaviours" according to a new video surveillance system, which has been tested in some US and European airports. Compared to the average CCTV system, the one analysed by Hovers is equipped with software that can recognize certain behaviours and mark them as potential threats to public safety. Specifically, the anomalous behaviours identified by the cameras include "loitering too long, moving too fast, standing on a corner, looking over your shoulder, going against the flow of foot traffic, abandoning something, clusters of people suddenly breaking apart and synchronized movements between people".[4] Although these behaviours can't be directly linked to criminal intentions, the algorithm ruling the surveillance devices has been designed with a classification system that assigns a normal or deviant value according to the movement patterns of the people taken by the cameras. Hovers' project tries to visualize this classification mechanism – and the internal rules that allow for the evaluation of people's movements and the prediction of their intentions – identifying eight types of anomalous behaviours.

It is interesting to see how Hovers' photos do not represent these eight behaviours in an explicit and recognizable way; instead, the observer will hardly recognize the suspicious behaviour, and will therefore be led to question the very concept of deviant behaviour.[5] In this sense, *False Positives* is a research project that analyses and shows the conditions of visibility within which a given phenomenon (deviant behaviour in public spaces) is identified, represented, and framed within the safety discourse. At the same time the project produces a representation that questions the way that phenomenon is normally understood – that is, questioning the role played by visual representations in producing and normalising a certain knowledge regarding that phenomenon.

Facial Weaponization Suite (2011–2014), by the artist and researcher Zach Blas, is another example of a project that deals with the relationship between safety and privacy in the age of transparency and big data adopting a critical approach and a political perspective. The project is developed through of a series of workshops: here the participants are involved in the construction of special masks that allow the people wearing them to escape biometric facial recognition software. But the most interesting aspect is the process through which the new mask parameters are defined. The morphology of each mask is obtained combining the biometric measurements of the faces of the workshop's participants; at the same time the participants are selected and grouped according to those targets or social groups defined by the same biometric parameters. As explained by Blas:

the *Fag Face Mask*, generated from the biometric facial data of many queer men's faces, is a response to scientific studies that link determining sexual orientation through rapid facial recognition techniques. [...] These masks intersect with social movements' use of masking as an opaque tool of collective transformation that refuses dominant forms of political representation.[6]

The mask produced thus generates a morphology and an aesthetic able to blend those same parameters, and questions the principle of facial recognition, as well as its usage as a tool for identification and social classification.

Facial Weaponization Suite is linked to several artistic and design projects developed in recent years, where different strategies are employed to escape or deceive facial recognition technologies.[7] But unlike these projects, *Facial Weaponization Suite* is not just a sort of alarm in front of the new surveillance technologies, but tries to visualize in a critical perspective the way these technologies work. In other words, Blas' project doesn't fit into the debate between the right to privacy and the ubiquitous surveillance in the name of safety. The masks created by Blas do not make their subject invisible – as in the *Stealth Wear* pro-

[4] https://www.wired.com/2016/02/esther-hovers-false-positives.

[5] "Each photo contains at least one example of deviant behaviour. But while intelligent surveillance cameras typically frame suspects within a box, Hovers lets hers blend more subtly into the crowd, challenging viewers to figure out what's sketchy in the frame. In some cases, like the suitcase abandoned on a street corner, it's easy. But for the most part, it's pretty hard. That's the point. 'What strikes me is that they [deviant behaviours] are so close to what you would consider to be normal' Hovers says" (https://www.wired.com/2016/02/esther-hovers-false-positives).

[6] http://www.zachblas.info/works/facial-weaponization-suite.

[7] See for example: *CV Dazzle* (2010) and *Stealth Wear* (2013) by artist and researcher Adam Harvey; *Realface Glamouflage* (2013) by Swiss designer Simone C. Niquille; *URME Surveillance* (2104), by US artist Leo Selvaggio; *CCD-Me Not Umbrella* (2008) by US artist and researcher Mark Shepard.

ject by Adam Harvey or in *CCD–Me Not Umbrella* by Mark Shepard; they create instead another form of visibility, an opaque visibility that avoids identification and classification mechanisms that work in biometric technologies. Blas himself, referring to Édouard Glissant's concept of opacity, explains how

> [Glissant's] claim that 'a person has the right to be opaque' does not concern legislative rights but is rather an ontological position that lets exist as such that which is immeasurable, non-identifiable, and unintelligible in things. Glissant's opacity is an ethical mandate to maintain obscurity, to not impose rubrics of categorization and measurement, which always enact a politics of reduction and exclusion (Blas, 2015).

Blas' masks are able to deceive facial recognition processes and biometric identification techniques, and at the same time to show how those same techniques rely on the idea of an objective equivalence between a person's physiognomy and his social behaviour. This representation embeds a conflictual dimension within the project, improves our political understanding and critical knowledge of the problem: it addresses the epistemological field implied by biometric surveillance technologies, visualizes the discursive framework proper to the culture of safety – at least in contemporary western societies. And it's precisely this agency that represents the political and conflictual dimension of the project.

My point here concerns the social and political value of the so-called critical and speculative design. I've tried to demonstrate how these design practices acquire an actual value when they are directed towards the representation and articulation of the conflictual – and thus political – character hidden behind issues often presented as technical problems. The concept of conflict – as framed by Mouffe (antagonism) and Rancière (dissent) – can thus be applied to design practices in order to embed a critical instance in the project, and to improve a re-framing processes of social reality. As the Spanish researcher Mònica Gaspar Mallol said: "when design adopts a critical discourse it is able to create new frames of sensing. These frames can be interpreted as interfaces that are able to create temporary, precarious spaces to rehearse alternative ways of thinking and acting [...] following Rancière, it is about the act of reframing" (Gaspar Mallol, 2010).

Moreover, this approach could help critical and speculative design escape from the academy's or museum's protected space, and improve its ability to spread into the sphere of public debate. The consideration of the political dimension – and the analysis of the conflictual or consensual character this dimension can acquire – should represent a starting point for any research concerned with the critical potential of design practice. In other words, the political dimension, understood according to the idea of antagonism or dissent, appears as a necessary condition for every critical design practice – that is, a practice oriented towards the construction of new perspectives, new representations, and new forms of knowledge.

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João Machado: The Communicator of Beauty

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João Machado / Design criticism / Ontology of design / Semiotics / Poster

Drawing is also research. As a contribution to design criticism, this paper aims to exemplify design practice as a laboratory of innovation (production of knowledge). We based the analysis of the work of the graphic designer João Machado (Portugal, 1942) on design ontology, bringing to this reflection questions about the nature of design research and of the production of knowledge in design as a poetic manifestation and factor of identity. Using the main theoretical contributions of Calvera, Flusser, Morris, Deleuze, Eco, Providência and Damásio and adopting semiotics to support the analysis of João Machado's work, was an exercise that we recognized as a methodological opportunity for design criticism. We find in the general ignorance of João Machado's work (who deliberately avoids social exposure) the opportunity for this presentation and in the quality of the work (awarded and published by the international elite) the relevance of its dissemination. This approach confirms the argument of innovation by design that, by the persistence of the shapes (ideas), confirms the knowable style of João Machado. A style of aesthetic pertinence that evokes beauty in each poster and sign, a difference that was born by alterity.

Introduction

The presentation and reflection about the work of the Portuguese graphic designer João Machado in this 10th + 1 edition of ICDHS International Conferences on Design History and Studies is a double opportunity, for international dissemination of Portuguese design and the approximation of design research developed in academia to the professional practice of design. We find in the theme of this edition "Back to the Future: The Future in the Past" a happy coincidence in the sense that we recognize in the work of this designer, especially at the beginning of his graphic production (previous to the vectorial paradigm), an anticipation of technology and in that sense, a manifestation of the future in the past. Aligned with the objectives of the research group to which we belong, we intend to reconcile theory with practice in this contribution, in a critical expression that expands the knowledge of the discipline.

The reading that we propose in this document first presents the subject of the analysis, based on a short biographical note that gives evidence of the international impact of the graphic work he produced over the last four decades. It follows with a clarification and position on the ontological proposal of Design as a cultural mediator and its manifestation from the aesthetic (author), functionalist (program) and technological (technology) dimensions, recognizing Design as a generator of knowledge. In continuity, the theme of identity (repetition and difference / style and poetics) is called upon and particular characteristics of research unveiled (production of knowledge legitimized by design practice) and knowledge in Design (heuristic and abductive). The methodology of a semiotic basis is the proposal for the analysis of one of the first posters of the author, followed by an interpretation of the evolution of his graphic work, organized chronologically and showing points of similarity with the production of other movements and designers, internationally recognized. The limitations of space for this contribution do not allow for great detail in the analysis of the extensive work, so we assume the exploratory character of this effort. We conclude this reflection with the levels of response of feelings, emotions and sensations proposed by António Damásio for the work of the designer João Machado, since we find in this graphic work, constructed from emotive drawing, the possible application of the neuroscientist's ideas about culture and humanization of rational behavior by the emotions.

João Machado, designer

João Machado is a Portuguese graphic designer, born in 1942 in Coimbra and who graduated from the School of Fine Arts in Oporto, where he also lectured. He established a studio in 1982 in the city of Oporto specializing in poster design and illustration. The Thames & Hudson *Dictionary of Graphic Design and Designers* (2012) characterizes the posters by the use of joyous colours, a playful arrangement of sharply defined geometric elements and bold contrasts between flat surfaces and textured patterns. It also acknowledges the importance of João Machado's contribution to the development of Graphic Design in Portugal and, by way of example, cites his participation in poster biennales including Warsaw, Lahti, Brno and Colorado, as well as his work in the dissemination of memorable images used as posters to advertise a diverse range of social, cultural and political events, such as the 1992 *Rio Earth Summit* and the 1998 *World Expo* in Lisbon. It also notes the participation in the individual exhibition patented in *Dansk Plakatmuseum* in Denmark in 2002 and more recently we can add the invitation of the *DDD Gallery* to exhibit the posters of João Machado. He has seen his work published in magazines such as *Graphis* (awarded several times with the *Graphis Award* in the categories Gold, Silver and Platinum and elected to the restricted group of *Graphis Masters*),[1] *Novum* and *Design Journal* and collected national and international awards such as the 1985 *National Design Award* and the 1999 *Icograda Award of Excellence*. Machado was mentioned in 2015 by the *International Poster Festival of Shenzen* (China) as one of the 100 best designers in the world.

[1] Retrieved from: http://p3.publico.pt/cultura/design/9624/graphis-distingue-joao-machado-com-prata-ouro-e-platina (accessed on 11 June 2018).

Despite the systematic work of João Machado and the national and international dissemination and publication of his work, he has always opted for a low-profile posture, avoiding social exposure, which seems to result in a general lack of knowledge among students and designers in Portugal. It is, therefore, in this absence of knowledge that we find the opportunity to contribute to the registration of designer João Machado in the authorial reference of students and designers and, with some ambitious audacity on our part, with the general public. For the academic community, we think we have found the pertinence of this reflection in the proposal of analysis of the work, questioning, from the ontology of Design and the careful observation of signs, using the three levels of knowledge that semiotics presents as a possibility (Pragmatic or functional, Syntactic or rhetorical, Semantic or meaning).

Design practice as a laboratory of innovation (production of knowledge)

When we say drawing is also research, we recognize in the capacity of drawing, the anticipation of the reality and imagination (desire), resolution of problems (drawing) and conditioning of the future (design). As a proposal for an ontological framework of the discipline, Providência (2012) presented Design as a cultural mediator (through artifacts, devices and services) between the past and the future, between companies and people, between people and others, or even between things.

This process of mediation may privilege Technology (recognizing greater empathy with engineering) by focusing on optimizing production and reducing resistance between human and machine; it may privilege the Program (empathically approaching sociology), recognizing the importance of the consumer, or society, thus proving to be closer to management and marketing; and may privilege individual or collective Authorship, which is the same as saying the culture of origin (approaching art) and in this sense recognizing greater value in metaphor as a poetic instrument and, consequently, in the aesthetic dimension of Design (Providência, 2012).

In general, Design lives over these three dimensions: technological, functional and aesthetic, but it is perhaps the aesthetic dimension of Design, directed to the production of meanings through the understanding of its symbolic function (metaphorical) that has had less impact on research and the production of knowledge in Design, which is an opportunity for reflection on the work of João Machado that we open here.

This work is characterized by the balanced proposal between novelty and repetition, easily recognizable by the systematic way that the designer creates new shapes and reinvents the use of the shapes already discovered. About this point Deleuze (in his PhD thesis, first published in 1968) speaks of difference and repetition as essential points for a discussion about identity or sameness. If, by repetition, he avoids the confrontation with change, it is also by insisting in a dominant chromatic range, used consciously by himself, that we can recognize the João Machado style. It is in their relationship with the other (designers, culture, time) that he inaugurates a difference that is born by alterity. In a double sense, the construction of difference and the understanding of difference are founders of the poetics of Design whose value emerges when the value of practice (functional) is naturalized and can be manifested by the innovation of shapes/ideas (creation of new meanings, anticipating time); aesthetically motivated subjective construction (autobiographical and that humanizes the world through the construction of beauty), or by metaphor (attribution of a second destiny to things) (Providência, 2015).

Recalling Umberto Eco, who reflects on how to make a thesis, we can say that the great challenge presented in research, not specifically in Design, is the balance of respect for science (repetition) and the production of innovation (difference).

It follows from the difficulty of affirmation and valorization of Design as a scientific area, the fact that, as Calvera (2003) reminds us, Design manifests itself mainly by the imperative of functional discourse, in solving the small things of everyday life. Flusser (2010) calls for the approach of art in everyday life when it recognizes that functional objects create functionary societies. In João Machado, we witnessed the mythification of small things, configuring the cultural mediation operated by Design, which constitutes an ontological hypothesis of the discipline.

We argue in this essay, the potentiality of design research deriving from the reflection on Design practice as production of knowledge and not by the transference of theoretical knowledge to practice. In this sense, we fit this scientific effort into Research from Design. By approach to the philosophical interpretation of heuristic thinking (automatic and unconscious and therefore subject to error – here regarded as virtue by creative possibility) organized sequentially by three moments –search, stop and decision – we propose as a methodological possibility of the project in design and its reflection, in analogy to the photographic process, the sequence: developer, stop and fixer.

The work of João Machado

The poster is the visual communication medium from which the graphic work of João Machado achieved the greatest projection over his more than 40 years of profession. It is also important to leave a note on the stamp design that has also taken place in a systematic way and that has earned him during this period several national and international awards. There is evidence of work in the domain of corporate identity and editorial design, albeit with much less expression and, by inheriting the initial formation in sculpture, the author has created some three-dimensional artifacts that normally mark the individual exhibitions. For a digital immersion in the work of João Machado we suggest a visit to the site *https://joaomachado.com*.[2]

For the analysis of the work, we position ourselves by the descriptive critical approach based on the personal experience of design practice and scientific knowledge of the research team (a junior designer and researcher and a designer and senior researcher) and not by a collection and interpretation of data by statistical treatment.

We used the Semiotic theory of the American philosopher Charles Morris (1901–1979) for the classification of signs and his proposal of division into Syntax, Semantics and Pragmatics as a tool for the interpretation of the poster designed for the commemoration of the International Year of the Child in 1979 (Fig. 1) and which corresponds to one of the first posters of João Machado.

At the level of Syntax (analysis of structures of meaning), or of the graphic grammars used, we can say that we are before a structure of simple composition, supported in the geometric structure of the plane √2, with black frame reinforcing the limit of the plane and, therefore, the classic window suggestion as a picture. With the text justified to the center, in fine *Avant Garde* typography, elemental geometric composition evokes a formal rationalist expression. The image is justified to the center, with iconography representing a baby who, occupying the geometric center of the plane, radiates from it to the periphery. The design shows chromatic shades in variations from magenta to red, passing through yellows. The chromatic choice consisting of six similar flat tones (magenta, pink, red, yellow, pale black and deep black), produces a harmonic effect of consonance. On the whole, the poster presents a simple and solid grammar, of classic composition centered in an allegorical style, resorting to an organic drawing that explores baroque phytomorphic evocation.

Reflecting on Semantics (analysis of meaning structures), or on the message conveyed, the image, allusive to the commemoration of the International Year of the Child (1979), recurs to fanciful representation, integrating representation of a juvenile human (baby) in a floral crown, as well invoking metaphorically the child as the center of life, beauty and human joy. The composition (iconographic, symbolic and chromatic) produces an empathic feeling of admiration and loving protection. The poster seems to aim to sensitize society to the importance of children, producing in the viewer a feeling of goodness.

Finally, through the contribution of Pragmatics (analysis of structures of signification), or of the means used, it is possible to visualize the representation of juxtaposed coloured and flat spots (as if they were elements cut by a scalpel). Its technical production starts from a manual contour drawing (closed irregular polygons) that serves as a matrix for the photomechanical serialization of the prepress, which is then reproduced by five direct offset impressions (without frame aid). The system of image production decomposed into juxtaposed closed irregular polygons, results from the artisanal process of painting by airbrush through a stencil mask on cut paper or with a cotton "doll" and pastel ink, techniques very common to this author who seems to anticipate the system of digital vector drawing of FreeHand and Adobe Illustrator applications. Since, by the limits of this document, the same exercise for the other posters is not possible, we propose a visit to the designer's work, chronologically guided and marked by the speculative identification of peer influences.

Francisco Providência (2016), invited to interpret the work of João Machado, describes, in the international context of graphic production, three great phases organized chronologically. In the 1980s (Fig. 2) he observes a convergence of interest in *Pop Art*, recognizing in the chromatic exaltation of saturated colours, preference for solid-coloured surfaces, juxtaposed by border lines, in

Fig. 1 Poster for International Year of Child (1979), Secretaria de Estado da Cultura, Portugal (© João Machado).

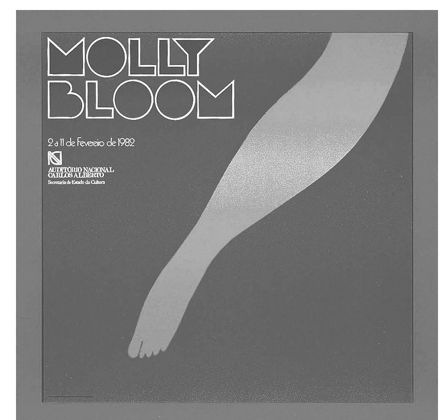

Fig. 2 Poster for Theatre Performance Molly Bloom at National Auditorium Carlos Alberto (1982), Secretaria de Estado da Cultura, Portugal (© João Machado).

[2] Accessed on 15, June 2018.

Fig.3 Poster for Piano/Século XX Meeting (1991), Secretaria de Estado da Cultura, Portugal (© João Machado).

symmetries or in comic and postmodernist iconographies, reminiscent of the work of North American Milton Glaser (1929–) and of the productions of the studio *The Push Pin Graphic*.

The 1990s (Fig. 3) are described as an approach to *Nordic Modernism* by the use of simple and geometric visual signs, maintaining the use of flat and saturated colours, but privileging the autonomization of the outstanding shape of the background by contour line or gradations of colour, in asymmetrical compositions, now less dense, which present more abstract and enigmatic figures and which seem to evoke the work of Danish designer Per Arnoldi (1941–).

Already in the 2000s (Fig. 4) *Japanese Art* seems to have taken the author, who continues the emptying of the graphic composition by reducing the number of elements represented and, consequently, increases the empty space that now also coincides with white backgrounds, there being a prevalence of the natural elements as objects represented, which justifies the adoption of an organic design with more complex forms that seem to present themselves as manifestations of a laconic rationalism, reminiscent of the work of Ikko Tanaka (1930–2002) or even Shigeo Fukuda (1932–2009).

We are therefore faced with work of the world, which surprises by the coherence of graphic grammars, where the mastery of the use of colour (referred to unanimously by the national and international peers) thrills and stands out as a factor of identity. It surprises because it maintains a minimalist aesthetic that overcomes the oscillating tendencies of the last 40 years of graphic production. It surprises because it remains critical but presents an optimistic design of understanding of the world. It surprises because it favours the recognition of the style João Machado even contemplating very different influences. If by contamination of the Anglo-Saxon Pop movement, we witness a constant party that brings us to a state of excitement at the beginning of this graphic production, and in the latter years makes us travel in love with the East and by the nostalgia evoked, we are invited to remain in state of meditation.

Conclusion. Sensations, Emotions and Feelings

Cultural contamination motivates us to finally reflect on the concept of culture and, clarifies António Damásio (2017) in an alternative proposal of humanization, that our culture is defined by feelings. It will have been what we have been feeling for centuries that has made us what we are today, so our culture is being built over a hundred thousand years. The author organizes three levels of response of the human: sensations, emotions and feelings.

Sensations set off an automatic response from a primitive state of merely sensory dimension. In the work of João Machado it seems to be the constant chromatic repetition that meets this first level and that presents itself as a sensor that identifies the authorship.

The second level, of emotions, is about stimuli that correspond to memorizing responses that we gain from experience. It will be the emotional intelligence to construct and reconstruct from a repertoire of shapes collected over time in the drawing, that we recognize the evidence of this level in João Machado's work.

Finally, the feelings correspond to a reflected response behaviour in the complex processing of consciousness activation. The posters of João Machado are not limited to responding to a program, but they surpass it, so the communicative / functional sense acquires a sentimental force for the desire to change the world, thus operating as the creator of difference.

Fig. 4 Poster for International Year of Forests "Water for Life" (2011), UnknownDesign (© João Machado).

João Machado designs under the theme of beauty, "his posters are a kind of window that opens to meditation on any wall over the noise of the city [...] causing a state of mind of social reconciliation that operates through the drawing, transforming the ordinary into extraordinary" (Providência, 2016: 28).

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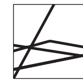

3 Open Session: Research and Works in Progress (1)

The Open Session welcomes papers that relate to the general topic of the Conference but do not fit other tracks. The strand also encompasses reports of on-going investigations in design research centres, methodological and theoretical frameworks, goals, expected results and partial conclusions. Ideally, the session would also include topics and issues that are currently attractive for researchers, and therefore issues they are working on and their concerns about defining future intellectual trends. Proposals could be accepted either as posters or papers to be presented in this Open Session.

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Back to the Future
The Future in the Past

ICDHS 10th+1 BARCELONA 2018

Conference Proceedings Book
Oriol Moret (ed.)

3 Open Session: Research and Works in Progress (I)

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3 Open Session: Research and Works in Progress

The Open Session welcomes papers that relate to the general topic of the Conference but do not fit other tracks. The strand also encompasses reports of on-going investigations in design research centres, methodological and theoretical frameworks, goals, expected results and partial conclusions. Ideally, the session would also include topics and issues that are currently attractive for researchers, and therefore issues they are working on and their concerns about defining future intellectual trends. Proposals could be accepted either as posters or papers to be presented in this Open Session.

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Instituted in 2012, the ICDHS Open strand is the result of a suggestion by Victor Margolin to guarantee a place for papers that focus on aspects or approaches to design history and design studies that, although related to the general theme of the conference, are not covered by the other tracks. In this edition, reports of on-going studies were also included in the call for the Open Session, resulting in the submission of 65 abstracts—42 of which indicated “other topics” and 23 related to “ongoing research”. Most proposals, in particular those described by their authors as “ongoing research”, in fact fitted one or more of the other 15 strands of the conference. Of the 26 proposals selected, only 19 were actually submitted exclusively to this strand. The papers included in this session can be divided into a few thematic, eventually overlapping, groups: those that focus on issues related to design societies and associations, to visual culture and graphic design, to built environment and space; those concerned with methods, practices or education; and those that propose historiographic, anthropological or philosophical approaches. The articles in the Open Session cover a wide geographic and temporal range, offering a plural and diversified sample of new perspectives and trends in design studies and design history.

Priscila L. Farias

Linear and Spheric Time: Past, Present and Future at Centro Carioca de Design, Rio de Janeiro

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In this paper, we intend to explore the relations between past, present and future at Centro Carioca de Design, in Tiradentes Square, in Rio de Janeiro's historical center. The correspondences between the opening of Centro Carioca de Design and the temporal dimensions under which it has been implemented, as well as the heritage structures to which it has been linked over the years, will be observed through a concept of time developed in the light of authors such as Haraway, Ingold, Han, Cardoso, Favret-Saada, Goldstein and Abreu. Aiming to trace the path which links Heritage and Design to life in the city, we seek to elaborate relations between linear time, cyclical time and the proposition of a "spheric" and "tentacular" time. This research aims to bring out the affections–in the sense that we affect and let ourselves be affected by our environment–of people in the city and of the city on people, and of Design as a key element to this debate.

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Since the creation of Centro Carioca de Design (CCD) in Rio de Janeiro, 2009, many questions have been posed regarding the possible links between Design and Cultural Heritage. CCD has been, from the start, under the Heritage sector in the Municipality of Rio de Janeiro. It has, thus, been expected to promote possible dialogues between the not so obvious disciplines put together.

CCD's location in Tiradentes Square, one of the most traditional sites of Rio's city center, was expected by its creators to be, *per se*, a statement for the intentions of bridging Design and Cultural Heritage as parts of a whole. However, the creation of a new sector for debating and showcasing design in an already heavy bureaucratic structure was not as well received as expected. Design professionals, academy members and heritage specialists had concerns about consistency and efficiency.

In this paper, we intend to shed light through the history of CCD's implementation, as well as to try and understand the conditions under which it has been created. Besides, such discussions have aroused a desire to investigate possible relations between design, time and the concept of heritage.

It has become clear, through the passing of the years, that these connections have not yet been thoroughly addressed, still leaving much field for research. The unsettling feeling that time could not be established over a line, that it should be approached in a more complex key, has led us to further develop this subject. Moreover, as the correspondences between Design and Heritage may not always be obvious, we understand that the fields are deeply linked and intricate, bringing out complexities that need to be analyzed.

This is the starting point from which we will develop the historical aspects of Centro Carioca de Design, Praça Tiradentes and their surroundings; and establish the link between these and the concept of a spheric-tentacular time, which seems to us to be more suited for reaching a broader understanding of the urban, social and political dynamics of the case presented.

Rio de Janeiro, Cultural Heritage, Praça Tiradentes

Rio de Janeiro has in its built cultural heritage a great portion of its history and identity. The city, founded in 1565, went through a transformation process that became more intense with the arrival of the Portuguese Royal Family in 1808. Being the chosen city in South America to become the capital of the Portuguese Empire, to where the Royal Family and Court fled from war with the French troops, Rio de Janeiro endured severe structural transformations from this moment on. It is after the nineteenth century that Rio begins to radically transform its urban form and to present a socially stratified spatial structure. The city, surrounded by hills and marshes, assembled a mix of people composed largely by slaves and a small elite in charge of administration and commerce. From 1808 on, the city acquired great ideological, economic and political representativity, engaging itself in meeting the needs imposed by these new values (Lodi et al., 2005).

The nineteenth century architectural ensemble is a strong characteristic of Rio's central area, and Praça Tiradentes region displays several examples of this typology. The Square's history is marked by relevant political and economic events, which were increased with the arrival of the Royal Family.

This region has gone through a long and intense process of decay, especially after the 1930s, when a great part of its architectural assets gave way to broad avenues and urban plans, starting a process of degradation of many of its historical buildings.[1] In the 1980s, the creation of the Cultural Corridor Act (*Lei do Corredor Cultural*)—which provided for the exemption of the Urban Territorial Property Tax (IPTU) for landowners who kept their properties in good condition—established a milestone in the efforts to recover the urban environment of central Rio.

In the late 1990s–early 2000s the Monumenta Program, developed to boost the process of preservation of historical heritage in urban centers, selected Praça Tiradentes as one of the sites to be covered. The works at Bidu Sayão's House[2] were completed in December 2008. In 2011, the works on the

[1] Historical references to Praça Tiradentes in this paper shall be found in Lodi et al., 2005.

[2] Balduína de Oliveira Sayão, known as Bidu Sayão (1902-1999) lived in the house at number 48, Praça Tiradentes, until she was five years old (Lodi et al., 2005: 71).

square itself were completed. The removal of the fencing that surrounded the whole square was of great relevance to the changing of the area.

Despite the decaying of its physical ambiance, the Square still has great cultural activity. Praça Tiradentes is in the midst of a number of theaters, dance schools, cultural centers, art galleries, studios, libraries, universities and so on. Many of these venues were already in place before the implementation of Centro Carioca de Design, and some others have opened or closed afterwards.

Centro Carioca de Design

The year of 2008 brings an end to the 'Cesar Maia Era' (Camargo, 2012: 21), which has begun in 1993 in the city of Rio. Maia was the mayor from 1993–1996 and 1997–2000, followed by Luiz Paulo Conde from 2001–2004. Maia was elected again for the 2005–2008 mandate, having managed, along with Conde, to hold a period of sixteen years of the city's administration.

In 2009, elected Mayor Eduardo Paes takes office adopting a series of austerity measures. One of his first acts[3] was the eradication of all extraordinary secretariats. One of them, the Extraordinary Secretariat for Promotion, Defense, Development and Revitalization of Heritage and of the Historical-Cultural Memory of the City of Rio de Janeiro (SEDREPAHC)[4] was in charge of the management of the city's Historical and Cultural Heritage.

At this point, the city's body in charge of Cultural Heritage goes back to the Secretariat of Culture's structure,[5] as the Subsecretariat of Cultural Heritage, Urban Intervention, Architecture and Design (in Portuguese, Subsecretaria de Patrimônio Cultural, Intervenção Urbana, Arquitetura e Design – SUBPC).[6] Jandira Feghali—who had also been a candidate and, in the second round of the 2008 elections, supported Paes—was appointed Municipal Secretary of Culture. Washington Fajardo, architect and urban planner, was appointed Subsecretary for SUBPC.

By textually including these disciplines' names—Cultural Heritage, Urban Intervention, Architecture and Design—in the Subsecretariat's title, Fajardo intended to make explicit the importance of each of them for the vitality and dynamization of the city's Historical and Cultural Heritage, aiming for an integrated approach between these fields.

In March 2009, Feghali committed to use Bidu Sayão's House as headquarters for a reference center for carioca design. Thus, Centro Carioca de Design (CCD) was officially created in SUBPC's structure. According to the publication in the Municipality's Official Diary, CCD's attributions would be to:

– 'Promote Public Policies for the economical and cultural sector of Design, understood as the sectors of Visual Communication, Industrial Design, Architecture and Fashion;
– 'Establish a process of integration and connections with Universities, Schools, Vocational Courses and the like;
– 'Promote the elaboration of specific Projects for the field;
– 'Maintain liaison with the other organs of the Secretariat with similar interests;
– 'Offer cultural activities of recognized excellence in order to broaden the universe of knowledge of the community it serves, as well as to attract tourists and visitors from other communities to the city and, particularly, to the area where it is established.'[7]

In November 2009, Fajardo appointed Paula de Oliveira Camargo, architect and urban planner, as CCD's manager. Centro Carioca de Design was launched on March 30, 2010.

Seeking to structure a design policy in an organ dedicated to the Cultural Heritage in the city of Rio was, and still is, a challenging task. As there were no other official bodies in the Municipality working on the theme until that moment, the idea was to create a reference facility to deal with design issues in the urban environment and, from there, to promote a greater insertion of design in the municipal policies.

SUBPC moved in the Municipality's structure from the Secretariat of Culture to the Mayor's Office in October, 2011, under the name of *Instituto Rio Patrimônio da Humanidade* (Institute Rio World Heritage—IRPH) right after the city of Rio de Janeiro had been granted the title of World Heritage as Cultural Landscape by UNESCO (Decree n° 35.879, July 5, 2012). Even though the Institute didn't have the word design in its name any longer, it would keep on addressing the subject, maintaining CCD in its structure. According to the pub-

[3] *Diário Oficial do Município do Rio de Janeiro*, Ano XXII, No 196. Rio de Janeiro, January 1, 2009, p.4. Available at <http://doweb.rio.rj.gov.br/visualizar_pdf.php?edi_id=1921&page=1>. Accessed June 12, 2018.

[4] In Portuguese, Secretaria Extraordinária de Promoção, Defesa, Desenvolvimento e Revitalização do Patrimônio e da Memória Histórica-Cultural da Cidade do Rio de Janeiro (SEDREPAHC).

[5] Before SEDREPAHC's existence, the General Department of Cultural Heritage (in Portuguese, Departamento Geral de Patrimônio Cultural—DGPC) had been created in 1986 under the Secretariat of Culture's administration.

[6] Diário Oficial do Município do Rio de Janeiro, Ano XXII, No 196. Rio de Janeiro. January 1st, 2009, p.11. Available at <http://doweb.rio.rj.gov.br/visualizar_pdf.php?edi_id=1921&page=1>. Accessed June 12, 2018.

[7] *Diário Oficial do Município do Rio de Janeiro*, Ano XXIII, No 70. Rio de Janeiro. July 1st, 2009, p. 13. Available at <http://doweb.rio.rj.gov.br/visualizar_pdf.php?reload=ok&edi_id=00000547&page=13&search=centro%20carioca%20de%20design>. Accesssed June 13, 2018.

lished Decree, cultural heritage, architecture, urban cultural landscape and design were to be seen as potential drivers for boosting creative economy in the city of Rio, and IRPH would be in charge of the 'strategic role of the Municipality for the protection, conservation, valorization and diffusion of cultural heritage of Rio de Janeiro'.[8]

In January 2017, when elected Mayor Marcelo Crivella took office, IRPH—and CCD—was moved to the Secretariat of Urban Planning, Infrastructure and Housing, where there have been increased and constant demands for redirecting and incorporating new functions to CCD's activities. These demands relate, especially, to emphasizing the activity in the fields of Cultural Heritage, Architecture and Urban Planning. We will not delve into this subject in this paper, although we acknowledge its relevance and intend to develop it further during the PhD research.

Academic research and management of Centro Carioca de Design. We'll take the opportunity to make a brief reflection on the challenges posed by the conducting of an academic research project in which one of the main structuring axes and analysis subjects is the place at which Camargo, one of the authors of this paper, is manager since 2009.

To propose a critical analysis and to seek research parameters while being an insider in CCD's daily activities is a path that is being outlined while it is being walked. It demands a conscious effort to be not only present, but also an active participant of the studied object and, meanwhile, to succeed in doing an analysis that allows for a historical and objective comprehension of CCD's trajectory and imbrications at Praça Tiradentes and the city of Rio. According to Mills, 'being able to rely on one's own experience while being skeptical about it is [...] a mark of the mature worker. This ambiguous trust is indispensable for achieving originality in any intellectual pursuit'.[9] The uneasiness brought by the performing, at the same time, of the roles of researcher *and* manager is one of the challenges of this academic project.

Addressing design issues from the inside of an organ focused on cultural heritage has been, since the establishment of CCD, a subject of questioning from external observers, as well as IRPH's staff. The arising of such potent questioning was highly important, for it has led to an interest in the elaboration of the notion of spheric-tentacular time hereby presented.

It is common, when speaking of cultural heritage, to make a link with the idea of memory. According to Magalhães, the word 'memory' would connote 'something that is very static, as if it were a still repository, where [...] one would save things just for the sake of it. I think that, taking memory, one should take it in a more physiological sense: that is, to save for being able to work it as an element towards an expression'.[10] In that sense, we seek to find the correspondences that may arise from the fact of dwelling in a city full of complexities such as Rio, with a high rate of buildings under preservation. Specifically, CCD occupies a house where an internationally famous lyrical singer has lived in childhood, which has been contemporarily refurbished in its interior, and which intends to be a place where design policies and strategies are formulated. The point being that the very existence of such a house, in such a location, under such conditions, poses a statement for the potential livelihood that may be acquired from the active occupation of buildings in preservation areas in a city centers that deal with severe degradation issues.

To understand design as project intent, and to understand public management of cultural heritage as a matter of design, is a two-way road. While searching for the theoretical concepts that will support these correspondences, the reflection on time and the idea of linearity associated to it became more and more present. These formulations will be developed in the following section.

Time

Let us begin by stating the existence of, roughly, 'two great tendencies on the conception of time: the linear and the cyclic'. According to Abreu, 'the linear conception of time can be represented by an arrow or a line: the line of chronological time, historical, dated'. Cyclical time could be 'represented as the result of spatial thickness and density, a time of eternal return, [...] related to the observation of nature's phenomena, where successive and regular phases are favored' (Abreu, 2007: 53–54).

Acknowledging the existence of both conceptions, in which one either establishes a line which goes ever forward with punctual historical facts upon it, or goes for the eternal return of events, we would like to propose a third approach. In spheric-tentacular time, events of the past linger in the present and lead to a future that we would like to trail; a future sought to be built from a selected past.

Spheric-tentacular time could be understood as a time that embraces, involves, and lingers. Everything done in the past

[8] Decree N° 35.879 of July 5, 2012, published in *Diário Oficial do Município do Rio de Janeiro* on July 6, 2012, p. 11.

[9] Mills, 2009: 23.

[10] Magalhães, 2017: 233.

endures, molds and provokes new outcomes—with which we have to live—for the present and future throughout the centuries. In this time, decisions of a past that we would like to preserve are the choices of a present that we would like to live and of futures that we would like to build, but of which there are no guarantees. It is our understanding that past, present and future are not apart upon the length of a line, but a unity, inseparable from one another.

We have been dwelling on the notion that, when acting towards preservation and memory, there is an implied choice for the non-preservation and no-memory of many other possible pasts and, consequently, futures. From these memorable presents and desired futures, we seek in cities the field for the building of idealized pasts, which are reflected in concrete buildings, in artifacts of memory and significance.

The preservation of certain types of buildings, landscape and urban elements, monuments, is a token of what kind of past is believed valid or worthy of memory for future generations. These selections, which are often of diffuse authorship and the object of political disputes, remain as elements for the forging of new memories. Memories based on the reflection of those objects that may have had different meanings over time. However, in determining what should or should not remain, many other possibilities are left aside, which figures as one of the paradoxes of urban, social and political dynamics.

The establishment of CCD at Praça Tiradentes intended to be a link between these temporalities. The house should be dedicated to design and be, according to Rio City Hall's website, a place for 'the discussion, exhibition and thinking of carioca design', with the mission of 'divulging and promoting design as a cultural and transformative asset of the city, of urban centers and of society'.

Understanding Design as a field that relates to the correspondences between people, things and environments, we propose to seek, in the study of its correspondence with Cultural Heritage, a complex relationship with time. With this concept of time that envelops, embraces, retracts and returns, building with its tentacles a tentacular-spherical route of returns, constructions, destructions, permanencies, absences, and processes.

By studying Haraway's production, we are faced with still another reflection about time, one that comes to meet our proposal of tentacular time and of the responsibility we have when electing pasts for idealized futures.

As human beings, capable of rationalizing, our species has created a currency-based system of exchange that rules and determines, greatly, how we inhabit the world, what we eat, wear and how we relate to one another. The idea of distinction through the accumulation of monetary capital is one of the characteristics of what Haraway calls the Capitalocene. The power of capital would then resemble some sort of deity to be worshipped.

Humans have also come to believe themselves some sort of earthly deities. Here, we come across the concept of Anthropocene, in which we believe ourselves superior to other species, be them animals, plants, earth, bacteria, hummus, herbs or even machines, or still other humans that (co)inhabit the planet in ways that one may find divergent from their beliefs of what would be 'right' or 'adequate' for one's social status.

Proposing alternatives to a world where Capitalocene and Anthropocene seem decisive, Haraway urges us to remain actively with the trouble, to seek in the present the ways of living with (and in) a damaged Earth, understanding that this Earth has been damaged by the same humans who seek to reanimate it. Denouncing standpoints that have in the hope or hopelessness in the future their strongest arguments, Haraway invites us to live in the now-as-we-are-all-together-inter-species-with-our-errors-and-right-doings. Thus, she encourages us to investigate processes in which human beings, instead of acting as if they were superior to all other species (as the term Anthropocene itself would suggest), are understood as an equal part of the earthly problems with all other critters.

Debating these views, we seek to bring yet another approach to the topics about the permanences and turbulences that CCD has been undergoing since its inception. From the perspective of the *Chthulucene*, elaborated by Haraway as a kind of 'timeplace for learning to stay with the trouble of living and dying in response-ability on a damaged earth' (Haraway, 2016: 2), we can explore the outcomes that the passing of years and administrations have had over this house and what happens in there, from the living Bidu Sayão to squatting and its permanence on the landscape, nowadays, as CCD.

Contrary to a society where the human beings, although living in groups, become increasingly isolated (Han, 2017: 70–71), Haraway proposes that we make kin, and partner with all beings living beyond—or within—our own bodies, human and non-human, so that we can seek possible ways for living on Earth. These paths pass through this perception of time, this conception in which we understand that every single thing we do has consequences. Often, unwanted and unexpected ones. Human decisions have an impact not only on human lives, but on all lives that also make it possible for human life itself to keep on existing.

Thus, studying about time and the potency of our actions cannot be dissociated from the analysis of their impacts on all forms of existence, since preservation and destruction alike may unfold throughout the centuries, passing by and surpassing our physical existences on the planet.

Is there, ever, an end?

As mentioned, CCD is a branch of IRPH, the municipal body dedicated to the protection and promotion, conservation and preservation of tangible and intangible assets that are part of the cultural heritage of Rio de Janeiro—among other attributions. In this context, there is a permanent need for reflection on the possible roles of design for Rio and on the co-respondences between Design and Cultural Heritage. Thinking about design connections in the city in such an environment constitutes an ever-ongoing challenge of reflection and action.

We have proposed a debate on the passing of time in the city, articulated with a notion of heritage that relates to affections—in the sense that we affect and let ourselves be affected by the environments where we dwell, urban or not, and by our routines as humans. A debate in which design decisions are consciously taken in awareness of the direct impact they may have on people's lives.

We propose to engage in thinking about the micro heritages, the everyday heritage, the heritage of experience, of affecting and being-affected in *response-ability* (Haraway, 2016), a heritage that allows and provokes *attentionality* (Ingold, 2017), a notion of heritage in which we understand that the simultaneous doing and analyzing may lead to quality and will of preservation, where presence and the present are crucial for our decisions of pasts and futures.

At Praça Tiradentes, vestiges of this temporality became visible, for example, when, with the breaking of the pavement for the installation of the tracks for a brand new tram system, the rails of the old tram that circulated in the mid-twentieth century were uncovered. Traces of these permanencies arise when we think of the child Bidu Sayão who lived there until she was five and remains in this place's imagery, she who names the house that is, today, dedicated to Design and the city, a place that plans its future by acknowledging and living with its past, and with its permanence in the present. The spherical-tentacular time is the whole, it embraces the house, surrounds the square. Both can only exist in the present, and can have imagined futures, by co-living with their present-pasts.

We end this paper proposing, therefore, an approach about Time. Time that is not only the past; not only the present here-now; nor the projections we have for the future. The choices made today, the choices made yesterday, point to a desired future, one where there are no possible guarantees, no control over possible outcomings, and which will find us inexorably in its spheric trajectory of influences and meanings.

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Counting and Interviewing Women: Female Graphic Designers in ADG Brasil Biennial Catalogs

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Feminism / Women in Brazilian graphic design history / Female work / Historical sources

Considering the low incidence of women in design history books published in Brazil, treated in a previous research, this work aims to investigate the participation of women in the national graphic design field through the catalogs of the 9th and 11th editions of the Graphic Designers Association (ADG Brasil) Biennials—because of their importance for the formation of the professional discourse and the image that society holds of the graphic design field—in order to understand its omission from the historiographic records, verifying why they do not appear, either for low participation or for other social reasons. In addition the idea is to identify the areas in which women are more active and also whom among them can be considered canonical. Three graphic designers, with works selected for some Biennial catalogs, were also interviewed. As a result of the catalog analysis of the 11th edition, the area with the largest presence of women is Packaging Design and the smaller, Typographic Design. The interviewed women, despite different life stories and positions about being a woman in the field, all agree on the importance of the Biennial for the visibility of the area and female representativeness.

Introduction

The historiography of Design has not been fair with female participation in the bibliographic records. Through the research *Women in writing of the Brazilian Graphic Design History: absence or masking?,* Lima (2017) concludes that design history inherits from art history the chauvinism quite present in the midst of Modern Art of the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century. Out of the eight books analyzed, three were from Brazilian design history, of which 12.8% was the highest percentage of women's participation. Faced with such a scenario, the authors of the research entitled *Cataloged women: Female designers in the ADG Brasil Biennials catalogs*, of which this article is a by-product, asked the following question: is national female designers' production that poor in quantity and in quality that it is not worth being registered in books or is there any other reason for its non-appearance in Brazilian design history books?

To investigate women's participation in the Brazilian graphic design field, the catalogs of the 9th and 11th editions (from 2009 and 2015 respectively) of the Graphic Designers Association (ADG Brasil) Biennial were analyzed. According to the ADG Brasil's website:

> The Brazilian Association of Graphic Designers (ADG Brasil) is a non-profit association of national scope founded in 1989 with the purpose of representing, registering, disseminating the work of the Brazilians graphic designers, as well as bringing professionals and students together to strengthen the national graphic design and the ethical improvement of professional practice and the development of its associates.

For Eyer and Leite (2015: 13), in the catalog of the 11th Brazilian Biennial of Graphic Design (11th ADG Brasil Biennial), "Both this catalog and the exhibition itself represent the historical record of the best production in design for the past two years in Brazil". Biennials are not only aimed at professionals in the field, but also civil society, since the projects are part of people's daily lives.

For its vital importance, the Biennial has not only the formation of professional discourse as one of its responsibilities but also the concept that society will form about this field. The exhibition and the catalog are sources for historical narrative construction and it is necessary to be attentive to the context in which this narrative is being told. The Gender topic nowadays is an important point of view for correcting historical injustices and ensuring that they do not happen again. Women's representativeness shall be present in professional discourse and historians of Design have this power, according to Margolin (2010: 284), "to help shape the consciousness of the design community and contribute to the articulation of their ideals, principles and research agenda".

When so few women are found in the history books of a specific profession, it is necessary to confront the numbers with other sources, such as the field's exhibition catalogs organized by the professional association, which are a good indication of the place female graphic designers occupy and of their recognition. Therefore, this research, by problematizing female representativeness, looking for the female professionals in the records (catalogs) of the utmost instance of social consecration in the Brazilian graphic design field (ADG Brasil Biennial), helps empower women to fight in order to recognize and place themselves within history.

In light of the presented problem, the *general objective* of this work is to investigate the participation of women in the field of national graphic design, through the catalogs of ADG Brasil Biennials, in order to understand their omission from the historiographic records, verifying why they do not appear, for low participation or for other social reasons. The *specific objectives* are: to find out which areas of design have the greatest female participation; discuss the symbolic spaces occupied by women in teams and awards; to verify if a woman

has been awarded more than once for a proposal to establish female canons, and to find out what strategies women have applied to perform in the field of Graphic Design.

Methodology

In order to accomplish the objectives, the following steps were followed, some happening in succession and some happening simultaneously:

- *Bibliographical research*—Survey of the current literature on the problem; reading relevant books and articles on feminism, the women's history and their whereabouts in the world of work; compilations of these readings and debates between this paper's authors to discuss their contents.
- *Data collection*—Quantitative survey of women present in the ADG Biennial catalogs of 2009 and 2015. These two catalogs were selected for their availability. ADG Brasil did not have catalogs of previous editions available. One of the authors got a catalog of an edition from the 1990s, but the members of each project had not their gender specified, only the names of their companies, which would not contribute to the present research. The catalog for the 12th edition was not yet available at the beginning of this survey. For the quantitative survey of women, digital spreadsheets were created, recording all the projects, the categories of the works, the winning works, the total of men and women in each project and their roles in the teams. Designers or not, all have been registered and accounted for.
- *Interviews*—Semi-structured interviews, recorded on video, made with three female graphic designers that had their works selected at the Biennials, to understand what strategies they had to create to work in this field. Two of this present paper's authors traveled to Brasília on the occasion of the opening of the 12th ADG Biennial in August 2017, where they met some professionals but unfortunately, there was not enough time to interview them all.
- *Data analysis*—Quantitative treatment of data, by numerically verifying the presence of female designers in the catalogs; and qualitative, by verifying their symbolic spaces.
- *Analysis of the interviews*—The interviews were analyzed according to the concepts of Bourdieu's field theory; *habitus*; capital, symbolic power and violence, and male domination. The texts on feminism, history of women and women in the world of work were essential to realize what in these women's speech is not just a personal experience, but something structural and structuring from the broader point of view of society.

Results

Catalog Analyses Results

The 11th ADG Brasil Biennial catalog comprises works produced between January 2013 and December 2014. As can be seen in Table 1, the category with the highest percentage participation of women designers is Packaging Design, accounting for 52.08% of the 96 designers. The category with the most female non-designers, accounting for 71.15%, is Editorial Design, ironically, one of the ones with the fewest female designers, with 36.11% of the total number of designers. The category with the least amount of women is also the category with the least amount of people in general, that is Typographic Design. In it, all 25 are designers, and only four are women.

11th ADG Brasil Biennial catalog	Total of designers	Total of female designers	Percentage of female designers	Total of non-designers working on the projects	Total of female non-designers working on the projects	Percentage total of female non-designers working on the projects
Judging Committee	53	13	24.52%	—	—	—
Chapter 1 — Branding and Visual Id.	172	71	41.27%	56	36	64.28%
Chap.2 — Editorial Design	180	65	36.11%	104	74	71.15%
Chap. 3 — Promotional Design	94	36	38.29%	20	12	60%
Chap. 4 — Digital Design	117	26	22.22%	26	5	19.23%
Chap. 5 — Packaging Design	96	50	52.08%	17	11	64.70%
Chap.6 — Typographic Design	21	4	19.04%	0	0	0
Chap. 7 — Cutting edge Design	43	20	46.51%	3	2	66.66%
Awarded Projetcs	120	55	45.83%	44	10	22.72%

Tab. 1 *Catalog of the 11th ADG Biennial* – quantification by chapter (category).

11th ADG Brasil Biennial Catalog

Total of people in the catalog	Total of women in the catalog	Total of female designers	Percentage of women in the catalog	Percentage of female designers	Total of men in the catalog	Total of male designers	Percentage of men in the catalog	Percentage of male designers
876	353	276	40.29%	31.50%	523	404	59.70%	46.11%

Tab. 2 *Catalog of the 11th ADG Biennial* – Total number of people in the catalog.

Altogether, there are 304 projects present in the catalog of the 11th ADG Brasil Biennial, in which a great female participation could be observed, if compared with the data presented by Lima (2017). As can be seen in Table 2, out of the 876 people in the catalog, even considering the Judging Committee, 40.29% are women, but only 31.50% of the 876 people are female designers. The percentage of male designers is 46.11% of the total of people in the catalog. Comparing the total of female designers with the total of male designers, it can be noted that the quantity of women is a little higher than half of the male designers.

According to Table 1, out of those involved in the Awarded Projects, 45.83% are female designers. In Table 3, this number converts to 55 female designers. When comparing the two catalogs, in search of possible female canons in the area, it was discovered that 22 women appeared in both catalogs. Still, in the 11th Biennial catalog, four female designers were awarded more than once, two women and one man won in five different projects. They worked in the same studio.

When analyzing Table 4, referring to the catalog of the 9th ADG Brasil Biennial, the percentage of female designers is 31.60% out of the 560 people in the catalog. Although the number of female designers had increased significantly within six years, from 177 in 2009 to 276 in 2015, their proportion in relation to the total of people had a slight decrease of 0.1%. The number of male designers also decreased: from 46.42% in 2009 to 46.11%, a decrease of 0.31%, which shows that the number of non-designers (photographers, attendants, models etc.) increased. It is interesting to note that the number of female designers became more stable than men and that the percentage of women in the catalog increased from 38.75% to 40.29%, while that of men fell from 61.25% to 59.70%. It will be necessary to study new catalogs in the future to see if this will conform to a market trend, making the graphic design field increasingly feminine, or if it will only be shown as a contingency.

Although it was possible to establish general quantitative relations between the two catalogs, the intention to compare the areas of Graphic Design became difficult to execute. As shown in Table 5, the categories are not the same. As graphic design works within a broad field, a plurality of areas do fit into one category.

Interview Results

As explained in the Methodology section, three female graphic designers were interviewed. The first interviewee, 22, was born in Recife, but lives and works in Brasília, where she graduated from the Superior Course in Technology in Graphic Design of the Institute of Higher Education of Brasília (IESB). Currently she works with Editorial Design, Web Design and the creation of Visual Identities. When asked about the adversities of being a woman in the graphic design market, she says, “In my experience, I do not think it has influenced much”. Earlier when questioned about which designers she had as a reference, the interviewee mentioned two overseas designers: Paula Scher and Ellen Lupton, and, as a Brazilian reference, Bruno Porto. “Bruno Porto is a reference to me because I was fortunate to have him as coordinator of the course and he is already a famous designer, well known and such. I think he welcomed me a lot, helping me to start having projects and giving opportunities.” When asked about the importance of female participation in the Biennial, she answered that it is essential for representativeness, so it can inspire other women and be part of history. It emphasizes the impor-

Awarded People in the 11th ADG Brasil Biennial Catalog

Awarded women in the 11th ADG Brasil Biennial Catalog	65	79	Awarded men in the 11th ADG Brasil Biennial Catalog
Female designers	55	65	Male designers
Awarded female designers with more than one project inscribed in the catalog	22	36	Awarded male designers with more than one project inscribed in the catalog
Female designers who were awarded more than once and with more than one project inscribed in the catalog	4	11	Male designers who were awarded more than once and with more than one project inscribed in the catalog
Amount of people with projects in the two catalogs			
Women appearing in both catalogs	22	45	Men appearing in both catalogs

Tab. 3 People Awarded in the *11th ADG Brasil Biennial Catalog* and Amount of people appearing in the two catalogs.

9th ADG Brasil Biennial Catalog – Design Anatomy								
Total of people in the catalog	Total of women in the catalog	Total of female designers	Percentage of women in the catalog	Percentage of female designers	Total of men in the catalog	Total of male designers	Percentage of men in the catalog	Percentage of male designers
560	217	177	38.75%	31.60%	343	260	61.25%	46.42%

Tab. 4 *Catalog of the 9th ADG Biennial* – Total of people.

tance of showing itself so that "one can see who is actually doing things".

This perspective presented by the first interviewee is very similar to that of the next interviewee. The second is a 48 year-old woman, that started the course in Design and Visual Programming at the University of Brasília (UnB), but finished her graduation in Graphic Design in an Italian college, and has a Post-Graduate in Design Management, which she did in Toronto, Canada. She's been active in the market since approximately 1988, she considers herself to be the female graphic designer working in Brasília for the longest time. When asked about the difficulties faced by her to get her foot in the door as a graphic designer and which ones she does still has to face today, she said that it is already difficult for everyone regardless of their gender. "Because we have this creative part and the technical part. And the creative side is usually very strong and for you to sell your work, it's a very complicated matter. [...] It's a very weird thing and we do not learn that in college." The problem of knowing how to sell her production came back to the interviewee's speech when asked about female recognition in comparison to male. She said that it happens in all other professions, men expose themselves naturally, while it's natural for women to share the glories with the group, because they were raised that way, which may dilute the strength of their representativeness.

In order to face this difficulty of placing herself positively in the market, the designer adopted the strategy of depersonalization, that is, she presented herself to clients as a company, with the name of the company, even if the company was only her in the beginning. She was deeply irritated at being called "the design girl". The strategy worked and is still working today, focusing on its brand development projects. Regarding the importance of ADG Brasil, she says that for her, it makes no difference that Design is not recognized as a profession in Brazil, but she values the role of associations, as they are "the minimum of representation that we have as a profession". The women's participation in the Biennials remains, she considers it essential to show what has been done.

The dissonant speech was given by the third interviewee, from Recife, 59 years old, graduated from the Higher School of Industrial Design (ESDI) in Rio de Janeiro, the first course in Design in Brazil, specialist in Information Design at the Federal University of Pernambuco, in Recife, and also master by ESDI. With 43 years of experience, she has not a specific line of performance of Design because she sees, in the plurality of problems, the great dynamism of the area. Unlike the other interviewees, she said she has not had problems to enter the

9th ADG Brasil Biennial Catalog – Design Anatomy – Chapters	Total amount of designers involved	Total amount of female designers	Percentage of female designers	Total amount of people connected to design projects	Total amount of women involved in design projects	Total percentage of women involved in design projects
Authors	10	2	20%	—	—	—
Design of the Economy	99	39	39.39%	24	7	29.16%
Design for the Environment and Sustainability	19	5	26.31%	9	2	22.22%
Design and Memory	68	37	54.41%	23	8	34.78%
Popular Regional Vernacular	35	18	51.42%	16	5	31.25%
Design and Audiovisual Interfaces	61	10	16.39%	16	4	25%
Visual Poetry	49	22	44.89%	16	7	43.75%
Aesthetic Communication	65	27	41.53%	11	4	36.36%
Flows	36	16	44.44%	6	3	50%
Manifest	5	3	60%	2	0	—

Tab. 5 *9th Biennial of ADG Brasil Catalog – Design Anatomy* – Total people.

market, since she's been working since she was 15 years old at a printing house. Nor does she see interference in her action for being a woman. She states that it depends on the way the professional behaves in front of the client. When asked about professional recognition for being a woman, she says that the problem is for designers in general, who do not know how to charge. When asked if women are well represented locally and nationally, she says there are very good designers but emphasizes the disconnection with the market, which is general, but recognizes that in professional associations most design company owners are men. "Within the few entrepreneurs, the female percentage is still lower." On this she adds:

> If we go back, on the behaviors, I'm not saying that is it, that's it and X, Y, Z added, you see? There's this: the girls were raised to be modest and what we sell as a designer is creation. Creation is an absolutely internal thing. So you're selling yourself. We were not brought up to sell. There is a certain modesty in that, you see? And again, in our culture, because I think this is one of the very serious things, make profit is something seeing as "ugly". Unspeakable sin. [laughs] It's true!

This speech dialogues with that of the previous interviewee about knowing how to sell herself. Despite the disagreement regarding the difficulties faced by women in the labor market, the third interviewee agrees with the other two on the importance of ADG Brasil and on the role of enhancing the profession that the Biennial has.

Brief discussion of results

The selected projects of the first and second interviewees for the 12th ADG Brazil Biennial were books. The third interviewee coincidentally was jury member of the category of Editorial Design and also had one book project of hers selected in another edition of the Biennial. Ironically, it is the third lowest female category according to Table 1, not considering the Judging Committee. As it was not possible to collect data from the catalog of the 12th Biennial, it is not known at this time whether this framework has changed. It is interesting to note that the Brazilian reality isn't out of historical references. According to Perrot (2017: 35), in France, "book crafting was very hostile to women's employment" in the late nineteenth century, which made their work in the area somewhat difficult. Understanding typography as part of these book crafts and the area's historical misogyny, it is no surprise that there are so few women in the Typographic Design category shown in Table 1. The author also clarifies what the second interviewee talks about knowing how to sell herself, bragging about work, which is much easier for men than for women: "Well, in the construction of identities, glory is masculine and happiness is feminine. Happiness for women is an obligation, individual, familial, and sometimes collective obligation (and thus the key to social engagement)" (Perrot, 2017: 99). What the second interviewee does not notice in her speech is that, by naturalizing this modesty as something naturally feminine, it replicates a symbolic violence that is the base of male domination, structured and structuralizing, which places the masculine as a rule (Bourdieu, 2012). Also the strategy of presenting itself as a company, depersonalizing herself, is a clear self-imposed symbolic violence, since her female body is not enough or does not grant her legitimacy at first, even being the female graphic designer working for the longest time in her town. And as this strategy continues to work, it is a daily legitimized and legitimating violence. The economic discourse of the last interviewee has a masculine dimension, which combines with the modernist *habitus* of the ESDI. The emphasis on being good and on the professional posture is part of this masculinizing logic of the market. The patronage provided by Bruno Porto, an actor legitimized in the Brazilian graphic design field, to the first interviewee may have protected her for a while. Lastly, it is interesting to note that the area of activity of the second interviewee, brand development, is the third one with the largest female participation (Branding and Visual Id.) in the 11th Biennial, also one of the areas of action of the first interviewee and in which the last one had selected work for the 12th Biennial.

Considerations

The main objective of this study was to investigate the participation of women in the ADG Brasil Biennial catalogs to counteract the numbers from the previous research published by Lima (2017). The reality of the last six years is not in line with Brazilian design history books. It is possible to question that the period covered by the catalogs is not equivalent to the period of the books, which is true. However, the hegemonic and violent misogynist logic of society continues to directly affect the performance of female graphic designers in the market. These women, though, take on active roles, increasing their numbers at Biennials, reflecting a possible increase in their participation in the market.

From the data collected, it has been proven that female production isn't poor neither in quantity nor in quality. The drop of 0.1% of female designers at the Biennials raises the need to take up catalogs in the future to find out if it is a trend or a contingency. In the case of a trend, to find out why this female circumvention of the area occurs. In any case, the panorama presented here demands a change of thought from the historians of Design, paying attention to Gender as lens and quill pen to history.

The discovery of female canons in the area was hampered by the difference of categories presented between the catalogs. However, there are 22 women who figure in both Biennials, a little less than a third of the total number of people in the two catalogs. The symbolic spaces occupied by these women are still not favorable. As said by the third interviewee, there are few women who own offices. In the composition of the Judging Committee of the 11th ADG Brasil Biennial, they are only 24.52%. In the awards, in turn, they already stand out with more than 40% of this edition.

Regarding the interviewees, despite their particular experiences, what they tell echoes the structured and structuralizing male domination. Being patronized by an important professional in the field, depersonalizing and putting yourself as a company in dealing with clients or believing that it is enough to be good for the market to recognize you are inculcated forms of this domination, in which the masculine parameters are naturalized, inculcated and form part of the dispositions and ways of being, seeing and acting in the world.

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Design History Foundation: Topics in the Past, Present and Future

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Fundación Historia del Diseño / Design History Foundation / Research topics / Conferences / Design heritage in Spain

This presentation is a description of the areas of activity of the Barcelona-based Fundació Història del Disseny (Design History Foundation—FHD), which this year celebrates its tenth anniversary. The objectives of the Foundation are to investigate, disseminate and promote the history of design and to strive for the conservation of its documentary heritage. Consequently, the Foundation's lines of activity have been the development of its own research through scholarships or by commission, the organization of conferences and academic encounters, the editing of publications, the preparation of educational and outreach activities, and dedication (whether self-generated or through third parties) to the conservation and study of design archives.

Subjects dealt with have been highly varied, with an accentuated presence of the study of design in collections, archives and local enterprises: they range from Pop in Barcelona to the Roca Sanitary Corporation, and include the study of Spanish poster collections, the Alfaro-Hofmann Collection in Valencia, Spanish textiles and fashion and calico prints from Igualada. Calls for academic meetings in Barcelona and its surrounding area have the goal of revealing the socio-political reality of design in Spain, quite beyond a certain dependency on heroic tales, thus bringing design closer to international historiographic tendencies.

Fig. 1 The Alfaro-Hofmann Collection of home appliances, in Valencia. Photo: CAH.

The Design History Foundation is a non-profit organization that was created in Barcelona in 2006. It has been active, with its own offices, since 2008, and celebrated its tenth anniversary in 2018.

Its foundational objectives are to research the history of design, that is, to generate new areas of knowledge in relation to design over time, as well as to disseminate and promote the field. Although it does not take on direct tasks of conservation or those related to museum activity, the Foundation is fully aware of the problem of the destruction of design's documentary heritage, which would constitute basic research material for the majority of historians. Upon occasion, the Foundation has saved archives at risk of being lost, such as that of designer Jordi Vilanova, in the hope that another institution might eventually take responsibility for them. Meanwhile, it carries out tasks researching and ordering photographs and drawings, without coming to fully catalogue material.

Subjects of research projects proposed externally

Over the course of the ten years of activity of the FHD as directly related to research, that is, to the creation of new knowledge, focus has been placed on the following set of subjects:

– 2009: *Diseño e historia. Tiempo, lugar y discurso* [Design and History: Time, Place and Discourse]. Book published by Editorial Designio. This is a recompilation of essays written by the patrons of the Foundation that reflect on the need to construct a discourse on design, as related to the reconsideration of aspects of design history as well as contemporary history in general and the subject of design in Catalonia.

– 2010: *La gráfica pop en Barcelona en el período 1965–1975* [Pop Graphics in Barcelona from 1965 to 1975], a research project by M. Àngels Fortea which deals with the Pop aesthetic as introduced in Barcelona in the 1960s through modes of leisure and youth music culture, in contrast to the dreary ambience imposed by the Franco dictatorship. This research project was done with the support of a grant from the Agencia de Gestión de Ayudas Universitarias y de Investigación [Agency for the Management of University and Research Support] (AGAUR), which Fortea was able to obtain with the assistance of the Foundation.

– 2012: The first program of grants for the study of the Alfaro-Hofmann Collection (CAH) of home appliances, in Valencia (Fig. 1). This collection, which has been organised as a museum and features an important library and archive on the mechanisation of everyday life, launched a juried support programme together with the FHD. Its goal was to delve more deeply into knowledge of home appliances in general. The grants were awarded to the following projects:
  * *Bisexual Invisible Memory: History of Sewing Machine Design from 1850 to 1950*. Awarded to the project by Li Zhang (China), which examined the development and commercial strategies of sewing machine manufacturers from the perspective of gender.
  * *Aerodynamics and the Evolution of Electrical Fan Design 1850–1960* (United States). Awarded to the work of the collector and researcher Stefan Osdene, who studied the technical development of the electric fan and its analogies with the science of aeronautics.

– 2015: The second programme of grants for the study of the Alfaro-Hofmann Collection of home appliances was this time focused on a collection of some 200 models of vacuum cleaners. The grants were awarded as follows:
  * *Cleaning in Motion: The Vacuum Cleaner and its Relationship with the Human Body*. Awarded to the project by Gabriele Neri (Italy), which dealt with the relationship between the vacuum and the body of the person using it throughout the 20th century, culminating in the implementation of digital devices.
  * *Women, Domesticity and the Vacuum Cleaner in Post-War Ireland*. Awarded to the research project by Sorcha O'Brien (Ireland), which deals with the process of introducing home appliances in Irish homes.

For 2018 the intention is to include these four winning essays in the book *Smart Servants: Domestic Appliances at the Alfaro-Hofmann Collection*, to be published by the FHD and the Alfaro-Hofmann Collection.

– 2016–2017: *Roca: 100 Years Design to Design*. Book commissioned to the Foundation on the occasion of the centenary of Roca, exploring the production of Corporación Roca Sanitario from the perspective of design. For this project, in 2016 a team of 11 researchers was created to study Roca's production from 1917 to 2017 in detail, focusing on heating and bathroom products, as well communication strategies (catalogues, brochures, magazines, advertising campaigns, showrooms, shop window displays) intended to market and sell their products. The book offers an exhaustive review of the company's design policies and contextualises them in both Spanish and world history. The research project has also been useful in documenting the exhibitions organised on the occasion of Roca's centennial, constituting a fine example of the role design historians can play in the study of corporate heritage. After this research project, and by initiative of the FHD, Roca Corporation has awakened to the importance of creating and conserving a historical archive for the enterprise.

– *Indianes [Calicoes]*: Although its participation in this research project was indirect, the Foundation raised funds for the completion of this beautiful book-object, a project of the Combalia family. This volume analyses a collection of drawings of calico prints from the collection of Lluís Roset, currently found in the city of Igualada, which has been studied in depth by Assumpta Dangla. The project also features the reproduction of the *Llibre de Colors* [Book of Colours] by Antón Fábregas (Igualada, 1813), featuring formulas to create fabric dyes for the calico prints (Fig. 2).

As can be seen, the subjects dealt with in these projects are highly varied and tend to be related to the study of material objects used in everyday life, arising from the interests of researchers, collectors and enterprises. As for the future, the Foundation hopes to continue to offer incentives for local research, as well as take on projects for industrial sectors and Catalan business, as it is a way of learning about them in depth and enhancing the value of their corporate heritage.

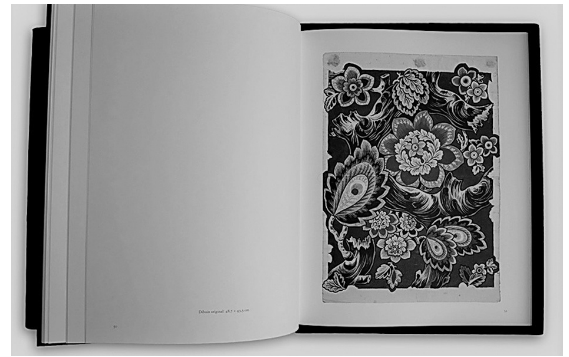

Fig. 2 The book *Indianes*, published by the Combalia family and the FHD.

Subjects considered in conferences and academic encounters

Conferences and academic encounters are essential for advancing research, exchanging knowledge and, in our case, visualising and bringing together design historians, who continue to be a rather atomised collective. In Spain, these conferences are not overly habitual, and for this reason the Foundation has gone to great lengths to organise them. Some have been proposed in partnership with international organisations with similar objectives. They are as follows:

Fig. 3 Poster for the conference *Design Activism and Social Change*, DHS & FHD, Barcelona, 2011.

Fig. 4 Session of the first symposium organised by the FHD, "We Want to Be Modern". Barcelona, 2016. Photo courtesy Esther Rodríguez.

- 2011: *Design Activism and Social Change*. An international conference organised by the Design History Society (Fig. 3). The event sought to explore the relationship between design, historiography, activism and social change, as well make a statement in favour of marginal, hidden, dark or erased activist design histories. The conference was organised jointly by the FHD and the DHS with the enthusiastic collaboration of the University of Barcelona and the FAD design organisation, which offered their personnel and facilities in the centre of Barcelona. The conference was attended by 210 professionals and 51 papers were presented, which are accessible online through the following link: http://www.historiadeldisseny.org/congres/.
- 2016: *First Symposium of the FHD: Modern Despite Everything*. This event was organised directly by the FHD and took place at the Design Museum of Barcelona (Fig. 4). Presentations dealt with the subject of how Spaniards sought to be modern in spite of the political, economic and cultural difficulties the country had undergone during the 20th century. The working groups were divided according to disciplines, as follows: fashion and textile; theory and historiography; architecture and spaces; heritage and archives; graphic design; and education. The opening address was given by José Enrique Ruiz-Domènec, Professor of History at the UAB, with the title *Los retos del historiador en el siglo XXI* [Challenges for the 21st Century Historian]. Participating papers can be found on the Foundation website: http://www.historiadeldisseny.org/es/categoria/actividades/page/2/.
- 2017: *First Colloquium of Textile and Fashion Researchers:* In November 2017, after the creation of the Textile and Fashion Study Group ascribed to the Foundation, this colloquium was organised with the goal of sharing recent research on fabric and fashion in Spain (Fig. 5). This category of research tends to have low visibility, as it is only seen in academic and museum environments, far from the world of popular fashion and trends magazines. The colloquium, organised by three museums and the FHD, took place at the Documentation Centre and Textile Museum in Terrassa, and was divided along two lines, with one focusing on the history and study of textile products, and the other dedicated to fashion. The opening lecture, *Historias entretejidas: 30 años de investigaciones textiles* [Intertwined Histories: 30 Years of Research in Textiles] was given by Lesley Miller, curator of textiles at the Victoria and Albert Museum of London and Professor of the History of Textile at the University of Glasgow. The colloquium had 117 attendees and featured 41 papers. As a result of this lively and well-attended event, the proceedings were published in e-book format, available through the FHD website: https://www.yumpu.com/es/document/fullscreen/59755236/libro-de-actas-i-coloquio-de-investigadores-en-textil-y-moda.
- 2018: *Second Symposium of the FHD: Design and the Franco Regime*. This symposium was organised around a novel subject with relatively little related research to date, that of design during the four decades of the dictatorship of General Franco (Fig. 6). The symposium's objective was to explore the conditions in which material and visual culture evolved in Spain during the Franco regime, and the ways in which design was able to advance in a sharply contradictory context: it was tolerated as long as it was presented as a neutral technical or communicative activity, while it was persecuted if it took on critical or avant-garde positions. In this way, the modernisation of Spain took place in conditions of political exceptionality. Design and the work of design professionals went hand in hand with mass communication, tourism, new forms of consumption and lifestyles, while delving into cultural alternatives to existing social realities; this occurred both in the growth period and in the period of crisis

Fig.5 Proceedings of the *First Colloquium of Textile and Fashion Researchers*, Terrassa, 2017. Photo courtesy Francina Díaz.

in the 1970s. The opening lecture, *La tensión de la ruptura. Cultura y estado* [The Tension of Rupture: Culture and State], was given by Jordi Gracia, Professor of Literature at the University of Barcelona. While due to its specific character this symposium did not attract the large numbers of previous editions, the originality of the research papers has encouraged us to publish a specific book on design during the Franco regime, planned for 2019. For now, the proceedings can be consulted online at: http://www.historiadeldisseny.org/es/categoria/congresos/.

The positive experience of the organisation of these symposiums and academic encounters has encouraged us to continue to prepare other similar events that might favour the development of knowledge on Spanish design, while setting out basic questions in the effort to move beyond the traditional tales of design heroes and their greatest works. In consonance with international historiographic tendencies, our intention is to bring design history closer to the realms of social and cultural history.

Furthermore, the success of the first colloquium on textile and fashion has led us to continue with the organisation of a bi-annual event with the same institutions that were involved in 2017: the Centro de Documentación Museo Textil (Terrassa), the Museo del Estampado [Pattern Printing Museum] in Premià, the Design Museum of Barcelona and the Museum of Arenys de Mar.

Subjects related to documentary heritage and design collections. As we have stated previously, one of the objectives of the Foundation is to work for the conservation of the documentary heritage of design, collaborating with museums and archives related to the field. Activities carried out in this regard over the years are as follows:

– 2008: The FHD was commissioned to create the poster collection of the Museum of Decorative Arts of Barcelona (now the Design Museum) and select the work to be shown in the Studio Gallery of what was then the Design HUB. Anna Calvera and Raquel Pelta were tasked with the job of creating the project for a collection, which through donations and purchases brought together more than 1000 posters, all duly documented. Along with this, a selection of some 140 pieces to be available for consultation in the gallery was made, on the basis of a rationalised study of the material and consulting for the exhibition.

Fig. 6 Pérez de Rozas (1954). Blessing a *Biscúter* on the day of Saint Christopher. © AFB. Official photograph of the Second Symposium of the FHD: *Design and the Franco Regime*.

– 2014: The descendants of **designer Jordi Vilanova** ceded to the Foundation the professional archive of their father, who had passed away in 1998. Although this was meant to be a temporary cession, during the last three years various archival and design students have worked on it, cleaning and organising what was, in principle, a highly disorganised body of papers and photographs. Besides this, student Isabel del Río has been working on her doctoral thesis in relation to the archive of this lesser-known creator.
– 2017–2018: *Map of documentary design archives of Catalonia*. This is a project in its early stages, whose goal is to create an online, consultable map of existing design collections in museums and public archives. The objective is to give researchers access to the localisation of design archives found dispersed in museums, libraries and archives.

Subjects in education and dissemination

The teaching of design history is not an objective of the Foundation, as related tasks are carried out in the university. In any case, activities related to education and dissemination on specific subjects not covered by academic studies have been organised. These are as follows:

– 2009: *Art Deco:* A short course that took place at the Design HUB, offering a broad overview of this style in all its facets: architecture, furniture, photography, fashion, jewellery, graphic design and industrial design.
– 2012: *Barcelona 92: A Design Olympics:* A two-day event which brought together the main designers and design administrators who worked on the organisation of the Barcelona Olympic Games. The activity was well-received by design students born in the 1990s.
– 2013: *Project Wikipedia:* Carried out with the Design Museum and the universities, it consisted of hiring students and volunteers to write entries for Wikipedia related to Catalan design. Seven members of the Foundation participated in the project.
– 2015: *Más allá del escándalo* [Beyond Scandal]: Seminar given by Norberto Chaves that dealt with the characteristics of postmodernity, understood not as a style or tendency but as the “cultural logic of advanced capitalism” and of its expressions in architecture and design.

Conclusion

Without it being laid out as a pre-established foundational objective, the Foundation's activity has moved towards the study of various local subjects: Pop in Barcelona; the study of existing design collections; the sociology and culture of design in Spain; research into the corporate heritage of nearby enterprises; and specific industrial sectors like fashion, textile and the graphic arts, amongst others. The thematic areas being explored by Spanish historians are broad and generations of research will be required to fully unravel their secrets. Since the founding of the FHD in 2008, the horizons of design in Spain have changed with the enriching participation of university research groups. We understand that the role of the FHD is not to enter into competition with them, but rather to support them and offer them spaces with which to debate and promote their research. For this reason, our academic encounters currently have an impact that would have been unthinkable only a short period ago.

Nevertheless, so as to not slip into provincial modes, the FHD has always been open and willing to collaborate with international historians and organisations, such as the Design History Society and the ICDHS, bringing the most recent historiographical debates taking place in the world to Barcelona. The connection with international organisations is assured by means of a trust made up of members resident in Spain and elsewhere, proposing partnership projects with corresponding associations in their respective countries.

Since the Foundation became active in 2008, the subjects it has dealt with have emerged from trial and error, since there was no existing information about design historians in Spain and no clear idea of the degree of acceptance the chosen subjects might have. Since the organisation of the first symposium in 2016 and the textile and fashion colloquium in 2017, we have come to realize that there is a dispersed and poorly articulated collective of historians in Spain that is nonetheless real.

The subjects we intend to deal with in the future will be related to the history of design in Spain from a fully contemporary historiographical perspective, in consonance with debates taking place around the world at this time. We would like to deal with education in the decorative arts and design in Spain, the role of design in the construction of the national image and the discovery of lesser-known designers, amongst other subjects.

The generation of knowledge implicit in these professional encounters will be materialised starting in 2019, with a collection of academic books in Spanish and English.

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No Style. Ernst Keller (1891–1968)—Teacher and Pioneer of the So-called Swiss Style

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Swiss / Style / Innovation / Reflection / Dissemination

In the history of graphic design, Ernst Keller is often mentioned as the father of the so-called Swiss Style, later International Typographic Style. He taught at the School of Arts and Crafts Zurich from 1918 to 1956, and in fact nearly all of the important exponents of the so-called Swiss Style had studied under Keller. Keller's achievement can be seen in his oeuvre, primarily his poster designs, but Ernst Keller's contribution to the development of innovative, non-academic didactic principles in design education plays a fundamental role. His teaching activity can be defined as one of the first systematic didactical programs for graphic design worldwide.

Motivation and starting point

The motivations for the nine-year research project about Ernst Keller are of various kinds. I heard the name Ernst Keller from my mentors, like Richard Paul Lohse (1902–1988), Josef Müller-Brockmann (1914–1996) and Gérard Miedinger (1912–1995), all Keller students, who mentioned this for me unknown designer. Then I read in various publications about Keller as the father of the so-called Swiss Style and the statements, especially by Philip B. Meggs,[1] that this Swiss Style was influenced by the Bauhaus and the Dutch De Stijl. I knew that there was something that I wanted to investigate in order to know more about it, and to correct possible misunderstandings.

In the course of our research we were able to talk with 16 former students of Ernst Keller. The oldest have attended Keller's courses from 1939 on and the youngest until 1956, when Keller retired. From these conversations it soon became clear that we had to start our research earlier, to find out what was before Keller and how Ernst Keller was appointed to the *Kunstgewerbeschule Zurich*.

Kunstgewerbeschule Zurich

The *Kunstgewerbeschule Zurich* was founded in 1878, and the *Kunstgewerbemuseum* (today Museum für Gestaltung) three years earlier in 1875. The public schools then replaced the previously privately run drawing schools, which were founded as early as 1780. Around 1900 a commission of the government of Zurich visited an exhibition abroad (it is not known where), and realized that the Zurich school was outdated. So they decided to reorganize it and searched for a suitable director. In the process, lasting several years, 36 candidates were evaluated and Jules de Praetere (1879–1947), who took up the position in 1906, was chosen. De Praetere was director of the School of Arts and Crafts in Krefeld and former assistant to Henry Van de Velde (1863–1957). In other words, the Zurich government decided for the avant-garde, and did choose with De Praetere an exponent of the 1907-founded *Deutscher Werkbund*, whose first manifesto he co-signed (Fig. 1).

[1] Philip B. Meggs (1983). *A History of Graphic Design*, 2nd edition. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold.

De Praetere started with great enthusiasm and in six years he completely reorganized the school. He not only brought in new ideas, but implemented them just as radically. He introduced project oriented classes and abolished all academic teaching methods. He replaced all teachers, developed new curricula, established a connection to trade and industry and thus promoted the interaction with practice. De Praetere reorganized with vehemence and resigned in 1912 to continue his career in Basel.

Alfred Altherr senior, director from 1912 to 1938

His successor was Alfred Altherr senior (1875–1945), and he then consistently continued the initiated reform course. During his period of activity from 1912 to 1938, he hired new teachers and pursued a long-term strategy for the school, which continued into the 1950s. He planned and built the new, future-oriented building on Ausstellungsstrasse, one of the most striking testimonies of modern architecture in Switzerland. With Sophie Taeuber-Arp (1889–1943), Wilhelm Kienzle (1886–1958), Ernst Keller and later on Hans Finsler (1891–1972), he also formed a teaching staff that had a lasting influence on the im-

Fig. 1 In 1878 the Kunstgewerbeschule Zurich was founded as the follower institution of the so-called Zeichenschule (drawing school). The preliminary course had already been introduced in 1979. After a long period of evaluation, Jules de Praetere became appointed director in 1906 and initiated a program of radical change.

pact of the school. In 1912 he was co-founder of the *Schweizerischer Werkbund*, and it was precisely this *Werkbund* that was an important fund of new teachers. In this context, on the occasion of a poster competition in Berne, Altherr also became aware of Ernst Keller, the winner of the competition.

In 1918, Keller was employed as an assistant teacher at the School of Arts and Crafts Zurich and in 1920 he was appointed head teacher of the graphic design class as successor to Johann B. Smits, of whose work we have practically no information. Keller was trained as a lithographer in Aarau, and then worked until the First World War in Leipzig, in Johannes Weidenmüller's (1881–1936) famous studio. Weidenmüller was in 1908 the founder and director of the first German advertising agency, which he called "Werkstatt für neue deutsche Wortkunst". Weidenmüller has written numerous theoretical books about communication and marketing. In his books, he documents "good" design and communication and comments or argues about quality. In this environment Keller had his first experiences as a graphic designer and, it seems, that these experiences had a lasting influence on him.[2] Due to the outbreak of the First World War, in 1914 Keller left Leipzig, and returned to Switzerland.[3]

As an assistant teacher at the School of Arts and Crafts, he worked with Johann B. Smits, and also with the well-known poster artist and painter Otto Baumberger (1889–1961). We know very little about this first period at the school. Beginning in 1920, when Alfred Altherr appointed Keller as head teacher and responsible for the so-called graphic design class, we know about Keller's teaching and have background information about the strategy of the School of Arts and Crafts. This information published in 1926 is documenting the works exhibited at the 1925 *International Exhibition of Modern Decorative and Applied Arts* in Paris. In this publication the teachers are listed and Altherr explains the philosophy of the school in an introductory text: "The talented and technically experienced craftsman on the one hand, the artist with craftsmanship on the other […] as teachers have to ensure, that the school remains in constant contact with the practice and industry of the city of Zurich. This also means that it is not the attitude towards sensational novelty, not the mood for style and fashion that leads, but the needs of time and the tasks of practical life always precede, since they are of greatest importance for the education of the new generation". With that Altherr described the mission of the school, since the reorganization by Jules de Praetere, very precisely. We see how Altherr consistently pursued the reform course and thus the renunciation of every form of academic education and the concentration on practice- and project-oriented teaching (Fig. 2).

Ernst Keller, head teacher of the graphic design class from 1920 to 1956. Keller became responsible for the graphic design class in 1920, and in the same year Anna Simons (1871–1951) and Fritz Helmuth Ehmcke (1878–1965) also taught in Zurich.

1900 1910 1920 1930

Edward Johnston Professor at the Royal College of Art
1912: Conference in Dresden
1918: Eric Gill Assistant of Johnston
1916: Font for London Transport
1927: Font Gill Sans

Anna Simons studied at the Royal College of Art Assistant from 1905 Professor in Düsseldorf
1920: teaches at Kunstgewerbeschule Zürich together with Fritz H. Ehmcke
1928 Professor at Kunstakademie Düsseldorf

Peter Behrens Director of Kunstgewerbeschule Düsseldorf
1907: Studio Behrens, AEG until 1938
1907: Co-founder Werkbund
1921: Director of Kunstakademie Düsseldorf

1904: Emil R. Weiß teaches at the Folkwangschule
1908: Johannes Weidenmüller Agency in Leipzig
1910: O.H.W. Hadank Studio
1927: Paul Renner Futura
1928: Jan Tschichold *Die neue Typographie*

1909: Wilhelm Deffke Art Director Studio Behrens
1925: Wilhelm Deffke Director Kunstgewerbeschule Magdeburg
1928: Hermann Eidenbenz

1906: Jules de Praetere Director
1912: Alfred Altherr sen. Director
1916: Sophie Taeuber-Arp (until 1929)
1916: Wilhelm Kienzle (until 1951)

1906: Applied Graphics Head Eduard Stiefel later Johannes B. Smits
1916: Otto Baumberger

1906: Ernst Keller education as lithographer
1910-1914 in Leipzig at J. Weidenmüller
1918: Assistant Teacher
1920: Teacher of the professional class of graphics

Fig. 2 The main influence of the Kunstgewerbeschule Zurich came from Germany. Mainly from the connection to the Werkbund and therefore to Peter Behrens. Through this relationship Anna Simons came, together with Fritz H. Ehmcke, to teach in Zurich. Other influences came through Keller's activity in Leipzig (1910–1914) and his connections to Wilhelm Deffke (later director in Magdeburg) or designers such as O.H.W. Hadank.

These two German typography and calligraphy teachers established connections to the school of Peter Behrens (1868–1940) in Düsseldorf, and via Anna Simons to Edward Johnston (1872–1944) and the English school, whose student and assistant she was. In 1905 Simons was representing Johnston at the *Kunstgewerbeschule Düsseldorf*, and led the newly established typography and calligraphy courses, which later also under her direction took place at other German art academies. In 1912 Anna Simons presented the innovation in typography and calligraphy emanating from England at the congress for art education in Dresden, and thus achieved a signal effect for the development of typography in Germany. In 1914 Simons moved to Munich and taught at the academy of type design and applied arts. We perceive the connections which the *Kunstgewerbeschule Zurich* and especially Keller had to the German scene, and if we also count Keller's experience and acquaintances in Leipzig, then we can understand where to find the fundamental influencing factors (Fig. 3).

The German influence: Werkbund and Peter Behrens

As already mentioned, the *Deutsche Werkbund* was founded in 1907 and De Praetere was on the committee together with Peter Behrens, and they were co-authors of the famous manifesto. In 1912 the *Schweizerischer Werkbund* was founded in Zurich and one of its founders was Alfred Altherr. If we look at the list of Keller's students from the years 1920 to 1930, we find among others, such names as Walter Käch (1901–1070), Richard Paul Lohse (1902–1988), Pierre Gauchat (1902–1956) and Hermann Eidenbenz (1902–1993). Walter Käch became between 1923 and 1929 Ehmcke's assistant in Munich, and Hermann Eidenbenz worked from 1923 to 1926 in Berlin for Wilhelm Deffke (1887–1950), who in turn was a former employee of Behrens'

[2] Dirk Schindelbeck (2016). *Der aus Reklame Werbung machte, Johannes Weidenmüller–Werbewissenschafter und Agenturgründer.* Berlin: Omnio Verlag.

[3] Alfred Altherr senior (ed.) (1926). *Kunstgewerbliche Arbeiten aus den Werkstätten der Gewerbeschule der Stadt Zürich.* Erlenbach-Zürich und München: Eugen Rentsch Verlag.

and Eidenbenz followed him to Magdeburg when Deffke became director of the Magdeburg School of Arts and Crafts in 1925. From 1926 to 1932 Eidenbenz was a teacher for type and graphic design at the Magdeburg school. Here we see another aspect of Ernst Keller's network. It is also said that Keller was a corresponding member of the "Verein Deutsche Buchkünstler" in Leipzig[4] and certainly maintained, through his family relationships, relations with Germany.

No Style

If we look at Ernst Keller's works from the period between 1920 and 1925, we can see how his style became increasingly condensed and how he consolidated his work with the poster "The New Home" from 1926.[5] As we know from Willy Rotzler (1917–1994), the important art historian who was curator at the *Kunstgewerbemuseum Zurich* from 1948 to 1961, Ernst Keller formulated his very innovative view of design during this time. It is quoted in Graphis 184[6] by Rotzler as follows: "Keller never attached importance to easily recognizable features of style either in his own work or in that of his students. He rejected everything that smacked of mere routine. It was his belief that every graphic design problem must be solved out of its own specific requirements. The key to an assignment, and the final form taken by the design, must always be sought in the given subject matter and function. The merely external characteristics that distinguish a 'style' were thereby eliminated. There are nevertheless qualities that run through all his varied oeuvre (it covers the whole spectrum of graphic design applications), and there is in fact a very personal note in his work. Keller thought of himself as a lettering designer, for whom the 'architecture' of written type faces on a surface was of primary importance. He also saw himself as a designer of signs in two and three dimensions. He shaped type into words or sentences with great expressive force, but he also busied himself with the stylization and abstraction of pictorial elements, equating simplification with intensification of the statement".

How the ideas of Ernst Keller spread we see through Hermann Eidenbenz, who taught in Magdeburg beginning 1926. As a young teacher he probably taught a lot of what he himself had experienced at the *Kunstgewerbeschule Zurich*. In the very interesting publication about the history of the Magdeburg school,[7] he is quoted almost literally with statements that we know from Willy Rotzler as Keller's statements: "is convinced that design is not about presenting oneself, but always the best, cleanest and most effective solution to solve a problem …".[8]

The so-called Swiss Style and its origin

The opinion of Philip B. Meggs[9] and others, that the Bauhaus had a direct influence on the development of Swiss graphic design is incorrect for various reasons. The early Bauhaus in Weimar, between 1919 and 1925, is characterized by an artistic orientation, and the important theoretical works of Wassily Kandinsky (1866–1944), *Punkt, Line zu Fläche*, and *Bildnerische Formenlehre* by Paul Klee (1879–1940), which summarizes lectures from the Bauhaus period. There was no course for graphic design. The disciplines taught are summarized in the 1919 Bauhaus Manifesto formulated by Walter Gropius (1883–1969): "The ultimate goal of all artistic activity is the construction […] Architects, painters, we all have to go back to the handicraft […] The artist is an increase of the craftsman […] Let's create together

[4] Hansjörg Budliger (ed.) (1976). *Ernst Keller. Graphiker 1891–1968. Gesamtwerk*. Zürich: Kunstgewerbemuseum der Stadt Zürich.

[5] Peter Vetter, Katharina Leuenberger, Meike Eckstein (2017). *No Style. Ernst Keller (1891–1968) Teacher and Pioneer of the Swiss Style*: 53–67. Zurich: Triest Verlag.

[6] Willy Rotzler (1976). *Ernst Keller. The Pioneer of Swiss Graphic Design*: 118–128. Zurich: The Graphis Press, Zurich.

[7] Norbert Eisold (2011). *1793–1963 Kunstgewerbe– und Handwerkerschule Magdeburg.* Magdeburg: bibliothek forum gestaltung 06.

[8] *Ibid.*, page 127.

[9] Philip B. Meggs (1983). *A History of Graphic Design*, 2nd edition. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold.

1910 1920 1930 1940
1907: Foundation of Deutscher Werkbund
1913: Foundation of Schweizer Werkbund
Bauhaus
1919: Foundation Walter Gropius Director
1925: Dessau
1932: Berlin
1919-1923: Preliminary course by Johannes Itten since 1923: Josef Albers and László Moholy-Nagy
László Moholy-Nagy
studied law in Budapest
1923: appointed at the Bauhaus
published: *Grundsätzliches zur Typographie*
1934: Emigration
Head of the New Bauhaus, Chicago
Herbert Bayer
studied at the Bauhaus
Head of Werkstatt Druck und Reklame
Head of agency Dorland (Berlin)
Emigration
1906: Jules de Praetere Director
1912: Alfred Altherr sen. Director
Sophie Taeuber-Arp (until 1929)
Wilhelm Kienzle (until 1951)
1938: Johannes Itten, Director
Hans Finsler (until 1957)
1906: Applied Graphics
Head: Eduard Stiefel later Johannes B. Smits
1916 Otto Baumberger
Ernst Keller from 1906 education as lithographer
1910-1914 in Leipzig at J. Weidenmüller
1918 Assistant Teacher
1920 Teacher of the professional class of graphics

Fig. 3 If we compare the period between 1906 and 1919 (foundation of the Bauhaus) with the period between 1919 and 1932 (the close down of the Bauhaus) we observe an interesting avant-garde movement at the Zurich school. The Bauhaus itself, until 1925 is mainly to be considered an Art and Architecture school. With the exception of the "Werkstatt für Druck und Reklame", organized by Herbert Bayer between 1925 and 1928, there were no courses in graphic design or visual communication at the Bauhaus.

the new construction of the future, that will be all in one shape: Architecture, sculpture and painting".[10] Also the much-praised Bauhaus preliminary course by Johannes Itten (1988–1967) was not really an innovative achievement, because it had been taught in all schools of arts and crafts for many years, in Zurich for example since 1887. Itten's preliminary course, which he conducted together with Gertrud Grunow (1870–1944), mainly was about the subject of color. The preliminary course of his successor László Moholy-Nagy (1895–1946), which he led from 1923 to 1929, can be described as really new and very innovative, and Josef Albers (1888–1976) was also considerably influential between 1923 and 1933. Nagy was involved in typography, graphic design and photography and made important contributions in this respect, but nevertheless there were no systematic courses for graphic design or photography at the Bauhaus.

Education at the Bauhaus

The workshop for printing existed since 1919 but it was mainly seen as a production site. From 1921 on Lyonel Feininger (1871–1956) was responsible for this workshop, and he understood it as part of his artistic training. A workshop for printing and advertising, as it was called at the Bauhaus, existed only between 1925 to 1928. This workshop was initiated and managed by the ex-student of the Bauhaus Herbert Bayer (1900–1985). After his departure in 1928, this workshop was discontinued.

From these facts we can conclude that the Bauhaus made fundamental contributions to modern design, especially in the theoretical field, but that there had been no systematic training in the field of graphic design and photography, even though individual graphic design works can be regarded as innovative contributions for the Bauhaus itself. However, this is not true at all, for example, for typeface design. The typeface designs of the Bauhaus are constructivist attempts that do not correspond to the quality of the typefaces created outside of the Bauhaus during that period.

Ernst Keller, his role models and orientation

Keller's library, which partly still exists, and that we can read in a list of books, that was documented when his studio was closed in 1968, contains no references to a confrontation with the Bauhaus. Keller was interested in various classical topics and in addition to literary books, mainly publications in the field of graphic design from England, America and Germany. From the statements in the many conversations we had with former Keller students, as well as from the few publications that are known and that contain statements about the teaching of Keller or the School of Arts and Crafts in general, it becomes clear that in Zurich an independent or at least parallel didactic path had been taken, especially in graphic design education.

Meggs mentioned the link to Russian avant-garde graphic design and the Dutch De Stijl, and there was a certain exchange, especially with the Netherlands, which was based on reciprocity. The Russian avant-garde had stylistically very little in common with Swiss graphic design and can rather be described as expressionistic with a constructive influence. In 1929 the first exhibition of Russian design in Western Europe took place at the *Kunstgewerbemuseum Zurich*. The title was "USSR Russian Exhibition" and the poster was designed by El Lissitzky (1890–1941). At this time, Ernst Keller had already taught for more than ten years at the School of Arts and Crafts, and had found his own style both in his works and in his teaching.

Ernst Keller's teaching

If we take a closer look at Keller's teaching, we can see that the curriculum hardly changed over the 38 years he taught. It consisted of figurative drawing, calligraphy and type design, professional studies like political science, accounting, German and mathematics, an evening course for nude drawing, another for sport, art history and printing techniques, which took two and a half days. The remaining three days were dedicated to project lessons. What changed over the years were the topics that were worked on. Keller realized many commissioned projects, which was entirely in line with the school's policy. He also worked together with his students on such large projects as the Swiss section at the press exhibition "Pressa" in Cologne in 1928.

Throughout his life, he updated his teaching and was always in direct connection to the economic world and the public sector. In addition to the applied projects, he attached great importance to drawing. Drawing was in general very important at the school and someone at that time said "drawing represents thinking with the pencil".[11] It is also said that there were no actual lectures, but that the teaching always took place during the project critiques, which were carried out almost exclusively in individual discussions. When Keller came to a topic that seemed important to him, he asked the class to attend and listen and so a kind of lecture took place. This technique also had the advantage that the teaching of theoretical-conceptual contents was always directly linked to a specific topic. It also seems that it was to him of great importance to guarantee his students a lot of autonomy. There was also a kind of "novice system" that provided for the older students to take care of some of the younger. It has also been said that Keller asked the students on various occasions to evaluate their works by themselves.

The projects he formulated were ex-libris and logos, invitations, New Year cards, wine labels, packaging of all kinds, and posters were designed. Books or catalogues from typography to bookbinding also were designed. Much of what was created, then was printed by the students themselves as woodcuts, linocuts or etchings. Keller also saw himself strongly as a type designer and it has been handed down that all students had to draw their own typeface. Important type designers such as Walter Käch, Alfred Willimann (1900–1957), Eidenbenz, Auguste Théophile Ballmer (1902–1965), Hans Eduard Meier (1922–2014) and Walter Haettenschweiler (1933–2014) and typefaces such as Haettenschweier Schmalfett have emerged from his classes.

[10] Hajo Düchting ed. (2009). *Seemanns Bauhaus Lexikon.* Leipzig: E.A. Seemann Verlag.

[11] Person and source: unknown.

The students of Ernst Keller

In the 38 years of Ernst Keller's teaching, approximately 210 students have graduated. About one third of these were women, which is a relatively large proportion. What also can be observed is that relatively few of the 57 women from Keller's class are well known. Exceptions are Warja Lavater (1913–2007), Lora Lamm (1928), Ruth Wälchli-Bögli (1930), and Charlotte Schmid (1932). This is completely different for the male graduates, the most important Swiss designers and above all the important protagonists of the later Swiss Style attended Keller's classes. These are the founders of *Neue Graphik*, like Richard Paul Lohse, Josef Müller-Brockmann and Carlo Vivarelli (1919–1986), who published the journal *Neue Graphik* together with Hans Neuburg and signed many articles with LMNV.

What can be described as Keller's really great didactic achievement is the fact of the diversity of the personalities and of their different oeuvres. We find type designers, exhibition designers, calligraphers, illustrators, caricaturists, scientific illustrators, poster designers, book and magazine designers, art directors and corporate designers, as we would say today. Not only the different fields of work are astonishing, but also the very different views and orientations. Next to Pierre Gauchat or Müller-Brockmann, or Lohse, we find Domenic K. Geissbühler (1932), Wraja Lavater and Hans Peter Weber (1914–2012), Lora Lamm, Heiri Steiner (1906–1983) and H. U. Steger (1923–2016). The different interpretations of the same professional background experience is amazing. Keller's idea of "No Style" proves this fact very precisely and that is the importance of his contribution. He taught his students tools and awareness for quality, but above all he taught them an attitude.

Many Keller students later became teachers. Walter Käch and Alfred Willimann, together with Keller, had a lasting influence on type design classes at the *Kunstgewerbeschule Zurich*. Also Hans Eduard Meier, the typeface designer who created, among other types, Syntax, taught typeface design for years, later also at the ETH Zurich. Pierre Gauchat and Hans Aeschbach (1911–1999) taught for many years the preliminary course and Josef Müller-Brockmann, who later taught at HfG Ulm, and Rudolf Bircher (1911–2009) led the graphic design class as Keller's successor. Robert Sessler (1914–1988) taught at the School of Arts and Crafts Saarland, and Hermann Eidenbenz in Magdeburg and Fred Troller (1930–2002) at Cooper Union and the School of Visual Arts in New York, the Rhode Island School of Arts and was head of the design department at Alfred University.

Books and magazines

If we have a look at the books and magazines in the field of graphic design between the 1950s and 1970s, we notice that many of the important publications were written and published by Swiss designers. The globally successful magazines such as *Graphis* and *Graphis Annuals*, or the fundamental books *Graphis diagrams* and *Archigraphia* published by Walter Herdeg (1908–1995). The magazine *Neue Graphik* and the publications of Müller-Brockmann and Walter Diethelm (1913–1986) but also *Lettera*, published by Haettenschweiler together with Armin Haab (1919–1991). The publications of Hans Eduard Meier on the history of type and the studies *Rhythmus und Proportion in der Schrift oder Schrift: geschriebene und gezeichnete Grundformen* by Walter Käch. The fact that there are so many publications of Keller students testifies to another aspect of Keller's teaching—that of reflection. He was able to teach his students to reflect on their tasks and obligations and to pass them on to others.

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The Business Face of Swiss Graphic Design: The Case of Studio Hollenstein (1957–1974)

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Studio Hollenstein / Swiss graphic design / Organisation / Team / Graphic design profession

Literature has long discussed the role of Swiss graphic designers and typographers based in Paris in the 1960s and 1970s, in the construction and dissemination of the label 'Swiss graphic design and typography'. While these narratives mainly focus on the talents of these individual designers and the formal and aesthetic aspects of their work, the strategies developed to ensure their commercial success on the French market have been little explored. Yet such exploration provides an alternative approach to understanding how the label has been shaped abroad. Drawing on underexplored Studio Hollenstein archive material, combined with interviews, this study examines the organisational structure and the strategies used to run the Studio. As this material reveals, the concepts of 'team' and 'organisation' emerge as discursive and visual strategies to represent and position the Studio as a collective and professional structure. Moreover, Hollenstein's claim to Swiss origins is widely evidenced in the archive and appears as a means to label the services of the Studio with Swiss stereotypes such as precision and quality. This paper offers a balanced view of the way the label 'Swiss graphic design and typography' was constructed and disseminated abroad and challenges the conventional portrait of the individual Swiss graphic designer depicted by the narratives.

Introduction

There has been a long tradition of professional migration among Swiss graphic designers and typographers. Taking part in a broad internationalisation process encouraged by the political and economic context of the post-war period, Swiss practitioners moved among Western cities to pursue their studies, to find job opportunities, or to found their own enterprises. Along with Milan,[1] Paris was one of the European cities that was most attractive both economically and culturally that drew about 50 Swiss graphic designers and typographers between 1945 and 1975. Historiography on graphic design traditionally emphasises their role in the dissemination of the Swiss Style in France (Hollis, 2006; Jubert, 2016; Wlassikoff, 2005) and their contribution to the international recognition of Switzerland in the field of graphic design and typography (Brändle, 2016: 5). While these narratives mainly focus on the talents of these individual designers and the formal and aesthetic aspects of their work, the strategies developed to gain visibility and to ensure their commercial success on the French market have been little explored. Considering the economic factors of graphic design practice (such as business management, market strategies, self-promotion, etc.) provides an alternative approach from which to understand the construction and dissemination in France of the label 'Swiss graphic design and typography'.[2]

Preliminary research undertaken to map out archives of Swiss graphic designers and typographers established in Paris during the above-mentioned period revealed the problems with tracing evidence of working practices.[3] Such archives are either unorganised or are exclusively composed of designed products such as posters, books, leaflets or signage systems. The underexplored archives of Albert Hollenstein (Lucerne, 1930–Vernazza, 1974) are a key source for the present research. Hollenstein's son and the Bibliothèque Forney hold numerous documents covering the Studio's professional and extra-professional activities (photographs, advertisements, promotional documents, professional papers, clients' works, Hollenstein's notes).[4]

Through a close reading of these textual and visual materials, combined with recent interviews conducted with Hollenstein's colleagues and family members,[5] this paper examines the organisational structure and the strategies developed to ensure the Studio's commercial success. As this material reveals, the concepts of 'team' and 'organisation' emerge as discursive and visual strategies to represent the studio as a professional and collective structure. Moreover, through these strategies, we can observe Hollenstein's claim to Swiss origins and the use of the Swiss Style to associate the Studio with Swiss stereotypes such as precision and quality.

1. What kind of structure?

After an apprenticeship in typography at the Brunner printing house in Lucerne (1947–1950) and a stint as a copywriter in Montreux (1952), Hollenstein moved to Paris in 1953. He first worked as a copywriter at the leading advertising agency of R. L. Dupuy (1953–1954) and then as

[1] See Fornari, D. (2016). "Swiss Style, Made in Italy: Graphic Design Across the Border". In: Lzicar, R.; Fornari, D. (eds.) *Mapping Graphic Design History in Switzerland:* 152–180. Zurich.

[2] This paper features the intermediate results of a case study within the ongoing research project "Swiss Graphic Design and Typography Revisited" supported by the Swiss National Science Foundation within the Sinergia program (www.sgdtr.ch).

[3] The research focused on practitioners who founded their own enterprises in Paris between 1945 and 1975: Adrian Frutiger(1928–2015), Albert Hollenstein (1930-1974), Gérard Ifert (*1929), Peter Knapp (*1931), Rudi Meyer (*1943), Bruno Pfäffli (*1935) and Jean Widmer (*1929).

[4] The archives are located into two separate places. The Bibliothèque Forney in Paris holds 70 boxes of documents which were collected and organised by Hollenstein's wife in the 1990s and left to the library in 1997. Hollenstein's son's archive contains numerous files which are not organised and are located in Tours, France. The archival material doesn't include financial records, nor internal records such as clients' correspondence, contracts, etc.

[5] Hanspeter Bisig, October 11, 2017; Albert Boton, September 8, 2017; Hugues and Rosemarie Hollenstein, November 22, 2017; Peter Knapp, September 24, 2017; Francine Tourneroche, November 24, 2017; Niklaus Troxler, October 10, 2017.

Fig. 1 View of the second Studio, ca. 1960. Hollenstein archives, Bibliothèque Forney, Ville de Paris, RES ICO 5515 14.

chief of production at the Club du livre book club (1955) before founding his own eponymous studio (1957–1974). From the very beginning, Hollenstein adopted a multidisciplinary model combining graphic design, advertising, typography and later audiovisual. The business was first named Atelier Hollenstein and had 35 employees. Composed of creative specialists (art directors, copywriters, illustrators, photographers, typesetters and typographers), administrative members (accountant, secretaries) and salesmen, the number of employees rapidly expanded to about 50. The name was changed to Studio Hollenstein when the enterprise acquired an official business structure in the legal form of limited company status in 1959. At the end of the 1960s, the studio was divided into three limited liability companies, with a total of circa 100 employees.[6] In 1973 a partnership was formed with the Franco-American printing house and advertising agency Wallace & Draeger, in order to expand the business, but the accidental death of Albert Hollenstein in 1974 led to the final closure of the Studio.

In the 1960s, this multidisciplinary and collective structure was new within the field of graphic design in France and emerged as a model better adapted to the market. Indeed, being an individual graphic designer was no longer sufficient, as stated by the Swiss graphic designer Gérard Ifert in the French journal *Techniques graphiques* (1962). During a conference organised in 1964 by Action Graphique, a French graphic design association, Hollenstein discussed the shifting status of graphic design and its movement from individual practices to collective ones. Naming this new profession 'visualiste', he defined it as a chain of specialists working in a team and grouped in a structure.[7] As the photographic material shows, the studio was organized in an open-plan structure in which different competencies were spatially distributed: on the ground floor were the typographers supervised by the creative, administrative and commercial teams on the first floor (Fig.1). The Studio embodied the definition of this new profession.

Attempts to promote the Studio as a collective and professional structure are widely evidenced in the self-promotional material in the archives. They can be, for example, located in the use of the word 'organisation'. In 1960, a card was produced to invite people to 'visit the organisation Albert Hollenstein'. Significantly, the word studio had been replaced with 'organisation'. Defined as the answer to the problem of the collective action that arises as soon as an activity cannot be carried out by a single individual (Crozier, 1963), the word 'organisation' can be interpreted here as a strategy to stress this collective dimension. Nevertheless, it can also be understood in relation to scientific management theories[8] in which the word 'organisation' was key and referred to a method for improving economic efficiency. These theories, formulated at the very beginning of the 20th century for industrial companies, circulated within the creative professions in France after the Second World War. For example, the *Esthétique industrielle* industrial design periodical regularly published articles on the organisation of enterprises based on these scientific management theories. Written by organisational consultants, they offered advice on improving economic efficiency, addressed to industrial designers who were running their own businesses. In this context, the word 'organisation' is associated with a business vocabulary, and Hollenstein might consciously have used it in the invitation card to reflect this business-centered perspective.

The organisation of the Studio also had a visual manifestation. A hand-drawn illustration designed for a Christmas card in 1960 by Kurt Weibel (one of the numerous Swiss graphic designers who worked at the Studio) illustrates the Studio's architectural and organisational structure (Fig. 2). On the front cover, a cross-sectional view maps the different activities which are distributed on two floors. Inside the document, a drawing composed like a graphic novel represents some of specialists at work (photographers, illustrators, typographers) as part of the 'chain of specialists'. At the end of this chain, the employees are grouped together in front of a painting (as if to symbolise a vernissage) which is

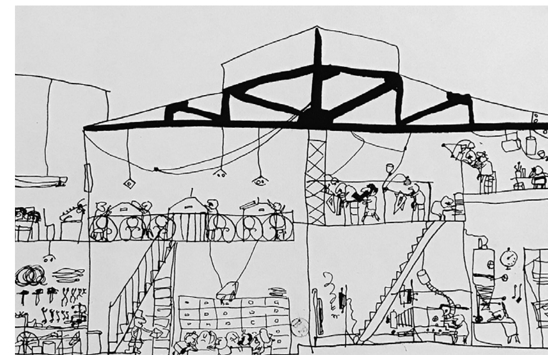

Fig. 2 Kurt Weibel, *Christmas card*, 1960. Hollenstein archives, Bibliothèque Forney, Ville de Paris, RES ICO 5515 11.

[6] There is no record of the exact number of employees. This information is based on interviews led with employees and on professional and press reviews.

[7] Hollenstein's notes, Hollenstein private archive, Hugues Hollenstein, Tours.

[8] Chevalier, J. (1928). *La technique de l'organisation des entreprises.* Paris : Librairie française de documentation commerciale et industrielle; Fayol, H. (1917). *Administration industrielle et générale : Prévoyance, organisation, commandement, coordination, contrôle : études*. Paris : Dunod; Taylor, F. (1913). *The principles of scientific management.* New York; London: Harper.

rendered as a piece of folding paper. Inside it, the face of Albert Hollenstein is illustrated. Hollenstein's status within the organisation is clearly manifested through this drawing. Isolated from the workers, he represents himself as the head of this organisation.

As previously mentioned, this multidisciplinary and collective structure was uncommon among graphic designers in this period and tended to be observed instead in other related professions such as advertising or industrial design. Many scholars have stressed that European advertising agencies in the early 20th century took American agencies as their models when organising their practices.[9] Strategies included the division of tasks, the creation of departments and units (thereby enabling agencies to serve clients across a wider field), and the integration of modern business methods such as marketing and self-promotion. As pointed out by the historian Claire Leymonerie, the transfer of this American model could also be located through Raymond Loewy (Leymonerie, 2016: 40), a French industrial designer who made his career in the United States and founded the Compagnie d'esthétique industrielle (CEI) in Paris in 1952. Initially named Compagnie Américaine d'esthétique industrielle and first managed by Americans, the company offered 'an American style complete service', as stated by Raymond Loewy in the French periodical *Esthétique industrielle* (Loewy, 1969: 40).

Split into different departments, combining different activities including graphic design (packaging, industrial aesthetic and architecture, and graphic design), the organisational structure of the CEI shares similar characteristics with Studio Hollenstein. Evidence from archive photographs and interviews with Hollenstein's employees reveals the strong connection between the two firms. It can first be seen through the circulation of employees between the CEI and the Studio. For example, Evert Endt, a Dutch graphic designer who trained at the Kunstgewerbeschule in Zurich (graphic design class), worked at Studio Hollenstein for a short period and then became the art director of the graphic design department of the CEI, where he remained from 1958 to 1975. Among other Swiss employees of Hollenstein, Kurt Weibel first worked at the Studio and later joined the CEI team. Jean-Pierre Gachet also worked for Raymond Loewy, in Loewy's New York-based industrial design agency. The connection is also evidenced through archival material retrieved from the Raymond Loewy archives in the Hagley Museum and Library. Photographs shows the CEI and the Studio Hollenstein teams opposing each other on a football ground. The two firms are identifiable through their football kit: the CEI employees are dressed in white with a golden logotype of the CEI, while the employees of Studio Hollenstein are wearing stripes and their shirts bear an 'H'. This kind of social event probably provided alternative spaces for exchange between the two firms and confirmed their connection. Did the organization of the CEI, based on the American agency model, provide a model for Hollenstein? Given this evidence of connection, it seems fair to draw a parallel between them. However, further research is needed to better examine the influence of the CEI on the management and organisational structure of the Studio.

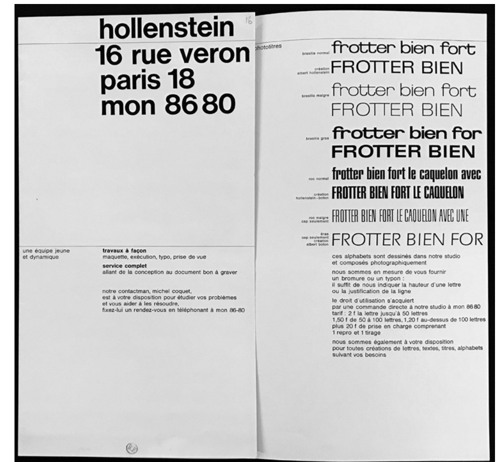

Fig. 3 Studio Hollenstein promotional leaflet, ca. 1965. Hollenstein archives, Bibliothèque Forney, Ville de Paris, RES ICO 5515 10.

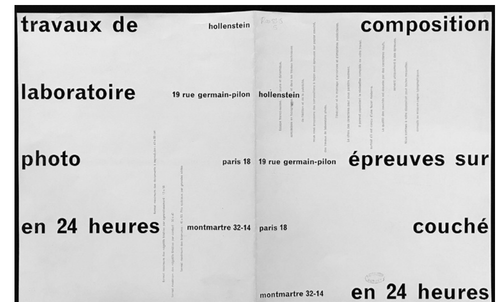

Fig. 4 Studio Hollenstein promotional leaflet, ca. 1960. Hollenstein archives, Bibliothèque Forney, Ville de Paris, RES ICO 5515 6.

[9] Schwarzkopf, S. (2014). 'From Fordist creative economies: the de-Americanisation of European advertising cultures since the 1960s', in Klaus Nathaus, *Made in Europe: The Production of Popular Culture in the Twentieth-Century*, London: Routledge, p.120. Marc Martin also stressed the influence of American methods after the Second World War on French advertising agencies, on their structure as well as on the practice of advertising. This model was partly disseminated by the American agency based in France. Martin, M. (1992). *Trois siècles de publicité en France.* Paris: Jacob, p. 287. See also, Chessel, M.-E. (1998) *La publicité: naissance d'une profession* (1900–1940). Paris : CNRS Editions.

2. Studio Hollenstein = a team

As stated by the design historian Leah Armstrong, the concept and image of 'teamwork' was a defining feature of post-war professional discourse in Britain. It transformed the 'relationships between the designer and the society, which put a greater sense of responsibility on the role of the designer' (2014: 143). As previously said, the word 'équipe' (team in English) and the representation of the team, also emerge as recurrent elements in the Studio's archival material. The word can be located in numerous self-promotional documents (typesetting catalogues, leaflets, brochures, Christmas cards) within commercial phrases such as 'a team to serve you' or 'a young and dynamic team' and there are also visual manifestations, as we will see. The word is often combined with a sober modernist layout typical of the Swiss Style, which is characterised by formal reduction to the bare essentials, careful execution of graphic products (Brändle *et al.* 2014) and the use of sans serif typefaces such as the iconic Helvetica (Fig. 3).[10] In this same document, we can also observe a fondue recipe text, a Swiss cultural stereotype, used as a sample of typesetting. This recipe was used in every typesetting catalogue distributed to clients and served as a working base for the employees. The intention to label the Studio as Swiss and to spread Swiss culture within and outside the Studio is widely evidenced in the material and this can be identified from the very beginning. A promotional brochure the Studio produced in its early years, employed 'A Franco-Swiss team' as a commercial phrase to promote its services, combined with the characteristics of the Swiss Style (Fig. 4).

This Franco-Swiss team had been consciously and strategically built by Albert Hollenstein. More than 20 Swiss graphic designers and typographers worked at the Studio and some of them were specifically selected for their skills in typography. Albert Boton and Francine Tourneroche, two French graphic designers who worked at the Studio in the beginning of the 1960s, both report that Swiss graphic design and typography were appreciated by the French market and recognized for their quality and precision work, a stereotype usually associated with the label 'Swiss made' (Kadelbach, 2013).[11] In a similar vein, building a 'Franco-Swiss team' appears as a strategy to ensure the commercial success of the Studio. As mentioned earlier, the team is also visually represented in the self-promotional material of the Studio.

A drawing on textile made by the Swiss graphic designer Guido Weber in 1960 for a Christmas card (Fig. 5) shows a humorous, witty image of the team that contrasts with the official working documents, which usually featured more serious and sober designs, as previously shown. The drawing represents the employees grouped together in a Santa sleigh, positioning them as playful subjects. Albert Hollenstein, identifiable by his haircut and his glasses, is represented alone on the reindeer leading the sleigh. The separation between the employees and Hollenstein is clearly manifested and evidenced by the textual information included on the Christmas card, which refers to 'Hollenstein and his team', reflecting the hierarchical organisation of the Studio.

The image of the Hollenstein's team was also circulated outside the Studio through French and Swiss professional journals. Professional journals function as vehicles for generating and transmitting professional ideals and can be considered as a platform where professions define themselves (Thomson, 1997: 37). *Caractère Noël*, a French periodical devoted to graphic design and typography, published an article in 1960 on the Studio. A black and white photograph illustrating the article shows Hollenstein surrounded by six employees. Unlike in the drawing previously shown, the hierarchical structure is not represented here, since the members of the Studio are arranged in a small circle as if to stress their close relationships. The employees are staring at the camera with smiling faces and the photograph conveys an image of a united team, as underlined and suggested by the caption: 'A Franco-Swiss Cordial Harmony: the New Graphic Wave'. This professional journal emphasised and validated teamwork, identifying it as a new and ideal practice for the graphic design profession.

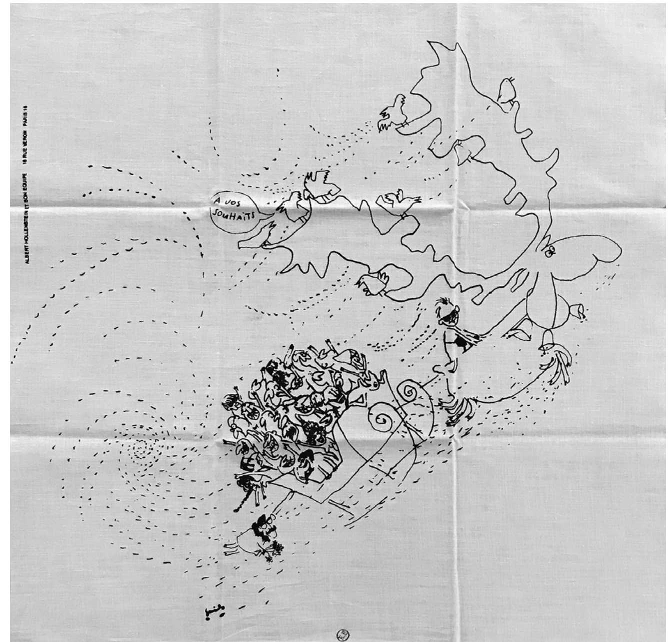

Fig. 5 Guido Weber ca. 1960, Christmas card design, Hollenstein archives, Bibliothèque Forney, Ville de Paris, RES ICO 5515 11.

[10] Hollenstein became the official agent of the Swiss foundry Haas in France at the beginning of the 1960s. The sans serif typeface Haas (the former name of Helvetica) was sold by the Studio and was often employed as the main typeface when composing its self-promotional documents.

[11] Constance Delamadeleine in conversation with Albert Boton, September 8, 2017; Francine Tourneroche, November 24, 2017.

Conclusion

A close reading of Studio Hollenstein's archive material allows us to frame the organisational structure and the business practices of a Swiss studio based in France in the 1960s. As stressed, this multidisciplinary and collective structure emerged as a new model within the field of graphic design, better adapted for the market than the single individual graphic designer. Preliminary research demonstrates the close link and similarities between the organisational structure of the Studio and the CEI, which has to be further analysed in order to better understand the professional profile of the Studio. As highlighted, the concepts of 'organisation' and 'team' emerge as discursive and visual strategies employed to represent and promote the Studio as a collective and professional structure. This reflected Hollenstein's intention to carve out a new image in opposition to the individual graphic designer and to position the Studio as a business-oriented organisation. Among other promotional strategies, this paper has also highlighted the significance of the claim to Swiss origins and spread of the Swiss style, arguing that these were elements exploited more for promotional and commercial purposes rather than as aesthetic choices. In line with this evidence, this paper offers a more balanced view of the way the label 'Swiss graphic design and typography' was constructed and disseminated abroad and challenges the conventional portrait of the individual Swiss graphic designer depicted by the narratives.

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Casting the Net: Early Career Projects and Network Creation

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Swiss graphic design / Swiss Design Awards / Design promotion / Networks / Career formation

The small size of the contemporary Swiss graphic design scene makes it a hyper-connected environment that impacts the production of design. This paper uses a qualitative approach to understand the networks of Swiss designers and the influence exerted by the Swiss Federal Office of Culture. In particular, it examines the actors and networks of three winners of the 2002 Swiss Design Awards: Gilles Gavillet, Norm and Megi Zumstein. Indeed, 2002 is a particularly relevant year as it marks the moment the Awards were modified to reflect changes in design practices, envisioning the Swiss Federal Office of Culture as an actor within the Swiss design network. The paper uses a selection of artefacts as starting points to retrace the networks. The objects are chosen from interviews with designers, literature reviews and awards, and their analysis leads to connections with actors that are usually less visible within design networks, such as photographers, editors or informal collaborators.

A preliminary examination highlights the designers' networking strategies in the cross-section of scenes they represent and shows the role played by the Swiss Design Awards in launching careers. Preliminary results show that these networks are mostly informal and mainly located within the cultural sector because it offers more creative opportunities. They highlight the role played by key institutions either as clients, promotional platforms, awarders or networking spaces.

Introduction[1]

The names on the letterboxes at Pfingstweidstrasse 31, Zurich read like a cultural Rolodex: design studios Norm, Lex Trüb, Grilli Type and Comet Substance, neighbour filmmaker Andrea Siering and photographers Lena Amuat and Zoë Meyer, to name a few. This situation is no exception within the Swiss design scene. As designer and curator Adam Macháček noticed while organising the exhibition *Work from Switzerland*,

> to meet multiple designers at once in Switzerland is not very difficult. Their studios are often found under a single roof […] They play foosball together, organize exhibitions and parties […], publish their own books and magazines (Macháček 2004).

The density of this network is evident in the 'Swiss Design Connection' diagram of the 2002 Swiss Design Awards (SDA) catalogue, in which Martin Heller reiterates: 'almost everyone knows almost everyone else, at least by hearsay' (Heller, 2002). Not only is the country small, but also designers tend to actively seek this connection with their colleagues.[2] The relatively small number of art schools also fosters connections from the beginning of designers' education. If artefacts are the result of negotiations between actors in a network (Fallan, 2014: 67), how do these connections have an impact on the production of graphic design in Switzerland? Where do these networks form and what influences them? Finally, how can we investigate artefacts to produce a history that goes beyond isolated objects, but reveals the complexity behind their constitution and less highlighted side figures (Moriarty, 2016: 58)?

As some have argued, quantitative methods in network analysis can obliterate equivocality to produce results which are 'devoid of colour, feeling, or […] ambiguity' (Moriarty, 2016). Consequently, this paper focuses on a qualitative approach using Fallan's understanding of actor-network theory (ANT) as a 'mental corrective and backdrop' (2014: 69–71) and follows Law's advice to consider ANT as a 'sensibility to materiality, relationality, and process' rather than a toolkit (2004: 157). Inspired by Margolin's call to escape the linear narrative of comprehensive design histories (1994), selected artefacts let us unravel the relationships that allowed them to exist. Chosen on the basis of interviews, awards and literature as entries to the networks, the artefacts shed light on the entanglement of design objects and networks. They are simultaneously results of previous relationships, opportunities to build new connections and actors, which go on playing a role in networks.

In order to retrace the trajectory of objects and to unravel relations, oral history proves an indispensable tool. Not only does it allow questioning possible myths around artefacts, but it also places the designers at the centre of socio-historical contexts (Sandino, 2006: 275) that proved central in the creation of design. Furthermore, a 'move from the macro to the micro' (Fallan, 2009) enables access to an expansive set of relationships revealing connections between scenes and their mutual influences, models of practice and strategies of network-building. This leads to new questions and connecting points going beyond the anecdotal by revealing both the smaller and the larger pictures of networks (Sandino, 2006) and the influence they have on the production of design.

The Swiss Federal Office of Culture: a recurring actor in the network. In Switzerland, state-sponsored design promotion has been enshrined in law since 1917. The measures introduced more than a hundred years ago included the organisation of exhibitions, grants and prizes, subventions to corporations and general financial support towards any effort supporting the ap-

[1] This paper features the intermediate results of a case study within the ongoing research project "Swiss Graphic Design and Typography Revisited" led by Prof. Dr. Arne Scheuermann at Bern University of the Arts (HKB) and supported by the Swiss National Science Foundation within the Sinergia program (www.sgdtr.ch).

[2] Especially if they belong to similar generations. For instance, Norm decided to settle in Zurich because 'everyone was at Pfingstweidstrasse', namely those 'around 30 years old'. Norm (Dimitri Bruni, Manuel Krebs and Ludovic Varone), interview by the author. Zurich, 15 June 2017.

plied arts (ISHZ, 1917). Since their introduction in 1918, the Swiss Federal Awards have grown to become the most significant form of design promotion in the country. Initially working in close relationship with professional organisations such as the Schweizerischer Werkbund or L'Oeuvre, the government gradually took over design promotion from the 1970s onwards, and today the Swiss Federal Office of Culture (SFOC) organises the SDA independently from trade organisations (Crivelli et al., 1997).

The current SDA consist of a substantial monetary prize—standing at CHF 25,000 in recent years and awarded to around 17 designers—as well as an exhibition and publication. While the awards arguably have limited visibility for the general population, the exhibition organised during Art Basel enjoys a high footfall [3] and the influence of the award itself on the relatively small scene of Swiss design is far-reaching, both concerning reputation and financial impact. The monetary prize notably allows designers to undertake personal projects and commissions with smaller budgets as well as pay for material needed to run a studio.

The 2002 edition of the SDA is particularly significant: that year, the SFOC undertook a restructuration to adapt to changes in the professional development of designers. It took the theme of networks as its core (Crivelli et al., 2002). While exhibitions and publications by the SFOC had always supported networking, a more active approach was subsequently adopted, making the creation of contacts 'part of [the SFOC's] job' by offering international placements as an alternative to the prize money (Münch and Staub, 2005; Crivelli, 2002). Patrizia Crivelli, then secretary of the Design Service of the SFOC, argued that the new model reflected the SFOC's role as a node in the network, allowing her department to take the role of an active mediator (Crivelli, 2002).

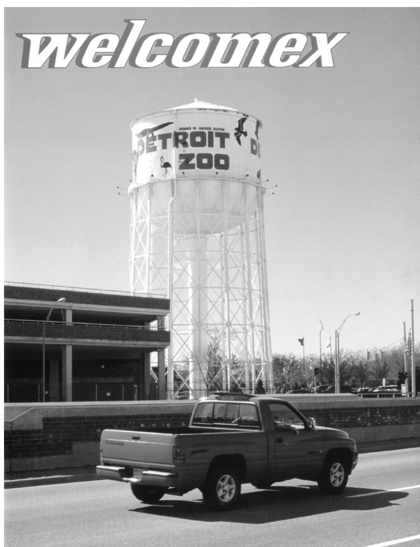

Fig. 1 *Welcomex* 1, April 1997. Magazine designed by Gavillet/Delgado (Discovolante), photography Gavillet.

The SFOC appears as an essential player in the analysis of Swiss design networks. Winning the SDA provided designers with financial support, visibility or networking possibilities. Three winners of the 2002 awards—Gilles Gavillet (born in 1973), Norm (Manuel Krebs and Dimitri Bruni, both born in 1970) and Megi Zumstein (born in 1973)—are selected as case studies for this paper. They demonstrate different networking strategies in a cross-section of Swiss design networks. The designers were awarded at an early stage of their career and have since become respected on national and international design scenes.

This paper is especially interested in early career moments, and demonstrates how first commissions and collaborations, even those started while still at school, provide a sound starting point for the analysis of network formation. Furthermore, the artefacts selected reflect moments of shift and their impact on networks. Gavillet's *Welcomex* preceded his first SDA, while Norm's *Silex* was the studio's first award; Zumstein's *Het Totaal Rappel*, on the other hand, was commissioned five years after the 2002 SDA but represents a moment of shift in her career.

Network formation with *Welcomex*: a magazine as a way out of the insularity

In 1996, while studying at ECAL (University of Arts and Design Lausanne), Gavillet started working with classmate Stéphane Delgado on the design of a new Lausanne-based music and culture magazine, *Welcomex* (1997). The magazine became an opportunity to break the insularity of Lausanne, which Gavillet felt was disconnected to electronic music and design scenes.[4] Indeed, *Welcomex* finds itself at the nexus of several aspects of network formation.

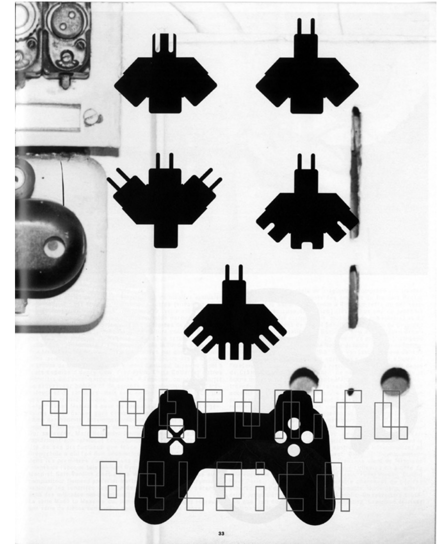

Fig. 2 *Welcomex* 3, 1998, p 33. Typefaces CroCroTraUmAx and Zero Outline.

The cover of the first issue (Fig. 1) is a photograph taken by Gavillet during his stay at the Cranbrook Academy of Art, where he was invited with Delgado and David Rust by American designer Paul Makela after he held a workshop at ECAL.[5] Taking advantage of the then newly available software Fontographer, they developed digital typefaces including Detroit, which Gavillet/Delgado employed in the second issue of *Welcomex*, published in 1997 (Priest, 1997). The magazine became a testing ground for their typefaces, as well as those by others. Some, such as Zero Outline, were later published in the 1998 specimen by Optimo, the platform developed by Gavillet, Delgado and Rust in 1997–1998 at ECAL, which was awarded an SDA in 1999. The most notable, CroCroTraUmAx (Fig. 2), was developed by students in 1997 dur-

[3] Patrizia Crivelli, interview by the author. Bern, 12 September 2017.

[4] Gilles Gavillet, interview by the author. Geneva, 6 April 2017.

[5] It was during this stay that Gavillet started working with Rust, then an assistant at ECAL, in a collaboration that lasted from 2001 until the latter's death in 2014.

ing a workshop led by designers M/M and Cornel Windlin at ECAL (Augustyniak and Amzalag 1997). This workshop proved important for Gavillet concerning networking as he went on to work for Windlin from 1998–2001, and some of the projects Gavillet presented in his portfolio for the 2002 SDA were realised as part of this collaboration.

While Gavillet had earlier contacts with the Zurich music scene, notably through Windlin's Reefer Madness club, the publication of Isabel Truniger's *Sexus* series in *Welcomex* shows his first connection to the young photography scene.[6] He became aware of this new scene through Windlin's 1996 poster and catalogue for *Die Klasse*, a radical exhibition featuring photographers from the Schule für Gestaltung Zürich (School of Applied Arts).

The content of *Welcomex* is also telling of later networks. Gavillet went on to work for artists featured in the magazine (such as Fabrice Gygi and Xavier Veilhan) and for its contributors (for instance Christophe Cherix). One of the most important was Lionel Bovier, then teaching at ECAL. He went on to become central to Gavillet's career, notably by commissioning the designer for publications at publishing house JRP Editions which led to further awards and commissions (Miller and Bovier, 2000; Gygi, 2002).

But *Welcomex* was important not only in Gavillet's network. In fact, in Bienne, design students Krebs and Bruni, who later formed the studio Norm, were impressed by the magazine. They saw it as a welcome addition to the younger design scene building a sense of excitement and went as far as describing it as an electrifying impetus. 'When we saw *Welcomex* [...], it was a shock, like a provocation [...]. [It became] the new reference'.[7]

Starting the 'snowball effect' with *Silex*: self-publishing as means of promotion in the network. The publication series *Silex* started as a collaboration in 1995 between Anna Albisetti, Bastien Aubry, Dimitri Broquard, Aude Lehmann, Manuel Krebs and Dimitri Bruni, who were then all students at the Schule für Gestaltung (School of Applied Arts) in Bienne (Macháček, 2004). Inspired by the comic magazine *Strapazin*, they decided to set up an independent, underground output, encouraged by the example set by Swiss graphic designer Hans-Rudolf Lutz (1939–1998) of the practitioner as self-publisher.[8] The publication took many shapes and formats, ranging from book to newspaper to deck of cards (Fig. 3). Although it never reached mainstream distribution, peaking at around 100 subscribers, *Silex* became known widely and played different networking roles.

The designers' collaborative approach allowed them to create a network of illustrators both within and outside of Switzerland. For example, issue 14 *S avec Silex* (1999) was created with French illustration duo Le Dernier Cri in Cassis

Fig. 3 Various issues of *Silex*, 1995-2003 and *My Way*, 2000. Ph. By Jonas Berthod.

and printed in Marseille. Furthermore, it created an informal platform which was useful for self-publishing: so-called 'special issues' made by one illustrator would benefit from the *Silex* label and its connections within production and distribution networks. Conversely, *Silex* also benefited from the networks of its members. Aubry went on to work for publishing house Die Gestalten Verlag in Berlin, where he designed *Silex: My Way* (2000), a book which reached a broad audience.[9] Moreover, winning the SDA in 1999 introduced the group of designers to the inner circles of the SFOC, leading them to be asked by the Office to pitch for publications. Many of the *Silex* members were subsequently commissioned for publications: for instance, Norm designed the *Most Beautiful Swiss Books catalogue 2001–2003* (published 2002–2004).

Silex's financial model relied on selling subscriptions for the upcoming issue, a model Norm refer to as the 'snowball effect', but this strategy became effective beyond financial matters. One of the subscribers was Cornel Windlin, who not only encouraged the designers in writing but also attended a presentation of the publication organised in Zurich by design studio Elektrosmog, where he met Bruni. Windlin subsequently published several of Norm's typefaces on his type foundry Lineto, starting with Normetica (1999). Type design became an important part of Norm's practice (Farrelly, 2008). But Lineto played another important role: Norm noted that the 'Lineto network [was] really our AGI', highlighting the move from professional organisations to self-organised networks.[10]

Silex was mostly self-produced, and this active role in the design production chain is recurrent in Norm's career. Self-publishing became a strategy: for example, they started using almost exclusively their typefaces in commissions, disseminating them before they were officially sold. Another notable example, *Introduction* (1999), not only mirrored the self-promoting tactic of *Silex*—self-

[6] Incidentally, Truniger was also a recipient of the 2002 SDA. In the catalogue, she thanks Windlin.
[7] Norm, interview by the author.
[8] *Ibid.*
[9] See selected press in Macháček, *Work from Switzerland.*
[10] Norm, interview by the author.

published with a subscription model—but also its exploitation of the awards system. Just like in 1999 with *Silex*, the designers speculated on winning the 2000 SDA to pay their debts to the printer. Winning the awards was also valuable for other reasons: Norm hoped to benefit from the visibility and networking opportunities provided by the exhibition of the SDA.

The 'starting point of book design' with *Het Totaal Rappel*: an informal collaboration leading to an unexpected commission. In 2002, Megi Zumstein was awarded an SDA with her diploma work rather than with commissioned projects, as were Norm and Gavillet. She had just graduated from the Hochschule für Gestaltung und Kunst Zürich (Zurich University of the Arts). Rather than choosing the money prize, Zumstein decided to take up an internship at London-based design studio Graphic Thought Facility. Upon her return to Switzerland, having won the SDA turned out to be a door-opener that helped her to find a job at the time of the Dotcom crash. After working for different studios, Zumstein launched an independent practice in 2007 with her partner Claudio Barandun. The beginnings of their studio, called Hi, were challenging and finding work turned out to be more complicated than anticipated. For instance, a mailout to a hundred potential clients was a failure. Instead, they secured their first commission through a close relative.[11] However, an informal collaboration with friends turned out to be much more important for their careers.

Zumstein and Barandun had been working with photographers/artists Taiyo Onorato and Nico Krebs (Tonk) since they had met at the Zurich University of the Arts. At the time, Tonk produced much work for fashion designer Bernhard Willhelm, such as look-books relying heavily on installations, which would be photographed and used as catalogue material. Zumstein and Barandun often worked with the duo on these projects that were either unremunerated or 'paid in clothes'. Because photography played a fundamental role in the material, their role varied from close collaboration during shoots to 'just putting the logo' on poster images.[12] On the occasion of *Het Totaal Rappel* (The Total Recall),[13] a monographic exhibition of Willhelm's work at the ModeMuseum in Antwerp that opened in 2007, the photographers built the scenography of the exhibition (Granata, 2015: 371–372), which provided material for ephemera such as invitations that Hi helped to design (Fig. 4). Their role was initially limited as the 'design' took place within photography, and Tonk took most creative decisions. However, what was seemingly at first a simple job with limited room for the designers evolved to become an essential project for Zumstein and Barandun.

The designers gradually got involved with the exhibition, designing items such as the exhibition guide. They attended the show's opening in Antwerp, where the mayor of the city, 'overwhelmed' by the exhibition, suggested the production of a catalogue. Because Tonk's photography was the major source material for the catalogue, their usual collaborators Zumstein and Barandun naturally seemed like the most logical design studio to be commissioned. Not only did a book commission grow out of the collaboration with the photographers, but the subsequent catalogue (Fig. 5) also turned out to be 'the starting point of book design' for Zumstein and Barandun.[14] It was awarded as one of the Most Beautiful Swiss Books of 2007. The following year, a collaboration with Roland Fischbacher on the book *68 – Zürich steht Kopf* put the designers in touch with publishing house Scheidegger and Spiess, which led to further collaborations and the reputation of the studio grew. Hi went on to be awarded several Most Beautiful Swiss Books awards, including 2009, 2012, 2013 and 2017.

Conclusion

A close analysis of how *Welcomex, Silex* and *Het Totaal Rappel* came to life and went on to exert influence on the designers' contacts shows moments of network formation which both preceded and followed the objects. Artefacts therefore play a role just as important as the designers themselves when it comes to casting the net at the beginning of a career. The examples reveal how relations become forms before exerting a feedback effect on the networks thanks to self-promotion, awards and the momentum they create on the local scene. This approach allows going beyond isolated objects, displaying instead the complexity behind their constitution.

Silex and *Welcomex* demonstrated the importance of early projects in the formation of lasting networks, while *Het Totaal Rappel* showed that first collaborations have an impact on design in a way that is rarely predicta-

Fig. 4 Invitation for *Het Totaal Rappel* at ModeMuseum Antwerp, 2007. Design Claudio Barandun, Nico Krebs, Taiyo Onorato and Megi Zumstein.

[11] Megi Zumstein and Claudio Barandun, interview by the author. Zurich, 6 April 2017.

[12] Megi Zumstein and Claudio Barandun, interview by the author. Zurich, 13 November 2017.

[13] The exhibition title seems to be a nod both to Paul Verhoeven's eponymous 1990 film starring Arnold Schwarzenegger, and to the fact that the show took place because Wilhelm donated the totality of his archives to the ModeMuseum.

[14] Megi Zumstein and Claudio Barandun, interview by the author. Zurich, 6 April 2017.

ble. The analysis of these objects identified networking grounds, which need further study, such as art schools, musical scenes, informal platforms such as Lineto and exhibitions organised by the SFOC.

Just as the SFOC was gradually distancing itself from professional organisations in its promotional activities, the type of design it supported evolved. Recent SDA—and 2002 was no exception—awarded projects located for the most part in the cultural sector. More creative opportunities can undoubtedly be found in cultural commissions, thus attracting designers. But the recognition, visibility and financial support provided by the SDA also acted as an incentive towards that type of practice, confirming the role of the SFOC as an actor that exerted influence on the broader networks of design.

The complexity of the networks described also raises the challenge of finding an appropriate way to convey them best; indeed, 'design histories, once written and published, are static' (Moriarty, 2016), limiting the possibilities of transcribing multi-layered connections. This calls for the study to be completed by an interactive format, which would allow three-dimensional navigation within the complex networks at work in the creation of Swiss design.

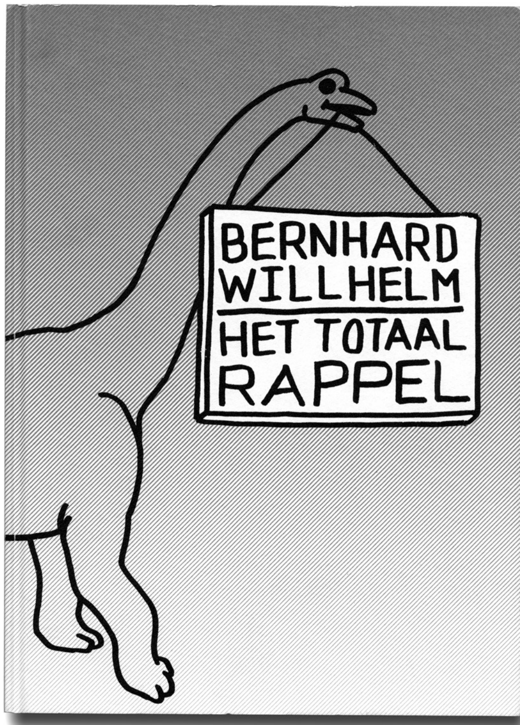

Fig. 5 *Bernhard Willhelm: Het Totaal Rappel*, 2007. Catalogue designed by Claudio Barandun, Nico Krebs, Taiyo Onorato and Megi Zumstein.

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The Act of Care in Participatory Design

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Ethics / Care / Act of care / Society / Participatory design

Discussing care is approaching concern towards another person, although this care would remain only a concept if an act is not performed to demonstrate it. Therefore, an act of care would be one that not only pursues a solution to an unresolved need, but that in which an action would be taken with the intention of resolving it. In Design, an act of care is performed through the configuration of an object or any service with an intention capable of satisfying certain needs (Dilnot, 2017).

This review seeks to relate the act of care through a full comprehension of its meaning, and then merge it with participatory design. The latter, as collective work where one or several people contribute and where direct receivers of this act exist, is one of the most complete expressions of care in Design. Finally, a case is presented that, as the author is part of the community involved, will be easily evaluated and elucidated. This perception would be important for future configuration of the world in pursuing care, by including theoretical and practical knowledge of design, with the intention of providing a resolution to any need.

Care and the act of care

The word “care” in English (most of the research on its presence in Design has been published in this language), has several translations in Spanish and thus multiple meanings. As a substantive or verb, “care” is regularly translated from English to Spanish as “*cuidado*”: procuring or attending to someone; as *“preocupación”* (concern): something that causes fear or uneasiness in a complicated situation. It is also translated as “*atención*” (attention), “*asistencia*” (assistance) and even as “*tener cuidado*” (being careful), and “*tener precaución*” (being cautious) in relation to a person or situation.

Writing about *care* from the point of view of the Spanish language results in an association of words that, contrary to what happens in the English language, are dissimilar. Worrying about someone, something or a situation does not inherently urge one to take care of it and vice versa. Likewise, attending to or helping someone does not always mean that they are being taken care of; the assistant could be fulfilling a duty without involving a personal concern for the person assisted (Noddings, 2013).

The concept of *care* has been widely developed in the field of medicine, within the physician/nurse–patient relationship and their participation in society. An act of *care* that can be easily perceived occurs when a human being is healing another human being. Thus, Medicine and Nursing are cataloged as two of the most human and noble professions that exist, especially for their emphasis on and respect for life.

Within these and other disciplines, an act of *care* arises as a response to a situation and it is directly related to the society to which it responds. In economics, for example, it emanates from the search for strategies that keep monetary relations afloat. In politics, it arises when scrutinizing laws that converge with the needs of a population. And nowadays in ecology, it is originated when analyzing solutions that restore or contribute to the improvement or recovery of the environment.

On the other hand, *care* is commonly seen in the mother–child relationship of all living species. Mother–child situations of the same species can be observed and also other relationships in which the mothers decide to rescue another child even if it is not the same species.

Therefore, it is considered that an act of *care* is not exclusive to a direct human–human relationship and it can be present in the relationships between living beings. Although a great difference is that, in the living being, other intervening factors make it inherent, a matter of conscience.

Furthermore, an act of *care* is often seen as an innate and “natural” feature that is more instinctive than conscious and this is taken up in feminist writings, stating that care is a solely disinterested act that can only be carried out by females (Koehn, 1998).

Regardless of what has been described above, in this work, *care* will be treated not as a matter of gender, but as a characteristic present in the actions of people who practice the discipline of Design. Meaning, as a virtue that can be appreciated through objects, images, services, and all expressions made by one or more designers.

Like every act of man, *care* can have a negative as well as a positive connotation; although *care* is pronounced regularly as a disinterested act, that can also be seen as a duty or obligation, or as something from which some personal benefit can be obtained, particularly at economic and even at affective level (Tronto, 1993: 118–122).

In most of the literature on this subject, *care* is presented as a virtue, i.e., as an acquisition that is part of the excellence of an individual; it is also related to duty and morality. It is characterized as an action that a human being can perform for his peers or another living being, due to his sense of responsibility or to his individual or social commitment, by means

of the small actions that constitute the great action of caring (Collins, 2015). And, as previously mentioned, an act of *care* can utilize objects that allow it to be carried out in such a way that an object becomes a support for that action, thanks to the fact that *care* is appreciated; or in a medium without which *care* could not be carried out.

Care "involves attention, empathetic response and a commitment to respond to legitimate needs" (Noddings, 1986) and exists only to "promote the well-being and flourishing of others and ourselves based on knowledge and responsiveness to the one cared for" (Hamington, 2016: 2). Therefore, *care* would not exist if it were not demonstrated by means of an act. This act is found only in the pursuit of a solution (or solutions) to an unresolved need of another person or living being, and is carried out by one or several persons through the use of spoken or corporal language or by an act, in which the intermediary is an artifact pre-existent or not, although in both cases, everything would have the purpose of expressing an act of *care*.

Care as a means and action in Design

Design has been continuously linked to *care* and actually, according to current proposals led by new paradigms, Design could be considered as an act of *care* itself, since its main task has been, in addition to attending and responding to human beings' requirements, configuring expressions that have the intention of eradicating people's and living beings' lacks and needs, aiming to solve a problem.

This, altogether with other topics around *care* and its need for action versus increasing neglect in the fields of human action, especially in its intimate relationship with Design, were discussed in September 2017 at the University of Lancaster in an International Workshop on Design Thought and Action. This workshop provided evidence of the current relevance of subjects around *care* in the Design field.

Historically there have been continuous acts of *care* in Design; before the industrial era, the closest example to an act of *care* was designing artifacts by means of which an observed or experienced immediate need was solved, as in the case of transportation of people or of food and its preservation. After industrialization, the closeness to an act of *care* in Design was experienced through ergonomics, particularly in its attempt to find a better relationship between people, objects and their life span. There are innumerable examples of how objects created until the middle of the last century were characterized by providing what is necessary to improve people's quality of life; which can be translated in that the expressions created until then, even those that respond to purely economic questions, were an act of *care*.

However, it is not until the end of the last century and much of the current century that a debate is occurring over the tasks and actions of the designer as well as the proposals arising from these actions, whether they are objects or services, and now it is aimed that these comply, in addition to certain functions, with features that make him more "human", being the means by which the virtues of the designer are expressed and through those that a user may appropriate or identify with these virtues.

Caring practices are different from any other type of activity and can be differentiated into four stages proposed by Joan Tronto: a) *caring about*..., b) *taking care of*..., c) *care-giving* and d) *care-receiving* (Tronto, 1993: 105–115). And these are evaluated by moral elements such as attention, responsibility, competence and reciprocity.[1]

Although the ultimate goal of Design is not the same as that of the biological sciences such as Medicine or Nursing, disciplines previously mentioned, Design has focused on ensuring the well-being of the human being and thus has gone through the four previous stages due to:

1. Recognizing a need = *caring about*...
2. Assuming the responsibility of willing to respond to the need = *taking care of*...
3. Performing actions where care is provided by means of an object or service = *care-giving*
4. Evaluating if this act of care, expressed through the object or service, has solved the identified need of care = *care-receiving*

In the practice of Design, the stages described above do not occur in the orderly manner in which they are presented here. Certainly, in order to be considered an act of *care*, all the stages must be present; otherwise, the act of *care* would not exist, as it would not be complying with the objective of eradicating needs or shortcomings of people or living beings. Therefore, not performing a concept or idea (which could be translated in the Design brief) that intrinsically relates to the concern within an act of *care*, would automatically eliminate the main intention of the discipline and designer to carry out an act of invention (Margolin, 2017: 89) and, in turn, would only result in concern and not in an act of *care*.

In Design there can be several ways in which an act of *care* happens, thus, one or more people may recognize, assume, perform and evaluate an act of *care* towards one or more people who are: a) in the same place and time, b) in the same place but different time, or c) in the same time but different place; being capable of experiencing some or all of the stages of the same problem. The most common way in which the four stages of an act of *care* take place is that a person performs that act of caring for a peer or another living being; or, a group of people produces the act of *care* in response to their peers or other living beings.

In the first case, a designer has identified in some place an unresolved need, and then, worried about solving it, he decides to work, so he assumes the responsibilities involved in the pursuit of a solution and, later, he performs the pertinent actions that bring the artifact to the hands of those who will finally be the recipient of the care. This is the typical development of past centuries including more than half of the twentieth century, in which there were few works produced by several people, because the idea of the inventor remained rooted for many years.

In the second case a person, whether he is a designer or not, identifies an unresolved need and then decides to share his concern with a designer. After this person decides to assume

[1] For full understanding read all the chapter of *Four Phases of Caring*.

certain responsibilities; now both the designer and the person are performing actions that can provide care and this results in an artifact that turns into the means that will provide care; and finally it is brought to the places where the need exists, it is received and its properness is decided. As it is an act performed by more than one person, it is considered a group work and can be at the mercy of different events that make it differ in one of the stages and, also, there is the possibility that the act of care is produced in different directions.

Nowadays, in Design there are several proposals in which the act of *care* is performed by more than one person. For example, the now renowned collectives of Design, that did not appear until the decade of 1970, arising along with the "New Design", whose pluralist idea brought with it the appearance of some groups like Alchimia and the Memphis Group (Torrent and Marin, 2005). Thus, contrary to the practices that once intended to show a specific act of care that was aimed at one or more people in a specific place and context to then disappear, now an act of *care* carried out by one or more people in one or different places and contexts can be widely perceived (especially thanks to technological and informatics advances). And the purpose of this act of *care* can be addressed to one or several people in the same context (likewise, it occurs in national production), causing variations in the act of care, mostly when enriching it. Or oppositely, when it is directed to another place and context (due to phenomena like globalization), the initial concern of the act of *care* is modified at times and unexpected results are obtained.

Within Design there are numerous proposals in which the previous issues are presented, such as the case of collaborative design or co-design, participatory design, user-centered design, user interface design and transition design, to mention a few. These introduce a designer who is not only concerned about being part of the production of industrialized objects for commercial purposes, but also cares about *caring for* human beings, the user and the society in which he lives. All thanks to the fact that nowadays design focuses have taken on a greater sensitivity in the relationship between human beings and the world.

The first two proposals: *participatory design* (PD) and *collaborative design or co-design*, are acts of care that are carried out by more than one person, however, *co-design* performs an act of *care* through a continuous collective work that from the beginning is executed by diverse people who may or may not be the ones who receive the care; while in *participatory design* a collective work is carried out by one or several people who participate in a direct way or as part of a society, and they will benefit from the act of care.

The participatory design, or PD, proclaimed by Henry Sanoff, is the best example within Design for discussion about the act of *care* since, within it, the decision-making responsibility not only falls on the individual who believes he knows what is best for the society in which a solution will be applied; but each and every one of those involved share a concern and based on this they decide to act in favor of an object or service that meets the agreed needs.

Within the PD as well as in any human activity, the intentions behind an action can be varied, and it is not about qualifying them as good or bad, but about understanding that behind most of the acts of *care* in Design, a great industrial inheritance is kept whose primary pursuit, in addition to the improvement in quality of life, is the economic well-being of society, although this does not take away the intention of caring.

Case. The act of care and participatory design in the Municipality of Tula de Allende. The different forms in which the act of *care* can occur were described above. Also, it was set forth that PD can be one of many ways to appreciate an act of *care*. However, there are records of cases where all the stakeholders work together and at the same time, thus achieving to realise a great project. In the case presented here the architects, designers and engineers arrived in the final stage to review, analyze and plan the construction and distribution of a project that was previously introduced and researched in order to propose it to the stakeholders that regularly decide if the project is carried out. This is how it happens in different municipalities of Hidalgo State as well as other states of the Mexican Republic. Due to that, it is not common for all stakeholders—especially those from governmental or business entities—to spend time together with other stakeholders. In Tula, the municipality where the author has lived for many years, and in surrounding municipalities, the projects are executed by the *ejidatarios* (communal land holders) or some representative who, as a native inhabitant, knows the town's needs, among other reasons, because many of the designers born in these municipalities have moved into the main cities, where the opportunities of continuous and fixed employment are greater, therefore they have eluded the investigative matters of the Design profession. However, it must be acknowledged that in this century some of the promoted works have had all the stakeholders' participation. And finally they have managed to finalize a project in which an act of *care* can be appreciated.

In 2014, it was presented to the Municipality of Tula de Allende—known for housing the Miguel Hidalgo refinery and a thermoelectric plant of the Federal Electricity Commission—a project to recover the railway space located in the center of the community (Secretaría de Cultura, 2014). Felipe de Jesús Ibarra Arellano, at that time a student in the Community Development course of the Universidad Abierta y a Distancia de México (UNADM), presented his final project entitled "Interests and needs of young people, for recreational spaces and culture in the municipality of Tula of Allende Hidalgo", a project that arises from observing the deteriorated space of this municipality's railroad station. He had traveled from this station years earlier and now it was perceived as a lugubrious and dangerous space.

In addition to Felipe de Jesús, students of neighboring high schools and teachers participated in the project. It was presented to the authorities of the municipality and along with other groups from the community of Tula, they analyzed the capacities and possibilities, and from that moment a work team was

formed with members of the locality, personnel of the municipality and state authorities. Finally, thanks to all the results obtained, it was presented at the International Seminar "Verdes Mexico" 5th ed., earning support from the National Council for Culture and the Arts (CONACULTA by its acronym in Spanish), with the purpose of recovering the railway stations in order to transform them into cultural spaces and benefits for the community, especially in favor of bringing young people to leisure activities that could keep them away from drugs. The latter led to this project being presented in the National Program for the Prevention of Crime and Violence (PRONAPRED by its acronym in Spanish), a program sponsored by the Government of the Mexican Republic.

What stands out in this case is that the participatory design on which the parties really interested in the project worked, was presented when Felipe de Jesús, some teachers of preparatory schools in the area and young people of the community worked together with their ideas and concerns, highlighting the young people's participation, who identified the activities that would be of interest for them.

In this way, the project has the four stages outlined above:

1. **Recovery of railway space facilities** = Recognizing a need = *caring about...*
2. **Research stage, participation of schools and young people** = Assuming the responsibility of willing to respond to the need = *taking care of...*
3. **Planning and implementation of the project by the municipal government of Tula de Allende** = Performing actions where care is provided by means of an object or service = *care-giving*
4. **Continuous evaluation and renewal of activities by the municipal government** = Evaluating if this act of care, expressed through the object or service, has solved the identified need of care = *care-receiving*

Conclusion

Collaborative projects, mainly those in which the participation of all stakeholders prevails, are one of the best ways to express an act of *care* by including not only the first concern but also the joint one where it is aimed to meet the ultimate goal of benefiting and/or be benefited by this act of *care*, in addition to recognizing the real needs without masking them. Well, what would be better than carrying out a project that takes *care* of our community?

Finally, predicting what could apply in the future in matters of *care* is complicated, and its complexity increases when in this action of the future, different sectors such as economic, political, educational, etc., seek where to converge. However, design is immersed in a silent way in many of these and other sectors, having the opportunity not only to plan, but to propose different scenarios for the future (Willis, 2015). For this reason, departing from participatory design, it is the task of designers to project action improvements that go further toward an act of *care* of society and the environment, since, as creators of products, systems, services and experiences, designers are modelers of the future and, along with other disciplines and actors, they might be able to propose action improvements in the face of future adversities.

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Generative Design as Tool for Social Innovation: A Methodological Approach

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Social innovation / Wicked problems / Design research / Generative capacity / Know-how

There are, at least, two proposals named as "generative design". Based on a theoretical-methodological proposal, that starts from the morphological processes in design as a fundamental unit of study, which usually is synthesized in a set of detailed instructions to determine the design form and ends at an unpredictable result (Casonato, 2012), depending on the context it can be: 1. A morphogenetic process that uses structured algorithms as non-linear systems that seek endless, unique and unrepeatable results generated by a code as in nature (Soddu, 1994 in Agkathidis, 2015), or 2. A process of design driven by geometry. However, this research is committed to a completely different concept of generative design. The proposal that we intend to work with has as a fundamental category agents that produce design. Our focus is not on giving shape to the design product, but on a theoretical starting point that allows the collective, inclusive and horizontal creation, a "rhizomatic" approach (Deleuze and Guattari, 1980). We will explore the concept of generative design from a perspective which includes all the stakeholders involved in the development of artifacts and interactions, in order to support or improve their ability to "generate".

Problem Definition

In an increasingly complex context, we face not only a demand for more specialized knowledge, but also for the ability to respond to the demands of the information society, whose outcomes are the knowledge economy (Manzini, 2015) and constant change. At the same time, we face a myriad of disparities and social exclusions that urges the incorporation of all society members for a reason of justice. Likewise, the lack of a systemic vision has had repercussions socially, economically, environmentally or culturally resulting in terribly unsustainable ways of life (unesco).

Therefore, understanding knowledge as a final body is unproductive and paralyzing, hence we need to conform a nomadic or rhizomatic knowledge (Deleuze and Guattari, 1980). The case of design is not different, as a disciplinary practice requires addressing the contingency and recognizing itself as capable of absorbing and incorporating the diverse agents involved in particular problems. Due to the complexity of faced problems, multi-, inter- (Manzini, 2015) and non-disciplinary teams are required (Diseño Detonante, 2018), we need groups of people with transversal disciplinary skills and, beyond the disciplines, we need extra and multiple skills because it is not only important to empower professionals, but the entire social body to work, listen and learn from each other while considering alternative scenarios as design tasks (Manzini, 2003).

Lined up as a result, and given the urgent need to conform specific forms of design understood as know-how practices and participating in the complex chain of social innovation processes, we recognize the need that supports our research objective: finding a set of premises for latter creation of a Generative Design methodological approach that allows its theoretical assumptions to take action (Manzini, 2003).

Conceptual Frame

The current complex world also demands complex answers, which take into account that any proposal is part of a larger system and that it must be elaborated under that assumption. In this sense, as first Rittel and then Richard Buchanan pointed out, every design problem is a "wicked problem" (Rittel, 1972; Buchanan, 1992), this means that any possible solution generates in itself another set of problems due to its complex condition. On the same topic, Alain Findeli argued that design, far from being responsible for solving problems, was in fact responsible for proposing alternative systems to existing ones, each one with its corresponding problems. As well, Ezio Manzini (2003) proposes to conceive such systems or "wicked problems" as possible scenarios presented from their sensorial and sensitive power, that is, an aesthetic one.

Since the matter of design is not reduced to the production of isolated objects, but includes the scenarios that enhance these objects, we also know that, as it has been observed, those scenarios do not involve only things but subjectivities in interaction, that are, socio-biological agents. Therefore, one of the most relevant aspects of this complexity lies in the convergence of social actors around problems, where it is necessary to identify some of their features: on the one hand, generation of alternatives to existing problems demands interdisciplinarity and transdisciplinarity even, but on the other, not only disciplinary agents, whom Manzini calls "expert agents" (2015), need to be incorporated into the

problems, but also the non-specialized ones, whom Manzini calls "diffuse agents", referring to those who experience the problems and for this reason become a fundamental source for the creation of possible scenarios. One of the platforms that has faced complexity and the challenge of integrating the participation of multiple agents is social innovation.

Social Innovation

Given that complex problems that we face have effects and origins unavoidably in their social and environmental dimensions, a process known as social innovation has been developed to generate effective solutions in support of socio-environmental progress. This process is not the prerogative or privilege of any organizational form or legal structure, but in fact often requires the active collaboration of various actors such as government agents, companies, non-profit organizations and the communities themselves.

To explore the field of social innovation, the theoretical foundation of Manzini helps us to define it as: new ideas (products, services and models) that simultaneously satisfy social needs and create new relationships or social collaborations. That is, existing innovations that are good for society and improve society's action capacity.

The social innovation model (Fig. 1) also requires the definition of a set of conceptual and practical tools, among them design is defined not by its products, but as a way of knowledge applicable to a multiplicity of objects and diverse processes derived from it (Manzini, 2015). If it is not recognized that design can also be a strategy and, even more, knowledge by its own right, then it can not be imagined that it can play a role in triggering the support and expansion of social innovation.

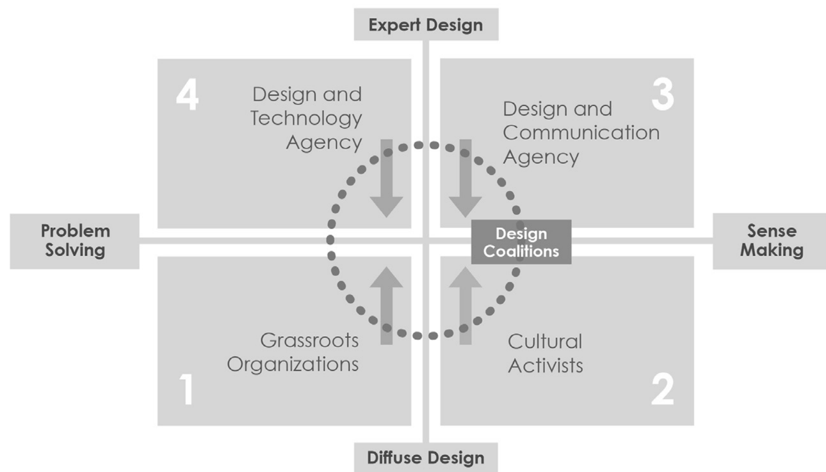

Fig. 1 Design Social Innovation. Source: Manzini, E. (2015). *Design, When Everybody Designs. An Introduction to Design for Social Innovation*. London, England: The MIT Press Cambridge.

The Role of Design in Social Innovation

In social innovation processes, design will operate as a body of knowledge that will enable strategic actions from its type of consistent *episteme*, according to Manzini, in a systemic vision that involves the creation of scenarios (Manzini, 2003), or, in agreement with the authors of this document, in the sensitive figuration of alternative worlds: aesthetic imagination, sensitive knowledge.

It should be noted that design for social innovation is not a new discipline, but one of the ways in which contemporary design develops. It becomes evident that an increasing number of people have broken up and are breaking their routine, and are experimenting with new collaborative ways of living and producing. In a very short time, a growing number of people are promoting a new wave of social innovation.

For centuries, designers have played the role of intruders and managers in the field of design. Today we are in a world where everybody designs and where, as we have seen, our task tends to use our own initiatives to enable groups of social actors to design better (Manzini, 2015). This change of role has led us to become something different from what we have been up to now, to adapt to what is required, we have redesigned ourselves and our way of operating. This will entail our ability to design in action, understood as: a way of thinking and doing things that leads to reflection and the sense of strategy, calling us to see ourselves and our context, and to act for improving the state of things (Manzini, 2015).

The role of design in social innovation, within the discipline has been responsible for developing knowledge dedicated to design and on the exterior to redefining the role and perceived capabilities of design. Plotting in time this redefinition of design synthetically, since the social paradigm takes force, it is evident how the inclusion of people has been increasing, which is evidenced in the following events.

- In the 1970s, Participatory Design arises in Scandinavia; it is an exercise that combined the experience of system designers, system researchers and people to increase the value of industrial production, involving workers in the development of a new work system (Sanders; Stappers, 2016).
- At the same time, in the US a movement emerges generated by the interest in urban transformation and the search for citizen participation; it had implications in industry, urban planning and design services (Sanoff, in Garcés, 2017).

It is important to note that one of the fundamentals of participatory design since its inception is egalitarianism, where all participants are considered equally in the decision-making process, and it is linked to the process of people empowerment during decision-making, revealing the consequences that these decisions entail at the same time. Promoting a different attitude in people towards their force to change environment conception and management; whose strength lies in being a movement that transgresses traditional professional and cultural boundaries and

boost community participation supported on the idea that the habitat works better if the users (the people) are active and involved in its creation and management instead of being treated as passive consumers (Sanoff, in Garcés, 2017).

– During participatory design practice, processes are condensed and the co-design concept emerges. It is important to distinguish that co-creation indicates a collaborative creative effort, regardless of its scale and usually circumscribed in a context; while co-design refers to the co-creation used during a design process, preferably from the beginning to the end, that is to say, this co-creation is focused within the scope of the design (Van Abel, et al., 2011).
– Another important movement, of a non-academic nature, within design transition for new purposes, is the "Grassroots" or social organizations, who give an important value to the wisdom of ordinary people, which is often inaccessible for us, using as a strategy the observation of creative and innovative ways of solving local problems through patient and respectful attention to small details, seeking a deep learning that could occur during surprising moments in the ordinary tasks of daily life.

From Participatory to Generative Design

A "new" transformation movement appears, its genealogical origin is participatory design but it can no longer be named in the same way because of its differences. In this proposal we named it: generative design—Manzini himself has identified it as well. Generative design is a rhizomatic derivation of participatory design, because if rhizomatic organisms grow indefinitely and are also destroyed in their oldest parts (Deleuze; Guattari, 2002), their new developments also result from their ability to adapt to the circumstances. Just that way, it has been happening with the subject that concerns us, the search to generate interactions that seek respect, inclusion, autonomy and collaboration in horizontal social organizations. Participatory design, as a precedent, has left many lessons learned and little by little has evolved to what generative design currently proposes. Today we can infer that the essential difference between participatory and generative design lies fundamentally in the kind of stakeholders intervention. In the first, the designer decides or designs the tool to generate the interaction and the people join based on certain shared knowledge; in generative design it is propitiated that people (expert and diffuse designers, both at the same level of hierarchy) enhance their creativity so that in each case, generate the tools by themselves, detecting the problem and transforming it from a new scenario, or what commonly we call "build the solution" (Manzini, 2015). Generative design demands the formulation of a methodology but not the creation of tools a priori. In addition, its methodology must be sufficiently open to have derivations of rhizomatic order, which means, adaptable to the circumstances (Deleuze; Guattari, 1980).

To explore the concept of generative design in greater detail, we propose to review Sanders (2006) map of the emerging panorama of design research (Fig. 2) that allows us to locate the influences and surroundings of the different design approaches.

This map is defined and described at the intersection of two dimensions; one of them is the type of approach and the other is the type of mentality. Design research approaches come from a guided/research-led perspective located at the bottom of the map, and from the design-led perspective located at the top of the map. The first perspective has a longer history and has been directed by applied psychology, anthropology, sociology and engineering; it can be associated with scientific knowledge or "pure reason" (Kant, 1787), characterized by the generation of knowledge understood as representation or description of the existing. The second perspective has come into view recently, and is associated with know-how or "practical reason" (Kant, 1788), which is characterized by generating ideas that do not try to represent or describe what exists, but prefigure new possibilities of the world. In the first perspective, knowledge is understood as representation and in the second, as a tool.

> On the map also appear two opposing mindsets or ways of thinking that are evident in the practice of design research today. On the left side of the map is described an expert mindset, where people are considered as subjects / users / consumers. On the right side of the map is described a culture characterized by the participatory mindset, where design researchers work with people. People are considered to be the true experts in terms of lived, learned, worked experience. Design researchers with a participatory mindset value people as co-creators in the design process and are so convinced of their inclusion in the design process that they share control with them. For many people it is difficult to move from the left to the right side of the map (or vice versa) since this change requires a significant cultural and political change (Sanders; Stappers, 2016).

The participatory design area expands between the guided/research-led perspective and the design-led perspective, located on the right side of the map. Participatory design is an approach that tries to actively involve people who are part of the process to ensure that products/services are meeting their needs. A characteristic of participatory design is the use of physical artifacts such as tools throughout the process.

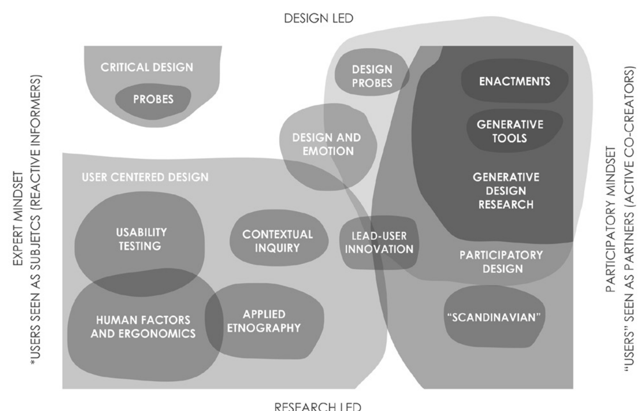

Fig. 2 Emerging panorama of design research. Source: Sanders, E. B.-N. (2006). "Design research". *Design Research Quaterly*, No. 1, Design Research Society, September.

The area of generative design is driven by research and fueled by the participatory mindset; generative design empowers people and promotes alternatives to current situations. The concept "generative tools" (Sanders; Stappers, 2016) refers to the creation of a design language shared by designers/researchers and other stakeholders, and used to communicate. Therefore, collaboration tools do not exist a priori, but all the stakeholders are involved in its creation. Design language is generative in the sense that people can express an infinite number of ideas through a limited set of stimuli.

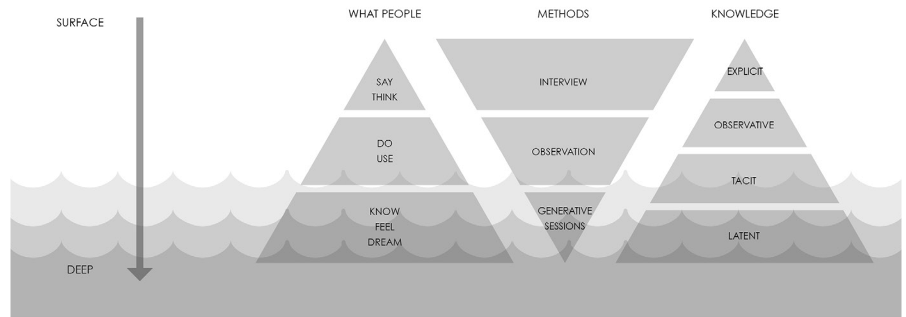

Fig. 3 People, Methods, Knowledge. Source: Sanders, E. B.-N. (2006). "Design research". *Design Research Quaterly*, No. 1, Design Research Society, September.

Therefore, the approximation of generative tools is a way to explore ideas, dreams and discoveries [insights] of people that will be served and will take care of themselves through design. This last feature is the point of connection, between the approach of generative design and social innovation, situating design within a horizontal model, it can be achieved that people and designers are "subjects that find themselves at the same level of collaboration and dialogue, in which the two expose their thoughts. As well as the levels of perception about reality and the vision of the world in which they find themselves. Enabling them to work as subjects interested in reflexive action" (Freire, in Garcés, 2017).

Proposal

We agree on the need to create platforms that meet disciplinary and non-disciplinary design to generate a body of knowledge and fruitful, inclusive and enduring alternatives; we also consider that social innovation is a process where new ideas emerge from a variety of stakeholders directly involved with the problem to be solved: end users, specialists, entrepreneurs, local institutions, organized and unorganized civil society (the "non-experts"). Likewise, not just agents are diverse but also—conscious and unconscious—concepts that guide them in their relationship with the world (Nietzsche, 1873); thus, each interaction has a unique power that must be accompanied by methodological approaches that encourage collective creativity and, to that extent, allow specific adaptation to reality specific demands. We need theories and ways of concretizing nomadic or rhizomatic methodologies (Deleuze and Guattari, 1980) supported by versatile tools to create a world that can be discarded, enriched or mutated according to need.

We propose to start from Generative Design, its theoretical understanding, as well as its integration to social innovation with the aim of building a methodological prototype; starting from a selection of social innovation empirical cases, where preexisting concepts have stretched, transformed or even disappeared; all this through a qualitative methodological approach that allows us to obtain the best from selection.

It is necessary to remember that social innovation demands the transition from a linear to a systemic culture; consequently, to make it happen, the flux of resources (people and knowledge) has to be redefined in order to get feedback, so that the output of one activity becomes the input of another. To seek this feedback, this research proposes for the analysis of the case studies to use the scheme (Fig. 3) developed by Sanders (2006), which traces the relationship among people's behavior, methods and the type of knowledge we can get. In particular, interviews and observation exercises will be performed with organizations that have been involved in social projects, so we can recognize people's explicit ideas, ways of doing, feeling and imagining within previously identified generative processes.

Methodology

This research was developed through the case study method due to its usefulness in the generation of results that enable the growth and development of existing theories or the emergence of new scientific paradigms. From a methodological point of view, the study is empirical, complete and coherent during the different parts of the process. The intimate connection with the reality offered by the application of this method is what makes possible all theoretical development (Martínez, 2006).

The selected theoretical sample included cases that can be replicated or extended by the emerging theory (Eisenhardt in Martínez, 2006). For this first stage of this research, we analyze the work of:

1. infrarural, a social enterprise that aims to develop strategic programs for rural, peri-urban and urban communities with high marginalization and social backwardness, through participatory and inclusive tools, taking advantage of their natural and human resources in order to positively impact on their sustainable community development.
2. *Diseño Detonante*, a group that seeks to generate proposals, from the inter-, trans- and non-disciplinarity to detonate others' realities in the social and political environment, focused on interactions among oneself, the others and otherness, driven in everyday life, using as resources methods, dialogue and objects that intend to trigger change.

From the qualitative data acquired from various sources, such as interviews and documents related to the cases addressed, we conducted an inductive analysis that revealed us the following insights.

Insights

The fundamental elements to achieve a methodological approach to generative design are:

- At the base, design is always conceived as a tool of change, and considered open, changing and constantly evolving.
- The common purpose is to reduce ignorance and deep indifference towards others; from stimulating the interaction between individuals and realities, which goes from the encounter to the approach, so that people involved can redesign their own structures of thought, imagination and interaction.
- The patterns detected in the projects developed by the selected organizations as case studies.
- They present a clear decision of agency.
- Awareness and training are fundamental activities for the potential of participatory action and to generate ownership in order to achieve success in long-term projects.
- The process includes the design of object-based and methodological tools, developed from the skills and training of involved stakeholders (in the case of Diseño Detonante, they promote the use of media and visual realization).

Conclusions

We believe that daily practices open up different possibilities of interpretation and action for people, where relationships and dispositions are modified with the objects and environments that surround them and that undoubtedly represent time and place outside a pre-established model of use and interpretation; a pause to everything that is functional, orderly, established, universal and quantifiable.

For this research, society became a laboratory, and community organizations enduring witness to the vernacular culture linked to the present and to transformation, where ideas and practices that constitute knowledge constantly emerge. This way of doing, goes beyond the canon and modes of consumption of the economic system in which we live, meaning the inclusion of daily ways of doing and thinking to ideation of design.

Recognizing this kind of design means its democratization, since it also recognizes daily and empirical practices through which people give their own meaning to the world, to things, ideas and actions that are found far from passive consumption, and that prefigure the recognition of knowledge that exceeds disciplinary conception.

Design has opened gaps, and has become a shared informed language among stakeholders involved in projects to develop. For the latter, we must use the joint generative capacity, in order to build and push beyond these languages in common, to increase ownership, cultivate empathy and exterminate indifference among communities.

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Additive Manufacturing Artefacts: An Evaluation Matrix Proposal

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Additive manufacturing / Product design / Phenomenology / Artefacts' embodied knowledge / Product evaluation matrix

Additive manufacturing (AM) is changing the way products are designed and manufactured. Evolving from a rapid prototyping tool to an end-use product manufacturing process, AM releases designers from the constraints of the traditional manufacturing processes, offering to product design new opportunities and strategies for innovation. AM improvements have led to a growing awareness about the potential of additive processes, challenging design to exploit an open space of infinite possibilities, and moving it towards an emergent aesthetic and functional language. However, academic studies about the impact and contributions of AM technologies in the design field are still scarce. This paper presents a potential contribution by proposing an evaluation matrix to assess AM features on final artefacts aiming to make explicit the knowledge embodied in the products, providing useful information for designers who want to design AM functional products. The matrix presented in this paper pretends to contribute foundational knowledge about AM potential, aiming to increase AM knowledge through AM artefacts and provide useful information for designers who want to design AM functional products.

1. Introduction

In contrast to conventional subtractive processes, additive manufacturing (AM), also known commonly as 3D-printing, is a manufacturing process able to produce a three-dimensional real physical object from a digital model, through the deposition of material, usually layer by layer, in a build-up system, enabling complex geometries to be produced (Gao et al., 2015). Largely used as a rapid prototyping tool to produce models in different stages of a product design process, in the last three decades AM technologies have been evolving to an end-use product manufacturing process (Yang, Tang and Zhao, 2015). The paradigm shift is the result of several AM developments such as the increasing material quality, the decreasing cost, surface finish improvements, higher speed production, among others.

The capability to print end-use functional products, provides to designers many opportunities and strategies for innovation in product design (Hague, 2006). By overcoming some of the constraints imposed by conventional processes, AM creates new possibilities like customization, shape complexity, integral assembly, design freedom, enclosed lattices, opening to design an almost unlimited space for creativity, leading to the emergence of products with new aesthetic and functional languages. With AM technologies comes the challenge of designing for a new manufacturing process, which may require more skills, but certainly requiring "break out of the conceptual barriers created by conventional fabrication techniques" (Seepersad, 2014: 10).

Often stated in literature, AM potential for product design is creating new possibilities and opportunities for designers to explore unique and innovative design ideas. However, to make the most of the potential of AM techniques and to achieve design freedom with AM, designers have to adapt their approach for these technologies and that "requires either an adaptation of current design practices or new design paradigms" (Sossou, Demoly, Montavon and Gomes, 2018: 3)

The current lack of knowledge of designers about the AM subject was recently pointed out by Spallek and Krause (2018), based on an online survey to assess the AM knowledge and experience of 172 designers. The study reveals that the more expert designers were about AM technologies, "the more confident they felt about making decisions on final part productions with AM, and the more definite they stated their intention of fabricating final parts with AM in the next years" (p. 357). Therefore, it becomes crucial for designers' activity the development of Designing for Additive Manufacturing (DfAM) tools as well as accessible and explicit knowledge about AM technologies.

2. Context

Considering that "design knowledge resides in products themselves: in the forms and materials and finishes which embody design attributes" (Cross, 2006, p.101), the analysis of the shape and configuration of the resulting AM artefacts should contribute to understand AM phenomenological consequences on design. Though, to be relevant for the research context, artefacts must be analysed, interpreted and framed in a theoretical context (Mäkelä, 2007: 157). To that end, an evaluation matrix was developed, to guide the analysis of artefacts produced by AM.

The proposed matrix is an analysis tool developed within an ongoing research project (Félix, Dias and Clemente, 2017) aiming to collect empirical data from designers' experience with AM technologies through their design practice. The main research project intends to explore design possibilities allowed by AM and, at the same time, to understand if and how designers practice and thinking should adapt to the AM technology. Thus, AM implications on design practice are being evaluated according the three categories proposed by Cross (2006): praxeology, epistemology and phenomenology. The evaluation matrix presented here was developed within the phenomenological 'component' of the project, which aims to explore the implicit knowledge embodied into the artefacts.

3. AM products' evaluation matrix

3.1 Unique capabilities of AM

Starting from the AM advantages reported in technical literature, but mainly relying on the role of the artefacts in the process of produc-

ing knowledge, this matrix is expected to help to identify phenomenological directions, as well as to contribute with accessible, explicit and communicable knowledge that can help designers in decision-taking on DfAM approaches for final products. The matrix was designed to relate artefacts' attributes with AM criteria including opportunities to design such as: integrate functionality, complex geometric shapes, lightweight structures and mass customization.

The opportunities enabled by AM capabilities were grouped in four categories (Gibson, Rosen and Stucker, 2010):

Shape complexity: is the ability to produce complex shape geometry, due to the layer-by-layer construction process, not possible with conventional manufacturing techniques.

Hierarchical complexity: relates to the features that allow design freedom, with complex shapes across internal structure to fill product parts with cellular structures, such as honeycombs or lattices designs easily manufactured with AM.

Functional complexity: is the possibility to produce functional mechanisms because AM enables functional integration of parts in one build, reducing assembly costs and minimizing the number of parts.

Material complexity: depending on the AM process, material deposition can be varied throughout in different locations of a single product allowing multi-material parts with different properties.

Thus, the opportunities for designers to innovate are real, because "AM is changing not only the way we make things, but also the types of things we make" (Seepersad, 2014: 10). To take advantage of these AM opportunities, designers need to "maximise product performance through the synthesis of shapes, sizes, hierarchical structures and material composition, subject to the capabilities of AM technologies" (Rosen, 2014: 225) and create original AM concepts or end-use AM products whose features are innovative, but also realistic and valuable.

3.2 Designing the evaluation matrix

The presented matrix is based on the concept of "product evaluation matrix", a research tool usually applied in design projects to evaluate a number of conceptual design proposals by crossing them with defined user-requirements and aiming to support the selection of the most suitable concept(s) for further developments (Milton and Rodgers, 2013).

Starting with the above-mentioned unique AM capabilities, the proposed matrix (Tab. 1) shows how capabilities are revealed on AM product attributes and the consequent opportunities to design. AM product features and their opportunities to design were identified using data collected from literature review about DfAM, including works from Yang and Zhao (2015), Gao et al. (2015), and Thompson et al. (2016). Information about advantages, trends, opportunities, considerations and constraints of AM technologies in producing complex geometries, customised geometry, multifunctional products and lightweight structures was considered. After that, gathered information was analysed and then categorized, according to the four AM unique capabilities.

On the proposed matrix, six AM product features were considered: (1) Functional integration contributing to product design, for example, reducing costs on parts assembling or the possibility to embed electronic components during the manufacture process; (2) Design freedom, that can be explored, for example, using biomimetic inspiration, resulting in new functionalities inspired by nature; (3) Low-volume production to respond to market needs like personalization, lots 'size of one' with customized geometries that increase customer satisfaction; (4) Lattice structures to take advantage of internal geometries that improve product performance and reduce waste material; (5) Topological optimization tools that can be used to simulate structures with complex shapes which exactly meet the mechanical constraints while requiring as little material as possible; (6) Multi-material to produce a functional end-use product with different properties and performance and reduce the number of parts to assemble.

AM artefacts were evaluated considering their AM features and opportunities to design criteria using a Linkert scale from 1–5, where 1 (one) represents low efficient use and 5 (five) high efficient use.

3.3 Testing the matrix: Pilot test

Aiming to validate the proposed matrix, a pilot test was performed. Matrix strengths and fragilities were discussed on a focus group session with two AM specialists, one Material Engineering researcher with a background in Product Design and the other, a Professor and Researcher in Mechanical Engineering. Participants were selected because of their experience, namely their participation in several research projects based on AM technologies using different materials including polymers, metals, ceramics and composites. Both participants also have significant experience in evaluating students' concepts within Product Design courses.

The pilot test consisted of a focus group session aiming at the analysis of two artefacts, designed for AM: the Coralight lamp by Helder L. Santos (Fig. 1) for which stereolithographic (STL) files and assembly instructions were downloaded from http://www.eumakers.com/it/coralight-lampada-da-tavolo-898.html; and the 3D-printed connector piece (Fig. 2), part of a custom furniture system using 3D printed connectors and standard pieces, resulting from an academic project of two second-year Design students.

The first artefact (130 mm × 130 mm × 190 mm) was printed by Fused Filament Fabrication (FFF), a technique using a one head domestic printer from WITBOX, with DIN–A4 (210 × 297 mm) print volume and a height of up to 20 cm, in a thermoplastic polylactic acid (PLA) filament color metallic green, respecting the settings 0% infill and 1.2 mm of shell thickness, recommended by the designer.

FFF is the most common and accessible material extrusion technology, where the filament is loaded and fed through an extrusion head. The printer moves the extrusion head around, depositing the melted material through a small heated printer nozzle in a precise location, building up layer-by-layer. When the PLA material cools down, it solidifies. The table lamp was chosen from the Helder L. Santos online portfolio. According to the lamp author, the product is optimized for FFF

AM unique capabilities	AM product features (phenomenological approach)	Opportunities to design	Product(s) 01, 02, …
Functional complexity	Functional integration	Integrate functionality	1 2 3 4 5
		No assembly need	1 2 3 4 5
		Less assembly time	1 2 3 4 5
		Embedded components	1 2 3 4 5
		Simplifying supply chains	1 2 3 4 5
		Minimize the number of parts	1 2 3 4 5
		Operational mechanisms	1 2 3 4 5
Shape complexity	Low-volume production	Customization	1 2 3 4 5
		Marketing needs (personalization)	1 2 3 4 5
		Customer satisfaction	1 2 3 4 5
		Mass customization	1 2 3 4 5
		Uniqueness	1 2 3 4 5
	Design freedom	Biomimetic inspiration	1 2 3 4 5
		Explore innovative forms	1 2 3 4 5
		Impossible geometries	1 2 3 4 5
		New aesthetic language	1 2 3 4 5
		Creative surfaces	1 2 3 4 5
Hierarchical complexity	Lattice structures	Lightweight structures	1 2 3 4 5
		Improve aesthetics	1 2 3 4 5
		Less material waste	1 2 3 4 5
		Multifunctional design	1 2 3 4 5
		Good energy absorption	1 2 3 4 5
		Improve manufacturability	1 2 3 4 5
	Topological optimization	Less material	1 2 3 4 5
		Less costs	1 2 3 4 5
		Optimized material deposition	1 2 3 4 5
		Change the micro/meso/ macrostructure	1 2 3 4 5
		Improve a specific performance	1 2 3 4 5
Material complexity	Multi-material	No-assembly	1 2 3 4 5
		Functional integration	1 2 3 4 5
		No post-production need	1 2 3 4 5
	Large range of material	Costumer satisfaction	1 2 3 4 5
		New surface finishes/ textures	1 2 3 4 5

Tab. 1 First proposed matrix discussed at focus group with AM specialists.

technology in the sense that it doesn't require support material, which means no material waste and the elimination of the contact point of the support material, resulting in a better surface finish. It should be noted that some aesthetic options, taken by the designer during the product design process, like the zigzag texture on the surface, enable to mask the layer effect, distinctive of this AM technology.

The second artefact (95 mm × 190 mm × 120 mm) was printed by Material Jetting technology, using a Stratasys Object EDEN 260VS with a build size of 255 × 252 × 200 mm, a professional printer that allows dimensionally accurate forms. In this AM technology, all parts are printed in two different materials; one for the main build material and the second as a dissolvable support easily removed with water. Printed in a unique material, rigid translucent acrylic resin, the AM-printed part of the furniture system has the appearance of a final product and performs its function of assembling standard wooden or metal parts. Inspired by cobwebs, this product explores the design freedom allowed by Multijet AM technology. Students decided to switch to that technology after having problems with the FFF technology available, because of the complex geometry and its final appearance.

The focus group, for which a script (in the form of a semi-structured interview) was prepared, intended to find out the

participants' opinion about the effectiveness of the proposed evaluation matrix and ask for suggestions to improvement. Immediately after the interview, each participant was asked to individually fill out the evaluation matrix, regarding the two artefacts under appreciation.

To collect their perceptions during the completion of the evaluation matrix, participants were requested to think aloud and expose their considerations. The focus group lasted about one hour, was audio recorded and fully transcribed and subsequently analysed through idiographic content analysis.

Fig. 1 *Coralight lamp* by Helder L. Santos.

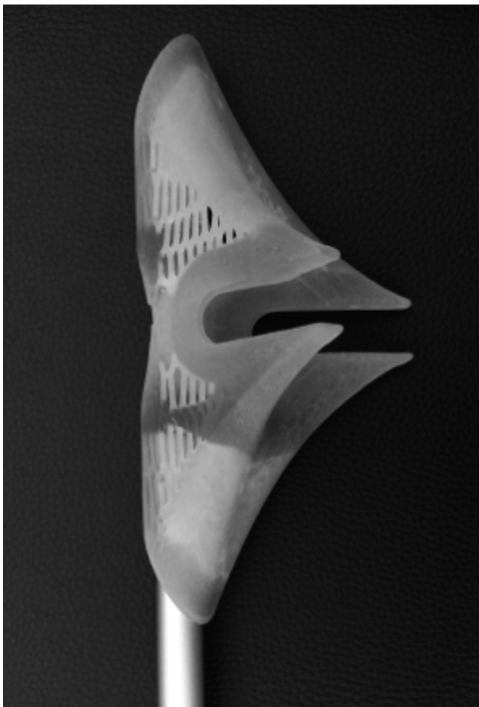

Fig. 2 3D-printed connector part by second-year Design students Miguel Alves and Cristóvão Fernandes.

4. Matrix redesign

After analysing both artefacts, the AM specialists easily identified the AM technology by which they were manufactured and the corresponding material, emphasising that "the product shape is always constrained by the AM technology and material limitations". For that reason, the evaluation of items such as "Design freedom", "Minimize the number of parts" or "Embedded components" is strongly dependent on the AM technology itself, as well as the equipment model and printing materials.

Due to the very different nature of the two products compared, as well as the particular characteristics of the two technologies by which each one was produced, the main output of the pilot test resulted from the difficulties experienced by the participants themselves when filling in the matrix.

The participants suggested that some items, for example, "No assembly need" and "Less assembly time" were difficult to quantify through a numerical scale, a suggestion that was considered later, in the matrix redesign.

In the "Opportunities to design" column, the participants showed some hesitation when answering some items, like "Operational mechanisms" and "Customer satisfaction", having the need to ask directly to the researcher to clarify. This fact led us to the conclusion that some items were not clear enough even to AM specialists. When redesigning the matrix, additional information, mainly in the form of schemes and images, were included.

Another result was the indication to evaluate "Customer satisfaction" separately from the technical issues and divided in subcategories of satisfaction measures related to the products' functionality.

Doubts were raised about the division of "Hierarchical complexity" in two items ("Lattice structures" and "Topological optimization") because they are related and intertwined. For this separation to make sense, there was the need to modify "Lattice structures" to "Lattice structures (aesthetics)", to clarify that it refers only to an aesthetical option, while "Topological optimization" was substituted by "Topological optimization (mechanical properties)", to indicate structures specifically designed to improve a part's mechanical performance.

Another result was the indication to evaluate "Customer satisfaction" separately from the technical issues and divided in subcategories of satisfaction measures related to the product's functionality.

5. Conclusion and future work

In order to effectively design high quality products for AM, designers need a reasonable understanding of AM's various processes, benefits and limitations. The proposed matrix pretends to provide a systematic and structured tool to explore AM artefacts' embodied knowledge. Being one of the first published product evaluation matrices specifically designed for AM artefacts, it represents one further step in the development of design methods and tools to fully embrace unique AM capabilities.

Research about AM impact on Design is still in its infancy and there is a wide range of challenges that designers and design researchers still need to overcome, to take advantage of the full potential of this disruptive manufacturing technology.

An improved version of the proposed matrix is now being applied in our ongoing research project to evaluate a set of concepts for AM artefacts developed by a group of second-year design students. From that point, data about students' practices and thought during concept development that were also collected, will be analysed taking our main research project from its phenomenological component to the ones of praxeology and epistemology.

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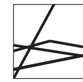

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Standards and Variations: Livraria José Olympio's Book Covers in the 1930s and the 1940s

Carla Fernanda Fontana
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Book cover / Book design / Brazilian design / Brazilian publishing / Tomás Santa Rosa

This paper presents an overview of the book covers issued, during the 1930s and the 1940s, by Livraria José Olympio Editora, one of the most important Brazilian publishers of the period. Considering that the design of its books is still referred to as emblematic of that time, the investigation focuses on the strategies adopted both by the publisher and by the graphic artists that made such acclaim possible, expanding on what is currently known about visual and editorial aspects of the company's production. Inasmuch as one of the better known aspects of José Olympio's fame are the standardized book covers for its Brazilian literature titles developed by graphic artist Tomás Santa Rosa, the article seeks to nuance the analysis by highlighting the diversity of designs in other sections of the publisher's catalogue. Based on a survey of printed books and also on archival material, the paper presents the works of other graphic artists and their contributions to the successful history of Livraria José Olympio.

Introduction

Livraria José Olympio started its business in 1931, in the city of São Paulo, Brazil, as a bookstore specialized in rare and special editions. The company's first book was released in the following year, and, with it, the publisher José Olympio Pereira Filho began a program of publications that would place his company as one of the most relevant to the Brazilian publishing market as early as in the 1930s. Several important authors were part of its catalogue, such as Humberto de Campos and José Lins do Rego, to name only two of the bestselling Brazilian authors of that time.

The refinement of design in José Olympio's books is always mentioned as one of the factors that led to its success. Laurence Hallewell states that besides gathering attention due to his editorial line, which privileged Brazilian authors, and bold methods of work, such as paying authors in advance and ordering print runs considerably higher than the averages of the Brazilian market, "the books with José Olympio's imprint soon began to stand out from the insipid mediocrity of its competitors, as the publisher paid careful attention to graphic design" (Hallewell, 2005: 462). Antonio Candido also highlights the importance of J.O.'s design, claiming that the covers of its books were a symbol of the visual arts renewal endorsed by the public taste (Candido, 1989: 193).

Rafael Cardoso, in turn, writes that in the mid-1930s the Brazilian publishing market had already reached "a new level of expectations for graphic design applied to book production" (Cardoso, 2005: 192–193). Therefore, carefully designed books were already common practice, and the improvement of the visual aspect of Brazilian books in that period couldn't be exclusively attributed to José Olympio.

In any case, José Olympio's covers helped in the establishment of its brand—at least to a higher degree than in the case of other Brazilian publishers active in the 1930s and 1940s. In this process of consolidating the visual identity of J.O., an important role was played by graphic artist Tomás Santa Rosa Jr. It was the covers he designed for José Olympio's Brazilian fiction books that would become quintessential to the 1930s in the country.

Santa Rosa's covers that enthroned José Olympio's brand in Brazilian literary history, nevertheless, appeared only in one part of the publisher's releases. Although being always evoked, this design wasn't the only one seen in the bookstores of that decade. It shared space on the shelves with other styles of covers, which were designed differently as they were intended for distinct segments of the public—even when published by J.O. or designed by the same Santa Rosa.

In contemporary matters, history, politics, foreign literature and poetry books, the design was far from a standardization and the evenness of Santa Rosa's covers gave place to greater visual variety and also to a number of other graphic artists, partly anonymous. It is important, therefore, to highlight other aspects in the publisher's graphic history, showing a diversity that is often overlooked in other studies, which tend to highlight J.O.'s visual cohesion.

Visual Variety in its São Paulo's Beginnings

About 40 titles were published by J.O. between 1932 and 1934, when the company moved to Rio de Janeiro, then capital of Brazil. Book covers of those initial years offer an assortment of styles, including designs with movable types, hand-drawn letterings, geometrical shapes and a few illustrated covers. In these books, no cover design credit was given inside the book. Nevertheless, some of the covers were signed, whether by name, initials or pseudonyms, which allows the identification of some of their authors. For the most part, however, those are—at best—lesser known names, which left few lasting traces on Brazilian artistic or publishing history.

Most of the 1932 and 1933 covers display hand-drawn letterings, devoid of any attempt of visual uniformity to the whole (Fig. 1). The highlight of this set is the cover of Honório de Sylos' *Itararé! Itararé!...*, J.O.'s first illustrated cover, signed by Badenes—an example of the elusive graphic artists about whom no further information is available.[1]

Fig. 1 Books published in 1932 and 1933. Mostly, the covers display hand-drawn letterings, but the publisher still hadn't established a distinctive visual identity.

Just after J.O.'s editorial debut, still in 1933, Humberto de Campos, one of the most popular—and prolific—Brazilian authors of that time, became part of the company's catalogue. Campos' best-selling works demanded successive reprints, thus generating a great variety of book covers—as the publisher generally opted to change covers for each reprint.

Diversity, in this case, was a concern of Campos himself, expressed in a letter dated 19th February, 1934, in which he responded to José Olympio's suggestion of publishing a "Complete Works" edition of his books:

> Yesterday I've received your letter in which you speak of the covers of my books. Once again, you must allow me to disagree. I find admirable, as any person of discreet taste, a uniformity of appearance in the volumes of an author. I know such is the fashion in France, when an author achieves the parcel of glory that is allotted to him on Earth. But [...] I write solely for Brazil, where cultural conditions still do not allow for such subtleties. Sadly, in a country deprived of critics and where a collective taste is still highly hypothetical, the book cover is the foremost claim to fame for any literary work from a commercial standpoint [...]. And not only that: those who arrange bookstore showcases (at least in Rio de Janeiro) are simple-minded salesmen whose first concern is the decorative aspect of the work. Beautiful covers have the spotlight in the bookshelf. Without them, individual efforts need to be done in order to achieve something that could otherwise be achieved spontaneously. As such, bear with me: let's make our covers evocative and varied. Always varied: such is the taste of the natives (*apud* Sorá, 2010: 88–90).

José Olympio's initiative of standardizing cover layouts did not suit Humberto de Campos' wishes towards his books. And apparently the author also didn't appreciate the absence of illustrations, as he asks, in that letter, that further covers should be previously approved by him before printing:

> It seems to me that an Oriental short stories book without an ornamental cover is a bad ploy. So, I ask of you, please, even if the book can't be ready by the 20th, that it receives the semblance that its author desires. And from now on I believe that covers should be discussed and agreed beforehand, so that we can shed uniformity. So I'll ask you once again for an illustrated cover to my Oriental short stories volume. An apt artist needs not to overwork his brain in order to figure something out, from the title I've chosen for it (*apud* Gama, 2016: 39–40).

The work he refers to is *À Sombra das Tamareiras: Contos Orientais,* published shortly after, in March, 1934, with an illustrated cover by J.U. Campos—a then-important São Paulo-based graphic artist who mainly worked for Companhia Editora Nacional. Earlier that year, J.O. published a second edition of *Carvalhos e Roseiras* and a third of *O Monstro e Outros Contos*, both with similar cover layouts (Fig. 2)—which probably triggered the author's complaint. From that point on, the publisher partly yields to the writer's suggestions, variating covers' layouts, but often maintaining his preference for lettering, so actually very few of Campos' works feature illustrated covers. After the author's untimely death in De-

[1] Delving on periodicals of the period, it was possible to uncover a few elements of his works and identity: Marianno Badenes, a Spaniard, worked on São Paulo's press during the 1930s, having designed several book covers and posters.

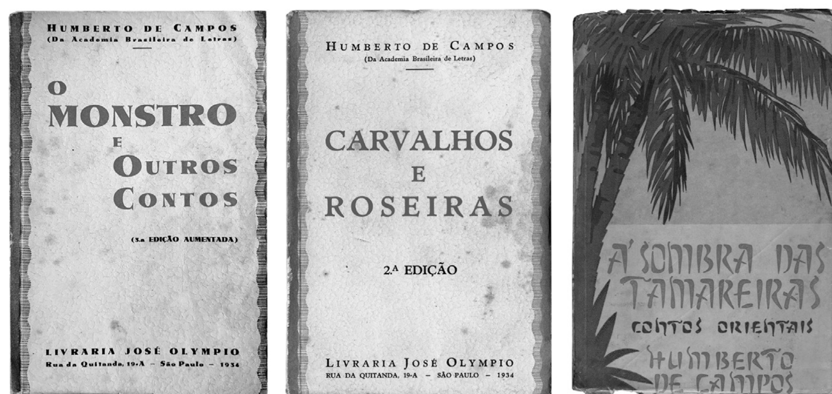

Fig. 2 J.O.'s first attempt to standardize Humberto de Campos' cover design, in early 1934, disapproved by the author; and the illustrated cover, signed by J.U. Campos, published shortly after that, meeting his request for an "ornamental cover".

cember of that same year, by the following year, 1935, J.O. already was resuming his attempts to standardize Campos' covers; however, a fully standardized Complete Works wouldn't appear until 1936.

Campos' works made up a third of J.O. books in 1934, but in that year the company was already investing in a diversified catalogue, publishing different authors and inaugurating its first two series, "Problemas Políticos Contemporâneos" and "Menina e Moça", both featuring standardized covers whose designers are yet to be identified.

Brazilian Contemporary Literature and the Santa Rosa Standard

Besides becoming Humberto de Campos' publisher, a second event helped to establish J.O.'s reputation as one of the foremost publishing houses of the 1930s: he offered to Brazilian author José Lins do Rego a print run of 10,000 copies of his third novel, *Banguê*, and a 5,000 copies reprint of the first, *Menino de Engenho*. The offer was made in 1934, before the company moved to Rio, and the books were released on the inauguration of the new bookstore, featuring a book signing session with the author. With this move, José Olympio placed himself as the "publisher of the new" and contemporary Brazilian literature became the most respected portion of the catalogue.

While shipping his manuscripts to the publisher, Lins do Rego suggests, for the covers, the "great artist Santa Rosa Júnior" (*apud* Sorá, 2010: 138), who was his friend. The recommendation didn't bear immediate fruit, and both books featured covers by Cícero Dias, an artist from Pernambuco (Fig. 3). In an interview at the bookstore inauguration, the publisher brings attention to the book's design: "See the cover? It's Cicero Dias. Very interesting, isn't it?" ("Uma Nova Casa Editora no Rio", 1934).[2]

Nevertheless, Santa Rosa was soon to have his services requested by José Olympio. The association between the two didn't begin, however, in the way it has usually been told. Payment receipts signed by Santa Rosa located in J.O.'s files made it possible to identify several covers designed by him that aren't mentioned in preceding studies.[3] Also, the discovery of visually similar covers suggested that Santa Rosa's contributions could be more extensive than previously accounted for. Considering this, and that the receipt record isn't complete and doesn't encompass the totality of the works he made for J.O., further sources were investigated to fill the gaps.

To that end, a survey of coetaneous periodicals confirmed some of the titles billed in the receipts and elicited the identification of dozens of Santa Rosa's works unmentioned in previous studies, allowing us to ascertain that he designed his first covers for J.O. still in 1934. Newspaper features on new titles often mentioned the cover artist, information possibly gathered from publisher's releases—as frequently the designers weren't credited in the book itself.[4] Santa Rosa's 1934 covers identified through the newspapers are: Rodrigo Octavio's *Minhas Memórias dos Outros*, published in September, and the fourth edition of Humberto de Campos' *Os Párias* and Clovis Amorim's *O Alambique*, in November.[5] This does not mean these were the first or the only ones, as extended searches can retrieve further data.

The oldest Santa Rosa receipt in J.O. archives dates from April 2nd, 1935, billing two works: Lúcio Cardoso's *Salgueiro*, published in

Fig. 3 Cícero Dias's covers for *Menino de Engenho* and *Banguê*, 1934.

[2] As stocks took some time to sell out, two years after the release Cícero Dias' covers were replaced by new ones designed by Santa Rosa, thus integrating the books to the series "Sugarcane Cycle", developed by J.O. to comprise Rego's first five novels.

[3] Bueno, 2015; Nastari, 2014; Lima and Ferreira, 2005; and Barsante, 1993.

[4] The survey was done among the digitized periodicals available at the Brazilian National Library collection, in which several searches involving terms related to J.O.'s catalogue were performed.

[5] "Livros Novos", 18 Nov. 1934, *Correio Paulistano*; "Livros Novos", 28 Nov. 1934, *Pequeno Jornal*; "Através dos Prelos", 2 Dec. 1934, *Diário da Manhã*; "Livros Novos", 15 Dec. 1934, *A Pacotilha.*

June, and *Memórias*, of undisclosed authorship, possibly Humberto de Campos. From that point on, there are another 16 receipts signed by Santa Rosa, dated up until 1944.

Information gathered from receipts and newspapers made it possible to identify 41 "new" Santa Rosa covers, in the first three years working for José Olympio alone: the three above-mentioned in 1934, 15 in 1935 and 23 in 1936—previously, only 21 were known.[6] More than quantities, however, the knowledge of these covers matters because it makes noticeable a significantly more diversified graphic style. When considering Santa Rosa's individual production, the inclusion of these works in his repertoire also considerably amplifies it, tripling the corpus of covers published only in those early years. The new set shows, already at that beginning, graphic features that would later be reused and which, without this previous history, could appear contrasting to his later production.

The analysis of J.O.'s catalogue reveals that the famed Santa Rosa standard cover—first appeared in July, 1935, when Lins do Rego's *O Moleque Ricardo* and *Doidinho* were published—did not emerge at once, as at least three novels were previously released featuring different cover layouts, all designed by Santa Rosa: the above-mentioned *O Alambique*, in November, 1934; José Américo de Almeida's *O Boqueirão*, in February, 1935; and Lucio Cardoso's *Salgueiro*, in June, shortly before Lins do Rego's books (Fig. 4). This shows a publisher still in search of a clear visual style for his books, which seems quite plausible in the case of a still fledgling publishing house.

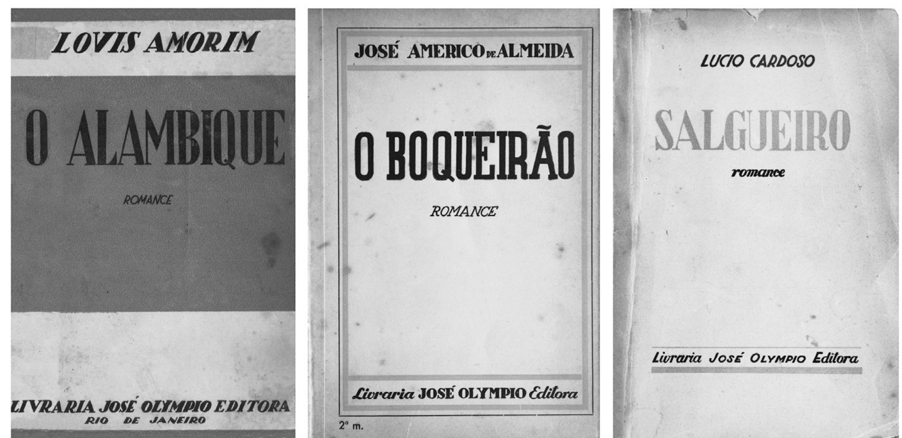

Fig. 4 Covers designed by Santa Rosa for Brazilian contemporary novels published by José Olympio in 1934 and 1935, before the adoption of the standardized layout for works in this genre.

As previously mentioned, the receipt for *Salgueiro* is dated April 2nd, 1935; the one for *O Moleque Ricardo* and *Doidinho* is dated May 6th, 1935. The temporal proximity coincides with visual similarities in those covers: even if Lucio Cardoso's book is missing the distinctive flat background and line illustrations of the Santa Rosa standard cover, the arrangement of the textual elements is quite similar. The same can be said of *O Alambique* and *O Boqueirão* covers—the latter deviating the most from the emerging pattern, as it features a title in slab-serifs, while on the others Santa Rosa employs letters visually closer to didones.

Even in *O Moleque Ricardo* and *Doidinho* Santa Rosa still hadn't established the definitive design, which would only be settled on three covers published months later, in October: Jorge Amado's *Jubiabá*, Afonso Schmidt's *Curiango*, and Amando Fontes' *Os Corumbas* (Fig. 5). This final layout retains the original element arrangement and flat-colored background, reducing however the size of the illustration, which also loses its second color, appearing only in black.

This design is generally regarded as "economical", but setting a standard does not necessarily cut down on printing costs: as no printing plates could be reused from one book to another, covers had to be redrawn for every new title. And while the use of two-color printing is undoubtedly an economical choice, a two-color palette does not impede diversity in composition, so the option for defining a standard cover, in this case, bears no further impact on production costs.

Thus, the unified graphic style of the covers did not aim to cheapen the books, and it could be argued that it served instead to establish a visual identity, helping readers to identify J.O.'s titles and influencing their choices. In any case, the patterned design seems to have heeded José Olympio's personal bias towards standardizing solutions, as well as to facilitate the work of the cover artist, speeding up the completion of the artwork, based on a model.

Over time, variations on the standard introduced by Santa Rosa would supersede the initial design, preserving a centered alignment, two-color printing and an emphasis towards the title. The first substantial alteration occurred in 1938, when the flat background was extended to fill the entire cover and an enlarged

[6] The number of Santa Rosa's previously known covers is based on Bueno, 2015, as this is the most up-to-date reference on the artist's work.

illustration moved to the top of the layout. This new standard would prevail until the early 1940s.

In other segments of the catalogue, variety was still in order, and Santa Rosa designed several different covers for the publisher in the late 1930s. Most of them present very simple layouts, with hand-drawn lettering and an often centered alignment, without illustrations or background colors. Other elements would from time to time come into the composition, such as lines, borders and vignettes.

In the same period Santa Rosa designed covers for two new J.O. series, "Documentos Brasileiros", in 1936, and "Rubáiyát", in 1938. It is possible that he also designed the long-awaited complete works series of Humberto de Campos, published from 1936 onwards. This hypothesis however is yet to be verified, and additional research is required for confirmation.

Catalogue Diversification and New Graphic Artists

Noticeably in the 1940s, José Olympio seeks to diversify even more the company's editorial segments, creating series for different audiences. To that end, other cover designers came into the picture, but they largely failed to obtain the prominence given to Santa Rosa in the history of the publishing house. A remarkable exception is Luís Jardim, himself a fiction writer whose books were published by J.O. From 1939 up until the 1970s, Jardim would draw hundreds of covers for José Olympio.

Fig. 5 [top] The first books to appear with the cover design that would be adopted, with slight variations, as J.O.'s standard for contemporary Brazilian novels and short stories. [below] The "definitive" design, with a smaller illustration printed in one color, achieved three months later.

Other cover artists remain almost anonymous, such as Raul Brito and G. Bloow. Less well-known, perhaps because they didn't join the groups of writers and intellectuals gravitating around J.O., or because they didn't have a parallel career in the visual arts, few references to these graphic artists were found. It is of importance, therefore, to rescue and to study their contributions, in order to deepen what is known—and also what is shown—of the production and visual identity of José Olympio. This is true especially with regard to the publication of translated works, which grew in importance as a part of J.O.'s catalogue. According to figures presented by Hallewell, in 1941 translations accounted for 45% of the publisher's new books, percentages remaining high in the following years—until 1940, they never exceeded 15% (Hallewell, 2005: 448).

The necessity of reaching different readerships in order to increase sales and make his publishing house financially viable had preoccupied José Olympio since at least 1937, when, in a letter to writer Jorge Amado, he wrote that he was increasingly "pessimistic towards literature", because sales were down (Pereira, 1937). Jorge Amado, besides being one of the most successful Brazilian authors of the period, had worked for the publisher as his marketing director since October 1934. At the time of the letter, he was traveling in Northeastern Brazil, on leave from his marketing duties but still taking care of the publisher's business. In response, the writer stresses the need to expand audiences in order to increase revenues:

> POPULAR BOOKS: [...] You should remember that I always advocated for the need to initiate a popular books series. [...] Well, I think that Humberto de Campos' books are about to be done, yielding their last bit. [...] And do you know what is taking their place? The "Modern Women Library" and similar series. Humberto de Campos' works don't present anything new anymore. Such is the opinion of booksellers from two different states. Now, his books were the commercial foundation of the house, which sustained the *luxury* of the intellectual editions. [...]. Maybe I'm exaggerating, but that's how I see it: the popular foundation of the house is beginning to falter, and the drop will be quick, so we need to release popular series immediately. You are starting one, the Detective. It must be done soon. These books still sell a lot (Amado, [1937]; emphasis in original).

The long letter continues with considerations about readers, about series created by other publishers and about the imminent commercial failure of titles that were being prepared for publication by José Olympio. Jorge Amado suggests a series for female readers, which he considers an absolute necessity. The

visual aspect of the books isn't overlooked by the writer, who keeps going on the Detective series, never really published:

> About this series, you must remember two points: 1. it must be sequenced; 2. when ordering covers, tell Santa Rosa *that you don't want sobriety*. It's imperative to remember that this series isn't intended for the same audience that reads novels and short stories. Gilberto's series covers are too serious [...].[7] The common opinion here is that the covers are "bland". Imagine the covers for a detective series. I think they should be like the ones in the Black Series,[8] something shocking (*idem*).

Although the diversification of the catalogue took three more years to begin, José Olympio would follow many of the writer's ideas when it was implemented, including giving the books a diverse visual aspect. It's not known if this was a choice made by the publisher, but Santa Rosa didn't design the covers for any of the six new series released in 1941 and 1942 or for two more created in the middle of the decade. All of these new series included only translated books.

For the series released in 1941 and 1942 whose cover artist identification was possible, the chosen designer was Raul Brito, responsible for "A Ciência de Hoje", "A Ciência da Vida" and "Fogos Cruzados". The first two had patterned covers and the last one didn't, but all the first volumes were designed by him. The covers of the two mid-1940s series were designed by Axel de Leskoschek ("Memórias, Diários Confissões") and Luís Jardim ("Feira de Vaidades").

Broadening the catalogue and diversifying its genres meant reaching other audiences, and the publisher tried to adapt his books so they would look attractive to different readers, who also had at hand plenty of books published by competitors more familiar with captivating this readership. To understand Jose Olympio's strategies and the graphic and visual options he made is one of the goals of this ongoing research, as well as trying to comprehend what this entailed in the work of the graphic artists around the publishing house.

[7] The series "Documentos Brasileiros", directed by social scientist Gilberto Freyre.

[8] "Série Negra", a crime fiction series published by Companhia Editora Nacional from 1934 onwards.

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The Criteria of Good Design in the Promotional Posters of Traditional Festivals

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Posters / Good Design / Traditional festival / Canary Islands / Design management

This paper is directly related to the research of a doctoral thesis on the influence of design on the tourist industry, since both run parallel and have remained mutually dependent throughout history. The research is based on posters, which have been the most widely used tool for broadcasting information throughout history and which, in spite of technological advances and the evolution of other more powerful visual media, refuse to disappear.

Drawing on the analysis of a collection of more than one hundred posters produced in the Canary Islands, we will demonstrate how the study of traditional festival posters, in contrast to those used in the same period for tourist promotion campaigns, can be used as a criteria for Good Design throughout history. Furthermore, they serve to bring the evolution of modern style in graphic design to light, as well as the influence of technologies which made it possible; finally, it can serve to determine the influence of the management of art on the final quality of the product. We believe that in helping to clarify the criteria of quality, style and good management, we are able to bring about improvements in the role of design in the tourist industry.

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The initial work of this paper, which came from an End of Degree Project, evolved into a broader research project on the design of tourist and traditional festival posters, which featured as part of a Master's in Innovation in Design for the Tourist Sector, and constitutes the theme of our Final Master's Project. To this end, a more profound search for examples of tourist and traditional festival posters in Spain, and especially in the Canary Islands, was conducted, in order to have a broad enough sample to carry out an in-depth study. The result of this research, which drew from an analysis of a collection of more than a hundred posters produced in the Canary Islands, has been the starting point of the doctoral thesis which we put forward in this paper. On this occasion, we will bring to light the evolution of modern style in graphic design and the influence of the technologies that made it possible, and furthermore, it will promote the value of the professional designer, and will deal in particular with the themes of management and good design, all of which will be supported by examples of the promotional posters of two festivals from Tenerife. We believe that in helping to clarify the criteria for quality, style and good management, we can contribute to improving the role of design in the tourist industry.

The modern poster, technologies, tourism and traditional festivals

The history of the modern poster (whose design follows the trends of the Modern Movement of the early 20th century) runs parallel to the tourist industry. It was the key promotional medium in the early years, and remained strong when audiovisual media came onto the scene in full force. Even today, when the Internet and its associated technologies are completely changing the way we make sense of the tourist industry, it persists and still holds weight.

Both are linked to the Modern Movement[1] and have featured prominently since the beginning. They have also evolved in parallel with the technologies that have made it possible, incorporating them and interacting with them from the outset. Amadeus, for example, the travel booking system, was one of the first to rely on the use of Internet (it was the first GDS, or global distribution system, created in 1987), whilst in the same years, graphic design was paving the way in adopting digital tools on a large scale. It is because of this that posters can be an excellent tool for making sense of the evolution of modern design (since the 1920s to this day), as well as testing the strength of their deployment from the more conservative sectors.

Traditional festivals have been one of the most indisputable tourist attractions throughout the 20th century. Many a tourist has travelled specifically to experience them, and in Spain we rely on many of these

[1] We refer to the Modern Movement as the trend born in the early twentieth century, socially committed, functionalist, that brought the concepts of good design and stood up for the ethical principles of the profession.

festivals that have been central to creating our nation's brand as a tourist destination. Among them we find the Festival of San Fermín, Las Fallas and the Carnivals of the Canary Islands, all of them awarded the title of International Tourist Interest of Spain. It is somewhat paradoxical that these festivals must be required to be conservative in order to maintain interest and to not undermine their authenticity, whilst the media necessary to promote them and the communication strategies must be a step ahead if they wish to be successful. This twofold issue is the starting point of our work and is proving useful in being a source of questions related to modern design linked to the debate on modernity and tradition.

The bullfighting poster can be considered a clear example of this. In Spain, the posters of the bullfighting kind were at the forefront from the onset. It was innovative from a formal point of view, using original digital formats, such as rounded posters, and rapidly incorporating new technologies as it did in its day with lithography. But this groundbreaking bullfighting poster that was developed especially in the 19th century, started to become obsolete in terms of its design inasmuch as the festival was losing interest in society, remaining anchored in past models. It is worth noting that a modern bullfighting poster has barely existed, in the sense of using graphic and communicative strategies that were employed in the tourist sector in general. Just like the bullfighting poster, many traditional festival posters have become obsolete, and cling to the approaches of the past without keeping in mind that they compete with and exist alongside more innovative strategies.

Posters and festivals of the Canary Islands

Our work is based on the analysis of a historic series of 118 posters from around the 1950s to the present day, all traditional festivals of the Canary Islands, notably from the Carnivals of Santa Cruz de Tenerife, the May Festivals of Los Realejos, and the festivals of Corpus de La Orotava, the latter two of which have been awarded the title of National Tourist Interest.

The analysis of these posters has three fundamental objectives: firstly, to test the implementation of criteria for good design throughout history; secondly, to highlight the evolution of modern style in graphic design and the influence of the technologies which made it possible; and finally, we want to confirm the influence of the management of design in the final result of the project, since, with the samples that we have available, it is possible to trace the way in which the posters were entrusted and the recruitment criteria followed by the organisations in charge of the festivals. Upon the good and bad management of these commissions rest issues as significant as the advancement of professional misrepresentation or the adoption of styles not in compliance with general trends of the industry, and subsequently the public tastes of each era.

Based on the previous experience of the End of Degree Project in 2015 on the design of promotional posters of the May Festivals of Los Realejos, we can notice a series of issues that broadly affect the design of traditional festival posters. Firstly, a reiteration of themes and styles, since the new designs are made practically by imitating models from previous years. In this sense, the problems of bad design are perpetuated and even increase. There is an additional problem that concerns the design management: the jobs executed by the politicians responsible (which lack knowledge of design) are entrusted to an unqualified workforce. As a result, many posters rotate between very traditional motifs and very modern production technologies (photography, special effects, digital fonts etc.), with a totally inadequate outcome. As a result of the lack of information on design from those carrying out the commissions, feelings of mistrust arise towards it, as well as towards the proposals put forward by qualified designers with novel solutions whose success has been proven in previous studies.

May Festivals of Los Realejos

In this particular case, we were successful in receiving approval from the Council in question for a proposal for the End of Degree Project. Prior to being accepted, after its presentation to municipal authorities (normally it is the councillors who choose the person who will carry out the proposal for the poster each year), it had to go through the supervision and approval of all the senior members and representatives of the Council who were directly associated with the festival. Despite counting on the approval of a panel of experts in design who evaluated it in the University and to whom it had been shown, it was thanks to a previous study with the same focus at its core, that the proposal selected was adequate and turned out to be effective, though the work was then subject to lengthy processing prior to its final acceptance. It had to be judged by a series of non-experts who had doubts on matters that had already been resolved in the tourist promotion, such as whether its degree of innovation could cause any issues for the festival.

The proposal met current design standards, but it was believed that it was too novel for the festival, because it broke away from the themes and aesthetics used thus far for the design and production of its campaigns. Once it was approved and on the street, it was demonstrated that its effectiveness was much greater than expected. Aside from the poster, the campaign included all kinds of advertising material, like a video that was in keeping with the style of the poster, which made historical records with the number of times played on social media. Likewise, it transpired that attendance to all events that were promoted in the campaign increased. It is worth noting the success of the sale of T-shirts marketed alongside the poster campaign, something which had not been achieved before at that time, as well as the success of many other promotional items that were produced in connection with the same poster; although they have attempted to imitate this model in later years, given that the poster designs of those years have not been well-conceived, nor designed for such a purpose, they met with little success.

Once the effectiveness of the items produced for the May Festivals of 2015 had been verified, the Council intended to follow in the footsteps of that year, by adopting a more current style, although not with the same effectiveness, given that the work continued to be entrusted to artists rather than to professionals in design.

Carnivals of Santa Cruz de Tenerife

In a similar vein, this phenomenon occured repeatedly in a great number of festivals in different councils on the Canary Islands archipelago, including the famous Carnivals of Santa Cruz de Tenerife. Despite the fact that the carnivals are the most important and inclusive festivals in the Canary Islands, the handling of its image has not managed to remain stable for very long.

Throughout all these years, the authors of the carnival posters have been diverse, as much due to their profession, as to their selection by the concerned authorities or by their background, comprising many different ways of making sense of the carnival. “It has sparked the approval and discontent of the population in such a way, that with its criticism it begins to create a carnival ambiance” (Barreto, 1992–1993: 210). This curious detail seems to prevail, as every year after the presentation of the official promotional poster of the carnival comes to a close, “the whole city argues and evaluates the artistic quality of the poster, but above all the degree of representativity of the festivals” (Barreto, 1992–1993: 212), generating the usual controversy.

This research analyzes, among others, the collection of carnival posters from the capital of Tenerife dating from 1962 until the present day, since one year before, according to Juan Galarza, who was entrusted to make ‘something’ that would serve as an advertisement for the ‘Winter Festivals’, in the year 1961, “the arrangements were made in such a hurry, that there was no time to put the festival poster together” (Celso, 2015: 6).

We were able to divide the collection of posters into three phases: the first from 1962 until 1977, the year in which, after the death of Francisco Franco, they ceased to be officially advertised as “Winter Festivals”, substituting the name for Carnival of Santa Cruz de Tenerife; the second phase would include the years 1977 to 1983, and would be characterised by their similarity in terms of the design and content, and by the repetition of the authors of the posters of some years, most of whom were from the Canary Islands; finally, the third phase would include 1984 to the present day, as since this date, the posters began to be signed by artists of renowned prestige, both national and international, such as Modest Cuixart (poster of 1984), Javier Mariscal (poster of 1989), and Dokoupil (poster of 1987)—from then on their proposals and compositions change more dramatically.

Since the carnivals received the title of Tourist Interest, the carnival poster became, as Carmen Marine Barreto says, “a showcase, a selling point and a tourist attraction”. The authorities, politicians and councilmen prefer to entrust the design commissions to world-renowned artists in order to ensure that the poster be ‘a tourist poster’ (Barreto, 1992–1993: 212) and so that it causes controversy, as according to statements made by their mayor on local media, ‘it helps to disseminate’ (Celso, 2015: 31). Whereas on the other hand, the people themselves prefer those entrusted to convey the image of the festivals to be local professional designers, who are in touch with the festival and who know first-hand what the festivals look and feel like.

Years later, since 1981, the posters were handed over to competitions in which poster artists from the Canary Islands took part in order to be chosen but, “over the years there were few who entered, and to make matters worse, there were no expert judges to properly judge the posters. The prizes were not well-resourced either” (Barreto, 1992–1993: 213). The current situation is very similar. Earlier this year in 2018, in the rules of the competition for the next poster it was made clear that anybody, including artists or designers, would be able to take part in the competition, individually or as a group, with the winning proposal obtaining a prize of €1,500.[2] In terms of the selection of the artwork, if the pieces entered number more than ten, a panel of judges will be convened, who will select ten finalists, for whom the public will later vote via a webpage.

On the basis of these rules, the majority of the professional designers from the Canary Islands choose not to enter, due to being in disagreement with both the prize and the system for choosing the winning proposal. For this reason, the majority of people entering are connected to the carnival, but are not relying on the knowledge of design necessary for producing an adequate poster proposal. In this sense, some of the finalists’ pieces selected by the judges for the image of the 2018 Carnivals are not in keeping with the aesthetic, technical or conceptual characteristics which a poster should have for a festival of such enormous proportions. In terms of its image, some of these recents proposals are very similar to those that we might find in previous years in which the technology and design programmes were made accessible to the whole world.

We will offer three recent examples of posters to explain the lack of stability that persists in terms of the management and image that the Carnivals of Santa Cruz offer, which will also help us to promote the value of the professional designer, who is well-informed on the topic and who possesses the knowledge and tools necessary to produce a good proposal.

The first among them is the poster for the 2015 carnival, whose theme was ‘The future’. That year, the proposal that was presented as an image of the festivals was an abstract picture, an oil on canvas by the artist Alejandro Tosco who, having been comissioned after pitching and applying to the relevant authorities, produced his own interpretation of the carnival with confidence. The result of the work of this artist could be compared with the work of Cuixart in 1984 years before, since the solution is in some ways similar, given that both show their own abstract interpretation in the upper part of the image, whereas at the

bottom, the text of the poster appears on a white strip. In the year 2015, the controversy was such that images of the poster went viral on social media.

The following year, the poster was entrusted to Javier Torres, a professional and a teacher of design at the University of La Laguna, who was heavily involved with the murgas, or carnaval dancers. In 2016, the poster had an enormous reception. A well-executed vector design with a horse-mackerel as the protagonist (typical of the Santa Cruz carnival) dressed as a harlequin and wearing a mask (a commonly-used resource since the start of the carnival posters ever since the first proposal from Galarza in 1962). The conjunction of the image of the horse-mackerel, in keeping with public taste, its good graphic quality and its criteria for good design, resulted in the protagonist of the poster appearing in multiple forms and locations, for example, in the personal outfits of those who attended the festivals, and in sculptures produced with the image of the poster, including printing on price tags of the products in supermarkets.

A year later, the carnival poster design was entrusted to Pepe Dámaso, a painter of renowned prestige from Gran Canaria. Having presented his proposal, he once again caused controversy with a painting of the author's own interpretation of 'The Caribbean'. This proposal, which in the end was used as the image of the carnivals in that year, posed quite a number of problems, especially the treatment of the texts, which were barely legible.

Conclusions

Throughout the history of the carnival, posters and criticism have gone hand-in-hand on many occasions for a number of reasons: because the message is not appropriate (such as having chauvinist connotations due the use of the female body as a selling point, as in the 1987 and 1991 posters); because "some might see the poster as good artwork, but a bad poster to promote the carnival (poster of 1984)" (Barreto, 1992–1993: 213–214); because it does not succeed in capturing the essence of the carnivals (poster of 2015); and for many other reasons (Fig. 1, 2 and 3).

Posters must continue to evolve in line with technology, especially in areas like the Canary Islands, where the economy is centred around tourism. Now that design is an established profession and professional designers have the concepts, methods and other resources specific to producing work with a good graphic quality, they must ensure that they serve as an advertising tool and that they convey a good image of the festivals in compliance with certain criteria.

The only thing that the people of Santa Cruz request is to see the essence of the carnival really 'captured' in their poster, and the same applies to other festivals which we have been able to analyse thus far. The graphic quality of the posters has not been the most important thing for the people of the Canary Islands; for them this must go hand-in-hand with the concept and the message. In many cases, the way in which the social fabric is articulated determines how the poster is received as a centrepiece in tourist promotion, and thus keeping the cultural and the social at the forefront is an aspect of vital importance in executing the processes of the design of a poster.

It is expected, in a subsequent phase of the research, this sample of posters will be compared with others of similar characteristics, but from other regions of Europe, for example with Switzerland

Fig. 1 Juan Galarza: Poster from year 1963, Museo del Carnaval.

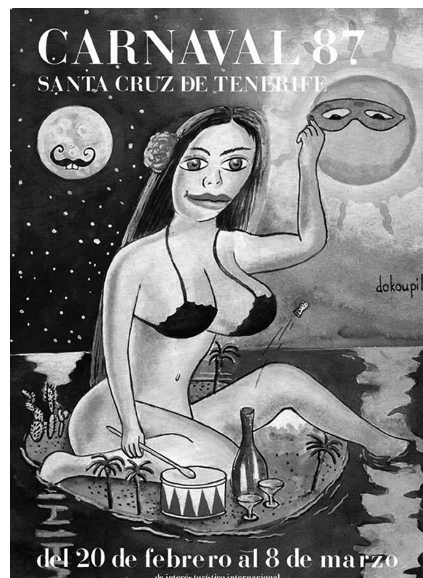

Fig. 2 Jiří Georg Dokoupil: Poster from year 1987, Museo del Carnaval.

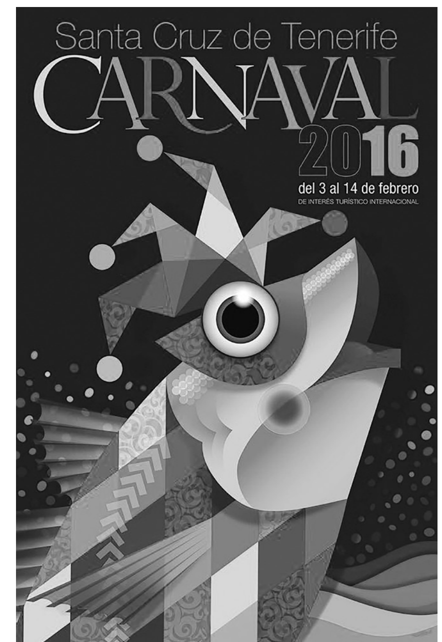

Fig. 3 Javier Torres Franquis: Poster from year 2016, Museo del Carnaval.

[2] Equally irregular has been the 'value' or prize that the authors of the posters received, being able to get on certain occasions over €9,000, while on others just €500.

or the French region of Savoie. Both regions (Canary Islands and Savoie) are far removed from the influence of the centres in which avant-garde design is produced, but they do rely on a good number of traditional festivals and have exploited tourism as a way of life, and by doing so we will be able to find out how posters have historically been received by both communities. The conclusions of the work will be drawn from the comparison of results from both poster samples, and we hope that the results will help other similar regions to better manage the use of design. From this comparison we hope to draw on a series of issues on good design which will once and for all pave the way forward for the promotion of traditional festivals.

These tools will be accomplished with the goal of organisations being able to move up in the design ladder model developed by SVID (Swedish Industrial Design Foundation), put forward by Xènia Viladàs in 'Profitable Design', so that companies "continue to move up that ladder so as to perfect their knowledge of design and to improve their use of it for corporate purposes" (Viladàs, 2008: 28); this would begin with companies or organisations which are on the bottom rung of the ladder, who do not have design in mind, or for those on the second rung who use design only as a question of style, so that they can progress to at least the third rung in which they integrate design into their activities as a process, hoping that they reach the final rung and use design as a factor of innovation.

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Post Poster: The Loss of Aura and the Devaluation of the Chilean Poster in the Digital Age

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Chilean poster / Self design / Kitsch / Aural dimension / Algorithmic dimension / Graphic design software

The present text analyzes the circulation of posters (in print and digital formats), mainly related to entertainment and culture in the recent national context. It is aimed at keeping records, analyzing and opening a debate in respect to the present state of the production of posters, in a scene where our subjectivity has been extended due to a profound change in the ways of production and circulation of this communication tool, questioning the designer's autonomy. It seeks to explore a research area in which the poster has been somehow historically discontinued, and at present it becomes more complex, due to its proliferation and its presence in the urban area as well as in the digital social networks. The paper refers to a deployment of hybrid cultural devices, which are temporary or even *kitsch.* They are evidence of the spirit of a definite age, based on an analysis of approximately 100 digital posters, also published in print.

Introduction

The development of posters in Chile,[1] as a visual means of dissemination and communication, has not shown up as a phenomenon with a continuous local tradition; but has responded to some historical junctures and to socio-political processes which have, in some way, determined a particular production, associated to certain key moments: the first contests organized by the print house Barcelona in 1902,[2] the beginnings of the canonical publishing house *Zig-Zag* in 1905, and the glossy magazines from the beginnings of the twentieth century (*Chile Ilustrado, Instantáneas, La Comedia Humana, La Lira Chilena, Noticias Gráficas*, etc.).

Later, the iniciatives carried out by the University of Chile, directed through the boost of the contests of posters organized on the occasion of the spring festivities, and the thrust of the School of Applied Arts, which meant the emergence of authors and poster designers (Nicolás Martínez, Fernando Ibarra, Marcial Lema, Julio Bórquez, Luis Troncoso, Santiago Nattino, among others); the transition from the government of Eduardo Frei Montalva to Salvador Allende's, which promoted a vast production of political and cultural posters—particular cases such as Vicente Larrea and Waldo González—and a sort of spontaneous reaction from the first government of Michelle Bachelet to current problems difficult to solve, such as the access to free education, the pension funds system and the support of health problems. Thus, a meaningful creation of posters referring to phenomena linked to cultural events, of recreation and commemorative celebrations related to Chile's independence (without any reflection on the historical phenomenon as an issue). A corollary of images arises from this last instance. They have been next to the poster form, and its diffusion has circulated between walls of some sectors in the downtown areas of the capital city and provinces (in the form of photocopy, instant serigraphy, offset or digital printing) and, at the same time, it has circulated in digital social networks as a transmuted product in an image formed by pixels and short term algorithms.

Surviving the accomodation of new formats

We can start the discussion with a simple question: is it possible to talk about the poster in times when the image has been devaluated and largely lost its value? Almost a century ago, reference authors such as Walter Benjamin questioned this modern phenomenon due to the ceaseless reproduction of the images that had lost their "aura"[3] as an outcome of the arising of new media, which allowed serialization in identical copies starting from the design or from the original one as a reproduction means of any image, which lost its dimension as a unique work. At present times, references to modernity, authorship and the artistic or communicative value of a poster become diffuse, as well as brief and unfocused in an environment that postpones the hegemonic model of the illustrated culture.

Benjamin's vision foreshadows an issue of the twenty-first century: the loss of experience and or the capacity of wonder in front of an accumulation of available images. Later, the philosopher Giorgio Agamben warned that getting experience out of something meant "taking away its novelty, neutralizing its shock potential" (Agamben, 2004: 55). Strictly, an expropriation of experience in front of countless stimuli in an "ordinary place" in which an accumulation process of encouragements related to the appearance of things takes precedence. In this scenario, if the nineteenth and twentieth century poster imposed as an aura event, sustaining the awareness of a new design horizon, a deep change occurred in the last decades. It implied the "decline of posters", where the wall "is no longer the high-spirited support of information and the poster which was its bond, had gradually less *raison d'étre*" (Vitta, 2003: 319).

[1] For this article we chose the option "cartel" as the Spanish expression, instead of "afiche" as a derivation from the Gallicism "affiche".

[2] Authorless, "Los affiches". *Chile Ilustrado* Nº 1, Santiago, May 1902, p. 16.

[3] The aura, which is traditionally connected to tradition, constitutes an incidental aspect of an object or event, derived from their value in use or from its direct relationship with production: normally manufactured or produced at the beginning of industrialization, the aura objects keep the trace of the hands that gave them life […] With mass reproduction, the aura survived as something fragmentary and disperse, since it was not only related to an essential and authentic object (Olalquiaga, 2007, p. 17).

Fig. 1 Poster for the promotion of an event to celebrate National Holidays, 2012. We can observe in it the incorporation of the QR code (Code reader) which allows to connect the two-dimensional printed poster to a web site or URL (Uniform Resource Locator). Source: http://carretes.cl/2012/09/06/la-yein-fonda-en-quinta-normal-16-17-y-18-de-septiembre.

Although Vittas's view is questionable, it is true that the design of a poster before personal computers arrived, implied a production process quite different from the current one. In this respect, this "capitalist invention", according to what was raised by Susan Sontag, was born as a social instrument in which buying was regulatory, turning into a kind of "substitution of experience" (Sontag, 1999: 239). In this apparent coincidence with Agamben, the writer presupposes the modern concept of public (or user) where the poster acts as an eventual requirement of attention in front of a spectator or consumer, where the visual elements prevail over the text in a sort of field of signs. The supremacy of the present "neophilia" [4] which prevails in the cultural field and in the circulation of images where urgency and quantity become quality (Aubert, 2016).

Maybe an interesting and anticipatory aspect that Sontag proposed almost half a century ago, is that the poster designers often referred to the "quote" and even to the plagiarism (of itself and others), as "one of the main features of the aesthetic story of posters and [...] an aesthetically parasitic trend" (Sontag, 1999: 243). Or, as Susan Buck-Morss quite rightly warns, each time modern innovations appeared in modern history, "they took the form of historical restitutions. The new forms mentioned the old ones as out of context" (Buck-Morss, 2001: 129).

In attention to this logic, and returning to the recent endeavor of designers, some years ago their activity mainly consisted of defining the parameters over which typesetters, photo mechanics and printers had to work to get the projected effect (Llop, 2014: 17). When the graphic production expansion appeared in the new digital universe, an outlook of great dispersion and even of deregulation took place, in which those skills and strengths of the graphic design validated since some decades ago, started to go through a processing change, mainly in respect to their accessibility, as a consequence of naturalization of practice supported by programs of graphic design up to the difficulty of foreseeing on which support a particular graphic message will be visualized—or a poster—considering its present double militancy mediated between the public space and the digital universe. That is to say, something that now moves between what is tangible and intangible, unlike posters, which defined modernity in the twentieth century.[5]

Poster and AutoLayout

At present, the scenario is quite different; the fragmentation of variants of posters—which no longer require a taxonomy based on typologies defined by the nostalgic axioms of modernity—is determined by hurrying through digital print, in a sense of domestication in front of the processes of automation, which tangibly expresses immediacy: in fact, there is already an offer of AutoLayout services mainly based on the use of templates, although they do not meet the minimum requirements that every design should claim, namely, responding to a concrete problem in a personalized way which is, conversely, processed by a standardized system with determined digital possibilities of selection. Finally, faced with this sort of stereotyping of graphic expression, templates operate as substitutes of posters, a practice that may be harmful since the design of this kind of graphic device has determined, for centuries, the aesthetics of culture from printouts about the outrages of war to minor events such as artistic shows or activities related to the business world.

Fig. 2 Poster for a musical show, 2010. Source: https://marrasquino.wordpress.com/page/2.

The digital revolution consists of a sort of "math layer" that mediates our relationship with the world, extending our possibilities of interaction thanks to the access to more powerful processors, an instance

[4] Obsession to access briefer news.

[5] It was, at that time, a complex age which tried to restore those post-war happy years in which the emergence of this "scream on the wall" was announced. This implied to cover all ways of life and find a popular view that encouraged to become informed or to buy a certain product or service.

Fig. 3 The legal vacuums in respect to authorship (intellectual property) and the undue appropriation of images that circulate on the Internet have allowed that the professional design of posters, in digital form, is used as a free resource, in the form of plagiarism, for the production of new posters. The original design (left) is from 2008 and it is inspired by the own style of the "Brigadas muralistas" (public art organizations), such as Ramona Parra, while the interior text refers to the manual typographic work developed by the office of Vicente Larrea for the design of graphics for records of the Popular record collection (DICAP). Source: http//somos9.cl/tag/folclor.

that has generated a deep anthropological and ontological change, that means a new and less reflexive hybrid condition in relation to the basis that gave birth to the poster in the twentieth century. Even though designers continue depending on their creativeness (ownership mainly), the handiwork and the skill acquired through practice, among other factors, seem to have lagged behind. Under this logic, computers and the software of graphic design have transformed the designers and also the handlers of these programs into subjects which are "algorithmically assisted and adjusted to an electronic administration of life" (Sadin, 2017: 138).

In this sense, following the Mexican designer Alejandro Tapia, "while the analogical formats show a continuous gradation in the printing of information—similar to the process of perception—the digital transcription is discontinuous and it processes data by means of a numeric code. This has caused that formats, types, grids, colors and textures are easily processed and stored, they can be fragmented or divided and any of their structural vectors can meet any other (Tapia, 2004: 210). The evident electronic matrix of posters provides a more virtual and non-material character, and at the same time, more temporal, which constitutes an essential in respect to its manual and analogical predecessors of practice. The information that these files contain can be reproduced and easily modified as well, since it uses little space and storage in the computer, which facilitates its immediate transmission.

Dematerialization of posters

In reference to the title of this text, concerning the distinguishing factors that allow one to certify the autonomy of designers, they have, from the professional or academic field, validated the profession by means of specialized production in the creation of images, products and visual communications. With this kind of production the specificity of a profession is questioned, based on the management of manual skills in a practice that is mediated by software that precede some intangible operations (Manzini, 1993: 182), where problems with design definition are clear—on line—and therefore, knowledge of the discipline becomes public.

The first photograph sent from a mobile phone was in 1997 (Fontcuberta, 2016: 21) and just 20 years have been enough to dismantle a visual system lasting for one and a half centuries; the digital revolution has dematerialized ownership and contents as well, giving birth to a kind of "access aesthetics". At the moment, we receive a great deal of images in digital format in our E-mail section together with a deployment of posters arranged in the public space, which in general terms refer to political or cultural activities, related to the leisure world, with a dizzying rhythm of expiration, which favors the existence of images, "building them from others" (De Angelis, 2014).

A great deal of printed or digital posters that circulate in Chile, are designed by people who handle some programs of graphic design—or similar versions which are freely downloaded—generating a sort of homogeneous shared imaginary as a consequence of the access to national or foreign digital sources (above all of vernacular inspiration) and to a repertoire of "manipulated" and "hacked" images.

To some extent, the slogan "everything counts" imposed during the historical period of postmodern graphic design, which coincided with the first steps of the digital age and access to digital computers and software with

Fig. 4 Poster for a kermesse, which alludes to kitsch, in homage to the singer Juan Gabriel, organized by the entertainment company Blondie, 2016. Although it is not related to the Mexican artist, the design draws on a canonical image of the Chilean commercial iconography, which represents the Andes mountains as a graphic symbol in one of the most characteristic products of Compañía Chilena de Fósforos. Source: http://www.blondie.cl/index.html.

a number of technical limitations, is now changed into a new version for designers-producers of communications and posters which distance themselves from the classic rules of design, in which the boundaries of what has the quality of "designed" or done in a spontaneous and self-taught way do not seem so relevant.

In the current poster, either digital or printed, its circulation prevails over its content or aesthetic value, and its new status of digital image, which was formerly only in printed form, generates its spread in computers, tablets and appliances which, jumping from one screen to another, cast away the "traditional craft" and the quality of novelty. This processing of posters has had no minor impacts: it was formerly certified by its real presence; now, that peculiarity has been dosed between its encounter on a wall or an urban electronic panel and its circulation in Google or digital social networks at a time when the image represents the social space of what is human. This new breed of posters show up between their emergence and disappearance in places where they vanish quickly (Brea, 2010).

If a couple of decades ago it was defined as a "scream on the wall", today it is a mosaic of pixels which dematerialize soon, where the image becomes the designer's *ethos* task, within a period of excesses, in which the chance of discard and the momentary appropriation of it becomes common place, without reflexive mediation. There is no longer a poster but a fleeting image of it at a moment of digital appropriability, which also challenges the value of its contents.

Already two decades ago, in the book *Primera colección Morgan. El afiche chileno* it was raised that "if a poster is well done and solved—good design—it can transcend as a graphic document and historical memory in the culture of the good design of a country (Without author, 1996: 3). In the new visual system dominated by the spread of data, it is worth considering if its sovereignty can be regained in times when the vernacular or amateur design widely overcomes the more careful production of the graphic designer's job, which dominated the national scene during a great part of the twentieth century. It becomes a reflection of how traditional abilities in the handling of formal devices, the use of typographies with a selective criterion, or the intrinsic ability of generating images, are now substituted by the programs and algorithms which strip the designer of an important resource.

Post poster?

In response to this particular phenomenon—where the presence of posters online becomes more reachable than its printed version—it is remarkable the use of instant posters made by student movements and local politicians, though they respond to different approaches, in which coincidence in their instant production, as well as spontaneity and circulation in social networks take place. While digital production prevails in event posters, some resources have been generated in the Chilean student movement, such as the instant layout and the use of serigraphy in a new political key of reproduction of images and speeches.[6] In this sense, and beyond the possible differences between these two modalities, this new generation of posters has brought a detachment of the discipline capital—more as an enforcer of its own mental shaping than as an interpreter and enabler of reality in accordance with the others—which opens a door to a new system of production and evaluation of what "is" or "is not" a poster, as a device, heir of the mechanical and analogical modernity of the original design in this kind of support, based on the text composition and image in accordance with restrictions of the dominant printed format.

In current Chilean posters of anonymous circulation, quotes, references, synthesis or the search for harmony in the composition are not of interest; nowadays a random disposal of texts and images coming from different digital files prevails. It is not a criticism of the execution mode, but rather means the recognition of a new production method, which is spontaneous and deregulated and, in some way, tied to the transformation of man-mass to man-speed (Kerckhove, 1999: 95). Speed that was announced by Cassandre[7] in his tight compositions, which now lack previous drafts and are conformed as instant products which, as digital photographs, become disposable, losing their value-memory once they have fulfilled their function. They are productions which are exempt from prejudices, where the use of instant or amateur private photographs has displaced the traditional calculated advertising image. Likewise, the use of a text—downloadable typography—though it does not show a formal or academic command, it is spontaneously presented and even to some authentic degree, questioning the "know-how" which is proper of the field of design.

Fig. 5 Poster promoting "Sonora 5 estrellas" (musical group). If there is or there is not a studied innocence in the message, what is really true is that the photograph as backdrop, taken from a mobile device or digital camera, reflects the possibility of making public the most banal moments of our lives and, besides, questioning the foundations of advertising photography. If the desire for perfection in the development and composition of posters was noted before, this kind of vernacular image is located in the periphery of the professional sphere. Source: https://afichesdecarretes.wordpress.com.

[6] In this kind of production direct appropriations of Chilean popular culture are used and references to poster making of the Eastern countries, such as the emblematic poster of Alexander Rodchenko entitled "Libros" where he incorporates Lila Birk, a muse of the Russian artistic forefront, provided with a worker's headscarves, encouraging unrest and change.

[7] Cassandre was the pen-name of Adolphe Jean-Marie Mouron, one of the most outstanding poster designers in the first half of the twentieth century. He was able to synthesize ideas and concepts of modernity by means of direct images with a great holding capacity.

Conclusion

While a sector related to the production of posters for political action, activism and student demands has encouraged the resurgence of the hand-made or printed poster by means of serigraphy, what is true is that the circulation of digital images as well as the provision of PVC giant prints in the urban space has prevailed. That has generated the coexistence of various repertoires which do not mean a modulated standard of reference but a dispersion of brief productions within a system of a fragmented free market in the age of the net culture. It is about an open production, mediated by algorithms and pixels which generate a sort of homogeneous visuality, where the use of free online resources prevails and where the idea of authorship is disintegrated. While livelier ways of communication may result, or even authentic ones, it is worth considering how much this affects the designer's position and his service, given the conceptual deficit of discipline and lack of observation of his own languages.

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Uncovering and Questioning Unidesign: Archival Research and Oral History at Work

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SUPSI

Walter Ballmer / Swiss Style / Graphic design / Oral history / Archival research

Taking the career of Walter Ballmer, with a focus on the Milanese graphic design studio Unidesign, as a case study, the paper discusses the potential of using archival research and oral sources as means of questioning the historiographical canon. It examines archival research and oral history as methodologies on their own, and stresses the importance of mutual dialogue as a means of cross-examination that enables us to expand knowledge of design methods, professional networks and context. On the one hand, the paper draws on unpublished primary sources that have been collected in the Unidesign archive in Milan. On the other hand, it enriches the information, which emerged from the archive, with the connotative value of oral history.

Interviews with assistants, collaborators, colleagues and clients of Ballmer have brought to the fore multi-layered narratives that challenge an individual design celebrity-centered narrative and explore the complexities of the studio system. Moreover, preliminary findings and exploratory conclusions shed light on the way in which the concept of Swiss Graphic Design was constructed and disseminated abroad as an internationally recognized brand, and calls into question its history, suggesting that it might not be entirely a Swiss history.

[1] This paper features the intermediate results of a case study within the ongoing research project "Swiss Graphic Design and Typography Revisited" led by Prof. Dr Arne Scheuermann at Bern University of the Arts (HKB) and supported by the Swiss National Science Foundation within the Sinergia program (www.sgdtr.ch).

Introduction

The present paper investigates the use of archival sources and oral evidences as means of questioning the historiographical canon.[1] To theoretically discuss archival research and oral history as methodological tools falls beyond the scope of the paper. This intends rather to put the two methods into practice and test their usefulness and suitability when dealing with a specific case study.

Under scrutiny here is the Milanese graphic design studio Unidesign and the network of professionals, clients and design associations in which the studio and its owner, the Swiss-born and Swiss-educated, but Milan-based, graphic designer Walter Ballmer (Liestal, 1923 – Milan, 2011), participated. Founded in Milan in 1971, the studio Unidesign was active until the mid-1990s. Ballmer and Unidesign are here employed as a case study to shed light on the construction and dissemination abroad of Swiss Graphic Design as an internationally recognized label that was meaningful for a specific group of people in a distinct time and place.

Drawing on the work of design historian Catherine Moriarty, Ballmer's biography is employed 'as an active unit, [and seen] as one component of a wider landscape' (Moriarty, 2016: 62). Combining oral history and archival documents, this paper shifts the focus away from the individual designer in order to concentrate on design networks, and give voice to so far unheard actors. Thus, instead of writing another history of an isolated design pioneer and his successes, the paper questions the reality of the everyday design practice that has emerged through interviews and archival research.

1. Oral history and archival research in the history of design: a methodological overview. The use of oral evidences in tandem with archival sources as a research method in the history of design is neither new nor unique (Partington and Sandino, 2013). In the last two decades, historians have questioned the primacy of written over oral testimonies, and challenged the bias that wants the former as reliable and accurate, and the latter as lacking factual validity (Perks and Thompson, 1998). On the contrary, it has been rightly argued that all sources ought to be verified and are neither objective nor complete. Moreover, it has been noted that to say that oral history is not objective does not mean that it does not provide information whose credibility can be checked (Portelli, 1998: 68–72; Thompson, 1978: 91–137).

When discussing the use of oral history as a research method in the history of design, the seminal work of oral and design historian Linda Sandino is an essential reference (Sandino, 2007; Sandino, 2013). Editing a special issue of the *Journal of Design History* in 2006, Sandino advocates the use of interviews as a source for design historical purpose. In the introduction, she lists common preoccupations when using interviews, and calls on researchers 'to pay attention to the trinity of how, where and why the tale was told' (Sandino, 2006: 279). On a similar note, graphic design historian Brian Donnelly reflects on false anecdotes, on how they 'play more than a negative or obstructive role' and are equally as important as reliable accounts (Donnelly, 2006: 290). In other words, when analyzing oral evidence, one should focus not only on the factual information, but also take into account how a narrative is told and organized, where the stress is put, what is hidden and why. Factual information apart, oral sources

have the added value to tell about how an event, a person, an object or an idea were perceived and interpreted in the past, and how and why their understanding has changed over time.

Archives, on the other hand, are generally accepted as a 'historian's principal source of information' (Howell and Prevenier, 2001: 34). As pointed out by Moriarty, archives of individual designers are 'inherently biographical, representing life and work over time' (Moriarty, 2016: 56). Yet, Moriarty adds, their interpretation and use in the writing of design history can help researchers to overcome the heroic approach by bringing to the fore other aspects of design that have been thus far overshadowed by an excessive attention to aesthetics and cult of personality. Researchers can use the archival evidences to understand, amongst others, the designer's working practices, his-her professional, social and private relationships, and strategies to ensure new clients (Kelly and Baer, 2012). That said, when accessing an archive one should always bear in mind that they are not neutral spaces but curated objects with multilayered meanings given, in a more or less conscious and programmatic way, by different actors over time, not least by the researchers themselves who interrogate them through the lenses of their own research questions.

2. The historiographical canon of Swiss Graphic Design in Milan. A number of graphic design historians and practitioners have built over the years a series of anecdotal stories of the presence of Swiss graphic designers in Italy (Fioravanti, Passarelli and Sfligiotti, 1997; Richter, 2007; Georgi and Minetti, 2011). Starting from 1933, Swiss designers have moved to Milan for shorter or longer spans of time. They were particularly sought after because of their professional training at *Kunstgewerbeschulen* (Schools of Applied Arts), whose curriculum was unmatched at that time in Italy. Through their work experience in Milan, Swiss designers contributed to the fame of a so-called 'Milanese school', which coincided rather with the corpus of corporate identities of a group of companies based on the Milan–Turin axis. While most of these companies initially employed the services of Studio Boggeri (1933–1981), they eventually built in-house design or advertising offices (Fossati and Sambonet, 1974; Monguzzi, 1981; Vinti, 2007).

The success of the Milanese school has been ascribed to the merging of the 'poetic' vein of Italian graphic designers to the 'precision' of Swiss professionals. Swiss graphic designers themselves often echoed such a stereotypical rhetoric through their portfolios and self-promotion strategies. This was also the case with Ballmer, who appears to have capitalized on the international renown of Swiss Graphic Design for his first job at Studio Boggeri (1947–1955), to be then hired by Adriano Olivetti as an art director (1956–1970), and finally set up Unidesign in 1971.

The draft of a monographic book arose from research at Archivio Storico Olivetti, Ivrea (Fig. 1). It is the dummy of a catalogue by Ballmer on his own work as graphic designer (on one side of the book) and as concrete artist (on the other side). The book collects works that Ballmer deemed particularly significant and expand the canon of other visual artefacts he employed at later stages in his career to pass on his own vision of his career, in a manner typical to other Swiss graphic designers (Lzicar and Unger, 2016). While we can read this book as Ballmer's attempt to position himself in a tradition of multilingual monographs on Swiss designers, it mostly consists of placeholder text and never succeeded in entering a further, executive phase.

3. Oral history: interviews and their biases. The series of semi-structured interviews performed thus far aimed at collecting oral testimony through informal conversations (Morrissey, 1998; Linthicum, 2006). Central place was given to the interviewees and their experiences, be they assistants, colleagues or clients of Unidesign and Ballmer. A balanced number of representatives of these three networks is yet to be reached in order to counterbalance the biases that go along hierarchic differences in relationships (Tab. 1). Interviews were performed either in person, sometimes with the presence of a third-party, or over the phone. Responses were either recorded and transcribed, or summarized by the interviewer when a recording device could not be used as in the case with conversations taking place over the phone or in public and noisy settings. The interviewer used a roughly similar set of questions as guideline, which provided a structure enabling to compare responses. Visual material – designed artefacts or photographs

Fig. 1 Walter Ballmer, *Un designer tra arte e grafica*, mockup of unpublished monographic catalogue. Ph. by Davide Fornari. Courtesy of Associazione Archivio Storico Olivetti, Ivrea (Italy).

Interviewer	Interviewee	Others	Place/Date	Output	Mode	Comments
DF	Fulvio Ronchi, graphic designer	—	Milan, 6.1.2015; 16.9.2015	audio recording	meeting	Work conditions at Olivetti.
DF	Violante Valdettaro, PR manager, Valentino	Valentino Archives staff members	Rome, 28.4.2015	summary	meeting	Strategies of corporate identity; loss of most paper archives.
DF	Anna Monika Jost, graphic designer	—	Paris, 7.12.2015	audio recording	meeting	Work conditions of a girl in Milan's 1960s.
CB	Fulvio Ronchi, graphic designer	—	Milan, 19.4.2017	transcript	meeting	Status of the archives; comment on specific posters and books.
DF	Paolo Segota, designer	—	31.5.2017	summary	phone call	Collaborations with Walter Ballmer at Olivetti.
CB	Serge and Nanette Libiszewski (Libis), photographers	Thomas, Libis' son	Milan, 4.10.2017	transcript	meeting	Collaborations with Walter Ballmer at Olivetti.
CB	Paolo Segota, designer	—	7.10.2017	summary	phone call	Collaborations with Walter Ballmer at Olivetti.
DF, CB	Peter and Barbara Ballmer (Ballmer Estate)	Barbara Ballmer's husband	Milan, 7.10.2017	summary	meeting	Status of the archives.
DF	Lora Lamm, graphic designer	—	16.10.2017	summary	e-mail	Relationship with Walter Ballmer.
CB	Marziano Pasqué, graphic designer	—	17.10.2017	summary	phone call	Collaborations with Walter Ballmer at Olivetti.
DF, CB	Clino Trini Castelli, designer	Castelli Design staff members	Milan, 19.10.2017	summary	meeting	Olivetti corporate identity (Red Books).
CB	Fiorella Nahum, head of communications	—	Milan, 20.10.2017	summary	meeting	Work of Walter Ballmer for ISTUD.
CB	Armando Milani, graphic designer	—	13.02.2018	summary	phone call	Relationship with Walter Ballmer; AGI and the Milanese graphic design network.
CB	Urs Glaser, graphic designer	—	Paris, 12.02.2018	summary	meeting	Collaborations with Walter Ballmer at Olivetti.
DF, CB	Lora Lamm, graphic designer	—	Zurich, 07.03.2018	summary	meeting	Relationship with Walter Ballmer and the Milanese graphic design network.
CB	Fritz Gottschalk, graphic designer	—	Zurich, 22.03.2018	summary	meeting	Collaboration between Gottschalk+Ash and Walter Ballmer, AGI and the international network of Swiss Graphic Design

Tab. 1 Synopsis of the interviews concerning Walter Ballmer.

– was often shown to prompt interviewees who themselves sometimes brought images or specimens to the meetings in evidence of their accounts. Apart from questions prompting memories related to Ballmer and Unidesign, interviewees were encouraged to consciously reflect on attitudes and values associated with Swiss Graphic Design. Responses to questions such as 'What do you mean by Swiss Style?', 'Can you describe and give examples of Swiss Style', or 'What was the generally accepted perception of Swiss Style?' were either clearly stated or implied. Over time, researchers have refined their interviewing skills, while their knowledge of the subject has increased and their interpretation has changed. These factors ought to be critically taken into account, thereby recognizing the active role of the interviewer.

The conversations with Ballmer's assistants at Olivetti provided insights into both Ballmer's practice and the working environment (Fig. 2).[2] Interviews have revealed that at Olivetti assistants were hired by the hour as freelancers, their names did not appear on payroll or on the graphics they produced. Such practices fuelled a feeling of discontent among those who were actually the uncredited backbone of the advertisement departments of Olivetti. Most of the assistants recalled their time under Ballmer as formative, but challenging. Swiss graphic designers Anna-Monika Jost and Urs Glaser were vocal in their difficult relationship with Ballmer, who was recalled as a patronizing art director. Marziano Pasqué and Paolo Segota acknowledged the important lessons in design methods they learnt

[2] Two assistants of Walter Ballmer in Unidesign – Claudia Roggero and Edoardo Rizzo – have been identified and contacted, but researchers have not been able to interview them yet.

Fig. 2 Walter Ballmer (sitting) with his assistant Paolo Segota (left) and the secretary Ms Diotti (right), early 1960s. Photographer unknown. Courtesy of Unidesign Archive, Milan (Italy).

from Ballmer, but also pointed out their being unprepared for the real market since they were used to work in a place such as Olivetti where budget or time were not an issue. Complying with the rhetoric of Swiss rigidity vs. Italian creativity, Fulvio Ronchi talked of a design conflict between himself and Ballmer whose need to justify everything with a set of rules and measurements conflicted with his more instinctive approach to design problems.

On the other hand, the testimony of a former client of Unidesign, the head of communications at business school ISTUD (Istituto Studi Direzionali – Institute of Management Studies), Fiorella Nahum, shed light on the client–designer relationship. Indicating Olivetti as one of the shareholders of ISTUD, Nahum provided evidence of Olivetti's role as network enabler for Unidesign. Moreover, she confirmed a widespread reception, at least on an elite business level, of Swiss Graphic Design as assurance of quality and professionalism. Indeed, she indicated the Unidesign signature style as a vehicle of reliability, consistency and internationalism, all values that mirrored the aspirations of the business school.

The network of collaborators was explored in conversation with the Swiss photographer Serge Libiszewski, who provided some anecdotal details on the Swiss community in Milan. In his interview, Libiszewski also stressed Ballmer's good understanding of photography, which made him stand out from most of the Italian graphic designers of the time. Questions about professional alliances and networking directed the interview with Swiss graphic designer Fritz Gottschalk, co-founder of the international graphic design studio Gottschalk+Ash. The meetings of the Alliance Graphique Internationale (AGI) provided Gottschalk and Ballmer with a platform to meet. In 1982 the friendship developed into partnership. For a decade Ballmer acted as the representative in Italy of Gottschalk+Ash, dealing with its Italian clients, in particular the oil company EniChem.

An agreement on the meaning of Swiss Graphic Design emerged from interviews with Ballmer's colleagues. According to Italian graphic designer Armando Milani to be Swiss in Italy was a great asset, while Swiss graphic designer Lora Lamm defined it 'her business card'. In addition to the canonical list of formal elements associated with Swiss Graphic Design, interviewees have used adjectives such as seriousness, credibility, clearness and trustworthiness to describe it. Most importantly, they interpret it as a mentality that was shared by an international community for which the geographical location of designer, client or object does not seem to play or have played any role. In fact, they often refer to it as International rather that Swiss Style. This was a type of language and approach to visual communication that was represented best by the AGI, or at least this was the opinion of designers such as Ursula Hiestand and Gottschalk, who happen to be both members of the international association.

4. The Unidesign archive: design practice and networks. When entering the Unidesign studio in Milan, one has the impression that little has changed since Ballmer's death in 2011 (Fig. 3). After seven years, his smock is still hanging on the wall, the pen holder and the desk drawers are full of stationery supplies ready for use and the address book lays open next to a retro-looking red phone. The walls are covered with Ballmer's concrete art paintings and sculptures, while the majority of the furniture comes from the Olivetti Synthesis catalogue. Ballmer's career from the Studio Boggeri to Unidesign through Olivetti is organized in about one hundred archival boxes that are tidily labelled by client and contain sketches, photographs as well as final outputs. Posters and large artefacts are stored in drawers, whereas the correspondence is arranged in a filing cabinet. The archive is the result of Ballmer's active role in the selection and organization of materials that were carried out by the designer himself with the help of his daughter Barbara and the assistants. Archival findings fall into three categories: design practice, network of clients, and network of assistants and collaborators.

Firstly, the archival material brought insights into the studio practice and the development of the design project from the sketched idea to the final product. The design process was developed through a series of trial

Fig. 3 Walter Ballmer's initials on the door, greeting visitors to Unidesign studio in Milan. Ph. by Chiara Barbieri.

and error attempts that seem to confirm the assistants' recollections of Ballmer's supposedly endless work-in-progress. This is especially evident in the folder of the fashion house Valentino, which gives quite a comprehensive image of Ballmer's design ethos and attests to his careful attention to color combinations. A recognizable visual language emerged from the overall output. The repetitive geometric vocabulary speaks more about Ballmer's own graphic language and resonates in his concrete art than referring to the specificities of each project, to the point where the same graphic solution was submitted to completely different clients, as with the logo for the electric company Azienda Energetica Municipale and the skiwear brand Colmar.

Secondly, a diversified network of clients unraveled. Some clients were already known and used by Ballmer for self-promotion. Others were unknown, overshadowed by the high-status clients and iconic projects such as Valentino, Colmar, the engine producer Weber, and the ski resort Sestriere. These were minor companies of marginal significance that provide a more accurate picture of the daily business and rather ordinary and mundane projects made over the years. Some of the minor clients are evidence of Ballmer's ability to capitalize on his network of friends and family, as well as ability to secure clients within the local scene. Moreover, the research conducted in the Unidesign archive revealed a number of failures that counterbalance successful master narratives. Projects never realized include the logo for the confectionery factory Galbusera that was rejected due to Ballmer's unjustified delay, or the contest for the rebranding of the BCI (Banca Commerciale Italiana) for which Ballmer asked the help of former assistant Ronchi given his difficulty with tight deadlines.

Thirdly, the archival research revealed a complex network of assistants and collaborators. This professional and private network was instrumental to compile the list of people who have been or are yet to be interviewed. Whereas a number of assistants at Olivetti came from Switzerland, those who collaborated with Unidesign were mostly Italian who had studied at the Scuola Politecnica di Design with Ballmer. The tendency seems to suggest that Swiss assistants might have been interested in collaborating with Ballmer mainly for his mouth-watering link to Olivetti. Glauco Felici was identified as a main collaborator. An expert of Spanish literature and Borges translator, Felici worked in Unidesign as copywriter, public relations officer, and accountant. It is interesting to note that it was Felici who wrote the only monographic article on Ballmer to feature in the international graphic design magazine *Graphis* (Felici, 1979–1980). Finally, archival documents and photographs have set Ballmer within the international community of graphic designers that clustered around the AGI, highlighting his active role (Fig. 4).

Fig. 4 AGI members visiting the studio Unidesign in 1977, left to right: Ursula Hiestand, Anton Stankowski, Walter Ballmer, Ernst Hiestand (?). Photographer unknown. Courtesy of Unidesign Archive, Milan (Italy).

Exploratory conclusions

The preliminary findings presented in section 3 and 4 have provided evidence of the ways in which the use of oral and archival sources enables us to bring the narrative into and out of the studio system, and build a many-sided history around a complex network of people, objects and institutions instead of the unquestioned figure of the individual design celebrity. Intermediate results emerged from interviews allowed to reframe the information on the personality of Ballmer from the viewpoint of the art director–employee relationship, and to gain a better understanding of the client–designer relationship. More specifically, the wide presence of Italian employees, peers and clients in the work environment of Unidesign has put into crisis the historiographical canon of the individual Swiss designer spreading 'Swiss Style' as part of a pioneering activity. Indeed, the microcosm of the Unidesign studio was very much connected with Italian clients and junior designers educated at Italian schools of design. Rather than actively contributing in the construction and mediation of Swiss Graphic Design abroad, Ballmer seems to have benefitted from the stereotypes attached to it. It is likely that his being Swiss facilitated his career in Italy, but Olivetti seems to have actually played a more prominent role. The company is indeed a recurring knot in the network of Unidesign, having acted as intermediary and catalyzer for new clients once he opened his own studio.

By telling 'less about events than about their *meaning'* (Portelli, 1998: 62), oral history enabled us to get a perception of the social and collective memories of the Milanese design scene, its relationship with and understanding of Swiss Graphic Design as internationally recognized and valued brand. This partial landscape was further incremented by access to the Unidesign archive. Thus, oral history and archives have complemented each other in shedding light on the universe of networks of a Swiss agency in Milan.

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Brassard Design: The History of Symbolic Power in Korea

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Korean brassard design / Symbolic power / Design history

The physicality and power of design has penetrated into people's lives and has a great effect on their thoughts and behavioral culture. Beyond analyzing designs' shapes and colors, this study aimed to criticize the attributes of the power inherent in Korean society and culture through the history of brassard design. Hence, it examined the shapes and characteristics of brassards in a historical context and the processes where brassards obtained the symbolic meaning of power. In addition, this research intended to identify the limits and problems of micro-power by investigating how visuality was shown in the designs of brassards and became internalized and invisible as symbolic power.

1. The Visuality of Brassard Design

1.1 Brassard Design History in Korea: From Japanese Military Police to Brassard Troops

Korea could be referred to in many ways, one of which is 'a nation of brassards', since Korea has countless stories related to brassards. The brassard has had a variety of implications along with many shapes in the flow of history. The physicality and design of brassards have also played a role in showing an 'aspect' of Korean power as a point for reading the periodic culture (Min-Soo, 1997). As for the etymology and history of brassards, the term 'brassard' originated from the Latin *bráchĭum* and also from *bras*, the French word for arm.

A brassard is an object worn on the arm; its shape originates from the armlet in ancient Egyptian costume culture, which was worn for decoration and to indicate the wearer's status, as well as from brassards found on medieval armor. With the decreased use of armor, the materials used for brassards were changed from copper and zinc to cloth and sash and to fabric familiar to us today (Watson, 2007: 47–49).

As military insignia or marks were worn on the body in addition to a brassard, costume designs varied in colors and patterns, orders, badges, epaulets and sashes (chest badges). In addition, a headband and nametag fixed with a safety pin were used as general markings to show the intention of a political party and to classify roles.

The brassard, previously a simple piece of cloth and fabric, began relaying special information in 1863 when Jean Henri Dunant founded the Red Cross. Medical staff and army medics of the Red Cross wore brassards to distinguish each other in an emergency, a practice that began to spread across the world. The Red Cross armband was also found in the clothes of Japanese medics (1886) (Fig. 1), thus indicating an imitation of the French military system of 1873. Japan carried out Preussen-styled military system reform in 1886 and introduced European military systems actively (Akira, 2012). Furthermore, around the same time in Japan, the French words for the 'military police,' gendarme and gendarmerie, began to be translated to the Japanese word (憲兵, 겐페이 けんぺい)(Seung-hee, 2014: 218).

Records on the Japanese military police brassard, a source of fear for Koreans, were identified from legislation at the Japanese National Diet Library. Edict No. 477 in November 1923's "Rules on Use of the Military Police Brassard", specifies that military police for some time 'have to wear a brassard written in two characters 憲兵(military police) and in red on a white background on the left arm. In 1908, in the Korean Empire, whose regular army was demobilized by Japan, the supplementary military police system was enforced and soon the brassard denoting military police in red on a white background was fixed on the arms of the supplementary military policemen (Soon-Gyu, 1998).

Fig. 1 Japanese army medics wore the brassard, Uiju in the Joseon Dynasty. 1894. (Source: designersparty.com).

There are some clues regarding the history of the brassard in Korea. The following are passages from the Korean novel titled *Wanjang* (The Brassard), by Heung-Gil Yun: 'At first, there was no brassard in our nation. From ancient times, the only thing we wore on our arms was a mourning band made out of hemp' (Heung-Gil, 2014: 276). Moreover, in the research titled 'The Effects of Family Rite Standards on Present-Day Funeral Rites' (2001), Si-Deok Kim compared *Saryae Pyeonram* (1844)[1] with Japanese Rite Standards (1934) and pointed out the advent of the provision requiring one to 'wear brassards with western clothes' in Rite Standards. In the Joseon Dynasty before the Japanese colonial era, the chief mourner wore a band made out of hemp on his arm, as if a sinner who had caused his parent's death—a marking resembling a brassard.

However, the exception was that the Korean independence army, which had organized

[1] The book's topic was the four ceremonial occasions in the Joseon Dynasty period: coming of age, weddings, funerals, and ancestral rites.

Fig. 2 A pro-democracy movement in Seoul, 1965. (Source: designersparty.com).

an overseas military group, wore patterned brassards to confirm their dignity, loyalty and a sense of belonging despite their poor conditions. This practice shows that intellectuals of the modern Joseon Dynasty had already recognized the brassard as conveying specific information under the influence of western military uniform rules in the late 1800s and early 1900s when trade with western powers began through an open-door policy.

Hereafter, modern records on Korean brassards showed their association with the Japanese military police in the Japanese colonial era. For instance, there are photos of the arrest of Bong-gil Yoon, a member of the Korean Patriots' Group, by the Japanese military police after he threw a bomb in Hongkou Park in Shanghai on April 29, 1932. There are also photos of the Japanese military police leading military sexual slaves at Mitsubishi Heavy Industries in the Japanese colonial era. It is worth noting the effect of the brassards worn by Japanese military police on Koreans. Numerous records in those days reveal the psychological pressure and fear of Korean people in reaction to the brassards of Japanese military police. Japan aimed to establish the authority of imperialism through military uniform regulations, and the brassard was a central image of coercion. The brassards of Japanese military police were both visible horrors and invisible symbols driving the human desire for power.

The brassard continued to be worn by US military police (MP) during the Korean War (1950–1953), and red brassards were worn by the People's Army of North Korea. In Wanjang, a subject stated: 'The red brassard, the color of blood, reminds me of the Japanese military who burned my fingers.' Thus, the fear experienced by colonized Koreans was revived upon seeing the brassards worn by the People's Army of North Korea during the Korean War. In the post-liberation period, the horror and fear of brassards decreased, but the weight of the top-down power and authority remained.

During the unfair election of March 15, 1960, the Liberal Party positioned armed policemen at the polls and threatened voters by 'reminding people of martial law' and allowed suffrage only to those who wore brassards of the Liberal Party. The brassard of the coup of May 16, 1961, heralded the long-term military dictatorship under the name of the Revolutionary Army and it always appeared at open squares as a means to suppress through force cries for liberty and democracy (Fig. 2, 3). Brassards, which were the visual manifestations of tyranny by power, became a part of daily life only after their changed appearance and mode.

1.2. Fetishism of Brassards

The brassard was both the mark of a sinner who had failed to support his parents, and a symbol of the desire for power. It penetrated into everyday life covertly and obtained various roles and statuses. Brassards were characterized by different words, markings, colors, materials, shapes and wearing methods depending on the situation. Brassards communicated with people only through their physicality and sometimes promoted people's desires. The types of brassards may be classified into those that indicate one's class and one's role. Class symbolizes the mandated power by legal procedures for regulation, control, and honor; meanwhile, a role is a mark given temporarily or sporadically for an ideological spread, slogan, notice or occupational identification. However, as power may be generated by role performance, though it is simply given by a role, it is not possible to classify the attributes of brassards clearly.

Brassards indicating one's class may include those used in troops, schools, governments and other institutions. For example, they include brassards used by the military police in the Japanese colonial era, class presidents, weekly duty and student disciplinary council members of schools, civil defence officers, Saemaeul Movement[2] participants, military drill participants and members of other religious organizations. In particular, brassards for student leaders, class presidents and student disciplinary council members used in schools would be regarded as examples of brassards reflecting the acknowledgment of rank in the military system; one perspective would view this practice as a 'vestige of Japanese imperialism'.

In a newspaper interview, Won-Dae Kim (69, Uijeongbu, Gyeonggi-do), who attended a middle school in the 1940s,

Fig. 3 May 16 coup, in Seoul. 1961. (Source: designersparty.com).

[2] The Saemaul Movement was a government-led economic development movement launched by former president Chung-hee Park in 1970.

states that 'Japanese politicians hot-eyed for education for imperialistic colonization thought schools were a means of the rule and attempted to tame young students to control them and place them in submission'. He added: 'A student disciplinary council system, an evil of Japanese imperialistic education, continued in post-liberation by pro-Japanese teachers who took the initiative in schools'.[3] He says classes came to exist in schools as a vestige of Japanese imperialism and the evidence was the school's student disciplinary council. In addition, there is a perspective that brassards used in schools were a result of the military dictatorship.

In the interview above, Kyu-Sam Lee (66, a consultant of the Korean Teachers and Educational Workers' Union) recollects: 'During my middle school days at the end of the 1940s, seniors of the school disciplinary council who wore brassards that had 'Discipline (기율)' written on them were somewhat threatening. There was a white string connected to the brassard; it was affixed to their shoulders as if they were a military policeman, which invoked fear in their juniors'. He said: 'Until recently, it (the brassard) remained under the influence of the authoritarian military regime through governments by Seung-Man Lee Chung-Hee Park'. In addition to military uniforms and teacher's batons empowering the school, the brassard was one of the oppressive signifiers showing the 'violent ideology' of schools.

Furthermore, the brassard was used as a slogan in an enlightenment movement (campaign) or an ideological activity and as a mark of identification of someone's position to show someone's role. Such a brassard was used by 'photographers, newspaper reporters, bus conductors, traffic cops, taxi drivers, translators, mechanics, supervisors, night watchmen, mail carriers and powdered formula collectors' who had to make known their positions. Also, sometimes brassards for 'school labor service corps and university students working at part-time jobs' were used along with brassards for slogans—including Fire Safety, Order and Nature Conservation—to inform people of a one-time campaign. Though the campaign was pure in its intention of PR, the moment such a slogan was on a brassard, the slogan became a kind of command and a means of governing and controlling the public's behaviours.

Brassards used for symbolizing class and power and identifying roles have changed as they came to be used frequently. In the 19th century, Brassards took on a more physical nature when they began to communicate certain information through words and patterns. At first, brassards were manufactured by painting calligraphy on thin cloth, but as designs became more robust and functionally distinctive, the overlapping of several layers of cotton cloths enhanced durability. Markings also began to be carved through engraving techniques. Since the 20th century, the demand for brassards increased from military groups and institutions and new materials were introduced along with the development of manufacturing skills; the shapes and colors of graphics were also diversified. Plastic made of synthetic resin or synthetic leather began to be used, and the use of silkscreen dye and transfer dye were common (Fig. 4).

Recently, there is a technique that embroiders computer designs on synthetic fibers (non-woven fabric) using machine embroidery. As for wearing methods, it is common to drill holes in the top and bottom of both ends of a brassard, attach eyelets protecting holes and fix strings for dropping-proof. In addition, for convenience, a safety pin is attached to a cylindrical brassard or a rubber band to the inner side of the brassard. As for brassards manufactured nowadays, they are generally about 40cm wide and 10cm long although new shapes of brassards and ways of wearing them are being developed continually.

After the liberation, brassards were widely used by the public; but recently the demand for brassards has decreased except on special occasions like those for the military police and captains of sports teams. Though the use of brassards decreased, the images and memories of brassards of the past lingered in the public's perception. Numerous brassard images seem to recall brassards used in the 1960s–1980s, which is when Korea underwent rapid economic development and social change.[4] As for the brassards during that period, intense artificial colors were carved on glossy synthetic resins, including vinyl and plastic; thus, it was designed for images to be deeply imprinted on the public through a visual effect. In the 1960s–1980s, brassards were used in everyday life as identifiers of various movements (Saemaeul, civil defense, military drills) and positions (traffic cops, bus and taxi drivers, press photographers). Furthermore, they functioned as strong symbols of power and class and offered a taste of sweet power to the lower class.

Fig. 4 A brassard design in Korea (Source: wusin.com).

[3] "Our ugly reflection: student council," HANKYOREH (newspaper), March 26th, 1999.

[4] During this period, the armband and other small items were reproduced in the 1990s and 2000s under the "retro" concept. Through this, many people remember images of the armbands used in the 1960s and 1980s.

As mentioned above, at that time glossy and color-reactive plastic was used to make brassards. The excessive slickness of the brassard's surface and intense processed colors acted as catalysts, shaking the desire of the people. Brassards' physical characteristics were described in *Wanjang*, which made fun of the unjust-born power in the 1980s' military dictatorship. The hero of the novel, Jong Sul Im, came to be in the parvenu's favor and reign over a village, which required he wear a guard's brassard for the Pangeum reservoir. However, he was ruined by greed for acquiring such power. In the novel, a scene depicts the protagonist redesigning the brassard with more provocative colors and a weird design:

> A newly made brassard was on his left arm. It was a vinyl brassard upon which three red horizontal lines depicted and 'supervisor' written with blue characters on a yellow background on the right and left. Its color was too glossy so the new brassard strongly attracted people's attention (Heung-Gil Yun, 2014: 39).

Jong Sul Im, bragging about his power and bearing a brassard on his arm, caused trouble and public rage in a small rural village. His desire to make the already glossy and cheeky brassard glossier and cheekier shows the kitsch aesthetics of power. Kitsch originated from the German 'kitschig', which means 'make it cheap'. It was created 'by people having the average sensibility for people always average' between conflicts of both kinds of power, 'high class and good taste, low class and bad taste'. Jong Sul's desire for the brassard, which resulted in an excessiveness of decorations and imbalance of elements, ran fast toward the end of pleasure satisfied by kitsch. The kitsch aesthetics of the brassard does not ask the audience for considerable knowledge and understanding and communicates with the public only by its physicality through an instant, intuitive, simple and strong visual language. Jong Sul came to feel the power of the brassard, worship it and hope that he would be reborn as a brassard. The brassard was used as a means of releasing their suppressed aesthetic sensibility and functioned as a representation showing their distorted obsession with trivial power.

> Everything depends on how you do it. Your competency can make the three-penny brassard into a far more valuable object. Jong Sul realized that the brassard itself had infinite potential in value between being a three penny object and one worth a large fortune to a naive audience, especially in the remote village mainly inhabited by strange farmers. It was a vast benefit to Jong Sul (Heung-Gil Yun, 2014: 42).

However, the trifling power Jong Sul possessed could be exercised only with the power of the brassard, which was at most a small amount of power, a micro-power that could only be used in a rural village.

2. Internalization and Symbolism of Brassard Design

2.1. Internalization of Micro-Power

The true high-order power is established by legal and formal consents and procedures in an authorized group, and such power grants low-order power status through a series of procedures. The low-order power justifies its power, identifies it with the high-order power and gradually falls into a swamp of pleasure granted by the power. The brassard represents the repressed desire of the low-order power toward the high-order power. However, the brassard may not be the high-order power at all, but rather a temporary representation and imitation of the high-order power.

Recently, layers of micro-power were complicated and internalized. Bourdieu expresses such internalization of power as 'symbolic power'. The symbolic power refers to the transformed and justified form of power beyond recognition as the low-order power. The symbolic power, contrary to the macro-power, is the micro-power and means things that are invisible, unrecognizable in themselves but justified (Bourdieu, 2014: 440). As such, being invisible and so easily unrecognizable, symbolic power is the power acknowledged by formal and legal procedures and conspiracies by members. It is much more meticulous, secretive and cunning than visible power.

The brassard, internalized as a micro-power and symbolic power, used mainly from those of similar classes who have similar dispositions and interests in a similar space and condition. For instance, some examples are Jong Sul, one of the residents of a small rural village, who wore a brassard and controlled the reservoir; a school disciplinary council member, a student who wore a brassard of the council and inspected students; and an assistant policeman, a Korean in the colonial era, who wore a brassard of the military police and oppressed them most cruelly.

The whistleblowing of power induces distorted desires. In the Japanese colonial period, some Korean people strongly criticized Korean policemen who persecuted and oppressed them; at the same time, they envied the Korean police for having an occupation they wished for their children to 'escape entirely from the feeling of inferiority and for social mobility'. The distorted desire of micro-power, despising but at the same time desiring the brassard, became a cornerstone and driving force of the brassard society we face today.

2.2. Symbolism of the Brassard

Heung-Gil Yun, the author of *Wanjang* (The Brassard), says the brassard is an object that symbolizes trivial and tenuous micro-power (Heung-Gil Yun, 2014: 6). In the preface from its revised edition, he mentions that 'humor is like a feather tickling the nostrils of someone, unlike satire, which is like the sword of an assassin making an attempt on somebody's life', and adds that the brassard in this novel was just like a feather. However, in Korean history, which has been a series of desires induced by a brassard and the power exercised by the brassard, the term 'brassard' was heavier in weight than the 'feather' intended by the author. It is safe to say that present Korean society is pressed down upon by such a weight.

Since the 2000s, the term 'wan-jang-jil (Brassard+ism)' has been used in a context similar to that of 'gapjil'. Language is said to be a mirror that re-

flects a society. The brassard, which had taken an active part throughout history as a 'visible power', was transformed into an invisible language referring to an internalized micro-power along with periodic transitions. 'Wanjang-jil' means to fail in fulfilling one's responsibility and obligation and misconceive or abuse one's authority as a privilege. 'Gapjil' is defined as the sadistic seizure of the have-nots by the haves. Both are representative words that show aspects of our society. Gapjil means wanjang-jil in that it contains the invisible power that is, wielded over the weak. Gapjil and wanjang-jil were established in our everyday life and may be easily found.

The brassard, which existed as a visible threat through memories of discipline and punishment in the past, has promoted human desires constantly through its own physicality at the terminal of power. The Korean brassard was introduced during the early 1920s and was institutionalized through the Japanese military police system. The brassard was used for a variety of roles and positions in everyday life. The most noticeable period during which the relationship between the brassard's visuality and the power it wielded strengthened was the 1960s–1980s in Korea. That period was a mixed era during which the vestiges of Japanese imperialism still remained and the new ruling class obtained power from rapid economic development. At that moment, the brassard played the significant role of revealing people's desires. Therefore, the designs and materials used for brassards became more and more colorful and diversified. Thus, the brassard came to reflect the characteristics of kitsch. The brassard, merely a symbol of trivial power in the past, came to have more complex layers as time passed and it internalized its power. The brassard became increasingly invisible, secretive and cunning. Today, our society is composed of brassards in numerous numbers, and its oppression and tyranny do not vary much from those in the pre-liberation period.

Consequently, the research focused on the process of the changing form of the brassard from a visible sign to an invisible symbol. Those who desired liberation from the brassard wished to be reborn as another micro-power, or brassard. Prior brassards were visualized as images of power through their designs and physicality; gradually, their designs and symbolism penetrated into the souls of people beyond what was visible. As such, the imagery and symbolism of designs exist naturally in people's daily lives and have an effect on their ideas, behaviours, attitudes and even language.

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Nordic Lighting? Poul Henningsen and the Myths of Scandinavian Twilight

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Interior lighting / Scandinavian design / Danish functionalism / Geography of design

The Danish designer Poul Henningsen wrote very elaborate theories of interior lighting from the mid-1920s on. He fought against the cold and reduced light quality of electric bulbs and tried to tame and cultivate this technology by design. He wanted a more rich light for domestic purpose and shaped it through lamp design, colour reflections and differentiated use of several lamps in the room to make a more dim lighting, but with greater variation and softer contrasts. It was a 'culture' of lighting, he promoted, but he didn't see it as linked to the Nordic countries. His sensibility to subdued nuances of light, however, parallels both many facts and clichés of the variations and transition of daylight in the North – as this is interpreted in *Nightlands* by Norwegian architectural historian Christian Norberg-Schulz. The case of domestic interior lighting is, in this perspective, worth investigating to discuss whether experience of nature and climatic conditions play a role in Scandinavian design, as repeatedly stated. This discussion contributes both to the understanding of interior lighting and the historiographical critique of Scandinavian design and its transnational relations.

Northern latitudes and Nordic design

It has repeatedly been a claim that Scandinavian Design both functionally and aesthetically reflects the nature and the climatic conditions of the Nordic countries. And this is seldom about design of outdoor equipment for rough weather, rather about design for domestic interiors, for the home. It is most often sweeping statements being specific neither on the climate – changing a lot from Copenhagen to Tromsø – nor on traces in the different designs – from icicle glasses to hi-fi devices. It is mentioned so often and so loosely in both official and commercial promotion of Scandinavian Design without convincing examples, so it seems impossible to qualify or even to investigate in a meaningful way. Large photo prints from the four Nordic countries were part of the great shows of Scandinavian Design in the 1950s, and they still seem to lurk behind as a kind of mental backdrop for the branding of Scandinavian or New Nordic Design (Skou and Munch, 2016). The repeated references to nature and climate has been part of a self-exoticisation, where the Nordic designers and firms perform according to the international image of the Nordic countries, that is, being both highly modern and still firmly grounded in age-old traditions (Munch, 2017). A contemporary example of the cliché is a designer statement at the homepage of the Danish firm Muuto:

> The result of a Nordic life with all 4 seasons is a seasonal culture with both extrovert and introvert periods. The dark and long winter leaves us inside our homes for a great amount of time whereas the short but intense summer makes us spend as much time outside as possible. It all leaves us with high expectations to ALL our surrounding products (Muuto.com).

It makes sense to speak of Scandinavian design traditions reflecting significant home cultures in the Nordic countries that historically might have had an initial impulse from rural households and sparse conditions (Gelfer-Jørgensen, 2003). But in modern urban housing very little design seems to respond to climate or tough living conditions. If the home cultures still carry references to this, it is historically, because this fitted into National Romanticist ideals of the home, especially moulded by artists around 1900 (Lane, 2000), and later became part of visualizing the ideal of the Welfare State as better homes and everyday design for everyone (Mattsson and Wallenstein, 2010). And if Nordic people today spend both more time and money on interior design than in other parts of the world, it is rather because of the cultural status of homes built through this tradition than specific reasons of climate.

One interior design issue, however, that might have the most concrete relation to the geographic conditions of living at the latitudes of the Nordic countries is lighting. The huge differences in natural light across the seasons and long transition periods between day and night, as well as many cloudy days, can make lighting of the home a different challenge than in countries more south. This is again more a question of habits and home cultures that call for highly differentiated lighting. But it has direct relations to geographical and climatic conditions and basic experiences of daylight. Anthropologists can detect how modern urban dwellers in Denmark use very differentiated lighting across seasons, daytimes and social occasions (Bille, 2015). Other people living at the same latitudes and under comparable conditions might have some of the same habits, so it is an open question, whether this points to a specific Nordic issue. As part of the home cultures of the Nordic countries, however, significant uses and design of lamps for lighting up the home might have evolved.

This issue is likewise hard to qualify as a relation of design and geography, but there are two singular entrances that make it worth investigating and discussing a possible cultural nexus to geography here. The Functionalist theory of lighting and lamp design of the Danish designer Poul Henningsen, 1894–1967, argues very elaborately on highly differentiated lighting and a finely grained sensibility to both aesthetical and functional qualities of light (Henningsen, 1974). From a completely different angle come interpretations of such a sensibility and experience of light expressed and elaborated in traditions of Nordic architecture and painting. They are presented by the Norwegian architectural historian Christian Norberg-Schulz, 1926–2000, in his book *Nightlands* from 1996. Norberg-Schulz

represents a Heideggerian understanding of the regional traditions interpreting, in how architecture and design is embedded in local conditions, Genius Loci. The intriguing aspect of a comparison between him and Henningsen is that the latter as a left wing modernist was declared internationalist and rejected any national or local peculiarities. A phenomenological approach to the experience and quality of light, however, connects them and makes the comparison worthwhile. It is both a contribution to historiographical discussions on the geography of design, local and transnational relations (Calvera, 2005), as well as to theories on interior lighting and lamp design, where Henningsen's extensive writings are a valuable source, only randomly introduced in English. Where Norberg-Schulz argues on the grounds of local values, place, soil and climate, Henningsen insists on universal physical and physiological facts and needs. The discussion is in this way a battle of Nordism versus Biologism, and the rewarding challenge is to find theoretical and scientific ways of evaluating valid meanings and facts.

Cultivating the defective, electric light

Poul Henningsen was an architect, but more active as a writer of cultural criticism in Danish newspapers and journals. His international fame is, however, based on his lamp system, the PH lamp, presented at the Paris *Exhibition international des art décoratifs et industriels* in 1925 and further developed over decades together with the manufacturer, Louis Poulsen. From the 1920s and the rest of his life he wrote many articles presenting his ideas and his lamps and engaged in continuous debates with engineers on the problems of the quality of electric light. His basic view was that the light of the electric bulb was damaging in domestic interiors both to use value, comfort and aesthetic experience. In one of his early, elaborated texts from 1926 on *Modern Lighting of the Home* in his own journal *Kritisk Revy* he states: 'It is a fact that the electric light is defective, and its defects should not be endured in a room, where people stay' (Henningsen, 1974: 38). As a consequence, he adds, that it is still regarded a 'necessary evil among civilized persons'. Henningsen urged the engineers to improve the light qualities, and not only the efficiency of the electrical bulbs. But the improvements went in the wrong direction, as modern bulbs produced a much colder light than the original carbon-filament bulbs. And if the engineers wouldn't solve that problem, the designer had to do the taming of electrical light through lamp design and interior design.

In his texts Henningsen argued on the basis of physical theories of the temperatures of different wavelengths in the rays of white light as well as his own practical experiments. His mission, though, was basically to save and develop a sense of differentiated lighting from the home culture traditions. 'The lighting of the home must be warm. It is a tradition, but women's heroic fight against cold light bulbs show that it is living. After the cold light of the day it is a rest that evening light is warm', he explains in 1945 (Henningsen, 1974: 113). It is, however, not only a question of light temperature, but also of having all colours represented in the white light, so that all colours in the room stand clearly, either through a rich light source or enriched by reflecting walls and surfaces with different colours. 'Reflex light is quite so by composition the most rich light in a drawing room. It has touched all colored things in the room and comes back as a soft and beautiful light. It is the best illumination of paintings [...]' (Henningsen, 1974: 47). This is, of course, not only an aesthetical issue of the enjoyment of paintings, but also of working with handicraft or reading. 'To produce the genuine effect light has to be so rich that it does not deprive the object any of its material or colour properties' (Henningsen, 1974: 44).

This rich and functionally tuned lighting is not completed with only one light source, but demands more lamps used in variations. 'The home with correct lighting has clear variations in the light. The most important spot is best illuminated, the inferior parts lie weakly illuminated. Variations in light can be very large', he deduces in the Norwegian journal *Byggekunst* in 1928 (Henningsen, 1974: 18). Practicalities of use, comfort of rest and wellbeing, as well as aesthetical experience, are tightly linked in his arguments for optimizing the holistic effect of lighting the domestic interior. The composition of the right light source, enriching colours, reflecting elements and various placing of lamps adjust the light for its purposes in the home. Beyond his fights with engineers his texts are written to architects and individuals to promote a cultivation of the use of electrical light, an educated domestication of this modern technology. As such Henningsen's texts were part of the culturally educating advice literature on home interiors written by the Functionalists and other modern reformers (Lees-Maffei, 2003). He called for a modern culture of lighting, and this is manifest in the missionary claim of 1928: 'It does not cost any money to light up a room correctly, but it demands culture' (Henningsen, 1974: 24).

A Nordic experience of daylight?

As mentioned Henningsen tried to argue on the basis of science and practical experiments, but some aesthetical and cultural assumptions behind this are obvious. When he, e.g., claims that the model of interior lighting should not be the clear daylight at noon, but the warmer and dimmer light at sundown, it sounds like a fact of natural science. 'First, day light is not a specific kind of light, but a whole range going from candle light to the light from a blue north sky a summer day. [...] Relatively, the eye sees better by the warm light of sunset and sundown than by the cold at noon' (Henningsen,

1974: 112). But this is a chosen aesthetic ideal to emphasise the more toned light and oblique rays, here in line with traditions of Danish home culture. The last rays of daylight were to be enjoyed and exploited for appropriate tasks as the family gathered in the prolonged *l'heure bleue* to save the fuel of the kerosene lamp. As Henningsen in his later years considered the very different lighting culture of Southern Europe – often with full illumination by fluorescent tubes – he only deduced that these countries did not know about the 'cultivation of the light of the light bulb that went on in the Germanic countries' (Henningsen, 1974: 214). He thought they were lagging behind the development of this field. But this is clearly not only a question of universal development in domesticating electric light.

The experiences of the slow transitions in daylight across seasons and weather conditions are different in the Nordic countries, and this might have created different needs or sensibilities to more subtle effects of lighting. Christian Norberg-Schulz points to Nordic examples of both interior motives and landscape paintings working with subtle degrees of grey and dim nuances depicting another reality than clear forms and colours. One good example is the Danish painter Vilhelm Hammershøi, 1864–1916. His paintings of interiors from the 18th century quarters of Copenhagen are very precise studies of sparse daylight. 'All is subdued, becomes still, intimate, and the world is clothed in nuanced greys. At the same time, things exist precisely and with clear identity, but they do not posses the character of *Gegenstand* with eidos-forming shadow, and thus they lack southern plastic presence' (Norberg-Schulz, 1996: 13). This is to Norberg-Schulz evidence of how the misty but forceful world of the *Nightlands* even influence the interiors and the way light effects peoples of the Nordic countries. It stems from the different, natural light, and how it shows the landscape in a more blurred, but dynamic way. 'Here in the North, the sun does not rise to the zenith but grazes things obliquely and dissolves in an interplay of light and shadow. The land consists not of clear massings and distinct spaces; it disperses as fragment and repetition in the boundless' (Norberg-Schulz, 1996: 1).

In such speculations on culture geography Norberg-Schulz reinvigorates an older tradition of German culture philosophy. This was widespread in early *Kunstwissenschaft* as an attempt to explain art forms and periods going beyond or against the classic norms of Greek Antiquity and Italian Renaissance. An example is *Abstraction and Empathy* from 1908 by art historian Wilhelm Worringer:

> Northern man's relationship to nature was undoubtedly not that state of familiarity which we found amongst the Greeks [...]. The Northern peoples experienced within a harsh and unyielding nature the resistance of this nature, their isolation within it, and they confronted the things of the outer world and their appearance full of disquiet and distrust (Worringer, 1997: 107).

It is easy to argue against and dismiss such ideas building on stereotypic interpretations contrasting North against South – a Mediterranean, distinct and empathic worldview contrasting a Northern, abstract reaction to a bewildering world. Such stereotypes were used from the 1890s on to promote ideas of a distinct Germanic mentality by the populist, *Völkisch* movements or the *Rembrandt Deutsche,* as well as in the later *Myth of the 20th Century* by the Nazi ideologue Alfred Rosenberg. The real scientific value of Worringer's book, however, was to investigate and explicate other kinds of aesthetic expressions and perceptions, which were relevant to the expressionism and abstraction in modern art and architecture. This contribution has even had a recent reassessment both in theories on Minimalism and Film Studies, the latter through Gilles Deleuze. In the same vein we can pick aesthetic observations on Nordic light phenomena and depictions from Norberg-Schulz without accepting his cultural dichotomy of North and South. There might be more climatic occasions to dwell on such phenomena in Nordic cultures, but they are hardly foreign to other peoples' mentality or culture.

On one occasion, in an article in the Swedish art periodical *Paletten* in 1945, Henningsen in fact also uses painting to explain the complexity of ideal interior lighting, and he points to one of the very masters of North European art, Rembrandt van Rijn. 'He was surely artist of lighting! In his pictures you find the harmonic range from deepest shadow to highest light, while we are living in rooms more reminding of woodcuts without shades, tone in between or nuances' (Henningsen, 1974: 111). For Henningsen the point is to criticise the use of only one, unshaded light source in the room producing hard contrasts and few nuances in colours and shapes. That is like a woodcut print compared to a painting, and Rembrandt – as the master of *hell-dunkel* painting, or *chiaroscuro* as the same phenomenon is known as in Italy – is mentioned to inspire a more nuanced and consciously composed lighting of rooms. Back in 1928 Henningsen highlighted both functional and aesthetic advantages of this. 'It is the tones in between half shadows that make it possible for the eye to glide from illuminated to shadowy surfaces (only lit by reflex light) and at the same time experience details in the shadowy surfaces' (Henningsen, 1974: 21). This kind of lighting produces dynamic relations between surfaces and colours, space and objects, producing both atmosphere and differentiated light for multiple purposes.

As in a hell-dunkel painting by Rembrandt the differentiated lighting can 'carve out' appropriately illuminated spaces in darkness, where space, objects and actions are kind of the same substance as part of a common atmosphere, a mood changing dynamically with graduations of light. The general lighting from one light source conversely tends to split things by harsh contrasts. This is what Norberg-Schulz tries to explain out of the Nordic climate. 'In the North we occupy a world of moods, of shifting nuances of never-resting forces, even when the light is withdrawn and filtered through an overcast sky' (Norberg-Schulz, 1996: 2). And he thinks this experience of 'never-resting forces' is forming the understanding and perception of the world. 'This entails that Nordic inhabitants cannot isolate themselves from things but become drawn into a dialogue with the given; hence things are not objects but effective forces' (Norberg-Schulz, 1996: 197). This is his version of a phenomenological understanding of our being in

the world. Through the aspect of light this becomes relevant to understandings of how the design of objects and interiors tries to meet and adjust to users in the tradition of Danish Functionalism – as expressed by Henningsen. Light is not only a precondition for seeing anything, but also conditions how we experience, understand and use things and spaces.

Mood and atmosphere

A more recent line in phenomenology has elaborated on the concept of 'atmosphere' to investigate both perception and aesthetics; how spaces, things, colours, light, sounds, bodies as well as practices interact and produce a coherent atmosphere that moulds how we act and perceive the singular parts. Gernot Böhme has further shown how this notion of atmosphere can be applied to understanding architecture (2006), and the Danish anthropologist Mikkel Bille has applied it specifically to domestic, interior lighting based on field studies in Copenhagen (Bille, 2015). The latter has discussed how emotions and culture play a role, when inhabitants install and light up the home with lamps, candles, etc. through the day and the seasons. 'Attention to orchestrations of light in shaping the presence of the world hence also brings focus on the atmospheres that people are opting for and the dynamics through which they are engaging the world by tying together vision and cultural expectations, material culture, emotions, and bodily gestures and practices' (Bille, 2015: 57). The attention to an elaborated lighting, he observes, in the use of many different light sources and patterns of lighting routines, is in line with the advice of Henningsen and his understanding of the cultivation of light, preserving the role of shadow and the richness of colours and moods. 'In this sense, the light from the bulb, candle, sun or moon may visually present the world but it is in the nuances of darkness and shadows – in the absences and invisibilities – that the particular atmosphere comes to life by oscillations between connecting and separating things and people' (Bille, 2015: 61).

It is still a tough question asking to which extent we can say that such a sensibility and attention to lighting is tied to Nordic countries in any sense. Asking Henningsen we should recall that in the development and use of electric light he saw a lack of culture. He called for the cultivation of a technology having erased earlier practice on lighting. The sensibility had vanished, so it was not just present as part of the Nordic setting. He himself represented an educated, professional sensibility trained through architectural and painterly attention to space, colours and light. And he sought to promote a new culture – and explain the right installation and use of his own lamp system. The issue is so complex, though, so it still represents a designerly attention more than a general sensibility. And Norberg-Schulz's tales and exotic specimens of *Nightlands* are as well rather inspiration to professionals and researchers paying attention to Nordic traditions. The anthropological observations, however, do find a rich and vigorous practice of elaborated lighting among present-day Danes. They react to the changes of daylight and seasons and explain how they want to achieve the moods of cosiness and secureness, 'hygge' in Danish, creating either individual comfort or social framing. But again, these are urban dwellers inhabiting apartments in central Copenhagen not responding to nature or climate in other ways. Lighting does play a specific role in current Nordic home cultures, but this is just as much formed by historical conditions and current developments in lifestyle trends as seasons and climate.

Neither the universal biologism of Henningsen nor the cultural distinctions of North and South – between Germanic and Roman views of the world – of Norberg-Schulz explain a specifically Nordic practice of lighting fully. But the subtle and useful advice from Henningsen and illustrative examples and descriptions from Norberg-Schulz point towards a complex understanding of light and interiors that influence both design and everyday life. They point toward a dimension of Nordic home culture, where experience of natural light might connect with cultural practices and aesthetic sensibilities – also visible in art – to influence design practice. It is hardly an exclusively Nordic phenomenon, but might be a Nordic contribution to art, design and architecture meeting similar experiences, expressions and practices elsewhere – of atmospheres, spatial coherence and cultures of light.

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From Laboratories to Libraries—Furniture for Public Services in Portugal (1940–1970)

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Furniture history / Industry history / Public services / Estado Novo

This paper seeks to explain the role of the State as a commissioner of furniture for its services and buildings, and by that its impact on furniture design and industry. The Ministry of Public Works, being responsible for the construction of public buildings and installation of government facilities, as well as for its furniture and equipment, is one of the most important agents in this analysis. The second part will give a general view of the quality and capacity of the manufacturers in responding to those challenges.

The State-commissioned furniture for public services was until recently a relatively marginal topic in the Portuguese historiographic production. Despite the identification of some significant objects and actors with an impact on the history of Portuguese design, their inclusion often appeared to be made with an apparent lack of analysis and critical consideration. The *Móveis Modernos – Modern Furniture*[1] research project was an initial approach to the topic, trying to examine in an integrated and relational way buildings, objects and agents, in an attempt to construct a network of critical analysis that would help promote these objects.[2] Many of them are still in situ and in full use, and by this a whole series of actors—individual, collective, private and public—who played a determining role in the interior landscape of national public buildings between 1940 and 1970 would be redeemed from oblivion.

The project also highlighted how the Portuguese historiography underestimated the furniture industry. In spite of the importance that this sector has, still today, in the context of Portuguese industry, it remains unclear how its growth, development, and consolidation were done. The absence of reliable statistical elements for periods prior to the 1970s[3] has contributed significantly to the maintenance of these kinds of questions, and the lack of documentation vital to their understanding has also been a significant obstacle. The project brought a new way of looking at furniture and equipment and helped redefine its patrimonial value, but it also demonstrated the need to further the knowledge about such things as responsibilities regarding its commissions, the interplay between suppliers and manufacturers and their overall capacities.

As information about these topics was scarce due to its difficult access, the archives of public institutions that intervened directly in these contexts appeared as an opportunity to shed light on some of these areas and transform them as a pertinent research topic. The Directorate General of National Buildings and Monuments (DGEMN) naturally emerged as one of the institutions with a significant role in this field. It was created in 1929[4] in the context of the Ministry of Commerce and Communications[5] and had as its mission the project and construction of public service buildings and interventions in national monuments: to "imprint an orientation and apply rules that would facilitate their execution and feasibility"[6] was the official argument.

The State as commissioner

Portugal experienced in the first decades of the twentieth century a profound political change that would define the country in the following decades. The tumultuous period that followed the substitution of the monarchy for a republican regime, in 1910, allowed the gradual growth of the more conservative factions. Supported by the military, they opened the way to a period of dictatorship (1933–1974), known as the New State (Estado Novo). António de Oliveira Salazar (1889–1970), appointed initially as Ministry of Finance in 1928, assumed the presidency of the Council of Ministers in 1932, thereby promoting the validation of the 1933 Constitution, the founding moment of the new regime. With the definition of a new political path, the official structures, ministries, institutes, and directorates-general, became essential instruments in the change that was sought to be implemented.

To a State that wanted to establish itself as different and renewed, a new way of understanding and seeing the country was necessary, and those institutions would be instrumental in achieving it. DGEMN was more visibly known for its intervention in the National Monuments, as it served as a propaganda strategy, notably through its campaigns to restore them, particularly those defined as symbols of the nation's greatest moments. But a less studied aspect, perhaps more relevant than the one before, because of its structural impact, concerned the buildings for public services, since this architectural landscape would mediate the relations between State and Citizen, with a major role in affairs of power taking place in those services. DGEMN was in charge of the main programmes of public works for the country, whose implementation would be done

[1] *Modern Furniture. The activity of the Commission for the Acquisition of Furniture within the Directorate General of National Buildings and Monuments.* 1940–1980 (PTDC / AUR–AQI / 115660/2009), coord. J.P. Martins, Faculty of Architecture, University of Lisbon (2011–2014).
[2] *Mobiliário para Edifícios Públicos*, 2014.
[3] M. Lisboa, *A Indústria Portuguesa…*, 1998, p. 160.
[4] Decree law No 16 791, 30.4.1929.
[5] Only in 1932 did it receive the denomination of Ministry of Public Works and Communications; until then the Public Works was dependent on a General Secretariat.
[6] Decree law No16 791, 30.4.1929.

in close coordination with the different ministries responsible for them. Many committees and delegations were created for that effect—many of them permanent, some only temporary—that would coordinate all actors involved, representatives of the various ministries and governmental agencies, always with the Ministry of Public Works as their chief agent. Often the public officials that incorporated them were dedicated to the study of each programme, defining standard projects and the necessary guidelines for their implementation throughout the country.

An entity central to the process of purchasing furniture and equipment for the new public buildings would be the Furniture Acquisition Commission (CAM), created in 1940[7] within DGEMN. The decision to create such a structure denotes the intention on the part of the State to concentrate in one service every action involving the supply of furniture and equipment for the "public buildings to be newly constructed".[8] The period that separates the creation of these two structures, DGEMN and CAM, indicates an increase and consolidation of specific areas of action, a gradual rationalisation of resources and definition of responsibilities. These, in particular, had by then reached a significant point of dispersion, thus requiring the creation of a permanent structure which had only that purpose. The preamble of the legal decree that created CAM was clear. It referred the need to "concentrate in the Ministry of Public Works and Communications the services of works in public buildings, in order to obtain their subordination to common principles and ensure the appropriate direction and technical supervision of the work",[9] an initiative which was expected to have some benefits, in particular one that would allow the "harmony between the furniture and the architectural design of those buildings",[10] in addition to the obvious "administrative conveniences that the concentration no doubt would come to satisfy".[11] CAM seemed to emerge as the main agent from which would emanate all the public strategies concerning furniture for public buildings, as well as the entity in charge of those projects.

Nothing could be more elusive. As an attempt to centralise and rationalise resources, it ended up becoming one of the many departments within the public administration to have this kind of responsibility. The Commission seemed to be more focused on speeding up procurement processes than on reflecting on the aesthetics of interiors of public services. The theoretical and strategic elaboration that could result from the creation of such a structure does not seem to have been sought. CAM was therefore confined mainly to organising the public tender processes for the acquisition of furniture, the supply management and communication between authors, ministerial clients,[12] and suppliers.

The idea that CAM was unique in this type of responsibilities did not, however, nullify our understanding of DGEMN's role in this matter. The identification and research that was done of other structures with similar responsibilities have been instrumental in understanding the role of the State and its agents in the construction of these interior landscapes. The Delegation for the New Facilities of Public Services (DNISP),[13] created in 1948 within DGEMN, was one of them. Once again, a movement of an internal restructuring of a governmental institution enabled the identification of specific needs, resulting in the creation of particular structures to support them. DNISP was the government's answer to the need for new public buildings in the capital. The initial purpose of this Delegation was to study and implement a plan for the riverside area of Lisbon,[14] whose main concerns were the various ministries located in Praça do Comércio, until then the epicentre of the ministerial structure, and others that were scattered throughout the rest of the city in unsuitable accommodations.[15] The plan did not go forward, but the Delegation remained active, extending its area of influence to the whole city. DNISP continued the rework on the offices of the Ministry of Finance, in Praça do Comércio (upholding part of the initial project), but also in the construction of buildings such as the National Civil Engineering Laboratory,[16] the National Agronomy Station,[17] the National Institute of Health Dr. Ricardo Jorge,[18] including the Embassy of Portugal in Brasilia (Brazil).[19]

Unlike CAM, DNISP was in charge of the architecture project and construction, in addition to the equipment and furniture projects. The Institute of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine was one of such cases. The whole intervention was the responsibility of DNISP, who commissioned the architectural project to arch. Licínio Cruz and the furniture study and design to the arch. José Luís Amorim (1924–1999) (Figs. 1 and 2). Although he was not

[7] Decree law No 30 359, 6.4.1940.

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] *Ibid.*

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] *Ibid.*

[12] The reason for the inclusion of some programmes and the absence of others does not appear in any legal diploma issued by the responsible institutions. However, we know that the decision to give the study and project of the National Civil Engineering Laboratory in Lisbon, a newly constructed building, in compliance with the criteria that created CAM, was delivered to DNISP by determination of the Minister of Public Works (PT DGEMN: DSARH 002–0209 / 091).

[13] Decree law No 36818, 5.4.1948.

[14] This project, drawn by the arch. João Faria da Costa in 1948, was possible because the Navy services were transferred to the Alfeite Naval Base, thus leaving the existing land available for new occupation (cf."Novos edifícios…", p. 62).

[15] "[...] *Indeed, the creation of new public bodies and the reorganization of almost all those that had existed for twenty years had led to an increase in the number of civil servants, and the services, which were mostly installed in that large centre, were successively occupying houses which were acquired or leased for the purpose, but which were rarely able to provide them with satisfactory working conditions, since they were generally buildings built for housing and, as such, with characteristics entirely different from those required by public authorities* [...]" (Decree law No 36 818, 5.4.1948).

[16] Arch. Porfírio Pardal Monteiro (project 1948–1949, inauguration 1952).

[17] Arch. Jorge Segurado and José Maria Segurado (project 1963, inauguration 1966).

[18] Arch. António Pedro Pardal Monteiro (project 1970, inauguration 1973).

[19] Arch. Raul Chorão Ramalho (project 1971–1973, inauguration 1977).

Fig. 1 Couch and armchair from the Institute of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine (Patrícia Almeida, 2012).

formally enrolled in any public institution, he would be an active contributor, being responsible for numerous projects of furniture for DNISP,[20] but also for supervising the procurements. He made the most detailed reports on the problems and shortcomings that followed those acquisitions, making clear the limitations, difficulties, and atavisms of the national furniture industry.

As responsible for the furnishing and equipment for its buildings, the State often showed itself, the majority of the time, as conservative, authoritarian and pragmatic, an attitude that coexisted, apparently without conflict, with the promotion of new aesthetics and formal languages. The diversity of functional programmes considered required the development of an equivalent variety of solutions, many highly specialised and unlikely to be replicated elsewhere. Areas such as justice,[21] health,[22] education[23] and military,[24] for example, required a high degree of technical knowledge, but once the adequate solutions were found, its implementation, which continued to demand significant attention, would be to follow the general guidelines and the available budget. The central preoccupations about designing and selecting furniture and equipment for these public buildings revolved around the adequacy for each service functions, fulfilling the criteria of hygiene and resistance, rather than seeking examples of modernity, boldness, tendency or taste.[25] Pragmatism and functionality were the decisive criteria in the selection and design of such objects. These objectives were sought in part by purchasing furniture and equipment within serial production, manufactured by Portuguese factories, found in commercial catalogues. DGEMN's technical teams had the responsibility of identifying the most appropriate models and series for each case, taking them as references in the specifications of the tendering procedures. The proposals submitted by competing manufacturers would have to follow the given details closely, but some flexibility would be allowed, as models or solutions would be presented for the consideration of the client, thus opening up an opportunity for effective differentiation between the proposals of the various suppliers competing.

The construction of a catalogue of furniture-type was another kind of resource created and another way to meet the diversity of functional challenges. Its formalisation as a universal system never happened—the tendering procedures refer to them, but it never became official. There was, however, an officious implementation, proven by the existence of drawings with a specific coding that alludes to it. The creation of such a tool, pointing to models already tested and approved in their suitability for a specific function, would facilitate future interventions by departments handling the needs of many public services in a daily basis. This catalogue merged specific models from projects conceived internally, by DGEMN officials, but also designs from the serial production of various Portuguese manufacturers. The combination of these two universes, along with the specialised know-how of all the professionals involved, would result in a set of functional, useful, utilitarian, sober and, more importantly, economic pieces. The tendering procedures are filled with the designs of models with this type of

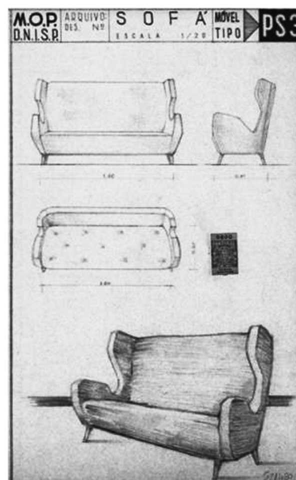

Fig. 2 Drawing of the same couch, from the Institute of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine (DGPC: DGEMN Archive).

codification, but whose point of origin and authorship has been lost, passing from project to project, demonstrating with each using its relevance and flexibility.

Other interventions, in spite of their specificity, were characterised by the exact opposite. Each object was thought for a specific set, function, and building. This meant that along with the mass-produced furniture, there were explicitly designed

[20] He was also the author of the furniture projects for the Nuclear Energy Board (1961–1980), National Agronomy Station (1962), National Library of Lisbon (1965–1968), National Institute of Health Dr. Ricardo Jorge (1967–1971), Palace of Justice of Lisbon (1968–1970), and Infante D. Henrique Nautical School (1970–1972).

[21] e.g. Commission for the Construction of Prisons.

[22] e.g. Commission for the Construction of Hospital Buildings.

[23] e.g. Delegation for the Construction of Primary Schools.

[24] e.g. Commission for the New Buildings of the Armed Forces.

[25] The CAM activity reports make numerous references to the criteria of balance, taste, sobriety, authority, correctness, simplicity, utility, respect, and discipline, all viewed as attributes of what public services should be.

Fig. 3 Chairs from the Service of Mining Development (Luísa Ferreira, 2014).

objects for a particular building. The Institute of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine in Lisbon (1953–1958), the National Library of Lisbon (1954–1969), the Nuclear Energy Board in Sacavém (1957–1980), the Mining Development Service in Porto (1958–1959), the National Agronomy Station in Oeiras (1962), the Palace of Justice of Porto (1960) and Lisbon (1968–1969), the Pedrouços Officers Messe (1955–1957), and the Pousada de São Teotónio, in V. N. de Cerveira (1959–1962), are some examples of this other attitude.

These cases have increasingly demonstrated the need to counteract a scenario of a unifying, inflexible and disciplining State, with another of great variety and multiplicity, full of nuances, where the individual agents, some of them public servants, had a crucial contribution. The recognition of these agents, their careers, and their work, has proved instrumental for a reappraisal of the history of Portuguese design in the 20th century. It will allow the research field to grow, enriching the historiographic production of the various disciplines involved and promoting new critical analysis, at the same time it supports the reassessment of the patrimonial and cultural value of those objects. Through more detailed analysis, it was clear that the authors' creative freedom was not always constrained by ideological interests, as it would appear, resulting in interventions of some modernism and innovation, in keeping with the functional context, and where the languages of the leading international trends of the time are recognised. The several designers involved, public officials or outsourced collaborators, had in these interventions an opportunity to expose their work to a broader audience and, in some cases, gathering recognition and consolidating their position in the national art scene. Authors like Daciano da Costa (1930–2005) seem to fit this description. With a solid but still young career, his intervention in the National Library of Lisbon was a moment that marked not only his professional trajectory but also defined an attitude for this type of intervention in public buildings.

The project of the architects Eduardo Coimbra de Brito (1930–1999) and António Linhares de Oliveira for the Service of Mining Development in Porto (1958–1959) (Fig. 3) demonstrated an equal boldness and modernity in their proposals, with the particularity of both designers being civil servants, the first from DGEMN, the other from the laboratory whose building was in construction. Being a scientific research institution dedicated to mineralogical and geochemical studies does not seem to have been an obstacle to the adoption of models of evident Nordic influence. Curvilinear elements and fusiform design, elegant structures made in noble woods give the whole project a modernity that is still recognizable today.

The in-depth study of interventions for public buildings thus contributes to a renewed look at its architecture and equipment. This closer interpretation revealed a whole series of dynamics that were not yet in consideration. In the same way, it allowed the introduction of a new list of names, designers and other professionals, who, having followed a career path within the civil service, have been marginalised by historiography.[26]

Furniture industry—where modernity and tradition coexist. Along with all this activity, there was a Portuguese furniture industry[27] that was trying to accommodate, in the best possible way, all these needs and specificities. Generally characterised by small-scale production with a primarily domestic character, it also had contrasting examples of high-quality output in companies such as Olaio (1886–1986), SELDEX (1922) (Fig. 4) and Metalúrgica

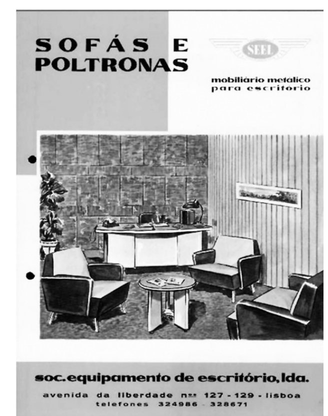

Fig. 4 Pages from a SELDEX catalogue, c. 1960 (DGPC: DGEMN Archive).

[26] J.P. Martins and S. Diniz, "Layers of invisibility. Portuguese State Furniture Design. 1940–74", p.501–513.

[27] Both in wood and metallic.

da Longra (1920–1994) (Fig. 5). Their differentiation was mostly due to the investment made in all the resources involved, namely more significant attention to design and materials, seeking to integrate the adequate professionals in product development and to acquire high-quality materials. These two opposing universes have coexisted seemingly without conflict, answering to specific demands of the domestic market. The real impact of this sector on the national economy remains to be evaluated, as well as its development dynamics, its challenges, responses, obstacles, and agents. The study of the procurement of furniture and equipment by the State is, therefore, an essential aid to this task.

Given the challenges that the State launched as a client, there was a part of this industrial cluster that was prepared to answer accordingly, even when it required specialisation, study, and tailor-made solutions for each intervention. This ability seems to denounce some flexibility and versatility from the manufacturers who, along with its serial production, were prepared also to respond to specific orders, which implied models not designed in their own offices but coming from the professionals appointed by the ministries involved. This ability resulted in part from a long practised exercise of copying and adapting foreign models, regularly requested by the domestic market. The implementation of these functional programmes, vital elements in the consolidation of the governmental structure, convened all national manufacturers. The DGEMN archives, through the tendering procedures,[28] give us access to a vast list of factories and suppliers of all types of equipment, but especially of furniture, allowing the names and locations of all involved, even those who didn't win the bidding, known. The national industrial landscape gains through this more depth and density, and the awareness of a more complex and diverse scenario, going well beyond the best-known companies. Smaller and less known workshops are now seen as active actors, capable to answer to all kinds of challenges.

From what the study of interventions in public buildings revealed, the asymmetry between these two universes was somewhat significant. Smaller manufacturers thought themselves able to submit proposals, on an equal footing with those most recognised in the national market and with the added advantage of presenting lower prices and thereby securing the supply. But this exposed many of the flaws and shortcomings of their way of production. The reports elaborated by the architect José Luís Amorim, mentioned earlier, clearly showed this mismatch and its consequences for the client (delay in deliveries and increase of expenditure), but mainly for the manufacturers, many of whom sometimes saw the entire delivery denied and returned, or having to do extensive repair work in order to be accepted and get their payment. The poor quality of the materials used, the difficulty in interpreting the technical drawings and the use of subcontractors often resulted in problematic assemblage and uneven finishes, therefore undermining the uniformity and integrity of the entire project and, consequently, the vision of the author and the expectations of the governmental agencies.

Final notes

The campaigns for the construction and renovation of buildings for public services were also a significant boost for the development of furniture and fixed equipment for their interiors, which allowed the State to play an active role not only in defining an aesthetic of its services, as well as in its manufacture. Architects, designers, engineers, and officials of the various agencies and institutions involved were actors with a real impact in these two contexts. Its projects, whose modernity rested on the balance between the design and functional adequacy, or on the systematisation of particular sets of furniture, also worked as challenges to the national furniture industry. It sought to support and to respond to them, and thus promoted technological transfers, improved its effectiveness and productivity, eventually resulting in products of higher quality.

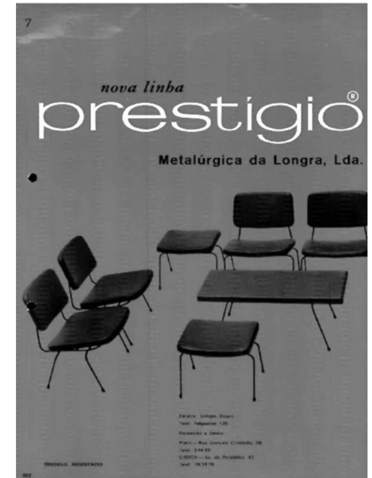

Fig. 5 Pages from a Metalúrgica da Longra catalogue, c. 1960 (DGPC: DGEMN Archive).

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[28] The call for tender could be launched at a national level, open to all, winning the one that presented the lowest prices; alternatively they could be restricted or through invitation to specific manufacturers, which allowed the client to better control the quality of the final product, since only those that would have the necessary technical specifications are called to participate.

Design Utopia or Design Fiction?
Reassessing Labor and Work Models in Communication Design: From Industrialization to the Present Day

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Communication design / Labor and work / Labor and work inequities / Unionization

This research broadly reassesses the impact of industrialization in communication design, exploring the inequities experienced by design workers. By examining challenges with labor and work models in the history of communication design in the United Kingdom and the United States, this research seeks to uncover historical trends, arguing for the inclusion of more diverse historical perspectives. In order to analyze this gap, this research considers the role of apprenticeships, printer unions, and historical data on wages and working conditions–highlighting how challenges of the past might inform a contemporary view of present day issues in work in communication design.

Introduction

While the history of labor and work models have been well documented and researched in the United States (US) and the United Kingdom (UK), a historical inquiry into the organization of workers and unionization in the history of communication design has seldom been addressed. There are strong parallels between each country's history of labor and work and unionization (Fairbrother and Yates, 2003; Rothstein, 1996).[1] Today, the diminishing power of workers' ability to organize, growing wealth and economic inequities, and deunionization has been widely explored (Fairbrother and Yates, 2003; Piketty, 2015; Rothstein, 1996; Schenk, 2003; Stiglitz, 2012). Wage differentials were once moderated by unions, who actively compressed wage structures, thus it can be argued that the dismantling of these unions have factored into growing income and wealth inequality—particularly evident in the US and the UK (Aghion, and Violante, 2001: 230).

Given the effects of increasing wealth and income inequality and deunionization, designers are susceptible in a number of ways (Darrell, 2016). Design is an innovative segment of the creative sector, yet it can be inferred that designers are particularly vulnerable to the effects of deunionization, "laborsaving technologies", and a "worldwide marketplace" (Stiglitz, 2011: 2). Without social safety nets, designers are increasingly "vulnerable to automation" and occupational inequalities (Cezzar, 2018: 194; Darrell, 2016; Stiglitz, 2011: 2). As design evolves into a "hybrid industry", it is argued that past labor and work trends inform present dilemmas (LaBarre, 2016). In this paper, I explore a sample of these historical trends.

Historic Workplace Models in Design

Communication design, also known as graphic design, is the practice of expressing ideas through visual and graphics—with a notable tradition of these ideas being conveyed through print media (Cezzar, 2015). The invention of movable type and the mechanical movable type printing press largely contributed to a contemporary conception of design. Printing technologies spread widely from the 1400s leading up to the industrialization in the long 19th century. Jeremiah Dittmar observed that between 1450–1500 CE, 205 European cities (many located in Germany) welcomed the establishment of printing presses with fewer "regulatory barriers" (Dittmar, 2011). A climate for knowledge-sharing and competition drove collective invention, and spurred the early phases of industrialization that led to the "transition from handicraft to mechanization" (Nuvolari, 2004).

Designers once thrived in roles as master printers, artisans, applied artists, and commercial artists (Cezzar, 2015; Jury, 2012). During the Industrial Revolution, the growth of businesses and mass production methods and the factory system, led to significant changes in the economic, technological, and social construct of communication design, reshaping labor practices (Efland, 2008; Jury, 2012). These methods helped satisfy the growing demand for newspapers, magazines, advertisements, printed money, and signage (Efland, 2008; Jury, 2012). Yet, amidst the economic surge related to these methods, labor practices in design frequently resulted in the unfair treatment of workers.

[1] Also see *Unionization and Wage Inequality: A Comparative Study of the U.S., the U.K., and Canada* by David Card, Thomas Lemieux, and W. Craig Riddell. Card, Lemieux, and Riddell point out 'the institutional arrangements governing unionization and collective bargaining are relatively similar' in the US, UK, and Canada (Card, Lemieux, and Riddell, 2003: 1).

Bustling commercial centers emerged during the 18th and 19th centuries, with Britain at the center of industrialization, accounting for approximately 70% of all urban growth between 1800–1850 CE (Kotkin, 2006). Britain's leadership was marked by the development of mass production techniques, the invention of a practical steam engine, textile machinery, and techniques for iron production (Kotkin, 2006: 85; Nuvolari, 2004: 2).[2] By the 18th century, the US increased its technological capacities, and American cities competitively grew into vibrant economies, with printing presses first established at Harvard College (United States Department of Labor, 1929: 119–123).

During this period of innovation and efflorescence, a significant change in the print industry came with changes in professional designations (Tab. 1). In light of deadlines imposed by businesses, such as newspapers, master artisans and journeymen abandoned much of their handicrafts. Philip B. Meggs observed that through mechanization, designers and printers who were once "involved in all aspects of his craft" began to specialize (Meggs, 2014). As a result, printing specializations that grew out of the factory system "fractured graphic communications into separate design and production components" (Meggs, 2014).

Roles	Period
Master Artisan, Printer, Journeymen, Craftsman	1000 CE– 19th Century
Commercial Artist, Applied Artist, Printer	18–20th Century
Designer, Graphic Artist, Graphic Designer, Communication Designer	20–21st Century

Tab. 1 (© Laura Scherling). *Designers: professional titles* (Barnes, 1982; Jury, 2012).

The Promise of Mobility: Design Utopia or Design Fiction?

For many designers and printers in the US and UK, a surge in employment opportunities promised upward social and economic mobility, offering opportunities to move away from working for the aristocracy. These changes also signified that designers and printers could break with some constraints of the master–apprentice model, where apprentices would work for approximately seven years of indenture before gaining independence. The education of a designer or printer traditionally started around the age of 13 or 14. The apprentice would then transition into the role of a journeyman before graduating into the role of a journeyman or master, hoping eventually to make partner (Jury, 2012; Barnes, 1982: 76–79).

Working Conditions and Wages

By breaking with the master–apprentice system, the concept of upward mobility and rising to a middle-class status was encouraging, even *utopian*, for many designers and printers. However, the promise of economic and social mobility was at times fictional, in that many design workers moved from a system of indentured labor to a system of factory labor—thus going to work in inhumane conditions with low compensation. Industrialization plagued many with work in substandard conditions, affecting men, women, and children. Designers and printers worked up to 13-hour days, at times suffering the loss of employment due to "shutdowns caused by earlier overproduction, depression, economic panics, business and bank failures" (Meggs, 2014). Jobbing print offices known as "rat houses" were scrutinized for endorsing child labor, providing inadequate training, and maintaining faulty equipment (Jury, 2012).

Printer Unions

Throughout the late 18th century to the early 19th century unions formed to protect workers, assisting with the fight for fair wages (union scale pay) and better work conditions.[3] In the US, partially-skilled designers and printers were known as "tramp printers", and like in the UK, they were often preferred over highly-skilled journeymen, which resulted in dissent (United States Department of Labor, 1929: 119–123). In 1786, "26 journeymen printers from Philadelphia met and unanimously resolved to resist attempted wage reduction", refusing to work for no less than $6 per week (United States Department of Labor, 1929: 119–123). It was one of the earliest recorded printers' strikes in the US (American Printing History Association, n.d.). Printer wages were lower in New York, however, in 1795 workers were able to negotiate a wage of $1 per day (American Printing History Association, n.d.). In 1799, The Franklin Typographical Society of Journeymen Printers of New York formed to support workers. In a significant victory, The Philadelphia Typographical Society (founded in 1802) drew up what is to be known as the "oldest printers' scale" (Tab. 2). As evidenced by the US Department of Labor, printer pay scales began to deteriorate around 1831, at the same time union organization increased (Mokyr, 1998: 150; United States Department of Labor, 1929: 119–123). The US Department of Labor also reported that women designers and printers were beginning to enter the workplace, just as child laborers continued to be hired in place of journeymen (United States Department of Labor, 1929: 119–123).

Composition: Per week, not less than $8.00 Common rule or figure work: .50
Press work: Per week, not less than $8.00 Broadsides per token: .75 Cards, per pack: .12 1/2 All small jobs: .80

Tab. 2 (©US Department of Labor). *Oldest known printer scale in the US* (1802).

[2] While the industrial revolution is noted to have started in Britain, it was closely timed with similar transformations in Germany, Japan, and the United States.

[3] Even prestigious printers like the Caslon Foundry frequently favored jobbers over experienced journeymen to lower costs. This resulted in a workers' revolt in the late 1700s, led by designers Joseph Jackson and Thomas Cotterell, who were subsequently terminated (Reed and Johnson, 1951).

On July 6, 1850, The International Typographical Union (ITUP) formed in Philadelphia, after 419 journeymen protested unfair wages, with "the first strike authorized by the union came a few months after its organization" (The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 2005). In 1834, the London Union of Compositors formed through a merger, amassing 10,000 members by 1910 (Marsh et al., 1980). Both unions would go on to play important roles in their efforts to foster social change, protect workers' rights (and women's rights, in particular) until the late 20th century when unions began to be dismantled under increasing pressure by businesses.

Social Change

As described, the integrated system of apprentices and journeymen—master–apprentice system regulated through debt bondage—underwent a transformation through industrialization. Industrialization spurred job segmentation and weakened ties to the traditional practices of designers and printers (Massey, 1988). While the assimilation of the factory system in the design businesses was troubling for many workers, industrialization also led to the formation of prominent printers' unions and the transmission of union values. Through trans-local migration, UK printing unions played a major role in "transmitting union values and trade skills" (Finkelstein, 2014: 150–151). In the US, the ITUP provided social services such as union relief funds, mortuary benefits, membership for women printers, boycotting committees, and—later in the mid-20th century— pilot programs for childcare (The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 2005). Despite these initiatives, women and ethnic minority designers and printers experienced particularly troubling conditions—which were, and continue to be, largely undocumented.

Cheryl Buckley described that female designers' contributions to the history of design are ignored and omitted in a "framework of patriarchy" (Margolin, 1989: 251).[4] Yet, women printers played an integral role as owners and as workers. In the US, women were often omitted from participating in the master/apprentice education system, but regularly held roles in running the family print shop. Women would inherit the shop if their spouse passed away, continuing to run the business in his name (Jury, 2012: 16). Kathleen Walkup points out that between 1639 and 1820, approximately 25 women in the US owned and ran print businesses. Through mechanization and the factory system, women transitioned from roles as owners to workers (American Printing History Association, 2017). By the 1830s, US census data demonstrated that women printers were employed in seven states, but on average made less than men (United States Department of Labor, 1929: 342). For example, in 1895 a female printer in Georgia would make $0.76 cents per day, while a male printer in Georgia would make $1.67 per day (Tab. 3).[5]

State	Male (Average Rate per day)	Female (Average Rate per day)
Connecticut	1.13	1.09
Georgia	**1.67**	**.76**
Massachusetts	1.39	1.07
New York	1.17	.96
Ohio	1.10	.92

Tab. 3 (©US Department of Labor). *Sample of printer wages in 1895 in the US: Male vs. Female* (1929: 342).

Joyce Burnett (1999) notes that census data on women's work during industrialization is "neither complete [...] nor reliable". In the 1851 Census of Great Britain, it was reported that 20.5% of occupations related to paper and printing were held by women. Unlike the US, there were more reports of women in the UK entering apprenticeships, mainly prior to the 19th century industrialization (Sanderson, 1996). However, like the US, these numbers declined after mechanization and the factory system's growth. Burnett also reported that childcare was particularly challenging for women after they transitioned into factory work, with childcare costing as much as 25% of their earnings (Davies, 1795: 14).

Ethnic Minority Groups in Design and Printing

African slaves and non-white minorities remain largely undocumented in the history of communication design, with limited data available. General inferences can be made.

Census of slaves and free colored	Free colored	Slaves	Free colored and slaves
1790	59,466	697,897	757,363
1810	186,466	1,191,364	1,377,810
1840	386,303	2,487,455	1,377,810
1860	487,970	3,953,760	**4,441,730**

Tab. 4 (©US Department of Labor). *Estimate of Free colored and slave population in the US between 1790 and 1860.*

Table 4 outlines the estimated number of slaves and "free colored" men and women living in the US between 1790 and 1860. At a point during industrialization, there were 4,441,730 million slaves and "free colored" men and women in the US. Daniel C. Littlefield notes that slaves worked in a variety of jobs beyond plantation work—working as craftsmen, and in printing shops (Littlefield, n.d.). Jenny Bourne describes that "slave-hiring arrangements" provided masters with additional ways to capitalize by hiring out slaves to work in manufacturing. Therefore, it is known that a percentage of the slaves and "free colored" men and were working in design and printing, but the exact number is undetermined.

[4] The scholarly literature about the history of communication design education included in this research is mainly published by men.

[5] At this time, similar data could not be retrieved from the Department for Work and Pensions (UK). The available datasets were available through extant literature.

Industrialization and Changing Professional and Educational Demands in Communication Design. Emerging from the start of the Industrial Revolution and ushering in a 20th-century Machine Age, the work of designers and printers were integral to the fabric of US and UK commerce. By the early 20th century, printing was one of the largest industries in the US and UK, with advertising recognized as a segment of the industry (Jury, 2012: 202). As designer and printer roles broadened, so did education and professional requirements (Efland, 1983: 145). Fueled by growing economies and the need to support manufacturing, academies in Europe, like the Geneva Drawing School, were formed to train commercial artists (Efland, 1983: 145). Influenced by the British and European academies, the US established the National Academy of Design in 1826.

In the UK, the design field continued to advance, thanks to a strong public finance system, government-funded programs, and a "fully integrated global marketplace" (Special Collections & Archives Research Center, n.d.; Mokyr, 2005). In 1837, the British House of Commons founded the Government School of Design[6] to continue supporting commercial growth (Efland, 1983). The curriculum taught in the school was the South Kensington system, which valued accuracy and the "habit of correct observation" (Kantawala, 2012). This system was highly serviceable to the needs of industrialization.[7] Despite its prescriptive nature, this method was widely adopted. To implement a similar type of professional instruction in the US, South Kensington-trained educator Walter Smith was hired by the city of Boston in 1871 (Efland, 1990: 96). Smith established a version of the South Kensington system in the US (Efland, 1990: 96; Stankiewicz, 1992: 169).[8]

There was also resistance to 19th and 20th-century industrialization. Movements such as the Pre-Raphaelites and the International Arts and Crafts Movement frequently held anti-industrial views. In search of a pre-industrial era free of factories, many followers of the Pre-Raphaelite movement and the Arts and Crafts Movement found solace in the work of John Ruskin and William Morris (Eskilson, 2012: 50). Paradoxically, Stephen Eskilson (2012) and Mary Ann Stankiewicz (1992) acknowledged that while these movements were intended to oppose industrialization, they were not cost-effective—making small-scale production more exclusive to an elite class (Stankiewicz, 1992: 170).

Soon after, modernism emerged as a philosophical movement and reaction to Victorian-era practices in art and design. As it spread through Europe and North America, intricate motifs simplified, welcoming abstract and universal forms in practices in art and design (Remington and Bodenstedt, 2013: 16). Businesses and advertising agencies also rallied behind modernist ideals seeing a strong comparative economic advantage in the scientific, utilitarian qualities of these goods and services (Jury, 2012: 261). As mass reproduction methods expanded, design education became increasingly accessible outside of the master/apprentice model. Curriculum for design and industrial drawing was re-established in vocational schools, attracting students outside of typical apprenticeships. This allowed independent designers to enter the field, in spite of persisting workplace inequities (Jury, 2012: 256).

Conclusion

In this broad examination of labor practices in the history of communication design in the US and UK, I argue for the inclusion of more diverse historical perspectives regarding labor movements in design and cite the need for further analysis of labor data. This research briefly considered the role of apprenticeships, printer unions, wages, and working conditions—highlighting how challenges of the past might inform present-day issues. This provocation suggests several questions. How much do we really know about historic workplace practices in communication design? What ought we to know more about?

By reflecting on the history of labor in design, it can be argued that challenges in the contemporary design field have a precedent. Apprenticeships (like modern-day internships) have traditionally been unpaid or underpaid—an issue that continues to de-legitimize design workers and their skills (Kradel-Weitzel, 2011). The inclusion of women and ethnic minority workers has been low historically—a problem which persists (Howarth, 2017). The fight for ethical pay and the fair treatment of workers in design endures as a crucial consideration (Nini, 2004). It can be argued that a digital age and globalized concerns for social issues have brought these inequities into sharper focus. (Efland, 1983: 58; Davis, 2013; Finck, 2000; Lupton and Miller, 1993).

[6] The Government School of Design is now the Royal College of Art (RCA). The RCA has also gone by the name of the South Kensington School of Design and the Normal Training School of Art.

[7] Some of the school's pioneering directors and instructors included the inventor and administrator Henry Cole and artist and administrator Richard Redgrave.

[8] I argue that the full extent of Walter Smith's impact on design education in the United States is not fully realized or studied. Walter Smith has gained more recognition in the field of art education than design education.

[9] Late 19th century and early 20th century modernism was comprised of multiple movements, such as Art Deco, Commercial Modern, German Expressionism, Expressionism, Dada, De Stijl, Futurism, Cubism, Constructivism, Surrealism, to name some.

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Rebirth of an Old Ottoman Primary School: Urla Design Library

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Restoration / Conservation / Historic building / Design library

This paper has two main objectives. The first is to present the spatial and architectural findings discovered during the restoration of an approximately 450-year-old former Ottoman primary school building, located in Urla, a town near Izmir on the Aegean coast of Turkey. The second is to explain its conversion into a design library, widely used by local people, which functions as a kind of social and educational centre, although it is a very small building. The original 16th-century construction is probably part of a complex incorporating a 16th-century mosque called Turan Kapani Cami, about 100 meters away from the primary school. The author of this paper purchased this listed building in 2005. After a long project approval process by the state department of monuments, he finally completed the restoration and conversion in 2016, and opened it to the public on 21 October 2017. The library contains about 5,000 books, mostly in English. The collection includes the author's personal design library and the library of a classmate, the late Dr. Faruk Tabak, the writer of *Waning of the Mediterranean*, who was a scholar at Georgetown University, Washington DC.

Rationale

One of the key aims of the International Committee of Design History and Design Studies (ICDHS) is to foster local design histories. This paper extends this scope towards local design history sources, which are essential for researchers. This paper presents the spatial and architectural findings from converting a historic building into a design library and discusses the conversion process itself.

Introduction

As part of Asia Minor, Anatolia has hosted numerous rich cultures and civilisations, of which traces and remnants are still visible everywhere in Turkey. Although archaeological excavations are regularly undertaken, many existing buildings still require urgent attention, conservation, restoration and rational management.

The author of this paper purchased one of these buildings, an old Ottoman premises, in 2005, with the aim of renovating it and providing it with a new, sustainable function: a private design library open to the public.

Location

The building is in the town of Urla, 38 km west of Izmir, Turkey. Urla and its port (called Urla Iskele – Urla Port), 8 km from the town centre, was originally the site of the Ionian city of Clazomenae, probably one of the oldest regularly-used ports in the world. Excavations in Clazomenae, the birthplace of the ancient philosopher Anaxagoras, have been carried out by Ege University.

Context and surroundings

Located in the south of Izmir Gulf, and closely connected to tourist centres like Alaçatı and Ceşme in the west, Kusadasi and Gumuldur in the south, and the metropolitan centre of Izmir in the East, Urla acts as a transition point for both local and international tourism in the region. There are three universities not far from Urla, which is becoming a favoured location for new housing. Mostly retired and relatively well-to-do Istanbulites have settled in Urla and its surroundings as it is considered an ideal town live in.

The building's condition when purchased

The building was for sale as a 'house' and had been registered under that status despite its unusual architecture when compared with the attached residential units. In Turkey, historical buildings normally belong to the state, and are maintained and managed by the department of Cultural Heritage and Museums under the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. According to Akagunduz (2008), in the 1920s and 1930s, during the early days of the Republic of Turkey, the state gave away some of its mosques and masjids, which became private property.[1] This building, which local people used to call a masjid, may be one of them. The previous owner had used it as a house, probably up until 1950s, before abandoning it and using it as a barn for his domestic animals.

The primary school building (Sibyan Mektebi), originally a two-story building with a tiled dome, has a square base plan, with each side about 7.5 meters. When bought, the building was in an acceptable structural condition but was very rough, derelict, worn out and damaged by earthquakes. The ground level had two small, very low-ceilinged rooms: the entrance room and the back room. Their dimensions are about 2.5 m x 5.6 m. The entrance room contained a primitive toilet while a basic home-made narrow wooden ladder led to the first floor. This first floor is a single space covered by the brick dome. Earthquakes, most recently in 2005, have cracked both the dome and the walls.

[1] The main argument of the article is that reducing the number of religious buildings was one of the polices adopted by the newly established secular state to reduce the impact of conservative and traditional groups.

Fig. 1 The facade, view from the south-west corner.

All the original external doors were blocked, along with the windows on the east, south and west, by two illegally-built attached houses around the structure. The only open facade faces south, with two windows and an additional, non-original ground-floor door accessing the street (Fig. 1). The primary school building, which is possibly a 16th-century Ottoman construction, is probably part of a building complex incorporating a 16th-century mosque called Turan Kapani Cami, located about 100 meters away from the primary school. Given the Ottoman bath near the mosque, it has been assumed that they were once all linked to each other to form a complex, which was a common design practice at that time.

The building lies in the current center of Urla town in a district declared as a second-degree protected area. Therefore, because permission for new buildings is not given easily, the area is not developing architecturally, environmentally or economically.

Size

This is a small building, 7.23 m × 7.20 m (52 m²), and 8.28 m in height from the ground level to the top of the dome. The net usable area of the first floor is 5.59 m × 5.60 m (31.3 m²), with a height of about 5.80 m in the centre, just under the dome.

Materials

The building's main structural materials are stone and brick. The walls, especially those near the dome, sometimes contain a mix of these materials. The floor of the entrance area is rough, with separations made from lines of plastered bricks. The rear room has a much more recent concrete floor. The first floor is made of wood, while the windows retain their iron bars. The brick dome is plastered and painted, while the ground-floor walls are lime plastered.

Architectural and artistic value

There are only a very limited number of primary school buildings remaining from the Ottoman period. The only substantial research on the architectural aspect was conducted by Prof. Dr. Ozgonul Aksoy, many years ago (Aksoy, 1968) in her PhD thesis: "An Investigation of Ottoman Era School Buildings in Istanbul". During the restoration and conversion process, the building was studied, and its original architectural layout discovered and recorded.

The building's only ornamentation or artwork is found on first floor at the end of the curved border lines arches, where there are bas relief flower forms.

Historical value

Because few Ottoman primary school buildings are still standing, the one in Urla is a rare surviving example. Unfortunately, it is not in its authentic form, having been altered substantially. For instance, adjacent buildings built in later periods enclose the entire east and half of the north and west facades. Only the south facade has remained free, although it was altered to add a street door under the two original windows. Therefore, it is not possible to restore it to its original design unless the two neighbouring houses are purchased and demolished (Fig. 2).

Scientific research

Scientific research began with the identification of the building. A restoration expert, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Emre Madra visited the building and defined it immediately as a 'Sibyan Mektebi', an Ottoman primary school building. This stimulated further research and architectural restoration projects. Luckily, both Izmir Institute of Technology, based in Urla, and Dokuz Eylul University in Izmir, have strong architectural and restoration programmes, so their staff and students study the region's heritage, develop projects and help local municipalities. Several dissertations have covered subjects directly related to the restoration of Sibyan Mektebi (Cizer, 2004; Kader, 2004; Akyildiz, 1988; Sengun, 2007).

Surprisingly, although the author and owner is an architect himself and made the chief planning decisions, three different architectural companies were engaged for such a small building between 2005 and 2016, mostly to complete the official procedures required. The projects required approvals from both Urla Municipality and the Izmir Number First Commission for the Protection of Cultural and Natural Heritage (hereafter the Heritage). Material analyses were conducted by expert laboratories and reports prepared by academics from Ankara University's Restoration-Conservation Programme. After getting permission from the Heritage, the author and his team conducted a physical survey of the building to uncover the original layout. Their report was delivered to the Heritage.[2] The author also published a paper (Balcioglu, 2010) while an engineer, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Gokhan Kilic, presented an international

[2] Many research activities have taken place and reports prepared on the building since 2005. Due to the limits of this paper, however, the full list is not presented here.

conference paper and published an article (Kilic, 2015) reporting his survey using non-destructive techniques.

Brief description of the restoration work

The building had suffered from recent earthquakes with cracks evident on the main facade and dome. Essential repair work was conducted to prevent further structural damage before the restoration was completed in 2016. The main issue is that, as explained above, the building was blocked on three sides by illegally-built adjacent houses standing flush against the walls of the historical monument, obstructing its main entrances and windows. The restoration restored these windows and the original door while the dome's tiles were removed in order to repair the dome itself, with new tiles produced by the original techniques replacing the old ones. Because the wooden beams holding the first-floor floorboards were in a poor condition, they were replaced together with the wooden floor, in line with the restoration strategy. The following sections examine the key work in more detail.

Major findings

Original windows

Four windows had been turned into a cupboard (Fig. 3). The original windows and all iron bars, except one, were discovered after the cupboards were removed. It was noticed that the iron bars found were not identical, which indicates that the building went through several renovation and restoration processes since its original construction. Careful examination also revealed that the pattern and colour of the stones just above the windows are different and darker from those built around and below the windows, as seen in Figure 1, which is another sign of previous restoration work.

A replacement for the missing iron bars was produced, identical to the remaining ones, which have rectangular grid forms. However, there are two kinds of iron bars. Probably the oldest is the wrought iron ones, with vertical bars passing through holes opened in parallel bars to form a grid iron pattern. The others have a connection point using a

Fig. 2 Neighbouring houses enclosing the building, view from the north-west corner.

joint system – called 'lokma' in Turkish – which was not often used in Ottoman civil architecture (Kurugol, 2015). This variety of iron bars is another indication that the building was restored a few times in the past. Following the restoration and renovation, all windows were reinstated to their original positions and refurbished with new glazing and plastering (Fig. 4).

As already mentioned, the rediscovered original windows behind the later-built cupboards faced the walls of the adjacent buildings. Therefore, four of the restored windows are blind while three others get very limited daylight from above the walls facing them.

Original entrance doors

During the survey, it was discovered that the building originally had two independent floors. The ground floor had two storage rooms that were neither connected to each other nor to the first floor. These storage rooms also had no windows, but separate street doors placed side by side on the west of the building. The traces of these doors were obvious inside the building but blocked by the stones of the adjacent building. We got permission from the neighbour to examine the west facade by entering through the black door seen in Figure 1 and detected two brick arches in the wall that coincided with the door niches identified inside the storage rooms of the ground floor's west wall.

The domed first floor, which once functioned as a primary school, originally had an outside staircase leading to the ground on the east facade of the building, but this is entirely obscured today. The first floor has six windows, a door in the east wall, a fire place, a niche and a small cupboard embedded in the west wall. Like the windows, the original door is blind as it opens directly into the neighbouring house's wall.

Garden wall

When the south-west corner is examined in Figure 1, one may notice that the sharp corner stones stop around about 1.2 m above street level. The wall pattern continues towards the west, as indicated by stones expanding and extending half in the wall and half in the air in the lower part of the corner. The same configuration occurs in the east corner, except that the broken stone pattern begins just below the windows. This indicates that the Ottoman primary school was once inside a garden, with the south facade forming part of the garden wall while the other three were free. This wall would have continued towards Kapani Mosque, which is about 100 m away, supporting the idea that the mosque, the school and the Ottoman bath facing the mosque once formed a single complex, perhaps surrounded by a walled garden.

Fig. 3 North-West corner before restoration, fire place, two windows turned into a cupboard and a niche.

Fig. 4 Reinstated windows, north-west corner view after the restoration.

Mysterious cavities in the dome

A major discovery was the regular sets of holes placed systematically within the brick structure of the dome in two parallel rows, which were discovered when the dome's tiles were removed (Fig. 5). They have a similar size to the flat bricks constituting the dome and are closed to the outside.

While their function remains unknown, one speculative interpretation is that they allowed space for humidity to escape from the dome and provided a breathing space. Another possibility was suggested by a conference participant, who said that he had heard that the holes were left to enable workers to climb on top of the dome. Although they do not seem to be suitable for climbing on themselves, if short baulks were inserted into them and horizontal planks placed on top of these to encircle the dome then two parallel layers of scaffolding could be easily created.

A new function: the design library

The new function of the building is to be a habitable place serving the public as a design library between 3pm and 6pm every day except weekends. The building also serves as a function room for workshops, lectures, seminars and performances. The book collections of the new library came from two main sources: the author's personal design library and the library of a former classmate, the late Dr. Faruk Tabak, the writer of *The Waning of the Mediterranean* (Tabak, 2008). Dr. Tabak was a scholar at Washington University, who died unexpectedly in 2008. His library was acquired and brought from the US with the purpose of naming the upper floor the 'Faruk Tabak Reading Room'. The collection of this small but exclusive library includes about 5,000 books, almost all of which are English-language volumes.

Significance of the design library to the local community

The primary school building is located in a residential area inhabited by low-income groups, with some houses lying unoccupied and derelict. The building's restoration and its new function as a private library open to the public has brought a completely different kind of activity to the area, which has undoubtedly begun to contribute to the rehabilitation and revitalization of the neighbourhood. The most regular users of the library are children returning from school around 3pm every weekday, who go to the library to study or sometimes for socializing. The resulting atmosphere is rather vibrant and enjoyable.

A book club was also established, whose members use the library fortnightly on Wednesdays beyond its formal opening hours to discuss a selected text – with its author whenever possible. The Institute of Building Biology and Ecology has used the venue twice at weekends for day-long seminars. In addition, special meetings and workshops have been organized occasionally for neighbours, local people and children, such as an introduction to film making for children, breathing techniques in yoga, an art workshop for children and a presentation on ancient philosophy.

The library also attracts various kinds of visitors as a recognized historical monument since its restoration. For example, the association of professional tourist guides in Izmir, now include the building in their list of places to visit. Therefore, the library sometimes hosts visiting groups seeking further information. Furthermore, the library has had the pleasure of hosting prominent design figures on many other occasions. An interview even took place in the library for a design programme broadcast on national radio.

Critical analysis

To begin by self-criticism, a major mistake was the failure to carefully record the discovery of the holes in the dome. Once uncovered, they could have been counted and measured, numbered and photographed, so their exact positions could be drawn on the plans, sections and elevations of the dome. In addition, an aerial drone view could have revealed more about their distribution on the dome.

Professor Zeynep Ahunbay, a leading restoration expert in Turkey, was one of the jury members who examined the building for a restoration award. Her conspicuous work on restoration has been one of the guides during the entire project (Ahunbay, 2009). During this visit, she suggested that the holes were actually nothing but the spaces left by falling bricks. However, I do not think this can be the case given their systematic positions. However, of the lack of accurate plans and other representations showing the holes properly weakens this counter argument.[3]

Although the building and its current use require continuous attention and programming, it is open to further development. Cataloguing of the volumes is currently being undertaken. Whether the library can be rendered habitable to provide temporary accommodation for researchers is another question. The lack of a long-term programme is one weakness while the building's user profile needs further attention. More contributions and attendance by neighbours, especially by women, would be a positive development. Although it currently operates as a reference library, a borrowing system may be considered in the long term. Finally, it would be useful to organize design history meetings.

[3] The owner has a degree, MA and PhD in architecture. He applied for a Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida) grant on Conservation & Management of Historic Buildings for the library project explained in this paper. He received a certificate for attending a short course at Lund University in 2008.

Fig. 5 Reinstated windows, north-west corner view after the restoration.

Conclusion

Both the conservation project and the conversion to a design library have proved a successful initiative. The building was the only one to receive the 'Respecting History Award' in the category of 'Restorations Where the Original Function was Altered Substantially', which was awarded by Izmir Greater City Municipality in October 2017.

The library has been visited by various renowned artists, designers and scholars, who have expressed their appreciation for both the restoration and the concept. In this respect, the library, through its social functions, contributes to the area's economic and social development, and has the potential to play a greater role in promoting enhancement projects by setting a positive precedent.

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Publishing Distorted History.
Investigating the Constructions of Design History within Contemporary Danish Interior Design Magazines

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Interior design magazines / Mediation / Quantitative content analysis / Design history / Design culture

In contemporary interior design magazines, the history of design is present as ever before, which contributes to a contemporary design discourse that is as well oriented towards history. But as the magazines do not represent history as it is known within the scholarly discipline of Design History, what is then being told about the history of design in these glittery magazines? These are questions investigated in this ongoing PhD project. This project examines contemporary magazines as actors in Danish design culture, impacting on the design discourse. An empirical investigation of the construction of history in magazines will be done as a combination of qualitative and quantitative analyses. The purpose of the investigation is to identify tendencies in the magazines' ways of constructing history in regard to which historical periods are represented, which terms are used to articulate and conceptualize the historical dimensions and whether historical design objects in magazines are literally from the past or merely contemporary reproductions of historical designs. Further, examples of those tendencies are studied qualitatively based upon multimodal socio-semiotic analyses that nuance the understanding of history construction. This article examines the methodology of investigation of the complex phenomenon of history construction in interior design magazines.

History in contemporary interior design magazines

In Denmark interior design magazines are now, and have for the last decade or two been, characterized by an orientation towards the history of design. Earlier interior design magazines represented new design that was not inspired by the past, but was original proposals of how design would look in the future. As the interior design magazines today represent the history of design in the magazines as a temporary trend, they make an impact on the discourse of design and on how consumers understand temporary design as oriented towards the past. As design historian Kjetil Fallan has pointed out, 'magazines do not merely transmit the design discourse but also contribute to its *transformation*' (Fallan, 2012: 49, emphasis by the author), i.e. the magazines contribute in this case to a historically oriented design discourse. But the magazines do not represent the history of design as it is known within the discipline of Design History. Rather the magazines use the history to bring a thematic angle to the content. So, what do the interior design magazines tell their readers about the history of design, how is the history actually constructed in these magazines? This is the question of investigation in this PhD project.

History construction within interior design magazines is a complex phenomenon. Not only can there be references to several historical periods in one interior or advertisement, but also the reference to history can be generated from objects, articulations in text or even by the context in which the objects are staged. Further, historical references in interior design magazines are frequently staged as contemporarily relevant as a part of a current trend, so the question of temporality is a mixture of past and present time. Below is a photograph from one of the investigated magazines, *Bo bedre*, with an example of references to history (Fig. 1). The objects are chairs designed in 1955 and a stool designed in 1954, and upholstered by the fashion brand Lala Berlin in velvet fabrics. The text points out that the chairs and stool are designed by the famous historical designer Arne Jacobsen and that it is a collaboration with the fashion brand Lala Berlin. Temporal references are hereby made to the origin of the objects, the historical designer of the objects, and to contemporality by the articulation of a fashion collaboration. Further the central objects are surrounded by some other objects that carry signs of physical ageing which implies that they are from the past and all objects are staged in a setting that further holds physical references to the past. The historical references in the magazines can appear in many forms, but this case is an example of the complexity that might be in the constructions of history in the interior design magazines.

Investigating interior design magazines as a specific form of mediation

In the project, interior design magazines are investigated as mediation of design. In an article central for the field, 'The Production–Consumption–Mediation Paradigm', design historian Grace Lees-Maffei has appointed mediation as a third stream in Design historiographic development, following production and consumption (Lees-Maffei, 2009). This stream has, since the appointment of Lees-Maffei, only become more present within Design History, and has also come to be central to the new and under-construction discipline of Design Culture. Interior design magazines are investigated as a specific form of mediation within this stream.

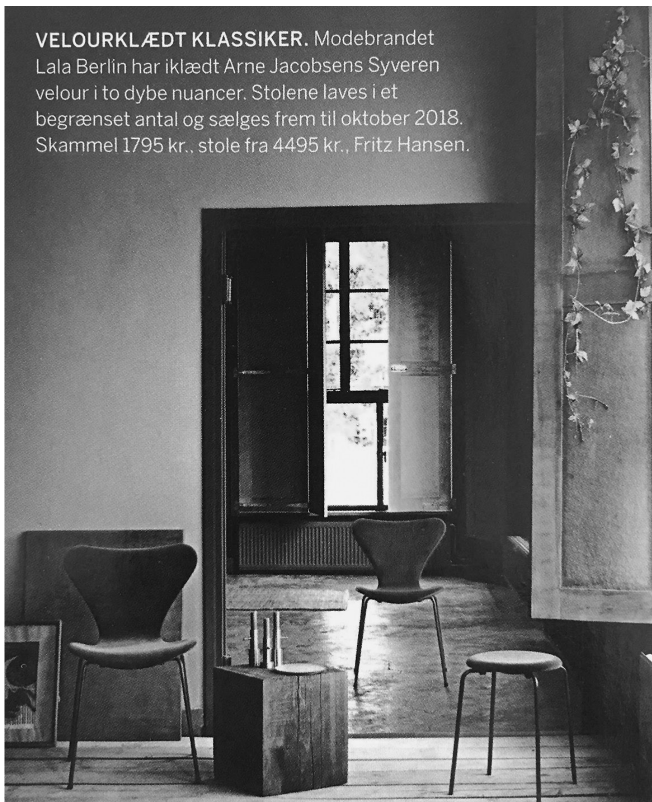

Fig. 1 *Bo bedre*, December 2017. The chair Seven and stool Dot designed by Arne Jacobsen and produced by Fritz Hansen. They are designed in 1955 and 1954 and here upholstered in velvet in collaboration with the fashion brand Lala Berlin. The photograph is made for Fritz Hansen. Translation of the title: 'Classics dressed in velvet'.

Previous investigation of interior design magazines has primarily been oriented towards a *historical context*. This has been done within Design History (Aynsley and Berry, 2005; Aynsley and Forde, 2007; Breunig, 2017; Fallan, 2012), and within studies of home cultures and interior design (Beecher, 1997; Dethier, 1991; Gordon and McArthur, 1989; Peatross, 1989). Only a few investigations of *contemporary* interior design magazines have been made, and these are within studies of home cultures, fashion and consumption (Gothie, 2015; Trigoni, 2016; Usherwood, 1997). These point respectively to how we must understand magazines as impacting on trends in consumer cultures, how there is a correlation between magazine layout and intended magazine reader segments and to aspects of understanding a transnational magazine in a local context.

As most of the studies are of a design historical scope, the magazines act as objects of historical investigation or as sources of historical information. Most often in these cases, the method of the investigation is not explicit, but the historical reading of the magazines is consistent. The second most commonly used way of empirically investigating interior design magazines is by quantitative content analyses (Beecher, 1997; Peatross, 1989; Trigoni, 2016). Frieda D. Peatross for example does a quantitative content analysis of the representation of the Arts and Crafts movement in *The Craftsman and House Beautiful* and points to the potential of this method of investigation for design historians as a vehicle for deriving 'quantitative data capable of providing a "cultural contour" of the past' (Peatross, 1989: 5). Specifically, she recognizes the potential it offers of analyzing a large amount of content and identifying patterns across the observations, and the potential in comparing different sources of content (Peatross, 1989: 13). For those exact purposes, the quantitative content analysis is the method chosen within this investigation.

Methodology of an empirical investigation of the constructions of history. The purpose of the investigation is to examine how history is constructed in three Danish interior design magazines. This will be done in a combination of qualitative and quantitative analyses to grasp tendencies in the historical constructions across one year of publications from those three magazines, and to grasp how the construction of history is unfolded in examples of those tendencies. Themes in magazines vary with the seasons, so one year of publications represents all the recurrent themes. The three magazine titles have been chosen out of the nine magazine titles available in Denmark, as they represent the main types of interior design magazines; the exclusive Scandinavian-oriented *Bo bedre* and the very exclusive internationally-oriented *RUM* that both offer inspiration in an abstract form for aesthetic image consumption, and the Scandinavian- and European-oriented *Boligliv* that offers a more hands-on inspiration which is supported by inspiration for do-it-yourself projects.

The investigation is done in three steps. First, through a qualitative pre-study I investigate how history is most explicitly and most frequently constructed in the magazines. Second, those ways of constructing history identified in the pre-study are the basis for a quantitative content analysis of history construction within the magazines with the aim of exploring tendencies in ways of history construction across a range of magazines. Third, examples of those tendencies are investigated qualitatively to nuance the understanding of the tendencies and to study how history is made relevant for contemporary interior decorating.

Qualitative pre-study

The purpose of the pre-study is to identify the indicators of history construction – the most explicit and frequent ways of referring to history. The pre-study is carried out as an exploratory investigation of the content of three publications of each magazine title and how history is referred to in these magazines. In every magazine historical dimensions of different character are identified, so this format of investigation takes the empirical material as its starting point for understanding. The pre-study reveals that history is most explicit and most frequently referred to as design objects from the past appearing in the photographs of the magazines and as articulations of historical aspects.

For the design objects from the past I distinguish between the objects that are designed and produced in the past which appear to be old and the objects that are designed in the past and contemporarily reproduced and appear to be new. From a

photograph in a magazine you cannot tell whether an object is produced in the past but only rarely used, so the differentiation is based on the appearance of visual physical ageing of the object.

The articulations of historical aspects that are most frequently and explicitly constructing history are the articulation of the year of a design, a historical designer, a historical style or a conceptualization of the past such as 'vintage' or 'classics'. An articulation of the year of when the design was carried out is a direct reference to the time of origin for the object and thereby to that specific year of the past. Sometimes it is a historical designer that is articulated, which can equally but less specifically refer to the period of the designer's work. Articulations of historical styles rarely refer to the exact style expression from the past, but instead refer to an inspiration from that past in a contemporary version of the historical style. In extension the articulation of historical styles is rarely consistent with the original style expression, but they do, however, represent a reference to the past time when the articulated style was prominent.

Lastly, a group of non-homogeny articulations of conceptualizations are used in the magazines to point towards history by implying a relation to the past. E.g. by articulating objects as 'classics', it is implied that the objects have at least been available on the consumer market for quite a while, have survived throughout time and thereby gained status as 'classics'. In general, the articulation of a concrete relation to the past is more explicitly referring to the past than the appearance of an object in a magazine, and several different kinds of articulations have that effect. The function of the articulations of historical aspects in the magazine can be understood in the light of the concepts of anchorage and relay by Roland Barthes (1980). As history is rarely very explicit in the photographs of interiors and historical objects, and always staged in a contemporary context that merges the historical and contemporary aspects of the interior, the historical articulations pose the function of anchoring the historical dimension and hereby leading the reader of the magazine to see the historical aspects of the merging.

On the basis of the pre-study the historical objects and the above-mentioned historical articulations are chosen to serve as indicators of history in the subsequent content analysis.

Quantitative content analysis

The content analysis has the purpose of investigating patterns in the ways of referring to history, that is to identify the tendencies in history construction. This is done by identifying every reference to history in the three magazines publications throughout the year of 2017. When a historical reference is identified, the following aspects are registered:

Information on the form of the reference of history

- Magazine title and publication
- Does the reference appear in editorial content or in advertising?
- Is it a visual and/or linguistic reference?

Construction of history

- Which historical period is referred to? (1850–1910, 1910s, 1920s, 1930s, 1940s, 1950s, 1960s, 1970s, 1980s, 1990s)

  Visual history construction
- How is the relation from the object to the past? (Designed in the past and appears with physical ageing or designed in the past and appears to be new)

  Linguistic history construction
- Is a year of design articulated? (Yes, no)
- Is a historical designer articulated? (Yes, no)
- Is a historical style articulated? (Art Deco, Art Nouveau, Constructivism, Bauhaus, De Stijl, Streamline, Modernism, Functionalism, Postmodernism, Pop, others?)
- Is a conceptualization of the past articulated? (Classics, vintage, retro, antique, tradition, original, revival, old-school, comeback, secondhand, others?)

For every reference this information is registered in a digital system and poses the data for statistical analysis that enables an analysis across the different magazines and across the questions asked. This is possible as the answers are collected in fixed groups with fixed possibility for answers, and therefore quantifiable. This statistical analysis of data is not based upon pre-defined questions, as it has the purpose of exploring connections and patterns in the collected data, but can analyze e.g. when a specific conceptualization is articulated, what historical period the concept actually refers to. In this way, tendencies in the history constructions within the three magazine titles can be identified.

Qualitative analysis of tendencies

Examples of the tendencies are qualitatively analyzed to explore and nuance how these tendencies of history construction appear in the magazines and how the historical dimension is presented as contemporary. This is done as a multimodal socio-semiotic analysis as it is presented by Gunther Kress and Theo Van Leeuwen in *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design* (2006). The multimodal aspect is to ensure capability to nuance the interplay between different modalities constructing history, both visual and linguistic, but also how graphic or typographic elements might anchor the historical references.

The socio-semiotic approach to analyzing visual representations allows an analysis that is not focusing on the meaning of the specific sign itself as within the semiotic tradition, but on the constellations of semiotic resources and the underlying structures as the generator of meaning in the visual representation. In this way the analysis is concerned with the underlying structure of what is represented, how actors in the visual representation are positioned towards the viewer and how the content of the visual representation is compositionally organized.

In this analysis these perspectives nuance the understanding of how historical objects are positioned within the structure of the visual representation and what role they might

play in this structure in interplay with other objects. In the interior design magazines this often occurs as a symbolic structure where one or few objects are central and other objects have the purpose of attributing meaning to the central ones. This is almost always the case in advertising, but the same logic is often seen in home reportages. In the home reportages another logic also contributes to the understanding of the visual representations of the interiors, which is the analytical structure. The analytical structure allows understanding different objects as part of a whole which again allows classification and enables an understanding of the interiors as a collection of elements of a unity of a lifestyle. The analytical structure is further seen in the magazines where single objects are being exposed for comparison by classification.

In addition, this socio-semiotic framework can contribute to the understanding of how historical objects are positioned not only in a structure with other elements in the visual representations but also how it is positioned towards the viewer. The framework is developed for human actors in the visual representations, but can equally contribute to the understanding of objects positioning themselves towards the viewer and thereby to which degree the historical object is positioned as distanced, exalted or accessible and within reach for the viewer. Also, the positioning towards the viewer is defining how much detail is revealed for the viewer, how much access the viewer is given to the objects. Finally, the framework offers an understanding the compositional organization of the objects within the visual representation. Objects placed in the center of the visual representation are given special attention as the main objects. Besides, objects placed in the left margin are by this analytical framework to be understood as the 'given', and when placed in the left margin are to be understood as the 'new'. In the same way, objects placed in the bottom margin are the 'real' and in the top margin are the 'ideal'. This compositional understanding is used in the analysis of examples of tendencies to explore which meaning potential the historical objects are given by their placement in photographs of interiors, but further the framework is used separately for analyzing the composition of elements on the magazine page, identifying which parts of the content is being emphasized. In this way, the framework is not only applicable in the photograph itself, but also on the organization of the magazine page.

Discussion of methodology

The aim of the investigation is to provide an empirically based knowledge of the tendencies of the history construction within the three interior design magazines, *Bo bedre*, *RUM* and *Boligliv*, representing the full range of interior design magazines in Denmark. Further the aim is to provide an in-depth knowledge of examples of how these tendencies are actually unfolded in the magazines. This is accomplished by the combination of qualitative and quantitative research methods that allows an investigation of the construction of history that merges the analysis of tendencies across a range of magazine publications with the analysis of how history is specifically constructed in examples of those tendencies.

The results of the investigation will be representative for a range of nine magazine titles. The three magazines chosen for investigation have been selected on the basis of general differences amongst interior design magazines in Denmark; geographical orientation and whether they provide specific inspiration and guides to achieve the same interior results or whether they provide an abstract form of inspiration that serves the function of aesthetic image consumption. Those parameters serve as the basis for a mapping of the differences within the range of magazine titles, and the selected three magazines represent the width within the nine magazines. On this basis I assume that the investigation will equally represent the width in differences in constructions of history. Further regarding representativeness, as interior design magazines are representing trends that by definition change over time, the results of the analysis are representative for the time span investigated, the year of 2017. Equally the magazines analyzed are all Danish, so the results represent only the construction of history in Danish magazines. However, the results of this investigation might supplement the investigation of magazines besides this time span recognizing the changes of trends and besides the geographical limitation. Several media groups cross boarders, especially within Scandinavia, so the results of this investigation are assumed to supplement the understanding of Scandinavian interior design magazines.

Another point for discussion regarding the methodology is the external reliability which refers to whether the investigation can be reproduced with the same results. As qualitative *interpretations* are central elements in this investigation in the identification of historical references and the analysis of tendencies, it is likely that results of a reproduction will differ slightly. The content analysis, though, is based on fixed groups of possibilities for answers, which lessens the influence of the person who analyzes and increases the probability of very similar results. Nonetheless the results will be dependent on the person who does the analysis, as the identification of objects from the past relies on that person's design historical knowledge. A reproduction of the analysis is therefore conditioned by a design historical knowledge.

Future results of the investigation

The content analysis of historical references allows identifying tendencies of history construction across magazine titles, by providing empirically based answers to following questions: which historical periods are represented in each magazine? Are historical references equally present in editorial content and advertisements? How is the relation to the past in the represented historical design objects? Might there be a correla-

tion between the kind of relation to the past and the historical period referred to? Which concepts are the most articulated to conceptualize history of design? Might there be a correlation between the kind of relation to the past and the conceptualization of that past? Which historical periods do each conceptualization most often refer to?

Answering these questions will provide insights on how the magazines construct history of design and whether the magazines favor some parts of the history of design, and contributes to a design discursive understanding of history primarily as e.g. design from the 1950s–1960s. Further it will reveal whether the magazines represent history through design that is actually from the past by being designed and produced in the past or merely contemporary reproductions of design from the past, i.e. revealing how close this construction of history is to the academic understanding of history of design. Finally, answering the above-mentioned questions will provide insights to how the magazines articulate history and whether they are consistent in these articulations. E.g. if they are consistent in which historical periods are referred to with the term 'vintage', or if the term more consistently refers to design that refers to the past by being produced in the past. Further the qualitative socio-semiotic analysis will nuance how the tendencies are unfolded in the magazines and how the historical objects are staged as historical but within a contemporary interior.

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The Visible Future Dichotomy of Design

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Dichotomy / Dystopia / Utopia / Design / Ethics

In a society immersed in the paradigm of sustainability, economy, and science-technology, the designer must respond according to established requirements and also reflect the interest, conviction and intention of his personal and professional action. Therefore, the platforms and roles of the designer and the discipline are questioned.

The worldview of the contemporary designer has been immersed in ethical deliberations, because the action framework of the discipline and the awareness or disregard of its practitioner are constantly judged. Judging the action framework of Design and the designer will lead him to choose between two irrevocably dissimilar paths, where he will have to face an "Ethics of conviction" or an "Ethics of responsibility" (Weber, 1967).

It is therefore proposed that the future of Design shall be a dichotomy in which the creation of an artificial world will be framed within an altruistic or selfish intention. This approach of a utopian/dystopian future is going to be clarified by considering and explaining four events that will take the reader to a quick understanding of the two proposed paths: Virtues and Technique.

Introduction

The questions facing a world of continuous material production do not only arise from the discipline or practitioners of Design, but also from other members of society. Thus, it is already reality thinking about those needs the world has faced and those it is about to face. Design is one of the biggest players in the eyes of society, not only thanks to the great technological advances, but also due to questions originated by subjects such as sustainability and its relation with the creation of a material world. Design deals now with a continuous search for answers that allow it to confront the matters of the new generations and their new paradigms.

Victor Margolin has written, "we as designers are *developers of models, prototypes and proposals* and through the creation of *artifacts, systems and environments* we contribute to the social world" (Margolin, 2007). Because of this, the importance of the designer is such that along with our preparation to face and intervene in complex problems, we also should—by means of material and immaterial forms we create—reply to the model of future we want, always having in mind our belonging to a Design community, to a society and to the same environment.

In Design, the designer is in charge of performing products, systems, services and experiences (wdo, 2017) which are—besides an effort to cover necessities and/or desires of its social or personal environment (Moles, 1995)—means of material values that could endure and that surely will be transformed over time, transcending the moment in which they were produced, transcending the near future, and also impacting the distant future. This material culture of our present and future is part of the cultural, social, political and economic expression of a society that regularly goes beyond place and time.

The production system is not the most significant in the discipline anymore, and now there are utopian and dystopian thoughts about the practice of the designer, since another characteristic within Design has been gradually emphasized: Ethics. As a practical activity of the human being based on manufacture of services and products, Design impacts on how we live our lives, converging then with Ethics.

This trend permeated Design at the end of the last century, along with the pre-established aesthetical and logical needs, being projected in the theory and practice of the discipline as well as within the concept of it.

The inherited stances that used to characterize Design as rationalist, reductionist and mechanistic during the previous centuries, have already dealt with Anti-Design, Radical Design, Emotional Design, postmodernism and the complexity paradigm bringing a radical change. At the end of the last century the evaluation period of design practice began and consequently the evaluation of the designer, thus evidencing the effects occurring since then. With this in mind a Design course in the future that will be dichotomic is proposed because there are still present in both theory and practice, on the one hand, the basis of the Modern Movement, and on the other hand the growing paradigm of sustainability.

Choosing a path

Designers (as individuals) generate, throughout their life, their own and changing worldview according to their construction of categories, i.e. a personal worldview is the result of experiences where principles, values, conduct guidelines, among others, have been established, forging the standpoint a designer takes towards the world (Gutiérrez Sáenz, 1999). Hence, these worldviews are part of the material and immaterial projections that the designer carries out.

As per the scope of this review, this worldview will lead the designer to choose a direction regarding his action, and in an immediate future when the society he affects or benefits starts judging him, such behavior will be more evident. This orientation that currently leads the designer's action is related to what Max Weber calls, in his publication *Politics as*

a Vocation, the "Ethic of Moral Conviction" and the "Ethic of Responsibility" (Weber, 1967); although these two concepts are not opposite, they are different.

The Ethic of Moral Conviction considers all those actions that after being executed are left to chance or "in God's hands"; and where the person who performs the action does not feel responsible for what he has done and, contrarily, blames others for the consequences.

The Ethic of Responsibility refers to taking into account the consequences of the action, anticipating the multiple possibilities, accepting that perfection in men and actions is not achievable.

Utopia and dystopia

The detailed formulation of points of view regarding how the world would be, could be utopian or dystopian. These points of view have been emphasized as hypothetical possibilities and alternatives to circumstances at a specific time in a society. Since the term *utopia* was used for the first time in 1516 by Thomas More, it was established as a term, concept and gender that seeks the projection of an ideal and perfect future that responds to the present problems by making them clearer.

On the other hand, dystopia is not simply the opposite of utopia, referring to an unlikely event. A dystopia is a utopia that has not turned out as expected, or that only works in certain segments of society (Prakash, Tilley and Gordin, 2010). Both utopia and dystopia have found a prolific area within science fiction and have been strongly promoted through literary works and cinema.

The published works about utopias and dystopias are regularly attributed to futurologists (or future scholars), whom, through the analysis of tendencies and events, identify patterns that later allow them to propose utopias and dystopias. This is the case of Alvin Toffler's book *Future Shock* and Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World*, to name a couple.

In the past, a similar task was performed by some inventors (maybe without them knowing it), who by questioning their surroundings proposed one or multiple suggestions, which later were the basis for some other utopian or dystopian proposals. Thus, they assembled, unaware of this fact, the future and our actual environment.

For instance, Leonardo da Vinci questioned the ability of birds to fly, and he argued the possibility that maybe, someday, men would have the chance of flying through the sky. Centuries later, several attempts were conducted to achieve it. This possibility, that in da Vinci's era was a utopia, nowadays is a reality.

Another example is the dystopian future shown in Richard Fleischer's motion-picture *Soylent Green*, a film that perhaps at that time (1973) could be considered as extremist and stark, but at present this topic might be not too far from the reality we live, where issues about pollution and global warming are part of the daily discussion.

Different characters have determined our present and along with their creations, they have given us the possibility of outlining our own utopias and/or dystopias. Some events that were presented in their time as utopian were handled as challenges or future goals and since then a route was traced to achieve them. Other events, projected as dystopian, were ignored, put aside or in the best cases, they caused the necessary reactions for taking action and ensuring they would never happen.

Due to the great speed at which changes and technological and social transformations occur, utopias and dystopias in Design have been established as part of the people's and designers' dreams and ideals. Watching a science fiction movie is enough to make us consider or reconsider our near future. Fear or happiness are experienced when we venture into utopian expressions (especially) in the form of text, images and sounds. These make us question whether a future that might come is homely or disruptive, keeping us in continuous expectation.

In earlier times, different events inside the discipline of Design might have determined its future. Along with technological progress and social changes, the movements and styles of Design have been part of the vast projections that currently build our ways of living. From the most simple task that in past used to be complex—for instance turning the light on in the room we are standing—to matters that not too long ago were considered impossible. For example, the existence of human droids has been outlined by some as causing concern and a mixture of feelings that will carry one or more persons to total rejection, or to a complete development of the already issued ideas. In this way, when we chase utopias we also spread dystopias.

The utopian/dystopian dichotomy of Design. In this review we have raised two strands where Design shall be steered: the course of the virtues and the course of technique, both simultaneously utopian and dystopian. Therefore, two events at the end of the last century and one event in the present century stand out. All of them, with their respective links, lead to the description of both pathways.

The first path emerges from the new sustainability paradigm (or new in the 1970s) in which one of the events is Victor Papanek's critique of the designer and the discipline's endeavors. The second path is the creation of an area of research, practice and study called *Transition Design*.

To understand the first event it is enough to read the book *Design for the Real World*, where an answer to the world created by the previous Design movements is traced. And, of course, it is the first time that words like sustainability were used, which were null in the action framework of the Design discipline carried out till then (1973) regarding the creation of artifacts, the commitment and social and moral responsibility of the designer. Then it was discussed that the design practice, from the discipline of Industrial Design, had until then caused the cultural and technological colonization in its role of "free" planner, as well as all the possible ecological missteps (Papanek, 1973).

Years after establishing the concept of sustainability and the indicators of sustainable development (by 1995), Design took part. Due to the concern and awareness of some members of the Design Council, they arranged the exhibition *The Green Designer* in 1986. This

was aimed at proving that it was possible to obtain multiple benefits through Design (García Parra, 2008). Green design was followed by Ecodesign and finally by sustainable design. The latter inquires of the direction that Design had until then. This triggered that several researchers identified and modified the factors needed to ensure long term change.

The second event appeared as an answer to the social, economic and environmental exigencies that existed so far and also to the questioning of the design practice. Developed by researchers of the Carnegie Mellon University, Transition Design pursues more sustainable futures, by dealing with complex problems as part of the transition and by having the improvement of quality of life as a goal (Carnegie Mellon University, 2015). The researchers of the Carnegie Mellon University explain that Transition Design is the emergent discipline that historically follows Service Design and Social Design, increasing its commitment and context with the objective of studying and better solving social and environmental problems. "Transition Design challenges the existing paradigms, envisions new ones, and leads to radical, positive social and environmental change" (Terry et al., 2015).

Finally, the course of virtues merges the answers of Papanek's work and the genesis of Transition Design, both divergent in terms of temporality and context, but convergent when the field of action and its duty is stated as an ideal to be achieved. Moreover, they are bound by the created possibility in order to shape scenarios where virtues govern above everything else (this can be noted in the current trend of discussion about empathy, responsibility and care). This course of virtues might be the key to responding and planning the desired sustainable future (utopia), and in turn it could be the beginning of a future filled only with good intentions and self-sacrifice referring to required results.

The second path rises from the already established and supposedly extinct Modern Movement, in which the events are: the emergence of Good Design and the discovery of stereolithography.

The concept of Good Design that permeated the society of the last century was commonly associated with order, practicality, harmony, rationality and economy. It was limited to practical and technical functions and it was considered as a standard that along with the phrase "Form follows function" marked the history of Design. Within this functionalist approach the works produced by the Ulm School of Design (Hochschule für Gestaltung Ulm) and the work done for Braun AG stand out, where a formal language of design was developed. Also, in this company, the proposals of designer Dieter Rams are distinguished.

Good Design became a creed and the task of the designer was framed—based on the analysis of needs—in the search of functional answers, leaving aside everything that was not manufactured industrially to be commercialized. At the end of the 1960s there arose a progressive interest in questioning all material and cultural expression, particularly in its relation of use value and exchange value.

Diverse events like the petrol crisis during the 1970s and postmodernism in Design emerged. The nonexistence of a prevailing movement yields to the designer the freedom of carrying out the movement or stance that he considers convenient, and now the novelty is individual expression. Emotional Design (with the foundation of Frogdesign) and Anti-Design flourish; the latter, stated against the negative effects of the industrial society, has its base in the concepts of Design and the behavior of the designer (Bürdek, 1994). Some of their representatives were Gaetano Pesce, Andrea Branzi, and the group studios Alchimia and Memphis.

The second event appears when informatics takes its role as the means of information and communication, triggering the Revolution of Information. The new technologies supersede the working class and then their implementation in mass production begins, expanding the commercialization of consumer goods. One of these new technologies is stereolithography (SLA), better known as 3D printing.

The first patent was registered in 1984 on behalf of Charles W. Hull who was one of the cofounders of the 3D Systems Inc. company. The technology promoted by this enterprise over 30 years—including, in addition to SLA, selective Laser Sintering or SLS and Direct Metal Printing or DMP—(3D Systems, 2018) has provided multiple choices to diverse disciplines besides Design.

As a result of new technologies such as SLA, the issues of the formal language of design have reappeared. Thanks to these new technologies, the part of Design that was taught with a functionalists basis can now again approach the technique and the practice. And can also seize upon the plurality of design.

Finally, the course of technique merged the foundation of the Modern Movement and the emerging of technologies such as 3D printing (or SLA), which—as in the course of virtues—while disparate in terms of temporality and context, bind to each other by raising technique as the fundamental basis within the field of design action. Both converge in the infinite possibility of creating and suggesting thousands of objects, not mattering if those are required or not, but always with the standard and precision provided by exact sciences. This course of technique may be the key to responding and planning the technological and scientific future that has been always wished for (utopia), and at the same time could be the beginning of the decline of human relations with the massive and countless production of material expressions.

Conclusion

As Victor Margolin states, "Envisioning the future is a problematic enterprise" (Margolin, 2007: 10), and describing what could happen or not in the future is complicated. In the face of the project of the creation of a good society (Margolin, 2017), designers, as part of the good society, do not always lead their field of action and their worldviews to the same objective or goal. Therefore, the hypothesis posed in this work remains unsolved, the one that falls in a dichotomist Design future, utopian and dystopian at the same time, where an *Ethic of Moral Conviction* and an *Ethic of Responsibility* are presented.

It is possible that this dichotomy is unleashed within Design or that it only goes along one of the two courses. In any case, the designer will not cease to be exposed to critique—social, personal and from the discipline itself. Thus, everything will be fine as long as the designer does not set aside his continuous participation—with the intention of creating possible futures that endeavor to achieve welfare for all—regarding the products, systems, services and experiences that he proposes for his own future and others.

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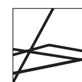
Back to the Future
The Future in the Past



ICDHS 10th+1
BARCELONA 2018

Conference Proceedings Book

Oriol Moret (ed.)

Addenda

10th+1 Keywords Map

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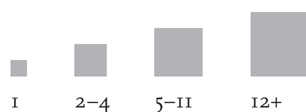
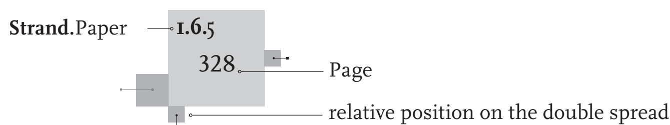
This book of proceedings was conceived, commissioned and laid out with the aim of capturing relationships at different levels, typographic and conceptual.

Paper keywords have played a significant role here. The first three keywords (or four in case of compound keywords) of each paper have been registered and represented by means of em quads, and arranged in alphabetical order, at precise positions, on the margins of a master double spread. Their size echoes keyword recurrence, i.e. the number of times a keyword is mentioned in different papers:



The map overleaf presents a web of keywords from the papers included in this book, identified by strand and page numbers:



It is intended to give a schematic overview of the links and connections—otherwise hidden or unnoticed—between the papers presented at this special ICDHS 10th+1 Conference in Barcelona 2018.

Singularitats Collection

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New Bauhaus
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New Typography
New Zealand
Noto CJK
Noto fonts
Ontology of design
Organisation
Ornament
Phenomenology
Photography
Planning and designing
Politics of representation
Polytechnic of Bari
Portugal
Portuguese cinema
Portuguese history of design
Portuguese office furniture

Xanti Schawinsky
Workplace
Working Men's College
Women in Brazilian graphic design history
Wicked problems
Wearable architecture
War art
Walter Ballmer
Vorticism
Visual communication design
Visual accessibility
Viennese Kineticism
Vernacular handcraft
Vernacular design
Values
Utopia
UTE Graphic Workshop
Uruguay
University Reform
University of the State (UTE)
Typography
Typeface
Type specimens
Type personality
Type measurement
Type bodies names
Tropicália
Transnational companies
Transdisciplinary
Trans-culturalism
Traditional festival
Tradition
Thinking styles
Thing Theory
Thermos bottles
Theory
Textile printing
Temporary exhibition
Technology
Symbolic power
Swiss Style
Swiss graphic design
Swiss Design Awards
Swiss
Style
Studio Hollenstein
Strategic design
Storytelling
Speculative design
Spanish design
Southern Italy design
Southeast Asia
South Kensington System
Sources
Socialist heritage
Social media
Social innovation
Social change
Social actors
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Slovakia
Significant results
Signboard
Sign painters
Settings
Semiotics
Self design
Scottish independence
Scandinavian design
Rural architecture
Rogério Duarte
Roca Bathrooms
Rio de Janeiro
Rice cookers
Rhizome
Restoration
Research topics
Research paradigms
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Regionalism
Regional policy
Referentiated parameters
Rationalism
Quantitative content analysis
Public services
Public sector
Public policy
Public houses
Product design
Print media
Practice
Postwar Japan
Postmodern design
Poster
Post-Socialism
Port wine

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