MEMORY FULL?

REIMAGINING THE RELATIONS BETWEEN DESIGN & HISTORY

DIGITAL LEGACY OF
THE DHS ANNUAL CONFERENCE 2021
“MEMORY FULL? REIMAGINING THE RELATIONS
BETWEEN DESIGN AND HISTORY”
FHNW, ACADEMY OF ART AND DESIGN
BASEL, SWITZERLAND
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IMPRINT **349**

MEMORY FULL?

Design History Society

Annual Conference | 2–4 September 2021
FHNW Academy of Art and Design | Basel, Switzerland

Everywhere and nowhere: Convening the 2021 DHS Annual Conference online

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Abstract | This introduction to the proceedings locates the 2021 DHS Annual Conference in the particular cultural context it originated. It analyses the challenges of its organisation, reports on the different sections and events it deployed, reflects on the thematic scope it aimed to embrace and speculates on its possible impact. In Switzerland, the relationship between design and history is a dynamic under construction, where several stakeholders within and outside academia are involved. This setting inspired the conference's choice of topic and also the way to articulate the conversations and knowledge exchange. The introduction reports on how the organisation of the conference had to be postponed and rethought in the wake of the 2020 pandemic outbreak and the attendant rapid reconfiguration of social space. It summarises the conference’s theme and introduces a selection of papers given during the conference, now published in these proceedings. The introduction concludes by asking how digital formats might reframe – beyond this specific conference – design histories worldwide in their ongoing redefinition and attempts to become more inclusive and multilayered.

Keywords: Introduction, Memory Full? Making of, proceedings, 2021 DHS Annual Conference

1. Introduction

Against a background of multiple temporalities and ontologies for design, the 2021 DHS Annual Conference "Memory Full? Reimagining the relations between design and history" set out to explore the relationship between design and memory. It invited participants to reflect on the entanglements embodied by design between futurity and amnesia, to critically discuss data cultures, and to debate emerging approaches reflecting on and historicising the designed environment.

The topic originated from a particular perspective. In Switzerland, design teaching and design historiography are closely linked as design history has traditionally been affiliated with art schools rather than academic universities. As a field of study, design history still lacks a stable academic affiliation. Historiographical approaches, therefore, must actively counter to meet only the demands of a practice-based education. Despite the early-acknowledged international relevance of, for example, Swiss graphic design, historiographical awareness in this field only aroused since the late 1990s. Design history in Switzerland now timidly starts to articulate multilayered, inclusive, or critical accounts and methods by itself. It reaches out to neighbouring fields such as STS, design studies, media studies, environmental history, art history and design practice enriching the discourse. Thus, Swiss design histories are scattered across exhibition catalogues, digital platforms, articles in design magazines, they are embedded and performed in practice – from design studios to the factory floor, or in the occasional initiatives by some museums to record oral histories from the so-called pioneers –, and yes, sometimes even in academic contexts.

Back in 2019 and together with a group of like-minded colleagues, we co-founded the Design History Network in Zurich. Since then, we strive to link interested parties from academia, museums, industry, design practitioners and independent experts to establish design history more firmly in Switzerland. We see this as an important step to decanonize design history and to open methodological broader concepts of linking design with its multiple histories and asking pertinent questions of the practice and intersectionality of design history.

Such context profoundly influenced our application to convene the DHS annual conference in 2020 at the FHNW Academy of Art and Design in Basel, which was successfully selected. Together with then-active DHS international liaison officer, the late Gabriele Oropallo, we intensely worked on defining the conference's topic and launched the call for papers in late 2019. We enlarged the convenor team with the then-director ad interim of the FHNW, Michael Renner, Claudia Mareis (then Head of the Institute of Experimental Design and Media Cultures, FHNW) and, until the end of 2019, Robert Lzicar (coordinator of research field Design History at the Bern University of Applied Sciences). In 2021 Sandra Bischler (PhD student, FHNW) and Tania Messell (Post-Doc researcher, FHNW) joined the convenor team.

The metaphor of «memory full?» with its crucial question mark constituted the heart of the call for papers, which aimed to attract praxeological, transcultural, and intersectional debates around the practices and materiality of design's memory. How can it be interpreted, shared, mined, or performed? Stories of social change are recorded not only in conventional design objects but in artefacts buried under layers of water or soil, in the plot twists of old novels or vintage media. The legacy of human activity passes into the material culture of non-human species or enters their very physiology. Practices involving design as means to construct, repair and speculate about the past are integral to processes of codifying both canonic and alternative histories. To what extent can history writing be compared to a design project? Assumptions and bias are embedded in the ways facts are gathered and constructed as habitable stories. How long do these narrations remain functional before they need to be patched with new data? And on the face of increasing digitalisation of life-worlds, how do these technologies affect the way histories are written, shared, stored or erased? Are machines also learning bias when they are instructed to collect data and present it in meaningful forms?

A total of 260 proposals were submitted by acclaimed international design historians, young emergent scholars from adjacent fields, design practitioners, and professionals engaged in education, museum work, and critical practice. A scientific committee of 54 peers from 36 countries reviewed their abstracts in a double-blind procedure. Despite the positive response to the call, the conference had to be postponed one year later and rethought in the wake of the 2020 pandemic outbreak and the rapid reconfiguration of social space. When it was initially published, one of the core questions of the Call for Papers was, "How can the memory of design be interpreted, shared, mined or performed?". This question gained a renewed urgency in the light of the global wave of anger that followed the latest

string of deaths at the hands of law enforcement in the United States and the subsequent calls for action to unearth, understand, and disarm the deep histories of violently and colonially acquired hegemony.

The convenor team acknowledged that the events of 2020 had a tangible impact on the academic landscape and expedited the need to address issues that require vigorous action. We decided together with the DHS executive board to implement a virtual model of academic exchange for the postponed conference. The threefold objective of an online conference was to join the global efforts to contain the pandemic, to reduce the environmental impact of short-term intercontinental travel, and to enable colleagues from any geography to participate to the conference regardless of distance or available travel funding.

2. What happened

2.1. Backstage version

For the first time in its history, the DHS Annual Conference was hosted online. Not by design, but by disaster, or better said, by a virus that keeps the world on tenterhooks. How to transform the leading international conference in design history into an online event? Was that possible at all? We had some experience attending digital conferences, but organising one was a different story. The learning curve was steep. We were familiar with the politics of knowledge-making and knowledge transfer embedded in the materiality of seminar rooms to provide safe spaces, furniture arrangements to inspire non-hierarchic conversations, and the complicity of coffee machines to enable informal situations. We wanted to ensure that the conference's conceptual, technical and spatial implementation would also go hand-in-hand in a digital environment. Luckily, we could count on a technical dream team to activate, monitor, care and sustain the virtual venue, hosted by an app called Pine Tool. But this was not enough: To counter the exhausting nature of the Zoom sessions, which brutally leaves you alone in your living room after finishing your talk, and who knows if, after so many screen hours, someone will be still up for a chat with you, again, in front of the screen, we understood that meaningful interactions between speakers should start before their session, even before the conference. Thus, we encouraged the keynote speakers and their respective moderators, the speakers and their session's chairs, and the workshop participants and their workshop leaders to meet each other months in advance to prepare their session, discuss papers and decide which would be the best presenting format. From an organisation's perspective, this meant having a skilled and sensitive programme manager like Tania Messell oversee this process performed by no less than thirty small groups. We used Slack for that purpose.

Some weeks before, a technical rehearsal on Zoom with presenters and chairs was essential for the success of smooth presentations and interactions during the conference. Nine backstage moderators, all HGK students fluent in English, were trained in a one-day Zoom workshop organised and led by digital conference manager Katharina Kemmerling. This training session was essential for the success of the rehearsal and the students' later technical support during the conference, which the presenters highly appreciated.

As convenors, we were on-site at the academy, sometimes inside the engine rooms of the digital conference ship. Other times we would appear live on stage officially opening the conference, making announcements into an empty room, or enjoying the presence of keynote Alexandra Midal, who gave her lecture from the academy's auditorium, or the design historian Claude Lichtenstein, who presented his new book on stage. At the end of the conference, two splendid fresh flower bouquets magically found their way from DHS chair Claire O'Mahony's screen into our astonished arms.

2.2. Frontstage version

A pre-conference programme organised by the DHS executive board with student-led events and publishing workshops warmed up the virtual conference floor. The DHS student forum led by Tai Cossich was highly committed to orchestrating a combination of community building and hands-on workshops that explored the playful yet critical motto "forget-full? An invitation to reflect on practices that produce erasure, ostracism, forgetfulness". The DHS Annual Conferences are keen to support the engagement of early career researchers. We brought this commitment one step further by asking the DHS Student Forum to curate a keynote lecture for the conference. They were free to choose the format and content, and the attendance would be free of cost. They unanimously decided on Ahmed Ansari, who would give a talk and engage in a conversation with Tai Cossich (PhD student, DHS Student Officer) and Sandra Bischler (PhD Student, member of the Convenor Team). The student-curated keynote acted as a threshold between the end of the pre-programme and the official start of the conference one day after. Thus, the keynote offered a moment to think about access and who is speaking and listening.

The conference started on Thursday, 2 September and included a virtual book fair with the participation of 11 international publishing houses and their programme of presentations. In connected live conversations and chat rooms, all attendees could network and make new acquaintances during the conference. Undergraduate students of the Visual communication department at FHNW presented a set of 10 filmed «virtual visits» on the virtual platform. The theme of the conference inspired their collection of video essays. While not being able to replace an actual walk in the city of Basel à la Lucius Burkhardt's strollology, the films at least allowed participants to get a glimpse of some locations in Switzerland, like the collection of the design museum in Zurich or a fake chalet in the middle of nowhere, hiding a bunker.

Over three days, the programme offered a total of 28 sessions and two workshops. They were arranged around three perspectives: locating archives and design matters, narrating the blind spots, and intersecting design practice and historiography. A total of 104 speakers presented their papers. They came from 34 countries, including Australia; Belgium: Brazil; Canada; Chile; Peoples Republic of China; Colombia; Croatia; Cypres; Czech Republic; Denmark; Germany; Ghana; Hawaii; India; Ireland; Italy; Japan; Korea (South); Lithuania; Malaysia; Netherlands; New Zealand; Norway; Poland; Portugal; Romania; Singapore; Spain; Sweden; Switzerland; Turkey; UK; USA. Their contributions offered a rich and multifaceted picture of the history of design, which critically questioned its canon, productively related to a wide range of fields, and inseminated historiographic debates beyond its history. Three keynote addresses, Alexandra Midal (HEAD, Geneva), Jussi Parikka (Winchester School of Art, University of Southampton) and Alfredo Gutiérrez Borrero (Universidad Jorge Tadeo Lozano, Bogotá) shed light on the conference's core themes.

3. What remains

3.1. The proceedings

After the experience of participating in the first virtual DHS Annual Conference, some delegates agreed to publish their paper in the present publication. The following 32 papers deal with topics that range in time form 1st Millenium BC and premodern craft to game design or the future of inclusive virtuality and post-conservation perspectives. Materiality plays a primordial role in many of the papers. We encounter textile in its guise as fashion or interior textiles; we learn about digital artefacts as well as about ottoman interiors, coffee or Chinese tea. What links many of the approaches is a thorough and critical re-writing of design canons, be it in craft, in industrial design or in data cultures. Hidden design histories are found in decolonizing approaches pertaining to the role western canon still plays in its formative power, but also in the forgotten role of women in design or language as the primordial tool of design historians.

The papers indeed cover a broad horizon. Thus, they also outline the aspirations a current design history must fulfil. The proceedings have included an overview to the full content of the conference's pre-programme and programme with the originally scheduled sessions to provide a complete picture of this first digital conference in the history of the Design History Society. All published papers have

kept their original “S” session code that allows the reader to contextualise them in the particular conference’s session they were given.

3.2. Digital legacy

One could say that the 2021 DHS Annual Conference took place in a physical ‘nowhere’ zone: the FHNW Academy of Art and Design, except for a few people from the organisation, looked deserted. At the same time, the conference took place in a digital ‘everywhere’ space: scattered across the globe, through the screens of more or less sophisticated devices, operated from the offices, kitchens, balconies, or trouser pockets of the many participants. It took place everywhere with a good internet connection at hand.

Now, the digital legacy of the conference will continue to be accessible in the everywhere-nowhere space of the Academy’s media library. These proceedings and other materials generated during the conference, such as the programme, the book of abstracts, recorded keynote lectures and more, will inscribe this special and fragile moment in time. It reframed – not only at this specific conference – academic discourse worldwide in an ongoing redefinition of exchange. As convenors, we hope this reframing will bear fruit and lead us to a more inclusive design history.

About the Authors:

Dr. Meret Ernst. is senior lecturer on design history at FHNW Academy of Art and Design, Institute Contemporary Design Practices ICDP. She combines scholarly work with design criticism, promoting both her field and a climate of critical debate in it.

Monica Gaspar. (lic. phil.) is a lecturer on design theory and craft studies at the HSLU Lucerne School of Art and Design. She’s interested in decolonizing the relationship between design and craft through testing intersectional and decolonial methodologies in research, education and curating.

Acknowledgements: Organising a conference is genuinely collective work. We would like to express our deep gratitude to the DHS Executive Board and Chair Claire O’Mahony for supporting not only the decision to go fully online, but for all her valuable advice on going through the process. To Michael Renner, who, as director ad interim of the Academy, believed in our project from day one and helped us bring the conference to Basel. To the convenor team with Claudia Mareis, Michael Renner, Gabriele Oropallo and, in its beginning, Robert Lzicar. Special thanks go to Tania Messell as programme coordinator, who communicated with all presenters. The wonderful and highly skilled staff of the FHNW Academy of Art and Design, especially Katharina Kemmerling, our Digital Conference Manager, for always keeping her strong nerves. We would like to thank all authors who agreed to publish their papers in these proceedings. To Aubrey Pohl and Benedikt Jäggi for the graphic design. To Tabea Lurk for her valuable advice to shape and host the digital legacy of the conference in the FHNW Academy of Art and Design Library. And, last but not least, a heartfelt thanks to Gabriele Oropallo, then DHS International Liaison Officer, for believing in us and supporting us in every possible way. He passed away in October 2021, and we dedicate these proceedings to his memory.

CALL FOR PAPERS

When a device reaches the limits of its storage, it typically sends a “Memory Full” warning that serves both as annoyance and incitement for action. Responses include upgrading the physical drive, relinquishing content to an immaterial “cloud,” editing and deleting, or constraining an otherwise unfettered desire to archive everything. Actions like these can be read as a metaphor for how histories of design are shaped. Against a background of multiple temporalities and ontologies for design, this conference sets out to explore the relationship between design and memory. It invites reflection on the entanglements embodied by design between futurity and amnesia, critical discussion on data cultures, and debate around emerging approaches to the designed environment.

How can the memory of design be interpreted, shared, mined, or performed? Stories of social change are recorded in artefacts buried under layers of water or soil, in the plot twists of old novels or vintage media. The legacy of human activity passes into the material culture of non-human species, or enters their very physiology. Practices involving design as means to construct, repair and speculate about the past are integral to processes of codifying both canonic and alternative histories. To what extent can history writing be compared to a design project? Assumptions and bias are embedded in the ways facts are gathered and constructed as habitable stories. How long do these narrations remain functional before they need to be patched with new data? Are machines also learning bias when they are instructed to collect data and present it in meaningful forms?

The conference welcomes historic, contemporary and interdisciplinary approaches to the topic and invites contributions from design historians, and students and scholars in related fields; as well as writers, practitioners, educators, museum professionals, and activists who engage with design history. Relevant topics include, but are not limited to:

- the designed environment as distributed archive
- emerging sites of knowledge production and dissemination
- mediation and consumption of story-telling
- design histories as design fictions
- design and critical heritage
- data cultures in design practice and mediation

- blind spots in the memory of design
- indigenous epistemologies
- decolonizing sites of memory
- alternative genealogies
- design and personal or collective memory
- design history as a form of activism and repair

- the practitioner as a historian, the historian as a practitioner
- relations between design practices and historiography
- designerly ways of doing history
- trans-modern and trans-cultural models
- historicising emerging design practices
- the challenges of digitalisation
- radical pedagogies in design history

PRECONFERENCE EVENTS

14 AUGUST – 1 SEPTEMBER
ALL TIMES IN BASEL TIME: CEST (UTC + 2)

FORGET-FULL? – Design History Society's pre-conference events in response to the theme of the 2021 DHS Annual Conference Memory Full?

Organisers: DHS Student Forum

The Design History Society hosts three events led by students and early career researchers in response to the theme of the DHS 2021 Annual Conference, Memory Full? Reimagining the relations between design and history. A combination of community building and hands-on workshops will explore the playful, yet critical, motto forget-full? An invitation to reflect on practices that produce erasure, ostracism, forgetfulness.

SAT, 14 AUGUST

15:30 – 17:00
DHS STUDENT FORUM EVENT 1: ORAL HISTORIES OF RESEARCHING. COMMUNITY BUILDING WORKSHOP

19:00 – 20:00
DHS STUDENT FORUM EVENT 2: DEAR PENPAL… MEET AND GREET. COMMUNITY BUILDING SESSION

SAT, 21 AUGUST

15:30 – 17:00
DHS STUDENT FORUM EVENT 3: RECORDING AND INVENTING.
IMAGE-MAKING WORKSHOP

WED, 25 AUGUST

12:00
DIGITAL CONFERENCE PLATFORM OPENS.
Participants can already browse content, watch virtual visits videos, visit the virtual bookshop and virtual showcase, customise their profiles, mark their favorites in the program, create their own visit cards and start networking with othr delegates.

DESIGN HISTORY SOCIETY ANNUAL PUBLISHING WORKSHOPS

Organisers: DHS Teaching & Learning and Essay Prize Officers

The Design History Society hosts three virtual Publishing Workshops in conjunction with the 2021 annual DHS conference. All workshops are free and open to those not registered for the main conference, but to secure a place participants must book in advance.

FRI, 27 AUGUST

14:30 – 17:30
DHS PUBLISHING WORKSHOP 1

PARTICIPATING EDITORS: PRISCILA FARIAS, DANIEL J HUPPATZ,
SARAH LICHTMAN, CLAIRE O'MAHONY, JOHN POTVIN.

Aimed at postgraduate students and early career researchers in design history, design studies and related fields, this practical workshop will introduce attendees to how peer-review processes and writing abstracts fit into the wider contexts of academic publishing. Participants will have the opportunity to develop their skills and understanding, regarding how to write a good abstract. They will also receive advice from Editors of the Journal of Design History about how to prepare written work successfully for submission to peer-reviewed publications and what to expect from the editorial process. Early booking is recommended because numbers are strictly limited. English language will be used in this workshop. Speakers of all languages are welcome.

TUE, 31 AUGUST

18:30 – 19:50
DHS PUBLISHING WORKSHOP 2

ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSION: THE CURRENT AND FUTURE LANDSCAPE OF PUBLISHING DESIGN HISTORY

Aimed at experienced researchers, early career researchers and postgraduate students, this workshop will address the theme of the ‘Current and Future Landscape of Publishing Design History’. Editors will give 5–7 minute position papers and then join a 30-minute roundtable discussion, which will address pre-submitted questions posed by the virtual audience. English language will be used in this workshop. Speakers of all languages are welcome.

20:15 – 21:30
DHS PUBLISHING WORKSHOP 3

Meet the Editors Drinks Evening
This informal session will provide opportunities to interact with Editors and discuss publication ideas and processes. Each of the editors involved in Publishing Workshop 2 will host a series of breakout room discussions. Participants will have the opportunity to informally discuss an idea for a journal article, book, or other publication with one of these editors and receive their advice.

WED, 1 SEPTEMBER

18:30 – 19:50
DHS Chair & Basel Convenors

Closing the pre-programme, warming up for main programme

Student curated KEYNOTE: Ahmed Ansari

Decolonisation, the History of Design, and the Design of History

Ahmed Ansari (New York University) in conversation with
Tai Cossich and Sandra Bischler (representative from the Student Forum)

CONFERENCE PROGRAMME | THU, 2 SEPTEMBER

11:00 – 12:00		
S17_GEOPOLITICAL ENTANGLEMENTS Chair: Johannes Bruder		**S30_WORKSHOP A** (Duration 2 hours) OPEN: Memories, Stories and Recipes for Otherwise Design Histories Lead: Livia Rezende, Sarah Cheang and Katie Irani
12:00 – 13:00		
Break: Book Fair / Postcards from Switzerland / Networking on After Session Talks and Riverside Walks		
13:00 – 14:00		
S_2 MEMORY AND MATTER Chair: Dan Huppatz	**S15_HISTORIES OF DECOLONISATION AND REPAIR** Chair: Michaela Young	**S31_WORKSHOP B** (part 1, Duration 2 hours) Design History as a Site-Specific Practice: Re-mapping the Margins of Institutions and Geographies Lead: Christina Zetterlund and Sabrina Rahman
14:00 – 15:00		
	S14_HISTORIES OF BODY CONTROL Chair: Jane Tynan	
15:00 – 15:30		
Break: Book Fair / Postcards from Switzerland / Networking on After Session Talks and Riverside Walk		
15:30 – 16:30		
S10_PLURIVERSAL CITIES Chair: Priscila Farias	**S12_CHALLENGING GENDERED MODERNITIES** Chair: Rebecca Houze	**S24_DESIGNERLY WAYS OF DOING HISTORY I** Chair: Sarah Lichtman
16:30 – 17:30		
S3_COLLECTIVE MEMORY AND URBAN SPACE Chair: Rebecca Houze	**S13_DISCLOSING DESIGN CAREERS** Chair: Penny Sparke	**S21_DESIGNERLY WAYS OF DOING HISTORY II** Chair: John Potvin
17:30 – 18:00		
Break: Book Fair / Postcards from Switzerland / Networking on After Session Talks and Riverside Walk		
18:00 – 19:30		
DHS Opening Greeting at Conference Launch, DHS chair; Welcoming words by the hosting institution, Introduction of Keynote 2 **Keynote 2: Alexandra Midal: Shadows: The Dark Sides of Design History.**		

CONFERENCE PROGRAMME | FRI, 3 SEPTEMBER

11:45 – 12:00		
CONVENORS' REVIEW OF DAY 1		
12:00 – 13:00		
S5_FORENSIC APPROACHES Chair: Gabriele Oropallo	**S19_TRANSMODERN SPACES** Chair: Claire O'Mahony	**S11_ALTERNATIVE GENEALOGIES** Chair: Sarah Cheang
13:00 – 14:00		
Break: Book Fair / Postcards from Switzerland / Networking on After Session Talks and Riverside Walk		
14:00 – 15:00		
S26_DIGITALISATION: CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS Chair: Gabriele Oropallo	**S18_CONTESTED BORDERS OF MODERNITY** Chair: Robert Lzicar	**S16_CRITICAL HERITAGE AND NATIONAL IDENTITIES** Chair: Marta Filipovà
15:00 – 16:00		
S25_STORIES OF STORING Chair: Fedja Vukic	**S20_CHALLENGING NATIONAL HISTORIOGRAPHIES** Chairs: Davide Fornari, Robert Lzicar and Sara Zeller	**S9_DESIGN HISTORY AS DESIGN FICTION** Chair: Sarah Lichtman
16:00 – 17:00		
Break: Book Fair / Postcards from Switzerland / Networking on After Session Talks and Riverside Walk		
17:00 – 18:00		
S27_DANCING ABOUT DESIGN Chair: Catherine Rossi	**S22_DESIGNER AS HISTORIAN, HISTORIAN AS DESIGNER** Chair: Artun Ozguner	**S31_WORKSHOP B (PART 2)** Design History as a Site-Specific Practice: Re-mapping the Margins of Institutions and Geographies Lead: Christina Zetterlund, Sabrina Rahman
18:00 – 19:30		
Introduction to Keynote 3 **Keynote 3: Jussi Parikka: A Natural History of Logistics and Other Problem Spaces**		
19:30 – 21:00		
DHS Joint AGM including Essay Prize Giving Ceremony		

CONFERENCE PROGRAMME | SAT, 4 SEPTEMBER

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PROCEEDINGS

In the following conference proceedings the „K“ papers refer to the keynote lectures that opened up the conference’s conceptual horizon. The „S“ papers were given within thematic sessions and curated panels. Consult the conference programme to find out in which session the papers were originally embedded.

Decolonisation, the History of Design, and the Designs of History

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Abstract | The ‘decolonial turn’ has shifted the landscape of critical design discourse and practice significantly over the last few years, introducing new conversations around representation and epistemic diversity, and the terms and grounds on which design research, practice, and theory are constituted. This keynote lecture surveys and assesses the impact of the decolonial turn, with the intent of holding it up to a more critical appraisal and critique, pointing to various questions that the academy has failed to raise, and to dominant trends and emerging patterns that indicate a co-optation and lack of nuance in treating seriously and rigorously with the project of decolonisation. In order to engage in this critique, I raise a tentative genealogy of discourses on decolonisation and decoloniality going back to the 19th century, with the hope that the study of history and the task of historicizing may further illuminate where the present discourse is lacking and where it may move in the years to come.

Keywords: Decolonisation, Decoloniality, History, Genealogy, Design Studies

Prologue

Before I begin, a few short notes directed towards the many graduate students I expect are here, beginning with one on writing. I usually do not plan my essays meticulously beforehand, but, as I suspect many academics do, start with an array of 'interests', an interesting word in its own right standing as it does as a rationalization of what is really desire and feeling (is to be interested in something really not also to sublimate a desire in it?). I feel, write, and rework my arguments as I work through them, and often weave in new observations over weeks, if not months, of redrafting. Scholarship is as much the product of sensing and feeling one's way through what one knows, as it is a product of knowing, and thereby building a critical relation to, one's feelings and desires. Much of what we experience, personally or interpersonally, and thereby commit ourselves to, is beyond the reduction of language, and yet language is all we have in expressing the projects of seeking and pursuing our interests.

Moreover, part of my argument here also points to the structural and systemic, foregrounding seeing the academy and its various institutions, as well as its many cultures, as driven by desires rather than by interests: the desire to be seen, heard, and read; to be in community with others who understand you and are similarly invested in not only the same kinds of projects but similar views, commitments, and desires; to be seen *as a* community; and therefore, through community, to have one's epistemic and political commitments validated, and to have one's insights into the world validated. In framing the academy in terms of desires rather than interests, I am, of course, foregrounding the role of shared affect, practices of making kin, and above all, the dynamics of power in designerly knowledge making as a form of collective project. The academy is not some apolitical space where scholars are given their rightful due purely on the basis of the merit of their scholarship – social and cultural capital intertwine with intellectual capital as happens in any other domain of modern life.

It is in the interests of countering this form of verification and validation in the production of knowledge in design that I have pursued my own career so far as a design studies scholar. As the latter, among other things, I consider myself a genealogist, someone who traces the history of concepts and discourses that are of importance to designers. This requires me to draw on both cross-disciplinary histories of concepts in the academy, as well as history more broadly. My interests in philosophy led me to take on creating genealogies as a serious method, since the questions I was interested in largely revolved around trying to understand the logics underpinning why practices, beliefs, and desires, particularly ones that exerted themselves at large in the design academy, were the way they were. As you'll see, my questioning decolonisation and decoloniality right now emerges out of a similar proclivity: having worked on the latter for the better part of a decade, why did these concerns and politics become important in the academy at large *now*, and more importantly, *why* in the particular forms that these discourses have taken?

It is my belief that doing philosophy, like designing, entails cultivating a continuous and fluid responsiveness to the changing present, rather than the versions of stolid, ossified thought detached from the experience of the world that we have unfortunately gotten from many prominent European philosophers commenting on world issues recently. An openness to multiple, even seemingly contradictory or incommensurate, perspectives was central to classical Jain metaphysics, which became a deep influence on me and my own work. In the Jain conception of *anekāntavāda*, reality always exceeds that which any one perspective can identify and pin down as truth: it is infinitely manifold and irreducible. As Bimal Krishna Matilal observes in *The Logical Illumination of Indian Mysticism*, this metaphysical conception has both epistemological and ethical implications: since reality is not a Manichean black-and-white, we should hold an epistemic and interpersonal openness and humility, something that I believe goes beyond mere tolerance for the other. Clearly, Western philosophers should have been reading more Jain philosophy!

Philosophy could also learn about perspectives from its neighbor, anthropology. As Roy Wagner argues in *The Reciprocity of Perspectives*,

"We cannot circumscribe ourselves within a nexus of causal relation, only others can do that. What we sense is only our moving points of view, that depend on otherness for their points of reference".

Perspectives are relative, relational, situated, responsive, and present, and, as anthropologists like Eduardo Vivieros de Castro have recently argued, deep: cultural perspectives from one culture cannot be captured within the conceptual system and language of another. In practice, designers are trained to be decisive, while the production of scholarly knowledge requires the opposite: while designing is propositional, writing about design requires deliberation. This is perhaps why there is a tension between the practice of design and the study of design: certainly, perhaps the tension in the practice of design history as to whether it falls towards 'design' or 'history' materializes a part of this tension. In any case, despite my recent misgivings around theories of radical alterity, this one takeaway of believing in the ontological turn has been very useful for me.

I've certainly found, in my own short career so far, that the stress on imaginative-yet-calculated risk-taking and boldness in making propositions, even if in the form of hypothetical 'what-ifs' and thought-experiments, that designers are conditioned into goes well with the careful deliberation and reflection of the scholarly life. As a doctoral student, one learns to live with this tension and make it work for oneself. I exhort, therefore, to all the graduate students here, to continue to stay with this tension between designerly inventiveness and confidence with scholarly epistemic and interpersonal humility, and to always keep in mind that we deal in perspectives, rather than in absolute truths.

1. Assessing the 'Decolonial Turn'

I would like to start with the observation that now is a particularly interesting, and by that I repeat: a desirable, time to be a design historian. The importance of design as a domain of human activity and labor vital to producing the concrete, material, and virtual dimensions of modern modes of human existence is being recognized in the postcolonial world at precisely the time when the nature of said contemporary present modes of existence, products of the modern capitalist global world-system, have been laid bare by a series of interconnected crises that have swept the globe. As the structural and programmatic violence of the capitalist world system in the 21st century, its unabated and shameless destruction of both ecology and social life globally is further exposed through ecological and political crises (exemplified in this moment of the global COVID-19 pandemic), we see a resurgence of critical politics emerge in public life, where, at least in the United States, it had slumbered for a long time. Whether this moment, which, as Nancy Fraser terms it in a recent article in the New Left Review, seems more an *"interregnum, where the old is dying but the new cannot be born"*, will lead to any radically different social order, remains to be seen. It must be said that a similar mirror of crises plagues higher education in the United States, where the revocation of tenure in the state of Georgia heralds a new acceleration in the total neoliberalization of the US academy.

In the design academy, it is heartening to see that what were previously the largely marginalized concerns of a small community of largely postcolonial scholars and collectives based in Anglo-European nation-states are now mainstream concerns, with a critical mass sufficient to give the established status quo pause and for institutions to rethink their political commitments. Many important developments in the discipline, including humanitarian design, design for social innovation, and speculative and critical design, to name just a few, and the legacy of major figures associated with these projects, have come under critical scrutiny and question over the past half-decade. This process of challenging and revisioning popular history has, of course, involved significant historical reevaluation, reinterpretation, and reinscription. However, the important thing to note is that, now more than ever, a critical engagement with the politics of design, designing, and the designed, an engagement that entails questioning the very conceptual foundations of the field, is no longer the rare confine of a few marginalized scholars in the Northern academy, but a widespread imperative.

Here I must pause for a bit and preface the rest of the talk by saying that I would, as a tactical move at this point in time, rather employ the term 'postcolonial' rather than 'Global South' or 'East' or 'majority world', since, firstly, it refers explicitly to the common historical experience of colonialism and continued coloniality that the otherwise incredibly heterogenous non-Anglo-European world shares, and secondly, because it reminds foreign scholars

working in Anglo-European contexts that, irrespective of individual political inclinations and entanglements, that there is and can be worlds “beyond the colonial”. I might also add that in this talk, I am less interested in developing an argument based on a critique of white, Anglo-European scholars and American and European neocolonialism in the 21st century: I have done this before, it is now well trod territory, and I have little to add to it right now. As a very lucky and very privileged immigrant to the United States, embedded within one of its most elite university systems, many of the concerns, questions and observations that I am about to raise come from my own experiences of negotiating between East and West, trying to figure out the politics of my practice as a postcolonial scholar. Therefore, much of what I have to say addresses itself more to people of a similar background.

In one of the essays in the recent *Design in Crisis*, Cameron Tonkinwise points out that in a crisis, there is no time to stop, reflect, and think — thought is suspended in favor of action, when precisely what is needed is the halting of perpetual momentum, since the development of alternatives that would lead us away from the very conditions that produced the crisis requires more time and patience than the present demands. Likewise, this small window of opportunity afforded postcolonial scholars to get everyone else in the academy to pause and reflect has always been in danger of being co-opted, its votive force and revolutionary potential blunted, diluted, and siphoned away through the structural dynamics of academic life under late capitalism. The decolonial turn’s promise to put the brakes on and slow us down long enough to consider the nature of our predicament is also in danger of being subsumed under a multitude of projects that seek to instrumentalize its claims and knowledges in the service of maintaining the status-quo, projects often enabled through diluted, unfaithful, and non-reflexive readings of what projects of decolonisation, which are always distinct and situated within specific contexts and subjects, entail. These projects and their informing frames and logics range from the appropriation and co-optation of practices and cultural forms that lie on the margins of capitalist culture, to fetishizations of figures like the indigenous and the romanticization of pre-colonial pasts and radically different worlds in the present, to confusing, by failing to ask questions about the differences between, liberal pluralism and cosmopolitanism with decolonisation and pluriversality.

The critique of design research by early proponents of decoloniality in the design academy between 2014 and 2018 such as the Decolonising Design Platform took on a very specific form aimed at what ‘research’ in design was, pointing out that it often fell into the trap of extending to other parts of the world ontologies and epistemic frames developed in the Anglo-European world, and thereby dismissing the worlds and knowledges of cultural others as ‘just so much history’. This was at a time when there was barely any postcolonial scholars in design producing scholarship that explicitly framed itself as ‘anti-Anglocentric’- these initial projects sought to create spaces for marginal scholars to speak from.

With the rise of postcolonial representation, and indeed, its celebration and reification within the Northern academies, I think it is worth paying attention to a different set of issues - I often shorthand these as, respectively, the ‘inside-out’ and ‘outside-in’ challenges to postcolonial scholarship. The first of these (the ‘inside-out’ problem) has to do with the dynamics of knowledge dissemination in today’s world, and the speed with which ideas from one part of the world find themselves incorporated into the discourses and practices of another. Given the substantial weight that American and European scholarship carries, the ready and unquestioned adoption of readings and interpretations coming from the latter in places like, for example, Pakistan and India, is, in my view, cause for alarm. I have been well aware of this problem of foreign practices displacing local ones for as long as I have been teaching, and it is something which I had tried to convey in my critical appraisal of how ‘design methods’ arrived in Pakistan through foreign actors in *Global Methods, Local Designs*.

The second, related, danger, lies in what happens when both white and postcolonial academics in American and European universities bring in work rooted elsewhere in the world. In bringing in ‘other’ knowledges while simultaneously translating them into terms that can render them palatable to Anglo-European knowledge systems, postcolonial scholars risk hollowing them out of precisely that which is incommensurable and irreducible in those knowledges. A closer and more critical interrogation of ‘who’ brings in these knowledges, what their particular subject-position in the society that they claim to represent is, and the nature of their translation, is much needed. In argue that we need to turn away from our present emphasis on subject ‘authenticity’, a move that situates scholarly

truth-claims in mere appearance, to a more critical appraisal of how postcolonial scholars make sense of their own societies, the structural dynamics of how they produce knowledge of cultural others, and the acts and practices of translating, writing and representing the latter for global audiences. I refer my readers here interested in similar concerns around postcolonial interlocution and interpretation to my essay *Designs Missing Others and Their Incommensurate Worlds*.

Both these challenges highlight larger philosophical questions about what we do with knowledge that is always 'local', though not necessarily parochial, in a global and globalizing world. This entails slowing down to consider the question. My fear is that precisely at the moment when postcolonial scholars in the Northern academy need to slow down and take stock of the challenges wrought through dealing with experiences, perspectives and knowledges that are not your own in a global and globalized context, the pressure on us to act by our institutions outweighs the responsibility we have to our roles.

This institutional anxiety must be recognized as based in the recognition of the principal threat that decoloniality poses to the established regimes of the Anglo-European world. Academic research's principal colonizing mechanic manifests through the desire to know and to understand through reduction that which cannot be experienced personally or collectively as *world*. No better example of this exists in our disciplines than in the historical and present failure of design scholarship to think and create a relation to the already extant plurality of the cosmos of everyday practice and creation subsumed under the homogenizing category of the 'Global South', 'East', 'Orient' or 'Developing World', something that my fellow keynote speaker Alfredo Gutierrez has also recently articulated so well in *When Design Goes South*. Neither the culturally and racially othering category of 'craft', or the category of 'diffuse' or 'non-expert' design, which dismisses the role of ontological alterity in producing different forms of expertise, or even 'design from and of the Global South', which reduces the cosmos to a single signifier, can speak to the totality and heterogeneity of the cosmos of things and thingly practices in the world.

Out of the infinity of distinct forms of life and modes of existence, many voices speak to projects and processes that might be analogous to history-making, yet, it is important to note, are not reducible to the latter. The Indian scholar Ashish Nandy illustrates this point best when he makes the argument in *History's Forgotten Doubles* that

"Millions of people still live outside "history." They do have theories of the past; they do believe that the past is important and shapes the present and the future, but they also recognize, confront, and live with a past different from that constructed by historians and historical consciousness. They even have a different way of arriving at that past."

This argument, taken to its logical conclusion, implies that it is precisely through acts and practices of history-making, that all these 'ahistorical' peoples are brought into the fold of modern historical time, an interventionist act that ruptures and reorders the way that a people world and reifies Anglo-Eurocentric notions of development along a unilinear scale. If the ontological flattening of the world unfolds precisely through disciplinary acts of illocution, through the process of reconstituting these non-designerly artifacts as objects of study, and that precisely through the process of translation, of rendering these artifacts legible to Northern audiences, historians, like other academics, are complicit in this ontological flattening. What this entails then, is that to successfully decolonise history entails not merely transforming it but demolishing it, or, at the very least, putting it in its place: a very specific institutionalized form of meaning making largely relevant to people who belong to that institutional milieu.

However, while posing immense challenges, this is also a hopeful moment for design historians. The teaching of design history is still something that falls, at least in the United States and especially in conservatory-style education, largely on the shoulders of non-historians. On the one hand, this may speak to the continued marginality of design history as a discipline in the United States, a concern that has been well documented, from Clive Dilnot's well known 1984 survey of the field and the 1995 special issue of *Design Issues* edited by Richard Buchanan and Viktor Margolin through to more recent historiographical assessments by Grace Lees-Maffei and Rebecca Houze, and Kjetil Fallan.

The disciplinary preoccupation with whether design history should emphasize 'design' or 'history' rests on a provincial preoccupation with drawing boundaries

and on practices of inclusion-via-exclusion; it relies on articulating what and where design historians are *not*. However, as recent public projects of significant scope that have addressed themselves to undoing the systemic and systematic erasures of marginalized histories from the annals of recorded design history (such as in projects like the People's Graphic Design Archive and the BIPOC Design History series), we discover that the remit of producing design histories belongs to, as it rightly should, more than just a small community of formally trained historians. Decoloniality insists that there may be many socially and culturally distinct forms of historicizing and 'telling' history, in embracing methodological and descriptive openness, and in paying close attention to the political situatedness of the historian-as-subject, even as the subject of who can narrate history is opened up.

With this transformation of the question of who can write history, it becomes clear that the particular modes of inquiry, the questions, the observations, the ways of reading and interpreting and asking that historians are well acquainted with, are things that are also not just the remit of historians. Decolonisation entails not only serious political commitments but epistemological ones: one has to engage with the colonial and precolonial past in order to arrive at a more nuanced and critical understanding of the present. In raising contentious questions around the nature of coloniality as a continuous historical process and its manifestations through acts of design and the designed; in the consistent emphasis on a critical engagement with one's past as the means of understanding, negotiating and situating one's identity in relation to others and to world; in the identifying and addressing of historical erasures and making visible invisible histories; in reassessing popular accounts and translations of the material past and the myths of design; and in raising hard questions around alternatives in and to methodology and method, the decolonial turn in design has succeeded in making the sensitivities and concerns that postcolonial and subaltern historians alike have shared and raised a matter for widespread disciplinary concern.

My intent, therefore, is to make a plea and an argument for greater interchange between the various fractured communities and groups that are engaging in various forms of design research and historicizing. Design history has come a long way since the 1980s and 1990s, and the scope of its disciplinary commitments has widened enough to allow for a wide range of published work – its challenge, as I see it, lies still in engaging successfully with the larger community of design scholars, teachers and practitioners, not only in making its insights relevant to the scope of design practice and pedagogy, but as importantly, in bringing its particular methods, frames of reference, discourses and observations to bear in helping transform the latter.

2. Questions for the 'Decolonial Turn'

With the proliferation of the concerns that I have noted the decolonial turn has wrought, there is also much that has gone unnoticed or ignored in the decolonial turn, particularly when we turn to questions of what discourses in the turn have been emphasized and foregrounded at the cost of others.

In the time we find ourselves in today, we need academic practices that can speak to, critique, and align themselves with the complexities of the world we live in and the histories that have brought us here. The work of historians has and can be immeasurably important in helping us make better sense of a world of political and ethical contradictions: where decolonisation and de-westernization have become operative concepts for both indigenous activists fighting settler-colonialism in the United States *and* for the Hindu far-right embarking on programmes of ethno-religious purification in India; where debates around women's empowerment in Pakistan revolve between critiques of 'westernized', 'secular' feminists who seek financial and social parity *and* of 'retro-Islamist' (to use a term coined by Afiya Zia) feminists who insist that such desires and claims are foreign and contrary to Islamic cosmology and values; where Dalit scholars, whose struggle against the millennia-old system of varna and Brahminism predates the one against Anglo-European imperialism, rightly criticizes the selective historicizing and US-centric reading of ontologies like caste; where decades long programs of ethnogenocide in Myanmar are based on contesting claims to Rohingya nativity and citizenship *while* the Rohingya themselves join a vast and rapidly growing global population of liminal and hybrid migratory peoples.

How shall the decolonial turn help us design academics navigate this world of contradictions? How are we to make sense of decolonisation in relation to nationalism and national imaginaries and identities, and to increasingly cosmopolitan or, at the very least, globally well-connected societies, today? How does pluriversality compare to cosmopolitanism as ethic and as ideal? How do decolonial critiques of globalization as cultural homogenization and ontological flattening read against other readings that emphasize cultural syncretism, hybridity, and movement? What is culture: is it change, fluidity, and hybridity, or essence, nucleus, or core? Is capitalism universal, which would vindicate the hypothesis that there has been ontological flattening, or does it fail, which would vindicate the theory of multiple modernities?

Some questions I also pose to design researchers and scholars: what claims to authentic interpretation and translation of our home societies can postcolonial scholars propose when many of us represent the extremely privileged minority (whether by birth, labor, or luck) in those same societies? How do we navigate through the extremely tough, if not impossible task of rendering what has a world of meaning in one's native language into one's own? How does one negotiate one's political commitments with others that are contrary, especially when they come from one's home context?

And lastly, some questions specifically addressed to design historians: how will it make sense of a world riven with temporal ruptures, one where the colonial and precolonial past continuously interject into the present? How is design history to take up writing meaningfully about anthropological difference in ways that are not historicist? Is history, and therefore design history, fundamentally Eurocentric - is there no way out? Perhaps most urgently, how will design history account for the entwinement of human histories with that of the planet? As Dipesh Chakraborty urges historians in *The Climate of History*, there is an urgent need to situate and read human histories alongside geological and ecological histories, not only paying attention to human history in the narrow sense of post-Neolithic civilizational history, or even narrower, in histories of modernity and the emergence of capitalism, but in situating humans as living actors in the 'deep history' of the planet. How are historians to answer the call to confront the crisis of climate change?

As I had mentioned before, these questions emerged when I started paying attention to, firstly, around how decolonial discourse proliferates globally and takes on different valences and forms in different contexts, especially when it begins to justify regimes of oppression, and secondly, the theoretical question of why it is that certain ontologies and concepts in the present discourse on decoloniality and decolonisation have found ready acceptance and proliferate, while others go unnoticed or unasked, as well as why decolonial theory's explanations of the origins and nature of capitalism have gone largely unexamined against alternative explanations furnished by, say, postcolonial theory or Marxism.

For example, the category of the 'indigenous' in relation to other concepts like 'autonomy' and 'delinking', makes more sense in the context of the Americas and its circulation in American academic spheres. However, treating the category of the indigenous in the context of South Asian colonial and postcolonial history, we find that not only is the category historically obscure and indefinite, given specificity only in politico-legal contexts that were colonial in the later 20th century, but this framing of indigeneity-as-nativity has become extremely problematic when used to justify Hindutva ideology at this present time by the ruling regime in India, on the one hand, and to justify a move towards hard-line Islamisation on the other in Pakistan. The recent disappointing endorsement by one of the major figures of Latin American decolonial theory, Walter Mignolo, of the Hindu Right's recent rewriting of South Asian history has borne out my observation that the line between discourses of decolonisation and discourses of ethno-religious fascism is finer than previously thought; certainly, read as purification, decolonisation may indeed tip into justifying fascist regimes.

When I started to look more closely at the claims that circulated around decolonisation, decoloniality, delinking, de-westernization etc., I found that there were often contradictory viewpoints on these between different discourses both inside the academy and without, rooted in different assumptions about colonization, modernity, and capitalism. In fact, on closer examination, historical claims around the origins of capitalism and the nature of colonialism and coloniality between political thinkers and intellectuals in the 19th and 20th centuries, between Marxist scholars, between postcolonial studies and subaltern

studies scholars largely coming from the Middle East and South Asia, between the proponents of critical race theory, indigenous studies, and settler colonial studies in North America and other Anglophone contexts, and between Latin American decolonial scholarship, speak to deeper philosophical and anthropological claims and assumptions around the nature of culture, capital, and social and political change.

I argue that a political genealogy of discourses on decolonisation and decoloniality against which designers can situate their own readings of the artificial might be of great utility, both in showing us that the questions that concern us today are not new, but more importantly, in illuminating how past movements and discourses sought to answer these questions, we might better situate ourselves to develop practices and discourses that can better tackle the nuances of our present times. I would therefore like to dedicate the last portion of this talk with a very small sample of a genealogy that I have been recently working on, focusing on a period that I believe goes largely unnoticed in the present moment: from the mid-19th to mid-20th century, when most of the world's nation-states came into being through processes of decolonisation. My reasons for focusing on this time period, as will become apparent shortly, is that I think it is exemplary in demonstrating that historical understanding should complicate how we think decolonisation, decoloniality and delinking (certainly, we are not the first to engage with these matters).

3. A Genealogy for the 'Decolonial Turn'

Present discourses on decolonisation draw on many different, sometimes widely disparate and at-odds lineages across disciplines, and, as critics of postcolonial studies have pointed out, the nature of postcolonial scholarship and the figure of the postcolonial scholar is by no means a homogenous figure in its political commitments. Many of the key figures through the 19th and 20th centuries whose writings on decolonisation (*not* decoloniality) resonated in local public discourse, figures like Lang Qichao, Sayyid Jamaluddin ibn Safdar, Rabindranath Tagore, W.E. DuBois, and Frantz Fanon, were figures associated not only with public scholarship but with active political movements. Some of these, like Syed Ahmed Khan and Tagore, were also explicitly linked to education and to pedagogical projects that, for their times, represented a radical break from normative establishments. As Igor Cherstich and Martin Holbraad have recently noted, revolutions entail a collective imagining of a new world and new subjects, a world that is substantially different from the one those subjects inhabit now. We find this call for revolution, for programmatic and structural change and for the creation of 'new men and women', to use the Fanonian framing, in these early movements; it is important to note that these early figures think not only of independence and transformation with respect to their own societies, but with respect to their place in a new global order, as was expressed in the ideals of the Bandung Conference in 1955.

However, several other observations need to put these 19th and early 20th century texts and this period into context, and here I turn to the case of South Asia under the Raj. British Eurocentrism in the later half of the 19th century had undergone a substantial change, where colonized peoples in Asia were recast, not as savages in need of enslavement or uplift, but as civilizations that were incommensurably 'different' from the Europeans. This had two effects. Firstly, as in the case of South Asia, colonial rule began to emphasize the cultivation and incorporation of local elites and a new bourgeois class into administrative institutions - this entailed epistemologically colonial programmes of re-education (Syed Ahmed Khan's Aligarh Movement being a principal example). Therefore, what we witness over the 19th century is an earlier transformation of existing native social classes and the emergence of new ones that had internalized Anglocentric ways of making sense of themselves – these new social groups, which were by no means homogenous or uncritical of their relation to the British, nevertheless constituted a necessary condition for the later independence movements. These native groups then reified the anthropological difference ascribed to them to manipulate and reconstruct pre-colonial histories in developing powerful narratives of identity and nationhood, which was necessary in order to create the kind of popular support necessary to achieve eventual autonomy - in India, this was the two-nation theory, which itself needed as prerequisite the rehabilitation of Islam and Indo-Muslim identity, on the one hand, and that of Hinduism and Hindu identity on the other.

Of interest to design historians might be the vital role that interpretations of pre-colonial and colonial scientific and technological achievements played in reconstituting history for political aims: whether in Syed Ahmed Khan and Mohammad Iqbal’s exhortations on Indian Muslims to ‘reclaim’ modern scientific and technological progress from Europeans, something that relied on an inscription within a larger Islamicate civilization, or in Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi and Rabindranath Tagore’s, as well as Vinayak Damodar Savarkar’s, construction of a unified Hindu civilization that had eschewed the material preoccupations of the West in favor of spiritual and cultural accomplishments (although Gandhi and Savarkar differed greatly in their opinions on modernization and industrialization). Technologies imported from Europe, like the bicycle, typewriter, and sewing machine, as David Arnold illustrates in *Everyday Technologies*, rapidly became a sign of prestige amongst Indian intellectuals and began to figure as prominently as metaphors in thought as they were in adopted use, while, in contexts where they did not see everyday use, they became spectacle.

Attitudes towards European technologies among the mobilizing Indian political elite often swung between admiration and detestation. No better example of this can be found than in Gandhi’s writing, where, in his 1925 memoirs, *Satya ke Prayog*, Gandhi recognizes the immense usefulness of the typewriter in providing the means for mass collectivization and mobilization in describing the efforts of his white South African stenographer, Sonya Schlesin, whereas the following year, in a 1926 letter to Esther Menon, he denigrates the machine while noting that its presence saves time for more useful work. One cannot understand Gandhi’s seemingly paradoxical shifts in attitude towards industrial technologies and their place in his larger philosophy, which itself went through many changes through his life, without understanding the larger history of how discourses and practices of Westernization and de-Westernization situate themselves within the milieu of political actors in colonial India. Here I find the Islamic Studies scholar Shahab Ahmed’s categories of *ambiguity*, or the capacity of something to be interpreted and understood in more than one way depending on situation and opportunity, and *ambivalence*, or the co-existence of contradictory emotions or attitudes towards an object, useful in reading the political, social, and cultural dimensions of colonial technologies in South Asia.

The intellectual preoccupations of Latin American thinkers, and here I focus largely on Mexico, give us a very different sense of what nationalism and national identity meant and what problems they raised. A century after Mexico’s independence, as Carlos Roberto and Robert Eli Sanchez note in their introduction to *Mexican Philosophy in the 20th Century*, Mexican thinkers like Jose Vasconcelos, Antonio Caso, Samuel Ramos, and Emilio Uranga, like their Indian counterparts, were also raising questions in what constituted a “Mexican” identity that could speak to the plurality of Mexico’s various ethnic groups; however, differences in the nature of colonial regimes and colonialism in the Americas led to a difference in interpretations of the question of national identity.

Spanish rule in the 18th century, unlike British rule in India, relied not on the cultivation of a sympathetic native class that would administer to and rule local polities on their behalf, but on a strictly hierarchical racial order. This was further complicated by the incredible demographic and cultural changes in Mexico over the period of colonial rule, where intermixing, mass religious conversion, and subsequently, cultural syncretization had completely changed the face of Mexican society and culture. Therefore, Mexican philosophers could not rely on any form of reference to a past, but instead, turned to thinking *through* a confrontation with the pre-colonial past in order to constitute a new identity that would speak to the immense heterogeneity of Mexico’s demographic makeup *and* separate the Mexican from their Latin heritage and from the appellation of being a derivative culture, an accidental product of historical oppression. In fact, a dominant theme that presents itself through the work of these scholars is the possibility of transcending historical legacy through a careful reflection on one’s *present* social and cultural circumstances to arrive at *lo Mexicano*, or what is authentically and truly Mexican.

Therefore, as opposed to the ambiguity and ambivalence that characterizes South Asian considerations of modern technologies, as philosophers like Guillermo Hurtado have argued, we can read Mexican thought on the artificial as invested with narratives of affirmation and transformation, in using pre-colonial material and visual culture as the basis for which to think an anthropological difference that will propel Mexicans into a future that is theirs while ensuring their participation as equals in a global order, while at the same freeing them from the

colonial past. Mexican intellectual thought therefore starts with an assessment of the uses of historicising-as-anthropological practice, as in Edmundo O'Gorman's *Art and Monstrosity*, where O' Gorman begins his assessment of pre-colonial Aztec material culture as presenting a problem where the art or design historian runs up against *"the scope and limit of the possibilities of (their) own sensibility vis-à-vis the artistic phenomena (or, in any case, vis-à-vis the phenomena that are presented to us as artistic) of a world that is, historically speaking, strange to us."*

O' Gorman proposes, in contrast to the European historian's practice of *'historical criticism'* which tries to understand the foreign object in terms of the world that it belongs to (thereby falling into the trap of interpreting it in European terms), what he calls *'simple criticism'*, where *"the object is incorporated into the culture of whoever makes it the object of contemplation."* This then opens up the space for O' Gorman, in contemplating upon a sculpture of the Aztec goddess Coatlicue, a basis with which to make sense of the 'monstrous ugliness' of Aztec sculpture by acknowledging its alienness to his own modern Mexican sensibilities, but at the same time seeing within the monstrousness of pre-colonial Aztec art something that might speak to a divergence from the 'monstrous' in Greek and Latin art. Again, any historicising of 20th century Mexican artifacts cannot, I argue, proceed without a larger and longer view of what held valence in political discourses at the time.

Where the intellectual discourses and political formations of decolonisation emphasized narrative building in the interests of solidarity across heterogenous locals, new and novel forms of protest such as in Gandhian non-violence, a global solidarity between colonized and oppressed peoples against Anglo-European imperialism, and the search for new social, political, and economic alternatives to Anglo-European colonial institutions, arguably the most powerful of which was Marxism, the later postcolonial studies scholarship of the 1970s and 1980s focused largely on issues of identity, interlocution, interpretation, translation, and representation, and came from immigrant academics squarely entrenched in Northern academies: Edward Said, Gayatri Spivak, and Homi Bhabha, to speak of a few. Postcolonial studies from the 1990s onwards turned its focus largely towards the issues most pertinent to its diasporic and immigrant interlocutors in the wake of a changed global, post-Cold War climate of US dominance, where neoliberalism was rapidly rising as a dominant politico-economic ideology and markets were opening up: 'globalisation', 'modernization', 'cosmopolitanism', 'hybridization', and 'diasporic studies' were now in vogue. It's also worth noting that exemplary modes and genres of this later turn from the 1990s onwards in postcolonial history and historiography are global and transnational history, as opposed to the earlier genres of radical Marxist historiography and subaltern histories.

I am not going to spend too much time on the critiques of postcolonial, apart from a few key points. In the discipline of history, as Sumit Sarkar surveys in *The Decline of the Subaltern in Subaltern Studies*, the earlier political commitments of subaltern studies historians like Ranajit Guha and Gyanendra Pandey to *"write better histories from below"* and provide alternative accounts of the independence and nationalist movements representing the perspectives of commoners rather than elites, gave way to a larger focus, especially onwards from the 1990s, on issues of cultural exchange and syncretization, and diasporic and migrant hybridity. As Arif Derlik points out in *How The Grinch Hijacked Radicalism*, these were hardly underprivileged figures in their own societies, largely belonging to local elites and upwardly-aspirant bourgeois, both classes that had been the greatest beneficiaries of the by-then failing or hijacked processes of revolutionary decolonisation. Marxist critics like Nivedita Majumdar and Vivek Chibber have also criticized subaltern studies and postcolonial scholarship: I recommend Majumdar's essay, *Silencing the Subaltern* in particular for its incisive close reading and critique of Ranajit Guha, Homi Bhabha, and Gayatri Spivak's framings of the agency of lower-caste working class Indian women as 'resistance' rather than acquiescence to prevailing authoritarian structures, something that would be possible only if they had read culture in relation to class and other local political ontologies.

Two more genealogies feed into the present turn, and these were developments that emerge largely out of the Anglo-American context. The first is the influence of critical race theory (CRT), largely coming from the United States; the analogue to this in the contemporary attention to indigeneity and the experiences of the native peoples of the Americas comes from settler-colonial studies and indigenous studies. Both Black and indigenous histories endogamous to the United States are understandably revisionist in terms of intent and scope, focusing on rewriting popular settler narratives on the history of racialization in America. The North American influence on contemporary discourse in design has been huge, and this

further reflects in how fundamental race and indigeneity have become to the state of the current discourse.

I do think that it is worth noting that two different sets of discourses on hybridity emerged out of the American context in the 1970s and 1980s that continue the lineage of the project of tracing new identities that we find in early Latin American philosophy. The first of these I can trace in the Chicana literature of the 1980s and 1990s, in texts like Gloria Anzaldua's well known *Borderlands\La Frontera*; the second in the Black Renaissance and civil rights movements in the United States across the early-mid 20th century that, like its Latin-American counterparts, sought to develop a new collective identity for African-Americans. The past plays an entirely different role here than it does in postcolonial and subaltern studies scholarship: a largely positive, speculative role that both reaffirms the pre-colonial past as much as it denies any decisive continuity with it. This is made possible by the ways in which the architects of these texts and movements sought to use the past as inspiration, rather than as precedent, in speculating on new and radically different identities and futures from the present for their communities.

4. CODA

What can the present turn, and the emphasis on decoloniality, learn from this history? I conclude by ending my genealogy with an appraisal of Latin American decolonial scholarship, which aims to recover the active project of developing radically different visions of plural societies as part of its aim that was the hallmark of the early scholarship of radical decolonial thinkers in its vision of a new global order: the 'world of many worlds', the pluriverse. One of its principal claims is that differences between cultures are incommensurable, a claim that the theory needs in order to posit alternatives to modernity and capitalism in its vision of pluriversality. Its premise, supported across the board by proponents old and new, is that ontological designing oriented towards designing new forms of life might lead to the kind of ontological differentiation a pluriverse demands, something that would also lead us away from Anglo-Eurocentric epistemic colonization.

Walter Mignolo locates the project of decoloniality in de-westernization and the reinstatement through reinterpretation of social, political, economic and cultural forms that were ravaged via colonial processes:

"The first step of decolonial "delinking" is to re-inscribe, in contemporary debates and toward the future, social organizations and economic conceptions that were banned and silenced by the progressive discourse of modernity, both in its liberal capitalist and socialist communist vein."

Yet Mignolo's call for delinking doesn't take into account the fact that postcolonial access to pre-colonial history, is heavily mediated by and through the experience of colonization - there is no going back, and in this way, I suspect, decolonial theory seems in danger of falling back on a very conservative definition of 'culture': one that clearly situates 'alternative' and 'non-Anglo-European' either in the past or in values and worldviews that have somehow 'survived' on the margins despite the ravages of capitalism. While decolonial theory's tracing of "the structure and totality" (to use Arif Derlik's framing) of the modern world-system in the longue durée of history is a commendable project, a nuanced attention to major political movements across different contexts over the last two centuries reveals a far more complex picture of social and cultural change under a changing global order.

No culture can be reduced to essential elements other than the most generic and banal; in fact, as the history of decolonisation shows us, not only through the colonial period but in the pre-colonial past *and* the postcolonial period defined through globalization, we should read cultures as constantly in change, as protean, their protean heterogeneity established by temporal and spatially specific circumstances, and as characterized by continuous and constant mutual influence on each other, what postcolonial theory, in slightly different formulations, characterizes as syncretism or hybridity. As Mignolo states in a 2013 essay in Al Jazeera noting the debate between Santiago Zabala and Hamid Dabashi, Seyyed Hossein

Nasr may indeed trace back to Ali Shariati and Lewis Gordon to Frantz Fanon, but the former also owes much to Frithjof Schuon, and the latter, to Jean-Paul Sartre.

One of the strengths of Latin American decolonial thought also lies in its recovery of a centering of anti-colonial struggles as also simultaneously anti-capitalist struggles, something that, as Marxist critics of postcolonial studies have argued, postcolonial studies either understates or refutes — indeed, my sense is that, like Marxism, decolonial theory in its scope and ambition promises a return of 'total' social theory, something that Marxists like David Harvey have pointed to has been in retreat since the rise of postmodernism in the later 20th century. Indeed, just as Marxist theory has benefited greatly from a greater and more incisive focus on issues of race, gender, culture and modernity, a deeper engagement with Marxism's own history, its century long struggle against capitalism over the 20th century, and its immense valence as a viable alternative to capitalism based on its promise to working class people around the world to bring down social hierarchies would deeply benefit decolonial activists.

Capitalist economies rely on the continuous production of the new based on the interpellation, and in fact the production, of difference, an insight that has been a long-standing observation of Marxist thought going all the way back to the work of Leon Trotsky and Rosa Luxemburg. A critical engagement between decolonial and Marxist thought might reveal that if cultures are absolutely incommensurable, and here I'm drawing from Vivek Chibber's critique of postcolonial theory, this would imply that neither modernity nor capitalism is universal or totalizing, as decolonial theory claims, and therefore, would undercut the emphasis that decolonial theory places on the cultural and onto-epistemic homogenization that happens as a consequence of coloniality and capitalist modes of production. This would force us then to complicate projects of delinking and ontological designing as constituted by appeals to radical alterity (a task that already presumes that cosmological and cultural change through socio-technical transition can be anticipated and planned). At the very least, conversations between decoloniality and Marxism might push the former to take more seriously the failures of past movements and, just as it promises so much to indigenous peoples and racialized others, to promise more to the billions of weary subjects on the planet resigned to abject lives that do not necessarily situate indigeneity or racialization at the heart of their visions for a better future.

An engagement with the insights of postcolonial theory, as well as with related discourses like those coming from the ethical and political philosophy of cosmopolitanism and nationalism (I'm thinking here of Anthony Appiah's work) might also be fruitful. The latter, in taking seriously the question of how communities that are incommensurable and cannot *perceivably* understand each other, are to coexist occupying the same spaces and places, in modern cosmopolitan societies, might be very helpful for design educators who have to deal with classrooms full of students from all around the world, and design researchers who have to collaborate across transnational spaces. Given the history of nationalism and the powerful force that nationalist narratives exert on individual and collective identities in the 21st century, deeper study into the intersection between decolonisation, decoloniality, and nationalism might lead us to interrogate more closely the imagined movement between a world of nation-states and a pluriverse.

Arturo Escobar notes this in *Designs for the Pluriverse*, at the very beginning of Chapter 6, in fact, but chooses not to say much on it. In theory, autonomous design and autonomia, emphasizing place-making, inter-relationality and inter-cultural exchange and co-existence, collaboration, and programmatic and structural experimentation with new social forms through the technical and material, all sound good; in practice, however, it is less clear how pluriversality and autonomous design can develop into something that speaks to tens, if not hundreds, of millions of people that all see themselves as national 'natives', to a greater or lesser extent, and include and exclude individuals on the basis of strong national, ethnic, religious, and many other affinities.

The moment that we forget that the ontologies and symbolic categories that we use to frame and make sense of ourselves and our world, are highly contested, historically specific, politically contingent, and only able to be read against a constellation of other ontologies, we risk reifying them and turning them into idols of worship that can be easily subsumed into the structures of the present world-system. Decolonial theory, particularly when it is at its most convincing as a speculative practice of 'designing' better futures, has the potential to emerge

as a powerful new paradigm; however, as I have attempted to argue, it needs to take seriously the questions and insights of other frameworks. Between the overdetermination of anthropological differentiation and heterogeneity, which postcolonial theory and critical cultural studies in general have historically emphasized, and which has the potential to fall into narratives of nationalist purification and fascism, and the overdetermination of material realities, of capital and land in particular and of categories like class, as Marxism has emphasized, something that has led to many failed revolutions on the Left and to authoritarian regimes as in Stalinist Russia and Maoist China, I argue that we need to find a middle path. Design historians, in taking up genealogy as a serious project, in bringing the histories of design and the design of histories to the attention of larger discourses around design politics and ethics, have much to offer in this regard.

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Death of Women: The Dark Side of Modern Design History

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Abstract | In the 1880's, Herman Webster Mudgett, better known as Henry Howard Holmes built a lethal, practical, and convenient building containing nearly one hundred rooms, apartments, and retail storefronts in Chicago. Holmes's design achievement is a functionalist paradigm that fits in perfectly with the perspective of modern mechanization and its implementation. As a manifestation of seriality, Holmes murders are the product of a convergence of rationales through which two seemingly antagonistic practices were united by one common denominator: the new industrial modes of production, of which design and serial murder are but two different manifestations. This dark side masterfully embodied by the anonymous designer enables us to rethink the history of design as written by Nikolaus Pevsner and Siegfried Giedion. A critique of the conventions of the discipline archetypically embodied by Holmes, whose attention to innovation and industrialization never subsided is all the more powerful as it deconstructs the original misconception of virtuous design. It is therefore, around the edges of the epic narrative of its "pioneers," as Pevsner calls them, that the history of design—a history at once more complex and dark—unfolds. But there is more, most victims killed by Holmes were women. Not only women disappeared in the house, but this functionalist apparatus reflects and reveals a dreadful disappearance of women. They are absent from modern narrativized constructions that tends to present a single history of ideas and white ontological, moral, and social forms. If both women and evil are glaringly absent, these contributions are instrumental to the revision of the discipline

Keywords: design history, serial killer, female gaze, dis-anonymisation, historiography

1. Introduction

Taken together, Nikolaus Pevsner's Pioneers of the Modern Movement and Siegfried Giedion's Mechanization Takes Command could be considered the founding texts of the history of design. In his 1936 book, Pevsner retraces the history of the Modern Movement, whose origins he locates in the European industrial revolution. Pevsner seeks to establish a singular, unitary lineage for the Modern Movement with a genealogy of heroic figure made explicit by the subtitle of his book, From William Morris to Walter Gropius. In a very different manner, Giedion's Mechanization Takes Command published twelve years later, after WWII, in 1948, encompasses a vast range of inanimate and sentient subjects: from bolts to the butchering of animal carcasses in the famous Chicago's slaughterhouses. Giedion's approach put together an encyclopedic history of innovation—intertwined with the history of art. Giedion's narrative displays the evolution of the techniques that unite the aesthetic and the mechanical becomes a triumphant story of progress. What, then, can be achieved by looking at these two texts together? What do they have in common, aside from offering two versions of the history of design and its origins

written almost contemporaneously by two white European men? Both claims an objective approach, and both offer a scheme of reference points from which it is possible to analyze design from its very beginnings. Both texts produced by male authors considered to be major critics associated with the Modern Movement in architecture, set up a biased design history for whom design was far from core concern. And as I have demonstrated in my counter-historiography of design: Design by Accident (Midal 2019), neither Pevsner nor Giedion set out to establish a history of design as such. For them, design was a functionalist anchor to a wider line of thought.

2. A Woman Lineage

Interestingly, for a couple of pages, in Mechanization Takes Command, Giedion succinctly evokes the work of American educator Catharine Beecher and explains how her 1841 bestseller A Treatise on Domestic Economy quite literally transformed the American domestic landscape. For Giedion, Beecher's embodies a kind of enclave in the history of design in which women establish the domestic sphere as a space of social and political form intertwined with national ramifications. Model figure, Catharine Esther Beecher, not only coined the "domestic economy." (Beecher 1846, 5) but she also elevated the organization of the home to the political sphere. Beecher

pioneered the notions of domestic economy, rationality, and hygiene. Her contribution ranged from practical inventions, such as devices for ventilation and air circulation, or the continuous work surface (1869) that we still use today, to broader principles such as the rational design and use of rooms, the regulation of temperature, practical storage, and even body posture and care. Illustrated with diagrams showing optimum storage strategies for everything from shoes to spices to fabric, as well as anatomical charts and plumbing models, her books mark a change in the status of the housewife, recognizing the homemaker as a profession. She calls for housewives to be considered as "house physicians who would be as liberally educated and paid as men for curing diseases" (Sklar,1973; 1981, 268) In amongst the recipes and advice on maintaining good health, one finds a redefinition of women's place in nineteenth-century industrial society. She equates the emancipation of women with the rational organization of their home. just as men begin their careers only after many years of study, it is only through some form of instruction that women can fully assume their professional responsibilities as mothers, wives, and homemakers. Such adaptation of the industrial model to the home brings an unexpected corollary: Beecher demands for women who had trained and been educated in the upkeep of the home to be granted financial independence. Beecher's notion of the rational home is complex, she problematizes the conception of functionalism as the efficient, impersonal servant of capitalism, and she considers that women should always obey the dominant patriarchy. In extolling the value of domesticity and seeking to influence the education of an elite class of young women, Beecher aimed not so much to raise the status of American women as to make them aware of their grave responsibilities in the context of a nation in peril. The ambiguous nature of her revolution reflected the contradictions in her own life philosophy: while she was uninterested in altering the balance of power within the

home, as the historian Janice Williams Rutherford observes, “Beecher espoused the doctrine of separate spheres, yet she sought the power and influence available only to men under the terms of that doctrine.”(Rutherford 2003, xix) Beyond her promotion of rationality, and behind her functionalist discourse, Beecher’s functionalism ultimately anticipates the outcomes of a parallel ideology that aimed not only to lessen the burden of women but also to lend weight to abolitionist arguments. Beecher expounded an ideology that aimed not only to ease the labor of women and more importantly to lend weight to her abolitionist convictions: Through rationalization, she demonstrated that slaves were no longer necessary for the upkeep of the home. Also, Beecher’s position counters misconceptions that all discussion of design by women should reductively replay the tensions between industrial and craft production, and in turn between men and women. Returning to

Beecher, the legacy of her educational mission, and the many theories it subsequently informed, dispels the notion of design as an exclusively design masculine phenomenon as it was said to be. Beecher’s conclusions were but the starting point for an ongoing feminine reflection lineage on the mechanization of domestic tasks, such as the domestic Taylorism by feminist Paulette Bernege, which would continue throughout the twentieth century, but that was also easily put aside, and frequently forgotten. And despite the social and political ramifications of their work, however, none of these women set out to reform the relationship between the sexes. Although she has often been relegated to the sidelines, much is

owed to Lillian Moller Gilbreth, referred to during her lifetime as the “First Lady of Industrial Engineering,” who, in addition to raising her twelve children, founded a school for time and motion studies that won the confidence of industrialists. She introduced principles of psychology to scientific management with her publication in 1914 of The Psychology of Management, with its explicit subtitle, The Function of the Mind in Determining, Teaching and Installing Methods of Least Waste. Gilbreth was far more than a mere spouse, assistant or collaborator: she earned a doctorate from Brown University and was the first woman to become a member of the prestigious American Society of Mechanical Engineers. She went on to teach mechanical engineering at Purdue University, emphasizing the importance of motivation, satisfaction and stress as important factors that needed to be integrated into rational organization, standardization, and ergonomics. In 1912, she had begun visual research on body movement and set up her first studio with her husband Frank. The dynamics of market-driven media worked to abstract the worker experience, increasingly alienated by commodification. In 1924, Frank was struck down by a heart attack in a phone booth, while he was on the line with his wife.

3. A Female Gaze

From that point on, Lillian took over the helm of the enterprise Gilbreth, Inc. on her own that the couple had created twelve years earlier. In order to better manage the raising of her eleven children, she relocated her laboratory and installed her office at her home. In turn, her family gradually became subjects for her research.

She observed them to gauge whether she could apply the same principles of scientific labor management that were being implemented in factories to her household. Without stooping to caricature, it was understood that the couple divided tasks among themselves: Frank dealt with travel, the publicizing of their experiments and any artistic direction behind the camera, while Lillian handled the writing. Of course, his death changed the situation: Lillian continued to pursue their research projects and oversaw the filming. One might surmise in a sense that

she was the first woman who transferred cinematographic shooting techniques from the factory to the home. This shift in no way diminished the ambition and scope of her research, but in thus taking control of her film production, she instigated a revolution that redefined the housewife of the early 20th century. She was not the

factory worker, mother and spouse who indefatigably dedicated herself to her household, but rather an operator-in-chief who assumed a double role of object and subject, as she explains in one of her works:

> If a film were taken… of you washing dishes, you could see yourself doing the work at the actual speed at which you did it and thus notice what rhythm and ease you had developed, or you could see yourself making the

> same motions very slowly, detect your slightest awkwardness, and find out just why you succeeded or failed at the work.(Gilbreth 1928, 114-116).

As numerous scholars analyzed it, Lillian Gilbreth inverted the dominant male gaze, replacing it with a ‘female gaze: by encouraging women (as housewives) to conceive of themselves as both camera and subject, seeing and seen, repositioning the female gaze within the constraints of an explicitly masculine scientific objectivity. In

his brilliant evaluation of L. D. Graham’s recent analyses, Nicholas Sammond describes this characteristic evolution in cinema which developed in parallel with the rationalized observation of the home: “Gilbreth’s fantasy of a domestic time-and-motion cinema placed a woman—already fragmented as woman, wife, and mother—in two subject positions simultaneously: as the producer of the spectacle of her filmed labour and as its spectator (Sammond 2006,105). The incorporation of scientific management considered an androcentric prerogative,” shifted to the domestic sphere, a territory generically associated with the feminine. Even if this did not change the status of women, nor the preponderance of the dominant male gaze, as we know it, the contribution of Lillian Gilbreth made her as much a pioneer in the realm of cinema as she was in the history of design. Nevertheless,

Lillian’s contribution was limited to her status as wife and mother. Often relegated to being her husband’s ‘little woman’ she often remained in his shadow, adopting a submissive position that was in no way commensurate with the importance of her work. Even after Frank’s death, the works concerning the couple’s research almost never treat Lillian’s work as an individual effort. However, the patriarchal context, what is more, amidst a family that advocated eugenics, was not conducive to Lillian’s assuming a position as a defender of equal rights for women, much as she might have desired it. Still, she does make a forceful argument for gender equality:

> So many things [that] have been accepted time without end as sex differences have proved to be only type differences that it is necessary to proceed slowly and carefully in any investigation if insufficiently grounded hypotheses are to be avoided. It may be that the findings of the ancients as to sex differences, mental and emotional, were wrong. (Sammond 2006,115-116).

It was necessary to wait for the publication of Graham’s analyses to begin to balance this injustice. This fate is a constant that comes from the inherently patriarchal origins of the history of design, in which the contributions of

women are often passed over, or merely subsumed with those of their husbands. This spectral element in some of Gilbreth’s images captured the eye of graphic designer Rick Poynor who comments as follows: “What appealed to me then, and this hasn’t changed nearly three decades later, is (…) the spectral figure of the woman

(…)” (Poynor 2016). In his examination of a famous photogram by the Gilbreth visual Taylorism, dated 1912, of a woman factory worker busying herself at her work before a camera, Poynor perceives a triple negation: the spectral of gender, that of women, the spectral of activity, that of the labour and individuality of the author, and finally, the spectral of class struggle, with the physical disappearance of the factory worker. These proto-designer carried out research into the organization of the home raises something of a paradox. Their projects reinforce a marked separation between the public and private spheres, yet at the same time promote a reform of domestic organization and the education of women with a view to their emancipation. They strive for domestic chores to be recognized, not as the socially inexistent activity of the subaltern, but as a profession in its own right. However, while they succeeded in maintaining society’s stability by reconciling division of roles along gender lines with the modernization of the private sphere that threatened to destabilize them, they also allowed men to retain their

power and the spaces associated with it. This is why the advent of a female conception of design actually preserved divisions along gender lines rather than challenging them.

4. Rewriting History: Women are Serial Victims

To begin the history of design with Pioneers of the Modern Movement is to begin with a paradox. To suggest that this work, which declines to confer upon design the status of a discipline, and whose subject is not design but the prehistory of modern architecture, is clearly problematic. Nor does *Mechanization Takes Command* simplify the issue. Giedion was barely more interested in design itself than Pevsner. But the weaving together of these two histories sets out the basis for a critical awareness necessary for the construction of an autonomous history of

design. Morris is no longer design's heroic figure but is preceded by a heroine—or rather, non-heroine—in the form of Beecher and her followers. In reintroducing into the history of design and its origins women, I am trying to participate in the urge for redefining the discipline's scope and stakes. But I am concerned that it is only one among many other revisions that need to be made. Therefore, I would like to invite H. H. Holmes (Midal, 2018; 2022), the so-called first serial killer of the US into the debate.

Why a serial killer? If the dismantling of the modern movement narration of design history needs to be done beyond the usual androcentrism, as well as the western unitarian vision, the questioning of the moral standing point defined as a pinnacle by Pevsner, that was never questioned as such, and he is still effective behind the

pristine ethic vocabulary that prevails in design today, can find with the case study of H. H. Holmes an interesting counterpoint, but also as we will see at the end, in a male-dominated debate, Holmes expresses and personifies the violence against women.

> It will be remembered that the remains of a large kiln made of fire brick was found in the Castle basement. It had been built under Mr. Warner's supervision for the purpose of exhibiting his patents. [...] It was into this kiln that I induced Mr. Warner to go with me, under pretense of wishing certain minute explanations of the process, and then stepping outside, as he believed to get some tools. I closed the door and turned on both the oil and steam to their full extent. In a short time not even the bones of my victim remained. (H. H. Holmes 1896; 2005, 347)

It was in these terms that America's serial killer, Herman Webster Mudgett, better known as Henry Howard Holmes, confessed to one of the countless crimes he had committed by strangulation, asphyxiation, cremation, and various other means in the house he had designed for this very purpose. While the newspapers attributed

several hundred murders and disappearances to him, the exact number of his victims cannot be established with certainty. Indeed, some of the people Holmes himself claimed to have killed, such as his janitor Robert Latimer, appeared in flesh during his trial (their identity could be established beyond doubt thanks to their birth certificates). There is no doubt, however, that Holmes was a serial killer, as well as a patent liar and a con man whose career in crime betrays a sound understanding of the technologies of his time—the era of late nineteenth-century

industrial capitalism. In 1896, aged thirty-five, Holmes, the man with multiple identities, was sentenced to death and hanged, taking his secrets, inventions, and lies with him to his grave. Just ten years earlier, Holmes had acquired a patch of land he had been coveting for a while. Although not a professional architect, he drew up the plans for his future home and supervised its construction down to the smallest detail. His construction was so vast that neighbours called it "the Castle." Few would have guessed, though, that behind its stylish facade, the

house boasted some of the most advanced domestic furnishings of its day, including a dumb waiter, a human-sized furnace, and a wall-to-wall remote-controlled gas and electricity system. The ultimate rational-mechanical setting for homely murder mysteries, Holmes's building partakes in the literal realization of the modernist-functionalist project as formalized by Pevsner in Pioneers of the Modern Movement and by Giedion in Mechanization Takes Command. The figure of Holmes, it appears, occupies a counter-position to Pevsner's homogeneous, linear succession of virtuous and heroic "pioneers." But is Holmes any closer to Giedion's Mechanization, which adopts a radically different perspective? Remember Giedion's encyclopedic project maps the relationships between technological achievements on the one hand and social and cultural evolutions on the other. This approach leads

him to argue in favour of a history of aesthetic and mechanical innovation in the triumphant perspective of progress. It is in this perspective that Holmes's activities should be seen. At once lethal, practical, and convenient, his Castle contained nearly one hundred rooms, apartments, and shops.

Holmes's architectural feat is firmly rooted in the historic functionalist project, questioning both this very project and its limits. It would be naïve to consider the inception of the American industrial revolution and the almost simultaneous emergence of the serial killer as a mere coincidence.

5. Dark Designer: A Career?

For this presentation, I decided to reach beyond society's morbid fascination with lurid crime stories, and to examine instead Holmes's architectural achievement not only as a functionalist paradigm that fits in perfectly with the perspective of modern mechanization and its implementation but also as a manifestation of seriality at the crossroads of the assembly line and the invention of the concept of the "serial killer." My hypothesis is that, far from being a coincidental appearance, Holmes was the product of a convergence of rationales through which two

seemingly antagonistic practices were united by one common denominator: the new industrial modes of production, of which design and serial murder are but two different manifestations. The joint emergence of these concepts suggests a triangular relationship between the conception of human life, seriality (and its corollaries), and the human psyche challenged by modernity. This shift in perspective is not without consequences. It was described by Holmes's contemporary, the engineer Thomas Alva Edison, in the following terms:

> "Problems in human engineering will receive during the coming years the same genius and attention which the nineteenth century gave to the more material forms of engineering." (Edison 1917, 301)

Therefore, "It has to be recognized that, in his ghoulish way, Holmes was as much the exponent of the American dream as Henry Ford or Horatio Alger." (Wilson 1969, 206). As Colin Wilson's assessment suggests, the practice of serial killing conflates with the history of industrialization.

The proliferation of appliances designed to improve the household economy follows the rise of the industry at large, echoing the modernization of factory assembly lines and the specialization of tasks. The unprecedented confluence of efficiency and mechanization was made possible by the latter spreading beyond the production of consumer goods to serve as a model for the slaughtering and dismembering of livestock on the world's first assembly lines in Chicago's mechanized meat factories. Against the backdrop of these simultaneous and massive developments, this disturbing coincidence appears as an incarnation of a world where the relationships between the inanimate and the living culminate in a situation where neither animal nor human life is spared by the machine and the lure of profit. The serial pattern characteristic of industrial production finds its most extreme

manifestation in Holmes because, "in the story of Holmes and his crimes, there is nothing more interesting than the description of his Castle, where he is accused of having provided all sorts of devices for disposing of his victims [. . .] It was built with the sole idea of convenience for the commission of crimes (Anon. 1896, 3)," as a contemporary newspaper noted. At the dawn of the nineteenth century, by revisiting and adapting the principles of industrialization to the home, and by combining them with the convenience of efficiency and functionality, the first serial killer in American history exposed the uncontrollable consequences of mechanization and revealed its dark side.

The nineteenth century in the United States was marked by the invention of devices, tools, and systems derived from industrial manufacturing that became indispensable instruments in the smooth running of the modern house. Catharine Beecher was a conceptual pioneer in this field, as she conceived the equipment of the house according to hygienist and functionalist principles inferred from her observations of assembly-line work in the Lowell model plant. She invented domestic rationalization, applying the scientific principles of standardization to the household. Beecher conceived the house as a functional entity; mirroring the organization of the factory, she advocated a rationalization of the housewife's tasks with a view to saving time and alleviating fatigue. By appropriating the

organizational principles of assembly lines and the specialization of tasks in the country's factories for her own purposes, she initiated a revolution. These transformations influenced the experiments of researchers and anonymous users alike, to which Giedion pays tribute in the subtitle of his book. Holmes's

"anonymous contribution" can be situated between these two poles—in what Seltzer describes as a profession: "Serial killing, by all accounts, became a career option at the turn of the century" (Seltzer 1998,1). Holmes plays an important role in the origins and foundations of modern design, which since Pevsner had been interpreted as the galvanization of democratic morality adapted to the industrial changes introduced by manufacturers. By highlighting the extent to which the house had turned into a stage –and if we admit that "the scene of the crime is also the scene of invention" (Seltzer 1998, 217)– Holmes's story forms part of a history that reaches beyond a summary distinction between good and bad. Holmes's victims were mainly women. Newspapers estimated that he had employed more than one hundred women – and as sources vary widely and many are based on speculation, victim counting is a nearly impossible task. In one of his confessions, he admitted to having assassinated fourteen women: Julia L. Connor and her daughter Pearl, a woman named Lizzie, Sara Cook (who was pregnant), Mary Haracamp (a tenant), Emeline Cigrand Rosine van Jassand, Anna Betts, Gertrude Conner, someone he named "Miss Kate," Minnie and Nannie Williams, and Alice and Nellie Pitzel. As Frank Geyer, the Philadelphia police inspector who eventually tracked Holmes down in Boston, noted, all the women with whom Holmes had been romantically involved were blonde. His victims were almost exclusively women, whether his mistresses, employees, and/or accomplices. And the truly remarkable fact is that they all met their tragic fate in the mechanized lair of the Castle. Holmes's standardized murder practice negated both the individuation of the subject and the singularity of his victims while engaging with techno-capitalist rationalization.

6. Androcentric Neurosis

Historically, design was founded on a rational homology between manufactured production and household organization, and between economics and functionalism. But a relationship also exists between the treatment of the products of capitalism, whether consumer goods or (mainly female) workers' bodies and technical rationality pushed to its extremes. Preempting the laws of "good design," Holmes conceived a hyper-functional space in which he could perform all of his activities rationally, conveniently, and quietly. He was so attached to his house and its furnishings that, even as he was fleeing from the police, he was making projects to build a complex of houses based on the model of his Chicago Castle. His case therefore shakes the foundations of the naïve Pevsner and Giedon's history of modern design.

The critique of the conventions of the discipline is more powerful as it deconstructs the original misconception of virtuous design. It is therefore around the edges of the epic narrative of its "pioneers," as Pevsner calls them, that

our story –at once more complex and more daring– ties in with the origins of design. It is here embodied archetypically by Holmes, whose attention to innovations and industrialization never subsided. Examining the malevolent potential of design through the figure of Holmes and adopting the idea that crime produces an "increase in wealth" –to use Karl Marx's terminology in Theories of Surplus Value (Marx 1863)– allows us to highlight the ambiguities of a formidably complex yet often simplified discipline. As we know, William Morris was wary of the consequences of the industrial revolution on working and living conditions in urban behemoths such as London; Holmes, on the contrary, embraced its achievements wholeheartedly. The juxtaposition of these two antagonistic figures—Morris as Doctor Jekyll and Holmes as Mister Hyde—brings into focus the crucial point of

our story: the relationship between morality and progress. Each in their own way, these two contemporaries (who, incidentally, died the same year) put this relationship to the test, the former by exalting it, the latter by exploiting it. Holmes's criminal career questions the foundations of mechanization as profoundly as the virtuous practices of Morris and the Arts & Crafts movement. Highlighting the innate polarity of design, their respective trajectories, therefore, raise similar issues. This approach takes inspiration from the work of historian Reyner

Banham who, in "History and Psychiatry," (Banham 1960, 325–332) pointed out the blind spots and denials of the history of modern architecture and accused his predecessors of "amnesia." By appropriating the vocabulary of psychoanalysis to

characterize historians’ intentional and unintentional omissions, Banham took a distanced view that paved the way for a more nuanced reconstruction of the history of the modern movement. His concept of a

“zone of silence” —a grey area masterfully embodied by the anonymous Holmes— further enables us to rethink another history of design. By evoking its horror, we question the virtuousness with which technology was originally associated, if not confused. But more importantly, highlighting its intrinsic toxic potential enables us to shift the central status of functionalism in favour of a new perspective. It remains to be seen if design is strong enough —and nothing is less certain— to finally allow for the integration of these “missing masses,” this

accursed share, or to balance Pevsner perspective and to comply to Giedion’s mechanization dedicated to the anonymous, even if absolutely different by nature, the role of women such as Beecher or Gilbreth for instance as well as the role of evil figures such as Holmes, are all alike forgotten invisible figures of a biased history of modern design that calls for revision. In combining woman designers on the one side and a serial killer of women on the other side, and to claim for the reintegration of these two grey forgotten zones of design history, even if entirely

different, unveils simultaneously these two perspectives, one that tries to restore the woman legacy for a design discipline, showing important milestones, anonymous as heroine, open to a necessary lineage up to today’s, and the other, amoral, capitalist, murderer, shows that beyond the usual binary design debates, it is important to dismantle the conventional design mythology narrative, moral on one side and patriarchal on the other without substituting it by one or other narratives. To integrate a series of parallel histories forgotten by the first western design histories, to incorporate numerous missing strata exposes the necessity to rethink in a bigger scope the diversity of design origins and perspectives. Still, the fact that the common thread here is that women are always

the victims, may they be killed, their flesh destroy by quicklimes in Holmes Castle basement and their skeleton rearticulated to be sold to medicine school for 25 to 45 dollars each, or may they be the litter women of their husband, father or son and have disappeared in the closets of history, maybe it is time to stop using the usual metaphor of ghost or erasure and invisibility, and adjust H. H. Holmes as the embodiment of the immoral, androcentric, lethal design history, and instead reclaim a fair trial for the literal murder of the women — women historians as well as women designers.

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About the Author:

Dr Alexandra Midal combines a curating and research activity in design, art and visual culture. Professor in the Master Spaces & Communication, at HEAD – Genève / HES-SO, she teaches theoretical and practical workshops around the films by designers. Former Director of the Regional Founds of Contemporary Art of Haute-Normandie (FRAC), and former assistant of Dan Graham, she has curated numerous shows in international museums. Her next show “Top Secret investigates the image and espionage” La cinémathèque française, La Caixa, Madrid;Barcelona. Midal realizes theoretical films touring in museums worldwide. Since 2016, Midal is curating the Design Film Festival, an education program of experimental films focused on exploring post-media design language and the narratives. Her most recent publication is Design by Accident, For a New History of Design (Sternberg Press).

Dessobons and archaeodesign

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Abstract | Western design (the only one) projects its own assumptions over the ways in which people that live in their own traditions and customs, spiritualize, dispose, prefigure and materialize things. Under the pretext of co-design with them, more and more adjectives are added to the word design, and because of that an enormous, untranslatable, and immeasurable plurality, vanishes or goes unnoticed. To avoid that, I propose to stop seeing in everything that others do variations of design and begin to see design as variations of what others do. Departing from different ideas about the south, as what is denied, despised, discriminated or ignored by Modernity, I take a trip along the way of some provocations as the designs of the south, designs-others, and designs with other names, until reach what I ultimately call Dessobons (DEsigns of the South, of the Souths, Others, by Other NameS), as a way to approach other stories with a transitory and non-invasive name. From there, I try to answer if it is possible for us to remember other futures? or can we anticipate other pasts? Then I elaborate on the frontier between archaeology and design, and about declassified and decolonial possibilities of delinking, archaeology from past to design futures, and design from future to archaeologize pasts. Afterwards, I use the archaeodesign, proposed by Professor Fernando Álvarez, to name an in-between field of knowledge and inquiry in two ways: first, “the design of archaeology”, to question the way archaeology has been designed (as a device to capture pasts) and to confront the orthodoxy that privileges few explanations and material configurations while denying many more. And second, “The archaeology of design”, as a perpetual questioning of the materializing historical project of modernity (Eurocentric, racist, patriarchal, etc.) that turns design into a device for capturing everyone's futures. In the end I open myself to the possibility of recognizing, on the ideas of Professor Tomas Mercier, an exorbitant, non-ontological heterogeneity beyond pluralism, through which infinity of human groups do things where the term design has no power nor meaning. So much has been designed where design never was.

Keywords: Dessobons, Archaeodesign, Designs of the South, Designs-other, Designs by other names.

1. First steps

The expression Dessobons, an acronym that emerged from combining three ideas that I have worked on for years (DEsigns of the South, of the Souths, Others, by Other NameS), arises from my attempts to escape the disciplinary designation of "design", drawing on those of archaeologists who proposed to escape from the disciplinary designation of archeology. At a crossroads between the *archeology of design* (a questioning of the canonical past of the term design) and the *design of archeology* (a study of the way in which archeology was designed to capture the past of many human groups). This meeting was called by my colleague Fernando Álvarez, in Spanish: arqueodiseño, which in English would be archaeodesign. The same term in English was proposed by Professor Rich Potter of the University of Southampton, as an approach to applying computer technologies to archeology (which in 2010 he also formalized as ArchaeoDesign). Same word, different meaning.

I am interested in approaching the design of Euro-western origin (for me the only one) as a modern device for capturing the future of all human groups. By simplifying I will say that if archeology begins with unearthing artifacts and ends with words that classify them, conversely, design, and especially industrial design, begins with ideas, words and images and ends with artifacts. Remember that in old Latin industry meant ingenuity, so there was industry in people before the birth of modern industries and the industrial design. Through a relativization of the omnipresence of design, I try to question its supposed universality.

The road to dessobons is toward the outside of design, Was the design always there? In 2008, the 6th International Conference of Design History and Design Studies, ICDHS in OSAKA, Japan, had as subject: Another Name for Design: Words for creation. For its organizers, the English word "design" with its basic meanings "arrangement, drawing, plan, model, pattern or intention" was expanded beyond its traditional meaning, to encompass cycles of life, production, of human beings, and societies, and all kinds of planning, development, manufacturing, and means of logistics, marketing, purchase, and consumption. The organizers, among whom I highlight Professor Haruhiko Fujita, also pointed out that while the word "design" has expanded its meaning and become internationalized, the nuances that once existed to some degree equivalent to "design" in many human groups are disappearing as they are being mistranslated as "design" (ICDHS, n. d.)

In its leitmotif (ICDHS, n. d.) that conference proclaimed that each culture had ways of relating its senses and intelligences to things and events, which the organizers added did not deny "design", nor the universality of the world, but rather sought to share the diversity and importance of design: since all cultures have their own history and design ideas, from their own ways of doing and creating.

I doubt about the universality of the world, of cultures, of societies and even of the universality of the universe, because regardless of what they designate, these terms are abstractions that distance us from how each group understands what we call reality. Such generalized abstractions, Josef Estermann will say, are “represented” through cognitive efforts, especially the “concept”, the preferred form of cognitive representation in the West, which in idealism replaces reality. For me, on the other hand, reality emerges only in every locality, spoken with specific words by each human group (Estermann 2006, 104).

Now I travel back a decade, to my master's studies in gender at the National University of Colombia, when I learned, based on the ideas of Gottfried Leibniz, how Boaventura de Sousa Santos, at the beginning of the 21st century, questioned Western reason as lazy in four senses: first, as impotent reason that does not exercise itself because it feels that it is impossible to act against needs external to it; second, as arrogant reason that does not exercise itself because it imagines itself free and without the need to prove its freedom; third, as metonymic reason because being a fraction of the available reason, it assumes itself as unique and does not seek or dialogue with other forms of rationality, and, fourth, as proleptic reason that values the future as a prolongation of its own ideas, as linear and mechanical overcoming of the same type of present (Santos, 2016, 164).

For Santos, Western knowledge from 1800 to the present has been mobilized by this lazy reason. In 2012, we began to talk about it with my colleague Fernando Alvarez, who from his teaching experience of several years in Ecuador, was approaching to design from interculturality and Andean thought. Together we sought to adjectivize a design external to the Western one, then the idea of the south appeared: presented by Santos as seminal to confront lazy reason and open the way to new subjectivities. Thus, we began to talk about the design of the south and move this idea, each one at our own pace, for me it was the base of my PhD studies research

in design and creation at the University of Caldas in Manizales Colombia, which I finished after an 8 years journey (november 2021). I considered it along with the other two modalities that I integrated into dessobons: the designs-other and the designs with other names.

By Dessobons I mean go beyond relations between design and history, go to relations external to the ideas of design and history. I am searching for design where it is not, and I think that much of what we call design is not such. This drift to the south, took me in 2014 to Coimbra, Portugal, where Boaventura de Sousa Santos organized an International Colloquium on Epistemologies of the South, there I met Arturo Escobar (since then my teacher and friend) who then was ending the work initially published in Spanish as *Autonomía y diseño la realización de lo comunal* (Escobar, 2016), that in 2018 appeared in English as *Designs for the pluriverse* (Escobar, 2018) In Coimbra, I presented my work *The south of design and the design of the south* (Gutiérrez, 2015a) where in a hypothetical design map, I shown the south of design as everything excluded and silenced from the mainstream design, and the design of the south as not only the whole of what is designed and coming from any south, but as the recognition that the same ideas of south have been likewise designed.

Arturo included this in his book. And since then, I have collected souths everywhere as an umbrella term that groups possibilities, which seen from the global framework organized from Western codification, allude to the peripheral, marginal, and forgotten, and the alternative… I considered many Souths, that's why the plural Designs of the Souths.

2. Paths to otherness

I reject an adjective for the south, even if it allowed to overcome the discrimination established by the Cold War and the ideas of the Third World, or Developing World: the global South, of which many friends of emancipation are so devoted of. Yes, it made it easier to link peripheral economies through horizontal south-south cooperation (Fabian, 2020, 7). But, as the Brazilian thinker Camila Amorim Jardim points out, the whole Global South idea totalizes and homogenizes, and becomes an imitation and response to the idea of the Global north, that denies differences and divergences (Jardim, 2017).

Jardim (2017, 2) says that when speaking of the Global South, often academics and politicians end up referring not to weaker countries and the minorities that the term supposedly favors, but to the more powerful emerging countries and the elites of the southern countries, which that way gain grip inside the dominant discourse, by deprovincializing the global south and presenting it as a united narrative which consolidates local hegemonies, close to modernization and the Western capitalist project from which they benefit, and excludes the particularities of many vulnerable groups and minorities. I prefer to speak of clusters of souths, without abstractions nor generalizations. If anything, I would grudgingly accept just the idea of “Global Souths” in the plural (Andean, Mediterranean, Polynesian, etc.).

The question of the south flows in a polycardinal way (in many directions), polysemic, full of definitions and relationships based on place. In Abya Ayala according to the indigenous name extended to the American continent, the inverted America of Uruguayan painter Joaquín Torres García is a milestone. In anthropology, theories of the south have been elaborated by authors such as: Esteban Krotz (Krotz, 1993), Jean Comaroff and Jhon Comaroff (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2012), and Juan Obarrio (Obarrio, 2020), who emphasizes that southern processes are not degraded copies or imperfect and unfinished imitations of Western modernity, and Marcio D'Olne Campos who proposes the verb sulear (southing) to question vertical logics (Campos, 2019). All of them have generated reflections that destabilize the center-periphery pair.

From the arts and thinking about arts biennials, several thinkers summon the south, such as Kevin Murray (southern perspectives) (Murray, 2008) and Nikos Papastergiadis, for whom the idea of the Global South infiltrated by neoliberal and authoritarian regimes leaves without force the idea of the south as a site of emancipatory resistance and cultural difference (Papastergiadis, 2017). Or Anthony Gardner and Charles Green, who present the south as a method (Gardner & Green, 2015), and Sabrina Moura and Thereza Farkas who propose an improbable design of the south (Moura and Farkas, 2013), and Marina Fokidis who in Greece promoted the South as State of Mind (n. d.) magazine.

Alan Mabin, in architecture, asks for an Urbanism of the South (Mabin, 2014), Francisco Sierra's group from Ecuador, speaks of a communicology of the South (Sierra, 2014). While in Philology and Literature, Luis García Montero, finds in the south an essential slowness for the care of others and to avoid the dogmatisms to which the rush pushes us (García-Montero, 2008), Dieter Richter, from Germany, makes the history of the south as a cardinal point (Richter, 2012), and Roberto Dainotto, argues that leaving both universalism and the dialectic of the same are the theoretical challenge of looking from the south, drawing on ideas of Franco Piperno, Dainotto also affirms that the global south allows us to think non-labor economies, productive of values, outside the market and salaried work, related to self-recognition rather than money (Dainotto, 2017).

In Intercultural Philosophy Josef Estermann, from the Andes details how for Quechua and Aymara people realities emerge outside the abstraction of the concept in ritual and encounter (Estermann, 2009). Edgar Morin also thought of souths in plural (Morin, 2018). In International Relations, Arlene Tickner and Karen Smith edited the book *International Relations from the Global South: Worlds of Difference* (Tickner & Smith, 2020). And in sociology: Boaventura de Sousa Santos, presents the epistemologies of the south as a stage for the production and validation of knowledge arising from the experiences of resistance of groups harassed by capitalism, colonialism, and patriarchy (Santos, 2016). Raewyn Connell from Australia characterizes an emerging southern theory where dependency is challenged, and local arguments are followed wherever they lead, taking them as theory, to learn from them and not just about them (Connell, 2007). According to the vertical of modern cartographies, the south and its people remain below, because they are below and behind, all peripheral peoples are south, such as the indigenous peoples, including the Inuit even though they live near the north pole. The indigenous as another generalization for peoples more linked to the place. From Brazil, Marcelo C. Rosa on ideas of other southern thinkers (Santos, Connell, Comaroff and Comaroff etc.), raises something that greatly influenced my approach: non-exemplary southern sociologies, through which he emphasizes that southern knowledges are disobedient to the north archives, they are not another case of, another type of or another example of what north knows or does (Rosa, 2018).

Before them from the south of Italy the also sociologist, recently deceased Franco Cassano, proposed his southern or meridian theorization, which rejects the idea of seeing the south as the “not yet” north. Cassano (2007) reaches the south and his thoughts not from a we or from an identity claim but from the shadow side that any identity, to claim the voices of the South against their representations by the hegemonic culture, always charged with subtle racism even in its most politically correct forms. Cassano's idea influence the design of southern Italy where around the University of Palermo, in 2020, the regional magazine "Sicilia InForma - Notizie on island design" was transformed into the international magazine "Southern Identity - News on meridian design", this meridian design presented as human in scale, ethical and social, based on critical thinking, and linked to the specificities and resources of each territory, to the strengths of the stage where it takes shape, is promoted, among others, by architecture professors Dario Russo (from Palermo) and Rossana Carullo (from Bari).

Carullo proposes a meridian model of interaction between design and territory, which beyond of generic know-how, thinks the ancestral doing that expresses the territory, from the particularities of southern Italy, where techne transformed into humanitas becomes a cultural feature that confronts the languages and innovation processes of contemporary design, this meridian design offers alternatives to the globalization and standardization of goods and languages (Carullo, 2018). Gian Paolo Consoli also from the Polytechnic University of Bari, thinks the South as an ambiguous term, not usable as a category in the absolute sense, with its own specific values and qualities, diverse and contrary to the North, but in relation to any geographical reality, and I would add epistemological, ontological, etc. (Consoli, 2020).

In Latin America the southern particularities of design have also been thought by Luján Cambariere who scrutinizes the specificities and productive practices of the different Souths of Latin America (Cambariere, 2017), and from an Asian POV Ahmed Ansari who in his text *Towards a Design Of, From & With the Global South* denounces the impoverished understanding that the North and the West have of the South and the East, and how the stories that from there are made of the world outside the Anglo-European sphere, are framed in the language of development, such as spaces for which to design, cultural curiosities or places to rescue foreign practices (Ansari, 2016).

With my text *Resurgences: souths, as designs and other designs* (Gutiérrez, 2015b) I continued my own theorization on a design of the south struggling to go beyond the ideas of south and design. Here I introduce another strand of what I call dessobons: the designs-others, on the idea of the an-other-paradigm by Walter Mignolo (Mignolo, 2017) which in turn draws on the thought another of the Moroccan Abdelkebir Khatibi, these “designs” are not more of the same, not other designs but others of the design. Antecedent of this is in the special issue of Design Philosophy Papers (DPP) Vol 1, Issue 6, of 2003/2004 edited by Tony Fry and Anne-Marie Willis with the theme Design's other, there Fry (2003) finds it impossible to free ourselves from the agency of the modern construction of the category of design, as a dominant form constituted from the discourse of modernity, and affirms that we can only speak of the otherness/difference tension in reference to the norm. In turn, Willis (2003) notes that human groups make sense of each other's cultures on their own terms and adds that all ethnocentrism results from an act of unconscious translation of the other's logic to ours.

Regarding Fry’s idea, I think that we can recognize the existence of the modern category without ignoring it, but we can question its omnipresence in all space and time. I question calling design, activities carried out by prehistoric people throughout the planet, according to authors and canonical books, from which the condition of design led to humanization, applying the same word to them as the modern Western discipline of design, regardless of the fact that today is present all over the planet, since the history of the discipline can locate its various linguistic and geographical origins, in some places in Europe, and with an antiquity that perhaps exceeds by far three centuries.

Clive Dilnot scoffs at this in his essay: *History, Design, Futures: Contending with What We have Made*, when he writes that assume that contemporary manifestations of "design" and its professions as we know them today are direct descendants of toolmaking practices from the first hominids, would be laughable if it weren't for the fact that many believe it at face value. (Dilnot, 2015: 152). But if all the prehistoric peoples designed, why could only people like the ancestors of the founders of the Bauhaus bequeath the privileged tradition to their descendants?

These designs-other are not another case or type of design, they are not even designs, that is why I speak, and that is the third strand within the *dessobons*, of “designs with other” names, which is still misleading. Apart from words that recently became equivalents of the English word "design" such as the Chinese word "sheji" and the Japanese word "sekkei" (I doubt they mean exactly the same thing) used by a larger population than that of Europe (Fujita, 2016), I am concerned about the capture by the word design of ancestral practices whose lineages do not respond, neither by etymology, epistemology, or ontology to the idea of design, because they arise from relational entanglements external to modernity, and are violated by incorporating them into it.

In these years I approached (Gutierrez, 2015b) what I call "relational conceptions" such as the *va* or relational space of Polynesian culture, especially Samoan, from which the expression *Teu le va* (“Nourish the relationship”) or the North American idea of the Mitakuye Oyasin (translated as “All our relationships”) of the Lakota people, or the Mino-Bimadiziwin (translated as “The good life”) of the Ojibwe people... or of the natives of the Andes the Sumak kawsay that emerged among the Kichwa of Sarayaku in Ecuador, or from Bolivian Aymara people ideas of the Suma Qamaña (both translated as “good living”). I will say that among the peoples who live these conceptions, although they are called like that, I find not designs but the others/differents of designs or their *equialtervalent* ones. An approach to the peoples diluted in their particularity with the generic of indigenous, often shows that where Western time advances forward as an arrow to the future, in various traditions, it is conceived that in front is the future and not the past, because the future we will never inhabit and when more we carry it on our back. Also, unlike the westerners, many native peoples understand the human as the most dependent creature and not as the administrator of creation. (Jenkinson, 2015:96) These relationalities would be alien to the more nuclear ideas in designing such as project and projection, which are often invasive, since they do not consider the effects of their projection on that which receives it. I am not talking here about a deductive or creative sequence, but to the ideal of control of change that underlies the habitual action of design. Like Cyclops, the X-Men character, traditional design (and almost all design indeed) operates in a kind of setting otherness on fire with his burning gaze.

Thus, the word dessobons (Gutiérrez, 2021) mixes the designs of the south, the designs-other and the designs with other names. I do not seek other names for design, nor the others of design, but other names for other things, things that do not turn out to be the others of design, but practices for which design is the other. Ruptures of reference, ways of avoiding the error of assigning to the other

my own categories of thought, as if their practices derive from my own history, etymology, and epistemology.

I speak of practices of disposing, prefiguring, and materializing (abbreviated as *dipremas*), fugitive from the idea of design and Western concepts, including the concept of concept. I infer them, for instance in the revival of Polynesian ancestral navigation in the 1970s of the XX century (Gutiérrez, 2018) or in the non-architectural originating conical dwellings of the Arctic Circle examined by Tim Ingold (Ingold, 2013), are not others of design, but those for whom design is the other. Dessobons would have to be spoken without -nomies, -sophies, nor -logies.

Indeed, adding adjectives to the word design makes all otherness accessory to the disciplinary noun that is strengthened. I take this idea from the encounter with post-archaeologists, such as the Colombian Cristobal Gnecco whose affirmations about archaeology I apply to design: to be an alternative to archaeology, a practice cannot be called archaeology, but be designated with terms foreign to the disciplinary denomination, based in other languages and regimes of signification (Gnecco, 2016, 93). Another post-archaeologist Nick Shepherd adds that modern colonial disciplinarity tears artifacts from their natural regimes of care, mutilating their relationships, and thanks to disciplinary experts and a sort of conceptual abstractions, such as "heritage", "science" or "material culture" and for the case of design, reinserts them altered within the network of disciplinary care (Shepherd, 2016, 32).

In the face of this, the disruptive approaches worth talking about in design (since I expect nothing from mainstream design) look weak. Autonomous, ontological, indigenous, decolonial and pluriversal designs lose strength becoming adjectives of the same monological monoculture of design that they try to destabilize. As black thinkers like Bayo Akomolafe (Garrison Institute, 2021) or Grada Kilomba (Kilomba, 2008) say, alluding to the monocultures of sugar cane or cotton with which the colonial powers oppressed the peripheries, we must leave the plantation, move away from the monoculture, enter the fugitive thought to avoid flawed freedoms within the same.

3. What comes back from there

I doubt that the word design, which has advanced colonially over the planet, can be stripped of its colonial condition. I think that design should be provincialized, that is why I propose to call design only to Western practices in Westernized contexts all over the planet and to think of dessobons as practices that will never fit into the idea of design, not even in the one of practice. And it is that in examining the works collected in DESIGN STRUGGLES Intersecting Histories, Pedagogies, and Perspectives edited for Claudia Mareis and Nina Paim (Mareis & Paim, 2021), I find that no matter where they start from, in every critical approach it is almost impossible to criticize design without criticizing the West, in a way design is the West, and under the figures of project and the projection as Jiovanny Samanamud says, development travels unnoticed (Samanamud, 2018).

Mareis and Paim (2021, 19) in the introduction of their book, thinking about the search for designs otherwise, ask themselves about how design can propitiate fairer societies of life, without compromising the initiatives arising from below or excluding the voices of those who are most affected, and about how to reimagine design as an open queer practice that operates from within the world instead of assuming itself superior to it, or if it can be a situated practice instead of being an escapist strategy of the global north to solve problems... and their answer is that design can hardly change something without first changing itself.

On this subject, I consider that design does require changing itself, but also recognizing outside of itself, what it occupied and captured within its own designation. It is to facilitate such recognition that I propose the term dessobons to designate that accumulation of practices that have always been there. Now, I would never speak of a Maori, Lakota, Andean or Polynesian dessobon. Because dessobons is a generalization that I propose for intra-academic use to designate not alternative designs but alternatives to design without devouring them with the disciplinary noun, as a generalization ready to be substituted with local words wherever they are found.

Now I want to refer to a text by philosopher Thomas Mercier: *Uses of "the Pluriverse": Cosmos, Interrupted-or the Others of Humanities* where the author

criticizes the uncritical massification of the idea of the pluriverse (Mercier, 2019), what my friend Fred Van Amstel calls: The Universalization of the Pluriverse, which reinscribes the same thing under another name. Mercier points out in it the tendency of the Western logos after generalization, to continue to classify the other in its own terms, the discrete unit of pluralization and comparison remains the Western universe (which even within its variations turns out to be the only one within which everything else becomes the same), without considering that each “same” is different, even divergent.

I presume that the idea of universe is not generalizable to the ways in which all human groups live their relationship with whatever their wholenesses could be, the same happens with ideas like worldview, and world. In fact, the idea of pluralizing universes often travels along with the Zapatista aphorism of "creating a world where many worlds fit", which transforms in just one thing that what Mercier calls an "exorbitant plurality, before the pluriverse and before being", all is manageable by reducing complexity to a set of terms comparable to each other, from a meta-point of view that articles them all: and which happens to be none other than the Western way to compare.

That is why I would replace the phrase "a world where many worlds fit", with perhaps the most appropriate phrase of: A "what?", where the western worlds and many other "whats?" fit, and even then, I would add, why only one? The proposal is to dispense with the translation in this case and speak several languages, so the Samoan *lalolagi*, or the Maori *Ao*, or the Andean *pacha*, or the Lakota Makȟá, are not homologable as worlds, nor should they be unified as such, they are other "wholes" incomparable, untranslatable, each one unique, so I would not speak of a "lalolagi where many lalolagis fit" nor about a "pacha where many pachas fit”.

It is misleading to think that everything can be designed, especially when heterogeneity is eliminated through a classification that uses only discrete Western units of comparison: histories, cultures, societies, worlds, universes and even pluriverses. I insist on the incomparability of all those "wholenesses". Again with Akomolafe it is important what collapses the totality that we assume, it is in the abandonment of the idea of completeness or totality that what Akomolafe calls generative incapacitation happens. (Garrison Institute, 2021:1:30:00-1:32:02)

The pluriverse, which Mercier (2019) questions valued in this way, would be a permanent pluriwhat? Perhaps an unpluralizable, regardless of unifying abstractions, embracing the radical divergence, it would be better to value encounters between particularities, the dessobons, those for which the design is the other, are not cases, they are not types, or examples of design... They are other ways to bring to presence with other names that we call artifacts, Akomolafe reminds us that in between breaks and fissures we could notice the multiplicity of the unparalleled. For this reason, I do not consider "other stories of design" but stories (for which the story is the other) about practices for which the design is the other. By dwelling in incompleteness and separating ourselves from the referent, we notice that we are not talking about different perspectives on the same thing, but about different “the same” recognizable in their incomprehensibility, thus, by abandoning at least partially the obsession to totalize by means of discrete units of comparison, the possibility arises. That would allow the meeting and the interaction on what we would call the elaboration of the same materiality (in which we would discover several overlapping wholes) between the world and simultaneously those “all” or “wholes” for which the world is the other, an encounter between the dessobons (those for whom design is the other) and design.

And that brings us to the end, for now.

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Designing the Future-Past: Ceramics and the forgetfulness of modernity

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Abstract | The Anthropocene is characterised by an unprecedented increase in mass-produced material culture. While the shorter currency of objects contributes to cultural amnesia, the vast scale and synthetic nature of the contemporary built environment leads to a disengagement from place and production. This material forgetfulness is matched by our increasingly digital existence, where relationships, education, and even travel are becoming mediated in the virtual arena. Current archaeological approaches to the recent past often aim to counter this communal forgetting and disorientation. Here, archaeology is construed as a socially-engaged and inherently creative enterprise, where the past is constituted, or designed, in the present, both conceptually and materially. If archaeologists make the past in the present, ceramicists can be described as designers of the future-past, in that fired clay, perhaps more than any other creative medium, has the potential to endure and become archaeological evidence. This paper explores these synergies between archaeological and creative research methodologies, arguing that ceramic practice may play a role in countering the widely problematised forgetfulness of modernity. It will focus on recent research undertaken in Seto City, Japan, regarding its pivotal involvement in the post-war ceramic figurine industry. This project employs art-archaeological methods to raise awareness of the endangered material practices of making associated with this industry, addressing issues of heritage, placemaking and sustainability. The whole fabric of this city, including former and current sites of production, is construed as a distributed design archive, providing an insight into a significant chapter in Japan's post-war recovery. As part of this, obsolete plaster moulds have been reused to make a new series of ceramic artefacts. The moulds act as stores of memory, their very materiality instructing their reanimation.

Keywords: Ceramics, Seto, Japan, plaster moulds, figurines

1. Introduction

This paper explores synergies between archaeological and creative methodologies, arguing that ceramic practice may play a role in countering the widely observed forgetfulness of modernity. In particular, it will explore plaster moulds used in ceramics production as stores of memory, taking examples from recent research in Seto, a ceramics manufacturing centre in Japan. As sites of ceramic production like Seto, and Staffordshire in the UK, respond to changing economic conditions, the material culture and embodied knowledge associated with this industry is increasingly at threat. These sites and cultures of making occupy an ambivalent state, where such material and practices may be economically marginal, but at the same time are often implicated in discussions of heritage and placemaking. It will be argued that creative ceramic practice may have the potential to raise awareness of these marginal histories, while also offering a possible path towards sustainable practice.

2. The forgetfulness of modernity

It has been widely noted that, although the technical ability to store memory in both digital and analogue forms has increased considerably throughout the last century, the nature of our relationship with memory is rapidly changing. Social anthropologist Paul Connerton has asserted that 'there are types of structural forgetting which are *specific* to the culture of modernity' (Connerton 2009, 2, original emphasis). According to Connerton (2009, 5), this is partly due to the way in which consumption has been 'disconnected from the labour process' and social life has become increasingly detached from humanly-negotiated geographic locales. This disengagement from making, material and place is a corollary of a 'consumerist culture' where an 'ever increasing production of goods' is combined with 'an even shorter cycle of renewal and disposal' (Assman 2011, 333). The shorter life span of objects results in cultural amnesia. As Connerton explains:

> 'Today it is we who observe the birth and death of objects; whereas in all previous civilisations it was the object and the monument that survived the generations. […] The accelerated metabolism of objects generates the attenuation of memory'. (Connerton 2009, 122)

Historian Pierre Nora (1996) has also problematised the forgetfulness of modernity, distinguishing between monumental sites of forgetting on the one hand and loci of memory on the other. By the time sites of historical significance (lieux de mémoire) are identified as such, they may already have ceased to be loci of dynamic memory practice (milieux de mémoire), where mnemonic activities underpin quotidian existence.

This is one of the contradictions of intangible cultural heritage relating to the ceramics industry, where making practices and their associated embodied knowledge and material culture may be subject to a gradual process of entropy and decline. Sites of deindustrialisation, like Seto and Staffordshire, exist within multiple temporalities at once, where the heritage of ceramics-past co-exists with ceramics-present, the former exerting a form of 'haunting' over the latter (Breen 2021, 7). Here, our experience of the past, present and future may be conflated and distorted. As archaeologist Bjørnar Olsen (2010, 108) argues, the present is experienced as a hybrid palimpsest of the remains of a profusion of pasts. This "patchwork" of material juxtapositions also projects forward, as the future-past.

According to Nora (1996), the decline in community-based active memory, which, for example, might include a functioning knowledge of pottery production, or folklore passed down from one generation to the next, has led to a sense of collective insecurity in relation to the past. As such, society has become obsessed with the nostalgic collection of fragmentary archival information and the creation of monuments:

> 'As traditional memory has vanished, we have felt called upon to accumulate fragments, reports, documents, images and speeches – any tangible sign of what was – as if this expanding dossier might some day be subpoenaed as evidence before who knows what tribunal of history.' (Nora 1996, 8-9)

This trend, which may have been initiated by the industrial revolution, has gained pace exponentially in the digital age, resulting in what Connerton describes as a

'flood' of dematerialised electronic information which is no longer possible to handle other than through electronic devices:

> 'A computer memory or an electronic image are non-things in the sense that they cannot be held in the hand; they can only be accessed by the fingertips. Any attempt to grasp the electronic pictures on a television screen, or the data stored in computers, or reels of film or microfilm, is bound to fail. […] The lack of solidity of the culture from which things are increasingly absent is becoming our daily experience. All that is solid melts into information.' (Connerton 2009, 124)

Although digital information can be stored and processed increasingly efficiently, it is also potentially more fragile than 'the printed word' (Connerton, 2009, 146) and requires technology to access.

This concern regarding the decline of materially-grounded collective memory has also been noted in archaeology and material culture studies. Archaeologist Colin Renfrew (2003, 188-189) has warned that the increasing digital expression of symbolic aspects of material culture is resulting in the gradual 'dematerialization of the real world', potentially rendering a future 'archaeology of mind' (188) problematic. While there will be much archaeological evidence of our consumer society for the future archaeologist to sift through, intangible information about cognitive processes and external symbolic storage may be less accessible.

This conflicting tendency towards material forgetting, combined with an unprecedented interest and ability to archive, has implications for how we understand and articulate the future heritage of the ceramics industry. Faced with advancing obsolescence, ruination and loss of skill, the question of what should be preserved or maintained is central. The challenge becomes one of how to maintain these practices and places as loci of living memory rather than as dead sites of monumental forgetting.

3. Seto and the ceramic figurine industry

The city of Seto, near Nagoya in central Japan, is one of the six ancient kiln sites of Japan. It is twinned with the ceramic centres of Jingdezhen in China and Limoges in France. In Japan, Seto occupies a similar position to Staffordshire, the UK's own ceramic heartland. It has rich clay deposits and pottery has been produced here since at least the fourteenth century (c.1336-1573). Seto was well-known to Bernard Leach, the pioneer of British studio pottery, who is known to have visited the Hongyo Gama kiln site where functional pottery is still produced by the eighth-generation scion of this pottery. However, Seto is perhaps less well known for its pivotal role in the ceramic figurine industry, which developed quickly after World War Two, supported by Douglas McArthur's General Head Quarters. It was partly through this industry that the city reinvented and regenerated itself after the war. This commerce led to overseas connections and to some level of internationalization immediately after the war. As such, this is an important, yet largely neglected, chapter in Japanese design history.

Novelty figurines have been made in Seto since the beginning of the twentieth century. The industry began with crudely press-moulded figurines made for the domestic market at the time of the Japan-Russia War (1903-05) (Figure 1). The industry grew with simple moulded items, including bisque dolls made for export to the US in the early 20th Century. As the industry developed after the war, some 300 manufacturers were active in Seto, often making highly elaborate slip cast figurines from multiple plaster moulds. 90% of these products were made for export and were generally commissioned by US buyers. This accounted for 60-80% of the Japanese novelty export market. Items made during the US Occupation of Japan (1945-52) were often backstamped with Made in Occupied Japan as a condition of export. The industry declined from the mid-1980s due to the appreciation of the yen against the dollar. Now, only a handful of novelty companies continue to trade, often making products for niche domestic and Asian markets.

Figure 1. An example of figurine production in Seto from the early 1900s. Press-moulded pieces have been fused together in a saggar. (Photo: The author, 2019. Courtesy of the Seto City Archaeology Resource Centre)

4. Seto as a distributed design archive

The whole of Seto can be construed as a vast, distributed archive of the novelty figurine industry. Seto is presented as an open-air museum of ceramics by the local authority and the by-products of the industry are ubiquitous throughout the city. Saggars and other kiln furniture are incorporated into the very fabric of the place, forming decorative revetments and walls. Sherds are plentiful, regularly unearthed by the inadvertent archaeology of rooting wild boar. The discarded heads and limbs of waster figurines can readily be picked up from the surface of the many empty plots, particularly after heavy rain (Figure 2). Although having the potential to become archaeological evidence, these items are not always recognised as such. These assemblages invite us to consider practices of consumption and deposition, and provide as yet untapped insights into industrial taxonomy and taphonomy.

Figure 2. A discarded waster head from a ceramic figurine collected by the author from an empty plot of land. Photo: Jim McGinn, 2019.

The influential anthropologist Alfred Gell (1998, 221) described a china dinner set as a series of objects, each with their own ‘micro-histories’, which come together to form a ‘distributed object’ manifesting the ‘intentional actions’ of the factory’s management and design team. As Tim Ingold (2000, 372) argues, even such mass-produced objects can each be seen as ‘originals’ rather than ‘replicas’, often displaying variation due to the ‘dynamics of making’. In Seto, through these material remains it is also possible to discern something of the agency of not only the factory owners and commissioners but also of the workers, whose idiosyncratic hand work makes each mass-produced piece unique.

In Seto, former sites of production are gradually being lost to redevelopment. Some of these sites are semi-occupied by a skeleton staff, who continue production on a much-reduced scale for niche customers. Such ruins occupy an ‘interstitial’ state, somewhere between occupied building and buried archaeology (Lucas 2013, 202). Although these places and remnants are redolent of decline, they also may collectively act as a genius loci through which we can feel the weight of history. As “material antonyms to the habitually useful” (Olsen 2010, 169), abandoned factories are no longer active loci of embodied memory practices, but as sites in material flux, they may facilitate alternative memory practices. As Tim Edensor (2017, 70) notes, through their materiality, ruins contribute to the ‘sensual and aesthetic’ experience of the city, offering alternative non-verbal material histories which may ‘supplement’ or ‘challenge’ dominant discourses and narratives. This form of affect may not be possible through official heritage initiatives:

> ‘These traces of ruination are rarely heralded, signposted and interpreted by heritage professionals, but the absences they signify can be sensed, conjectured about and affectively communicated.’ (Edensor 2017, 70)

The rate of change is rapid and these sites, and their associated bodies of material culture, are increasingly threatened. Once demolished, many of them often enter a form of limbo as they wait to be redeveloped. Other than some incidental discoveries of novelty finds during routine excavations of older sites, there has been very little archaeological attention paid to the figurine industry in Japan. It is perhaps seen as being too close to lived memory to be archaeologically significant. Wider trends in archaeology over the last two decades or so, however, highlight the inherently creative nature of the discipline, often focusing on investigations of the recent or contemporary past (e.g. Buchli & Lucas 2001). Such approaches, with their focus on marginal aspects of person-object interactions, have much potential to elucidate Seto’s novelty figurine culture and heritage.

Figure 3. The Doctor figurine, based on the painting by Sir Luke Fildes. Photo: Yoshitomo Nakamura, 2020.

There is also a paucity of documentary evidence of manufacturing in Seto as factories do not always retain their archives. In some cases, however, it is possible to establish something akin to a 'biographical archaeology' (Lucas 2006, 40–41) of a particular body of material culture which links objects to their designers and makers. Such is true in the case of The Doctor figurine, a complex piece made from 30 moulded components, which was designed and mass produced for a US client by a factory in Seto in 1974. The figurine takes inspiration from the Victorian work of the same name painted by Sir Luke Fildes in 1891. Depicting a doctor tending to a sick boy, the original painting has been hailed as embodying an early ideal of patient-centered care (Moore 2008). A sample of the figurine languished in a dark and dusty storeroom for decades until it was re-discovered in 2020, in a process not dissimilar to excavation (Ito 2020). Based on a painting, originally made to celebrate the Victorian medical profession, the piece gained new resonance in the light of the current pandemic, where the UK's National Health Service has been valorised for its fight against Coronavirus. Although the porcelain painter, who still works at the factory, remembers painting these figurines in the 1970s, he was less involved in the design and commissioning process. Consequently, he recalls little about this. Without this contextual information, we must resort to a contemporary form of archaeology to find out more. Further archival research uncovered paperwork relating to design patents, revealing how the piece was commissioned and other details of the design process. Without the initial discovery, however, these insights would not have been possible.

5. Plaster moulds as stores of memory

When faced with a bewildering profusion of material culture, the question of what should be saved becomes central to discussions of preservation. Projects like Neil Brownsword's Externalising the Archive in Stoke on Trent has helped to change the perception amongst heritage professionals of the importance of preserving the recent past of the ceramics industry in the UK (Breen 2021, 34). Dealing with the Spode factory's collection of around 70,000 production moulds, Brownsword has

suggested that 3D scanning and photogrammetry may be a way of preserving these objects for the future as an open source design archive. Digital scans have also 'provided a means of preserving the minute traces of human touch', thereby questioning the accepted understanding of moulds as identical tools for making indexical replicas (34). As a result of the project, archaeologists have identified more of these fragile objects for retention in the archive. This research also explores the compelling materiality of the moulds themselves, taking casts in clay and other materials that 'monumentalise the voids in the moulds' (34), rather than focusing on the clay products conventionally taken from them. Digital 3D models have also been manipulated, subverting the idea of a mould as a tool of simple replication. In this way, the emphasis is moved from product to production process, highlighting the complex operational chains and human-material relationships involved in the ceramics industry.

In Seto, too, many of the sites maintain extensive undocumented stores of production and case moulds. The issue of preservation is equally problematic, although there is less acceptance of the archaeological potential of these collections in Japan compared to the UK, where industrial ceramics is recognised as an endangered craft by the Heritage Crafts Association. Seto factories did not usually have their own brands, generally making to order for trading companies in a process known as Original Equipment Manufacturing (OEM). This exacerbates the situation, placing remaining archives and moulds in a marginal and undervalued position.

Plaster moulds are inherently fragile and susceptible to changes in temperature, moisture and storage conditions. Nevertheless, as objects which encode the reproduction of designed forms, they have much potential to act as stores of memory. As Ezra Shales (2013, 20–21) has eloquently noted in the case of the 100-year-old Spode moulds, unlike antiquated computers or digital media which have to be constantly updated, moulds are readily usable by those with the right skills. As hand-crafted things themselves, they 'instruct bodily behaviour' through their 'very design, physiognomy, and operational affordances', requiring 'certain formalized skills to actualize their competencies' (Olsen 2013, 210). As such, when revisited, or re-used, they may 'be constitutive of new actions and memories' (210). This facilitates a reiteration of embodied memory practices, possibly leading to the emergence of new forms and contexts. While the moulds in the various factories in Seto would once have acted as micro-loci of constant use, 'embedded in repetitious practice and infused with habit memory' (210), they now often lay dormant and are subject to material attrition. Plaster moulds can only be used a certain number of times before they must be re-made, usually from a master or case mould. Industrial mould-making depends upon a complex and interdependent ecology of craftspeople, each with discrete skills and knowledge. Once these skills and relationships are not regularly articulated, they are lost, and the process of reverse engineering becomes even more challenging (Moshenska 2016, 19).

Figure 4. Obsolete plaster moulds stored at a disused factory, Seto. Photo: The author, 2019.

6. Remediation

The skills and endangered material knowledge associated with the figurine industry are relevant for makers and designers today. Some initiatives exist to pass on these skills to the next generation in Seto. For example, master mould makers work with local university students to nurture mould-making skills. Meanwhile, 3D printing and scanning offer creative possibilities to explore mould making and these avenues are being developed by new companies in Seto. However, those involved in the industry's heyday are now entering old age. The figurine industry depended upon a range of skilled workers including model makers, mould makers, painters and kiln operators. Once these skills are lost, they are difficult to bring back. Some manufacturers are also adapting to the changing economic climate, developing niche markets in Asia and Japan for design-led goods, including customised lace dolls and anime-inspired products. Nevertheless, the future of the figurine industry in Seto remains uncertain. The challenge here is in maintaining Seto as a locus of active memory practices related to making, rather than as an open-air museum of industrial decline.

In my own reuse of plaster moulds acquired from former factory sites in Seto, I re-enact the embodied practices of their original makers and users. In doing so, I generate a new body of material culture with the potential to become archaeological evidence. As archaeologist Laurent Olivier (2001, 187) highlights, by making new objects we are augmenting the archaeological record as 'all manifestations that bear witness, physically, to human activity are, by their nature, concerned with archaeology.' If archaeologists and heritage professionals construct the past in the present, ceramicists design the future-past, in that fired clay, perhaps more than any other creative medium, has the potential to endure. My ceramic artworks evoke a layering of time and material through a process of remediation and reactivation. These works aim to raise awareness of the city's novelty heritage, preserving a glimpse of a community and site in flux. The obsolete plaster moulds have been reanimated through reuse, while discarded ceramic objects have been repurposed and integrated into the works. Digital photographic imagery, applied as printed ceramic decals, records in a stable and graspable form the site's changing materiality through time. These pieces aim to capture the whimsy and humour of Seto's original figurines, while addressing the absent presence of the industry through narrative and material storytelling (Figure 5).

Figure 5. Seto Monogatari 7. Porcelain, decals, glaze, lustre. 20 x 20 x 45cm. Photo: Jo Howell, 2019.

7. Conclusion

The role of the artist within this heritage setting, then, may be to selectively interrogate these vast assemblages of remaining material culture, explore their significance and advance the argument for selective preservation. It is by finding contemporary resonance, like in the case of The Doctor figurine, that the relevance of such collections can be demonstrated and the argument for conservation made more compelling.

Anthropologist and curator Nicholas Thomas (2013, 204) asserts that one little considered aspect of how objects exercise agency is the way in which they demand attention from museum professionals in storerooms and when curating displays. It is in this context where 'they mediate past and present intentions, where they provoke revelations, where they precipitate ambience.' He goes on to challenge curators to 'find ways of staging the potentiality of artefacts' that avoid the over-reliance on 'contextualization' which characterised museum display in the 1970s and 1980s. Such approaches, it is argued, served only to exacerbate the dichotomy between aesthetics and context. Rather, museum displays should celebrate objects' 'animation and activity' and the 'magic of their theatre'. A similar approach – one that considers the dynamic practices of production as well as the multiple trajectories of its (by)products – may be useful when tackling the heritage of industrial ceramics. Although this material may not be accessioned into museums, it still has important stories to tell about our engagement with material and our sense of the past.

The sheer range and diversity of the figurines made in Seto form a material record of changing tastes and design trends throughout the second half of the twentieth century. A visit to the sample store of one of the remaining factories reveals ranks of novelty figurines of all shapes and sizes, languishing in the dark and dust (Figure 6). As in the case of The Doctor, these incidental assemblages and juxtapositions create stratified narratives and suggest contemporary connections. One can easily imagine these hordes coming alive at night to enact their miniature parts in nonetheless epic stories and titanic struggles, only to resume their ossified waiting in the morning. These relics stare indifferently, or perhaps expectantly, into the abyss of time, silent embodiments of human endeavour, tacit skill and global capitalism.

The aim of this research is to raise awareness of Seto's unique figurine culture, and its associated material culture, by exploring its past animation and future recontextualization through creative ceramic practice. Although there is a danger of replicating the problematic of modernity by making more artefacts that go on to become static sites of forgetting, this approach attempts to go beyond simply 'measuring and recording loss' (Assman 2011, 345). By constituting new material culture through the reiteration and reimagining of existing forms, the work attempts to speak as much of transformation and metamorphosis as it does of nostalgia and loss. These new things have the potential to go on to be experienced as the future-past, thereby contributing to discursive culture and playing a role in the 'world's becoming' (Barad 2003, 803).

Figure 6. A typical scene from a figurine factory storeroom, featuring characters from The Wizard of Oz. Photo: The author, 2019.

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Dr Christopher McHugh is a Lecturer in Ceramics at Belfast School of Art, Ulster University, UK. His practice-led ceramics research explores the relationship between artistic and archaeological methodologies, often focusing on particular archives, museum collections and communities. Since 2015, he has undertaken research in Seto, Japan, about the city's post-war ceramic figurine industry.

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Silent Witnesses: A Groundbreaking Idea in the 1st Millenium BC Changed the Ancient Textile Industry and Laid the Foundation for Modern Clothing Production

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Abstract | Comparable data sets of the excellently preserved textile finds from the 1st millennium BC in Xinjiang, Western China, tell an unusual story: About 500 BC in Xinjiang, the ancient textile industry went through far-reaching structural changes, and the design of the produced clothes changed significantly. What was the reason for this substantial shift? A new scientific method reveals that the seemingly simple but groundbreaking idea to cut into fabric to manipulate its shape swiftly spread in the region. Based on the archived data in the design memory of Xinjiang's excellently preserved textile finds, this article highlights how an innovative design idea restructured the entire craft, pioneered new clothing concepts, and laid the foundation for modern clothing production.

Keywords: Forensic approach, Reverse Engineering, design memory, clothing as data archive

1. Silent Witnesses

Comparable data sets of the excellently preserved textile finds from the 1st millennium BC in Xinjiang, Western China, tell an unusual story: About 500 BC in Xinjiang, unexpected structural changes developed in the ancient clothing production. Also, the design of the produced clothes changed significantly. What was the reason for this substantial shift within the ancient textile industry?

A new scientific method reveals that a seemingly simple but innovative technological idea within the clothing production swiftly spread in the region: the idea to cut into fabric to manipulate its shape. This idea was groundbreaking. It laid the foundation for new, efficient production concepts and restructured the entire craft. Beyond that, it pioneered a new design discipline, which is still essential today: the concept to produce clothes by tailoring them (Beck 2018; Beck and Jess 2021). How could merely one design strategy cause such an immense structural shift? The answer is still preserved in the ancient textile finds.

2. Forensically informed Reverse Engineering and clothing as a data archive

Clothing fulfils practical, communicative and social functions (North 2006, 5; Mentges 2005, 11–39). Additionally, it plays an essential part in economic production processes and is a powerful driving force for trade and the development of new technologies (Beck and Jess 2021). Clothing is deeply interconnected with its cultural, social and economic environment. As a cultural memory, it traces the changing eras and their social structures. Thus, clothes are data archives. Even after several thousand years, they contain the concepts of their design and production techniques within themselves. Specific technological ideas or design strategies are still preserved in the compelling logic of the construction of the garments (Beck 2018; Beck and Jess 2021).

The remarkable change within the ancient textile industry in the second half of the 1st millennium BC in Xinjiang could be demonstrated by a new methodology that uses forensically informed reverse engineering techniques to reconstruct the embodied information in the specific design of the ancient textile finds. The method was applied to significant, and excellently preserved textile finds from the 1st millennium BC in Xinjiang, Western China. In the six consecutive phases of the methodology, the ancient clothes were scientifically reconstructed, analysed, reproduced, and the reconstructions were tested and performed on the human body. The collected primary data were structured into comparable data sets (Figure 1) (Beck 2018, 26-61).

Based on the archived data in the design memory of the excellently preserved textile finds from Xinjiang, this article highlights how an innovative design idea restructured the entire craft, pioneered new clothing concepts, and laid the foundation for our modern clothing production.

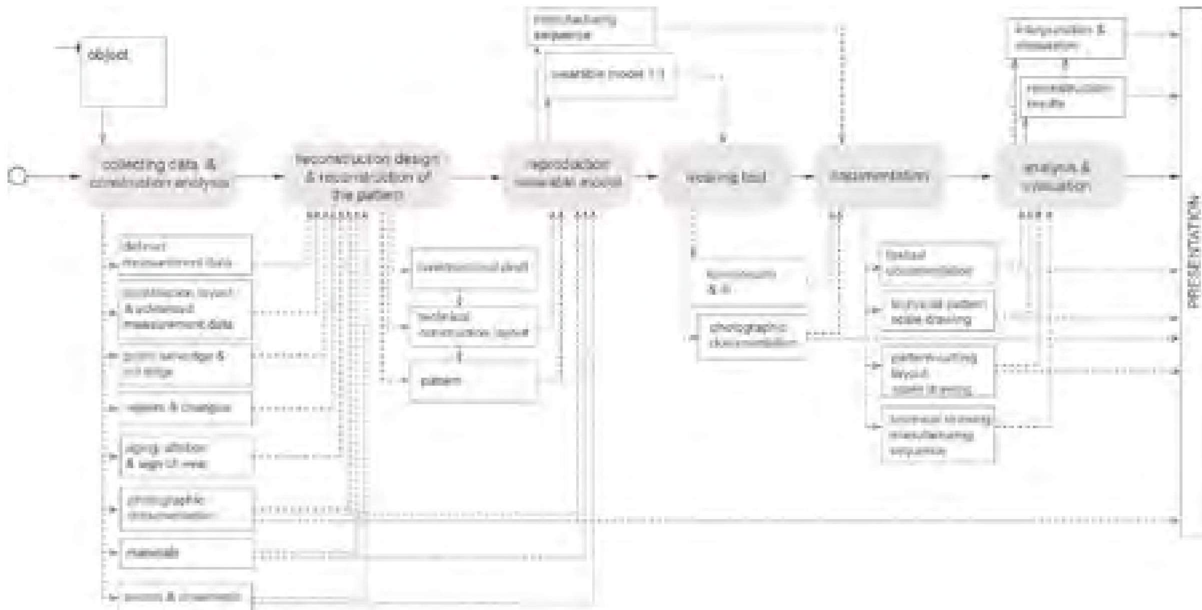

Figure 1. Diagram of the six consecutive phases of the methodology: grey areas visualise actions executed within the method, framed boxes representing the acquired research results (Methodology and diagram: Ulrike Beck)

3. The highs and lows of ancient clothing production directly on the loom

At the beginning of the 1st millennium BC in Xinjiang, garments were directly woven on the loom. For this purpose, each separate construction piece of a garment was already shaped during the weaving process (Beck et al. 2014, 224–235; Beck 2018, 62–75, 78–88, 154–222). Thus, for example, to produce a pair of woollen trousers, both trouser legs and the crotch piece were right from the beginning woven on the loom into the right shape and size and only then sewn together to produce the final garment (Beck et al. 2014; Beck 2018, 62–75, 78–88, 154–222; Beck and Jess 2021).

This time-consuming approach required considerable planning and foresight: While weaving the fabric, all the desired details and requested shapes and measurements had to be adequately included in the textile to ensure that the design and construction of the three-dimensional garment would function properly (Beck et al. 2014; Beck 2018, 154–263; Beck and Jess 2021). Therefore, the different phases of the production process – the weaving, the construction and the fashioning of the garment – were completely interconnected disciplines and could not be processed independently. Thus, the entire manufacturing process was likely realised either by one person or in close cooperation on one production site. (Beck et al. 2014; Beck 2018, 62–75, 78–88, 154–222.; Beck and Jess 2021).

A remarkable advantage of this technique was the possibility to decorate the clothes with complex ornaments and patterns that could be directly woven into specific positions of the final garment. Nevertheless, this method also had two significant disadvantages: By weaving the clothing shapes directly on a loom, the entire concept and planning of the garments had to be done right at the beginning of the manufacturing process. Once started, the craftsman had to strictly maintain the initial concept to ensure the final garment would function. Possible construction mistakes in the various garment pieces were only verifiable when the pieces were finally put together to the finished product, but not separately during the weeks or even months-long time-consuming weaving process (Beck et al. 2014; Beck 2018, 214-215; Beck and Jess 2021).

Furthermore, the loom as a tool is best suited to producing two-dimensional textile surfaces. Thus, for technological reasons, the form weaving offered only a few simple options for the three-dimensional construction of the garments (Beck 2018,156–159; Beck and Jess 2021). Consequently, those garments only consisted of a few basic geometric shapes (Figure 2) and their aesthetic was primarily created

through sophisticated patterns and ornaments (Beck 2018, 78–88, 156–159; Beck and Jess 2021).

Figure 2. Scientific reconstruction of a pair of woollen trousers (2003SYIM21:19) and a woollen poncho (2003SYIM21:4/1) from Yanghai, manufactured around 1000 BC in Xinjiang. Both garments consist of only a few basic geometric shapes directly shaped on the loom during the weaving process. Left and middle: wearing test with the reconstructed models; right: construction layout of the garments (Reconstruction and technical drawing: Ulrike Beck, photographs: Martin Jess, model: Juan Felipe)

4. A remarkable idea leads to the division of labour, specialisation in the craft and trade with intermediate products

Nevertheless, an unexpectedly clever idea replaced this time-consuming and static clothing production on the loom: the idea to cut the handwoven fabrics. This idea was exceptionally innovative because it intended to destroy an exquisite, handmade product to manufacture it into something new. Furthermore, the concept of manipulating the fabric's shape after the weaving process by cutting it into a new pattern would revolutionise the entire craft (Beck 2018; Beck and Jess 2021).

For the concept, new trimming techniques were needed to stabilise the cutting edges of the handwoven fabrics. Those developed in only a short time and were quickly implemented in a wide range of variations (Beck 2018, 163–167; Beck and Jess 2021). In the second half of the 1st millennium BC in Xinjiang, the separate construction pieces of a garment were already cut out of larger fabrics. Thus, the new approach to separate the weaving from the three-dimensional construction of the clothes had already started. Consequently, shape-neutral materials could now be produced independently and eventually processed further as required. Accordingly, a piece of fabric was no longer just one defined part in an already planned garment. Instead, a fabric had potentially many different functions and could be processed and changed as needed (Beck 2018, 167–170).

The new strategy started seemingly simple but evolved quickly. For example, around 500 BC in Xinjiang, a woollen tunic was produced out of one single six metres long fabric with only three cuts, and the four pattern pieces were trimmed and sewn together (Figure 3) (Beck 2018, 165–167). Only 600 years later, in the 1st century AD, complex woollen and silk garments were already produced in the region. They consisted of at least 15 and up to more than 30 differently designed construction pieces (Beck 2018, 154-211). This new concept was a pioneering strategy to manufacture clothes.

Separating the weaving process from the three-dimensional construction of the garments laid the foundation for division of labour and specialisation in the craft. Textile craftsmen were now able to focus on just one of the two areas within the clothing production. Consequently, they could develop and refine their skills, cooperate in the production process, and open up space for differently oriented production sites. As a consequence, trading with intermediate products such as various fabrics or yarns became beneficial. Since loom-shaped construction pieces were so explicitly produced for a particular garment, it is improbable that they have been traded. Instead, it was preferable to manufacture and finish the entire garment on one production site. In contrast, with the new strategy, the trade with exquisite fabrics and yarn between different production sites seemed very enriching. Moreover, it would increase the variety of the materials, patterns and shades used for clothing production and lead to an exchange of knowledge (Beck 2018,167-187; Beck and Jess 2021).

Figure 3. Scientific reconstruction of a woollen tunic (86HWM-NN-1) from Wupu, produced around 500 BC in Xinjiang. The tunic was produced out of one single six metres long fabric with only three cuts. Left and middle: wearing test with the reconstructed model; right: construction layout of the garment (Reconstruction and technical drawing: Ulrike Beck, photographs: Martin Jess, model: Frederike Doffin)

5. A new fast and dynamic strategy pioneers the way from decorator to architect

This new strategy had another entirely different advantage: It accelerated the design and construction process from the initial concept of a garment to the finished product in a groundbreaking way. Construction concepts could now be verified and adopted much faster because the garments were constructed and produced from finished fabrics. Whereas by shaping the textile pieces on the loom, weeks or even months passed, with the new strategy, a design idea could be implemented within just one day, a fraction of that time. Furthermore, discrepancies could be verified during the construction process already because the separate garment pieces could now be adjusted or cut again. Consequently, the design concept of a garment could be implemented, tested, and optimised more quickly. As a result, a design idea could be further improved while still being realised (Beck and Jess 2021). Thus, the production process became significantly more dynamic and adaptable. These different strategic components pioneered a new distinct design discipline: the three-dimensional construction of the garments as an art form (Beck 2018, 154-211; Beck and Jess 2021).

In the 1st century AD, the garments in Xinjiang already showed an extraordinary degree of abstraction in their design. Also, the three-dimensional construction of the clothes had developed enormously (Beck 2018, 170–177). The dynamic production process and the verifiability of the design concepts lead to a significantly better adaptation of the clothes to anatomy and motor function. Consequently, the human anatomy was now clearly reflected in many different details in the three-dimensional constructions of the garments. Thus, the functionality of the clothes achieved an entirely new quality and exquisite balance and fit when worn (Figure 4) (Beck 2018, 177–188, 195–198; Beck and Jess 2021).

While using shape weaving, the aesthetic of the clothes was achieved through colourful patterns and ornaments. Instead, now, with the new strategy, the construction concepts themselves became a distinct form of expression. Beyond the exquisite fit and functionality of the clothes, the garment’s three-dimensional construction was also used to play with different shapes. Now, cascading woollen tunics would elongate the human silhouette (Beck 2018, 130-152, 189-198). Also, elaborately composed and finely lined narrow cuffs and standing collars were included in the design of the garments (Beck 2018, 184-198). Heavy woollen skirts with hemlines folded in hundreds of delicate pleats would float in slow undulations around the body and change direction with every step (Beck 2018, 192-195; Beck forthcoming 2021). Translucent silk fabrics would artfully cascade around the body and move like a fine mist. Even functional seams between different construction pieces were used to draw subtle lines into the fabric, like delicate leaf veins in overlapping silk petals (Figure 4) (Beck 2018, 184-188, 195–198; Beck and Jess 2021).

Caused by all the improvements in the production process, in the 1st century AD in Xinjiang, the exquisite design of the garments already embodied the idea to design clothes explicitly for motion (Beck 2018, 195-198; Beck and Jess 2021). This concept was an advanced step in clothing production: It was the idea to utilise the strictly logical construction of the garments as an independent, sculptural art form of expression. Furthermore, it was the idea to design for the intimate interaction of the garment with the moving human body. Although it originated as a consequence of a technical and structural shift in the production process, this new concept marked the beginning of craftsmen in Xinjiang’s construction of clothes as an advanced art form, and as we know and use it today in modern clothing production (Beck and Jess 2021).

Figure 4. Scientific reconstruction of a silk blouse (95MN1M5-23) and a silk wrap skirt (95MN1M5-18) from Niya, produced in the 1st Century AD in Xinjiang. Both garments were cut and constructed of different delicate silk fabrics and illustrate an extraordinary degree of abstraction in their design. Above: wearing test with the reconstructed models; below: construction layout of the garments (Reconstruction and technical drawing: Ulrike Beck, photographs: Martin Jess, model: Deva Schubert)

6. Conclusion

The seemingly simple idea of cutting into a fabric to manipulate its shape had profound effects and consequences far beyond the textile craft that are still essential today.

This idea laid the foundation for new, efficient production concepts in the ancient textile industry and restructured the entire craft. It was crucial to improve and replace the static and time-consuming clothing production on the loom used in Xinjiang at that time.

By separating the weaving process from the three-dimensional construction of the garments, cutting fabrics laid the foundation for division of labour, specialisation in the craft and trade with intermediate products. On top of that, it accelerated and enhanced the design and construction process in a groundbreaking way: design ideas could now be further improved while still being implemented. Thus, clothing production became significantly more dynamic and adaptable. The dynamic production process and the verifiability of the design concepts lead to a significantly better adaptation of the clothes to anatomy and motor function.

Furthermore, the three-dimensional construction concepts themselves became a distinct form of expression, and the intimate interaction of the garment with the moving body became a crucial design element.

Even though presumably designed to change and reorganise a production system, this groundbreaking innovation in ancient clothing production laid the technological and the intellectual foundations for a new design discipline, which is still essential today: the concept to produce clothes by tailoring them.

Clothing has been central to humanity for many millennia and is deeply interconnected with the cultural, social and economic environment. This remarkable phenomenon from the ancient textile industry in the 1st millennium BC in Xinjiang highlights how profound and far-reaching the effects of changing a design strategy and reorganising a production system can be for society. Understanding clothing and its interdependency on our society are crucial to reinvent ourselves consistently and break new ground by designing our future.

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S5

CHANGING AESTHETICAL TASTE IN OTTOMAN INTERIORS IN THE 1740S

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Abstract | This paper focuses on the analysis of one of the longly-ignored primary sources in the Ottoman archives: the written furnishing lists (*mefruşat defteri*). These lists feature the detailed description of the fabric, the embroidery type and style, and the colour used in pillows-cushions, couches-divans, curtains, carpets and covers, all of which represent the typical Ottoman interior fittings. Although it is hardly possible to reconstruct the exact image of the items based on the information we can retrieve from this source, a careful analysis of those lists provides us with a nuanced view of the aesthetical preferences and design taste in the Ottoman interiors. Against this backdrop, this preliminary research analyses the visual characteristics of the items based on their descriptions written in these lists. It conceives every piece of information written for each item on the furnishing lists as a trace of visual evidence. To analyse the visual characteristics of the interiors, it focuses on the two furnishing lists prepared for the two different summer palaces in Ottoman Istanbul: the 1705 list of the Istavros Palace and the 1745 list of the Beylerbeyi Palace. First, it identifies three categories of analysis based on the commonly described qualities for these groups: the fabric used, embroidery type or style and colour. Secondly, it compares the most used items respectively in these two palaces. The comparison demonstrates an increased preference for softener and smoother textures, lighter embroideries with plain but glimmering grounds, the replacement of the dominant Persian influence by that of primarily the Chios style, and finally, a paler palette composed of natural pastel colours. These changes, in turn, imply a transition in aesthetical preferences and design taste sometime around the 1740s, and suggest a search for a new visuality that is more sensory, softener, lighter with increased ratio of natural tones of colours.

Keywords: Ottoman material culture, aesthetical preferences, furnishings, interior spaces

1. Introduction

The recent emphasis on the cross-cultural exchange on a global scale has also renewed the curiosity for the Ottoman material culture and design history. The corresponding body of literature has adopted a revisionist approach in recent years and put the transcultural dialogue forward between the Ottomans and the rest (Artan, 2006; Faroqhi 2005, 2006a, 2006b; Faroqhi and Neumann, 2004; Karahasanoğlu, 2009; Murphey 2007; Philips, 2016; Woodhead, 2008, 2012; Yenişehirlioğlu, 2015). These works have been challenging the conception of a linear transformation trajectory and questioning the confines of the 'modernisation' and 'Westernisation' narratives, which somehow still dominate the Ottoman historiography. This is especially the case for the research that has focused on the eighteenth century: a critical period in Ottoman art and architectural history which lies somewhere between the epilogue of the Ottoman Classical imperial canon in the 'premodern' period and the prologue of the Western-inspired 'modernisation' efforts of the nineteenth century (Hathaway, 2004; Murphey, 2007).

Despite the rapidly developing literature, the shortage of available physical and visual artefacts nevertheless limits the scholars. However, the Ottoman archives still comprise certain written documents that could potentially remind us of the forgotten design outlooks. This paper attempts to contribute to those debates by introducing a new source: the written furnishing lists (*mefruşat listeleri*). It reflects upon a different methodological take, one that would allow analysing the visual characteristics of the items based on their descriptions written in these lists. Although it is hardly possible to reconstruct the exact image of the items based on the information we can retrieve from this source, such an analysis nevertheless provides us with a nuanced view of the aesthetical preferences and design taste in the Ottoman interiors.

The furnishing lists were prepared to document the number and the features of the objects, utensils, and fittings in each room in a building. There were several reasons for this documentation. For instance, once decided to confiscate or seize a certain's movable and immovable assets, these lists were immediately prepared before transferring them to the Treasury (Karahasanoğlu, 2009). Besides, it was also a routine to document the interiors of the royal buildings (Ertürk, 2013, p.1-30). These records were frequently updated, and recorded in the Treasury.

In the corresponding body of research, these lists are increasingly used as critical archival documents on the research on Ottoman material culture. They provide information for assessing the extent of the wealth of certain individuals. They also give insights into the spatial layout of the buildings or building complexes. Thirdly, since they also feature the description of the upholsteries of the pillows (*yastık*), cushions (*minder*), couches (*mak'ad*), divans (*sedir*), curtains (*perde*) and covers (*puşide*), which represent typical Ottoman interior fittings, they are also an important source for research on the components and characteristics of the Ottoman interiors (Atasoy et al., 2002; Bilgi, 2007; Black and Loveless, 1978; İnalcık and Yalçın, 2008; Krody, 2000; Morehouse and Reynolds, 1996; Mutlu et al., 2017; Öz, 1946a, 1946b; Özbel, n.d.; Phillips, 2012, 2014; Reindl-Kiel, 2017; Taylor, 1993; Tezcan, 1993; Tezcan et al., 2007).

However, the unsystematic (or unstandardized) listings and the absence of any attached visual document or evidence complicate a thorough analysis of the visual characteristics of the interiors. This is especially the case for the pillows, cushions, couches, divans, curtains, and covers. This preliminary research nevertheless aims to tackle this problem. It explores to what extent these lists could offer a room to speculate on the aesthetical preferences and design outlook in the Ottoman interiors in the absence of visual evidence.

Inspired by the forensic approaches, this research conceives every piece of information written for each item on the furnishing lists as a trace of visual evidence (Bucklin, n.d.; Maze et al., 2007; Burney et al., 2013; Moran and Gold, 2019). To analyse the visual characteristics of the interiors, it focuses on the two furnishing lists prepared for the two different summer palaces in Ottoman Istanbul: the 1705 list of the Istavros Palace and the 1745 list of the Beylerbeyi Palace. The analysis has built upon three stages. The first step is the collection of information, which involves the digital relisting of the items with respect to their amount based on four furnishing groups: pillows and cushions; couches and divans; covers; and curtains. Secondly, it identifies three categories of analysis based on the commonly described qualities for these groups: the fabric used, embroidery type or style and colour. Finally, it examines the change in the most used items in these three categories by comparing the two furnishing lists. The examination indeed suggests a growing taste towards a more sensory, softener, and

lighter visuality in Ottoman interiors around the 1740s.

2. The interiors of the Istavros and Beylerbeyi Palaces

In the following, the two furnishing lists prepared for two summer palaces, both located on the Asian shores of the Bosphorus in Istanbul, are analysed with respect to the approach mentioned above. The first one is the 1705 list of the Istavros Palace, which was amongst the most favourite summer palaces for the dynasty in Ottoman Istanbul prior to this date ((MAD.d.4763; Ertürk, 2013, p.119-32). The second is the 1745 list of the newly constructed neighbouring Beylerbeyi palace, which replaced the use of Istavros Palace and became the favourite destination of Mahmud I on the Asian shores of the Bosphorus during the spring and summer seasons (TS.MA.d.10120). The comparison indeed suggests that although the types of interior fittings remained the same, the fabric used, embroidery type or style and colour that dominated the interiors changed towards the 1740s.

2.1. The change in the preferred fabrics

The comparison of the fabric used in the upholsteries of the Istavros Palace in 1705 and the Beylerbeyi Palace in 1745 suggests a change of preference in the latter. This shift is visible in all the four furnishing groups: pillows-cushions; couches and divans; covers and curtains.

Table 1. The percentage of the most used fabrics in the Istavros Palace in 1705 and the Beylerbeyi Palace in 1745

<table>
<tr><td colspan="3">Istavros Palace (1705)</td><td colspan="3">Beylerbeyi Palace (1745)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Velvet (silk)</td><td>20%</td><td rowspan="2">63%</td><td rowspan="2">Velvet (silk)</td><td rowspan="2" colspan="2">22%</td></tr>
<tr><td>Bursa-Style (silk)</td><td>43%</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3" colspan="2">Serâser (taqueté)
(a heavily woven silk)</td><td rowspan="3">10%</td><td>Chios-style (silk)</td><td>19%</td><td rowspan="3">38%</td></tr>
<tr><td>Hatâyî (a silken fabric)</td><td>11%</td></tr>
<tr><td>Dîbâ (saten)</td><td>8%</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Kirpas (roughly woven cotton)</td><td>9%</td><td>Bez-Yemenî (lightly woven cottons)</td><td colspan="2">16%</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Broadcloth (woollen)</td><td>3%</td><td>Broadcloth</td><td colspan="2">10%</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">85%</td><td colspan="3">86%</td></tr>
</table>

Velvet was certainly the most used fabric in the Istavros Palace, whose great majority were the pillowcases made in the Bursa style. The Bursa-style pillowcases most likely corresponded to famous Bursa *çatmas*. Produced in the city of Bursa, *çatma*, was a specific type of brocaded velvet made of the finest quality silks in the Ottoman Empire (Bilgi, 2007; Phillips, 2012, 2014). The preference for velvet was followed by *serâser*, also known as taqueté, a heavily embroidered fabric with silk warp and silver or gold weft. *Çatma* and *serâser* were among the heavily woven fabrics made of the most expensive silk in the Ottoman empire.

Interestingly, there are no Bursa-style pillow covers in the Beylerbeyi Palace. Instead, the Chios-style is the most preferred type of upholstery used in pillowcases and couches after velvet. These were most likely made of Chios silk, which was produced on the island of Chios in the Aegean Sea. However, unlike the finest quality silk of Bursa, the Chios silks were amongst the middle-quality silks (Tezcan, et al, 2009). The third most used upholstery fabric in the Beylerbeyi Palace was two different types of silken fabrics: hatâyî and dîbâ (or baldachin).

While hatâyî usually refers to a silken fabric with metallic threads, dîbâ is a high-quality satin likewise enriched with precious metal threads like silver or gold. These two seem to have replaced the heavily woven serâser (taqueté), which has frequently appeared on the 1705 list.

Table 2. The documentation of the fabric used in the upholsteries in the Istavros Palace and the Beylerbeyi Palace

	pillows		**cushions**		**couches**		**divans**		**covers**		**curtains**	
Istavros Palace (1705)	Bursa-style	127	kirpas	18	velvet	30	no divan		*kirpas*	8	broadcloth	8
	velvet	28	merre (?)	13	taqueté	6					taqueté	4
	taqueté	20	brocade	9	satin	3					aba	2
	baldachin	4	satin	3	hatâyî	1					baldachin	1
	satin	2	cotton	3								
	hatâyî	1	fleece	2								
	Crete-style	1	unknown	15								
Beylerbeyi Palace (1745)	velvet	79	no cushion		broadcloth	28	cotton cloth	17	cotton cloth	34	broadcloth	10
	Chios-style	47			Chios-style	19	yemeni	3	tülbent	1	cotton cloth	7
	hatâyî	39			Chois-style hatâyî	3	printed cotton	1	unknown	3	yemeni	6
	baldachin	30			hatâyî	2	tülbent	1			Polish-style	3
	taqueté	11			printed yemeni	3	suzenî	2			printed cotton	3
	Banja Luca-style	6									ağani	2
	Persian-style	6										

The observed shift suggests that although the use of silk in pillows persisted in the 1740s, there seems to be a choice towards slightly cheaper silks in the Beylerbeyi Palace compared to those used in the Istavros Palace. Moreover, amongst the silks used in pillows, the decreased ratio of velvet and the increased ratio of silken fabrics with metallic threads imply a growing preference for the upholsteries whose surfaces seemed to be glimmer.

The decreased ratio of velvet is most visible in the couches. The 1745 list of the Beylerbeyi Palace testifies to the increased use of *çuka* (or broadcloth), a thin woollen fabric, as opposed to the velvet-made couches in the Istavros Palace. Although the quality of this woollen fabric is high, they were less expensive than velvet made of silk. Secondly, the same list also shows that the cotton started to be the preferred fabric for the divans.

The use of cotton indeed seems to have increased in the Beylerbeyi Palace overall. For instance, while the door curtains were made of either the expensive silken fabrics, like *serâser* and *dîbâ*, or the broadcloth in the Istavros Palace, the ratio of broadcloth curtains decreased in the Beylerbeyi Palace. While broadcloth

curtains were only one-third of the total number, two-thirds were made of different types of cotton. In fact, in the Istavros Palace, cotton was only used in the covers, all of which were made of *kirpas*, a roughly woven cotton type. The preferred cotton types for the covers in the Beylerbeyi Palace were nevertheless *bez* and *yemenî*, both of which refer to lightly woven cotton as opposed to *kirpas*. This shift implies that the increasing preference for cotton around the 1740s was realized alongside the increased use of its lightly woven types.

When all these changes are considered, it would be apt to infer that, around the 1740s, there was a growing preference for fabrics whose textures were lighter, looser and glimmer, which were also slightly cheaper than those in the 1705 list of the Istavros Palace. This shift was in tandem with the changing dynamics of Ottoman textile production in this period (Faroqhi, 2006a).

2.2. The Embroideries and the Style

The second analysis concerns the embroidery type on the fabrics or their style. Although the applied embroidery types or their style were only described for the pillows and couches and/or divans, it should be noted that these sitting fittings were the most visually dominant components of the interiors. Yet, there are two limitations in analysing this category. First, it is hard to analyse the embroidery type and style independent from the fabric used. For instance, when the fabric used is *serâser*, *dîbâ*, or *hatâyî*, the lists include no further description about their embroideries. This is no surprise as these were already heavily woven fabrics. Therefore, they need to be considered as an embroidery type rather than simply a fabric. Secondly, these lists either describe the motif embroidered or denote their style, or very rarely both. Therefore, in this category, the analysis bases on three features: the preferred motif figure, the motif scheme, and finally, the style, which was usually named after the country, region, or the city of production.

The comparison between the two palaces brings forward three critical changes. The first one is about the embroideries on the velvets, the most commonly used fabric in pillows and couches and divans in both palaces. In the Istavros Palace, most of the velvets were embroidered with flower figures. In the Beylerbeyi Palace, however, there is no single velvet described as flowered. Instead, their great majority were plain but woven with metallic threads, among which only a few were perforated or striped. This shift suggests a change in figure-ground relation with an increasing ratio of the faintly glimmering plain grounds without motifs. Changing the figure-ground ratio with fewer motifs also means a decrease in the production cost (Philips, 2014, p.167).

Secondly, when the preference for the fabrics with a certain motif scheme or pattern is analysed, in the Istavros Palace, the overwhelming number of the Bursa-styled pillowcases attracts immediate attention. Those were most likely *çatma*, a type of brocaded velvets with motifs in silver and gold filaments wound around a silk core. The design of *çatma* represented the most distinctive characteristics of Ottoman silks. They had a large central motif arranged symmetrically by infinitely repeating patterns on staggered axes or in medallions within specific compositions, all of which were framed by a border. Their motifs were different types of flowers, blossoms, pomegranates, pine cones, or leaves (Bilgi, 1993, p. 17-19).

As opposed to the numerous brocaded velvets with a strong motif scheme in the Istavros Palace, the preference in the Beylerbeyi Palace was towards the patterned silken fabrics, such as *hatâyî* and *dîbâ*. *Hatâyî* mainly refers to a pattern with stylised composite blossoms, flowers, or mythical animals like dragon or phoenixes made with metallic threads on a silken fabric. Although sometimes described as Chinese style, *hatâyî* was mostly associated with Safavid and Timurid influences (Phillips, 2012, p.17; Akpınarlı and Balkanal, 2012, p.189-90). *Dîbâ* was likewise patterned, made of silver and gold threads on a satin ground (Tezcan, 1993).

In addition to the increased ratio of the patterned fabrics, it is impossible to overlook many Chios-styled pillows in the Beylerbeyi Palace. The textile and especially silk production in Chios has a long history (Argenti, 1953). However, there seems to be a change in the textile production in the 1740s, when the artisans of the island had mastered the imitation of Venetian, Lyonnais, Persian, and Indian styles. In fact, the settlement of French immigrants on the island in 1743, who quickly came to dominate the weaving industry there, must have played a critical role in the transformation of Chios-style textiles in the 1740s (Tezcan, et al, 2009, p.26-29). It is possible that the new Chios style attracted immediate

attention, leading to their purchase for the interiors of the Beylerbeyi Palace in 1745. Most of these Chios-style pillow covers were woven with metallic threads and had plain grounds, whereas some featured a picture made with double darning stitches, *pesend*, known as a Turkish type of stitching.

Table 3. The documentation of the embroidery type and style in the Istavros Palace and the Beylerbeyi Palace

	pillows			**couches and divans**		
Istavros Palace (1705)	velvet	**Bursa-style**	127	velvet	**flowered**	14
		flowered	13		**flowered** with metallic threads	10
		flowered with metallic threads	12		**flowered** and combed	3
		flowered and combed	3		combed	2
	Persian-style taqueté		18	**Persian-style** taqueté		4
	Persian-style baldachin		4	flowered satin		3
	taqueté		2	taqueté		2
	hatayî		1	hatayî (combed)		1
	Crete-style		1			
Beylerbeyi Palace (1745)	velvet	**with metallic threads**	56	broadcloth (plain)		28
		with metallic threads & combed	13	**Chios-style**	metallic threads	15
		with metallic threads & double darning	10		picture embroidered with double darning	4
	Chios-style	with metallic threads	41		fringed	3
		plain	6	**hatayî**	tin fringed with metallic threads	3
	hatayî	with metallic threads	24	yemenî	printed block striped&fringed (silk threads)	3
		Austrian	14		printed block cotton with metallic threads	1
	dîbâ	European	11			
		Istanbul-style flowered	9			
		Austrian	2			
	taqueté		7			
	Banja Luca-style		6			
	Persian-style (veined with metallic threads)		6			

Thirdly, the increased number of items with different styles in the Beylerbeyi Palace is worth highlighting. The upholsteries of this palace seems to have held a diversity of styles. In addition to Chios style, there were also examples of the Austrian-styled hatâyî, the European, Austrian and the Istanbul styled dîbâ (baldachin), together with Banja Luca and Persian styled pillowcases in the Beylerbeyi Palace. There were also some curtains made of block printing in the Polish style. Although they make up only a very small amount of the total number of items in the palace, the increased curiosity towards the styles coming from different parts of the Ottoman Empire in addition to those from its Eastern and Western neighbours is interesting. In fact, as opposed to the interiors of the Beylerbeyi Palace in 1745, in the 1705 furnishing list of the Istavros Palace, the upholsteries listed were only made in the Bursa and Persian style with one example of a Crete-style pillowcase.

Although it is hardly possible to come up with a clear conclusion about the changing embroidery type and style because of the limitations mentioned before, the analysis firstly suggests a growing preference for a lighter visual expression in the interiors around the 1740s. Secondly, it testifies to an increased curiosity for different styles. Perhaps this curiosity implies a widening network of transcultural exchange on a global scale in the first half of the eighteenth century.

2.3. Changing Colours

The careful comparison of the preferred colour palette for upholsteries also reveals an interesting shift, which seems to be even more salient. In the Istavros Palace, crimson (*sürh*) was remarkably the most preferred colour that was mostly used in cushions, curtains, and covers. Crimson was followed by yellow, scarlet (*al*), and white, respectively. There were also a few items in red and blue together with single samples in the colour of sour-cherry, orange, purple, and green. This palette reflects a preference for vivid and warmer colours, with copious use of different tones of red ranging from light to dark.

However, the interiors of the Beylerbeyi Palace seem to be much colourful with a rather paler palette. The most preferred colours for the fabrics woven with metallic threads were yellow, scarlet, purple, followed by dark-blue, white and rose-pink. For the patterned silken fabrics, the most preferred colour for the grounds were emerald-green, white, and red, followed by few items in red-green, orange and green. For the unembroidered fabrics, the most preferred colour was scarlet. Scarlet was followed by the colours described as apricot, quince’s rose, rose-sherbet, chick-pea, and sea-coloured, all of which used in couches made of broadcloth.

Compared to the Istavros Palace, although the use of yellow, scarlet, and white persisted, there is a visible increase in the use of purple and dark blue in the Beylerbeyi Palace. Moreover, there is a growing preference for more pastel tones, such as rose-sherbet, rose-pink, quince's rose, chick-pea, emerald-green, apricot, and sea-coloured. Although naming colours after fruits, flowers, or food was not an uncommon trend for the Ottomans, the increased frequency of these colours in the 1745 list is intriguing. It seems that the interiors of the Beylerbeyi Palace featured a diversity of colours with an increasing share of more pastel and natural tones, suggesting a growing taste for a paler palette.

2.4. The preliminary findings: A New Visuality

In the absence of any visual evidence, it is hard to speculate on how the interiors of these two palaces exactly were. Despite this constraint, the analysis of the written furnishing lists of the Istavros Palace and the Beylerbeyi Palace revealed that the fabrics preferred, the format, motifs and style of the embroideries and the colour palette had begun to change in the first half of the eighteenth century. The growing taste for smoother textures and patterned fabrics, less embroidered surfaces, and a paler palette suggest a search for a new visuality that is more sensory and natural, softer, and lighter around the 1740s.

Even though the components of this growing taste echo the basic principles of rococo, this research also reveals that two dynamics played a critical part in the change. First is a shift in the economic concerns related to the textile sector alongside the efforts to decrease the production cost. Second is the increased and

diversified ratio of different styles in the interiors. For the latter, these findings open up new grounds to further analyse the multiple directions of the cross-cultural exchange and the entangled transcultural connections on a global scale, which seem to have gradually intensified in the first half of the eighteenth century. These inferences, in turn, are of utmost importance in reviewing the prevailing assumption on the Ottoman's attempt to imitate European rococo: an established frame that still dominates the work on the history of eighteenth-century Ottoman art and architecture.

3. Conclusion

This preliminary research has focused on a new way to interpret a longly ignored archival document that could remind us of the forgotten design outlooks in the Ottoman interiors: the furnishing lists. The preliminary findings have shown that examining the written descriptions of the furnishings provides us with the opportunity to detect changing aesthetical preferences and design tastes around the 1740s. Nevertheless, this preliminary research has its own constraints. In order to have more profound findings, it is of utmost importance to incorporate the furnishing lists prepared for the other summer royal palaces in Istanbul in this period. The expanding amount of samples would prevent the possible misinterpretations of certain qualities, and hence, would allow detecting better the categories of analysis and their changing features. Furthermore, the incorporation of additional primary sources, such as travel accounts, into the research would enable a better description of the ambience of the interiors, which, in turn, would provide a rather more vivid snapshot of the data. Despite these constraints, this preliminary research has shown us a starting point to analyse further this type of archival documents. Such analyses would bring forward a nuanced and dynamic view of the changing aesthetical preferences and design taste in Ottoman interiors and the dynamics behind the change.

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S7

HfG-Archiv Ulm Online. From Exclusive Reality to Inclusive Virtuality.

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Abstract | The Archive of the Ulm School of Design (HfG-Archiv Ulm) began operating in 1987. It was created as a joint effort between the city council and a group of alumni that saw the necessity of preserving the institution's memory and legacy after its closure. The first version of a website for the Archive was envisioned in 1999. Its goal was to present information on the HfG Ulm, display the Archive collection, and communicate related events to a massive audience. The HfG-Archiv Ulm website maintained the same structure and interface for almost 20 years. With the years of existence, it became an archive on its own. The virtual components acted as extensions of the tangible and intangible objects stored in the physical archive. Over the years of its existence, the website accomplished the mission of collecting and storing the Archive's material and activities. At the same time, it was an instrument for research, education, and exposure for the Ulm School of Design. The project served as a communication tool for the Archive and became an archive of activities, events, publications and updates. The WWW was not conceived as a medium to preserve information, but it could work as such. In addition, the universal access of a website grants the possibility of reaching a physical place in Germany, achieving Winograd's locomotion metaphor. We speak of navigating from one site to another, touching and following links – all metaphors of spatial locomotion that engage people opening new ways of thinking, learning, and doing. As technology changes, future work could amplify the experience of visiting the Archive by creating a contemporary virtual model, enhancing the opportunity to expand knowledge and spaces of interaction.

Keywords: design archive, virtual archive, design legacy, HfG Ulm, Ulm School of Design

1. Introduction

This article proposes to document the creation of the website for the HfG-Archiv Ulm (Archive of the Ulm School of Design). The project was initiated in 1999 to provide visibility to the Archive employing the WWW, an open and democratic massive communication platform. The challenge consisted of developing a hub with easy navigation and maintenance, which would eventually grow and evolve. At that moment in time, having a web parable to the concept of *homesteading* as proposed by Rheingold (1993). That is to say, owning a website for the sake of staking a claim on the part of cyberspaceresence was comp was more important than owning one because you actually needed it. In the described case of the Archive, the idea was to use the virtual real state of the WWW as a cognitive tool – the interaction with a virtual reality helps us acquire new knowledge and understand the real reality (Maldonado 1992) – to expose its existence and activities and equally provide information on the former Hochschule für Gestaltung Ulm (HfG Ulm).

There was a massive interest for a website when the project's planning started, as information related to the HfG Ulm – which envisioned a critical path in the education of designers – was scarce on the Internet. All the material and the Archive's legacy could only be appreciated when physically visiting the place in the city of Ulm. In 2000, only a small percentage of material on the HfG Ulm was available through publications. Due to editorial distribution or to language constraints – few English translations (HfG-Archiv Ulm 2011), the accessibility was limited to some countries. The Ulm School was nearly unknown even for students educated under the *Ulm Model* around the world.

Presenting the Archive on the web was giving it telepresence as Tomás Maldonado (1992) describes it in *Reale e Virtuale*:

> 'It is evident that entering a virtual reality is not the same as entering a real reality. But in there, nothing stops us from accepting that our interaction with the first one helps us acquire new knowledge on the second one. Thus, even if there are many discontinuities, one must, in fact, admit that between both realities, there is no lack of equally important continuities.' (Maldonado 1992)

Strangely enough, professionals from Germany, Colombia and Argentina integrated the team that created the website, an excellent example of the international character the Ulm School of Design possessed. Marcela Quijano, curator of the HfG Archive, Carolina Short and Tomás García Ferrari, were fellows at the Akademie Schloss Solitude (a German public-law foundation that offers a transdisciplinary and global fellowship program for artists and scientists in Stuttgart), selected by Gui Bonsiepe, juror for the academy in the design field in 1997-1998. This coincidence of being chosen by Bonsiepe – ex HfG student and teacher – opened the possibility of establishing an international team to develop this project. Dagmar Rinker, also HfG Archive curator at that time, was a member of the team all along. The work was done between Ulm and Buenos Aires, and Ulm and New Zealand, bringing the web's possibilities to life and emphasising that computers '…are not tools for individual practice, but rather social instruments that open new ways of collaboration' (Bonsiepe 1997).

At the end of the '90s, the Internet was already a powerful medium that allowed for fluent bidirectional contact. Bonsiepe expressed optimism towards the idea of a digital world that could open new spaces for communication and participation using the web. First, however, he pointed out that designers need to introduce the technology and make it usable in people's daily lives (Cambariere 2005).

Terry Winograd (1997) uses a locomotion metaphor to explain how computers were transforming into a means of transport to move and visit different places as the Internet became popular and the World Wide Web gained momentum. He suggests three primary ways to interact with the world: conversation, manipulation and locomotion.

In the first stage, computers were designed according to a conversational model, followed by a second stage, which included the desktop metaphor, the manipulative model. Finally, the third stage – with the WWW – is considered the locomotion

model, where users can move from one site to another. For the Archive's website, the main idea was to enable the public to attend the Archive from any location in the world (Moggridge 2007).

2. WWW context at the project's beginning

The city of Ulm opened the HfG Archive in 1987, an endeavour by an initiative of former HfG members and part of the Museum Ulm since 1993. The purpose of the Archive is to collect, maintain, research and communicate; to document a comprehensive history of the School and present the collections that keep growing, as the Archive receives bequests from former teachers and students (Rinker, Quijano, and Wachsmann 2009). Since November 2011, the HfG Archive resides within the Ulm School of Design original building. Permanent and temporary exhibitions, symposia and publications that help spread the knowledge about the School and its members are current activities organised by the Archive.

It is essential to describe the context in which the HfG Archive website would be put in. The importance of having an Internet presence was its worldwide reach, particularly in Europe and the US at that time, even when the influence of the Internet in other world regions was 7% or lower. Another benefit was the ability to enable reciprocal communication at a small cost. The democratisation of the publication process started in 1990 with the WWW. The worldwide economic system was also changing, and e-commerce websites were beginning to bloom, but there was much more to come shortly. And in fact, it did, a change of paradigm that can be compared with Gutenberg's printing press 500 years back in time. The Archive's website was to be long-lasting, intending to endure (*verba volant scripta manent*), unlike a printed piece that has a printing date and, at times, a due date.

When the website was conceptualised in 1999, many of the daily web services we use today didn't exist or were only starting. At the end of that year, the web had approximately 250 million users, equivalent to 4.1% of the world's population. In March 2021, there have been 5,17 billion active Internet users — 65,6% of the world population ('Internet Growth Statistics' n.d.).

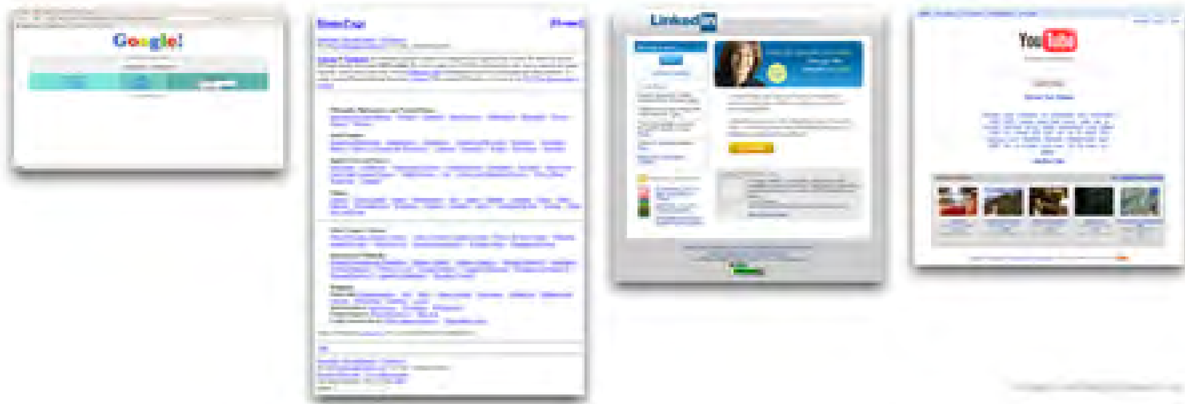

Figure 1. Historical screens for main platforms launched around the same time as the HfG-Archiv website: Google 1998, Wikipedia 2001, LinkedIn 2004, YouTube 2005 (Source: webdesignmuseum.org)

We put together this Internet technology timeline to frame the Archive's project, showing the start of essential milestones with products such as *Google (search engine)*, *Wikipedia*, *YouTube*, among others.

Figure 2. Internet technology timeline: main milestones on the evolution of internet connections and WWW products proposed to frame the Archive's project stages – in orange (Source: Authors' original graph)

3. Website as archive

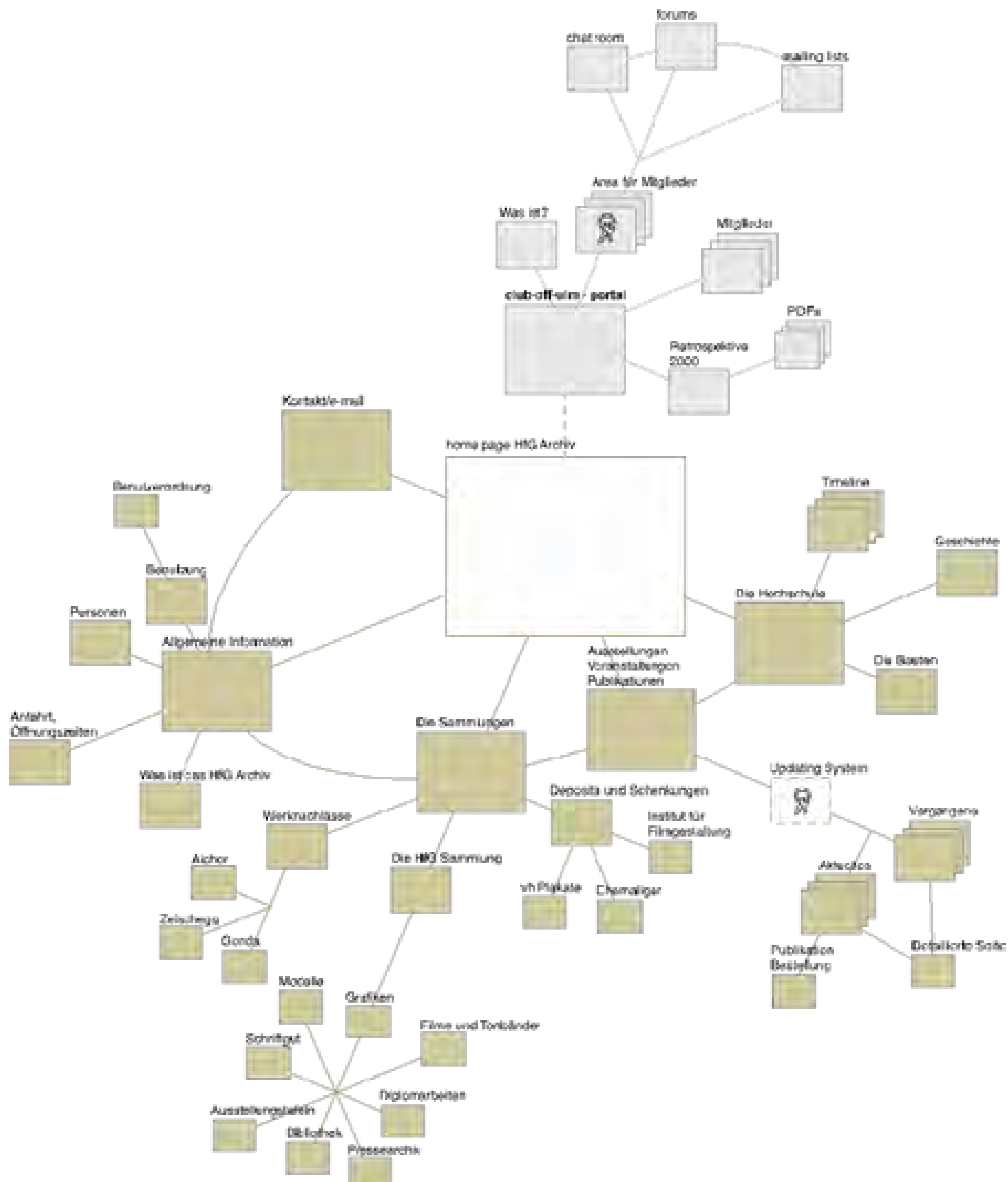

Figure 3. HfG-Archiv Ulm Online original sitemap (1999), which included a content management system – called 'updating system' at the time – and an entire updatable section for the events as well as a web portal for the club-off-ulm, with a password-protected virtual space for the members. These features were not implemented in the final version, and some of the other regular sections changed their labels. (Source: Authors' original graph)

The development of a web project can be understood according to the different technological schemes used. Driscoll (2011) describes three ages of the web:

1. **HTML age: 1991-1999**
   Websites consisted of a network of static hard-coded HTML files, created once and filed in servers from where they could be retrieved.

2. **LAMP age: between 2000 & 2009**
   The use of databases became more popular. Documents are created in servers

dynamically integrating templates and relational database values (LAMP: Linux, Apache, MySQL & PHP framework).

3. **JavaScript Age: around 2010**
   The websites are conceived as a flux of events.

From this perspective, the Archive's website was designed within the first age, as a network of static HTML documents interconnected.

With the years of existence, the HfG-Archiv website transformed into an archive as well, and the virtual components acted as extensions of the objects – tangibles and intangibles – stored in it. After being a communication tool, it ended up as a registry of activities, events, publications and updates, becoming a compelling log that recorded the ongoing activities of the institution. Wolfgang Ernst (2013) speaks about the Internet as an archive in *Digital Memory and the Archive*. From this perspective, the Archive's website was an instrument for research, education and exposure of the Ulm School of Design until 2019.

3.1. 2003: hfg-archiv.ulm.de

Nicholas Negroponte (1995) defined that objects – like books, photographs or CDs – are made up of atoms that are tangible and digital information is made up of bits, the minimal unit of data used for computers. In *Being Digital*, he envisioned that all categories of atomic or physical information would eventually be converted to bits, something that has indeed happened during the last decades. In our case and according to the project concept, there was not only a need to select the contents for the website but to digitalise the material. The 'atoms' were physical objects, models, graphics, paper photographs, and films kept in the Archive. As there were no digital versions of texts or images at that time, this process was laborious.

The contents were organised in different sections according to the type of data and the communication needs:

Institutional information
How to visit the place, persons in charge of it

The Archive's collection
Details of the diverse objects the Archive keeps and information related to them

Exhibitions
Organised by the Archive, and others related to the HfG Ulm

Events
Organised by the Archive, and others related to the HfG Ulm

Publications
Upcoming, past publications, external, bibliography related to the HfG Ulm

The HfG Ulm
Information related to the School itself: history, building details, timeline

Figure 4. Some screens from the first version as seen in Internet Explorer 5 Macintosh Edition OS9 (Source: Authors' screenshots from the original website)

The Archive itself had no customary visual identity or a consistent visual language in use as the project started. There was some guidance from the Ulm Communal CI, but no graphic standards, nothing applicable for the website. So, it had to be developed from scratch.

Both the homepage and section openings presented general aspects of each section and anticipated the contents that would populate the second level. The latter contained specific information on each topic and, in some cases, had a third level with even more detailed information. From the homepage, there was also access to specific highlighted pages.

For the navigation, contextual menus unfolded as the user moved through the items, and on each page, breadcrumbs indicated the section the person was visiting. For the collections, photo thumbnails were zooming on rollover.

The use would determine the access to the different layers of information: learn the address and how to get there, find historical facts about the School, or specific information related to the collections, publications, etc. More up-to-date parts such as Exhibitions or Events provided fresh details on current activities related to the Archive or the HfG history. The idea of showing the real archive was so detailed that even a list of the donations from former students was available, acknowledging their contributions. As every sketch or object bestowed made valuable information for researchers, the Archive wanted to put the names behind those donations.

Figure 5. HfG Ulm Timeline as designed for the website (Source: Authors' screenshots from the original website)

The Timeline was part of the HfG Ulm section; it was inspired by the HfG Synopse created in 1982 by Hans (Nick) Roericht and his team (roericht.net, n.d.). The horizontal scroll selected for this section was crucial for displaying the chronological events and making the presentation of information layers possible. At the top, it showed historical facts, names of principal teachers and visitors, and indicated the different phases the School went through during its existence; at the bottom were the teaching outcomes, curriculum changes, special events, design icons, and so forth.

Figure 6. Presenting the pre-project to the club-off-ulm. Bill Haus, Zürich 2001 (Source: Authors' screenshots from the original presentation).

The visual concept for the project focused on the functionality and consistency of the material. The website's principal aim was to emphasise the content itself; thus, the visual interface had to be as neutral as possible, simple and easy to use. The size of the images was a key issue, as the loading time for a webpage was a constraint. The layout was defined using six sections that organised the material; a six-column modular grid served as a base to accommodate diverse data, from texts and images to lists and descriptions. The colour scheme was designed using a hue for the sections as an identity role. Each section would open with a coloured background and a poster from the Archive collection as a visual cue. Only the top banner, the menu, and some small text such as the captions would use the section's colour to help identify. The photos and graphics would also provide a chromatic note to the website.

The website navigation had different options and was redundant, so the same data could be reached from various starting points, allowing distinctive pathways. Both banner and menu were fixed for the whole website. The menu was contextual, it granted the navigation from any page to any other page, and its design saved space as it only took one row from the whole layout. The upper banner also had a link to the homepage from any page. The website's homepage was linked to the City of Ulm website, extending this institutional connection. In addition, the whole website had breadcrumb navigation as an orientation tool, and it was an element that worked as a map. In places where the material was more photographic or visual, the navigation function featured rollover thumbnails to anticipate what could be seen in detail. In some pages that involved long texts (The HfG Ulm › History), there was an internal page numbering to foresee the amount of content.

The typeface selected was Verdana, designed especially for on-screen use, with optimal legibility and adequately represented the School's spirit, which used mainly sans serif typography like Helvetica or Akzidenz Grotesk. Verdana was designed in 1996 by Matthew Carter for Microsoft and became very popular for website design (García Ferrari 1997). Typography is a central element of language and should not be considered an accessory decision but a domain that makes text recognisable. If language makes reality visible and understandable, the typography makes language (thus, texts) visible and understandable (Bonsiepe 1997). Hence, the type selection is vital to its readability. In any screen's interface, typography is the leading player. It has a far-reaching impact on many elements, from user experience, perception, readability, and mood. Therefore, it is fundamental to the delivery of what a website needs to communicate.

An anecdote related to the typeface selection – that happened during the project's presentation to the club-off-ulm (foundation run by HfG Alumni, who supported the design and development of the HfG Archive website) in which former students and teachers of the HfG were participating – is worth mentioning. In a first draft, the website had a sans serif (Akzidenz Grotesk) for headlines and a serif one for the texts, as the use of a grotesque type was limited and could not be employed for the whole website's content. This proposal had a firm rejection from the audience, which considered an identity and ideological statement that only sans serif type was used at the HfG Ulm. Some evidence of this style can be found in posters, the *ulm journal*, and other printed material from the School. Among the participants were some of the ex-students that worked for the Visual Communication Department at the School, and explained that the truth was that they used sans serif because those were the fonts available at the School's typography workshop (movable type printer). The typefaces they had were not only Berthold Akzidenz Grotesk, a sans serif older than Helvetica, but some other Haas Helvetica fonts (diverse sizes and weights). This is why the most common style identified with the HfG was a single sans serif approach. For this reason, the myth of a conceptual type selection at Ulm became relative.

The Archive's website was initially published in German. In 2006 an updated bilingual German-English version was released. In 2009, with the emergence of weblogs, the 'hfg-archiv blog' was launched. There was a particular need of creating a platform to communicate about current events and changes concerning the Archive, such as special events around the international venues from the travelling exhibition 'ulmer modelle – modelle nach ulm' or the decision making surrounding the plan of moving to the original HfG building in the Kuhberg. The blog had opened comments for the public. The posts were created by the Archive and other external participants collaborating with the building renovation and moving initiative. It was in use until 2012, and the posts were only in German (HfG-Archiv Ulm 2014). After this year, the Archive started using social media as a channel to establish more fluid contact with the public.

The website's design and development process lasted 36 months. The work was performed by two graphic designers with web experience as an external team and an internal team from the Archive.

Project Management: Marcela Quijano

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4. Conclusion

The original website was working for almost 20 years without significant framework updates. In 2019 it was transferred under the Museum Ulm website, adapting to its interface design and changing the structure. Before 2019 there were initiatives to move it to a newer design, keep the autonomy, adapt it to a responsive design, and use a content management system (CMS), but not materialised. Even if the website seemed frozen in time from a design functionality perspective, it has served as a communicational tool for the Archive over the years. From the beginning, this project followed the idea of providing information for the lack of material about the HfG. Together with the HfG-Archiv website, we can mention 'frauen an der hfg'(Women at the HfG), created in 2003 as an exclusive publication on female presence at the School (Müller-Krauspe, Wenzel, and Kellner 2003). The idea came after a 1989 exhibition in Stuttgart about women in design ('Frauen im Design') where work on female designers from nine European countries was exhibited. The website had an off-line version that was part of the touring exhibition 'ulmer modelle - modelle nach ulm'. It was conceived in search of 'detecting empty spaces in the history […] – those aspects that have hitherto remained unknown, hidden,

neglected, or intentionally suppressed' (Bischler et al. 2021) aiming at having worldwide accessibility. As said before, the HfG-Archiv website grew to become an archive in itself, a virtual representation of the real place that reached millions of users searching for information on the School, the people related to it and the design projects developed during its existence.

It is paramount to count on good resources when maintaining and improving a web project because updating content and communicational value is a full-time job. In the digital realm, where changes are fast, a website that is not updated looks dated after some years. Furthermore, the web is a dynamic medium, and the devices used to access the contents change every year; thus, regular upgrades are necessary. In this particular project, we were lucky that it survived several software and hardware updates, browser versions and devices.

The WWW was certainly not conceived as a medium to preserve information but ends up working as such. In addition, the universal access of the website grants the possibility of reaching this physical place in Ulm, Germany, achieving Winograd's locomotion metaphor. With the emergence of the Internet and its applications, the computer ceased being a machine made to accomplish one specific task and became a machine that communicates all kinds of data from diverse media, with different layers and interactions. We speak of navigating from one site to another, touching and following links. These are metaphors of spatial locomotion that engage people and open new ways of thinking, learning, and doing.

Maldonado (1992) proposed that virtual modelling was turning into an excellent knowledge tool almost thirty years ago. Following this theory, a website could be defined as an informatics model, an efficient device of observing simulation that gives the chance of a more complete and articulated observation. The author was speaking mainly of experimental scientific research, but this could be applied to software. He explains the informatic models offer possibilities that were not available in the past. Both time and space are significantly reduced instead of following a lengthy trial and error path.

To summarise, we can conclude that the website contributed to enhancing the Archive's tasks which are to collect, maintain, research and communicate. And somehow, the ideas behind this project are represented today with movements such as Open GLAM and some other online non-profit cultural initiatives. The development of new technology has created a catalyst for escalating amounts of integrative practice between cultural institutions. For over a decade, the Open GLAM movement has advocated open access to cultural heritage held in memory institutions to promote the exchange of ideas and enable knowledge equity. Open access has been embraced by a growing number of museums and libraries worldwide, from New Zealand to Norway. More than 550 institutions from around the world were listed in 2019.

Other non-profit initiatives such as Google Arts & culture ('Google Arts & Culture' n.d.) aim to bring the world's cultural outcomes online for everyone. Using the latest technologies, they propose to experience art and culture in new ways, meeting the people, visiting the places, and learning about the events that continue to shape our world.

A projection of the HfG-Archiv website could be to amplify what has been published and to use actual technological possibilities to improve the quality of the digitised material, as it was done many years ago when the limited bandwidth and computing power/screen size was reduced. VR could even expand the experience of visiting the Archive by recreating spaces and objects, enhancing the opportunity to develop knowledge and areas for new kinds of interactions. Nowadays, as most people carry a screen in their pockets, the experience of acquiring knowledge and experiencing places has expanded our possibilities.

During the COVID-19 pandemic, we had to relearn how to continue our lives, work, and entertainment using the Internet and computers in novel ways. We adapted our work, our learning, and our ways of communicating and staying connected with the world around us. We can certainly learn from this experience and think of new devices that bring experiences, knowledge, and understanding to life.

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S8

Pre-empting loss through 'fashion memory': a 'postconservation' perspective

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Abstract | Caring for modern materials and technologies used in contemporary fashion can become an archival dilemma, especially for museums collecting the intentionally ephemeral. Degradation becomes a focus, which is often evaluated via scientific research, empirical investigation, and interventional (physical) conservation. Quickening material degradation can often heighten anxiety in conservation and curatorial practice because this can limit the potential use of the artefact. In addition to using traditional modern materials some fashion designers are following sustainable design strategies in textile manufacturing, ones that challenge the growth model. Biodegradable materials have characteristics favoured by some designers, who intend for their creations to remain stable in use and wear before organic disposal. 'Progressive fashion' such as this raises questions and the need for new interpretive practices within fashion conservation. This paper examines how modern material degradation can lead to new 'material relationships', thus enabling future uses and users and hence allowing different aesthetic views and 'fashion memories' to coexist. A 'postconservation' model is to extend the legacy and appreciation of fashion artefacts by moving from a representational conservation approach towards one that embraces documenting and preserving the performative, wearable, and renewable concepts. If a fashion item is designed to degrade, what are the archival implications in conserving, documenting processes and 'performance' of the applied characteristics of such artefacts? Methodological approaches using Material Engagement Theory and postphenomenology help to introduce temporal dynamic elements that postmodern materials often show during the transient process of degradation. Object studies of a wild rubber dress designed by Vivienne Westwood and Andreas Kronthaler c.2013, 'ECCO'-Leather dress by Iris van Herpen, c.2010 and Rootbound #2 dress by Diana Scherer c.2017, highlight notions of pre-empting loss as a collection care approach, illustrating the potential benefits in archiving of the temporal aspects of contemporary fashion. Outcomes indicate creative practices of fashion designers using modern materials cannot be represented as being stable nor neutral.

Keywords: postmodern materials, fashion memory, postconservation, postmodern fashion, post-growth fashion

1. Introduction: the emergence of postmodern materials

Reconceptualising aspects of degradation when considering postmodern fashion heritage may become crucial in rethinking archival practices which currently preference perpetuity when collecting artefacts. Acknowledging material changes in artefacts could support developing documentation procedures, including the recording of 'Designer Intent' as a future archival strategy (Schertel 2011, 7-24; Tonkin 2017, 152-167). New polymer, bio and electronic-based (e-textile) materials have emerged over the last few decades and caring for these materials in contemporary fashion collections has become an archival dilemma for museums, particularly within artefacts that are intentionally ephemeral. Postmodern materials, a term derived from the scope of this research, acknowledges the creation of new materials using progressive production methods developed from the late 20th century to the present. These methods may be influenced by advances in material engineering, digital technology and environmentally focused design that aligns with the ecosphere in a postmodern culture.

Intentional ephemerality is becoming inherent to some postmodern materials as part of design praxis. The physical representation of concepts and ideas embodied in the original design can be lost due to degradation meaning postmodern fashion such as this raises questions relating to the need for new interpretive practices in fashion conservation. In this research, object-based interviews and discussions with conservators and curators working with fashion collections in the UK, EU and US, have been used to evidence different approaches to examining, identifying and dealing with the effects of degradation and change in postmodern fashion artefacts. Analysis of these studies has resulted in considerations of how these new materials and artefacts might be conserved in ways that are empathic to their conceptualisation. Material Engagement Theory (MET) and postphenomenological theoretical approaches have been applied to support the hypothesis that acceptance of artefact degradation can lead to new understandings of material relationships within the conservation of textiles and dress, enabling alternative aesthetic views and disparate 'fashion memories' to co-exist.

2. Conserving (im)permanence in contemporary fashion artefacts

The value of decay has been explored in conservation, preservation and anthropological literature, which supports the notion of changing materiality of an artefact (Kopytoff 1986, 64-91, Muñoz Vinas 2005, 101-104, Ingold 2012, De Silvey 2017a, Sweetnam and Henderson 2021, 6). While most textile-based objects will biodegrade over time, items 'designed to biodegrade' introduce the notion of 'transmutability' (Pollard 2004, 55) which can create different contextual meanings, widening other relationships with the material whilst on display. For example, Rootbound #2 dress by Diana Scherer, the artist intended the materials to degrade, as a necessary condition that is characterised as being fast degrading by changing their physical and chemical states (DeSilvey 2017a, 11). If communicated through exhibition, as in 'Fashioned from Nature', V&A (April 2018 – Jan 2019), such material changes can increase the fashion cultural user(s) curiosity, in line with the 'Designer Intent' to develop a new form of material relationship, between wearer and culture.

Contemporary fashion culture co-exists with, and is the product of continual social, economic political and environmental influences. The impact of COVID19 and environmental disasters, for example, the Southeast Asia floods, Australian wildfires (2020) and East Africa droughts (2011-19) (Oxfam 2021) during the development of this research has exposed how global trauma and inequalities may lead to the reinvention of how cultural assets are viewed in the future. 'Fashion embodies this ambivalence' (Evans 2003, 307) where post cultural views could encourage the role of the museum as the broad conservation of artefacts where possible, with documentation embracing future interpretation within the historical context. The way fashion artefacts are currently selected is based on an established approach to conserving traditional and modern materials. This research

responds to, and evidences the identified inability to conserve postmodern, including sustainable biodegradable materials holistically within museum collections, by introducing new documentation of 'Designer Intent', to avoid the loss of transient and temporal forms of fashioning the body (Entwistle and Townsend 2020, 289-304).

2.1 Pre-empting loss: towards a postconservation approach

Understanding and measuring loss through degradation and damage in artefacts of cultural significance is traditionally known to be 'one of the cornerstones upon which conservation decisions are built' (Clavir 2002, 43). Established sustainable conservation practice relates to established protocols of reversing damage through repair to stabilise an artefact using minimum intervention. Recently the profession has acknowledged that artefacts can survive differently beyond the lifetimes of contemporary stakeholders (Henderson 2020, 195, 197, Muñoz Viñas 2020), implying that loss in the heritage sector could be understood from different cultural and societal positionings. Challenging the tradition of collecting and maintaining 'irreplaceable' artefacts for as long as possible (DeSilvey and Harrison 2020, 2) could lead to museums becoming more renewable resources supporting changing historical contexts. Greater appreciation of social, economic and environmental systems of production that give an artefact meaning could inform more sustainable and transformative models which accept that some materials survive, some partially and some are lost (DeSilvey 2017b, 185). Documentation and archival practice require to be adapted to reflect the various circumstances surrounding the materialisation of the artefact. Conservators working with postmodern materials could identify items from a 'postconservation' perspective, whereby processes of biological, chemical and physical breakdown are integral to balancing an items useful life and loss within material culture. The parameters of documentation could become multiple, evolving through practice-led conservation work that reconsiders patterns of material change. Devising an 'activity-centred' (Malafouris 2013, 149) documentation process, as opposed to a human-centred focus where archival stakeholders, conservators and curators, follow standardised procedures, could recognise a relational ontological approach to recording the designer's intent, material and degradation as inseparable, reinforcing that intentionality and material agency are not innate but emergent properties of material engagement.

2.2 Postconservation and temporary archives

Temporary archiving of changes in the artefact properties over time could be viewed as a more enactive approach to fashion acquisitioning and is a practice being adapted at the Victoria and Albert Museum (V&A), London. Fashion artefacts showing material innovation made from progressive manufacturing methods and which have a likelihood to degrade, can be acquired as a Non-Collection Object (NCOL). The term NCOL's comprise objects belonging to the V&A but are not part of the permanent collection, including mounts, handling, teaching items and packaging which are included in the Collection Management System (CMS) useful when planning for exhibition, research and other access. This archival system provides a solution that accepts degrading elements as being part of the material phenomena, working around museum policies of permanent acquisitioning (V&A 2019), where disposal is a complex and debatable process for museums in the UK (Museums Association 2021). NCOL opens up ethical options allowing for 'artefact-end-of-life' through the natural course of degradation eventually making the artefact no longer useful and ready 'to rehome' (Elisabeth Murray, conversation with author, October 21, 2019) or be legally disposed. The NCOL system presents a potential solution for approaching the conservation of postmodern fashion. For example, changes that occur to textiles through the passage of time may be viewed as 'dynamic attractors' (Malafouris 2013, 247) where conservators, curators and other museum stakeholders adopt variable societal, cultural and aesthetic values, accepting and emphasizing the 'notion of wear' associated with temporality and ephemerality, i.e. 'fashion memory' (Townsend 2011, 91-107).

Interpreting ideas of 'fashion memory' is demonstrated by fashion practitioners and researchers who are developing new design paradigms between archives and wearables (Townsend *et al* 2020, 89-110). In this work, material engagement with historical dress artefacts is used as a method for identifying past and generate new craft skills by drawing upon 'distributed cognition and memory' (Ibid, 93). Material engagement through the examination of postmodern fashion, like those collected as NCOLs, may shift conservation paradigms to allow for 'epistemological uncertainty' (Henderson 2018, 109) when accessing and viewing fragile objects. In the future,

degradation could be considered a key aspect of the condition of the object that is not solely connected to misinterpretation, disposal and loss, facilitating archives as temporal spaces for current and future cultural uses and users to have a more 'meaningful and reciprocal relationship with the material past' (DeSilvey 2017b, 179). These material relationships based on the appreciation of imperfection or wabi-sabi, may demonstrate conserving fashion heritage has similarities with human fragility itself, encouraging an affinity with natural ecology and its changing conditions, ongoing aging processes and inevitable decomposition. These types of material relationships between the viewer and the artefact could create a shared, relatable and positive material engagement with culture, one that is not inestimable, helping to increase diversity in cultural users. This reversal of a traditional conservation approach to retain artefacts in pristine and if possible, unworn condition, prioritises the degradation process and short-term lifespans of degradable materials, as a progressive, sustainable goal in interpretative fashion practice.

3. Material Engagement Theory, postphenomenology and conserving postmodern fashion

Material Engagement Theory (MET) (Malafouris 2013), defined as the 'in-between' space of the mind and the maker, combines cognitive science and phenomenology to help open material culture by bringing it into the cognitive fold (Ibid, 2). Malafouris (2014, 146) constructs the idea of a 'hylonoetic space' to identify the continual dialectical collision between the mental and physical through a process of 'creative thinging' (Ibid, 145). This conceptualisation is helpful when encouraging a less 'materiality dependent' approach to conserving garments intended to degrade because the material is not tied to a single moment nor temporal order. The material is part of a 'creative thinging' process whereby the designer, material and degradation, over time, show the skills of the designer through their material choices, the disintegration of the artefact being part of the creative process. Postphenomenology, a strand of the philosophy of technology introduced by Don Ihde (1995), is an emerging tool to analyse design research by examining the way fashion artefacts mediate relationships between humans and the environment (van Dongen *et al.*, 2019, 2, van Dongen and Toussaint 2020, 113). This combined theoretical approach of MET and postphenomenology is adapted as a framework for artefact examination and employed to identify 'material relationships' as a consideration to support a more holistic approach to conservation, one where the breaking down of fashion is acknowledged. The following three object studies highlight notions of pre-empting loss as a collection care approach illustrating the potential benefits in the temporal archiving of contemporary fashion.

4. Object studies

Three object studies emerged through dialogues with professionals in fashion collection care that each evidence different types of degrading material. The studies provide different approaches to examining aspects of degradation that can occur in 21st century postmodern fashion. The objects comprise a wild rubber dress by Vivienne Westwood and Andreas Kronthaler, c.2013, an example of an NCOL collected by the V&A, the 'ECCO'-Leather dress by Iris van Herpen, Radiation Invasion Haute Couture collection, collected by the Palais Galliera, spring summer 2010 and the Rootbound #2 dress by Diana Scherer, c.2017 shown at the 'Fashioned from Nature' exhibition at the V&A. The artefacts question the current conservation paradigm in dress archives as practice-based artists and designers turn to nature and growth as potential source material and creative inspiration. These studies present new forms of postmodern materials and by combining MET and postphenomenological approaches to artefact-led analysis evidence how and why greater consideration of 'material relationships' between the museum user(s) and artefacts could support documentation of new conservation criteria based on 'Designer Intent', material and degradation.

4.1 Wild rubber dress by Vivienne Westwood and Andreas Kronthaler, c. 2013

Figure 1. Wild rubber dress by Vivienne Westwood and Andreas Kronthaler. V&A Museum, London. c.2013. (PROV.489-2019). Given by Lily Cole. Image: ©Vivienne Westwood/Victoria and Albert Museum, London. 2013.

A wild rubber dress with a tulle skirt designed by Vivienne Westwood and Andreas Kronthaler for Lily Cole to wear for the punk-themed Met Gala in 2013 was collected by the V&A as an example of fashion being naturally sourced and, in this case, relates to a social action project (Figure 1). The location of a dark brown stain is strikingly visible on the front of the bodice which creates discussion around material processes that represent environmental social action. Such representation is becoming part of fashion conservation and interpretive practice as museums begin to collect artefacts that show alternative approaches to material production, for example, fashion artefacts that show effective ways of utilising food waste products (Ehrman 2018, 171) which show the importance of naturally formed properties of postgrowth fashion. Examining the dress highlights other forms of material properties and qualities because the material is a product of sustainable rubber manufacturing processes demonstrating the wild rubber, harvested from Pará rubber trees native to the Amazon, is an 'intelligent material' (Entwistle and Townsend 2020, 294), for example, connecting natural material processes and developing socioeconomics with the body as fashion culture. The approach of archiving encouraged as part of this research, allows for and documents the biomaterials unpredictable change, for example, the occurrence of the dark brown staining. The dress signifies a design paradigm because of its biobased material and environmental stakeholders, including non-human actors, the Pará rubber trees, that contribute to the natural services that sustain the knowledge and culture of indigenous ethnic groups. It is supported by other bio-design initiatives. The Biological Atelier SS2082 by Amy Congdon, a speculative design project exploring tissue engineering, in design and production, reinforces the significance of fashion designers engaging with bio-based textiles to develop new 'tissue culture' (Congdon 2020, 138). This engagement explores high fashion possibilities that promote eco design-based approaches that reconsider the 'ultimate commodity' (Seed-London 2015). Another example of eco-fashion engagement is the concept of Biocouture (Kleiderly 2020), introduced by Suzanne Lee, which adopts the use of bacteria in the production and manufacturing of textiles for fashion, encouraging the value of composability as part of high fashion through societal and environmental change.

Degradation becomes interesting and useful when allowed to take its course, facilitating a more holistic approach to collecting and archiving bio-based fashion. Acknowledging stakeholders beyond the museum, for example, environmentalists, activists and social-action campaigners, has allowed the uncertainty of the condition of the dress to be managed and be reinterpreted. Henderson (2018, 109) introduces 'ontological uncertainty' as an approach in conservation to describe the benefits of the practice of not knowing to encourage an 'active uncertainty management' (Ibid) that avoids negative consequences by allowing for different stakeholders to critically assess the conservation of artefacts and the environments they are associated. This perspective helps with the practice of not knowing the continued disfiguration and the time the dress will take to fully degrade, making these aspects a feature of 'Designer Intent' and expertise. Embracing the hybridity of the ethical formulae of a postfashion system through material engagement and a 'postconservation' approach creates a more responsive (and creative) practice for conservation, where even though destruction is inevitable it is a valued part of sustainable design discourse and practice.

4.2 ‘ECCO’-Leather dress by Iris van Herpen, c. 2010

Figure 2. ‘ECCO’-Leather dress by Iris van Herpen. Haute Couture, spring-summer 2010, Radiation Invasion collection. Palais Galliera, Paris. c.2014. (GAL2014.31.1). Image: ©Sylvie Brun, Palais Galliera, Paris.

Iris van Herpen collaborated with the company 'ECCO'-Leather to help create a dress made of natural coloured leather with semi-circle relief patterning made from boning for her Haute Couture, spring-summer 2010, Radiation Invasion collection (Figure 2). The object shows innovative use of 'ECCO'-Leather which is understood to derive from purely natural sources by following less toxic manufacturing processes, for example: reduction in chemical usage and wastewater production ('ECCO'-Leather 2021). Samson (Alexandre Samson, conversation with author, November 27, 2019), Haute Couture and contemporary design curator, Palais Galliera, reaffirms the sculptural forms associated with approaches taken by the designer combined with the organic use of 'ECCO'-Leather connects Haute Couture to sustainable, holistic design practices. The artefact creates an interesting

discussion because of its association with an eco-design system which focuses on the whole-life cycle of a product (Mora *et al* 2014, 139-147, Payne 2021, 114-116). Postmodern materials like the 'ECCO'-Leather are emerging from anthropogenic influences in fashion artefacts which seems to acknowledge the benefits of the earth's ecosystems. Environmental scientists (Hobbs *et al* 2006, Mascaro *et al* 2013) argue that there are benefits in humans contributing to the direction of the ecosphere by creating new 'novel ecosystems' which have become permanent evolving features, offering holistic and realistic modes for ecological relationships (Kidwell 2016, 246-47). They 'can result from deliberate and inadvertent human actions which are not dependent on human intervention for their maintenance' (Ibid, 244). Conserving the 'ECCO'-Leather may introduce ideas around transformative properties and qualities that supports the dispersion of the 'Designer Intent' for the designer that embraces the eco-system and environmental impact. These considerations offer a more holistic and realistic idea of ecological engagement of current and future fashion cultural users. The artefact creates a form of fashion 'eco-literacy' (St. Pierre 2015, 33) that identifies eco-material properties and qualities as aspects that co-exist with protecting natural environments that are not cultivated or purposed, they exist to encourage growth, variety and evolving native species. Munõz (2005, 92) states '(…) conservation can be viewed as a manifestation of the ethical imperative of not lying.' This enables the conservation field to acknowledge and embody wider environmental considerations in which materials are manufactured in ethical, natural systems, thus accepting different approaches in caring for artefacts that support eco-design systems.

> 'Nature is a big part of my work. It's an endless stream of beauty. I like creating my own versions of it, trying to translate the logic behind the system that works so perfectly.' Iris van Herpen, 2020. Interviewed by Sebastian Jordahn, Dezeen. 2020.

Iris van Herpen uses Haute Couture to heighten material engagement between herself, her collaborators and design team through developing new, unexplored ideas to create different material qualities which often cannot be characterised because they are meta-physical. For example, van Herpen worked with Dutch designer Jólan van der Wiel to design the Magnetic Moon dress (autumn-winter 2013-14) by developing a technique using magnetic force to manipulate and texture polyurethane embedded with iron particles. This example is indicative of the approach taken by van Herpen towards postmodern materials, and the properties and qualities they offer, where hand, movement and feeling mutual joy during material engagement is part of the 'collection process' (Jordahn 2020). The use of the ECCO leather, brings new materialities because of the wider scope of environmental stakeholders which relates to collective responsibility and shared ownership in the ecology of eco-materials. Rethinking archival ontologies may become necessary if this shared ownership in material engagement is to be acknowledged, where the ECCO leather embeds values of sustainability and renewability.

4.3 Rootbound #2 dress by Diana Scherer, c. 2017

Figure 3 (left) Rootbound dress #2 by Diana Scherer. c.2017. Image: ©Leanne Tonkin.

Figure 4 (upper right) Detail of plant root material grown by Diana Scherer. Image: ©Diana Scherer.

Figure 5 (lower right) Upper back of Rootbound dress #2 by Diana Scherer. Image: ©Diana Scherer.

The Rootbound #2 dress by Dutch-based artist Diana Scherer in 2017 is grown from roots of plants to create a 3D textile and is an example of the potential of 'growing' fashion (Figures 3 and 4). Scherer (Diana Scherer, conversation with author, June 08, 2020) explains the interest in clothing and not fashion giving precedence to her harvesting process where she has developed a technique to control the growth of plant roots to make textiles. She uses a variety of plant seeds, for example corn, flax and beans, to create patterned materials with templates. When the roots are fully grown, Scherer removes them from the soil and cuts off the plant stems leaving behind an intricately patterned grass root material (Figures 3-5). There is an essence of 'true materialism' (Fletcher 2016, 141) where artefacts, like this object study, acknowledges the scope of a 'material society' (Ibid) where availability of materials is environment-centred supporting ideas for sustainable continuity in fashion practice. Postphenomenological thinking supports ideas that technologies cannot be understood as a priori, because of the continual shaping and reshaping by the designer through their practice (van Dongen *et al* 2019, 3). The Rootbound #2 dress demonstrates how fashion artefacts may introduce a less tangible fashion heritage because the designer engages with the complexity and changeability of ecosystems. This type of material engagement presents different considerations when documenting social and practical relationships between the designer, cultural user(s) and fashion artefact, therefore, creating different 'heritage-related emotions' (Vidal and Dias 2017, 27) by re-establishing historical values in caring for dress artefacts which have different contextual parameters. The Rootbound #2 dress may bring together shared values between the environment, human emotion (of the cultural user) and 'Designer Intent' for a common good that encourages diverse and continuous material engagement. 'The cognitive life' (Malafouris 2018, 8) of the Rootbound #2 dress enables a presence that is not reliant on past connections with people and realities formerly attached to the values of an artefact (Vidal and Dias 2017, 27), but values what it presently holds for the cultural user, and designer. Displaying the dress could create a sense of a sustainable, hopeful future through emotional experience which may be considered a renewable asset of dress archival use even if the material is substantially altered or degraded.

Naturally sourced materials are starting to become important for designers to share in their work, as a 'material acknowledgment' of sustainable hybrid creative practice. At the same time materialising the designer concepts satisfies their creative desires. Conserving naturally sourced materials presents many changeable variables and becomes a 'knowledge-generating activity' (Hölling 2017, 88), where rationalising and contextualising the likely destruction of the plant root construction may be documented as part of an object record. The result being an archive of naturally sourced fashion artefacts that can be transmitted, transformed (through degradation) and lost; enabling analysis of issues of practice and experience that acknowledges fabrication of eco-materials as part of fashion heritage, that are part of the human condition (Ihde and Malafouris 2018, 209).

5. Conclusions: towards a postconservation approach for postmodern fashion

Postfashion systems may present different paradigms of museum practice because of wider environmental stakeholders and the acceptance of active materials as part of the creative process. The growth in new forms of fashion, such as human-centred design, allows materials to take on many emotional and conceptual levels. Designer-use of multiple and decentralised processes is beginning to rethink design and material paradigms. For example, using film as a medium to (de)construct design ideas that exist as 'video-thought' (Torres 2020, 281), exploring biosystems and computational abilities to hack manufacturing process to create new expressive materials showing 'intelligent mobility' (Winters 2020, 230) and 'lived experiences' (Sadkowska 2020, 86) that through; practice-based research that embodies the complexities of wearer relationships. These outcomes from practice-based research support translation, readaptation and reconstruction as a fashion continuum and not as an 'end point' (Calefato 2019, 41), for example, an endpoint that many fashion artefacts arrive at when conserved, researched and exhibited. The ideas can live beyond the life of the material.

The three object studies explore the various types of material engagement with postmodern materials in fashion artefacts. They show different types of material properties and qualities that require 'postconservation' thinking and practice, which may avoid limiting accessibility and interpretation to some fashion artefacts in the museum system. For example, biodegradation in fashion artefacts could be

viewed as being a performative element of the material rather than an unwelcome property. Postmodern materials, as understood through the analysis of these objects, can be less reliant on traditional manufacturing techniques, they do not just exist as specific material types; they can environmentally decompose, be recycled and nurture creative design and artistic practice. This often means postmodern materials can be intentionally ephemeral supporting a circular fashion system. The objects show how designers and artists can design commitment to shared societal responsibility through material choices and creative practice, allowing the object to be part of advocating for more sustainable rights and provisions (Fletcher 2016, 241-2) of current and future cultural stakeholders of fashion artefacts. Documenting and conserving these artefacts do present different challenges for dress archives because there are no set protocols for these types of artefacts, therefore, 'epistemological uncertainty' becomes an asset when thinking about conserving material engagement of biodegradable, eco and plant grown materials. These materials do not have fixed properties and qualities, they are an emergent product from material engagement with the natural environment mediated by human and non-human factors, for example plantation growth, water systems and seed production.

A postphenomenological approach helps when examining and studying the objects because it introduces the ecology as a natural form of technology, whereby subjects and objects are the product of environmental and human relations (van Dongen *et al* 2019, 20). This means fashion artefacts can be environmentally and socially bound to other cultural uses and users, like the harvesting communities in the Amazon and designers like Scherer, who work with the eco-system as a natural landscape to build on their design and artistic practice. Conserving and interpreting eco-fashion practice and 'Designer Intent' extends outside of the standards of a dress archive and textile conservation studio. Environmental materiality has been the intentional background for each designer and artist from which their material engagement is enacted (Malafouris 2013, 149).

Utilising a postphenomenological and MET informed epistemology, allows for sustainable postmodern fashion conservation. In addition, it allows new forms of interaction with the objects and their study.

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S9

Objects of a Memory Loss: Dining Tables as a Cultural Agent in Late Ottoman Istanbul

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Abstract | The Late Ottoman Era's material culture and design repertoire has been hardly included throughout the canonical Turkish design history. However, many advents and transformations through culture, production, and even design have taken place in this era. Internalizing (or not internalizing) Western dining etiquette, eating manners, and consumption of dining tables have a tremendous significance for discussing Westernization in the context of everyday life patterns. Because the transition was about the abandonment of the centuries-old tradition of floor tables and trays derived from the yurt-living and nomadic lifestyles. Considering the memory loss, watching the currently popular television serial, Payitaht (The Capital), we see that Sultan Abdülhamit II often has his dinner with his family members, all seated around a proper dining table. These scenes mediate a notion that it was such an established practice to dine in such a modern manner in the Late Ottoman Dynasty. However, having meals with trays that servants brought and sitting on cushions had been a resilient practice throughout both Palace residents and Muslim Ottoman middle-class and upper-middle groups. The administrative secretary of Yıldız Palace, Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil, who had already internalized Western eating practices in his own everyday life, mentions how much he had struggled to construct a dining suite in a separate dining room within the palace in the 1910s. The mentioned transition was also addressing the different demographics in Istanbul. While the Armenians, Levantines living in Galata and Pera had decorated their homes with the dining suites, Muslim groups in Fatih still sustained the floor table practice in their homes. This study inquires how the Western dining table became a cultural agent and how the transition from floor table to dining table varied according to different demographics, specific periods (like Ramazan), cultural capital, and various occasions.

Keywords: blind spots in the memory of design, alternative genealogies, collective memory

1. Introduction

In the 19th century, significant changes such as the Industrial Revolution, the development of capitalism, and colonial races in the Western geography affected the Ottoman Empire politically and socio-culturally. These effects and reflections, which also guided the Westernization movements, were experienced very intensely in the capital city of Istanbul. Cultural transformations that started to appear in the previous century bring about accelerated changes by incorporating traumas and internal contradictions. After Sultan Abdülmecid ascended the throne, the Tanzimat Edict was published in 1839. In 1856, the Imperial Palace was moved from Topkapı Palace to Dolmabahçe Palace, built on the model of European Royal palaces. This transition is one of the essential Westernization aspects of the period. Tanzimat means the reorganization of the military, political and social sphere according to Western standards. With new trends and participation from different religions and ethnicities, new ways of seeing, entertainment culture, cultural taste, and spatial practices occur in society (Kaya, 2016). The changes in the socio-cultural field and Westernization movements that started with the 19th century have also been changing the floor table / sini tradition that has been going on for centuries. Eating by sitting on chairs around the dining table instead of the floor table has become a new and vital agenda.

In the modernization process after the Tanzimat, the French culture was taken as a model for social life reorganization. The social groups that realized Western styles in their life were firstly the palace and upper-class families. Non-Muslim groups in Istanbul – Greeks, Jews, Levantines – were quicker and more prone than Muslim elites to accept the changes and live Western lifestyles. As a Westernization practice, the transition from the floor table to the dinner table has not been realized by society as a monolithic block. It is not performed throughout the fragments simultaneously. Different fractions have responded differently to domestic Modernization. In this research, the dynamics of the dining table practices of different segments will be examined, and appropriate depth and nuances will be provided on the routes of Westernization.

2. Influence of Non-Muslim Groups in the Context of Modern Eating Forms

In the 19th century, after the Tanzimat reforms, a predominantly non-Muslim bourgeoisie emerged. The concept of Ottoman citizenship is brought to the fore by shaping a new multi-religious ruling bureaucrat class, mostly Muslims. The settled population in Pera and Galata, predominantly non-Muslim Ottomans, is the part that was most affected by the Modernization process of Istanbul since the beginning of the 19th century. In the Beyoğlu region, the symbol of economic power, the service sector, fed with economic resources, has started to be organized in almost every aspect of daily life. The service organization, founded with the name of the Sixth Municipal Office, based on the municipality of Paris, first started its activities in this region – Pera, Galata, and Beyoğlu. The fact that non-Muslim groups were far from the political center (Palace) was also effective in the rapidly adopting Western practices. Towards the end of the 19th century, Beyoğlu took on the appearance of European cities. The same European image was also found in interior decorations. The notables of Pera have a highly developed social life. Various meetings and night parties were held in these upper-class houses. For example, the General Manager of the Ottoman Bank and such affluent families hosted their friends at their homes on certain days of the week on the occasion of tea or card games. In these meetings, conversations are held, music and dances are organized, and fashionable fancy dresses bought from Paris were exhibited. The orchestra, bright lights, and fancy dresses were on stage at the invitations organized by upper-class Non-Muslim households to their family friends. This way of life required large, ornately decorated interiors. It is known that French and Italian furniture was highly sought after by the elites in the region, and the decorative objects used with this furniture were almost a symbol of development and status. Even in the middle of the 19th century, furniture decoration advertisements used the expressions "new style dining room and halls" (Öncel, 2010).

In the Pera and Galata regions, domestic invitations, social life, and related practices have created new style dining rooms as a substantial demand. Thirteen large-scale furniture workshops established in Istanbul between 1913 and 1915 were officially registered. Pysalty Furniture Store, established in 1867, and Narlıyan

Furniture Factory (1893) are some of them. Decoration and Psalty stores, located at the corner of Nur-u Ziya Street and Istiklal Street, were among the most well-known furniture stores of the period. Most of the antique furniture exhibited in the shop windows of the Decoration store was designed by a Florentine decorator. Focusing on classical styles, 'Arts and Crafts' and 'Viennese' styles, the Psalty furniture workshop has furniture for the bedroom, dining room, lounge, and study. Besides purchasing, renting furniture, dinnerware, and silver cutlery were also possible for large-scale domestic events. Most of the large-scale furniture workshops were run by Ottoman minorities. In addition, furniture produced in some local workshops could be displayed in the showrooms of Psalty, Kalinikos, and Baker stores. Located in the cosmopolitan streets of Beyoğlu, these stores had also become symbols of modern life. Kalinikos had been successful in Art Deco style production by following current trends. These workshops both provided furniture to Beyoğlu elites and produced furniture designs of famous architects and designers. For example, Pysalty Furniture Store made furniture for interior decorating the architecture projects of famous Turkish architects Sedad Hakkı Eldem and Vedat Tek. Finally, with many performances and practices, non-Muslim social groups, primarily located in Beyoğlu, brought the way of life according to Western standards, including domestic culture and daily life practices, to Ottoman social life and played a leading role in the adoption of changes by the society.

3. Ambivalences Between Local and Western Ways of Eating

The daily life of Ottoman society developed in two different times and places during the 19th century between Muslim and non-Muslim settlements. Over time, both the physical and mental distance between traditional spaces and modern spaces has been tried to be closed. The roads connecting the old quarters to the Golden Horn piers were expanded. Contact points were created to introduce the introverted neighbourhood life to the active life on the quays. The Golden Horn Bridge, which was put into service in 1836, was functional for the Muslim population to intermingle with the Levantine world and meet a lifestyle unique to the European countryside. Both with the effect of economic inadequacies and the highly increasing population in the traditional Muslim settlements, the Muslim population of Istanbul moved to the Galata-Pera region, where non-Muslims settled, an important trade center. Therefore, daily life gained a more polycentric appearance. The living styles of ethnic groups got intermingled with each other and formed the texture of daily life. Many institutional innovations of Ottoman modernization were developed around Beyoğlu, the symbol of economic power, where foreign embassies were located (Işın, 2014).

Beginning with the Tanzimat reforms in 1839 and continuing in the following years, Europe, more specifically French culture, table manners, tastes, and bourgeois manners, permeated the homes of the Ottoman (Muslim) upper classes. Newspapers, magazines, and novels in the 1860s and 1870s mainly described the European style. The functioning of modern public spaces as a Modernization school was very typical in this period. The interior decoration of a patisserie or the new forms of eating and drinking in a restaurant was the most convenient observing new lifestyles. As Işın (2014) indicates, while a university student ate his dinner on the floor with his family elders, he was sipping his beer in a new pub in Pera. While the traditional floor table was enduring a culture where all kinds of food could be eaten with a spoon, individuals could find the opportunity to learn how to use cutlery at the banquet tables of modern public places.

PLATE 7/2
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Figure 1. Mediation of Western-Style furniture and objects, (Salt Research, Istanbul Households Archive).

Other media used to mediate Western practices were children's picture books, housekeeping books, and etiquette books. In Figure 1, in the children's book dated 1909, it is advised to use Western objects such as a dining table and a bed in the house arrangement instead of vernacular units. The first Adab-ı Muaşeret

(Etiquette) book of the Tanzimat period was written by Ahmet Midhat Efendi (1894). In contrast, the last book written in Ottoman Turkish was Abdullah Cevdet's 'Guide to Perfect and Illustrated Manners' (1927). Ahmet Midhat (1894) recommends a Western living room arrangement in the context of home aesthetics. Unlike the traditional period, areas such as the living room and dining room, which are open to visitors from outside and make up the public space of the house, change the way of behaviour along with their decoration. When it comes to table arrangement and manners, Midhat Efendi has often defended the superiority and elegance of European dinner tables (1894). He compares the European dining room arrangement, which includes candlesticks, chandelier, and buffet, with the Turkish eating style. Ahmet Midhat highlights that in our culture, although tremendous attention has been paid to the taste of food since ancient times, the decor and form of eating are not given much importance (ibid.). Mithad Efendi (1894), who states that the term dining room is fifty-sixty years old, points out that it was difficult to talk about the dining room concept before the Tanzimat years. The novelist describes an old table setting as follows:

> "For a long time in our country, the tables were set up in the rooms where people sit together. Aren't these rooms with three side panes? A stool with a height corresponding to the altitude of the cushion was brought to the corner where the two panes (kerevet) were engaged, and a tray was placed on it, and spoons, breads, and trivets were arranged on it." (Mithat Efendi, 1894, p. 36)

Mithad Efendi talks about the inconveniences and inadequacies of this style of Turkish table setting in terms of ergonomics, hygiene, and aesthetics. He says that knowing how to eat by following European manners is a measure of discipline and that people who do not acquire this fine art will be embarrassed. Even in his novels in which he satirizes the *à la français style*, he glorifies the à la français table setting and manners by giving details about their characteristics. In the novel 'Carnival,' it is mentioned that in Bahtiyar Pasha's apartment, the servant gives the dishes from the left side of the guest, complying with European etiquette. In his novel, 'The Young Turk,' he describes a European dining hall in Kazım Bey's house. After the servant has prepared the table, she invites the guest by ringing the bell, again as a convention of à la français hosting style. Admiring the European table rules and settings, Midhat Efendi, on the other hand, prefers Turkish cuisine and finds it superior when it comes to the taste of the dishes.

For example, Refik Halid Karay states that there were separate rooms for having meals in traditional mansions during the reign of Sultan Abdulaziz. However, these rooms still did not contain tables, buffets, chairs, but their usage as dining rooms was understood, as there was a vast marble faucet on one side. In these rooms, the sinis were always set, removed, and re-established at mealtimes. The table was not a place for conversation in this period. The meal would have to be finished as soon as possible, to be swept away like a chore. The way of eating from the common pot was in a structure that enabled haste. Karay lists three complex features of à la turque eating form: eating from a common bowl, eating by hand, and sitting on the floor while eating. He also adds to this list: the lack of personal cups for everyone, the hygienic inconvenience of eating from a shared bowl, and the fatigue of the arm reaching for food.

Karay points out the slow change in eating and drinking styles in the reign of II. Abdulhamid: Karay speaks about the middle and lower-middle dining rooms, which are sloppy and plainly decorated, such as a primitive linoleum cover on the table, trivet, (a common) jug, a sideboard with a glass top floor, and a cupboard on the bottom floor. Further attention is directed towards furnishing in the upper-class dining rooms. He provides an example that the Viennese originated ostentatious buffets are used, and linen covers are laid on the tables. The dishes were not brought to the table with copper plates anymore but in modern porcelain plates. Everyone would receive food on their plate in front of them. An additional modification was the start of the food conversation in the new table setting. In recent years, Walnut dining tables and buffets built by *Sanayi Mektebi* have helped increase the number of dining rooms in Istanbul and make them more and more habitable. However, many people did not give up their floor bed and floor table even then; and did not acquire forks. Members of the new generation would be disturbed if there was a conservative elder person at the table that ate with his fingers. Those who could not use the fork as a new object tried to consume every meal with a spoon so as not to be 'disgusting.' When lower-class families visit upper-class houses where the use of forks was now a routine, they lament whether they can taste the food by hand. They were also fearful of dropping the fork in front of them and cracking the plate. Some members of the newly affluent families also felt the longing of the floor table and the tastes of food by eating by hand. When there was no special occasion at home, these social groups would have their

servants set their floor table and eat a "meal with a taste" without any embarrassment.

It was customary to observe both dining tables and floor tables in homes. Cultural transformation is an unusual mixture of the new and the old, the Ottoman and the European standing side-by-side. Traditional habits remained within Ottoman houses, but there were also traces of Westernization. While describing the home of Said Bey, a typical example of a Europeanized Ottoman bureaucrat living in the late 19th century, in Aksaray, Istanbul, Paul Dumont states that the modern and the traditional are intertwined. Traditional ottomans and sedirs combine with sofas, armchairs, chairs, coffee tables, gramophones, and pianos to give the house a European feel. The domestic culture and daily life of Said Bey and the social group he represented exhibited an intriguing eclecticism of Western styles and old customs, habits, and objects.

In some homes, using tableware such as cutlery and even forks were experienced as a duty to be fulfilled. This is a usual situation, as the eating habits of Turkey and Europe (mostly France) were quite different from each other in the 19th century. Practices such as each individual eating from their personal plate, having their own space at the table, sitting in their chair have brought a certain distance, individuality, and formality to family relations after the habit of sitting on the floor and eating from the common bowl.

Religious factors also play an essential role in the duration of the sini or tabla practice so persistently. Eating on the ground may be paired and associated with a mystical modesty. For example, let us take a look at the eating patterns in Ramadan, which is a return to the source of identity that reveals the value, history, and space of Islam. In the face of changes that affect the life frame, behaviours, and customs, Ramadan takes on a form that we can call the strong resistance of tradition. This is very evident in the tradition of the iftar meal, even in the most Westernized families. Even families who adopt to eat by sitting on chairs arranged around a table, like Europeans, return to the Turkish style of eating by sitting cross-legged around the traditional tray placed on the ground due to iftar. It is observed that instead of using tableware (especially forks) adopted in that century, the iftar meal is again traditionally eaten by hand. With the advent of Ramadan, the cuisine oriented to a Western diet in the most modern homes regains Turkish local tastes and dishes. In short, iftar dinner traditions survive the age of modernization without much change; they show resistance to Westernization. Thus, while the acceptance of modern table manners is a factor in the disconnection between generations, these generations come together again to fulfil Ramadan customs (Georgeon and Dumont, 2000). Therefore, in the 19th century, when traditional Turkish and European dichotomies dominated the home life, the preferred eating style would have transformed from a modern dining table to a traditional floor table, especially in a period such as Ramadan, when religious feelings were intense.

4. Facts and Fiction About Dining Practice of the Palace

If we go back again to the popular television serial, Payitaht (The Capital), we see that Sultan Abdülhamit II is pictured as internalizing modern table manners as an everyday routine. Having his dinner with his family members (Episode, 2), or congregating with his admirals around a dining table (Episode, 3) are mediated as usual practices in the Late Ottoman Dynasty. However, having meals with trays that servants brought and sitting on cushions had been a resilient practice. In tabla practice, dishes, covered with covers carried by tablakars, were brought to the Sultan and other members of the palace in copper pans. Furniture and tableware, which belonged to Western food and table manners and provide design integrity, were mainly not included in the table setting. Rarely, in pictures of banquets, dishes of the upper class served in bowls and bowls of different shapes and sizes can be seen. While cutlery was not frequently used, the spoon was a private, personal item everyone carried in their pockets. Despite many Modernization practices (e.g. advents in lighting and heating systems, building a new Palace Theater, etc.) both functional and formal, we see that the traditional eating style does not disappear easily throughout the Palace life.

Halid Ziya Uşaklıgil, who was the administrative head at the Palace wanted to abolish the traditional eating order entirely and establish the European table manners. At the beginning of the twentieth century, for some fractions of the

Ottoman elite group, including Uşaklıgil, the dining table, tableware, personal dining area, and utensils had already become the norm. Uğur Tanyeli (2016) expresses that two different sets of cultural preferences occur at varying levels of modernity in the field of duty of Halid Ziya Bey. These are those of the Palace and those of an Ottoman elite. Although the Palace represented the highest quality in the Ottoman World in terms of luxury, comfort, and taste for centuries, the late Ottoman elites were closer to Westernization practices than the Palace. The distinguished families of the period participated in the entertainments and banquets organized by the foreign embassies where the Palace was not present, performing different modernism practices. Beginning with the reign of Abdulhamid II, the late Ottoman elite saw that they, themselves, were more educated, sophisticated, and modern than the Palace. The greatest example of the gap between this Western-oriented social fraction and the Palace concerning the style of eating and drinking could be perceived in the struggle of Halid Ziya Uşaklıgil to construct the first dining room of the Palace. It is possible to follow Uşaklıgil's state of distance and alienation from his critical approach to the tabla (traditional tray) practice that continues in the palace and his desire and effort to change this practice:

> "Wouldn't it be possible to leave this tabla (traditional tray) style to create a proper dining table in various parts of the palace, to apply the table d'hote style to the eating practice in a new way, both clean and convenient?" (Uşaklıgil, 1965, p.24)

The last remnants of tabla practice in the Palace were now in question to be levelled. While the courtiers still maintain the traditional daily order, Uşaklıgil, who has more Western cultural preferences, wanted to remove the table system, which he did not find civilized and aesthetic. There are reasons behind Uşaklıgil's levelling of the table practice, such as preventing food waste caused by maintaining personal trays and solving the hygiene problem caused by eating from a shared bowl. Abandoning the tabla practice – which did not need a specific room - required a functional space for eating and dining. Finally, Uşaklıgil succeeded in constructing a dining room set up in the Mabeyn and furnished it with a dining table for twenty-four people and two cabinets with tableware. However, although it was reduced, tabla practice around the Harem – where primarily women and children were accommodated.

The interrogations about identity and taste come to the fore in a new way with the Westernization of the empire, most notably the Ottoman capital, in the late 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. Ottoman individuals could show some inconsistencies with the modern texture of daily life. It is seen that the phase difference emerged as an essential feature in the development of lifestyles that continued throughout the 19th century. The European myth has partially created confusion employing social and traditional values in society. For example, the dining table in the Ottoman house or the Palace has the meaning that was imported. Still, it also includes a meaning attributed to it by the Ottoman society in general and its meanings in a specific house. Each new object and practice is seen as a complex symbolic whole consisting of various layers of meaning. Even though the 'Europeanism' of new objects is celebrated in the symbolic plane, a certain adaptation period was needed in daily use and function. Western practices were performed to show that Ottoman upper middle classes are not behind in the social development of Europe. However, we can see that private acts like eating somehow still perpetuate themselves on a fundamental basis.

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Turning hegemonic charts of urbanization: South America and the Pacific through *Amereida*'s geo-poetic mapping

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Abstract| Today, the ‘Integration of Regional Infrastructure in South America’ (IIRSA), a ground-breaking transnational urbanisation project for developing and integrating the South American hinterland, is operating. However, its execution engenders strong opposition due to its potential for territorial overexploitation and borderline nature and culture deterioration. According to critical Latin-American intellectuals, this project resumes the longstanding hegemonic discourses for archiving regional modernity and development through technocratic urbanisation projects. Facing this critical scenario that calls for new epistemological and ontological bases to understand, imagine and act on non-metropolitan territories beyond hegemonic design practices, this contribution unfolds the geo-poetic approach created in the 1960s’ by the School of Architecture and Design of the PUC-Valparaíso as a critical means to revisit the modern hegemony of urbanisation reproduced over South America and the Pacific. Therefore, this article examines the links between the *Amereida*’s trip (1965) and poem (1967), and the manuscript *For a Latin American point of view of the Pacific Ocean* (1970) developed by the Valparaíso School, tracing their geo-political and geo-historical analyses, together with geo-poetic narratives and representations. These documents serve to question the longstanding hegemonic design embedded in the invention and reinvention of America and the Pacific, through which the region became the backwardness and periphery of the modern planetary order. Lastly, this contribution proposes this geo-poetic proposal developed in the late 1960s, as a perspective for looking towards the South American hinterland and questioning the hegemonic discourses and actions promoted by the ongoing IIRSA urbanisation project.

Keywords: Amereida, geo-poetics, geo-politics, modern design, representation, urbanisation

1. Introduction

Between September 27th to October 2nd of 1970, the Chilean Centre of Pacific Studies (CEPAC) organised the 'First Conference of the Pacific' in Viña del Mar. The meeting congregated different institutions and personalities of the international political-economic affair from the Americas and Asia, intending to discuss and outline new strategies for developing the countries towards the Pacific front. The seminar dealt with subjects such as the *Geostrategic History of the Pacific*, *Underdevelopment and Dependence in Latin America: A Problematic Relationship*, *The Latin American System and the Opening to the Pacific* and *The New Power Structure in the Pacific*. Among them, there was a lecture entitled *For a Latin American point of view of the Pacific Ocean*, given by Godofredo Iommi, who was a poet and professor at the School of Architecture and Design of the Catholic University of Valparaíso, later published in the *Revista de Estudios del Pacífico*, issue nº2, in 1971.

The first lines of this last manuscript described this School radical purpose: to elucidate a poetic fundament to face and think about the Pacific from a Latin American point of view and acquire further clarification about its destiny (Escuela de Arquitectura UCV 1970, 1) In order to do so, the manuscript develops two theses based on geo-historical references that were 'revisited in the light of poetry, without pretending to comment, objectify, or sentimentalise on it, which is generally how all the leaders of the past assume poetry' (Cruz et al. 1971, 9). Through this focus, this lecture was far from the geostrategic and geopolitical plans presented during the sessions. Instead, it was delivered as a 'scientific-poetic groundwork' (Cruz et al. 1971, 9), willing to revisit the historical processes through which the Latin American region and the South Pacific became a peripherical and dependent part of the modern planetary order. Furthermore, Iommi declares that eventually this proposal, elaborated by the Valparaíso School through *the Thesis of the Interior Sea* and the *Own North*, could be a worthwhile contribution for 'thinking about urbanism that is no longer based merely on the productivity of a region, a country, or a continent'(Cruz et al. 1971, 9).

The lecture given in the frame of the Conference of the Pacific became significant for the geo-poetic Latin/South American project, initiated five years before by the Valparaíso School with the *Travesía* and the poem *Amereida*. The text is an essential part of the book *Fundamentos de la Escuela de Arquitectura*, published in 1971 (figure 1), and it represents one of the rare academic writings made by the Valparaíso School regarding its Latin/South American geo-poetic approach for architecture and design studies.

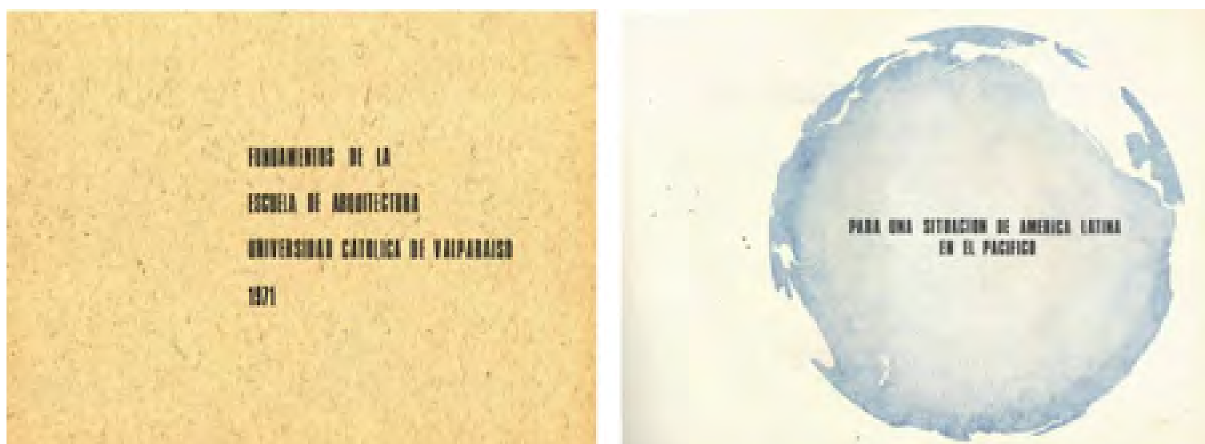

Figure 1 (left). Cover of the book Fundamentos de la Escuela de Arquitectura, Universidad Católica de Valparaíso. Figure 1 (right). Cover of the chapter 'For a Situation of Latin America in the Pacific'. (Source: Escuela de Arquitectura UCV, 1971).

Against this background, this article decodes the links between geo-historic, geo-politic and geo-poetic aspects developed in the manuscript *For a Latin American point of view of the Pacific Ocean* (1970) and its expanded version *For a Latin American situation in the Pacific* (1971), presented at the *First Conference of the*

Pacific in 1970. Through the analysis of these historical documents, forthcoming essays and classes around this manuscript, this article traces how the narrative and large-scale maps composed for this conference contributed to shaping an original critical epistemological approach, that served to question the longstanding hegemonic design embedded in the invention and reinvention of America and Latin America in the modern planetary order. In this line, the article outlines the tropes and maps used to elaborate the *Thesis of the Interior Sea* and the *Thesis of the Own North*, through which the Valparaíso School delivers a geo-poetic option to challenge the modern and Eurocentric geohistorical representations of the Americas in colonial and post-colonial periods. Consequently, I present that the narrative and large-scale maps imprinted in this manuscript can be envisaged as a critical metageographical approach (Lewis and Wigen 1997) to question hegemonies embedded in modern historiography and cartography design.

Finally, this contribution outlines how the notion of the *Interior Sea* was related to the *Heartland Theory*, developed by the English geographer Halford Mackinder (1904), to illustrate the geopolitical relevance of global hinterlands in contemporary planetary power relations, revealing an original awareness and perspective about the Latin American urbanisation. In this line, the article analyses how, facing the current paradoxical integration/exploitation of the South American hinterland/heartland promoted by the IIRSA transnational urbanisation project, this geo-poetic vision can be considered as an original groundwork to question the hegemonies embedded in the dichotomic idea of development and modernisation of the Southern region, especially beyond metropolises.

2. Grounding Geo-Poetics on South America

> 'El interior de América es nuestro desconocido, nuestro caos, nuestro mar.' (Escuela de Arquitectura UCV 1972)

In 1965, professors of the Valparaíso School, together with philosophers and artists from Latin America and Europe, organised a trip across the South American continent called *Travesía*, with the purpose of crossing and incarnating the historical and ontological burden of inhabiting beyond the South American metropolis. For this reason, this journey was performed across the continental hinterland, poetically named the *Mar Interior* (Interior Sea), far from the big cities located in the edges of the mainland, since for the group, they cover the true diversity of the region (Iommi 1983). The *Travesía* started in the extreme South of Chile, crossing the Argentinean Patagonia and pampa, and ending in the Bolivian region of Tarija due to revolutionary *guerrillas* in September of 1965 (Iommi et al. 1986). Considering poetry and craft in action as the means to unveil the long-standing modern burden in the land, the trip was performed as a sum of poetic acts that in occasions involved local communities, or sometimes only the natural environment, that generated the building of artistic and architectural artefacts donated to locals (figure 2). These different creative experiences became the means to share wisdom and lifestyles different to those known by the group, that was connected to the hegemonic conventions settled in the metropolises. Consequently, these situated experiences, together with intellectual discussions about philosophy, design, historiography, and poetry, contributed to generating an original geo-poetic vision to question the modern invention of America, delivered in *Amereida*, a poem drafted during the *trip*, and later published in 1967.

Figure 2. Group performing a Work Act next to a road in the Argentine Patagonia during the Travesia de Amereida in 1965. (Source: Archivo Histórico José Vial Armstrong, 1965).

2.1. Veiling and Unveiling America and the Pacific

The manuscript presented at the *Conference of the Pacific* draws on *Amereida* and O'Gorman's theory of the *Invention of America* (O'Gorman 2010) to question the early historical events that precede any inscription of this continent on modern charts, These events became the cause of the peripherical situation of these lands and people into the modern European cosmology: Columbus never came to America, he died convinced that from these discovered lands one could reach Spain by travelling overland (Iommi et al. 1967, 13; Escuela de Arquitectura UCV 1970, 10). For the Valparaíso School, this error embodied by Columbus was not only a crucial fallacy in modern historiography, but the evidence that the beliefs of the conquistador together with his ambitions to reach the rich Indies was powerful enough to produce blindness and self-denial (Escuela de Arquitectura UCV 1970, 10). Indeed, even if Vespucci, when sailing southwards, noticed that he was circumnavigating a new continent, he rejected such possibility since it was simply unthinkable for Euro-Christian cosmology to discover in the *Orbis Alterius* fertile lands and human beings like those of the *Orbis Terrarum*.

The acceptance of this new continent within the European imaginary would not be effectively acquired until the arrival of Sebastian Elcano, at the head of the La Victoria Magallanes's ship, to Barrameda (Spain) and the subsequent imprint of this mainland in the modern chart *Nova et Aucta Orbis Terrae Descriptio ad Usum Navigantium Emendate Accommodata* (1569) produced by the Flemish cartographer Gerardus Mercator. While the discovery and the representations of America became corollary for global emancipation and modernity, these cartographic projections were fundamental tools not only to navigate planetary space, but to imagine its subordination to the pursuit of profit and power (Moore 2017, 182), leading to the domination and erasure of other cosmologies and human-nature relations (Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin 2013). For instance, the hegemonic world order based on Mercator's geometric projection, distorting territories to represent Europe at a larger size, establishing the planetary centre at Greenwich, fragmenting the Pacific Ocean at both edges of the chart, and developing a hierarchical taxonomy of the world's regions in a Universal Atlas, are facts that are hardly discussed even by contemporary geographers.

Echoing *Amereida's* narrative, the poet Manuel Sanfuentes of the Valparaíso School stresses that in the epic process of mapping the immense north-south vastness of America, these lands were accepted and incorporated into the European mentality. At

the same time, the indigenous peoples were eradicated or subjected to it (Sanfuentes et al. 2020, 10). Through this process, a paradoxical course of veiling and unveiling the mainland and its worlds was initiated, thus incurring in the cardinal sin over America, which was to imagine, represent and transform it into a civilisational continuity. Accordingly, for the Valparaíso School, these oxymorons embodied in the completeness of the world/globe were the circumstances that nourished its attempt to grasp the origins of the contemporary peripheral and dependent situation of South America and the South Pacific. A division created by Europe as the pre-Columbian worlds had neither the idea of continents nor the modern conception of the world/globe (Escuela de Arquitectura UCV 1970, 10).

3. Turning South America and Pacific

> ‘How did we get to this point of universal acceptance of the ideas of America and Latin America? What was the geo-political and geo-historical framework in which this idea of America came to life?’ (Mignolo 2005, 22)

These two questions posed by the argentine scholar Walter Mignolo comprise a critical departure to examine 15 large scale maps delivered in the manuscript *For a Latin American point of view of the Pacific Ocean*, produced through the analyses of texts, maps, treaties and policies developed from the 16th century to 1960. Thus, they consider the Spanish and Portuguese colonisation period, the British, French, and North American imperialism, the invention of Latin American and the decolonisation of the nation-states in the 19th century, the World Wars, and the post-war period together with the accelerated globalisation until 1970.

Although these maps were based on modern cartography design, I identify some critical insights that nourished those compositions and their alterations, emphasising facts and ideologies traced in the review of the Americas’ geo-political and geo-historical literature (figure 3). On the one hand, unlike the North, the Latin/South American hinterland has been historically represented as the backwardness of modernisation, remaining virtually as a wasteland, the savage, thus becoming an absence for traditional historicity. On the other hand, unlike the Atlantic, in Eurocentric literature and cartography, the Pacific is depicted as the remoteness of the Western World, the margins of the modern global order. Responding to these features, the maps within the manuscript depict the Pacific in the centre and not at the edges of the charts, as modern cartographers have historically reproduced it. Also, by using colours and turning the geographical charts, these illustrations emphasise the different historical landmarks that reproduced the separation between the northern and southern hemispheres.

Figure 3 (top-left). This Modern World-Map represents the Pacific Ocean at the centre of the chart. During the 16th century, the North Hemisphere was the known (blue) and the South, the unknown. Figure 3 (top-right). During the 17th and 18th centuries, the Pacific was mainly dominated by Spain; the map represents voyages and discovery, conquest, and trade routes towards North America (orange) and North Asia (black) in the Pacific. Figure 3 (bottom-left). During the 17th and 18th centuries, the Spanish empire set the Cadiz, Mexico, and Manila trade route in the North Pacific (black). The Russians were conquering the Arctic (orange) and British Polynesia (orange dotted lines). Figure 3 (bottom-right). After the Second World War, the United States established international defensive pacts over the Pacific and Atlantic fronts. (Source: Cruz et al., 1971, 12, 16, 22, 26).

In addition to the ten maps on the discovery, colonisation, imperialism and decolonisation of the Americas and the Pacific, the manuscript provides an alternative point of view to de-link itself from the technocratic ideas of integration and development discussed in the *Conference of the Pacific*, delivering the Thesis of the *Interior Sea* and the *Own North*. Both theses were composed of tropes and insights developed in the poem *Amereida* and synthesised in large-scale maps that depict radical South/North and East/West projections of the Americas and the Pacific into the planetary.

On the one hand, The *Thesis of the Own North* was formerly introduced in the poem *Amereida* through the radical action of rotating the map of South America, an operation aligned with the commonly used expression of 'to have a north', which means to have an orientation or a goal (figure 4). Thus, to have an *Own* orientation, raised from the Southern hemisphere, where to have a North is to look towards the South. For this reason, the map of the thesis of the Own North is rotated, rising with Austral Patagonia on the top, pointing towards the Antarctic continent. As described in the Pacific conference text, 'Seen in this way, America tells us about the loneliness of its hinterland, its specific urban density on the periphery and, throughout its history, a permanent mark in this sense' (Escuela de Arquitectura UCV 1970, 15). Also, the map was turned with the Southern Cross constellation over the chart to overcome the traditional Cartesian axes of colonial cartographies, thus opening multiple orientations that emerge from these new axes and intersection. Moreover, against these geo-political logics, the geo-poetic movement on the charts is no longer representative of a process of domination but a reappropriation of modern cartography.

On the other hand, an aerial view towards the Sothern Hemisphere of a South American continent without borders or geo-political frontiers, represents

the *Thesis of the Interior Sea* (figure 4). The red dots indicate the metropolises surrounding the mainland, most of them founded during colonisation in the 16th century, in what is today the core of the continental urban populations. The dark lines, crossing the chart from one Ocean to the other, signal the first conquest expeditions performed in the 15th and 16th centuries, together with the current transoceanic industrial flows through the continental hinterland. These traces were the colonial *Travesías* across the *terra incognita*. Finally, the *Interior Sea* is represented with blue lines, covering a vast blurred space of the continent where multiple traces and realities remain hidden. A vast hinterland that remains as the backyard of the great metropolises. Accordingly, through this point of view and looking forward to the correlation between the Latin American inland, the Pacific and the planet, the concern of the School is how these planetary enclaves appear and disappear from the maps according to global power relations.

Figure 4 (left). Map representing the Thesis of the Own North. On the left, the South American cartography is turned, including the Southern Cross over the chart. On the right, the hatched figure depicts the South American Interior Sea. Figure 4 (right). Map representing the Thesis of the Interior Sea. (Source: Cruz et al., 1971, 28, 30).

3.1. Interior Sea and the Heartland Theory

To expand the geo-poetic notion of the *Interior Sea* into the geopolitical context of the Conference of the Pacific, The Valparaíso School draws an analogy with the *Heartland Theory* set out by the English geographer Halford John Mackinder (1904). One of the main aspects that relate the *Thesis of the Interior Sea* to this theory is that the latter also arises from the discovery of America and the Pacific Ocean in the 16th century, when the planet entered a closed political system of global impact, in which such territories were blocked and isolated (Mackinder 1904, 422), becoming available enclaves for a world hegemonic power. Nevertheless, while Mackinder looks at Europe, disregarding the geopolitical relevance of South America, what the School proposes through the revision of this document, is to turn its gaze towards the hinterland or Heartland of the Americas. This critical and poetic approach highlights the fact that this continent has been crucial in modern capitalist world geopolitics, but at the same time, has been dismissed as the backwardness of modernity. Therefore, by speaking of the Latin/South American *Heartland*, the School warns that, in the face of an imminent external mastery of this *Interior Sea*, the Pacific and subsequently the other *Interior Seas* throughout the world could be controlled, generating another hegemony, and consequently a new Latin American dependence in the contemporary planetary order (figure 5).

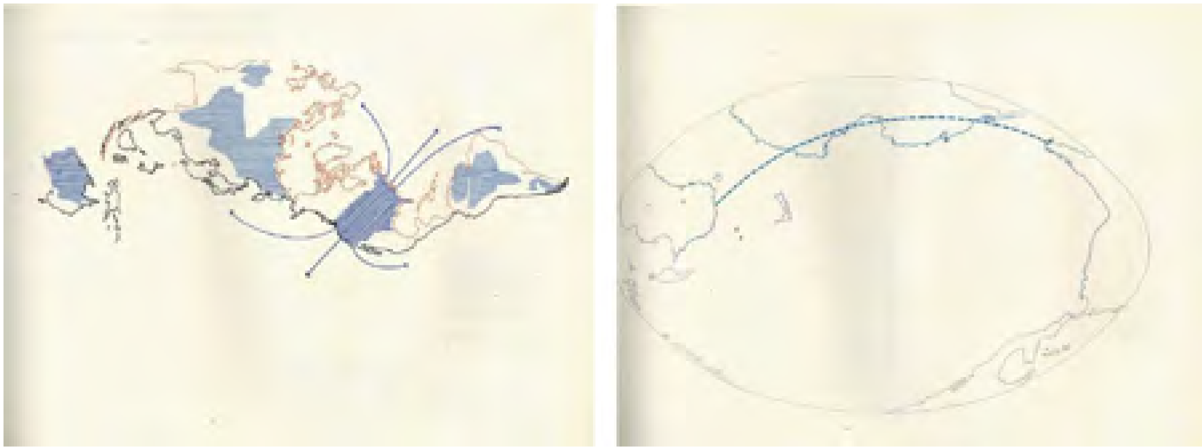

Figure 5 (left). Map of planetary Interior Seas surrounding the Pacific. Figure 5 (right) Inverted Map of the Pacific Ocean and the continental coast surrounding it. (Source: Cruz et al., 1971, 38, 40)

4. South American Interior Sea and the IIRSA Project

As we have examined, the study *For a Latin American View of the Pacific Ocean*, presented by the Valparaíso School at the *First Conference of the Pacific* in 1970, represents a seminal work in the development of the geo-poetic vision embodied by the School since the First *Travesía de Amereida* of 1965. Moreover, this manuscript together with the large-scale maps, is an attempt to expand their original geo-poetic perspective on Latin America and the Pacific towards the geo-historical and geopolitical analysis, as the means to comprehend the longstanding dependent and peripherical situation of this region in the Modern geography design, and the Western planetary order. To this end, different questions about the imaginaries, power relations and experiences embedded in the descriptions and mastery of the modern world were re-drawn to formulate the two central geo-poetic theses of the *Interior Sea* and the *Own North*, and their links to the Heartland Theory.

In this line, although Mackinder's theory is Eurocentric and deterministic, and produced more than a century ago, today, it is revisited as a relevant work in the face of the current geopolitical conflict, in which new actors, like China, and new Heartlands, like South America, come into play (Cadena 2011; Saguier 2017). In 2008 the Union of South American Nations (UNASUR) was created, involving the twelve countries of the region in the development of the IIRSA Project —Initiative for the Integration of Regional Infrastructure in South America. Today, this transnational and transoceanic urbanisation project to develop and integrate the South American hinterland into the Asian market via the Pacific is controversial. For several critical and decolonial scholars and activists, this project hides the purpose of territorial overexploitation and the subsequent deterioration of border nature and culture. Moreover, for them, this project shows how the logic of modernity/coloniality still operates over these territories. For the architect, Felipe Correa, the scope and ambitions of IIRSA are affecting an unprecedented reconfiguration of the urban and rural dynamics of the South American hinterland (Correa 2016, 1). Apart from having a substantial environmental impact on water quality, the devastation of vegetable species and the migration of fish and birds, the regional project would have severe consequences on the indigenous and peasant communities that inhabit that territory (de la Cuadra 2014, 8). However, without this network, the cities created or empowered to gain control of the territorial resources would not have the real potential they are supposed to have (Correa 2018, 7).

From a historical point of view, the IIRSA project should be understood within a history of resources and territorial control in South America (Zibechi 2006). Therefore, although control is treated in a marginal position, it remains a fundamental element to ensure the correct operation of a system of domination. This issue is inextricably linked to a structure of conquering the territories and their resources using the modern discourses and design for progress, modernisation, and development in the Global South. As stressed by the Valparaiso School 50 years ago, this longstanding hegemonic panorama about design and territories has resulted from

seeing, understanding, and finally designing the territory based ‘merely on its productivity’ (Cruz et al. 1971, 9).

In this line, I have envisaged the geo-poetic thesis and maps produced by the Valparaíso School as an alternative approach to overcome the myth of supremacy and hegemony over territories – through notions such as the Global North, First, Second, and Third World – via a new critical metageography (Lewis and Wigen 1997). Thus, this geographical approach can be one of the various responses to the call for a new set of metaphors and lived realities that begin to acquire existential and epistemological significance, such as the border, the archipelago, and the sea, among others’ (Maldonado-Torres 2010, 47). Consequently, I consider that the geo-poetic narrative and representations delivered in the manuscripts *For a Latin American point of view of the Pacific Ocean* (1970) and its expanded version *For a Latin American situation in the Pacific* (1970), do not reproduce the hegemonic action over the Latin-American region or elsewhere, neither the erasure of historical blueprints, but open a possibly to re-drawing and re-thinking otherwise the non-metropolitan territories.

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Artesanías vs Design: Unveiling Design Hegemonies over Traditional Crafts in Chile.

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Abstract | This contribution critically follows design as a component for economic and cultural production interwoven with craftsmanship in Chile, putting in tension the promotion of modern design in ‘*artesanías*’ as a tool for development that has been encouraged in the country and the region via discourses of modernity, growth and progress. From these perspectives, and following UNESCO’s vision of human development, diverse Chilean institutions have considered the design discipline to innovate among the cultural industries, mainly in crafts, since design suppose to assist, improve and stimulate the consumption of artisanal production. However, the interactions between designers and artisans remain controversial since the latter has firmly rejected their need for professional design in recent encounters. Against this background, this contribution traces frictions in discourses and different design interventions over crafts deployed in Chile after the 1990s, mainly through the analysis of press clips from the *Programa de Artesanía* UC archive. At the same time, and based on an ethnographic approach, it examines the extent of the modern design interventions in the village of Pomaire, a relevant community of pottery makers in the country that has been associated with artisanal tradition and with national identity. From this case study and based on the perception of the artisans about design interventions, this paper addresses two hegemonic paths through which modern design operates in artisanal production, assessing how, through the use of historic, aesthetics and manufacturing aspects, design for crafts can be related to an ‘economy of enrichment’ that turns cultural production into commodities.

Keywords: hegemonies, craftsmanship, development, tradition, innovation

1. Introduction

The recent social protests that have taken place throughout Chile —a South American model of neoliberal economic success— have been perceived as a critique of the social and environmental damages of the current economic and political system (Rodríguez 2020; Aguirre and Rivera 2020, 2). The popular movements question the capitalist exploitation of resources justified by an economic model associated with the promises of modernisation and development. Thus, among other issues, it appears that these movements recognise the failure of the once promised developmental project that has been for long associated with growth, progress and industrialism, a project that have been very much related to the discipline of design in different ways.

The connection between design and the development project was significant in South America, where design was perceived as a tool to encourage the processes of industrialisation by incorporating modern and rationalist parameters to the productive industry (Escobar 1995; Vallejos Fabres 2016; Clarke 2016). The idea of design was entangled with modernity and supposed to contribute to the aspirations of industrialisation and progress of this apparently underdeveloped region. As stated by the designer Gui Bonsiepe, the history of design in Latin America dates back to the 1960s, when ministries of technology, industries or cooperation and development centres that stimulated the processes of industrialisation and economic developmentalism started to formulate design training programmes (Bonsiepe 1985, 1977). In this context, also the Chilean governments attempted to encourage the technological development of the small and medium industries by searching for consultancy of designers attached to modern and rational design principles (Portal Carrasco, 2016). However, already in the 1990s, Bonsiepe recognised the failure to integrate design into the region's industrial production since, in general terms, the discipline remained barely attached to industries, framed mainly in the academic context and disconnected from the professional world (Bonsiepe 1990, 131-134).

This breach between design and industry in Chile became stronger after the consolidation of the neoliberal economic orientation in the country, which made it extremely complex for producers to compete with the global market. In the face of this weakened productive scenario (Gatica Barros 1989; Ahumada 2019), there was a reconsideration of the Western narrative of industrialisation in which non-industrial design and small scale production were often marginalised. Thus, as I will disentangle below, some perspectives started to position design as a supportive discipline for crafts in the country and in the Southern region, as a discipline that could add value to handmade objects, mainly through the commodification of artisanal production.

Against this background, this paper critically reviews different discourses about applying modern and professional design in artisanal production as a tool for development in Chile, mainly through different documents and press clips contained in the Archive of the Catholic University in Chile (UC). This revision considers a period between the 1990s and the beginning of the 2000s because it is representative of the consolidation of design with crafts in the country, which is reflected on the implementation of various policies and projects associated with UNESCO's vision of human development.

To assess the implication of these 'design for crafts' visions in Chile, I present research conducted in the community of Pomaire, where more than 230 families are related to pottery making and where artisanal production is the primary revenue of its inhabitants. This community of artisans transited a path between being regarded as 'traditional and representative' of the national *artesanía* (Lago 1955, 301; 1985, 18) to being considered as an aberration of the tradition by the Chilean *establishment* (*Diario La Época* 1987; *Las Últimas Noticias* 1988), due to the permanent incorporation of global aesthetics trends and mechanical tools in the making of their products. From the different interviews conducted in the village with artisans and other actors involved in the clay circuit, and through observations about the making process, I examine certain perspectives expressed by Pomairean artisans. From there, I recognise different paths through which professional design has operated using the notion of development, establishing how some institutions and programmes have generated hierarchical paths of design over crafts in this community.

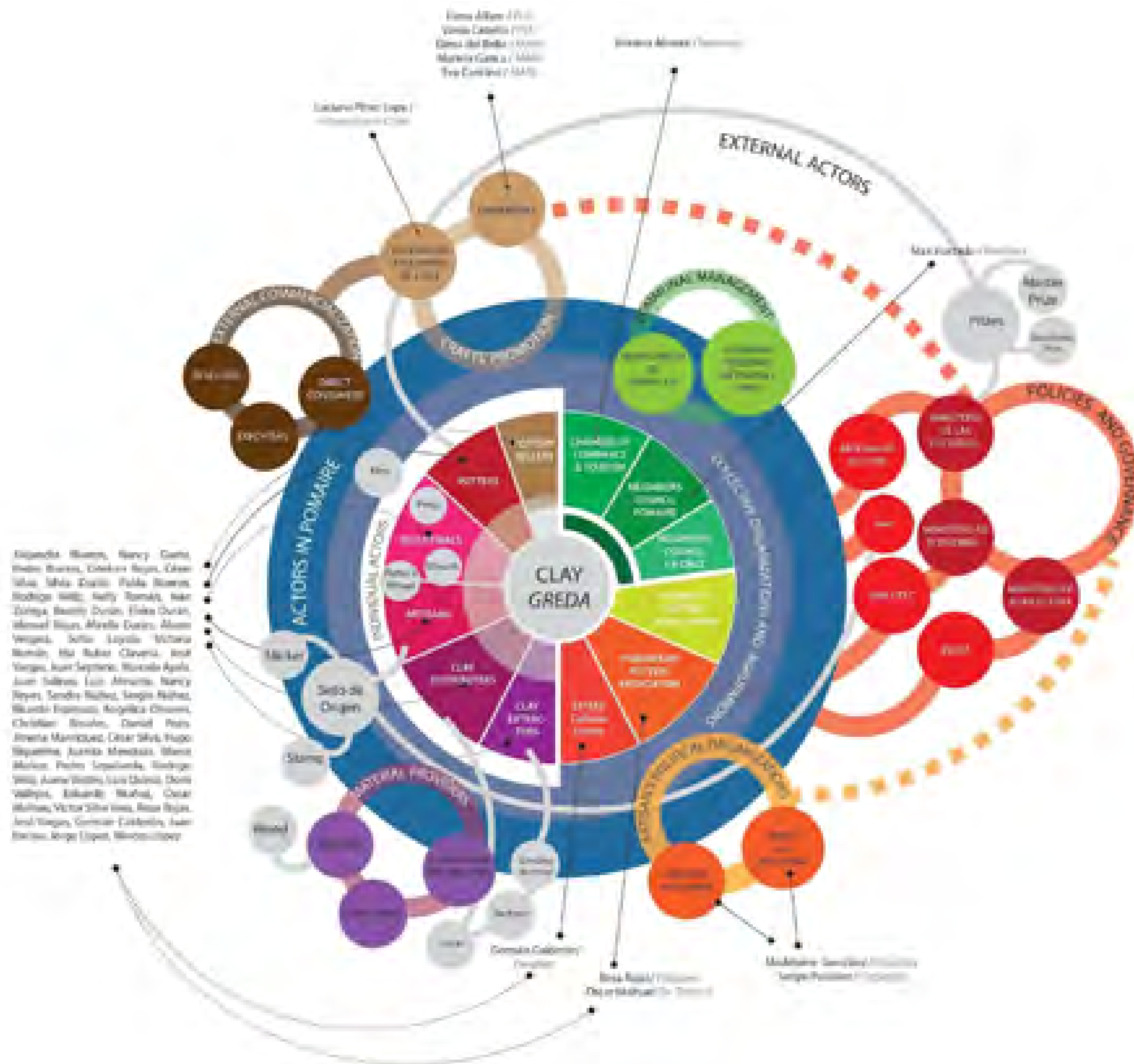

Figure 1. Diagram of Actors connected to the pottery production of Pomaire (Source: Elaborated by the author).

2. Design, Crafts and Human Development

While crafts or *artesanías* have been relevant in South America for being considered as significant cultural expressions and as means to improve social, cultural, and economic conditions, it was not until the 1990s that the strategies to incorporate design into craft production as a tool for increasing commercialisation started to be considered by institutional visions throughout the region. This integration pointed mainly to fight the decrease in the western demand for artisanal objects and was strengthened by the rise of the concept of ‘human development’, a notion that aimed to expand the richness of human life, focused on people, on their opportunities and choices (UNDP n.d.).

In the light of this concept, traditional crafts or *artesanías* appeared as essential to empower human development, but at the same time, they were perceived as endangered. Therefore, there was a path open to incorporate design as a strategy for safeguarding artisanal production and the generation of new handmade products with added value (Rodríguez Acosta 2002, p.72-74). Thus, there was an opening for altering some artisanal expressions and heritage by applying mediated innovation, accepting the figure of the designer as a translator of the traditional to more contemporary production.

This link between design and crafts appeared as a *fruitful liaison* in Chile during the 1990s when the Traditional Craft Exhibition –organised since 1974 by the *Programa de Artesanía*, hosted on the School of Design of the UC– hired designers to promote traditional objects in modern spaces. This fair encouraged the use of handcrafted products in interior design, promoting their consumption as

decorative pieces; this was a novelty because, as the designer Mariana Kaplun expressed, people did not consider using traditional artisanal objects as ornaments in their houses before this exhibition (Kaplun in Yunis 1994). The fair also introduced the concept of 'innovation with artisanship', a concept perceived by the designer Luis Rodríguez as an opportunity to generate Chilean quality objects for exportation, recognising the potential integration between design and crafts as a way to overcome low prices in the exportation of crafts and design products (Rodríguez in Yunis 1994).

Figure 2.The Traditional Craft Exhibition of the Bustamante Park in 1978 (left). The artisan Estelvina Gaete and her 'cocinillas' from Pomaire (right) (Source: Collection 'Muestra de Artesanía Tradicional 1978' Photo Archive form the Programa de Artesanía UC).

Later, aspiring to innovate on the quality and creativity of the pieces, the UC developed the *Programa de Integración de Diseño y Artesanía* with the support of the foundation *Artesanías de Chile*. The premise of the project was that traditional objects could be adapted to contemporary demands through design. As stated by the organisers in an article published in the *El Mercurio newspaper,* the programme aspired to perfect the final products, their functionality, modes of production, and to integrate design in handcrafted creation (Covarrubias 1999).

However, it was during the first decade of the 2000s when the association between crafts and design was systematically promoted through diverse institutions and projects in Chile (UNESCO 2005; Rodríguez Acosta 2002; UNESCO 2009), that, aligned with the UNESCO's perspective of development, searched for the integrative and globalized visions that designers could incorporate to the traditional objects. Therefore, design for crafts supposed to:

> 'Introduce systematic harmony between demand, needs, production, innovation, consumption, waste, recycling, with a criteria of sustainable development and considering the preservations of heritages and identities.' (Gómez Pozo 2009)

This tendency for the use of design contributed to establishing a*rtesanías* beyond a heritage associated to social identity, rurality, and small scale production, and located crafts as a relevant sector for economic growth and cultural valuation through innovation in the creative industries (CNCA 2014), which was also stimulated on the policies for design and crafts sectors (CNCA 2017a, 2017b).

On the one hand, *artesanías* with guided design interventions could improve sales by multiplying the functions and aesthetic components of the artisanal objects, and enhance production through the use of design methods for management and marketing. On the other hand, craft techniques and aesthetics supposed to position design objects in new markets looking for products with manual imprints, or artisanal techniques.

But while design for crafts became associated with profit, enterprise, economic growth and to support artisanal production, at some point in Chile, and also in an international level, it became perceived as an hegemonic mode to integrate the modern, productive and aesthetic values of design in the chains of traditional production (CNCA,2017c,p.3–4). Furthermore, the methods of collaboration between designers and artisans started to arise harsh criticism from the perspective of the artisans, as we can see in the discussions for the elaboration of the last Chilean ‘policy of *artesanías*’, in which artisans highlighted that their association with other professionals in the field of art and design was hierarchical, often relegated to labour and excluded from the creative processes or authorship (CNCA 2016).

3. Design for Crafts in Pomaire

As described in the previous part of this article, design for *artesanías* was perceived as relevant to achieve more outstanding sales and promotion, while for design, the craft techniques supposed to expand design objects to new markets looking for products with the artisanal imprints, methods or techniques (CNCA, 2014, p. 114, 222). Thus, some programs developed in Chile encouraged the connection between design and crafts through aesthetic and technical support, innovation and development (CNCA, 2011a).

In 2011, a pilot design project organised by the Service of Technical Cooperation dependent on the Ministry of Economy, Development and Tourism (SERCOTEC), together with Pro-Chile, the office for export promotion, and the design magazine ED, was carried out in Pomaire as a concrete experience following these tendencies to empower *artesanías* with design. In the form of a contest, this programme attempted to incorporate aesthetic and productive design components into traditional production by inviting 18 designers, architects, and artists to work together with artisans. They formed pairs to create a product based on design innovation mixing traditional techniques that sought first, to add value to craftsmanship, second, to transform artisans into entrepreneurs and finally, to promote –through design– Pomairean artisanal production in international markets. From the perspective of SERCOTEC, one of the project’s goals was:

> 'To apply business and commercial training among the artisans, so they become ‘more entrepreneurial’ when facing the challenges of international markets for selling their products.’ (Uriarte in SERCOTEC 2011)

In the same line, the organisers from Pro-Chile expressed how significant was the incorporation of design in craft when targeting international markets. This approach towards design was emphasised by representatives of the ED magazine, who declared how satisfied they were after the project:

> ‘The expertise [of the magazine] is in the world of design, and we have managed to bring our expertise to a segment of the population that desperately cries out loud for it; that is to say, the artisans of Pomaire, to add value to their products.’ (Urenda in SERCOTEC, 2011)

Although the competition established a bond between the pairs, there was an inequality in the distribution of the prizes, favouring the professionals with bigger prizes, and stipulating the methods for the use of the resources only in the case of the artisans, who had to follow the frames of an institutional programme dictated by the technical cooperation service (Pro-pyme, 2010).

Therefore, the project *CREA Diseña para Pomaire* sheds some light on the hierarchies between professionals and artisans, showing that even when some initiatives tried

to encourage collaboration among disciplines by empowering creativity, innovation and valuation of the artisanal production, a clear distinction between designers, architects or artists and artisans existed. Regarding the programme mentioned above, these distinctions, hierarchies or even design hegemonies over crafts appear, for example, on the unequal distribution of the prizes that benefited projective professionals above makers.

In this case, the expectation of generating successful interventions through professional design by the assistance of experts to artisan was also naïve. The project was oriented to innovate and expand the commercialisation channels of artisans, but most of the designed pieces were never reproduced. In this regard, it was probably expected that designers, artists and architects could provide a more refined projection of the objects, integrating aesthetics components for uplifting the more common and ordinary shapes developed in the town. These professionals had the experience of creating pieces for more 'elevated' audiences and consumers. They had the task of combining design in the pottery of Pomaire since, as quoted above, the organisers of the contest expressed that 'in international markets, design is practically the only thing that sells' (de Vicente in SERCOTEC 2011).

The conflict around the project presented by artisans through the interviews conducted in the village is that the designed pieces did not achieve continuity in the production of Pomaire. The pottery makers pointed out that their consumers, in general terms, did not appreciate the added work and the design that those pieces had. Juana Mendoza —an outstanding artisan of the town— expressed:

> 'Only once a lady came asking for the designer's piece, called the O! plate 'do you have the O! plate?', only once, but never again, what I sell is traditional pottery, like animal figures, nobody buys that plate.' (Juanita Mendoza, interviewed by author, December 19, 2019)

Thus, far faced with the quest to increase productivity and elevated aesthetics inputs for commercialisation, the promise of design to add value —like the vision promoted by SERCOTEC, Pro-Chile and ED— has not achieved the goal of marketing expansion and price increase. During the fieldwork, 40 artisans interviewed declared not to export, and two mentioned having had bad experiences selling to international markets in the past due to the complexities of delivering and being paid (Salgado Cofré 2021). Other artisans have participated in international fairs and exhibitions displaying their pieces, but in these events the objectives are not related to incorporate their products into reliable and sustained international commercialisation channels, but are presented as symbolic of the Chilean identity and artisanal excellence.

In addition, other program related to the promotion of crafts in Pomaire in which design has intended to contribute by applying innovation, marketing and valorisation strategies, is the *Sello de Origen* or Designation of Origin: a distinction given to the pottery production of the village by the Ministry of Economy, Development and Tourism and the National Institute for the Industrial Property (INAPI). This recognition aims to promote and preserve this particular form of traditional manufacturing while strengthening the union in the territorial community, favouring the economic development of small producers (INAPI n.d.). This category given by INAPI to the pottery production of the town can be considered as one of the tools promoted by the state for incrementing the value of the pottery production by emphasizing its singularity based on its territorial identity and traditionality.

Figure 3. Pieces produced by the artisan Rosa Rojas, president of the Traditional Potters association, with the 'Sello de Origen' stickers.(Source: Photographed by the author)

However, through the fieldwork observations and interviews conducted in Pomaire, it was possible to prove that many artisans do not apply the stamps or stickers with the denomination of origin in their pieces for different reasons. On the one hand, some artisans declared that the stamping process was complex and demanded more time, that they preferred to invest in making more pieces. On the other hand, some artisans do not stamp the pieces because they do not control or participate in the whole production process, so they feel that they cannot use the *Sello*. Many artisans that work in specific stages of pottery making do not acknowledge authorship because the final piece is the result of the interaction of many hands. In this production chain, some artisans consider that only those that shape and model the pieces are the real authors; others believe that the composition of the pieces and finishing processes are the more relevant tasks, while other artisans hold that authorship can only be claimed by those who perform all the process of transformation of the material (Salgado Cofré 2021).

4. Design for Crafts and the Exploitation of Value

Based on the previous arguments, I identify two hegemonic paths in which modern design, encouraged by institutional perspectives and instruments, has operated in Chilean artisanal production, paths that are also identified in Pomaire's pottery interventions.

On the one hand, there is a path towards innovation in which design operates as a modern discipline that can help or assist artisans by incorporating their crafts of excellence to designed objects, that is to say, objects designed with a twist towards innovation, following a modern aesthetic provided by the designers, that are manufactured by artisans using their know-how and their skills. This category has operated in Pomaire through aesthetic innovation and design ideas for economic development, supported mainly by institutions that promote innovation strategies and economic added value through programs like *CREA Diseña para Pomaire*.

On the other hand, there is a way in which design adds value to artisanal pieces by creating references to the past and traditionality through narratives that serve to situate traditional objects within a higher market. In this line, professional design discipline supports the construction of images and ideas that promote craft objects as unique, of quality, and even luxury goods to insert them in more wealthy circuits of commercialisation. This category operates in Pomaire by defining which techniques and pieces belong to the original tradition developed in the village, selecting objects that deserve to be displayed and distributed in wealthier marketing spaces based on authenticity, singularity and traditionality. Different to this institutionalised design perspective of valuation of the tradition, the artisans' notions of tradition are very heterogeneous and have diverse values and meanings: while some artisans associate tradition with the production space or the origin of the material, others associate it with the shapes, techniques, or transmission processes for the making.

Both paths mentioned above, generally contribute to defining the objects' value based on how closely they are to the parameters of traditionality and innovation dictated by the national and international craft *establishment,* aiming to trigger an increase in the prices of the products made by artisans. In many cases, they aim to integrate crafts in global frameworks of commercialisation; however, this integration has proven to be conflictive if there is an uncontrolled growth in the demand for products, generating overexploitation of resources and people (Salgado Cofré and Vanwambeke 2021). As shown in the previous parts of this paper, design for internationalisation also leads to positioning artisanal objects as luxury items with added value sustained in their handmade status, empowering conditions such as authenticity, uniqueness and excellence.

Therefore, design through its association with crafts has been perceived as a conducting force for the economic development of *artesanías,* usually through marketing programmes that focus on increasing the price of the objects as cultural commodities, which are valued by the rationales and aesthetic of a small elite minority. Some examples of this commodification can be observed in how products are represented in elite marketing circuits following contemporary trends, as done by the foundation *Artesanías de Chile* or as expected by Pro-Chile. The contemporary aesthetics used by *Artesanías de Chile* for selling traditional craft products point towards different consumers than those from the popular marketing circuits that artisans have. Instead, it makes use of design and western global fashion trends, creating promotional campaigns similar to those conducted, among others, by *Artesanías de Colombia* or Crafts Council Nederland, that intend to present craft objects with 'a sense for aesthetics' (Crafts Council Nederland, n.d.).

These strategies for safeguarding, promoting and increasing crafts prices, that appears to be those taken by some Chilean institutions, can be seen through the lenses of what sociologists Arnaud Esquerre and Luc Boltanski describe as the 'economy of enrichment', a term that concerns:

> 'The forms of wealth creation that are based on an economic exploitation of the past, in the form of craft, heritage, tradition, identity or, more largely, culture.' (Boltanski and Esquerre 2015, p. 76)

These forms relate to increasing the value of objects or material through a model of worth based on the 'enrichment of legacy and uniqueness'. Although the work of

these authors focuses on the so-called 'luxury' products built through big brands projects in France, there are resemblances between the discourses and instruments used to position this kind of product in the market and those used by some crafts programmes in Chile, that emphasise the craft objects properties of uniqueness, quality and authenticity.

The study of these sociologists noticed a switch in the focus of value in standardised industrial goods towards singularised goods produced mostly for wealthy people (Boltanski and Esquerre 2015, 81), what they call a value-oriented enrichment economy, in which they analyse forms of value creation such as the 'collection form'. The 'collection form', similar to the instruments of the *Sello de Origen*, relies on authenticity and on where something was produced, a form that:

> 'Preserve a sense of truthfulness and authenticity, protecting it from the impersonal reign of standardisation, praising the love of vintage and the attachment to roots.' (Fabian Muniesa in Boltanski and Esquerre 2015, 81).

However, there are controversies in Pomaire around this 'collection' form related to a western tendency that promotes singularity, authenticity and tradition in artisanal production to increase the prices of products. The controversies appear because this kind of promotion proposes a narrow view of authorship and tradition, excluding certain realities of artisanal production, like the use of mechanised tools, the standardisation of some processes within the community, the more massive amount of production, and the fact that many artisans work on parts of the final pieces, rather than having the complete control over the final product.

Consequently, and as proven in this article, institutional design interventions for the commercial development of Pomaire, oriented to more aesthetic approaches and more exclusive marketing channels for customers with higher purchasing capability than those who go to the village, have not delivered the expected results concerning the potential growth of commercialisation. Moreover, when local know-how is standardised and mechanised, it is disqualified from tradition and treated as an aberration.

Figure 4.The artisan Alejandra Riveros polishes grills with her husband, Manuel Vergara.(Source: Photographed by the author)

Against this background, it is fundamental to recognise that the commercialisation channels for the pottery of Pomaire remain significant in the village, primarily by providing large quantities of pots for restaurants and hotels or selling to independent costumers, like tourists. Despite the fact that there is a growing competition between Pomaire's pottery production and other industrial imported goods or plaster made imitations traded in the same spaces, the production and commercialisation of handmade clay objects remain the fundamental activity of the village. This resistance indicates that artisans, through the constant design of their products, their means of production and the organisation of the processes, have overcome different difficulties, maintaining solid commerce that is oriented to the local market.

Therefore, it is through these very alterations or reconstruction of the scaffolds of the past, authenticity, authorship, and excellence, that Pomaire's craftsmanship and other artisanal expressions continue to be consumed by the common public. The rustic, diverse and customised clay pots that have been considered by some institutions as an abomination to design and tradition —that various artisans in the village replicate— are bought by a diversity of clients. Therefore, it appears that this more flexible approach to design taken by the artisans, not the one performed by professional design interventions, have allowed the sustainability and continuity of the pottery-making tradition in the village.

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S11

Rock Cakes, Rations and the Common Good: Performing postgraduate Design Education

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Abstract: Awanui, a small port settlement in Aotearoa, New Zealand was one of many districts built on women's unpaid culinary labour: the foundations of local community buildings were funded with the proceeds from bake sales. My mother was one such labourer. Of Māori, Croatian, and Pakehā descent, her inexhaustible propensity towards *manaakitanga/ gostoljubivost* (hospitality) lays the groundwork for an approach to postgraduate design studio education, which seeks to offer hospitality and care. This paper aims to critique the general implementation of austerity measures within the governance of tertiary environments. It does this through a case study of a design studio that utilises rationing methods to scaffold design inquiry and promote community building through the sharing of food. A rationing methodology was used that enlisted methods drawn from the culinary arts. These methods were situated within a matrix structured like a recipe that guided the development of weekly yields. The Māori concept of *kaitiakitanga* provided an example of a sustainable, ethical, and cultural context indigenous to Aotearoa concerning how we manage and care for resources in perpetuity. This indigenous knowledge grounded the studio paper. As we face a climate emergency, *kaitiakitanga* is one way of understanding how we act as ethical guardians in relation to the manifold environments we inhabit: natural landscapes, workplaces, digital and virtual worlds, in particular how we resource and sustain our engagement with such environments both as individuals and as part of a collective. Historical examples of design work produced during the second world war in Britain were shared to demonstrate how considered design could be borne in and responsive to the most taxing of financial, physical, and environmental circumstances. More recent exemplars drawn from a variety of art, design and allied disciplines were also enlisted to highlight how to make do with what is at hand, providing alternative ways to think about what resources we use, in what quantities, and to what ends. This paper seeks to foreground how cross-cultural notions of hospitality can be performed as acts of care in a pedagogical setting.

Keywords: rationing, kaitiakitanga, manaakitanga, gastronomy, pedagogy

1. Introduction

Who am I? My methods of construction appear to have first been published in Mrs Beeton's Book of Household Management (1861), though my origins remain unclear (Vines, 2012, 64). A recipe to make me resides with over 900 others. I am advised that the author pioneered a new format in her book, enumerating a list of ingredients first before a method outlining how to combine them. Detailed instructions, cooking times, and costs were also provided (Vines, 2012, 64). Isabella Beaton's encyclopaedic knowledge of how to manage a middle-class Victorian household appears to have left nothing to chance. However, the manipulation of these raw ingredients (and temperamental thermostats) could lead to very different outcomes. In the hands of an adept baker, I could arrive into the world crowned with a burnished gold crust that revealed a light, fluffy interior at first bite. If compared to my namesake, I would have a kinship with pumice, an extrusive volcanic glass peppered with copious air bubbles making me light and portable, perfect for a picnic. Under the direction of a heavy-handed novice, the mixture could be overworked to produce leaden, desiccated cakes, the type made infamous by the fictional character Rubeus Hagrid in J.K. Rowling's Harry Potter books. In this context, the 'cakes they'd been too polite to refuse' (Rowling, J.K. 2014, 152) weigh down Harry and Ron's pockets, slowing their progress.

I have been compared, in terms of my constitution, to the Scone, the Yorkshire Fat Rascal, and the Turf Cake. I also contain many of the same ingredients found in the Singing Hinny, a griddle cake borne in the North of England but am comprised of different methods: I am baked rather than fried and lack the visceral hiss that arises when lard makes contact with a hot 'singing' plate.

I gained the attention of the public at large during the second world war in Britain when the Ministry of Food promoted my consumption at tea time because I am composed of less sugar and eggs than many of my contemporaries. Take, for example, the pound cake, whose equal proportions of eggs, flour, sugar, and butter demonstrated a wholesale disregard for their patriotic duties at a time when resources were scarce. The war affected access to raw materials and, under a strict regimen of rationing, I was now given centre stage, as Britons were required to, as Blake Perkins states, yield to a form of 'culinary socialism during an epoch of common peril' (Perkins, B. 2014, 82).

The methods used to make me involve rubbing flour and sometimes oatmeal, baking powder, nutmeg, and mixed spice together with cold butter to approximate fine breadcrumbs. This aggregate is bound by a slurry of eggs and milk, and then currants and/or candied peel are deftly folded into the mix at speed. Once held lightly together, dessertspoonsful of the mixture are placed on a baking tray at regular intervals and cooked in a hot oven at 200 degrees Celcius for 15 minutes. I am a Rock Cake.

Contextually, the rock cake becomes an alternative teatime treat when resources are rationed, and constraints are imposed on how households are managed to ensure a fair share for all. Perkins saw the outcome of these food restrictions as resulting in unpalatable food (Perkins, B. 2014, 82). This paper offers a counter to this alignment of austerity measures with deficient results. It does this by adaptively reusing rationing principles in another context to critically position contemporary postgraduate research in the field of design. Analogies are made between the culinary methods used to produce food and an array of design processes. These analogies are activated using a pedagogical framework called a 'recipe matrix.' (Table 1)

Table 1. The Recipe matrix outlining weekly design yields.

Week 1: Raiding the Pantry/Methods Applied to Materials		
Step 1	Step 2	Step 3
Research each ingredient below and then select 3 Define + establish associations between each ingredient listed and the materials and matters	Use your 3 chosen ingredients as conceptual prompts to make work using the constraints of dimension and time delineated below.	Trial and document digital and analogue methods that are novel to you to make 51 artefacts Some examples are below but think laterally about a suite of

that shape your practice (your research question)		methods to trial (time allocation: 6 hours)
Raw	Postcard size A6 (148 x 105mm)	- audio
Processed	Weekly Yield	- video
Readymade	12@5minutes	- modelling
Standardised	12@10minutes	- animation
Hot	12@15minutes	- photography
Cold	12@30minutes	- moulding
Porous	3@60minutes	- casting
Desiccated		- drawing
Solid	Total yield:	- printing
Sticky	51 artefacts/15 hours	- mapping
Ephemeral		-assembly

Week 2:Cooking with Gas	
Step 1	Step 2
Select one of the culinary methods below that is related to the methods used to generate your A6 artefacts	rationing constraints: time, scale, word limit
Delaminate	Size A3 (297 x 420mm)
Reconstitute	4@15minutes
Layer	4@30minutes
Dissolve	4@60minutes
Aerate	4@120 minutes
Eviscerate	
Glaze	Total yield:
Amalgamate	16 artefacts/15 hours
Temper	
Ferment	Text to frame practice: 200 words: 3 hours
Morselate	Crafting layout/consumption of artefacts: 3 hours
Emulsify	

Week 3: Progressive dinner			
Step 1	Step 2	Step 3: Contexts and Distribution Channels	
Consuming/Digesting/Imbibing a smorgasbord of creative practice	Self-imposed rationing constraints Use key ingredients from week 1, key method from week 2, and 2 words from the context and distribution channels to guide the generation of practice	Contexts environment/methodology	Distribution Impact/reach
Performing formative feedback	Produce 21 hours of work	Situation	Physical
Research questions frame design	Include a 300-word statement	Exchange	Virtual
Feedback medium: visiting cards	Identify time rations	Gift	Local
		Adaptive reuse	Global
		Repair/mend	Decompose

		Interpret	Repurpose
		Compose	Restore
		Occasion	Telescope
		Consume	Augment
		Contain	Participate

Week 4: Shopping List/Action Plan	
Step 1	Step 2
Making a meal of it!	Produce a reflection on practice (500 words)
	-locate successes and failures
	-consider how the practice has been resourced (time and material rations, dimensions)
	-examine the scope of experimentation with new methods and rationing principles
	Produce a shopping list/ action plan
	-identify what you want to achieve and how you will achieve it
	- denote the ingredients you will be using and the methods used to combine them
	- consider the exhibition of work and the context/distribution channels they are positioned in
	Continue making weekly rations
	Weekly yield: 21 hours work (reflection/planning/iterating)

Week 5: Preparing for the Degustation	
Step 1	Step 2
Curating Practice	-Share an updated research question directing the focus of the design inquiry
	-Identify contexts and distribution channels pertinent to the practice
	-Establish a position on the rationing methodologies implemented to direct practice
	-Reflect on the selection of raw materials and novel methods utilised to generate work
	Consider engagement with the learning outcomes underpinning the paper listed below:
	1.Generate and distil self-determined, critically engaged, creative practice.
	2.Develop networks between practice and related theoretical and methodological approaches.
	3.Demonstrate confidence in critical thinking, analysis, decision-making and implementation.
	4.Actively engage with research paradigms, including; sustainable contexts, culturally responsible approaches and ethically aware practices.
	5.Contribute to a cooperative/collaborative studio environment.

Structured like a recipe, the matrix invites students to choose a selection of ingredients and culinary methods to revivify their design practices. Initially, the matrix specifies time allowances each design iteration has to be made within, in addition to weekly yields. As design ideas are developed, students are required to ‘set the table’ by situating their work in relation to contexts and distribution channels appropriate to the orientations of their design research.

Figure 1. Luke Bretnall, 2021. Exploration of artefacts in various locations, attempting to reveal undiscovered features.

The paper was underpinned by a number of aims that will shape the discussion that follows. The first aim was to consider how the particular values embedded within a Mātauranga Māori educational context could guide and enrich the design process and the studio experience. The second was to introduce historical precedents in design that sought to promote rationing and provisioning in suboptimal circumstances. These examples were accompanied by a series of case studies in communication design, film, industrial design, spatial design, literature and gastronomy to demonstrate how constraints have been employed to determine strategies for working with limited means. The third aim was to design a recipe matrix to examine how conceptual, material, formal, financial, technical, and contextual constraints could serve as catalysts for thinking laterally about design research methods to advance practice.

2. Pedagogical aims

A culturally responsive pedagogy underpinned the design studio. Ako is the term used to describe a holistic learning model that integrates ways of knowing related to indigenous concepts particular to Aotearoa, such as whanaungatanga, manaakitanga, whakapapa and kaitiakitanga (Sciasscia 2017, 11). As a process, Ako avails itself of presupposed power dynamics between teachers and students and instead 'serves to validate dual learning or reciprocal learning experiences that in turn promulgate shared learning' (Berryman et al., 2002, p. 143).

Whanaungatanga denotes an approach focused on building connections, where teaching and learning methods are used to establish a whanau (family)-like context that facilitates student engagement. The establishment of this dialogical space for learning is enhanced through manaakitanga, a term which:

> 'expressly demonstrates respect, kindness and care for others. As a value, it informs how we treat people and how we wish to be treated in return. Within an education context, it represents how we nurture and care for learners through creating a learning space, pastoral care, sharing knowledge, supporting their needs and ensuring their wellbeing.' (Sciasscia 2017, 13)

One way of offering manaakitanga is through hospitality: sharing kai (food) with others as an act of care and community building. To support the tātai (purpose) of the studio as their kaiako (teacher), I prepared baked goods each week: a gesture of reciprocity in response to their willingness to share design ideas. The food was

eaten according to tikanga (Māori customs) during an interval in the four-hour class (Mead 2016, 345–46).

The investment of unpaid labour in this action sought to bring additional value to the classroom: value that went beyond the remit of contractual obligations towards another form of knowledge acquisition, contextualising the historical and cultural origins of the food being shared and the particular methods used in its production.

Figure 2. Croatian Almond Crescent Biscuits baked by the author to share with students, 2020. Photograph taken by the author.

This knowledge was also one connected to whakapapa, a term that:

> 'refers to acknowledging our place in history and how history has shaped our culture, language and identity and, that through knowledge (mātauranga Māori), we are able to trace back those origins and forge new pathways into the future.' (Sciasscia 2017, 13)

One of the key contexts introduced was kaitiakitanga, a holistic environmental management system that demonstrates how to maintain a kinship with nature sustained over time, establishing sound environmental practices in light of a burgeoning global ecological crisis. This indigenous approach to resource management can be aligned with the common good.

The rationing of resources relates to the philosophical concept of the common good, a term that refers to the material, cultural and institutional facilities that a community provides to all members in order to achieve a 'relational obligation' that is shared which is concerned with looking after common interests (Hussain, W. 2018). Approaches to discussions on the common good emphasise matters such as resource pooling, which occur when access to resources is limited due to a threat from outside (such as war) or when natural disasters strike. On these occasions, citizens place their 'private and sectional interests' aside to focus on common interests (Hussain, W. 2018).

In contrast, in an indigenous context particular to Aotearoa, another approach to rationing is taken: one that seeks to ensure natural resources are sustained in perpetuity for future generations. The term kaitiakitanga takes account of the environmental and social aspects of guardianship. A person or an organisation such as an iwi (tribe) hapu (sub-tribe) or whanau who takes on this custodial role is known as a kaitiaki. Nganeko Kaihau Minhinnick, in her paper "Establishing Kaitiaki," notes:

> 'The physical kaitiaki system is based on whakapapa (genealogy), lineage, an inherited nurtured responsibility as in father to son, mother to daughter, or by election, instruction and direction of tribal elders. The appointment of kaitiaki is either determined by tribal kaumatua, kuia, tohunga, or all three over areas, including all tribal waterways, fisheries, coastal and marine areas…The status of kaitiaki stems from long tribal associations. Only tangata whenua can be Kaitiaki can identify Kaitiaki, can determine the form and structure of Kaitiaki.' (Minhinnick 1989, 4)

Additionally, Merata Kawharu highlights the interconnectedness of kaitiakitanga with the maintenance of social cohesion within the tribal group, for kaitiakitanga:

> 'also embraces social protocols associated with hospitality, reciprocity and obligation (*manaaki, tuku* and *utu*). These beliefs are moulded with, and by, each generation for they have an important role in maintaining the social fabric of the kin group. Moreover, *kaitiakitanga* is a fundamental means by which survival is ensured—survival in spiritual, economic and political terms. Since Maori society is a tribal society with respect to relationships with environmental resources, their actual management is itself a constituent element in the tribal kinship system.' (Kawharu 2000, 351)

Kaitiakitanga aims to ensure that people and the environment are in balance. This approach to resource management identifies a kinship between humans and the natural world, where all forms of life are connected, where humans and the whenua (land) are seen as one: as contiguous. Māori customary practices provide evidence of this. For example, activities such as planting, harvesting, fishing, and hunting are undertaken sustainably in accordance with tikanga and in consultation with the maramataka (Māori lunar calendar). Rāhui (a ritual of prohibition) are also placed on certain areas so resources can be replenished when in short supply.

In addition to the natural environment, kaitiakitanga can be applied to the preservation of material culture, for example, kākahu (feather cloaks), hei tiki (pounamu figure pendants) and books about whakapapa genealogy. These cultural taonga (treasures) become heirlooms, cared for by kaitiaki, who bring the objects to significant family occasions and hold information about their history.

This culturally specific conception of guardianship was introduced to design students from a diverse range of cultural backgrounds. The intention was to respectfully highlight the holistic approach to maintaining and managing natural resources and material culture in this indigenous context whilst inviting students to think about how they acted as ethical guardians of their design practices. This was done by asking them to consider the manifold ways they sourced and managed the often scarce resources they had to hand.

Kaitiakitanga offers designers an alternative way of understanding how we relate to our environments in the broadest sense, including natural landscapes, workplaces, and digital and virtual worlds, particularly how we resource and sustain our engagement with such environments as individuals and as part of a collective. To that end, the studio was framed by the following question: How can a rationing methodology be used to frame the development of design iterations in order to foster a holistic understanding of sustainable, ethical, cultural and temporal contexts that enhance and advance creative practice?

The design studio invited participants to examine how they could work with limited resources to sustain a practice in the broadest sense, taking account of the temporal, material, cultural and philosophical contexts that shaped the way they positioned their work and located an audience for it. The studio structure was created to foster trans-disciplinary conversations as each student's design enquiry was directed by the particular orientations of their unique research question.

Students were asked to consider how they accessed their raw materials and what processes and procedures they undertook when gathering these materials. They were asked if they recycled or adaptively reused materials and also how they disposed of materials once their work was completed. Reflections on time also became

significant: how they optimised their use of this scarce commodity, how long materials took to decompose, and the finite shelf life of digital storage systems. These prompts, introduced in the first class, invited them to consider how they could act as ethical guardians for their work by reflecting on what it was made from, how it was fabricated and where it ended up at the conclusion of the paper.

3. The Recipe Matrix

The studio sought to highlight the challenges and opportunities afforded by having limited means to interrogate and reimagine known and familiar methods for thinking about and making design. A recipe matrix was devised to do this (see Table 1). Students began by researching a prepared list of 'ingredients' and then chose three key ingredients as their focus. The culinary terms and methods used as prompts in the matrix became catalysts for them to explore analogies between culinary techniques and design methods to develop and extend their diverse practices. They proceeded to trial novel methods for practice within a series of imposed constraints: these included time allocations, a consideration of the raw materials to be used and the scale of work being produced. At the beginning of the studio, weekly yields were specified. As the studio progressed, students were asked to apportion their own rationing frameworks, determining what time increments, material selections and yields were sufficient to visualise and articulate their design research.

The paper was taught in a four-hour weekly block over six weeks. The rationing principles applied to weekly outputs encouraged students to produce significant volumes of practice. Structured peer-to-peer feedback sessions in class assisted them in positioning their design research, augmenting their repertoire of methods and situating their work in relation to key contexts and audiences.

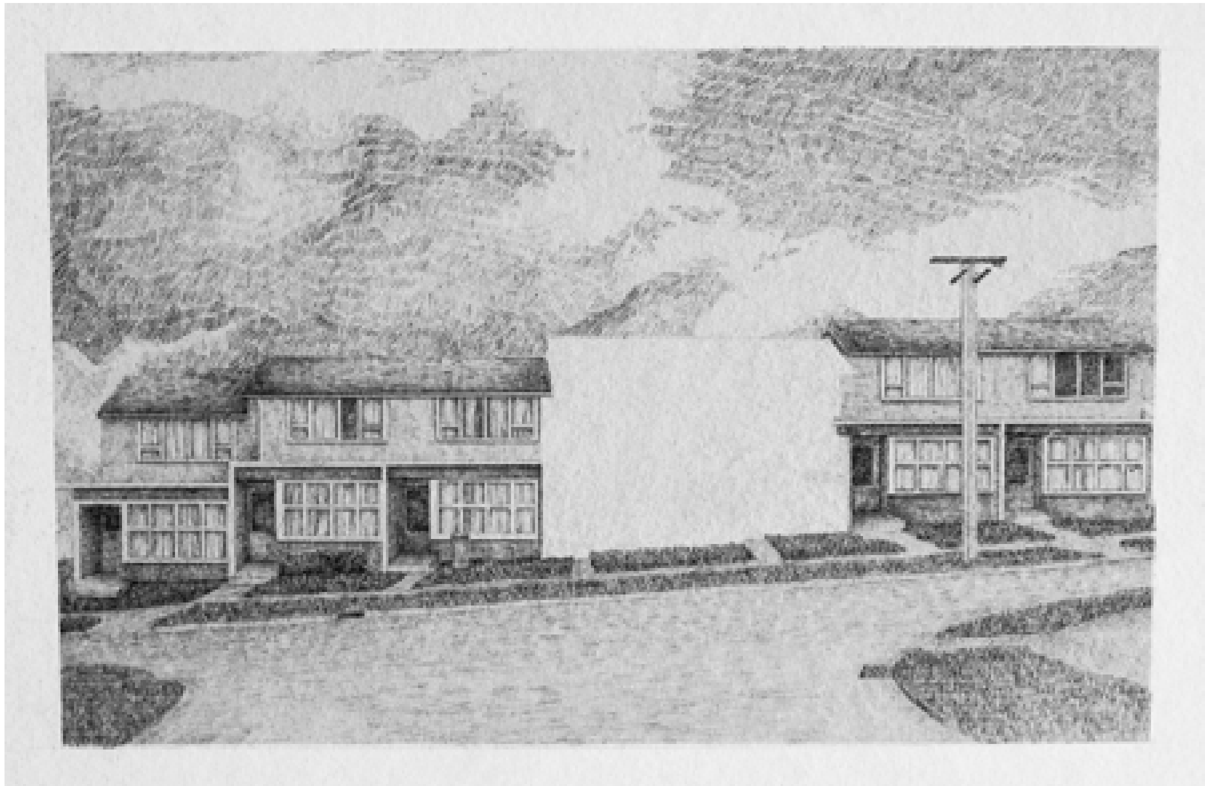

Figure 3. Chris Bentley, 2020. Making Do: Untitled Urban Scene.

Figure 4. Chris Bentley, 2020. Untitled (Remnants/memorials left after completing drawing).

4. Contexts for Design Practice

Designs that promoted rationing in suboptimal circumstances contextualised the studio. They included a discussion of propaganda posters designed by James Fitton and Abram Games, published by Her Majesty's Stationery Office to promote rationing and parsimonious behaviours that would support the war effort. These posters utilised dynamic graphic methods to highlight the importance of the consumer's material sacrifice in the service of the common good. More recently, the American artist Barbara Kruger in her work '(Untitled) I Shop therefore I am' (1987), borrowed the visual language of these propaganda posters to shed light on the over-consumption of goods and services as a means of identity formation.

During wartime, people were encouraged to grow their own food as many foods were in short supply. Being wasteful was tantamount to aiding and abetting the enemy. The by-products of the domestic household (in particular the kitchen) were repurposed. The American Fat Salvage Committee was established to encourage housewives to keep all the excess fat rendered from cooking to donate it to the army to produce explosives: apparently, one pound of fat contained enough glycerin to make about a pound of explosives. (Braun 2014).

These calamitous events afforded many design opportunities. One development was the Siren Suit. Sported by the likes of Winston Churchill, it was a jumpsuit that enabled suitable coverage for nightclothes when needing to leave the house in a hurry to retreat to an air-raid shelter. Other inventions, including glow in the dark buttons, were part of a range of luminescent accessories designed to reflect light and help wearers be more visible, facilitating safe passage during blackouts. ("How Clothes Rationing Affected Fashion In The Second World War" n.d.).

In Great Britain, clothes rationing was introduced in 1941. The following year the Make Do and Mend campaign was launched to encourage the repurposing of existing wardrobes. In a newsreel trailer produced by the Ministry of Information in 1943,

the clothes in the wardrobe ‘speak,’ sacrificing themselves up to the family for adaptive reuse. ‘Well, if the youngster wants some shorts, I don’t mind being cut down,’ declares the pair of adult’s trousers (“Clothes Rationing in Britain: Make Do and Mend | Archive Film Favourites” n.d.) New skills needed to be acquired to enable this transformation to occur. Promotional posters, booklets, and a series of instructional leaflets and animations featuring the character 'Mrs Sew and Sew' were enlisted to promote home sewing, along with helpful scissors, thimbles, and cotton reels. These campaigns show the range of different design disciplines involved in promoting austerity measures to the populace.

Aotearoa also played its part in supporting the war effort. Maud Ruby Taylor, better known as Aunt Daisy, was a New Zealand broadcaster who had a weekly radio show where she would talk to her listeners about recipes and household hints. Broadcasting during the war, she delivered advice on how to manage the household with limited means. Her books of handy hints included “everything from making veranda blinds out of old curtains and lino out of old carpet.”(Basham 1968, 181, 189)

Contemporary examples drawn from design, film, literature, and gastronomy were also introduced to students to showcase a range of approaches to working with limited means or self-imposed constraints. They included Johnson Witehira’s Whakarare typeface (2017). This typeface was the first designed by Māori for Māori. In an essay by Witehira and Paola Trapani, he states that Māori typography is ‘a means of cultural resistance, through the engagement with colonial discourse’ (Andersen 2017). Roman letterforms, replete with the legacy of colonisation, had been used to develop a Māori written language in the 1800s. Witehira removes what is redundant, restricting the ‘character set to letters that only appear in the Māori alphabet, making sure to include macrons to indicate long vowels, a feature that’s often missing from Roman alphabets’ (Andersen 2017). The constraints of functionality conditioned the typeface design: it needed to be legible and utilise the existing characters in the particular language while also utilising Māori design principles informed by research into traditional Māori art.

Other projects discussed included the Italian designer Martino Gamper’s 100 Chairs in 100 Days project (2007), where the artist used salvaged chairs as the raw material to design 100 hybrid chairs in the same number of days. Another example is the Danish director Lars von Trier’s film The Five Obstructions (2004), which documents Trier’s mentor Jorgen Leth remaking his own short film ‘The Perfect Human’ (1967) five times in response to the onerous and obstinate obstructions Trier sets him. Literary precedents introduced included the French author George Perec’s A Void (1969), written entirely without using the letter ‘e’ following Oulipian constraints (Grimstad 2019), and Aotearoa author Eleanor Catton’s The Luminaries (2013), a novel shaped according to

> ‘astrological principles, so that characters are not only associated with signs of the zodiac, or the sun and moon (the "luminaries" of the title), but interact with each other according to the predetermined movement of the heavens, while each of the novel's 12 parts decreases in length over the course of the book to mimic the moon waning through its lunar cycle.’
> (Jordan 2013)

Lastly, a case study of the patisserie chef Christina Tosi’s Compost Cookies→ invented while raiding the pantry for substitute ingredients when a boat carrying supplies could not come ashore due to inclement weather. (Tosi n.d.)

Figure 5. Taylor Downard, 2021. Sugar Glass (from sugar to wax, to glass)

Figure 6. Taylor Downard, 2021. Sugar Glass (from sugar to wax, to glass)

5. Conclusion

In future iterations of the paper, emphasis will be placed upon decolonising the curriculum as the author grows in confidence in positioning herself as an indigenous scholar. This will be achieved by incorporating additional examples of Māori material culture associated with food harvesting and preparation that demonstrate design and technological innovations. Culinary terms in Te Reo Māori will be incorporated into the recipe matrix to create further synthesis, and discussions of gastronomic methods associated with contemporary indigenous cuisine will also be introduced.

The studio is one of four taught papers students must complete before undertaking their major self-directed project for their Masters of Design. The methodological framework that underpins it provides a foundation on which to build, one redolent with the storying of food and design histories and their attendant cultural associations. This storying seeks to position practice in a particular context: one where resources to hand might be scarce but where collective stories are in ample supply, laying the bedrock for vital conversations about design through practice, buoyed by a shared lunch.

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'An Irish Industrial Tribute to the Blessed Virgin Mary'; Catholic Industrial Habitus in Sunbeam-Wolsey, Cork, Ireland, 1940-1960.

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Abstract | This paper challenges two widely-held concepts: firstly that secularism is a defining feature of modernity and secondly, that the Republic of Ireland in the mid-twentieth century was a rural, agricultural country which lacked high-tech industry.

Writers, including Hilde Heynen, Marshall Berman and Michael Saler, have intimated that de-sanctifying Western societies was almost a pre-requisite for their modernisation. Whilst this may be true in Northern Europe as a whole, during the period 1850-1980, Ireland (north and south) modernised whilst holding to traditional religious practice. Modern material culture was folded into ritual and belief: it was integral to, rather than in conflict with religion.

What is becoming clear from the work of the first generation of Irish design historians is that from the mid-nineteenth century, many people saw no contradiction in combining practices of modernisation with orthodox beliefs, and used physical expressions of their beliefs to gain status in their communities. Following Bourdieu, the Irish sociologist Tom Inglis has called this life-practice 'Catholic *habitus*'.

Notwithstanding this, little work has been done on the role of Catholicism within the industrial sphere. This paper examines the Cork textile manufacturer Sunbeam-Wolsey, which employed 4,500 across the Irish Republic by 1968. In the absence of an accessible archive, this paper examines the architecture, recollections and reportage surrounding Sunbeam-Wolsey in order to understand the designed environment. In so doing, this paper argues that the firm's devout founders combined international Modernism with Catholic practice in an integrated way.

From the 1930s, artificial fibres, Modern architecture and Fordist manufacturing principles were introduced to the company, alongside pilgrimages, industrial religious services (including the 'Tribute to the Blessed Virgin Mary'), philanthropy and memorials, the latter included a canteen dedicated to the founder designed by British consultancy, Design Research Unit. The evidence assembled points to a blind spot in Irish memory and design history.

Keywords: Factory, Ireland, Catholicism, Modernism, Everyday Life

1. Introduction

This paper addresses the relationship between industry and Catholicism in the 1950s in the Republic of Ireland as a way of challenging two dominant ideas. The Roman Catholic Church in Ireland is rightly seen by many to be monolithic and socially conservative. It was resistant to change even when change came from Rome itself. In terms of design, the Catholic Church did not commit itself to Modernism until the late 1950s (Hurley and Cantwell 1985). However, what is becoming clear from the work of the first generation of Irish design historians, is that from the mid-nineteenth century, many people saw no contradiction in combining practices of modernisation with orthodox beliefs, and used physical expressions of their beliefs to gain status in their communities. My case study focuses on the firm of Sunbeam-Wolsey based in Cork city who, contrary to many peoples' views of Ireland, consistently invested in state-of-the-art technology throughout the middle years of the century. Readers should be aware that during the 1950s, unlike most of Western Europe, Ireland's economy was severely depressed, and emigration raged. The population of the country was roughly the same size as it had been in the late eighteenth century, and was 5 per cent smaller at the end of the 1950s than it was at the beginning (Johnson 1963).

In the absence of an accessible archive, this paper examines the architecture, oral evidence and contemporaneous reportage surrounding Sunbeam-Wolsey with the purpose of understanding the designed environment. In so doing, this paper argues that the firm's devout founders combined international Modernism with Catholic practice in an integrated way. The founder (*patron* would be a better term) of the firm was William Dwyer (1885-1951), a member of a local family who had been involved in clothing and footwear businesses in Cork since the 1820s. He was a devout Catholic and practical philanthropist throughout his life, and a patron to Irish painters, sculptors and architects. There was a strongly paternalistic relationship between Dwyer and his staff.

Sunbeam Wolsey was founded in 1928 employing a handful of staff in a disused butter market in the centre of Cork. It moved into a nineteenth century textile mill in the northern suburb of Blackpool in 1933. After the Second World War the enterprise expanded strongly, partly as they were protected from foreign completion by tariffs. Due to hard work and this benign legislative environment it rose to a near-monopoly of certain sectors of the Irish textile market (Cullinane 2020). Dwyer's intention had been to establish a vertically-integrated textile business which would control its own raw materials, produce its own fabrics, process them into clothing and other products, as well as design, advertise, and market them across Ireland and abroad. By 1960, this had largely been achieved under the management of William and his son Declan (1915-1981).

By the end of the 1960s there were nearly 2,000 employees on the Blackpool site with 2,500 more in subsidiaries across Ireland and Britain (Sunbeam-Wolsey 1969). The firm, which was deeply Fordist and Taylorist in outlook, passed through three generations of the Dwyers before suffering financial difficulties in the 1970s and 1980s. After a change of ownership, it closed in 1990. The bulk of the site burnt to the ground in an accidental fire in 2003. (McCarthy 2003)

Sunbeam had begun by making wool socks and silk stockings. Immediately after the Second World War it diversified into Nylon tights, eventually building in 1954 an artificially-lit and fully air-conditioned plant for the manufacture of these. The business later made ready-to-wear clothing and swimwear, often utilising man-made fibres. Perhaps due to their understanding of the entire production cycle, from the mid-1930s the Dwyers were acutely aware of the value of design in a manner unusual in the Irish context. Over the years they commissioned local graphic artists and architects as well as the Australian Raymond McGrath, Jean Tronquet, (a minor French couturier, commercial artist and graphic designer who had worked with Jean Cocteau and Georges Simenon) and the British consultants Design Research Unit, Stanley Paine and Sandersons. Whilst Tronquet designed knitwear, designers at Allied Textiles, Chapelizod, Dublin, envisaged the garment in Figure 1. (Anon 1968). Dwyer Snr also had a close relationship with a local sculptor, Seamus Murphy, who created a number of works for him as well as conceptualizing a church at Blackpool, which Dwyer funded. (Dwyer 2021)

Figure 1. Women's ready-to-wear, Sunbeam Wolsey, 1969. Image courtesy Mr Kevin Dwyer. Catalogue design by David P Luke of Dublin.

The Dwyers were also interested in Modern architecture, and from the 1930s onwards the firm built factories and other buildings in recognisably Modernist styles. These included Millfield House (c.1934), a white Modernist block which sat on its own grounds beside the factory. It included several features which put it to the forefront of Irish domestic architecture at the time, including a flat-roof and steel windows, some of which had a double-aspect. Outside the house was a patio with a pergola, rose-garden and swimming pool (Figure 2). This house would not be remarkable on the European Continent, but at the time of its construction, there were perhaps a few dozen houses of this type in Ireland, the majority in the capital city, Dublin (Rowley 2016) (Rothery 1991).

Figure 2. Millfield House, Red Forge Rd, Cork, c.1934. Courtesy of Mr Kevin Dwyer.

Post-war modernist buildings included the Seafield Fabrics rayon plant (1946) in a streamlined Moderne style, and Blackwater Cottons (1952), a low-slung building with Wrightian overtones, both in Youghal, County Cork. In the 1950s or early 1960s the firm employed Raymond McGrath to redesign their Dublin offices, reviving a relationship that they had had with the designer in the 1940s when he designed and developed an colour-illustrated, advertising brochure (McGrath 1942).

2. The William Dwyer Memorial Canteen

After Dwyer's death in 1951, Declan became the Chairman. As a memorial to his father, Declan and the other directors paid for a new staff canteen to be constructed. Prior to this, Sunbeam had employed local architects, but for this project Misha Black and the British consultancy Design Research Unit undertook the work. Black had come to prominence as one of the architects of the 1951 Festival of Britain in London, and was perceived to be one of that country's leading designers (McDermott 1986). The building owed something to Black's work at the exhibition, especially the Regatta Restaurant, on which he worked with Alexander Gibson.

The Memorial Canteen was a far cry from most institutional dining rooms in Ireland at the time. Partly, this was because it also functioned as a music venue lending it a sense of theatre. The ceiling was painted in lime green with small black stars, and supported by elegant laminated timber arches. (Barrington? 1957) The walls were painted a mushroom colour and washed with light supplied from custom-designed DRU uplighters (Figure 3). The floor and wainscoting were timber, and the room was illuminated from the south through light green diaphanous curtains – a technique Black and Gibson had used in the Regatta Restaurant (Cotton 2011). This being the 1950s, there was access to a bomb shelter in the basement via the kitchen. There is excellent evidence that Black regarded the project as a triumph, since he preserved newspaper clippings, an aide memoire in his diary (indicating that he wished to promote it when speaking to other clients) and a DRU Christmas card illustrating the restaurant in his personal archive (Black 1958).

Figure 3. Wm Dwyer Memorial Canteen, Sunbeam-Wolsey, Cork: Misha Black, John Diamond, Kenneth Bayes (DRU) & John E Wilkinson (Cork). Image courtesy of Kevin Dwyer, hand coloured by the author.

The opening of the canteen would not have been considered 'official' to the Irish in 1957 had not a Catholic priest been present. The then-Bishop of Cork, Cornelius Lucey, who was a family friend, was invited to bless the canteen. The Bishop was notably conservative, even in the context of the hierarchy at the time (Daly 2016, 210). Figure 4 is a powerful image of him: legs apart, his knuckles on his hips, bracing his arms against his body, his traditional biretta and robes somewhat at odds with the sleek Contemporary interior, flooded with winter sunshine.

Figure 4. Bishop Cornelius Lucey at the Opening of Wm Dwyer Memorial Canteen, 1957. Courtesy of Mr Kevin Dwyer.

Three years earlier Lucey had visited Sunbeam during what was called the 'Marian Year', which commemorated the centenary of the Promulgation of the Dogma of the Immaculate Conception by Pope Pius IX (which stated that as well as Jesus Christ, Mary was born free from sin). As a result of this celebration, Irish devotion to Mary, which was always strong, was reinforced. To celebrate, Sunbeam held 'an Irish Industrial Tribute to the Blessed Virgin Mary' which included a full mass led by Lucey. The setting of the ceremony was unusual since the 'two-thousand workers knelt amidst silent machines on the factory floor' (Anon, Industrial Tribute to Our Lady' 1954). They, and the leading members of Cork's trades' unions, listened quietly to an anti-Communist sermon, whilst the Bishop looked on from a temporary throne beside an altar 'beautifully canopied in blue and white' textiles of the firm's own manufacture (Anon, Industrial Tribute to Our Lady' 1954).

Figure 5. Marian Shrine at Seafield Fabrics, Youghal, Co. Cork, 1954. 'Irish Independent' image.

The behavior and attitude of the staff and management in Sunbeam could be described as part of a specifically Catholic *habitus*. Catholic habitus is a phrase coined by Irish sociologist Tom Inglis (after Pierre Bourdieu and Marcel Mauss), whereby social status is enhanced through the adoption of particular religious rituals, processes or products, to increase what Inglis refers to as 'embodied religious capital' (Inglis 2003). According to Inglis, Ireland at this time was 'unique' due to the 'domination of the Church in … social fields and the importance social capital … had in attaining dominant positions' in non-ecclesiastical realms (Inglis 2003). As a result of this, religious observance in industrial settings was not unusual in Ireland from 1950 to 1980, indeed it was typical of the time.

Patrick Doyle and Sarah Roddy have sought to nuance this argument in a recent paper (Doyle and Roddy 2021). Following the American sociologist Viviana Zelizer, they hold that Inglis' thesis is simplistic as it downplays the personal agency and decision-making of individual donors (many of whom were female) and overplays the

eagerness of churchmen to attract donations. Instead, they propose that each side of the lay/clerical relationship could draw something slightly different, yet valuable and intimately-related from the interaction.

Religious observance in industrial settings like the Mass mentioned earlier, was not unique to Sunbeam-Wolsey. Shrines to the Virgin Mary were also present at: Smithwick's Brewery Kilkenny, (Anon, Final Tribute to Memorable Year 1954), Dubbary Shoes, County Galway (Anon, Building Marian Shrine 1954), CIE's (the Irish transport monopoly's) garage at Donnybrook (Lappin and Walker 2015, 78) and at their railway works at Inchicore in Dublin (Anon, Statue Blessed at Railway Works 1954), Irish Tanners, Portlaw, County Waterford (Anon, Portlaw's Paen of Marian Praise 1954), Denny's Bacon, Co. Laois (Anon, Close of Marian Year 1954) and Harringtons & Goodlass Wall in Cork, where regular devotions were part of the working day. The anonymous designer of the shrine in Figure 5 at Seafield Fabrics appears to have taken some cues from the streamlined factory nearby in terms of the cantilevered canopy, prismatic geometrical forms and concrete structure. The Marian grotto-type shrine at Irish Tanners was erected at a cost of £1,000, subscribed by the employees and modeled on the site of devotions at Lourdes, France. It included a life-sized figure of Mary, carved in Carrara marble which was flood-lit at night. (Anon, Portlaw's Paen of Marian Praise 1954) (It is striking that what emerges from research such as this is the literal 'putting on a pedestal' of one woman, Mary, by largely male workforces in a country whose treatment of women at the time was poor, to say the least.)

Cork's Ford plant, founded in 1917, presents what seems to be a dichotomy: the first single-storey vehicle assembly plant in Europe, and a pioneer of modern factory design (Skinner 1997), housed a Marian shrine which in part dictated a daily religious rhythm (McAleer 2017). In some cases, such regular religious rituals can be seen to be detrimental to the efficiency of the firms. One Sunbeam machine operator in the early 1950s remembered the

> 'rosaries said aloud, with designated workers giving out the decades, or the stoppages to recite the Angelus at noon, or the penny collections to buy candles for St Martha's shrine, or the extra half-hour allowed for Mass on holy days of obligation.' (Leland 2007)

The fact that the management encouraged this strongly suggests three things. Firstly, that faith and ritual were seen as compatible and comparable in importance to industrial efficiency, secondly, that many employees were content to engage in these activities at the time and thirdly, that the firm was profitable enough to encourage them. Furthermore, these practices were part of a larger milieu which notably included the chartering of a small fleet of aircraft to fly Sunbeam-Wolsey staff and others to Rome on pilgrimage in 1950 (Sunbeam-Wolsey 1950).

4. Marian Material Culture in the 1950s

More broadly, we can view the relationship between faith and industry as an aspect of the material cultural of a larger phenomenon. In terms of material culture, Catholic habitus usually took the form of *personal* items such as rosary beads, or *domestic* decorations, such as statues. However, there are many examples like the shrines mentioned above, almost all undertaken by lay volunteers, which were *public demonstrations* of faith. In some cases professional building contractors or tradesmen or even civil engineers, but not academically-qualified architects, were involved (Anon, Marian Shrine at Blackpool 1954) (Rowley 2016, 198). A good example of this is the early twentieth century cast iron street cover from Cork shown in Figure 6. Apparently, the original diamond pattern of grips had worn and it required repair as it had become a slip hazard. Whilst it would have been simple to try and reinstate the original pattern using a welder, instead, some members of Cork Corporation's road crew spot-welded their initials onto the slab alongside the date and 'Marian Year' as a practical celebration of their faith and identity.

Figure 6. Street Cover with Marian Year decoration, John St, Cork, author photo.

A similar, but larger Cork example of this d.i.y. religious urge was a 16m illuminated crucifix fabricated by a taxi driver, Bill Sorensen in his front garden in 1958. Sorenson installed it above a local graveyard which had been used in the 1840s to bury victims of the Irish Famine (RTE 1968). These objects raise questions as to their relationship with design. They are one-offs made by semi- or unskilled people, rather than mass-produced items designed by professionals. Conversely, the use of modern technology (arc welders, scaffolding, concrete and electric lighting) distances them from contemporaneous craft practice. Another aspect of these artefacts is that they can also be seen in the long tradition of religious folk art, albeit facilitated by new technology.

5. Conclusion

The hegemonic understanding of modernisation suggests that de-sanctification was almost a pre-requisite for industrialized modern societies during the twentieth century (Berman 2010 [1982]) (Saler 2003) (Heynen 1999), perhaps this may primarily only be true for parts of North American and Northern Europe. My evidence supports the idea of a process whereby Ireland modernized whilst holding to traditional religious practice.

Lisa Godson has argued that, from the 1840s a number of Continental and Irish businesses manufacturing or selling mass-produced standardized objects for the religious market, played a part in 'embedding a sacramentalist, devotional Catholicism in Ireland' (Godson 2015). In other words, that Irish Catholics adopted the aspects of modernity which served to promote their agenda and project their values. During the late nineteenth century (the so-called 'devotional revolution') the Vatican attempted to synchronize and standardize religious practice across Europe. Sacred material culture (such as printed books, colorful religious pictures, textiles and the marble statuary mentioned above) was strongly influenced by Italian and French examples (Bolger 2011). Godson suggests that these 'standardized objects may have been a significant factor in regularizing religious expression and experience' (Godson 2015). In other words, engaging with modernity and novelty was a way through which conformity to new dogmas was blended with a sense of 'unchanging' tradition within a commercial marketplace for religious artefacts.

The modern material culture illustrated above was folded into belief and ritual by Irish Catholics: it was seen as integral to, rather than in conflict with, religion. The evidence of material culture suggests that the management and staff of Sunbeam (and other citizens of Ireland) saw no contradiction in implementing modern design, materials, technology and work-practices alongside a social system which promoted a form of paternalistic Catholicism. The foregoing implies that a continuing reassessment of the relationship between religion and aspects of Modernism and technology in the 1950s is merited. It would also be instructive to

compare the Irish situation with other Catholic countries such as Salazar's Portugal or Franco's Spain, or with the countries of North Africa and the Middle East which combined Islam with Modernism in the same time period.

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A missing narrative of Ghana's graphic design history

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This paper aims to trace the career path of a retired Ghanaian design educator and postage stamp designer, Professor Frederick Tete Mate. The life and contributions of Mate provide a focal point to begin discussions with key figures in the graphic design history of Ghana. Not only has he been involved with philately, but also, he has to his credit works rendered in woodcuts, wood engravings, linocuts, scrapper boards and works printed with wax. Mate is also known for his illustrations based on Ghanaian social, cultural and political themes. Mate's contribution to design education began from 1965 when he started working as an assistant lecturer at the University of Science and Technology (UST) in Kumasi, and he witnessed how the Department of Design and General Art Studies (DGAS) started in 1972 with three sections: Foundation, Art History and Graphics. He worked hard in writing the first curriculum for the Book Industry programme starting in the 1980s in UST which later grew into a fully-fledged department called Publishing Studies by the 1990s. Using archival materials and primary sources, the research proceeds in three key thematic areas: client/commissioned works, legacy in academia and design advocacy. Six narrative interviews together with archival materials should provide a timeline for constructing Mate's version of Ghana's graphic design history.

Keywords: Ghana's design history, archives, design education

1. Introduction

In 2018, after a series of conversations between my co-author, Mr. Eric Anane-Antwi, from the Department of Publishing Studies, KNUST and Mr. Gilbert Amegatcher, our mentor and a retired lecturer from the Department of Communication Design, KNUST in Ghana, we agreed to pursue research into graphic design history of Ghana since scholars in the field have not paid attention to this issue. Subsequently, Mr Amegatcher helped us to identify some key figures whose contributions could help us to build a body of knowledge about Ghanaian graphic design history. This paper focuses on the career path of Ghanaian design educator and postage stamp designer, Professor Frederick Tete Mate and his contributions to graphic design and design education in Ghana.

The issue that led to this study was that bibliographic sources on Ghana suggest that its graphic design history has not been investigated thoroughly by scholars (Owusu-Ansah and McFarland 1995). A possible reason for this could be what Teal Triggs points out:

> 'Identifying a starting point for any graphic design history is problematic, and especially in cultures where oral-based traditions have been the basis of a system of communication.' (Triggs 2011, 5).

Scholars that are familiar with the history of Ghana are aware that our ancestors made use of oral-based traditions until the arrival of the Europeans on the Gold Coast, present-day Ghana. As a result, we expected Triggs' ideas to apply to much of Ghana's graphic design history. The career path of our key figure, Frederick Tete Mate, however, offers rich documentation of his narrative, where he could provide documents (artefacts, certificates, letters, and curriculum vitae) to back his perspective in the course of the research. This paved a way for our paper to have a data-driven approach upon which future scholars may build on in subsequent investigations of Ghana's graphic design histories as the scope of the field expands. Interestingly, there are parallels between Ghana and Canada, and since both countries were once British colonies, the problems that Brian Donnelly faced during the writing of his paper about *Locating Graphic Design History in Canada* provided some lessons for us during the writing of our paper, this particularly revolved around oral histories (Donnelly 2006, 286).

The late Victor Margolin's work on *World History of Design* (Vol 1) served as a reference point for us to trace the kind of ephemera that were in use by Africans. Margolin noted that "Africans were involved with the transcription of oral languages, which included the creation of syllabaries, while African design was centred on a few newspapers and the occasional magazine" (Margolin 2015). Margolin's view is also reported on by Owusu-Ansah and McFarland in their 1995 edition of their *Historical dictionary of Ghana*, in which not less than 20 newspapers were named. Some of the newspapers considered in their publication were *Gold Coast Times*, *Western Echo*, *Ashanti Pioneer*, *Gold Coast Aborigines*, *Gold Coast Chronicles*, *Gold Coast Echo*, *Gold Coast Express*, *Gold Coast Free Press*, *Gold Coast Independent*, *Gold Coast News*, *Gold Coast People*, *Gold Coast Spectator*, *Post*, *Spark*, *Spokesman*, *Star*, *West African Times*, *West African Morning Post*, *The New African and Daily Graphic*. Two of the papers—the *Gold Coast Times* which was first published in 1874, and *Western Echo* first published in November 1885—belonged to the late James Brew Hutton (1844-1915) who was an attorney, journalist, businessman, nationalist, and an active member of the Fante Confederacy movement (Owusu-Ansah and McFarland 1995, 65). Although contact was established with Professor David Owusu-Ansah to request for a sample of how newspapers in the Gold Coast looked like since there were no visuals of the newspapers captured in his historical dictionary, we were directed to write to Northwestern University librarians in the US to request for samples of the newspapers. We had to give up due to cost involved in getting access to archives from the US university in addition to the turnaround time for our request to be granted.

Figure 1. Some newspapers in circulation in Ghana (Source: The authors, 2021)

Presently, some newspapers in circulation as shown in Figure 1 on Ghana's newsstand include *Ghanaian Times*, *Daily Guide*, *The New Crusading Guide*, *The Business Analyst*, *Daily Graphic*, *The Chronicle*, *The Mirror*, *Economy Times*, *The Hawk*, *The National Enquirer*, *The Spectator*, *P & P*, *The Daily Dispatch*, *The New Publisher*, *The Pioneer*, *The Inquisitor*, *Day Break*, *The Informer*, *Daily Analyst and Republic Press*. The list of newspapers certainly shows the variety of information being presented to the readership in Ghana, a historical trend we can say has continued from the Gold Coast era until today. The visual designs of today's newspapers suggest how readers of the various papers may be attracted by the headlines, imagery and feature stories written in those papers; hence, drawing them to a newsstand. A key figure who is worth mentioning in Adum is the late John Wallace Tsiboe (1904-1963) who was a wealthy merchant in Kumasi that established a press known as Abura Printing Works Limited (Owusu-Ansah and McFarland 1995, 226). Some of F. T. Mate's work, for example, the 1961 calendar for the Presbyterian Training College Akropong Akwapim, was printed by the press founded by Tsiboe.

In this paper, we ask: 1) Is it possible to construct a history of graphic design in Ghana? 2) If so, by what means and methods could a body of knowledge be created as a focal point for documenting Ghana's graphic design history? These questions provide a point of departure for our journey on this important historical research. Our paper does not attempt to include all that one may expect to read about Ghana's history and its connection with graphic design, but it focuses on key issues in Ghanaian graphic design that are revealed by career path of one of the oldest living design educators and postage stamp designers who was born in the Gold Coast, present-day Ghana.

2. Approach

This study makes use of a narrative approach involving six interviews and informal discussions with Professor Frederick Tete Mate. Additionally, his graphic artefacts and other documents in his library helped us to trace his career path from the time he was born until his present-day occupation as a retired design educator and postage stamp designer. Close readings, analysis, comparison and synthesis are employed to ensure that the information captured about him was accurate and consistent with other publications on Mate. Ethical issues that we encountered in the course of this research are addressed.

3. Findings

In 1929, Frederick Tete Mate was born at Odumasi-Krobo in the Eastern Region of the Gold Coast of present-day Ghana. He had his basic education at Bana Hill Boarding School in the same area and later enrolled in Akropong Teacher Training College where he learned to write in Calligraphy. From there, he entered the School of Art of the then College of Technology in Kumasi in 1955, where he studied a number of subjects including Graphic Design, Painting, Textiles, Pottery and Ceramics, Weaving, Sculpture, Book Binding, Anatomy for the Artist and English.

In his final year, he specialised in Graphic Design. Mate was a student of the late Professor Mawere Opoku, and some of his contemporaries were Okyere-Asifu, Ananga, Kejani, Addo Osafo, Blay Toffie who were all teachers, but now are deceased. Mate's field of specialisation were in Typography, Lettering, Printing, Wood Engraving, Wood Cut, Scraper Board, Lino cut and Printing with wax. The late Professor A. Akpo Teye was a senior colleague of Mate and he was a student under the tutelage of Professor Mawere. In 1957, as part of Mate's final year examination, he wrote, illustrated and printed the book titled Kudeses Providence. This book was a fictional story illustrating the proverb, "**Aboa bi beka wo a na ofiri wo ntoma mu**" (an insect will bite you only from within your cloth). That same year was when Ghana gained independence, and a national art exhibition was organised to commemorate the occasion. The University Printing Press (UPK) was at its initial stages in 1957.

In 1961, Mate re-entered the College of Art in Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology (KNUST) for a 2-year Diploma in Fine Art (DFA), and in 1963-1964, he pursued a postgraduate diploma in Art Education. In 1965, he was employed as an assistant lecturer at UST, the following year, he gained the status of a lecturer, and was responsible for teaching Traditional Studies, what is also known as Cultural Studies, aimed at all Foundation students. As a lecturer, he made arrangements to learn about the industrial side of printing with some presses such as Tema Press and Akan Press. A Letterpress and Kord 64 offset machines were purchased for the Design Department. Mate minded this equipment for a short period in addition to lecturing before a technician was employed.

Mate applied for a sabbatical leave and used the period for further studies at the London College of Printing where he majored in Printing Techniques and Management in Packaging through the Leverhulme Award (Liverpool University Award). Upon Mate's return to UST, he taught Calligraphy, Typography, and Industrial Processes.

In 1972, the Department of Design and General Art Studies (DGAS) was started and it had three sections: Foundation, Art History and Graphics. Between 1965 to 1982, Mate participated in postage stamp competitions, produced approximately 200 postage stamp designs and had 21 of his stamp designs accepted, printed and issued (Dogbe 2003, 21). He withdrew from the competition after 1982 because he did not want to compete with his students. In 1984, Mate wrote the syllabus for the programme, Book Industry. It was accepted and approved by the Academic Board after seed money had been received from the UNESCO. In 1984, the Design Press under DGAS was established. In 1987, Mate's first students from the Book Industry programme

completed and Abul Hasan from UNESCO was present as an external examiner to inspect how the students performed.

In 1988, Mate attended the eighth World Book Fair in New Delhi, and the following year Mate retired. Mate stayed on contract basis until 1995 when the Book Industry had gained departmental status and was renamed as Publishing Studies in 1994. In 2003, art historian and sculptor, Dr B. K. Dogbe published a paper which focused on the impact of postage stamp designs in Ghana. The paper was entitled, *Postage stamps of Ghana designed by F. T. Mate from 1966 to 1982: Impact on Philatelic Art in Ghana*. Currently, Mate lives in Adentan in the Greater Accra Region with his wife and grandchildren since 1995.

4. Mate Designs

Figure 2. The stamp (1968). Colour print on paper. 1.2 x 1.2 inches. (Source: Courtesy of F. T. Mate, 2020)

While the stamp's imagery in Figure 2, a linguist staff, which is the rod used by "the spokesman of the court to whom all statements to and from the chief are addressed" and it is used "As a sign of his office, the linguist bears a staff which has a proverbial symbol at the top (Amenuke et al. 1991, 152). In this stamp design, we see three heads on top of it "**Tikoro nko agyina**" (three human heads carved together), a stool with the symbol "**Nyansa po**" (wisdom knot) with the UN logo atop suggests a symbol of authority; and these symbols were carefully selected to communicate the idea that "one head cannot go into counsel, and that it is improper for one person to take decisions for a whole society" (Amenuke et al. 1991, 153). By using these symbols in the design, Mate was saying that United Nations Day in Ghana in 1968 should reflect how different views ought to be considered during meetings of Ghanaian chiefs and elders. Mate based his ideas on the UN General Assemblies in which various views are heard, and then after synthesizing those views, a conclusion is reached on a topic or an issue.

Figure 3. A fishing village scene in wood engraving (1961-64). 5 x 4 inches. (Source: Courtesy of F. T. Mate, 2020)

Similarly, the scene in his artefact in Figure 3 shows how fishermen work hard to bring their fish to the shore through a collective effort. One person cannot operate a boat manually, hence, there is strength in unity during activities that involve more than one person such as fishing in a canoe. This cooperation ultimately ensures that there is food on the table for all of those whose occupation depends on their fishing.

Figure 4. The horn blowers (1961-64) in wood engraving and Linocut on paper. 3 x 4 inches. (Source: Courtesy of F. T. Mate, 2020)

The horn players in Figure 4 also cooperate since they perform as a group. The imagery depicts a performance at a traditional occasion when these musicians are called upon to play at a special event. For these events, the horn players are decorated in their colourful kente cloth. For example, during festivals in Ghana, some chiefs require that skillfully trained horn blowers perform before they deliver their main message to the audience present. These musicians are heralds in Ghanaian culture. At university graduation ceremonies, for example, at the KNUST, these horn blowers are invited and given a slot on the programme outline and usually they will perform before the Vice Chancellor or Chancellor gives a speech.

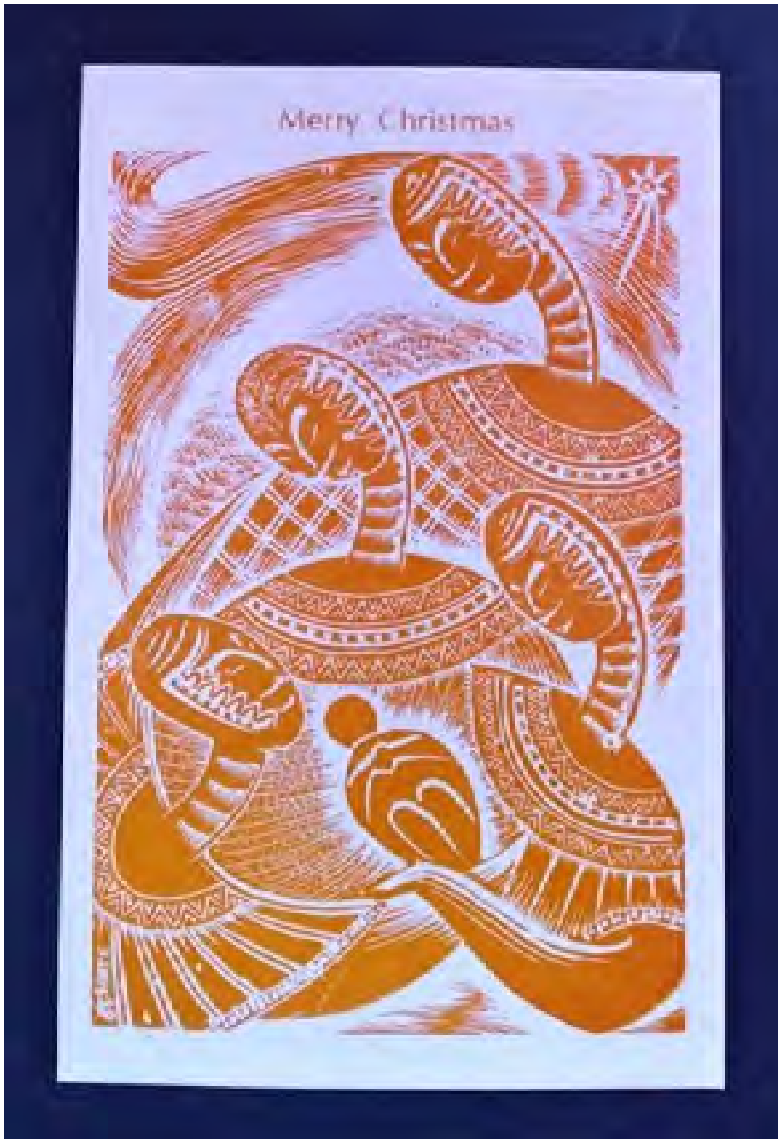

Figure 5. The Christmas card in wood engraving on paper (1961-64). 5 x 7 inches. (Source: Courtesy of F. T. Mate, 2020)

Figure 5 is an example of an abstract Christmas card, depicting four women who are gazing at the newly born child. A copy of this card was presented to Dr. Joyce Aryee, then Education Secretary during the PNDC era. Christmas in Ghana is important because it is a time for workers to take a break from work and to spend time with their families in the villages or in the urban areas, or with loved ones. The design may represent a newly born child or the newly born Christ child or both. The style suggests the artistic impression of Mate in abstract and how he chose to represent the concept of Christmas using figures that indigenous people could easily relate to. The design also shows how the various places where Mate lived in his formative years provided a way of visual expression either in abstract or in realistic compositions. Though Mate's formal art education during his training as a teacher in Akropong Teacher Training College, was influenced by the Basel Society Mission, and then subsequently, his post-secondary education at then Kumasi College of Technology, present-day Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology (KNUST), his artefacts reflected his ability to render works that portray issues and themes of interest to the Ghanaian society.

Figure 6. The woman washing (1961-64). Linocut. 4.1 x 6 inches. (Source: Courtesy of F. T. Mate, 2020)

In Figure 6, the woman washing depicts activities that are expected of women. Women are expected to wash their dirty clothes to ensure that they are clean and well-groomed at all times. Through these household chores, the children of women are able to learn how to wash and also pick up certain grooming behaviours from their parents. Where a child is under the care of a single parent, and in this instance, let us say a father who performs the role of a mother due to a divorce, separation or death of a spouse, this role may be portrayed by the parent taking care of the child.

Figure 7. Ananse and the woman (1961-64). Linocut. 10 x 13 inches. (Source: Courtesy of F. T. Mate, 2020)

The scene as shown in Figure 7 depicts Ananse (a spider) wielding a cutlass with one of its legs. Kwaku Anase is a popular folklore told by storytellers to children when they gather to sit by the fire side at night in the villages. In this artefact, we see that Ananse is ready to fight with the woman in the forest holding the items in the air. The scene gives readers a glimpse of a typical Ghanaian forest where there are pathways for pedestrians. Different plants and trees are to be found in the forest in addition to wild animals that may harm those who go into the forest without protection. This shows the rich vegetation in Ghana's landscape found in certain parts of the country.

5. Summary

Three aspects have emerged in Mate career path: clients and commissioned works, legacy in academia and design advocacy. Clients and commissioned works of Mate suggest the various techniques in which he used to render his works for both small and large clients. His legacy in academia has stood the test of time from the beginnings of the Book Industry as a Section under the DGAS which subsequently was renamed as Department of Publishing Studies of which my co-author is an academic in the Department. His role in design advocacy through the recommendation from the Ghana Book Development Council (GBDC) enabled him to take on a role as a consultant to the UNESCO which benefited from seed money given to UST of present-day KNUST to start the programme on Book Industry.

6. Conclusion

A number of factors gave momentum to the development of Ghana's graphic design history:

First, the newspaper industry served as a source of information for the general public about events taking place across the then Gold Coast (present-day Ghana) (Owusu-Ansah and McFarland 1995). Second, the development of education in Ghana, including the introduction of formal art education at Achimota School (Agyarkoh 2017, 70), led some trained teachers, including Mate, to turn their attention to graphic design.

Indeed, three generations have witnessed these developments, which started from the generation of the late Professor Mawere Opoku who taught the Akpo Teyes and Mates. Then the generation of the late Professor Akpo Teye and Professor Mate who tutored some of those in current academic positions such as Mr. Jaybona Appiah and Professor Daniel Ohene-Adu. They have also handed over the mandate to current senior lecturers, such as Associate Professor Eric Francis Eshun, Dr. Edward Appiah, Mr. Adam Rahman, Dr. George Kushiator, and new lecturers in the persons of Messrs Benjamin Prempeh and John Opuni Amankwa who are all at posts in KNUST.

Lecturers in other graphic design departments across the country may be contacted for their narratives to be included in future publications on the subject. Additionally, those in other careers related to the discipline of graphic design in Ghana and in the diasporas may be identified and contacted so as to document their contributions to the field as well.

Women trained as graphic designers may be featured and some of them who benefited from the tutelage of Mate are in the person of Mrs. Nana Konadu Agyeman Rawlings, an alumnus of the College of Art who worked on the thesis *The Changing Fashion of the Ghanaian Woman* in June 1972. She later became one of the former first ladies of the Republic of Ghana, the wife of the late president Flt. Lt. Jerry John Rawlings. Indeed, from her sense of fashion reflected as in her way of dressing, it is not surprising that archival records at the College of Art indicates her preference to write a thesis related to fashion. A case study of her career path may provide readers with her justification for moving in that direction.

Another figure is the late Dr. Mrs. Joyce Janet Stuber (1951-2021) former Dean of the College of Art and retired senior lecturer at the Department of Communication Design who contributed to the field of Packaging Design. Others include Ms. Bertha A. Ayim and Dr. Ralitsa D. Debrah, both lecturers at the Department of Communication Design, KNUST. Their contributions in addition to other women graphic designers in the various Graphic Design or Communication Design departments across the country may be documented into a biographic survey of accomplished graphic designers of Ghana.

This paper has given us a focal point for documenting Ghana's graphic design history based on the perspective of Professor Frederick Tete Mate. Future researchers in the capacities as academic-historians, practitioner-historians, and design historians as suggested by Teal Triggs (Triggs 2011, 4) should be included in the body of knowledge of Ghana's graphic design history. They should meet with various stakeholders like designers (including those mentioned in this conference proceedings), clients, regulators, professional communities, users/people and the members of the society as noted by graphic design researcher, Karel van der Waarde so that different viewpoints may be documented towards preserving the legacies of these individuals as way of expanding the scope on the missing narratives of Ghana's graphic design histories (van der Waarde 2018, 356-7).

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Reenacting INTEC. Providing a material body to the socialist functionalism of Chile's Unidad Popular government. 1970–1973.

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Abstract | Between January 1971 and September 1973, the Design Group of the National Chilean Technological Research Committee (INTEC), developed different projects for consumer goods, capital goods and goods for public use. These goods would be produced by the nationalized industrial platform, and distributed by different State programs, and by the market, thus implementing a specific experience regarding the role of design in defining the material culture of socialism. This experience involved the design of around 90 objects, most of which were never produced, given the interruption of the project by the civil military coup. The absence of a material trace for this attempt of bridging functionalism and socialism in the context of Latin American developmentalist policies, has kept this experience out of the official accounts and the historiography of design in Chile. This article gives an account of a practice-based artistic research focused on the material recreation of these objects, in order to deliver a material body to this history. This reconstitution has involved, whenever possible, following the instructions given after the discovery of its original documentation, developing a series of objects, furniture and functional electronic prototypes. This exercise aims to test and explore the relationship between objecthood, and the conformation of collective property and memory.

Keywords: Design policy, functionalism, socially useful production, transculturation, utopia.

1. Introduction

Between January 1971 and September 1973, a group of designers developed within the Chilean State, a series of projects of agricultural machinery, objects for domestic use and equipment for public services.

These projects were developed in the context of Salvador Allende's socialist government, being complementary to the nationalization of the industrial platform, a program reaching previously unseen levels. Although the State was a key player in the formation of a series of companies - from the foundation of the Corporation of Promotion to Production (CORFO) in 1939 - at the beginning of the government there were 60 companies with State participation. While at the end of the Unidad Popular government, this number totaled 507 publicly owned or mixed companies.

In this context, the development of design projects meant not only giving a purpose to this productive platform but also delivering a series of goods that would allow the gradual construction of a new society based on the transformation of its material culture. This was the work of the Design Group, hosted by the Committee of Technological Research (INTEC), belonging to CORFO.

The goods produced by the national industry would be distributed by the market and by different State programs, understanding design as a gear with the ability to set in motion public, mixed and private production and distribution means, in the formation of a non-competitive market.

This encounter between cultural transformation, design and public policies, was carried out by a group of professionals whose work also contemplated the meeting between different modern trajectories. On the one hand, the group was made up of ex-members of the HfG Ulm, a German design school founded in 1950 that was a global benchmark of design's integration with industrial development processes; and on the other hand, a group of young students and graduates from the first generations of industrial and graphic designers in Chile, who had been agents and witnesses of the process of curricular adjustment of the discipline in the context of the university reform.

For almost five years, first in the Program of Development for the Small Industry and Crafts (SERCOTEC), and then in CORFO, this group designed more than 100 objects - from machinery for the production of vegetal fibers to toiletries - constituting in this practice a unique exercise of exchange and transformation of these modern trajectories.

An emblematic case of this exchange was the development of the ops room of the Cybersyn Project, during their third year of joint work. This project crystallized, through design, the meeting between cybernetics, functionalism and developmentalism, integrating the methodologies of this group to the elaboration of a project based on a key cybernetic model for the development of our current communication technologies.

Although the dissemination achieved by this project through its inclusion in a series of debates and research projects both locally and globally, has enabled to signal the relevance of this group's experience, the bulk of their production has not yet been considered. Nor has Cybersyn been reviewed in light of the total production of the group. In that sense, if Eden Medina refers to the presence of the Cybersyn project in the Science, Technology and Society literature, as a footnote, it could be said that the different projects developed by the group have been present only as a caption (Medina, 2011, p.ix).

This debt is because most of these designs were never produced. Except from some economic tableware pieces and the delivery of the powdered milk measuring plastic spoons, as part of child nutrition programs (Figure 1), the rest of these designs were never produced due to the abrupt interruption of the group's work by the civic and military coup d'etat in September 1973.

Figure 1: (left) Affordable Tableware set, as published by the Design Group. (Design Group, 1971, p.60-61) (right) Milk Powder metering spoon, as published by the Design Group. (Design Group, 1973, p.44-45). Photo: Fernando Portal

This interruption imposed on this production and its agents the destruction of their documents and prototypes due to multiple raids on both the institutions and the physical facilities where it took place, as well as the salvage of public archives in the days that followed the coup.

Thus, its existence has been relegated to a limited set of drawings and photographs, disseminated mainly through specialized media. The few images that have survived are part of personal archives that depict mostly objects and prototypes that were also destroyed or lost.

2. Methodology

In this light, the project’s motivation has been to build these objects to restore the set of ideas, trajectories and displacements, that tried out an original reflection on the relationship between industrialization, daily life, technology, design and public policies. A practical attempt that was developed by agents and institutions that managed to weave conceptual approaches proper of postwar European modernity with political projects proper of the revolutionary governments of Latin America in the context of the Cold War.

To give a body to these stories, based on the reconstruction of these projects, has meant, when possible, to follow the information depicted in a set of original documents made available by the original designers. This information allowed for the developing a series of objects, furniture and functional electronic prototypes to bring these objects and ideas to the present and project them into the future.

Having these new objects enables us to know and integrate them more broadly into our imaginary and our understanding of the history of design and design policies, opening new scopes to reinterpret the course that postwar concept of modernity and development took in the context of Latin American democracies. It also implies having a matrix for the generation and circulation of new images, such as those presented here. Vectors that expand the diffusion of this experience for its integration in future debates and reviews, both locally and globally.

As part of this research a series of interviews were carried out with Rodrigo Walker -industrial designer and former member of the Design Group- who generously presented us with a set of reports on each of their projects. These were highly descriptive documents, which not only presented the projects and their design alternatives based on technical drawings but also described design decisions taken for their development. The availability of these original documents -together with the subsequent authorization by the competent authorities for reproducing these designs- made it possible to raise publicly the possibility of executing the instructions contained in these reports to recreate pieces from an aborted public property.

Thus, and together with a group of designers, architects, artists and craftsmen, the project proceeded with the reconstruction of these objects, taking care -as far as possible- of their technical, material and functional specifications. In this way, approximately 100 objects were reconstructed, including ceramic pieces, wooden furniture, plastic utensils and functional replicas of electronic equipment.

Recreating these designs somehow implies generating an alternative archive. One that enables us to complete the gaps of history -still in development- based on a set of bodies that can be studied, not only in terms of aesthetics but also from procedural, artistic and forensic perspectives. A history that enables us to link scattered stories, about the mutual influence between central and peripheral countries in the context of modernity, and about the development of alternative systems of political organization in the context of the Cold War.

3. The crisis of functionalism

Our story could go a little further back, but it reaches a breakpoint on September 30, 1968, when after the final full assembly of the teaching team, the Design School of the HfG Ulm, decided to close its doors.

Since its foundation in 1950, the HfG Ulm had become one of the most influential design schools of the postwar period. Although during its first years, under rector Max Bill, the school explored ideas closer to design as art, considering themselves a continuation of the initial tenets of the Bauhaus, it is from the influence and subsequent rectorates of Tomás Maldonado that the school turned towards a vision closer to engineering (Maldonado, 1958, p. 40).

The pedagogy at the school was guided by this vision, giving shape to functionalism, and the development of objects on a methodological approach to the conditions of production, use and exchange. This led teachers and students at the school to integrate as a fundamental part of design concerns such as semiotics, cybernetics, ergonomics, visual studies and information design.

Although this approach is what makes the school gain its prestige and international diffusion, it is these same ideas that lead to its crisis, given that its postulates are in opposition to the de facto relationship that the booming postwar industry had already established with design. The critical theory (Frammpton, 1974, p.20) developed by the HfG Ulm, involved questioning the professional role of design in the commodification process and its exploitation as an instrument of hegemonic control based on consumption.

This opposition can be seen in the dichotomy established between functionalism and consumer society by Abraham Moles, professor at the school, in his article ‘The crisis of functionalism’, published in the latest edition of Ulm Journal:

> 'Affluent society as an economical theory purports that the machinery of production has to run permanently; therefore, the consumer has to be stimulated to consume at any price. Consumption and production are linked into a combined system which runs at an ever-increasing speed. Functionalism necessarily contradicts the doctrine of affluent society which is forced to produce and to sell relentlessly. Finally, functionalism tends to reduce the number of objects and to realize an optimal fit between products and needs, whereas the production machinery of affluent society follows the opposite direction. It creates a system of neokitsch by accumulating objects in the human environment. At this point the crisis of functionalism becomes manifest. It is torn between the neokitsch of the supermarket on the one side and ascetic fulfillment of function on the other side.' (Moles, 1968, p.24)

This paradox, at the center of the school’s approach, had previously been addressed in an article that Tomás Maldonado published in the first volume of Vision + Value, the series of publications directed by Giorgi Kepes at MIT.

Here, Maldonado relates the possibilities of integral development in the relationship between functionalism and design in the hands of those designers operating in the context of ‘non-competitive societies’:

> 'One does not expect from Soviet designers the imitation of our weaknesses, but rather the full exploitation of their own and specific possibilities. One expects them to tackle problems that we are not allowed to tackle. For

> instance, technical products themselves require an urgent revision as far as their structural and functional properties are concerned, but in the framework of our competitive society, initiative in this direction can not be imagined, because the main activity of our society is to merchandise these products; it cannot accept any attempt to shake the artificially preserved stability of these products. The designers of a non-competitive society are in a favorable position for attacking this new kind of task, but until now, not very much has happened.' (Maldonado, 1965, p.132)

Finally, the crisis unleashed by the school's closing, which left a group of highly qualified students and teachers without a project, and the underlying opportunity in the context of peripheral countries, will find a common ground in one of the answers that this professional team received to an ad published in their magazine when the school was closing down.

The call was answered by the International Labor Organization (ILO), who hired Bonsiepe as part of a program to support economic development. This was part of an agreement between the ILO and the government of Chile, through CORFO, which was supported by the IDB and the UN. This program that took place in the context of a set of economic development policies and programs associated with the substitution of imports within the Alliance for Progress. Thus, Bonsiepe arrives in Chile to work at SERCOTEC (Castillo, 2014,223).

His arrival not only imprints a new approach to the role given to industrial design within the SERCOTEC program but also activates a series of local and international discussions whose manifestation in Chile, within that period, would become of global relevance.

4. The University Reform

1968 also marks a turning point in the development of industrial design within the local context. The university reform was being developed at the Catholic University and the University of Chile, institutions where design was just barely taking shape. Specifically, in the latter, the designer's curriculum was in a heated discussion process, not being completely differentiated from the curriculum of the School of Applied Arts to which it belonged. Faced with this, a group of students formed by Guillermo Capdevilla, Alfonso Gómez, Fernando Schulz and Rodrigo Walker developed different actions aimed at a curricular reform, such as the edition of the first issue of the Design Magazine in December that year, as well as the development of an epistolary relationship with Tomás Maldonado (Alvarado, 2015, 102).

Maldonado's answers are multiple. In the first place, he tells them he will soon visit Buenos Aires in the context of the IV International Seminar on Industrial Design Teaching, organized by the International Council of Societies of Industrial Design -ICSID (Rey, 2009,109). Faced with this, students are organized to attend by entering into direct contact with global discussions on the institution of industrial design from a curricular point of view.

Later, Maldonado informed the students about the cooperation agreement between the ILO and the Chilean government, which will take Bonsiepe to work in the country. Through these networks, students become part of the Bonsiepe team at SERCOTEC, complementing their academic teaching with practical teaching through the development of different projects of goods from the State.

It is in this context that the students publish the first issue of the Design Magazine, a self-published publication that accounts for the exchange of ideas that these meetings aroused, and the emergence of a question regarding the adequacy needs of the methodological tools that this design had concerning local needs (Walker, 1968, 16).

5. Radical Institutions

The project takes place in president Frei's government, within SERCOTEC, founded in 1952 (Palmarola, 2008, p.140). Various projects are developed as part of this program, such as a set of wooden toys, based on a limited set of cuts.

After Salvador Allende's victory, and the restructuring of CORFO functions, its Technical Assistant General Manager, Fernando Flores, invited Bonsiepe to join the Corporation's mission, constituting the Industrial Design Group in January 1971. This group was hosted inside the INTEC (Committee of Technological Research), which was founded in June 1970, as a unit of development and coordination of applied research to enhance the country's technological freedom.

The development of each country's capabilities to design, build and export its technology was at the center of the import substitution strategies linked to developmentalism. This technological emancipation of the peripheral countries implied the development of research investment strategies; the generation of regional economic agreements for the integration of non-competitive integrated markets in which each country had a specific development area assigned, and the promotion of the generation of a productive industrial platform. This model was put into operation in Latin America over a series of overlapping and sometimes contradictory programs. While some found their bases in ECLAC and the economic support programs of the Alliance for Progress, others found political traction in commercial agreements for the integration of markets, such as the 1969 Andean Pact.

To the inherent challenges of this strategy, the government added the need to 'solve the immediate problems of the great majorities' (Unidad Popular, 1970, p.23). This change of scale stressed the installed industrial platform, reorienting its scope, and placing the objective of technological emancipation in line with the provision of basic goods and services. As stated in the Unidad Popular Program the government's action 'will overturn the country's productive capacity of superfluous and expensive items destined to satisfy the high-income sectors towards the production of popular, cheap and good quality consumer goods' (Ibid.)

Within the State organic, this double objective found in CORFO the instruments upon which to organize these actions. To this end, a series of Sector Committees were created, as well as an area of social ownership, destined to implement the nationalization of industries. CORFO implemented these actions during the government's first year, 'seeking to reinforce the industrial structure by decreasing external dependence', and by 'increasing occupation and the supply of essential products for the population'(CORFO, 1970, 5)

This political and institutional context enables us to situate the actions undertaken by these designers as actions developed within one of the 'nerve centers of industrial civilization' to which Maldonado alluded. And this is because the general context of the different countries that supported import substitution policies in the global south, the local political context made it radical due to the testing of a new social model.

In other words, in addition to the quest for technological emancipation, the development of applied research and the integration of regional markets, typical of import substitution, the work of the Design Group also aimed at the redistribution of property, the provision of basic products, and the regulation of the internal market as a project for the construction of a socialist government in a democracy.

6. Public Goods

The concentration of these different political and cultural objectives implied for design the capacity to integrate these different dimensions of action, going from technological emancipation to the provision of basic goods (Grupo de Diseño, 1971, 51). In this context, the Group defines its action based on the development of three types of goods, which have as a common objective to deliver from design a set of projects that would allow the installed industrial platform to be at the service of the government's different public programs.

The first type of project consisted of capital assets understood as the development and adaptation of machinery and equipment for productive activities associated with the internal supply of food and raw materials. Thus, for the most part, capital goods refer to the adaptation of components and processes for the improvement of technical objects associated with agricultural production. As an exception to this scale of production, the design of a plastic box for the transport of fish stands out, which facilitated its storage, hygiene and handling, with its mono-material condition, without edges and hexagonal shape.

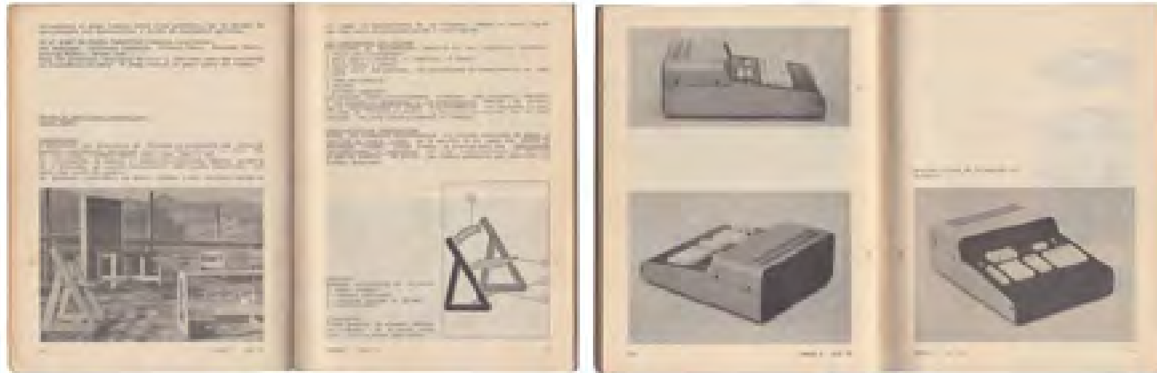

Figure 2: (left) Chair for CORVI Social Housing, as published by the Design Group. (Design Group, 1971, p.52-53) (right) Chassis for electronic desktop calculator, as published by the Design Group. (Design Group, 1971, p.70-71). Photo: Fernando Portal

A second category was integrated by the design of goods for public use, among which were various types of objects and equipment for the implementation of a series of public programs such as social housing, the provision of kindergartens to support female employment, equipment for health services and food dispensers. To this category belongs the furniture sets designed for the CORVI and the JUNJI, as well as the cabinet for the electronic calculator (Figure 2) and the powdered milk measuring spoon. The design of the Cybersyn Project Operations Room corresponds to this category as well.

Finally, there were projects associated with popular consumer goods. Except for the set of economic tableware developed for the National Ceramics Factory (FANALOZA) and a set of enamelled kitchen items, most of these goods were related to the development of the electronics industry. These projects - among which is the design of a portable turntable (Figure 3) and other audio system components, as well as communication devices - were related to the integration of regional markets, as part of the Andean Pact. This line of projects was greatly strengthened after the early signing - in March 1971 - of an agreement between CORFO and RCA International. Through this, both parties agreed to be the only shareholders of the new IRT (Radio and Television Industry), of which - after the corresponding capital increases- the State would take control of 51% of its shares.

Tocadiscos Portátil

Figure 3: Portable turntable, as published by the Design Group. (Design Group 1972, 52-53). Photo: Fernando Portal

During its period of work, and within these three categories, the Design Group developed a total of 25 projects, which considered the development of more than 100 different objects. The present project has placed its focus on this universe, concentrating mainly on a set of goods for public use and consumer goods.

7. Reenacting INTEC's Designs

The reenactment of these projects has been subject to different considerations: material, constructive, economic, functional and artistic. These considerations found different balances in each developed object, which as a whole makes up a collection of objects that reinterprets the original designs.

Given that these projects were designed to be produced in large quantities, and that on the contrary, the manufacturing tools that were used implied short series, in many cases, it was necessary to change the processes and materials.

Thus, while in some cases prototypes originally developed in an artisanal way have been reproduced by hand -as is the case with furniture- other industrially developed products had been reproduced through digital manufacturing processes, as in the case of the metering spoon and some of the ceramic pieces (Figure 4).

Figure 4: (left) Handmade reconstruction of a stackable mug set and one version of the teapot. Ceramic. (right) Plastic reconstructions of the metering spoon cast into a silicon mold. Photo: Andrés Cortínez

In the case of the turntable, the recreated object is materially distanced both from the product defined by the documents and from the prototype disseminated through photographs. While the body of the original prototype was made out of wood, and the product designed was made out of injected plastic, the body of the recreated turntable was made out of fiberglass.

However, the most radical distance covered by this interpretation is related to the development of electronic goods (Figure 5) that is, the calculator and the turntable, where the decision was to develop new functional prototypes.

Figure 5: (left) Reconstruction of Portable Turntable. Fiberglass, latex, self-adhesive vinyl, original components of IRT Capissimo turntable. (right) Reconstruction of electronic calculator. Electronic Table Calculator. Steel, enamel, mechanical buttons, nixie tubes, acrylic, electronic components, Raspberry Pi, Phyton.Photo: Andrés Cortínez

Thus, the reenactment of the calculator, not only involved the development of its steel cabinet, but also the programming and development of its electronic components to provide the reconstruction with the nixie screen tube and computational processes originally considered in the calculator. In this way, although the project commissioned to the Design Group only considered the cabinet development - given that the interior specifications were related to imported technological components - the newly developed prototype took over the full object.

For the turntable, this distance is even more pronounced. The original documentation not only had different development alternatives, but there were also differences between the product described in the report and the physical elements that made up the no unit photographed prototype. For this, to make a functional prototype, we used components from different IRT turntables of the time adding the same internal components for its operation. In this sense, for the turntable, we choose to develop a functional prototype based on the formal prototype, rather than

the development of a prototype adjusted to the design specified in the design documents.

Reenacting through this logic implies that the material outcomes of the investigation are in a strange and indeterminate space, somewhere between the reconstruction of a prototype, an interpretation of the prototype, and interpretation of the product that this prototype should test. Thus, these new objects make up an alternative archive, composed of objects and documents that are hard to classify: neither copies nor originals; neither prototypes nor products; neither commodities nor common goods.

8. Creating Public Property

The material outcomes of this practice-based research inhabit a strange and indeterminate space, somewhere between the reconstruction of a prototype, an interpretation of a prototype, and an interpretation of the product that this prototype should test. Neither copies nor originals; neither prototypes nor products; its newly found existence posited critical questions to the goal of repairing memory, history, and ownership.

One set of concerns dealt with re-imagining of the past through the use of these objects as matrices for the generation and circulation of new images. This exploration involved the selection and reproduction of the photographic shots that depicted the original prototypes. Thus, a new set of images was created, in order to complement, augment and created a time mark between the original and the new images.

The dissemination of these images, has been propelled by the inclusion of these objects in a series of national and international exhibitions. Displays that had enabled for the ideas that these objects embody to be included in historiographies that were previously unreachable such as the exhibition “Bauhaus: influence in chilean design”, hosted as part of the centennial, by La Moneda Culural Center, a public cultural institution located in the basement of the Presidential Palace (Figure 6).

Figure 6. Views of the exhibition ‘Bauhaus: influencias en el diseño chileno' [Bauhaus: influences on Chilean design]. Centro Cultural Palacio La Moneda, Santiago, January 2020. Photo: Centro Cultural Palacio La Moneda.

Another set of concerns dealt with the tendency of its objecthood towards commodification. Who should own these objects? Are there supposed to be durable or disposable? and, what kind of ownership structure should be established over them? To answer tis questions and to resist its tendency towards commodification, the objects were donated to the Museum of Memory and Human Rights, a public cultural institution in charge of preserving and disseminating the memory of the human rights violations committed by the dictatorship between 1973 and 1990. From its domicile in this collection, these designs gained not only a long-sought status as public and collective property, but also the agency to respectfully account for those who disappeared and whose memory is ours to restore (Figure 7).

Figure 7: Digital archive of the Museo de la Memoria y los Derechos Humanos
Collection available at: https://web.museodelamemoria.cl/objetos/tocadiscos-portatil/
Photo: Screenshot by the author

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Coffee Or Chinese Tea – the Trans-cultural Exploration of Contemporary Chinese Graphic Design in the 1980s and 1990s

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Abstract | In 1978, the Communist Party of China made major decisions resulting in what was known as "reform and opening up", perhaps the most significant turning point in recent Chinese history. Before that, China pursued a strategy of isolationism, and the state control of imagery under Communism after 1948 led to a form of mass propaganda. After 1978, rapid expansion in China's relative economic size became the norm. In this context, graphic design practitioners in China experienced a tremendous transformation in their experience and environment. Based on personal memory of the pioneers of contemporary Chinese graphic design, such as Wang Xu and Wang Yuefei, this paper will explore the development of graphic design in China from the 1980s to 1990s when the field experienced transformation from operating in a comparatively isolated circle in which graphic design learning resources from the West were provided exclusively to in-house designers in state-owned packaging companies to the emergence of professional graphic design practitioners and private design companies. With first hand material collected through interview, the paper will examine the trajectories of these early practitioners in the 1980s when the task of the in-house designers at the Guangdong Packaging Import and Export Corporation was to change the situation in which China's export commodities were characterised by "first-class quality, second-class price and third-class packaging", as well as their exploration in the 1990s. The proposed paper would not only be a record of these designers personal memories but also an exploration of the thinking behind, attempting to find out the challenges they confronted when applying the knowledge gained abroad to local context.

Keywords: reform and opening up, package design, professional value

On 7 December 1996, the second Graphic Design in China (GDC) exhibition was organised at the Shenzhen Science and Technology Museum. (Zhou 2015, 8) With great excitement, local designers, design students and practitioners in the printing industry, as well as those from other regions of China made the special trip to Shenzhen to participate in this event. (Wang Yuefei, WeChat message to author, July 6, 2021) During the exhibition, many of them were gathering together in the area where the Collection of Award Winning Works were displayed. (Wang Yuefei, WeChat message to author, July 6, 2021) Different from the first Graphic Design in China exhibition in 1992, the back cover of the 1996 collection of award winning works is an advertisement, imposing a question, “Would you like coffee or Chinese tea?” ‘Figure. 1’ In fact, there would also be no advertisement in the future GDC collections of award-winning works. Holding this journal in hand, Wang Yuefei, the organiser of the exhibition, stood in the crowd of visitors experiencing strong emotions. In an era when there were no electronic files, it took a lot of effort to collect all the information, take photographs of all the award winning works, create the layout and complete the design within a few days after the results of the competition came out. It was through efficient collaboration that his team completed the work.(Wang Yuefei, WeChat message to author, July 6, 2021)

Figure 1. Wang Xu, “Would you like Coffee or Chinese Tea?”, advertisement design on back cover of 1996 GDC Collection of Award Winning Works, 1996 (©Wang Xu)

What, then, was the idea and meaning behind this “accidentally appeared” advertisement? Does this imply the difference between the first and the second GDC exhibition? Why would the designer choose to impose such a question in a publication that would be presented in an exhibition on graphic design that would attract so many designers and arouse so much attention in China? To answer these questions, it is both important and necessary to analyse the advertisement on the back cover of the

collection of award winning works of 1996 GDC exhibition and to explore the reasons for its appearance in its historical context.

“Would you like coffee or Chinese tea?” was created by Wang Xu as an advertisement for Wang Xu & Associates.(Wang Xu, WeChat message to author, May 20, 2021) A blurred portrait of Wang Xu, director of Wang Xu & Associates, one of the pioneering graphic designers in China was used as background. In the portrait, Wang Xu supported his cheek with his left hand and smiled happily. On top of the portrait, in the middle of the advertisement, there are three lines of big characters in dark brown and they are “Would you like coffee or Chinese tea?” in Chinese and English. The similar characters of white colour were superimposed under the dark brown ones like projection. At the end of the sentence, there was Wang Xu’s company name presented in a similar way but of much smaller size. In between the lines of big characters, there is the email address and fax number of Wang Xu & Associates in black colour of even smaller size. According to Wang Xu’s explanation, the dark brown represented coffee while white represented tea of light colour.(Wang Xu, WeChat message to author, May 20, 2021) Therefore, the characters of two different colours and a projection effect is a delicate visual presentation of the theme of the advertisement. Typeface is an important element in this advertisement. Bold Huakang Kaiti was chosen as Chinese typeface and the English typeface is ITC Novarese Bold. In an interview about the design of this advertisement, Wang Xu specifically mentioned the consideration behind the choice of the typefaces, explaining that at the time he already had the awareness of choosing a corresponding English font to match Chinese to create a harmonious effect.(Wang Xu, WeChat message to author, May 20, 2021)

This seems like the choice and thinking about the application of typeface in the creative process, while only through putting this design in the historical context, can we better understand why Wang Xu would have such idea.

1. Full Embrace of Western Design

More than 15 years ago, from 1977-1979 when Wang Xu was studying at Guangzhou Fine Art Academy, he had a strong feeling that the training of graphic design skills at his school was inadequate.(Wang Xu, WeChat message to authorMarch 1, 2018) After graduation, when he had arranged to work for the Guangdong Export Commodities Packaging Institute within the Guangdong Packaging Import and Export Corporation, he had to gain relevant knowledge of design practice to create packaging design that would complete in the international market through self-study. (Wang 2008) When describing the situation in the 1980s, Wang Xu remarked that, “we were surrounded by graphic design but had no awareness about what exactly design was... my task was to design export packages but there were no teaching materials at school. What should I do? Study or not to study? Use (these materials) or not? How to use (them)? These were pressing issues.” (Wang Xu, WeChat message to author, October 28, 2017) To enter into this profession as soon as possible, he paid special attention to the structure of Western lettering, as well as the colour, form and use of imagery.

Figure 2. Wang Xu, Heaven Temple, package design, 1982-1983 (© Wang Xu)

It is important to point out that Guangdong was one of the leading provinces in terms of exports, with GDP among the highest in China.(History of Reform and Opening in Guangdong Research group 2018, 24) It was also at the forefront of the implementation of the reform and opening up policy. (History of Reform and Opening in Guangdong Research group 2018, 24) The Guangdong Packaging Import and Export Corporation was in charge of the coordination and the overall planning of imports and exports in Guangdong province, including all the design work in this area; also, the designers in its Design Section were responsible for certain categories of export commodities according to a division of labour. (Su, 2018) This at first glance might look like a product of a planned economy, but at that time it was an advanced organisation with a very professional and comprehensive configuration - there was a large scale exhibition hall to display imported commodities by well-known brands in the form of supermarket shelves corresponding to all the export categories, including electrical appliances, clothing, children's toys, hardware, textiles and food.(Wang Yuefei interview with the author, in Shenzhen, October 24, 2017) There was also a reference room of international design magazines such as Idea (Japan), Graphis (Switzerland), Communication (United States) and Package (Japan), as well as annuals, such as Art Directors' Annuals (Art Director's Club of New York). (Wang Xu, WeChat message to author, April 12, 2017)

In addition, as employees from Guangdong Packaging Import and Export Corporation, Wang Xu and his colleagues had the opportunity to attend the lectures by European and American designers organised by the company. This was very rare in China at the time. When describing his feeling about the lecture of Landor, a renowned packaging designer who is best remembered as a pioneer in the field of branding and use of consumer research, Wang Xu's colleague Wang Yuefei mentioned that "It was like a child watching a movie, totally overwhelmed". (Zcool 2018) Landor's lecture in Guangzhou in the early 1980s also inspired Wang Xu. After that, he began to concentrate on learning about European and American packaging design.(Wang Xu, WeChat message to author, July 10,

2021) His redesign for Heaven Temple is a case in point. 'Figure 2' The emphasis on the brand represented by an eye-catching bold typeface in a large size, as well as a stable position for the brand name on each item is the visual representation of the "visual impact on the shelf", the professional vocabulary Wang Xu used as the key concept behind this design from the presentation of Walter Landor. (Wang Xu, WeChat message to author, July 10, 2021) Westernisation, however, was not only his personal experience. The trend of learning from the West was dominant at that time, especially among the designers working for the import and export companies where to meet an international standard was a prerequisite for competition.

2. Choice between Coffee and Tea

In the autumn of 1986, Wang Xu was sent to Hong Kong to work for the Packaging Company under the Yuehai Group, the local branch of Guangdong Packaging Import and Export Corporation where big transformations had taken place in his life.(Wang Xu, WeChat message to author, October 24, 2017) First of all, in October 1986 when the Hong Kong office of Landor Associates opened, Landor visited the Hong Kong branch of Guangdong Packaging Import and Export Corporation with the requirement to meet the "graphic designer from mainland China".(Yumpu 2001, 4) Wang Xu finally got the opportunity to communicate with Landor whose presentation had a significant impact on his practice. For example, the redesign of packaging for Heaven Temple brand in 1982-1983. (Wang Xu, WeChat message to author, March 19, 2018) This, also was an opportunity for him to formally become connected with Landor.

It was also during this period that Wang Xu began to come in contact with international designers who explored the integration of Eastern and Western cultures through design practice. Soon after his arrival, Wang Xu began to try to approach Henry Steiner, an Austrian graphic designer based in Hong Kong, through the Hong Kong branch of the Japanese paper company Tai Tak Takeo Fine Paper Co.,Ltd. (Wang Xu, WeChat message to author, October 24, 2021) Educated at Yale under the guidance of Paul Rand, Henry Steiner had a special interest in the application of Latin typefaces, as well as the combination of Western and Eastern culture in design. From 1964, when he established Steiner & Co. in Hong Kong, he created designs for many well-known brands with an international reputation, including IBM and HSBC.(Steiner & Co 2021) Meanwhile, he started research on bilingual design and published Cross-Cultural Design: Communicating in the Global Marketplace. In December, 1986, at the Hong Kong Design Biennial, Wang Xu eventually had his first encounter with Henry Steiner together with Japanese book designer Kohei Sugiura. After viewing Wang Xu's work, Kohei Sugiura suggested: "You should look forward with one eye and look backwards with the other eye". (Wang Xu, WeChat message to author, December 18, 2017) Kohei Sugiura's suggestion was brief; however, for Wang Xu, this was the sentence that woke him up from his keen worship of Western design and encouraged him to reflect on his journey and then prepare to make the transformation of starting to pay attention to local culture and draw inspiration from it for his design creations while learning from international designers.

In 1987, one year after his arrival in Hong Kong, he began to publish Design Exchange, a magazine introducing international graphic designers and their practice with the support from his company. (Wang Xu, WeChat message to author, October 18, 2017) As a beginner, he had to build up everything from zero through the new connections he had established, with designers such as Henry Steiner and Walter Landor. The process of editing the magazine became a process for him to learn design methods and expand his international network, which ran through the 1990s. (Wang Xu, email to author, April 13, 2018)

Meanwhile, Shenzhen, as a test site for China's reform and opening up policy, was experiencing rapid economic development in the decade from 1990 to 1999. The annual per capita wage in Shenzhen increased 4.7 times, from 4,340 CNY in 1990 to 20,714 CNY in 1999.(Zhang 2019, 66) The figures were much higher than those in the other economically developed cities in China. Many foreign-funded companies and new types of enterprises were established as an exploration of the new economic model brought by the policies of preferential treatment for the Shenzhen Special Economic Zone. Take for example, GRAFICOM, which was a joint venture in the Special Economic Zone run by Wang Yuefei, Wang Xu's former colleague at Guangdong Export Commodities Packaging Institute.(Wang 2001)

However, while the rapid development of the regional economy had brought business opportunities to the graphic design profession, Wang Xu, Wang Yuefei and the group of designers soon discovered that the public and society’s understanding of the graphic design field was still very limited. For example, some of their design work that brought huge profits for the companies was not paid for because the definition and boundary of their work was not clear. When describing the situation, at the same time Wang Xu mentioned that “it was difficult. Even if you have particularly good professional skills, not many people would come to you, because the client didn’t understand the quality of the design work…”(Wang Xu, WeChat message to author, July 10, 2021) In the 1990s, it was difficult to get procedural approvals for companies registered in the names of individual designers in China, although there were no clear legal regulations. At that time, there were no more than 5 companies named after individual designers, including Wang Xu’s design company, Wang Xu & Associates.(Wang Xu, WeChat message to author, July 10, 2021)

3. Conclusion

Under such circumstances, in 1996, Wang Xu, thought deeply when selecting the judges, because he was the person in charge of overseas liaison for the second Graphic Design in China exhibition, an event initiated and organised by a group of designers in Shenzhen.(Wang Xu, WeChat message to author, July 10, 2021) This kind of thinking included Wang Xu and his designer colleagues' consideration of establishing industry standards for the graphic design profession, enhancing international exchanges and promoting public understanding of graphic design. Meanwhile, it was also a continuation of his own exploration of the problems he confronted in design practice.

Different from the first Graphic Design in China exhibition in 1992 when the judges invited were all Chinese except for Henry Steiner, the four judges of the 1996 exhibition are all international designers, among whom two are from Asia.(Zhou. 2015. 11) Ken Cato from Australia was a designer of international reputation and encompassed all facets of corporate and brand management and design.(Cato 2021) Michel Bouvet from Paris was a poster artist and a jury member in international biennials.(ESAD 2021) The two Asian designers were from Japan and Korea respectively. Among them, Keizo Matsui was a versatile designer and artist, whose worldwide design activities include corporate identity, poster design, signage, graphic design, packaging, exhibition design, product development, art and sculpture.(AGI 2021) He was also executive director of DDD Gallery in Osaka.(DDD 2021) Ahn Sang-Soo was a graphic designer, as well as a university professor “who speaks good English”.(Wang Xu, WeChat message to author, July 10, 2021). As to the choice of the judges, Wang Xu emphasised in an interview that, “These two Asian judges are particularly important to China because they had to confront similar situations and similar problems, such as the problem of bilingual design.” (Wang Xu, WeChat message to author, July 10, 2021)

Compared with the first graphic design exhibition in China in 1992 when “designers from Mainland China and Taiwan had an exchange opportunity which was unprecedented and profound”, the 1996 GDC exhibition "was an international event, representing different regional cultures. The judges with expertise in different professional areas reviewed the entries from Mainland China, Hong Kong, Macau and Taiwan from different perspectives”.(Wang Xu, WeChat message to author, July 10, 2021)

Due to Wang Xu's contribution and support to 1996 GDC exhibition, the organisers of the event decided to reserve the back cover of the Collection of Award Winning Works to publish the advertisement of Wang Xu's company.(Wang Xu, WeChat message to author, July 10, 2021) In the advertisement, Wang Xu chose his own portrait as background, to proudly represent the fact that his company was one of the few named after an individual in China. On the back cover, he was smiling with an open attitude, raising his question, or it could be understood as him, in full confidence, offering the customer a choice “Would you like Coffee or Chinese tea?”.

This seemingly simple question actually reflected that in the ten years from the 1980s to the 1990s, an era when design resources were extremely scarce, designers represented by Wang Xu and his colleagues had been going through the process of fully accepting Western design. At the beginning when their understanding about design still remained at the visual level as a method to generate foreign exchange for international trade, but gradually they began to have reflective thinking and paying attention to the local culture and examining the design from a cultural perspective. This profound transformation was gradually realised among a group of pioneering Chinese graphic designers through continuous practice under different economic forms with the deepening of China's reform and opening up, as well as through communication with the international designers who have in-depth thinking about cross-cultural issues such as Henry Steiner and Kohei Sugiura.

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Capability of Design for “Modernizing” the Memories of History: The Jerusalem Committee’s Ambitious Challenge

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Abstract | The Jerusalem Committee, first set up in 1969, was an international advisory body to Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kollek, organized to discuss issues involved in the post-Third Middle East War urban redevelopment and beautification of the city of Jerusalem. At the Jerusalem Committee’s first general session in the summer of 1969, it was suggested that the Townplanning Subcommittee be established in order to examine the concrete plan prepared by Israeli urban planners for future development of the city from various professional perspectives. The fundamental task of this subcommittee was to debate how to revitalize the ancient city, full as it was of historical, archaeological and religious memories. The focus was on how to achieve this task by means of urban design, modernizing urban spaces and buildings while retaining the unique status of Jerusalem as a spiritual centre with historical significance. This was a great challenge which emphasized that the business of civil government should be restricted to matters of civil interest and took into consideration the characteristics of each place and the actual lives of the people who lived in the city, a challenge with a spiritual basis that aligned with Locke’s theory of *Toleration*.

Keywords: The Jerusalem Committee, Modern Design, Historical Memory, Sir Nikolaus Pevsner

1. The Townplanning Subcommittee of the Jerusalem Committee

In 1968, following the ceasefire of the Third Middle East War, the charismatic mayor of Jerusalem, Teddy Kollek (1911-2007), launched a project for urban redevelopment and beautification of the city of Jerusalem.

The Master Plan, strongly inspired by the Modernists' vision, was prepared by Israeli urban planners. Mayor Kollek invited worldwide "outstanding friends of Jerusalem" from different fields, i.e., architectural design, urban planning, theological studies, philosophy, fine art, economics, legal studies, journalism, etc., to form an international advisory council, known today as the Jerusalem Committee, in order to examine the proposed plan and make various recommendations.

The first meeting of the committee was held in July 1969, attended by a total of 40 members. At this meeting, it was decided that a specialized subcommittee should be formed to examine the proposed Master Plan from various professional perspectives. Kollek promptly selected experts in the fields of architecture and urban planning and invited them to join him in Jerusalem in December 1970 to establish the Townplanning Subcommittee of the Jerusalem Committee.

Figure 1. Members of the Jerusalem Committee photographed in Jerusalem in 1970 by Isamu Noguchi (Source: The Noguchi Museum Archives, 06316. Photo: Isamu Noguchi. ©2021 The Isamu Noguchi Foundation and Garden Museum / ARS, NY / JASPAR, Tokyo /E4289.).

Louis Kahn (1901-74), Philip Johnson (1906-2005), Buckminster Fuller (1895-1983), Lewis Mumford (1895-1990), Edward Maxwell Fry (1899-1987), Oskar Kokoschka (1886-1980), Willem Sandberg (1897-1984), Nikolaus Pevsner (1902-83), Isamu Noguchi (1904-88), Jaap Bakema (1914-81), Denys Lasdun (1914-2001), Lawrence Halprin (1916-2009), Bruno Zevi (1918-2000), Moshe Safdie (1938-) and others, all renowned architects, landscape architects and artists, accepted the invitation. The first meeting, which lasted three days, was entitled "Jerusalem: The Old and The New". Noguchi took snapshots of the attendees (Figure 1).

Coming from capitalistic, first-world countries, the majority of the Subcommittee members were hugely fascinated by Jerusalem's authentic and Orientalist aura of the

immeasurable and disparaged "the Master Plan" of 1968 and concluded that it "should be restructured" (Pevsner, 1970a, p. 2).

Louis Kahn is said to have asked repeatedly for the "theme" of the city of Jerusalem to be expressed in the Master Plan. Philip Johnson called on Israeli city planners to make "big plans" and insisted on the necessity to "dream big". Lewis Mumford asserted that "not merely the fate of Israel, but the destiny of the world in the centuries to come may actually be at stake" in the future development of Jerusalem.

Bruno Zevi, a "professional provocateur" in Nikolaus Pevsner's words (Pevsner, 1970b), went even further, hysterically denouncing the proposed plan as "collective hara-kiri" (Harries, 2018). Zevi got so excited that, it is said, Pevsner had to calm him down (Nitzan-Shiftan, 2017, p. 203).

Many of those foreign experts considered the Master Plan that they were dealing with to be a means of giving an appropriate spirit and form to ancient and spiritual Jerusalem.

Overly emphasizing Jerusalem's symbolic and spiritual significance, these experts didn't hesitate to impose on the people of Jerusalem the possibility of enduring substandard living conditions because of their overriding concern for Jerusalem's spiritual, archaeological, and cultural significance.

The frustration commonly felt by Jerusalemites, the actual inhabitants of the city, at the hardnosed attitudes of those Euro-American-centric experts and their expectations for Jerusalem was expressed by Mayor Kollek in the following words:

> You would like to drive up in big cars but you want us in Jerusalem riding on donkeys. (Isenstadt and Rizvi, 2008, p. 169)

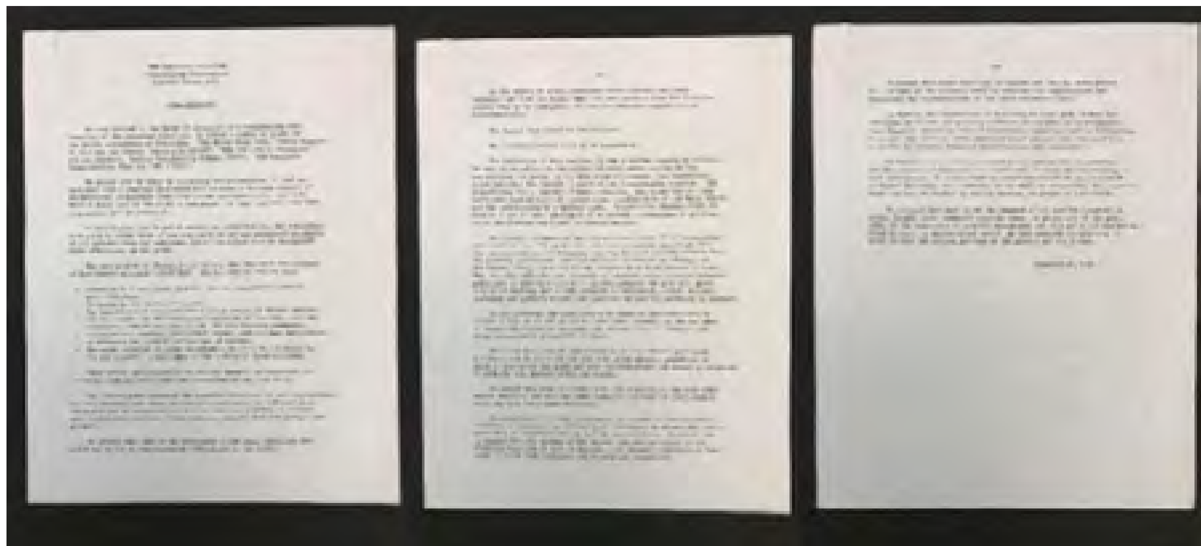


Figure 2. "Final Statement, Townplanning Subcommittee", 1970c, (Source: The Pevsner Papers, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles (840209).).

It is noteworthy that, despite strong criticisms made by Kahn, Zevi and others, the Townplanning Subcommittee's "Final Statement" (Figure 2) did not completely reject the Modernist plan prepared and proposed by the Israeli urban planners. While emphasizing the fact that Jerusalem is a very great spiritual center, important to several great religions, the Statement of the first Townplanning Subcommittee also insisted on the necessity for "a set of planning guidelines so firm that they will directly generate the plan of a great city as it evolves", one "well grounded" not only in emotional and symbolic issues, but also "in functional, social, and economic" issues, so that "agreement on them may gradually be reached". The statement concluded,

> We are much heartened by the willingness of all parties concerned to reveal frankly their innermost concepts about the potentials of the great city, by the reservoirs of goodwill encountered and by a political leadership which is ready to encourage and accept the most advanced

> townplanning in order to meet the merging problems of the present and the future. ("Final Statement, Townplanning Subcommittee", 1970c, p. 3)

What this statement intended was, in effect, to grant legitimacy to the modernization of a city full of memories of the past, and Nikolaus Pevsner, having played a significant role in the course of debates of the Townplanning Subcommittee, had no small part in ensuring that this statement was made.

2. Pevsner's Challenge in Jerusalem

It was Pevsner who was asked to chair the Townplanning Subcommittee of the Jerusalem Committee. The Pevsner Papers in the Getty Research Institute include a letter written by Kollek to Pevsner dated September 27, 1970 requesting Pevsner's participation in the Subcommittee. A copy of Pevsner's reply to Kollek's request, in which he expressed his concern about the payment of travel expenses, and Kollek's subsequent letter, in which Kollek apologized for the lack of explanation regarding the terms and conditions of the invitation in the first letter sent to Pevsner, are also in the collection.

Pevsner was a fervent Modernist and apologist for functionalism in architecture and urban planning and was convinced that the life of architecture and urban design depended on the functions of architecture and urban design to serve the changing needs of people who lived where the architecture and the urban space around it were placed. When Pevsner gave the Raul Wallenberg Lecture at the University of Michigan in March 1972, he said that he had once been told by Philip Johnson, "Nikolaus, you are the only man alive who can still say functionalism with a straight face" (Pevsner, 1972, p. 23). Johnson may have said this to Pevsner at the first meeting of the Townplanning Subcommittee, which they both attended together in December 1970.

In the eyes of Pevsner, who may well be called the last functionalist, the 1968 Modernist Master Plan presented to the Subcommittee was not a complete failure: on his return to London from Jerusalem in Christmas 1970, Pevsner wrote a letter to Mayor Kollek in which he said,

> The plan was better than the presentation. The presentation did decisive damage to the plan. (Pevsner, 1970b)

Pevsner also acknowledged the importance of cherishing the archaeological and religious monumentality of Jerusalem and its unparalleled ancient character and authenticity. However, he was very careful not to overemphasize those aspects of Jerusalem. In Pevsner's eyes, some of the self-righteous statements made by his fellow members on the Subcommittee were highly problematic in discounting the need for efficiency and profitability in the daily lives of ordinary Jerusalemites. Pevsner's dissatisfaction with what he saw as arrogance in the views and attitudes of the experts who had accepted Kollek's invitations was expressed in the same letter to Kollek mentioned above:

> Not all invitations could be right. Your selection, I thought was excellent, except perhaps for a little too much philosophy and a little too little facts. (Pevsner, 1970b)

Pevsner disliked the fact that the philosophical slogans and grandiose concepts voiced by those prominent architects and architectural critics downplayed the importance of the actual problems that ordinary citizens of Jerusalem were facing on a daily basis, for he was opposed to overconfidence in one's own talents by those architects who, he maintained, were "the *unacknowledged* legislators of the world". In 1963, Pevsner was invited to give a talk at the annual convention of the American Institute of Architects, held in Miami, Florida. On that occasion, he said to those architects who attended the session,

> . . . the new conception of the romantic movement is the artist as the High Priest. Shelley said: 'poets are the unacknowledged legislators of the world.' This is what you architects into the bargain also became: the unacknowledged legislators to the world. . .

> Nor was the architect-artist any longer interested in his clients. They were pretty despicable people to him—the public. So he turned away from the utilitarian toward expressing himself in facades and interior decoration. (Pevsner, 1963, p. 59)

Ten years later, in the previously mentioned 1972 lecture at the University of Michigan, Pevsner criticized the architects who, "not even being conscious of it", imposed on the general public what they wanted to achieve.

The Jerusalem Committee met in 1970, 1973 and 1975, yet the disagreements and conflicts of opinion between the Modernists like Pevsner himself, who sought to solve concrete problems of civil life in Jerusalem, and "the most respected elders" of the Jerusalem Committee (Nitzan-Shiftan, 2017, p. 286), who sought to strengthen the timeless and universal monumentality of Jerusalem as the religious and spiritual centre of the world, were never fully resolved.

Nevertheless, it is clear that the Townplanning Subcommittee, led by Pevsner, attempted the modernization of the historical city by taking seriously into account the practical, daily needs of the citizens of Jerusalem.

Immediately after the first meeting of the Subcommittee, Pevsner advised Kollek to hold competitions to gather a wide range of useful ideas from local architects for the future development of the Old City of Jerusalem. Pevsner proposed the competitions in the "Recommendations by the Sub-Committee on the Old City" (Figure 3), written on 28 December 1970 and sent to the officials of the Jerusalem Municipality:

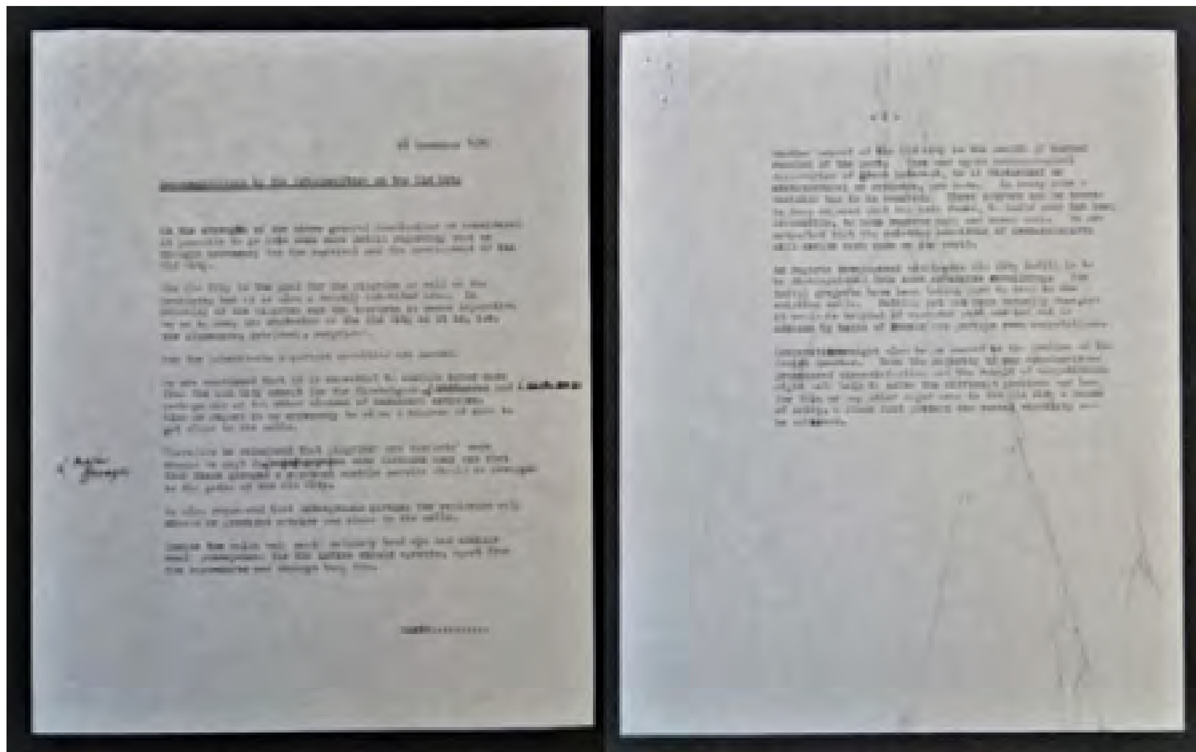


Figure 3. "Recommendations by the Sub-Committee on the Old City" (28 December 1970) (Source: The Pevsner Papers, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles (840209).)

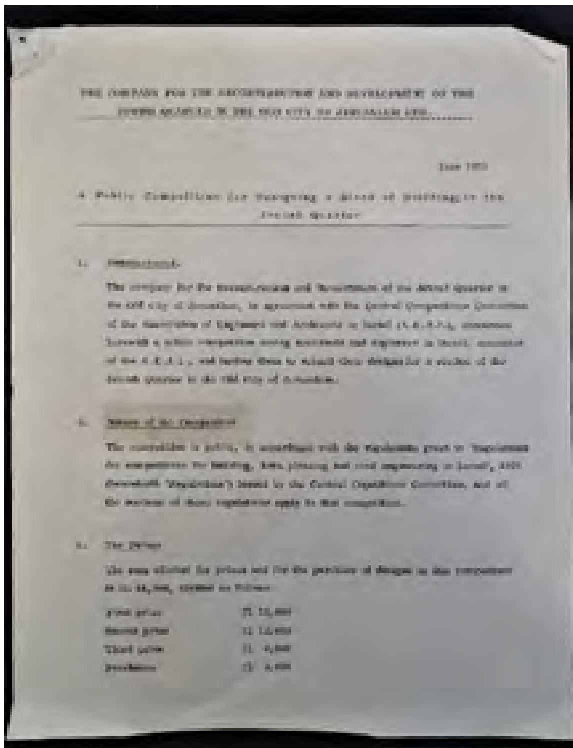


Figure 4. “A Public Competition for Designing a Block of Building[s] in the Jewish Quarter” (June 1970)”, p. 1 (Source: The Pevsner Papers, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles (840209).).

> Competitions might also be an answer to the problem of the Jewish Quarter. Here the majority of our Sub-Committee pronounced dissatisfaction and the result of competitions might well help to solve the difficult problems and how for this or any other major area in the Old City a sense of unity, a close knit pattern and social viability can be achieved. (Pevsner, 1970a, p. 2)

Pevsner’s proposal was quickly adopted. In a letter to Pevsner dated January 8, 1971, Kollek declared his intention to launch the competition; and in June, the statement of intent was compiled for “A Public Competition for Designing a Block of Building[s] in the Jewish Quarter” (Figure 4). In this statement, the names of the members of the jury of the competition were included: Nahum Zolotov and David Resnick, both architects; Boris Schatz, artist; Y. Tamir, Chairman of the Board of Directors for the Bidder and former Housing Director of the Ministry of Labour of Israel; and Nikolaus Pevsner, a renowned architectural-art historian.

It is worth noting here that the jury for the competition was made up of Israelis except for Pevsner, a German-born, Russian Jew, converted Lutheran, and immigrant to Britain.

By holding a competition to collect the ideas and perspectives of different generations of local Israeli architects and urban planners, and by scrutinizing the collected ideas from the viewpoint of Israeli architects, urban planners and artists, the planning committee thought that they would be able to identify the practical requirements necessary for Jerusalem to develop in a way that would make it a suitable place for both current and future inhabitants.

It meant an attempt to shift the focus of attention from self-righteous slogans voiced by a group of eminent “foreign” architects and critics to the real, practical and worldly problems that the city and its inhabitants were facing. In other words, they were attempting to rid the state of “a little too much philosophy and a little too little facts” and to get back to a state of less philosophy and “a little more facts” (Pevsner, 1970b).

3. Nathaniel Lichfield and Moshe Safdie

While giving a certain amount of consideration to the statements made by Khan, Johnson, and Zevi, and many other “unacknowledged legislators of the world”, the committee’s stance of never underestimating everyday needs and practical problems that the city of Jerusalem had been facing was clearly reflected in the selection of experts who played significant roles in revising Jerusalem planning.

According to Pevsner, Nathaniel Lichfield (1916-2009) (Figure 5) and Moshe Safdie “contributed more than anyone else to the improved situation” of modernizing historic and spiritual Jerusalem (Pevsner, 1973).

Nathaniel Lichfield, the son of Jewish immigrants from Poland, was a well-known UK town planner and arbitration expert, and at that time Professor of Economics of Environmental Planning at UCL. In addition to his academic career, Lichfield had worked for both local and central governments and participated in various committees in the fields of town planning, transportation, and urban development. Having chaired various committees in the public sector, he was also quite experienced in resolving conflicts of interests and antagonism between reformers and traditionalists.

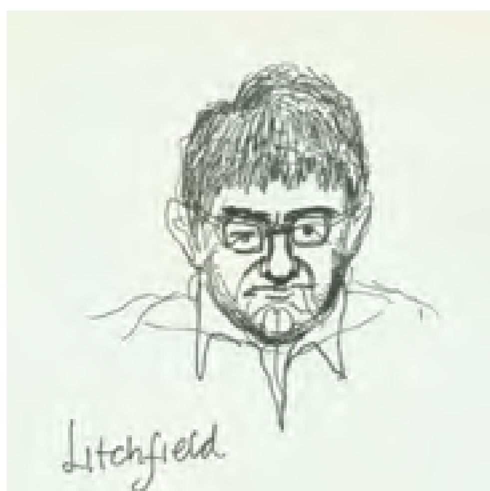


Figure 5. Nathaniel Lichfield, sketched by Lawrence Halprin, when the both attended the 2nd session of the Townplanning Subcommittee of the Jerusalem Committee in 1973 (Source: Lawrence Halprin Collection, The Architectural Archives, University of Pennsylvania.).

Having been appointed the Chief City Planner of Jerusalem, Lichfield prepared a synopsis titled “Planning for the Spirit and Character of Jerusalem” (dated June 7, 1973) for a statement to be given at the Second Plenary Session of the Jerusalem Committee. In advance of the Session, which was held from 18th to 21st June, 1973 (Figure 6), Lichfield sent this synopsis to all the members of the committee. In this synopsis, Lichfield wrote,

> In the planning of Jerusalem two particular aspects are constantly in mind: that it is a town like other towns where people must be able to live, work, have education and recreation in a civilized manner; and secondly that it is a City of a special spirit and character recognized as such throughout the world and throughout history. (Lichfield, 1973, p. 9)

Pevsner had a high opinion of Lichfield’s abilities both as a city planner and as a coordinator of heated debates of the committee, extolling him in a letter addressed to Kollek in 1973 by saying that “you could not have found a better planner than Lichfield” (Pevsner, 1973).

Figure 6. Lawrence Halprin's sketches of the appearances of some of the members who attended the 2nd session of the Townplanning Subcommittee of the Jerusalem Committee in 1973. Clockwise from top-left: Jaap Bakema, Louis Kahn, Isamu Noguchi, Willem Sandberg, Bruno Zevi, and Denys Lasdun. (Source: Lawrence Halprin Collection, The Architectural Archives, University of Pennsylvania.).

Moshe Safdie, then still in his early 30s, was another right person for the modernizing Jerusalem project; for Safdie, through his life-long pursuit of Modernist ideal of urban habitation, was always committed to society and everyday life of the people. Safdie once asserted that "We should not have an idea that the architect has a right to set his own rules about what the objectives were, forgetting that the architecture built by architects also serves the people who live and/or work there" (Safdie and Watanabe, 1985, p. 138.).

While both Structuralism and New Brutalism influenced Safdie in his designs for "community architecture" (Von Eckardt, 1985, p. 81) (known as Safdie's "Habitat" series) (Figures 7-8), there is no doubt that the images of houses clinging to a hillside, the most commonly observed image of townscapes in Israel since the nineteenth century, was also a significant source of inspiration for his design (Figure 9).

Figure 7. Moshe Safdie's model of Habitat Israel in Jerusalem (Source: Safdie Architects / Photo: Arnott Batten Rogers).

Figure 8. Moshe Safdie's Habitat 67 (Source: Safdie Architects).

Figure 9. Traditional Arab housing, photographed in Silwan Village flanking the Kidron valley (Source: Architectural Design, *April 1971, p. 216.).*

Identifying himself as a Zionist, experiencing the *kibbutz* lifestyle, and having grown up on a *kibbutz*, Safdie had a strong emotional attachment to his Jewish background and was keen to adapt his projects/designs to the Jewish way of living. The simultaneous execution of iconic Modernist architecture with the manifestation of vernacular-inspired configurations formed the essence of Safdie's Modernism, which was thoroughly committed to fulfilling everyday needs of the public through a harmonious blending of Modernist design and the vernacular.

4. Pevsner's Tolerance and the Modernization of Memory

Rather than design simply being a means of preserving historical heritage, Pevsner saw in design the capability for 'modernizing' monuments of the past.

For Pevsner, the designer is one who invents and draws objects for use, and the purpose of the objects designed is to fulfill contemporary needs and preferences of society. He also insisted that "no sound art can exist unless it serves the whole of the community" (Pevsner, 1936, p. 248). In short, Pevsner identified the act of design with the idea of service in the daily lives of people.

Thus Pevsner felt that the Euro-America-centric view of Jerusalem, which emphasizes and absolutizes the city's unique Oriental authenticity and its monumentality, would have no meaning in the context of architectural design and urban design unless it was adapted to "facts" and "realities" in Jerusalem, i.e., the present situation of Jerusalem and its actual circumstances.

According to Pevsner, design is an act which should be adapted to different situations and circumstances in a flexible manner and serve the daily needs of people without infringing on their everyday interests. Thus Pevsner's understanding of design was strongly aligned with John Locke's theory of *tolerance*. This is evident in Pevsner's discussion of townplanning and urban development in his well-known BBC Radio Leith Lecture series titled "The Englishness of English Art" (Figure 10), in which he says:

Figure 10. Nikolaus Pevsner delivering his BBC Radio Leith Lecture in 1955 (Source: BBC Photo Library.).

> . . . to us to-day the problem of improvements in towns, including the metropolis, and the laying out (or as we call it: planning) of new towns or new parts of towns matters much, planning in private grounds little. . . The genius of the place, the genius loci, if you put it in[to] modern planning terms, [is] the character of the site, and the character of the site [in a town or city is] not only the geographical but also the historical, social, and especially the aesthetic character.
>
> . . . this kind of consideration is to me something profoundly English: it is to treat each place "on its own merit", just [as] each political situation is taken on its own merit, or each case at the Ministry of Pensions ([or] so we hope). To cast our net [yet] wider "each case on its own merit" is the application of the principle of tolerance, a principle firmly established in England by the unbloody revolution of 1688 and by John Locke. Locke's first Letter of Tolerance came out in 1689. (Pevsner, 2016, p. 309)

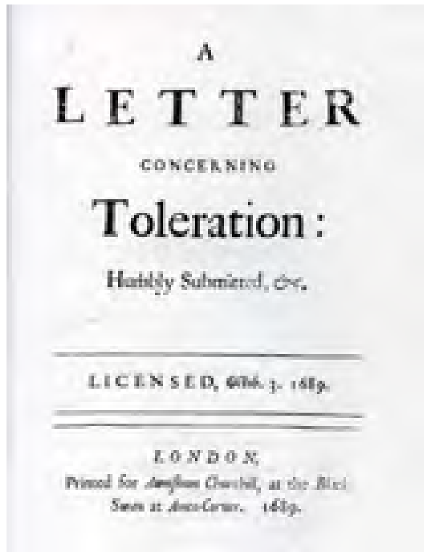
Pevsner, as a modernist and functionalist, could not emphasize enough the importance of adapting contemporary interventions to the actualities of their sites, i.e., the *genius loci* of the plots. Pevsner used the term *genius loci* to refer to an attitude in design of committing oneself to treat each place and site "on its own merit", considering various practical necessities and civil concerns instead of over-emphasizing grandiose concepts and seemingly superior spiritual ideologies.

Moreover, Pevsner was convinced that the needs for practical responses to civil concerns should not be neglected in favour of policies which sought to emphasize the city's religious monumentality or preserve its historical and cultural heritage.

Pevsner saw in Locke's theory of *tolerance* the spiritual basis for an attitude of confronting the reality of each place, the necessity of each moment, and the reality of civil interests, concerns (referred to as "concernments" by Locke), and affairs, judging each of these things and acting accordingly on the merits of each case.

John Locke writes in his famed essay, *A Letter Concerning Toleration* (Figure 11): "The toleration of those that differ from others in matters of religion is so agreeable to the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and to the genuine reason of mankind, that it seems monstrous for men to be so blind as not to perceive the necessity and advantage of it in so clear a light" (Locke, 1948, p. 126). He then continues: ". . . I esteem it above all things necessary to distinguish exactly the business of

civil government from that of religion and to settle the just bounds that lie between the one and the other" (Locke, 1948, p. 126). Also, "Civil government" has, or at least pretends to have "a care of the commonwealth"; and he states that "[t]he commonwealth seems . . . to be a society of men constituted only for the procuring, preserving, and advancing [of] their own civil interests"; and those civil interests he calls "life, liberty, health, and indolency of body; and the procession of outward things, such as money, lands, houses, furniture, and the like" (Locke, 1948, p. 126).



A

LETTER

CONCERNING

Toleration:

Humbly Submitted, &c.

LICENSED, ...

LONDON,

Figure 11. John Locke's A Letter Concerning Toleration, *1st edition in English (1689).*

"It is the duty of the civil magistrate, by the impartial execution of equal laws", Locke writes, "to secure unto all the people in general and to every one of his subjects in particular the just possession of these things belonging to this life" (Locke, 1948, p. 126). Locke also insists that ". . . the whole jurisdiction of the magistrate reaches only to these civil concernments, and that all civil power, right and dominion, is bounded and confined to the only care of promoting these things . . ." (Locke, 1948, p. 127). Locke then goes on to say,

> . . . the safeguard of men's lives and of the things that belong unto this life is the business of the commonwealth; and the preserving of those things unto their owners is the duty of the magistrate. And therefore the magistrate cannot take away these worldly things from this man or party and give them to that; nor change propriety amongst fellow subjects (no not even by a law), for a cause that has no relation to the end of civil government, I mean for their religion, which whether it be true or false does no prejudice to the worldly concerns of their fellow subjects, which are the things that only belong unto the care of the commonwealth. (Locke, 1948, p. 153)

In light of Locke's emphasis on the restriction of the business of civil government to matters of civil interests, "worldly things", and "worldly concerns", it was clearly a mistake, to Pevsner, to over-emphasize the universal values and spirituality of antiquated, mysterious, and symbolic Jerusalem while neglecting civil interests and practical concerns regarding outward things and goods of the people who actually lived in the city.

It was the understanding and practice of the principle of *tolerance* that Pevsner had hoped would be germinated through the debates of the Townplanning Subcommittee in focusing more on realities and facts that Jerusalemites had to deal with on a daily basis. Therefore he wrote the following statement, implicitly criticizing the attitude of "hysteric" Zevi in particular, in the previously-mentioned letter of December 28, 1970 to Teddy Kollek:

> If [Bruno Zevi] hadn't been there, escalating himself into these inflammatory speeches. [sic] Tolerance would have had a better chance. (Pevsner, 1970b)

Grumbling about this, Pevsner confessed his own hope that one can find in Locke's *Toleration* an attitude vital in designing spaces for people's daily lives, and the

key to the modernization of Jerusalem, the memory-filled city with its ancient history, religious significance, and deep spirituality.

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S19

Houses, Drawing Rooms and Attics: Contemporary Spatial Practices and Historicity of Alternative Memory in Colonial Kodava Houses (1834-1947)

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Abstract | The colonial houses of Kodavas, an ethnolinguistic minority community in Kodagu, in the Indian state of Karnataka, are marked by spatial orientations of the emergent individual. The annexation of Kodagu by the British East India company in 1834 was followed by major transformations in the regional administration initiating socio-cultural changes among the Kodavas. The nuclear houses built during this period became sites of colonial modernity reflecting modalities of the colonial economy. The paper discusses the spatialities of multigenerational nuclear houses, economies of artefacts and the contemporary movement of residual objects between the attics and the newly conceived drawing rooms as politico-historical engagements by the Kodavas. Post-independence the merger of Kodagu into the newly created Indian state of Karnataka, in the year 1956, marks a shift in the autonomy experienced by the province since 1600s. The individualised spaces in the colonial houses become sites of alternative mnemonic practices in the absence of recorded/documented history of the region in the national discourse. The residual artefacts in the attics of these multigenerational houses refigure as objects of display in the drawing rooms. The paper argues that these practices become locations of memory and museality that are a critical departure from institutionalised sites of national history. The study draws upon the survey of nineteen multigenerational colonial houses in the northern part of Kodagu towards understanding object orientations and the mnemonic practices of the current inhabitants as performative sites of historic imaginaries.

Keywords: Kodava Ethnolinguistic minority, Spatiality, Material Culture, Mnemonic Practices, Modernity

1. Introduction

The Kodavas are an ethno-linguistic minority community in the present-day Indian state of Karnataka (Dechamma, 2016, p.198). They are indigenous to the Kodagu district located on the slopes of the western ghats. Historically, the region and the community has witnessed socio-cultural transformations with the changing seats of power, territory and systems of governance. Traces of these changes can be located in the social structure, customary practices and regional governing patterns among the Kodavas. The consolidation of control over the indigenous population by the Haleri Kings (17th century-1834) descendants of the Lingayat Ikkeri *Nayakas*, who migrated from Shimoga to Kodagu in the 1600s and the British colonial rule (1834-1947) are the most recent impacting factors in the socio-cultural constitution of the region and the Kodava community. Amidst these dynamic factors the *okka* (clan), 'a large grouping extending upto four generations with all the agnatic descendants living together' in the ancestral homesteads called *ainmane*, emerges as a site marked by regimes of governmentality (Kalam, 1991, p.70). The annexation of Kodagu by the British East India Company in 1834 initiated changes in the social relations that were central to the governing patterns under the exiled *Raja*/King of Kodagu. The reforms introduced by the colonial administration worked in accordance with the market driven, economic needs of the imperial machinery, as seen with the introduction of Coffee cultivation. The emerging location of the individual as an economic subject of governance was conceived through various policy interventions into the traditional administrative system of Kodagu. The land tenure system, which was integral to the administration of the province, under the Raja, functioned with *okka* as the revenue entity. The *okka* under the *Pattedara*, the eldest male member of the clan, worked on swathes of wetland attached to the *ainmane*. The land was granted by the Raja of Kodagu under various tenure-categories in return for services and was taxed accordingly. Based on such a system, the individual was subordinate to the larger clan organisation. The governing system in the region was a relationship between the Raja and the *okka*. This resulted in nuanced modalities of governance in the province divided into 35 regions headed by clans, *ur-takka* and *nad-takka*, village and provincial headmen, appointed to perform administrative and judicial roles (Chinnappa, 2003, p.10).

The study looks into the changing patterns of Kodava social organisation in the light of the breaking of the clan-based community system to the emergence of the nuclear households. The discussion surrounds the spatial ordering of the Kodava identity in individual houses built around the nuclear family away from *ainmane,* the seat of the *okka*. The spatiality and the rich repository of material culture embedded in these houses represents Kodava modernity as conceived in the wake of social and economic transformation under the colonial regime. The orientations of drawing rooms and attics are surveyed, locating economies of space and material culture surrounding the individual colonial subject. The contemporary display and assemblage of objects within these houses are marked by calls of identity and need for historical legibility that dominates the Kodava cultural public. The paper locates these practices of display as an alternative curatorial-temporal intervention into acts of remembering. The study calls for a critical look at the intersections of design history, material culture, memory and identity through embodied curatorial practices around the spaces and objects in these houses. Nineteen multigenerational nuclear houses, built after 1834, in the northern part of Kodagu were observed by locating spatial structuring, domestic orientations, material residues in the attics and display practices in the drawing rooms as indicative of agential self-representation through performative history. Interviews with the current dwellers of these houses were conducted to understand the connection between individual practices in these houses and the larger call among Kodavas for self-representation and collective voicing of historic-cultural consciousness. The spatial ordering of the nuclear houses and contemporary display practices are located as continuities of modernity conceived in the wake of colonisation and the colonial administrative nexus that produced a modern Kodava subject. The conditions of coloniality as a lasting result of modalities of colonial governmentality is of critical interest to understand modernity as conceived among the Kodavas. Modernity in this instance is better understood as a 'social rationality' resulting and determined by the social power relations as its epistemic base (Aloysius, 2009, p.51).

2. Colonial Land Tenure and Social Restructuring

Under colonial administration, restraint imposed on individual land holding by the *Raja* was relaxed to accommodate commercial interests resulting in changes in the orientations of resources with the creation of formalized and objectivised expression, intellectual or visual (Quijano, 2007, p.169). It can be argued that the Kodava individual emerging in the wake of such a social transformation resulted from the 'objectivising' discourses within the colonial institution of economy, education and the nuclear family associated with the emergence of the social relations of the capital (Quijano, 2007, p.173). The land issued, by the King of Kodagu, under *Jamma* tenure was conferred upon the *okka*, assessed at a lower rate, held jointly by the male coparceners and was inalienable. The property transferred from one generation to the other and was headed by the *Korokara (Pattedara)*, the eldest male member. Vijaya (1991) notes that *Kikkara*, members of the *okka*, worked on the attached land under the management of the *Korokara* who controlled the affairs of the family for the benefit of all (p.74-75). The lower assessment of the *Jamma* tenure entailed military and manual services that *Jamma* ryots (farmers) rendered to the King. It was noted that the *okka* seldom benefited from the lower assessment rates on the *Jamma* land when added with other taxes and cattle upkeep amounting to 80 percent of the total return and the remaining 20 percent of the profit being shared with the joint-family living under the same roof (Rice, 1878, p.366). With the annexation of Kodagu by the British East India Company in 1834 the question of the status of *Jamma* land and allied services came under scrutiny. The British continued to grant *Jamma* land as private property to individual Kodavas, Kodava-Mappila, Kodagu-Gowdas and other communities in Kodagu until 1895, a departure from the erstwhile system of the Kings, coinciding with the introduction of coffee cultivation in 1854 and the expanding colonial economic network (Kalam, 2016; Vijaya, 1995). The roots of private ownership of land lies in the provisions made for the alienation of the *Bane*, land attached to *Jamma* wetland, varying upto 300 acres, serving the domestic and agricultural needs of the family. Kalam (2016) notes that allowances were made for coffee cultivation on *Bane* land, under 10 acres, with the exemption of levied excise and taxes but remained attached to the Jamma land (p.95). The *Bane* land cultivated above 10 acres was registered as 'alienated *Bane*' under the individual and was assessed at Rs 10 for 100 *batti* (approximately 3 acres). The provision made to expand coffee cultivation through alienation of *Bane* land and the granting of *Jagirs*, taxless land, to individuals as opposed to *okkas*, in return for services to the colonial administration led to the breaking of the clan system into various nuclear households (Kalam, 2016, p.95). The land under *Jamma* tenure did not decrease due to alienation but increased as privately owned *Jamma* land was granted to individuals of economic and administrative standing until 1895. On the other hand, complete alienation of the jointly held *Jamma* land was restricted after 1859, allowing only 'maintenance division' where each clan segment of the *okka* could claim a share and cultivate it independently, but was held under the *Pattedara*, the clan elder (Kalam, 1991; Vijaya, 1991). The separation between okka property and private property creates a divergent spatial ordering and the conception of modernity. The corporate system of the *okka* - the inalienable *Jamma* land held jointly by the clan, in contrast to the nuclear household and the individual property, made possible by the modalities of colonial economic enterprise, epitomises the emerging Kodava individual.

3. *Ainmane* and the Spatial Order

Ainmanes, the traditional homesteads of the Kodavas, are located on a higher ground overlooking swathes of wetland attached to it and is approached through an *oni*, a narrow path paved with stones. The proximity to agricultural land, fruit groves, vegetable gardens, cattle shed and forests was the distinctive marker of the *ainmane*. The structuring of private and public space within the *ainmane* signifies the social function, community system of living and labour in the *okka*. The *kayyal*e, an open veranda, is part of the eastern facade where visitors are received (see fig 1). Long wooden slabs, *aimara*, are laid into the walls around the veranda to provide seating facilities (Somaya and Mascarenhas, 2005, p.61). They functioned

as a discussion space dominated by men with limited access to women. The right to sit on the *aimara* was restricted to the male members and daughters born into the *okka*. The *nellaki nadu baade,* the central hall, forms the locus of the activity in the house with the hanging lamp lit regularly to invoke the ancestors. The lamp in the *baade*, *Kannikombare*, a dedicated room in the south-western corner and the kitchen in the north-eastern corner of the houses are considered sacred ancestral ritual spaces. The living compartments branch out from the *baade* into rooms with small windows. The *ainmane*, bound by common ancestry functioned as a socio-sacred space centered around practices of ancestral worship, forming the 'governing principle of a highly organised and hierarchical traditional society' (Somaya and Mascarenhas, 2005, p.87). The *okka* functioned as a joint-family, with members numbering 50 to 150 living under the same roof, spatially mediating personal sphere and familial relationships (Rice, 1878; Kalam, 2016; Vijaya, 1991). Living compartments in the house were dedicated to 'married couples and unmarried women' while 'boys and young men' slept in the hall (Richter, 1870, p.129). Members of the *okka* worked as a unit in the attached field under the supervision of *Korokara* and *Korokarti*, the eldest male and female members of the family. The economy of labour around the *ainmane* included the praedial slaves attached to the *Jamma* land working alongside the members of the *okka*. The communal nature of labour also included *muy aal,* an understanding of mutual assistance among neighbouring *okkas* sharing praedial slaves or members of the family to work during agricultural season. The kitchen was a common functional space for the entire joint-family. Separate kitchens did not exist until the introduction of private ownership of land and maintenance division, where each family unit cultivated its share of land, owning its produce and profits while living in the *ainmane*.Furniture within the house was limited to benches, tables and beds of basic design (Somaya and Mascarenhas, 2005, p.71). Communal nature of living can be seen distinctively in the absence of private possession of objects. The domestic objects in the *ainmane* were owned jointly by the *okka* and used collectively. In many cases private ownership was restricted to personal possessions such as jewellery and clothing brought when a woman married into the family.The culture of storage and material orientation in these houses surrounded rice cultivation,economy of shared labour and agrarian functionality. Ritcher (1870) observes, 'matchlocks and rifles, the wooden bells and trappings for packbullocks, and other domestic utensils' were hung from the ceiling and 'the space under the roof, which is reached by ladder, serves for storing bags, baskets, paddy, pots, onions, salt, etc." (p.129). Paddy was stored in thuliya, 'wicker cylinder plastered with cow dung' in the attic, along with vegetables 'wrapped in thick banana leaves' hung from the ceiling (Somaya and Mascarenhas, 2005, p.81). Situated away from these spatial ordering and economic contexts of the *okka*, the Kodava individual emerging into consumer culture and colonial market state was deemed a novel autonomy. Kodava individual unable to work within the colonial matrix of private land ownership and commercial crop cultivation was treated as an 'indolent' who would 'sink into misery' as against the 'industrious and thrifty' who would prosper into 'personal freedom and domestic felicity' for posterity (Ritcher, 1870, p.130).

Figure 1: Eastern Facade of the ainmane, Kayyale long open verandas in the ainmane (Source: Kodagu: Chinnappa B. G.)

4. Novel Spatial Orientations: Individual and Domesticity

The nuclear household was located around privately owned land under rice and coffee cultivation, colonial education and employment. 'Job opportunities and vocation' away from the ancestral home resulted in 'upward economic mobility' with access to colonial market state and education (Kalam, 2016, p.97). Sustained income via privately owned coffee groves and employment in the colonial administration restructured Kodava domesticity. The burgeoning of trade with increased road connectivity with neighbouring regions facilitated commodity circulation and the emergence of consumer culture in nuclear households. Away from the economic dependency of the *ainmane*, the nuclear family assumed economic independence yet holding its ties to the *okka* as an identity marker (Kalam, 1991, p.74). The aspirational trajectories within these households surrounded income generation, better living standards and tasteful domesticity for the nuclear family (see fig. 2). These households became markers of modernity with ideas of family and gender relationships restructured to suit colonial standards.

Figure 2: Materials in the nuclear household reorienting the domesticity around the needs of the individual (Kodagu: Chinnappa B. G.)

The spatial structure of the nuclear houses departed from the traditional *ainmane*. The segregation of private and public spheres underwent changes with *kayyale*, an open veranda, being subsumed into the house but still remaining an area where the visitor was received. The distinctive socio-sacred space of the *nellakki nadu baade* takes on a newer role as the drawing room with the characteristic hanging lamp becoming one among the many objects and furnishings. The furnitures, mirror dressers and other elaborate designs are introduced into the living compartments, a marker of colonial influence, resulting in reimagined domesticity and living standards (Somaya and Mascarenhas, 2005, p.71). The *ainmane* remains the sacred-ritual seat of the ancestors and this can be noted in the absence of separate commemorative, ancestral propitiation space in the nuclear houses such as the *Kannikombare* and *Kaimad*.It is to be noted that *Karana Kodupa*, an annual offering to the ancestors, is still observed as an *okka* in the *ainmane* and not in the

nuclear houses. However, by the early 20th century graves dedicated to individuals became common with funeral rites observed in the privately owned land, away from the burial and cremation ground of the *ainmane*. The commemoration of the individual and yet propitiating the common entity of the ancestor signifies the precarity of secular-colonial modernity as occupied by the individual and reflected spatially in the nuclear houses.

The erstwhile joint-family bound by kinship becomes an abstract lineage network enforced by the observation of common ancestry. The clan-based ties with the *okka* is retained, as an identity marker, taking its place alongside the domestic identity of the nuclear household. This can be observed in changing naming practices with clan identification reduced to an initial and made secondary to the father's name (Dechamma, 2016, p.204). The inscribed paternal identity in documented names of the Kodava individual was in alliance with the colonial administration's recognition of male patrimonial inheritance, doing away with customary land rights of Kodava women backed by the social system of the *okka* (Poonacha, 1995). Women in the nuclear household were reconstituted as mistresses overlooking domesticity, a stark departure from the *ainmane* system where women worked actively alongside men in the fields. Private living spaces became a standard practice in these houses to accommodate the ideal unity of the nuclear family. The kitchen, attic, storage systems and agrarian work yards of the nuclear house figured dominantly around commercial trading of coffee, paddy and individual consumption practices of the family. Amidst these social matrices, the constitution of the individual should be looked at as being enabled by the 'collective work of an army of actors' such as spatial orientation and material culture in the nuclear house rather than mere human envisioning (Olsen, 2019, p.235-236).

5. Object Orientation and Alternative Curatorial Practices

Materials and objects of domestic usage accumulated in these multigenerational nuclear houses across the 19th and 20th century, as residues of individualised consumerism and changing domesticity (see fig. 3). These objects circulated in a counter network of borrowing cooking utensils, agrarian implements, up until the latter part of the 20th century, for larger social occasions such as weddings, naming ceremonies and funeral rites. These practices continued as long as the social occasions were observed with the house as the socio-ritual sites. By the late 1990's community halls, spatially structured to replicate ritual spaces of the house, became popular to host social ceremonies. The infrastructure of the halls provides an alternative to borrowed utensils totalizing the residual nature of objects in the houses. Stored away in the attics, these objects signify material discursivities of tangible practices and histories associated with the community on account of radical social transformation. The contemporary spatial engagements with these objects in the multigenerational nuclear houses forms part of the Kodava ethnolinguistic engagement with history and attempted historic legibility. Away from imposed deterministic physicalism of objectification and reification, these objects persist as 'sticky heritage of materials' among societies where the past weighs heavily (Olsen, 2013, p.175-185). The contemporary display and spatial economy in these multigenerational nuclear houses figure around the movement of residual objects between the attic and the drawing room. The drawing rooms and the attics become distinctive, individualized spatial departures from the *ainmane* and sites of temporal continuities of material excess. The contemporaneous functionality of the drawing rooms, with residual objects from the attics reconfigured as display materials, poses questions of intent and orientation. These practices stand in contrast to curated private collections of enthusiasts of artefacts and state repositories in museums. The affordance of these objects reflects contemporaneous public discourse in the community around ideas of preserving communitarian identity and history. These practices of display should be located as 'making history through things' and 'their capacity to mediate human relationships among individuals and social groups across time and space' (Gaskell, 2019, p.218).

Figure 3: Utensils of domestic use stored away in the attics as material excess (Source: Kodagu: Chinnappa B G)

The objects displayed in the drawing rooms formed a distinctive part of domesticity of the emergent individual during the colonial period. Brass objects such as plates and cups, chamber pots, measuring jars, copper cookware, wooden chests, cane baskets, tin trunks, porcelain dishes etc. as old as 150-years forms part of the display along with contemporary curios. The absence of the archival or museal intent in the display of objects becomes a characteristic marker of these practices. If a formal typology of display were to be sought, aesthetic appeal rather than historic periodisation predominates these practices. However, an unconscious acknowledgement of the past embedded in these objects is observed in their purposeful reorientation. Analysis of object varieties in the houses can reveal transformations in design, material usage and introduction of new domestic practices in the house. However, detailed object histories and biographies are beyond the scope of this paper. Dexterous narratives of evolving domesticities and individuals can be enabled by locating these objects within larger socio-economic transformations linking the house with diverse artisanal communities. Interviews with the current inhabitants of the houses reflected a sense of display, oriented away from the exegesis of temporal, technological and object histories. The displayed objects functioned as visual assemblages, alongside collections from the present inhabitants, as memories of the domestic past rather than utility (see fig. 4). The idea of memory runs through the display informally linking the house to its historicity framing objects from the past as a subliminal material narrative. The trope of memory was observed at work when questions directed towards the age of the objects received no concrete specifications, however respondents linked it to the previous inhabitants of the house. However, an overt sense of memory or history was rarely the curatorial premise of display, rather an informal decorative intent foregrounded these practices. These objects formed part of the lived experiences of the inhabitants, occupying prime locations on display counters, drawing rooms and dining halls. The tangible, interactive spheres within the lived quarters, with limited access, orient these objects as personal engagement with the larger pulse of self-representation in the community. Utility values, rooted in the design of the objects, were undermined in the case of chamber pots and spittoons being repurposed as a vase or planters. In some cases the objects intermingled with concrete practices commemorating family histories by the descendants. Photographs, certificates granting titles, as far back as four generations, were found among the displayed objects. The memory of mobility enabled by the nuclear family in the 19th and the 20th century was reflected in the domestic possession of individuals, now enshrined as display objects. Here family histories emerge as the distinctive

location of mnemonic practices within the diverse modes of display employed by individuals living in the houses.

The residual objects displayed in the private spheres of these houses resists modalities of fetishism instituted around ocular institutions of gallery and museums. These objects act as 'chronological hybrids' through the 'durable quality of things' (Olsen, 2013, p.182) enmeshed with 'materially grounded affordances' culturally specific to the present (Gaskell, 2019, p.223). The practices in these domestic spaces become locations of embodied, agential mnemonic instances of family history as personal envisioning linked with the communitarian narratives of colonial modernity, economic mobility and post-independence identity assertion. Performative practices of history enmeshed within the affective spheres of display and drawing rooms destabilise 'the authenticity of written/documented' statist histories and the grand temporalities (Dechamma, 2014, p.10). Such performative dimensions of memory become critical attempts by the Kodava ethnolinguistic minority to locate a sense of historic time against the sweeping homogeneities of statist narratives. The diversity of display practices historicised within spatial dimensions of the individual houses becomes a distinctive site engaging with Kodava history. These practices function as alternative curatorial practices away from documented written histories mediating the interactive frame of the objects.

Figure 4: Objects of domestic use displayed as assemblage in the nuclear houses (Source: Kodagu: Chinnappa B. G.)

6. Conclusion

Museums represent institutional modalities of curated remembrance sustaining narrative of nationalist imaginaries. They function as 'ritual forms of the nation state', enshrining a reified sense of the past through fine arts and sculptures consciously periodised to locate a continuity of national consciousness (Thakurta, 1998, p.90). Alternative locations such as oral histories, memories, cultural geographies and folk cosmologies pose critical challenges to the overarching narrative of time and logical continuity that locates the nation in these institutional spaces. With a rich history embedded in the interaction of the hills and the littoral, the Kodava community has evolved its distinctive identity with changing administrative systems in the past 400 years. Diverse colonial administrative modalities resulted in the emergence of the nuclear household and novel spatial orientations. These spaces, as products of use, reflect techniques by which the individual is produced through mechanisms of labour and consumption (Lefebvre, 1991). Modernity as conceived by the Kodava individual with colonial

education and employment is reflected in the spatial reordering of the family and interpersonal relationships. The continued efficacies of the individual in these houses reflect modalities of modernity historically contributing to the creation of Kodava cultural public. The homogenised Kodava identity can be traced back to the need to be represented as a community to the colonial administration (Thambanda, 2012). The concretised identity of a Kodava individual post-independence, with common cultural experience, is reinforced in public discussions around preservation of identity. Episodes from local histories are located in this context as a common experience of the community reconfigured for discursive purposes of self-representation. In this context the contemporary domesticities of nuclear houses function as 'heterotopias' locating alternative memories resisting homogenizing histories. These projections of tangible cultural temporalities stand as riddles and resist dominant history. This study is an attempt at understanding alternative mnemonic practices and the dialogues between marginal historical locations and the instituted modes of remembrance.

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Whose memory is it anyway? Indefinite Faces of Modernism: Notes on Industrial Forms/ Design in Interwar and Socialist Romania

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Abstract | This paper addresses the notion of design history and historiography in the context of Romanian design – filling in the blind spots in the past memory of modernist socialism and revealing a local narrative. We shall attempt to trace connections and intersections between the Western notion of modernism and the development of Romanian design in the inter-bellum and the socialist periods in relation to the European and international context. We suggest that a double layer of complexity of design-related manifestations filtered through the lens of modernism can be looked at in Romania. On one hand, the local manifestation of the echoes of modernism in the inter-bellum period (artistic avant-garde and modernist architecture expressions) and the effort to industrialise the country, in an attempt to move beyond the agrarian economy, gave rise to singular attempts at original Romanian design or experiments with everyday objects (i.e. Malaxa car by the architect Stan Bortnowski). On the other hand, in postwar Romania, under the new communist regime, the emergence and development of design (Industrial Forms) higher education (1969/Bucharest, 1971/Cluj) and of professional designers shall be inscribed within the vision of the socialist state – design was perceived as one equivalent of industrial modernisation in socialist Romania – in the context of international concerns with modern design education; the syllabus was inspired by the Bauhaus pedagogical model. To conclude, the notion of industrialization seemed to be a feature borrowed from the "objective" memory of modern design making.

Keywords: design history, modern design, Romanian design, historiography, blind spots in the memory of design

1. Introductory notes

This research investigates the connections and intersections between the notion of modernism and the development of Romanian design in the interwar and the socialist periods in relation to the European and international context. It also rehabilitates the history of Romanian design, born under the communist regime, suggesting the manner in which a history seen as *minor* and *peripheral* is historically and theoretically an integral part of the so-called *major*, hierarchized, and non-inclusive Western canonical history of modern industrial design.

Concepts such as modernization, modernity and modernism, all linked to the Modern Movement via conceptual, historical and stylistic references, help us to understand cultural evolutions in different regions, in a variety of sociopolitical and economic systems subjected, not least, to the linguistic (post)colonialism of the English language (with *design*, a word with Latin roots, being in use as early as the sixteenth century). Modernity, which overturned the old order, set for itself the goal to always go forward, facing the future, while the notion of modern design, associated with social reform, upheld the importance of providing everyone (utopian) access to the objects that facilitate everyday life, industrialization, progress, and innovation.

Historically, the Romanian design scene was characterized by intersections with elements of modernist philosophy—often visible in the artistic avant-garde and architecture manifestations. These experimental intersections could be interpreted as the expression of a modernism that was not programmatically embraced but sporadically touched on in both theory and practice.

Aiming to erase the past, socialist ideology took upon itself to transform the person, the natural recipient of design products, into a socialist citizen, with a socialist personality, turning this into a project in itself—in fact, a sociopolitical experiment.

The complexity of the notion of modernity is revealed in its Western—first Eurocentric, later Americentric—understanding and univocal definition, which does not lack some built-in omissions and possible contradictions (Fry 1995, 204-218; Calvera 2005, 371-383). Design seen through the ideological lens of cultural education in Eastern Europe—as part of a larger cultural context, with an emphasis on the role of design in the everyday life of societies transitioning to communism—is currently a topic very much researched, as well as a reason for revisiting the hierarchy of modern design, with modernism itself being under the researchers’ scrutiny as a West-European theoretical construct.

Consequently, any endeavor to parse out the intersections of Romanian socialist design and modernism is also an important historiographical contribution in line with the recent interest in reclaiming and integrating socialist design within the broader context and the studies of socialism and modern design (Crowley and Pavitt, 2008; Reid and Crowley 2000).

2. The Modern Movement and the canon of the history of modern design

The most persistent model of the history of modern design, written in 1936 and very influential up to the 1970s, albeit presenting the usual questionable approaches, comes from Britain and belongs to Nikolaus Pevsner, one of the first scholars to tackle this topic and to associate design with industrialization and the Modern Movement. Western European design is generally seen as part of the paradigm of modernity.

Pevsner was among the first art historians to attempt to build a theory of design, following a historical and conceptual tradition leading from William Morris to Walter Gropius, the founder of the first modern design school, the Bauhaus (1919-1933). In Pevsner’s account, factors as varied as mass industrialization,

crafts, mechanization, standardization, and innovation are presented as equal in terms of importance (Pevsner, 1960, 19-39).

Interestingly, the first edition of his seminal work was published by Faber and Faber in 1936 as *Pioneers of the Modern Movement: From William Morris to Walter Gropius*, whereas the second edition, published in 1949 by the Museum of Modern Art in New York, was titled Pioneers of Modern Design: From William Morris to Walter Gropius. This is illustrative of how the authority of a canonical model of modern design featuring American architecture and design at its center was established and then maintained.

His theory of aspects of design (definition, practice, practitioners, factors that influenced it) nonetheless became a canonical history, although its author might not have intended it to become one. In short, Pevsner included the attributes of modernity in the first recorded history of how design took shape as a discipline in its own right.

On revisiting Pevsner's history of design, one finds that the countries of Northern and Eastern Europe are altogether missing from his account, along with other voices and socioeconomic forces that helped create and shape early design. Behind his assumption that the history of design had begun in Western Europe stood geographical and politico-economic rationale (Margolin, 2005, 235-243).

3. Modernist (design) intersections in interwar Romania

Efforts to industrialize Romania had older roots. Theoretical and public debates (1900-1944) centered on the relationship between the arts, social reform, national statehood, industrialization, and modernity.

The spirit of modernity in interwar Romania is found in both the artistic avant-garde and engineering and inventics. Around the same time, a local interest in the Bauhaus School, the pioneering institution that taught and trained architects and modern designers, emerged as Romanian students started applying to study there. For example, an alternative education system was created for what would be later called design, namely the private Academy of Decorative Arts (1924-1929), led by Andrei Vespremie and later, in 1927, by the painter Max Herman Maxy (a significant promoter of the “integralist” movement), which aimed to be in synchrony with the European framework as a sign of modernity (Cărăbaș, 2010, 101-140; Chiriac, 2018, 96-107). It was related to the Bauhaus model of education and it represented a significant moment for Romania's integration into the European avant-garde (Popescu, 2011, 62-63).

Maxy was interested in the applied arts and constructed a series of home interior design objects—furniture, small household items (teapots, flower vases, ashtrays etc.), carpets, etc. (Mircea, 2013, 42-47). He experimented with different materials for useful everyday items—as in the Bauhaus workshops—combining geometrical forms related to modernist Art Deco aesthetics.

Fig.1 Max Herman Maxy, kettles, silvered brass, 1920s. Mimi Şaraga Maxy Collection, Brăila Museum. (Source: [Union of Romanian Architects], Arhitectura 2(644)/2013: 42-47). Photo by arch. Crăița Frunză.

The engine of modernism in Romania and the initiator of an important exhibition in 1924, "Contimporanul", Marcel Janco was an architect who promoted different types of modernist furniture and theories of international modernism in the avant-garde *Contimporanul* magazine. The Romanian exhibition took place the same year as the Deutscher Werkbund's *Form ohne Ornament* in Stuttgart, which rejected the historical ornament promoting modern architecture and design instead.

One notable exception and a myth at the same time is the first Romanian car—"affordable for a large number of citizens" (Bortnowski, 1947, 41-43)—manufactured in 1946 in Reșița, at the factory owned by the tycoon (engineer) Nicolae Malaxa, "the popular automobile (…) that can fit five people, two big suitcases, two small suitcases, transporting them at a speed of 105 km/hour." The body of the car was designed by the architect Stan Bortwoski, and the prototype was constructed by Romanian engineers and technicians under the supervision of engineer Petru Carp. Sporting a modern, aerodynamic shape and an elegant line, probably inspired by soft shell design, the automobile used many innovations as it was meant for rational, serial production, which, however, never materialized—the reinforced body made of steel pipes welded together, the engine placed at the rear along with the differential and the gearbox, the engine cooling system on the ceiling.

Fig. 2: Arch. Stan Bortnowski, The Malaxa automobile, initial perspective drawing (cca 1944), functional car (1946). (Source: Ştefan Bortnowski's archive). Photo by arch. Octavian Carabela

This attempt to offer the first affordable automobile produced by the Romanian industry, at the same time a useful object and a symbol of industrial progress (a luxury item at the beginning of the twentieth century), evokes both Henry Ford's economic policy and an ideology akin to that of the National Socialist policies focused on manufacturing "the first people's automobiles" (Volkswagen in Hitler's

Germany, Trabant in the DDR, Lada in the USSR, and Lăstun in the Socialist Republic of Romania).

4. On the notion of industrial aesthetics/design

One of the main characteristics of the postwar period, which was marked by the nationalization of private property, was the focus on heavy industry as part of the socialist state's five-year plans, as well as the production of consumer goods and household items. Some of these items were original creations, while others were copies or alterations of foreign items or items produced under product licenses.

There were at least two directions for action that worked as catalysts for the emergence of design higher education in 1970s Romania: the state officials and the education professionals, to which overlapping interests and possible connections in the right places were added, as the creation of a design department in a centralized state required the "blessing" of the political. Also, parallel to arguing in favor of the emergence of the discipline of design in Romania, debates, discussions, and round tables were organized around the definition of design, which had been for a while referred to as *industrial aesthetics* mirroring the French understanding but above all the Soviet one (Azrikan, 1999, 45-77).

Romanian design specialists looked at the design-related activity in the West, the Bauhaus, and even closer at what was happening in the DDR. The interest in the Bauhaus is visible in the theoretical studies on Tomas Maldonado at the Ulm School of Design and the postwar heirs of the Bauhaus in the West (Mașek, 1974, 2-3).

During the *Design-cultură-civilizaţie, definire, strategie, impact social* colloquium dedicated to design and organized in 1979 by *Arta* magazine together with the Institute of Fine Arts in Bucharest, two camps stood out: the theoreticians—art historians, sociologists, etc.—and the practitioners, with diverging approaches to the definition of design and the designer. The former used definitions and arguments borrowed from Western literature and peppered with the socialist ideology of the New Man, while the latter were more pragmatic, drawing on their teaching practice and actual work experience in the industry.

Theoretically, and ideally, design was a field of culture that helped create the New Man in everyday life and improve the quality of life, as well as a must for every economy based on industrialization and productivity: "design is a social and cultural good" inextricably tied to quality (Calboreanu and Echeriu, 1974, 25-39); "[d]esign is indispensable to any and all processes of modernization of production" (Mașek, 1988); "an inexorable necessity for societies that built themselves an industry" (Petrescu, 1971, 37).

On the other hand, specialists like Ion Bitzan, the head of the Department of Design in Bucharest (1977-1990), defined their profession, in between the lines, as an ideology-free field, owing more to functionality, economics and aesthetics, where the concrete stages of planning, distribution and marketing reflect the complexity of conception in the design process. Design solves problems, involves responsibility, and, as a profession, it must be visionary and enduring (Bitzan, 1979, 29).

5. Industrial forms/design higher education in Bucharest (1969) and Cluj-Napoca (1971): Bauhaus-related syllabus

The emergence of the Romanian school of design and the use of an appropriate terminology are connected with the "openness" that the Communist Party allowed itself over the period of one decade (1964-1974). This was in conjunction with the legitimization of the profession of designer in socialist Romania to which

contributed the efforts of architects educated in the modernist spirit, specialists in the field of art, and representatives of officialdom (who promoted the notion of design in direct relation to socialist industrialization) convinced of the need for design in industry and to improve quality of life.

There were endless debates regarding the most appropriate framework of integrating a design school: Fine Arts, Architecture, or The Polytechnical School. The Bucharest Department of Design was the result of sustained efforts by a group of dedicated practitioners, architects and artists, especially painters, who laid the groundwork and trained alongside their students: architect Paul Bortnowski (1922-2007), who taught in the Stage Design program at the National Arts University, while being officially employed by the National Theater in Bucharest, and the first head of the newly established Department of Design, 1969-1974?; painters Ion Bitzan (1924-1997), a remarkable, dedicated professor, head of the Department from 1977 to 1990, and later dean of the Faculty of Decorative Arts and Design from 1990 to 1997, and Vladimir Şetran (b. 1935); graphic artist I. Hainoroc Constantinescu (1929-2011). Among them, Ion Bitzan stands out as an exceptional figure; he was recently rehabilitated as a representative of the neo-avant-garde, conceptualism, and international minimalism. An eminent professor, he made an essential contribution to design higher education, teaching and supervising workshop and diploma projects and thus leaving his mark on many generations of graduates.

The creation of the Department of Industrial Forms at the Faculty of Decorative Arts of the Ion Andreescu Institute of Fine Arts in Cluj-Napoca in the early 1970s is connected to Virgil Salvanu's (1924-2017), the first head of the Department and a functionalist architect, passion for design. He ran the workshops, taught Descriptive Geometry and Perspective, Design and Furniture History; he gathered around him a group of professors from the other specialties at the Institute of Fine Arts and the University in Cluj-Napoca.

Similarly designed in Bucharest and Cluj-Napoca, the original four-year program was modeled after the Bauhaus curriculum (Alămoreanu, personal interview, 2012). It included courses such as Study of Color, Drawing, Introduction to Design, Design-Visual Communications, Design-Product-Ambiance, Design-Working with Materials (practical), Three-dimensional Structures, Ergonomics, Psychology of Form, Modeling and Model-Making, Materials and Industrial Processes, Aesthetics, Marketing, Art and Design History (special course), etc. Later, they added one year of specialization not unlike an MA program. The new program placed the study of form, color and drawing at the center of the curriculum, considering them the basis of any serious art education.

In 1971, Virgil Salvanu received a UNESCO scholarship to study industrial design in the U.S.—this was partly a sign of goodwill from the West prompted by Ceaușescu's refusal to join the 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia—with a focus on the structure and methodology of design education in the U.S. He visited 22 specialized institutions (among them the New Bauhaus School of Chicago) and brought back with him the literature used to design the curriculum based on which the Ministry of Education accredited the Department of Industrial Forms (Mihnea-Dulfu, 2014, Annex 2). However, the Bucharest design school, founded and ran by Paul Bortnowski, had been operating since 1969, also using resources brought from the U.S. (among them the papers presented at the ICSID/ International Council of Societies of Industrial Design conference in 1964) and UK.

Fig. 3 Cristian Gustescu, Nude study ensemble, third year, 1977/1978. Industrial Forms/ Design Section of the Nicolae Grigorescu Institute of Fine Arts, Bucharest. (Source: National Universitu of Arts, Bucharest, Archive).

To what extent the structure of design education in Bucharest adhered to the Bauhaus philosophy, we learn from Proffesor Bitzan's presentation at the 1979 Design-cultură-civilizaţie, definire, strategie, impact social colloquium in Bucharest. The content of the curriculum was to focus on three interdependent and correlated components: the artistic component, meaning working with specific elements to design the form of the product; the practical component, aimed at familiarizing the student with different materials and technologies; and the theoretical component, focused on the understanding of problems and the use of abstract notions to find the best solutions in the problem-solving process (Bitzan, 1979, 32).

Fig. 4 Constantin Grigoruţă. Design study for the Computer Peripheral Equipment State Factory in Bucharest (IEPER) coord. by Ion Bitzan, Industrial Forms/ Design Section of the Nicolae Grigorescu Institute of Fine Arts, 1975. (Source: National Universitu of Arts, Bucharest, Archive).

The news of the four-year program, the three specializations and the first Romanian design school projects of the Bucharest school reached Eastern Europe through the East-German magazine *form+zweck* (*Fachzeitschrift für Industrielle Formgetsaltung*) (*Form and function*, journal of industrial design) founded by the Institute of Industrial Design in East Berlin and published regularly from 1964 to 1989. The 1976 issue of the magazine included a presentation by Paul Constantin, professor and architect, of Bucharest's Department of Industrial Forms and school projects (Constantin, 1976, 46-47).

The professors' teaching activity included translating excerpts and discussing design concepts, methods and ethics and responsibility issues raised by niche Western theoreticians and practitioners—Victor Papanek (currently considered an activist designer, one of the most influential pioneers of ecological and social design). They would also use Romanian translations of the latest works in modern design theory at that time as teaching materials—e.g., Christopher Jones, *Design. Metode şi aplicaţii* [*Design Methods. Seeds of Human Futures*] (Editura Tehnică, Bucharest, 1975).

The professors made efforts to keep up with Western developments in the field of design and to ensure that the designers were well integrated in production, given the limitations imposed by the socialist ideological context. The utility and quality (with access to up-to-date information to the extent possible) of design education in Bucharest are perceived differently depending on where the designer has practiced.

Alexandru Manu, who left Romania in 1978, right after graduating, believes that it was precisely the lack of information and a real connection to the market, the producer and the end users, as well as his lack of internalization of the social role of design that made him a competitive and successful designer in the West (Manu, personal correspondence, 2012). Decebal Scriba, also in the first class to graduate (1973), believes however that the professors were connected to the international design scene and successfully conveyed some of the spirit of modernism to their students:

> If we agree that both the Bauhaus experiments and the American design school, in the spirit of which we were trained for the most part, integrated the idea/concept of modernism, then we can safely say that we were—at least the first cohorts graduating from the Department of Design—shaped, among others, by modernism.
> (Scriba, personal correspondence, 2012)

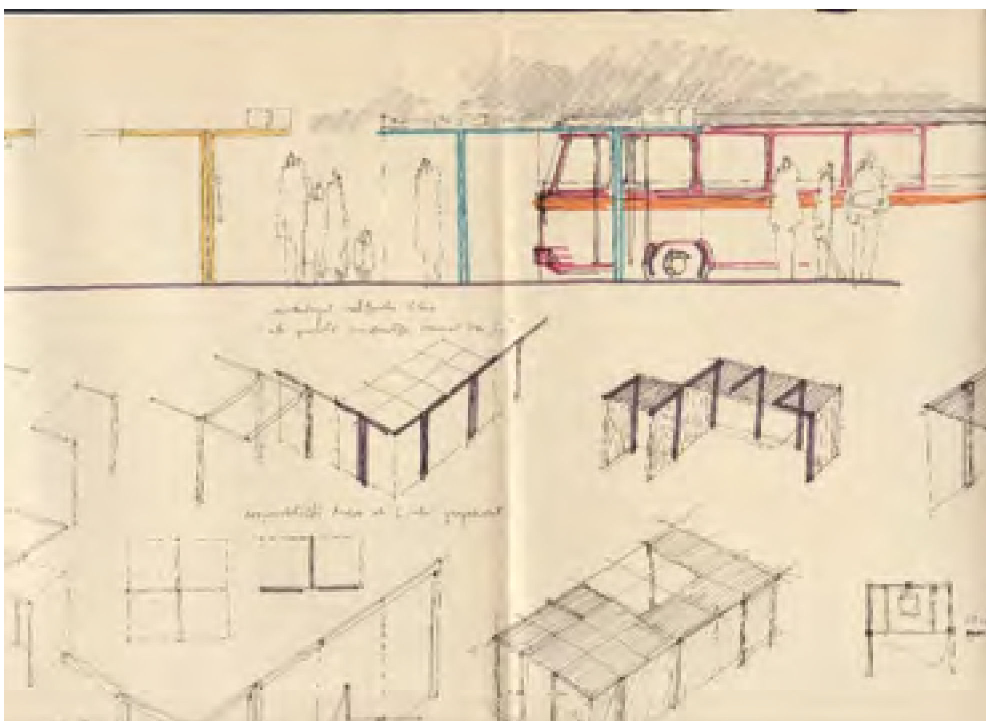

Fig. 5 Decebal Scriba. Urban furniture prototype (bus shelter) (1976-1977?), Buzău Glass Factory. Urban furniture program, BA project, sketch (coord. by arch. Paul Bortnowski, Industrial Forms Section of the Nicolae Grigorescu Institute of Fine Arts, Bucharest, 1973). (Source: Decebal Scriba's archive).

After graduating, the designers' status was at best uncertain. Although they received general training in design, they were "integrated" via centrally-assigned jobs in various industrial facilities all over the country, where they faced specific challenges, some of the designers having to specialize in several industries in time. The profession of designer was not included in the official nomenclature of professions in socialist Romania.

6. Concluding remarks

There is a two-fold complexity at work in the manifestations of design in Romania, as seen through the lens of modernism. First, in pre and interwar Romania, one finds a subtle connection between a long-term modernization process, as experienced throughout the Romanian society, whose aim was the synchronization with Europe and the achievement of modernity (the nation-state, industrialization, legal and social reform, etc.), and the spread of the notion of design through experimenting and exemplary endeavors, albeit few and far between.

Second, in postwar Romania, under the new communist rule, the emergence of design higher education (in 1969 in Bucharest and 1971 in Cluj-Napoca) and professional designers fitted the official vision of the socialist state—according to which design would lend legitimacy to the industry and industrialization. Parallel to that, the vision of the founding fathers of the Romanian design school (architects and painters most likely connected to modernist education) mirrored the international concerns with how modern design was to be taught (the Romanian syllabus was inspired by the Bauhaus pedagogical model). Romanian designers attempted to connect with the international reality, constantly raising the issue of synchronization in economic development in their official discourse, while, unofficially, they spoke about how design cannot compensate for the poverty of material resources and technological deficiencies of a ruined economic system.

To conclude, Romanian design was born "modern" in a totalitarian state, supported by a weak economy and a backward industry dominated by heavy industry, which aspired to be on the same level with other states, whether socialist or capitalist. In other words, the opposite of the European and North-American concept of modern design as in Pevsner's model, which came into existence at the same time as real industrial progress and mass production. In the Romanian case, the notion of industrialization seemed to be a feature borrowed from the "objective" memory of modern design making.

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Reviving the memory of Modernist type designer Joan Trochut.

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Abstract | Joan Trochut Blanchart (1920-1980) is known because of one of his most popular type designs: *Super Tipo Veloz*.
Super Tipo Veloz was a modern-conceived type system created by Catalan printer and typographer Joan Trochut in the late 1930s as a tool to improve visual graphics in small commercial printed matter such as letterheads, logo design, custom lettering, and other typographical works.
This research aims to revive the memory of Joan Trochut through the digital recovery of his most interesting type creation: the so-called *Super Tipo Veloz*. It includes a study of his biography and an analysis of his work. Also, the digitization of Super Tipo Veloz to further this modular type system into the contemporary digital realm.
This paper explains type design as a way to emerge design history from a practice-based research point of view and focuses on the recuperation of Super Tipo Veloz using digital skills. Also, it exposes different ways to spread the memory of this modernist typeface design to a general audience.

Keywords: Type design, Modular type, Modern Typography

1. Introduction

In the early '90s, Spanish Type Design history was still a field of research rather unexplored. Only a few articles and books had been published about this topic in the Spanish language. Also, referential books on Type Design History published in English had very little or nothing devoted to Spain. I could only mention the chapter that Updike wrote on Spanish typography in his Printing Types, first published in 1922, and Frederick Norton studies on Spanish early printing. But except for a few admirable cases, we have to regret that Spanish typography has not been very much considered into the "official" History of Typography and Type Design, so far.

So, that was part of my motivation for starting research on Modern type design in Spain with a focus on Catalan typographer Joan Trochut, who was born in Barcelona in 1920. The main aim was to recuperate, not only one of his most famous type designs —the Super Tipo Veloz modular system— but at the same time revive his legacy. After his death in 1980, his memory as a typographer and type designer fade into oblivion, and in the '90s when a new generation of designers burst into the graphic design profession using the brand-new digital tools there were hardly any traces of the work done by Joan Trochut. So, I thought it was necessary to vindicate his memory using digital technology and recuperate his Type Design work through digitization.

In brief, I started to research on Super Tipo Veloz as practice-based research in order to fulfill one main goal: To revive the memory of Joan Trochut through the digital recovery of his most interesting type creation: the so-called Super Tipo Veloz.

Figure 1: Super Tipo Veloz promotional leaflet. C.1942. (Andreu Balius personal archive).

2. Super Tipo Veloz: historical context

Super Tipo Veloz was a modular type system created by Joan Trochut and produced by the José Iranzo Foundry in Barcelona, in 1942. It was devised as a tool to improve visual graphics in small commercial printed matter such as letterheads, logo design, drop caps, custom lettering, and other display typographical works. It was based on a concept of modularity where the idea of type composition was shifted into the idea of type design. Each glyph was a single component of a letter rather than a complete letter in itself, which could be combined with other glyphs to create custom-built letterforms, even illustrations, and ornaments.

It was a very useful type-tool for printers, especially in those works where budgets were low and there was no possibility to hire an illustrator or a letterer.

But far from being only a useful tool for small printers, it could be considered as one of the most interesting experiments in early Modern type design in the first half of the 20th century. Trochut had considered those experimental typefaces derived from the Bauhaus years. He mixed architectural functional thinking with a personal taste for ornament.

Figure 2: Leaflet of Super Tipo Veloz Colección Primera. C. 1942. (Photo: Andreu Balius).

To understand the context where Trochut's ideas emerged, we need to dive into the artistic and cultural movements that took place in Spain during the years before the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939), that is during the years of the Spanish Second Republic. To put it briefly, the innovative ideas that had been evolved in Europe, reached Spain shortly after the Second Republic was established.

In the Literary and Fine Arts, Avant-guard movements such as Futurism had already influenced Catalan poets such as Joan Salvat-Papasseit and Josep Maria Junoy. Dadaist magazine *391*, created by artist Francis Picabia, was first published in Barcelona in January 1917, with the collaboration of other artists such as Apollinaire, Tristan Tzara, Man Ray and Jean Arp. In architecture, the ideas of rationalist European architecture practiced by architects such as Le Corbusier, Walter Gropius, or Mies van der Rohe influenced local architects.

The ideas of New Typography were put into practice in some magazines that were published during the 1930s in Spain: *A.C. Documentos de Actividad Contemporanea*, under the direction of the architect team G.A.T.E.P.A.C., *Gaceta de Arte*, and *D'aci i D'allà*, as the most influential ones.

Figure 3: Cover for ADAM – Archivos Documentarios de Arte Moderno. Album n 3. Title composed using Jose Iranzo's Figuras Geométricas. Early 1930's. (Photo: Andreu Balius).

Esteban Trochut, Joan Trochut's father, established his printing office in Barcelona around those days. As Alex Trochut (Esteban's great-grandson) exposes, "Esteban had a very good reputation as a printer and stood out for doing quality work on all his commercial assignments, from the simplest brochure to the most complex piece of commissioned work. Demanding and meticulous, he was always awake to new ways of working and the technical advances of the present" (Balius, A. Trochut. A., 2004). Esteban, who was aware of the aesthetic ideas that were in fashion in Central Europe, edited and published a catalog-portfolio of printed work done at his office: the *ADAM* volumes (Archivo Documentario de Arte Moderno). In Alex words, the *ADAM* specimens were "luxuriously printed and edited volumes to publicize the possibilities of printing through examples of well-printed works and to vindicate, through texts, quality work, as well as displaying formulas for the decoration of printed matter using typographic elements and geometric figures" (Balius, A. Trochut. A., 2004). The *ADAM* albums were one of the first traces for the introduction of Modernism in Spain throughout articles and samples of printed work where modular experiments were applied using movable metal types.

The ADAM albums published in both Spanish and French put the accent on the letter as the main decorative element, and they were conceived in the words of the editor himself: "for the study and rational modernization of typographic art". Although in his words we could see the spirit and influence of the "new typography", the *ADAM* albums were not so much theoretical as practical manuals. It is true that, both in the *ADAM* and in the later *NOVADAM* albums, Esteban and Joan Trochut –father and son– wrote articles about the practice of the profession to stimulate and promote the creative use of typography among professionals.

With the advisory of Esteban Trochut, the Jose Iranzo type foundry in Barcelona produced and commercialized a collection of combinable geometric figures –circles, squares, triangles– for typesetting, which printers used for the design of logos, the creation of headings for commercial stationery, and the design of vignettes and decorative graphics. It is not too daring to think that these combinable modules that took their references from those already cast by the Bauer foundry by the end

of the 1920s, were the precedent to the type system that Joan Trochut would later create, which will be named as *Super Tipo Veloz*.

Figure 4: Figuras Geométricas (Geometric letter shapes) type specimen. Early 1930's. (Photo: Andreu Balius).

Geometrical modularity was in fashion in the early experimental type designs at Bauhaus if we consider such typefaces as Herbert Bayer's *Universal* typeface (1925) and Josef Albers' alphabet, drawn also in 1925. These designs reduced the shapes of the alphabet to a combination of simple basic geometric modules. Jan Tschihold followed in the footsteps of Bayer and Albers in the design of new typefaces. He designed his *Universal* alphabet between 1926 and 1929, *Unico* (1930), and *Transito* (1931) typefaces based on those same ideas. The search for simplicity and rationality ultimately led to the destruction of the established form of the letter in order to find its basic compositional and structural elements.

All these designs, together with the *Futura Schmuck* collection that was commercialized as a set of geometric ornaments to complement Futura typeface (1927), launched by the Bauer foundry, show how the letterforms were considered not only as a means for communication through text composition but as an expressive tool for creativity and experimentation in printing. The commercialization of these decorative typefaces left in the hands of the printers themselves the possibility of playing with the structural elements of the alphabet. And this was the idea behind the design of Super Tipo Veloz, as his creator Joan Trochut described it as a "rigorously integral type". He based his work on the concept of type modularity and built a system of combinable elements.

The reduction of the letter to its structural parts, obtaining modular elements as a result, allows an infinite number of combinations that go far beyond those already defined in the alphabet. But for a modular system as complex as Super Tipo Veloz to work properly, the designer and printer needed to have a good understanding of such a system so that the modules would work as a whole.

To understand the system and provide tips for its use, Joan Trochut and his father included a lot of samples of printed work done with Super Tipo Veloz in the NOVADAM albums, a new series of volumes published between 1936 and 1952. Also conceived as Joan Trochut's type specimens, in these volumes, the expressive possibilities of this modular type system were displayed in letterhead samples, logotypes, and decorative work.

Super Tipo Veloz was the result of a particular way of understanding Modernism without compromising the decorative solutions.

During the difficult economic years that preceded the Spanish Civil War, the Super Tipo Veloz was a useful tool for small printing offices that had no budget for solving with originality their daily commission work.

Unfortunately, this experimental modular type design system fell into oblivion when the letterpress system was taken over by offset printing and the later arrival of digital technology. There are very few collections of Super Tipo Veloz still available in letterpress workshops at present since most of these fonts were the first ones to be thrown away when offset printing technology took over traditional letterpress practices. Lead metal types were sold as scrap metal for some easy money when the printing offices had to shut down.

3. Digital SuperVeloz

As exposed previously, one of the goals for this practice-based research project was reviving the legacy of Joan Trochut, using digital technology to revive one of his most original creations.

Although with the appropriate means any shape can be digitized, not everything that is digitized is justifiable by itself. We see many digitizations of alphabets and lettering that lose their meaning when digitized and converted into digital fonts. An example of this is many alphabets of calligraphic origin that lose their liveliness when "frozen" by digitization. Another similar case is the digitalization of classic typefaces that "literally" reproduce the effects of letterpress printing on a certain sort of paper. Imitating the forms resulting from the printing processes of a given period - based on the technology of that historical period - turns these digitizations into a mere caricature of history.

The digitization of the Super Tipo Veloz was intended to be an adaptation of this original modular system to digital technology: adapting the forms created by Joan Trochut into digital typographic formats, thus allowing this modular type to reoccupy a space in current typographic repertoires.

The digitization process started with perfectly printed originals that were scanned at high resolution. Using Adobe Illustrator vector drawing tools, the modular characters that made up the collections of Super Type Veloz pieces were drawn until obtaining an optimal result, seeking to maintain maximum fidelity with the printed originals. The main goal in this part was to remain as faithful as possible to the original designs.

The Super Tipo Veloz type collections included a wide variety of decorative calligraphic elements that required a delicate process of drawing and interpretation. One of the biggest difficulties in digitizing these calligraphic ornaments was making the outlines look natural and reliable.

The challenge when digitizing outlines based on calligraphy is precisely trying to understand the logic of the movement that is generated in the forms. It is important to place the nodes that define a path in the extremes of it or in those parts where there is a change in stroke modulation. Understanding the logic of movement makes the paths consistent. That is to say, there are no discontinuities since the eye quickly perceives those parts of the layout that present a certain formal incoherence.

Drawing, while digitizing and interpreting these outlines, is also a reflective process of how all shapes are related to each other and it helps to understand the modular system as a whole set.

The use of digital technology when drawing allows, in some cases, a better rationalization of glyph outlines, as well as greater precision in the adjustment of the different modules that make up the SuperVeloz set.

The digital SuperVeloz was drawn by Andreu Balius and Àlex Trochut, the grandson of Joan Trochut. The font editor used for the production process of the digital fonts was FontLab. This software was used for the first font release of SuperVeloz, launched by the Typerepublic digital foundry (Barcelona) in 2004.

Recently, a more upgraded and improved version has been developed in 2020 using Glyphs App, a more contemporary font editor.

The current catalog of the digitized collections of SuperVeloz pieces consists of more than three hundred glyphs, distributed in *first collection*, *second collection*,

third collection, *ornamental features*, *first complements*, *second complements*, and *third complements*. The latter includes part of the *universal collection* and *body size 36*. With the combination of all these pieces, a great variety of typographic solutions can be achieved, as was the case with Super Tipo Veloz movable metal typefaces.

Figures 5 + 6: Superveloz.net website. Designed by Andreu Balius, Alex Trochut, Flan and Include, in 2006. (Screen captures taken by Andreu Balius).

To further the use of this digital version of Super Tipo Veloz, an online application was designed in order to spread knowledge about this modular type system. For this purpose, Superveloz.net was designed to challenge Internet visitors to play and explore its possibilities. Superveloz.net was designed as a playground website that gave everyone the chance to use SuperVeloz as it used to work as a movable type. Users could select any of the modules from the different SuperVeloz collections and create letters, lettering, and illustrations by combining all these glyphs. The platform also included a web gallery where users could publish the results achieved.

In that online platform, it was not possible to distort or modify the modules. Only scaling and turning was possible to maintain the idea of original physical shapes while providing the possibilities of digital drawing software.

As another way to expand knowledge and contribute to spread Joan Trochut's legacy, Super Tipo Veloz has also been introduced to students through presentations and workshops in order to familiarize them with the modular system and how it used to work. It is a good way, not only to introduce the context of Modern type design in Spain but also to show the possibilities of this experimental modular system using both the digital fonts and the surviving movable type collections that still exist for letterpress printing.

Workshops combine the use of digital SuperVeloz and the use of Super Tipo Veloz movable types. Students experience the different language and limitations in each tool. How letterpress has its own rules in terms of modular standardization, but on the other hand it has the expressiveness of printed ink on paper. Also adapting computer-based designs into letterpress typesetting can be very tricky and needs to make some compromises.

Figure 7: Stenciled version of Super Tipo Veloz modules for academic purposes. Produced by Roberto Gamonal in 2018, Familia Plómez, Madrid. (Photo courtesy by Roberto Gamonal)

Other experiences have turned this modular type system into stenciled devices or rubber stamps. Stencils are easy tools to work with and provide enough room for freedom and inventiveness. For the rubber stamps, each module was reproduced, cut, and mounted on a transparent methacrylate base that allowed to see where the stamp was positioned and facilitated the overlapping of modules to create more playful compositions. This ease of use has made the Super Veloz more accessible and tested with excellent results in both adults and children.

In 2020, as an homage to Joan Trochut Blanchart's (1920-1980) centenary birthday, Typerepublic foundry launched the Super Veloz Centenary Collection: a huge type family that includes different alphabets built up with the combination of the SuperVeloz modules previously digitized in 2004. It has been designed by Andreu Balius (with the collaboration of Ricard Garcia) in 2020, after the original designs of Joan Trochut.

The Centenary Collection includes ready-made alphabets, instead of single modular glyphs that should be combined. That means there is no need to create the letters combining the single modules. Instead, letters are already built up as typefaces and included in the font files ready for being used through the keyboard.

The new family also includes a huge collection of decorative caps designed from a programming basis that assisted in the combination of different letters and ornaments. They are intended for the composition of titling text, fancy drop caps, logotypes, and display lettering.

The availability of the digital version of Super Tipo Veloz has been essential for the spread of knowledge of Joan Trochut's legacy. Digital SuperVeloz type family offers designers and users, not only a tool for display text purposes but a glimpse of our type legacy. A vivid memory that enlightens our present with renewed light. It is not about nostalgia; it is about how to use the past as a means for a challenge.

Figure 8: Super Veloz Centenary Collection. Awarded by the European Design Awards in 2021. (Promotional design by Andreu Balius).

Figure 9: Super Veloz Centenary Collection type specimen. Published at typerepublic.com. (Promotional design by Andreu Balius).

4. A conclusion: Designer as historian

I believe that designers' research into design can provide a better understanding of the discipline and, at the same time, a more well-informed background for any sort of projects.

When working on the digital version of Super Tipo Veloz it was necessary to dive into historical context using both primary and secondary research sources as a research method. Also consulting personal archives from Joan Trochut's family where I could see his early sketches and the influences that he had before he started the design of his modular system. The consulting of type specimens, the analysis of original printing stuff together with the original metal types, established the basis for the action-research process.

Translating the shapes of Super Tipo Veloz from metal into digital font files was a necessary upgrade in order to provide this modernist design to a new audience of users.

Recover the memory of designers and artist who has contributed to our local History is paramount to build a bridge between the past and the future. As designers (and,

as type designers), we can contribute to upgrading the work done by these old fellows with respect. It is a way to make them alive again and useful if we look at this old work, not as pieces of the past but ideas and challenges for the future. So, research in type design, in this sense, is a way to empower the profession itself and improve the awareness of the work done by pioneer designers such as Joan Trochut.

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Almanaque: A Collaborative Approach to Design Research and Puerto Rican Identity.

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Abstract | *Almanaque*, a collaborative design history publication, looks to Puerto Rico's past, fraught with imperialist abuses of colonization, in tandem with its rich cultural heritage as a means for examining its design history. Data for the project was gathered from a variety of sources such as: original DIVEDCO publications (*Libros para el pueblo*), first-person interviews, and visits to archives. In this manner, the project uses the language of graphic design as the entry point for continued conversations about the island's future. This approach to re-framing histories has largely informed aspects of more recent research projects by both of the project's creators. These works, including explorations of typography, identity, language, labor, and motherhood, seek to develop new practices aimed at rethinking design's role in society, both as a pedagogical tool and as a critical instrument for amplifying marginalized voices.

Keywords: Puerto Rico, DIVEDCO, Publishing, Lorenzo Homar, Typography

1. Introduction

This body of work began as a meeting of interests, ideas, and personal research. Individually, our research into Puerto Rican history, design, and culture served as a means to explore identity. The tensions caused by years of colonization and the island's political status (Puerto Rico is both part of and separate to the United States, Puerto Ricans are US-born citizens—but are also Latinx) results in blurring of cultural identity that often defies definition.

Our combined research resulted in a publication, titled *Almanaque*, modeled after a series of Puerto Rican mid-20th century printed booklets. Designed and published by Puerto Rican graphic artists and designers, these works serve as a historical record of Puerto Rican cultural and political identity, visual art and design, history, and the compounded effects of colonialism. It is important to note here the evolving nature of the terms: artist, graphic artist, and designer. Many of the Puerto Rican graphic designers mentioned in this writing considered themselves to be artists or graphic artists by definition. *Almanaque* is bilingual and features essays, poetry, musical lyrics, interviews, and imagery. A primary objective of the project was to expose the work of artists and designers as a means of generating a greater awareness of Latinx identity while offering a more expansive conception of what it means to be Puerto Rican.

2. DIVEDCO

In the mid-20th century, much like the United States, Puerto Rico experienced a push towards modernization which saw industrialization and capitalism as the road to security and happiness. During this time period we see a boom in construction, real estate, and industry which resulted in a surge of economic growth that influenced social and cultural changes, including activating the art and design communities on the island. This was spearheaded by Puerto Rico's first elected governor, Luis Muñoz Marín, who was elected into office in 1948. Muñoz Marín was the founder of the Popular Democratic Party (PDP), whose agenda moved away from independence and towards creating a closer political and economic relationship with the United States.

Often referred to as "the architect of Modern Puerto Rico," during his tenure, Muñoz Marín focused on the island's economic development, including addressing issues of poverty, employment, housing, and education. At the time, most of the Puerto Rican population lived in the countryside in inhumane conditions, few communities had access to running water or electricity, and unemployment had risen considerably. According to the Library of Congress, in the 1930s, just a decade earlier, unemployment on the island was approximately 65% (Library of Congress, n.d.). Illiteracy levels were also strikingly high and most of the population had no more than a third-grade level education (Delano 1997, 114). In a series of strategic efforts towards modernization, Muñoz Marín launched Operation Bootstrap (Operación Manos a la Obra) which prioritized industrialization, shifting Puerto Rico's primarily agrarian economy to one based in industry and commerce by aiming the bulk of the island's production towards American markets and creating opportunities for foreign investments via corporate tax exemptions (Ruiz Toro, n.d.). While this decades between 1950s and 70s see quick economic growth, it is important to note, that the goals and ambitions of modernization were modeled after the American Dream—industrialization becomes commensurate with Americanization and established a discourse that led to an almost step-by-step erasure of the Puerto Rican nationalist movement.

Inspired by Roosevelt's New Deal Programs, Muñoz Marín established DIVEDCO, *La División de Educación a la Comunidad* (Division of Community Education), a government agency that would develop a new pedagogical method to provide basic education for Puerto Rican communities. DIVEDCO was directed by artists, designers, writers, and filmmakers—eventually bringing together some of the island's most renowned artists and writers and fostering a creative community that would catapult the first Puerto Rican contemporary arts movement. Notably, there were no trained educators involved in developing or implementing DIVEDCO's curriculum. The program combined art, design, education, and popular culture to produce informational material about everyday matters such as health, hygiene, and nutrition, coupled with more critical issues such as men and women's rights, history, and what it meant to be a citizen of Puerto Rico, and, in turn, the world. DIVEDCO's program structure included

making and distributing posters to announce films (Figure 1), featured via a mobile cinema, throughout rural communities. Booklets elaborating on the film's subject matter were also distributed for discussion in workshops (Figure 2). These publications were often collected, shared, and read out loud in community meetings.

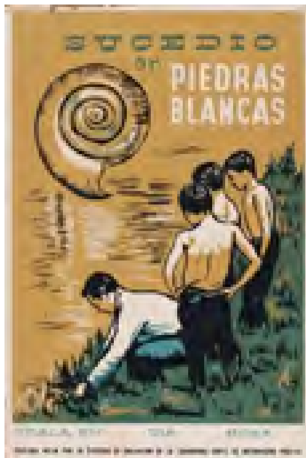

Fig. 1

Fig. 2

Figure 1: Sucedió en Piedras Blancas (It Happened in Piedras Blancas), *1958, screen print on paper, 17 ¾ x 27 in., designed by Carlos Raquel Rivera (1923–99) and produced by DIVEDCO. This poster announces a health and safety film on bilharzia, a parasitic infection caused by fecal matter in drinking water that was prevalent on the island. (Source: Galería de Arte, Universidad del Sagrado Corazón. Photo by Thomas Anderson and Eric Nisly.)*

Figure 2: Bilharzia *(book cover spread), 1961, designed by Carlos Osorio (1927–1984), edited by René Marqués, and published by DIVEDCO. Accompanying publication to* Sucedió en Piedras Blancas, *this booklet expands on the subject matter of the film and includes information on symptoms, treatments, and strategies through which the reader could prevent infection. (Source: Rossi García Collection)*

Through a series of workshops, DIVEDCO also introduced screen printing to the visual lexicon of the island; now considered a primary medium of communication, the screen printed poster, in particular, is an emblematic component of Puerto Rican visual culture. This was both a radical education program and social justice program that used design—in the form of posters and, significantly, publications—combined with film as pedagogical tools and played a significant role in shaping Puerto Rico's visual identity. At the same time, DIVEDCO was a government-sponsored agency whose production was framed through a nationalist discourse that promoted political dependency and legitimized colonial systems.

DIVEDCO was in operation for 40 years and in that time produced approximately 100 films, more than 40 books and pamphlets (Kennerley 2003, 420), and hundreds of educational and informational posters, which combined into an impressive audiovisual pedagogical framework— it demonstrates a powerful use of design for education and is an example of the role design can play in shaping communities, cultural identities, nation-building, and as an extension of politics.

3. The WPA and *Independentistas*

A precursor to DIVEDCO during the early 20th century, the WPA (Works Progress Administration) created a number of promotional posters which publicized the island as a tropical vacation spot for tourists—an exotic paradise that was only accessible to wealthy U.S. citizens. Designed by artists such as Frank Nicholson, these posters present a caricature of life on the island. Despite their colonial objectives, or perhaps because of them, these posters were largely effective in increasing travel to the island. By 1945, government officials planned on building a new airport in the capital city of San Juan to accommodate the rise in air traffic to the island.

Additional WPA initiatives including the American Guide Series books employed writers in the creation of guide books to all U.S. states and territories. The

Puerto Rico edition of this series contained a wealth of information about Puerto Rico's history, including key dates and figures. The interior is set in Caslon, a favorite of the U.S. government which can even be found on The Declaration of Independence. The cover design pairs iconic tropical imagery (palm trees, beach scenery, etc.) with stylized typography designed to evoke the same tone. Even before the U.S. invasion in 1898, the island's history was riddled with colonialism, conflict and resistance. From the exploitation of the Taino, the indigenous people of the island, to the African slave trade, as well as the many attacks from French, English, and Dutch militaries throughout the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries, Puerto Rico's identity is one mired in struggle.

The early to mid-19th century saw a renewed independence movement take root on the island in response to the successful revolutions in the Caribbean and South America. In Puerto Rico, this movement was led by the likes of *independentistas* such as activist María de las Mercedes Barbudo, Dr. Ramón Betances, and the abolitionist Segundo Ruiz Belvis. *Independentistas* were social and political leaders that supported a free and independent Puerto Rican state. Additionally, this refers to members of the Puerto Rican Independence Party, a political party whose chief aim is the island's independence and sovereignty.

4. Lorenzo Homar

Lorenzo Homar was born in San Juan, Puerto Rico in 1913. As a teenager, he and his family came to New York City where he received formal training at the Art Students League and Pratt Institute. During World War II, Homar saw military action in the Pacific theater, and, while serving, he put his artistic skills to good use as a cartoonist and cartographer. Upon returning from the war, he continued working at the famed jewelry maker, House of Cartier. In 1950, Lorenzo Homar returned to Puerto Rico where he worked with and led graphics studios for key institutions such as the Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña (ICP, or Institute of Puerto Rican Culture). Homar eventually worked as the head of the Graphics Workshop at DIVEDCO after Irene Delano. Along with his contemporaries, the various studios and workshops of DIVEDCO and the ICP functioned as a *Puerto Rican Bauhaus*. Lorenzo Homar's work which celebrates pivotal figures and events of the island's pro-independence movement are an indication of the socio-political tensions held by artists and designers who worked to preserve the island's culture while also creating state-sponsored communications.

The poster below, designed in 1970 by Lorenzo Homar, commemorates a revolutionist uprising that took place 102 years prior in the town of Lares. The uprising itself was unsuccessful and became known as El Grito de Lares. In Spanish, *grito* translates to "cry". The Flag of Lares, a symbol of independence, is immortalized in the imposing typography—the letterforms creating a container for a portrait of the famous independence leader and abolitionist Ramon Betances in the center. This poster was created in the graphics workshop of the Institute of Puerto Rican Culture. This piece is representative of how Homar used typography as the generative means of creating visual form.

Figure 3: 102do Aniversario de El Grito de Lares, *1970, screen print on paper, 58.7 x 44.3 cm., designed by Lorenzo Homar (1913–2004) and produced by the Institute of Puerto Rican Culture. This poster pays tribute to a revolutionary uprising that occurred in the town of Lares, Puerto Rico in 1868. (Source: Princeton University Library, Graphic Arts Collection).*

5. Publication as Practice

Almanaque, both reinterprets and re-frames the original DIVEDCO publications to unearth histories outside of the graphic design canon, offering greater context to our present in order to better imagine new futures. The publication utilizes elements of the original booklets—both in terms of design (including typography and visual vocabulary) and material—but anchored in the present. *Almanaque* includes historical information—such as writings on DIVEDCO and its legacy, the design of Puerto Rico's flag, an extensive (albeit incomplete) timeline, and highlights the work of significant figures in the island's design history—alongside works of contemporary culture, such as music, imagery, and interviews with artists and designers. An additional aspect of the publication's physical form is the *cancionero* or hymnal insert which includes music lyrics and poetry from historical and contemporary Puerto Rican musicians and writers. This is a nod to the original publications which also included poems, stories, and songs. The publication itself gives physical form to historical research and writing and serves as an artifact of *history as method*—utilizing the design object and publishing as a means to investigate, archive, and expand histories.

The editorial design of the publication sought to reimagine ways of addressing historiography and data visualization. The timeline (Figure 4) begins at the approximate place of Christopher Columbus' arrival in 1493—the northwest corner of the island near the present-day town of Isabela; in this way, Puerto Rico's coastline becomes an organizational and navigational device for important historical events. Additionally, this approach reflects on the significance of migration and the crossing of borders that has been integral to the island's history and identity. A bilingual layout served as both a way to increase accessibility to the content while recognizing the role of colonization—and the nature of its effects on translation and identity—through language.

***Figure 4:** Timeline spread from* Almanaque. *Image courtesy of Kennon Photography, 2016.*

Typography as an embodiment of historical and cultural voice played a central role in the design of the publication, acknowledging the cultural, social, and political threads of the past while creating a uniquely identifiable digital expression of Puerto Rican design history. Letterforms from various DIVEDCO materials—including posters, public service announcements, and publications—were collected, digitized, and assembled into the publication's primary cover. The cover (Figure 5) was then screen printed to reflect the history and rich tradition of screen printing on the island, an iconic aspect of its visual culture and design history since the mid-20th century. Each publication is also wrapped with facsimiles of the original booklet covers (Figure 6), which not only features original typographic treatments but allows the old to become new again. The introduction of screen printing to the visual lexicon of the island can be traced back to the efforts of DIVEDCO's first Graphics Arts Director, Irene Delano. Born in Detroit, Michigan, Irene Delano was an artist, designer, and educator. Her body of work encompassed publication design, illustration, branding, and printing. The interior of *Alamanaque* was typeset in Irene, a new typeface designed for the publication that pays tribute to her life and career. Lastly, Leon, the display face used for headlines throughout the publication, is a digitized revival of lettering found in a poster by Lorenzo Homar, a seminal figure in the island's history and DIVEDCO's second Graphics Arts Director.

Figure 5: Cover design from Almanaque. *Image courtesy of authors.*

Figure 6: All cover designs from Almanaque, *wrapped with facsimiles of original* Libros para el pueblo *covers. Image courtesy of Kennon Photography, 2016.*

6. History as Method

This approach to re-framing histories has largely informed aspects of ongoing research and creative work—which seeks to develop new practices aimed at rethinking design's role in society, both as a pedagogical tool and as a critical instrument for amplifying marginalized voices. In this manner, design history becomes a method for initiating and sustaining new historiographical inquiries through the practice of publishing.

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Design Debates, Reader Voices, and the Histories within Design Blogs

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Abstract | The goal of this study is to explore different readings of design blog reader commentary concerning posters designed in response to the Fukushima, Japan environmental and nuclear crisis of 2011. Blogs may be seen as a type of alternative literature (alt-lit) and they permeated design culture for nearly two decades. Reader commentary is often secondary to a blog post or essay, and though they contain social and critical viewpoints within the graphic design community, their preservation is precarious. Through web scraping, discourse analysis, and fictional dialogues, reader comments about the Fukushima crisis posters are graphically situated to offer different readings of the conversations. Issues of capitalism, cultural appropriation, ethics, and education become more visible through this practice, connecting these posters with ethical and cultural concerns in active discussions today.

Keywords: alt-lit, blogs, design debates, discourse analysis, posters

1. Introduction

Design blogs reside at the intersection of design discourse and online communities. They are everyday conversations, designed user interface products, and archived texts. Blogs have permeated design culture for two decades, and they are notable examples of the social activities present within design communities. Through this practice-based study, I approach design blogs as a type of alternative literature (alt-lit) and explore different readings of an overlooked area: the reader comments section. Commentary for this study centers on posters designed as a response to the Fukushima, Japan environmental and nuclear crisis of 2011.

Annotation and margin notes have historically provided additional perspective to a main text. These notes may subvert or diverge from a text; among other possibilities, they may also add or clarify meaning (Slights 2001). In medieval and renaissance literary studies, annotation is investigated as an experimental authorial activity (Griffiths 2014, Watts 1991) that may have a destabilizing or performative effect on both text and reader. Online, the potential for reader commentary to shift and provoke social interactions is addressed, for example, in digital projects such as *Gamer Theory* (Wark 2007) and critical studies on internet culture (Lovink 2013). Depending on the authority of these notes, annotations on a text could eventually be read as the main text itself. If this concept is applied to blogs, comments on a blog post could become the primary text.

Challenges to working with blog content, and making visible the reader voices within, are plentiful. Blogs are precursors to social media and have low status as a literary genre. They exist as chronological online entries with a hierarchy that favors original posts over reader comments. Keyword searchability within a blog often depends on individual blog publishing platforms. Design blogs typically reside on personal or commercial servers rather than within institutions of higher education. Additionally, they are archived in ways that are publicly accessible yet precarious. Many blogs have been captured throughout their lifespans by the Internet Archive Wayback Machine (https://web.archive.org/), and only within that archive can several blogs be seen. While active, some blogs used third-party plug-ins to moderate discussions, and unfortunately, Wayback Machine does not capture these. Blogs, in their entirety, are losing visibility over time.

2. Design Blogs and the Fukushima crisis

While collecting blog data for my earlier study on design blog conversations (Barness 2020), I found that the Fukushima nuclear disaster of 2011 was the subject of lively debate on two different blogs. On March 11, 2011, a 9.0 magnitude earthquake triggered a tsunami off the Pacific coast of Japan, which in turn flooded the Fukushima Dai-ichi nuclear power plant in Ōkuma, Fukushima Prefecture. These events resulted in the loss of thousands of human lives as well as full-core nuclear meltdowns. Ten years later, many of the evacuated towns are still considered unsafe. Though the Fukushima disaster was less severe than Chernobyl in 1986 (NEI 2019), it captured global attention as a catastrophic event.

Graphic designers responded to the Fukushima crisis by designing posters with the intention to raise awareness or funds. As can be seen through Rene Wanner's web exhibition *Posters on the earthquake in Japan* (2011), posters were created by an international community of designers. This exhibit page does not contain critical commentary on the posters, but the page description notes that many of the posters were received by Wanner shortly after the March 11 earthquake and tsunami.

In the blogosphere, design writers contributed essays about the posters and the readers critiqued, praised, and debated in the comments sections. Reader commentary about the crisis response moves across six English-language design blogs: *AIGA*, *Design Observer*, *Dezeen*, *Eye* magazine, *Fast Company*, and *Print* magazine.

The screenshots in Figure 1 are of the blogs as they appeared in 2011, and these captures are publicly available in the Wayback Machine archives. The majority of reader debates took place on *Eye* magazine blog and *Fast Company*. Across these blogs and the posterpage.ch web exhibit, posters depicting Western perceptions of Japanese culture are prominent. Specifically, this involves the appropriation of the flag (*hinomaru*) and for many of the posters, this forms the primary basis for a designer's visual concept.

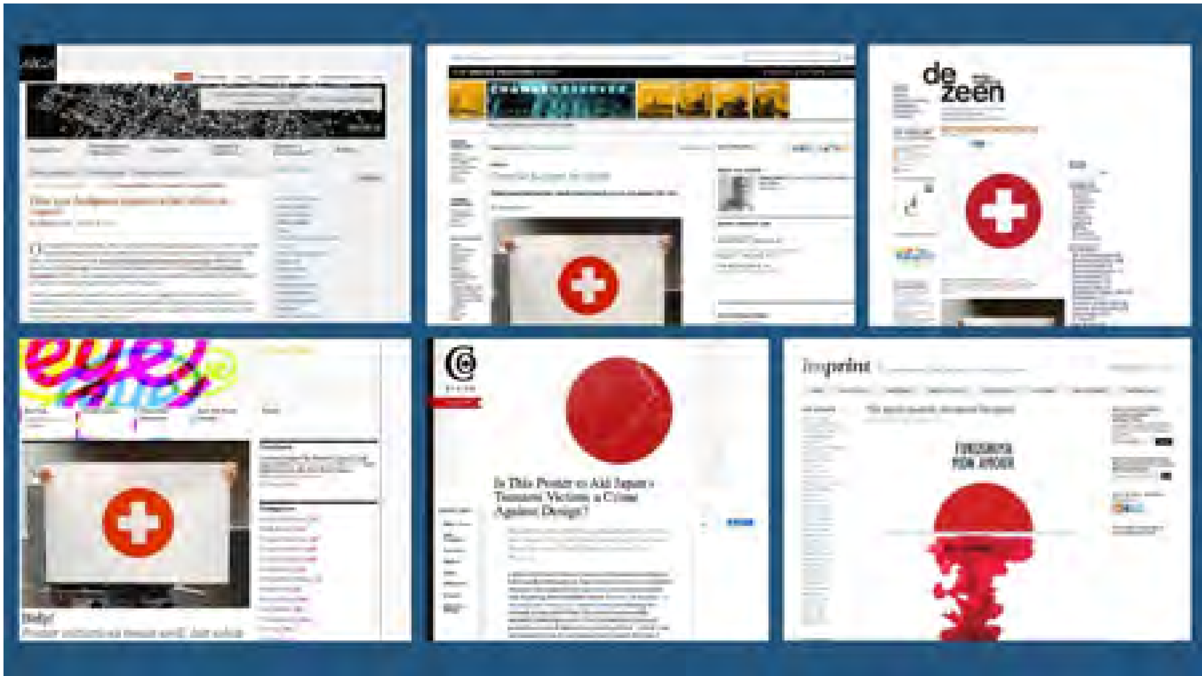

Figure 1. Six English-language blogs featured essays about the Fukushima crisis posters. Screen captures are from publicly accessible archives from 2011. Top row, left to right: AIGA, Design Observer, and Dezeen. Bottom row, left to right: Eye magazine blog, Fast Company, and Print magazine. Source: Wayback Machine (archive.org).

Though not nearly as graphically compelling, the attention of this study is on the comments sections instead of the blog essays and poster designs. Reader commentary reveals perspectives within the graphic design community in 2011, often surrounding ethical concerns (AIGA blog 2011; Design Observer 2011; Dezeen 2011; Eye magazine blog 2011; Fast Company 2011; Print magazine blog 2011). Identifying the blog posts was straightforward but locating posts with the original reader comments posed difficulties. As mentioned earlier, a blog's comment archives may be incomplete. This partial preservation may be due to many reasons, ranging from third-party commentary plug-ins that are not captured by Wayback Machine (i.e., Disqus) to blog owner decisions to republish posts without the comments. I collected the reader comments through processes of web scraping, followed by analysis using a combination of qualitative text analysis software, spreadsheets, and text editing tools. From 2011–2015, the six blogs differed in their approaches to commentary availability. Figure 3 summarizes the availability of reader commentary for the six blogs over five years. The white rectangles indicate years and blogs with accessible commentary in full. At the far right, within the present-day 2021 column, note that three of the blogs (*Design Observer*, *Eye* magazine, and *Dezeen*) contain the full conversations; two blogs (*Fast Company* and *Print* magazine) contain the original essays without comments; one blog post (*AIGA*) is no longer available.

Figure 2. Reader commentary availability for the six blogs over five years and 2021. (Source: Jessica Barness)

3. Graphic Interventions

Positioning design blogs as a type of alt-lit provides opportunity for graphic intervention to facilitate different readings. I approached this through practices of deformation and assemblage. In their study on graphical text deformation, Jacqueline Lorber-Kasunic and Kate Sweetapple explore visual text interventions using Herman Melville's book *Moby Dick*. With their aim to "bring attention to the textual qualities eluded by conventional criticism," (Lorber-Kasunic and Sweetapple 2018, p. 4) they graphically adjust elements such as line length, leading, white space, and so forth, to generate a different reading of the text. Whereas Lorber-Kasunic and Sweetapple's work focused on one lengthy text and a single author, this study involves multiple authors, publications, and short texts. Nonetheless, reader comments, as a component of blog alt-lit, are also unifiable texts that together provide a snapshot of a moment in graphic design history.

The length of reader comments varied across the blogs. There are notable differences from present-day social media practices in that some design reader communities thrived on lengthy texts (i.e., *Eye* magazine blog) while others fostered a culture of short replies (i.e., *Dezeen*). On all the blogs, readers identified themselves by using either their full names or anonymously using pseudonyms and first names. Acknowledging this anonymity is significant in that it shifts attention away from recognized authors of singular texts (i.e., blog posts) and toward the masses of readers that took part in building this discourse.

Many of the graphic qualities of blogs already vary online, as their appearance depends on individual browser settings, devices, and possibly the blog archive's infrastructure. However, traits that all blog comment sections have in common is their siloed, linear, time-stamped, vertical scroll arrangement. Rarely are comments read outside the context of a blog; they are always tethered to their parent blog post. Nor are comments from multiple blogs commonly situated next to one another. Accordingly, changing this siloed and vertical arrangement of comments became my focal point for this study.

Two approaches to discourse analysis informed my practice. The first tactic draws from qualitative thematic coding, and the second takes shape through typographic sketches of fictional dialogues. For both, I removed the reader comments from their online origins and moved them to a database. After this, I anonymized the comments by assigning a number to each to avoid the influence of reader or blog names during this process. As I worked with the comments -- first through cutting up paper printouts, and later digitally -- I developed numerous visual layouts, and text assemblages formed with readings that differ from those that existed before. Selections of these layouts are shown in Figures 3–6, and all are referenced with

author and blog names. In many cases, the texts shown are excerpts from longer reader comments.

theme: cultural concerns

Thank you so much for posting this. As a Japanese citizen, when I saw this poster last week, I felt disappointed. In Japan, the flag, hinomaru, is cautiously used due to what it represents: the emperor, militaries, the rising sun (...) To me, this is just a poorly designed work without thinking through the connotations. [021]

Making t-shirts and posters for sale is cynical and insulting to everyone I know in Japan (they said it, not me). [042]

thank you for having the courage to write this. it's something that needs to be said and i have been offended by many of the posters that have been displayed on design blogs and craft blogs all over the internet. some of the posters i have seen don't really reflect japanese culture nor the suffering of country. a lot of it i have seen seems to be done pretty quickly without much research and is just simply pretty eye candy. [188]

I am a Japanese person living in the US and working in the field of design. Although, I do not think this specific poster is distasteful or insensitive, I have been having difficulties for the last ten days or so, seeing all those "clever idea" design and illustration pieces coming from all the designers, and many of them a little too quick, too clever and often times a bit too offensive and lacks enough research for the eye of the Japanese person who knows both Eastern and Western culture. [153]

Some designers need to do some research sometimes, hey? [077]

Google the Japanese flag champ and go get another latte. [080]

I can see the logic in both sides of the argument, but what worries me most (and speaks volumes about what people are actually arguing about) is that the Japanese commenters who have felt offended by these posters have gone ignored (...) maybe in future efforts put some research in to make sure we are not defiling national icons? [118]

We could try incorporating their language, culture and perspective within American design practice, instruction and methods. I feel were this in place there would be no question. [099]

[illegible] YOSHIE OKABAYASHI Fast Company
[illegible] YURO SHIMIZU Fast Company
[illegible] JIN KAWANARI Fast Company
[illegible] JIMMY SALERNO Fast Company
[illegible] GEORGE SANDOVAL AIGA
[illegible] CEDRIC L. Design Observer
077 PGA Dezeen
[illegible] OZMOHO Dezeen

Figure 3. Graphic intervention of reader comments about the Fukushima crisis posters, organized under a theme of cultural concerns. (Source: Jessica Barness).

theme: make, sell, buy, donate

I have a problem with people saying that these posters made people donate $40,000 that they wouldn't have otherwise. They haven't. They've made people buy a poster. That the proceeds are going to charity is likely neither here nor there. [021]

What's really questionable is the buyers' attitude, which seems to be "I will only contribute if something is given back to me". Apparently people will only donate if they get a "trophy" in return. (...) In this sense, the designers should be praised, because they got people who wouldn't normally donate to at least contribute to the cause. On the other side, it could be said they are reinforcing this kind of "by reward only" logic. [033]

And if you really feel a desire to express yourself in a poster, I would suggest choosing your charity, and applying your kick-ass graphics to creating a free poster or project that requests donations directly to that charity. [066]

These designs do not belong on posters for sale to the individual. Take the rest of your stock and go hang them around the city. [042]

How about if the design community give up its worship of glam and do some "hard" work where it might actually make a difference? [049]

I understand the notion to "make" and share your various emotions about Japan's tragedy through your work (via posters) however, selling them becomes a Capitalist "pat on the back" to promote oneself. That isn't charity. (...) We're all better served volunteering our time to the people affected by tragedies. [043]

Money was raised to those in need through this poster. Therefore, shut up about everything else. [114]

021 JASON — Tye
033 GABRIEL L. — Tye
066 [illegible] — Tye
042 DANIEL [illegible] — Tye
049 JOHN BURNETT — Tye
043 ERIC BENSON — Design Observer
114 [illegible] — Fast Company

Figure 4. Graphic intervention of reader comments about the Fukushima crisis posters, organized under a theme of making, selling, buying, and donating. (Source: Jessica Barness).

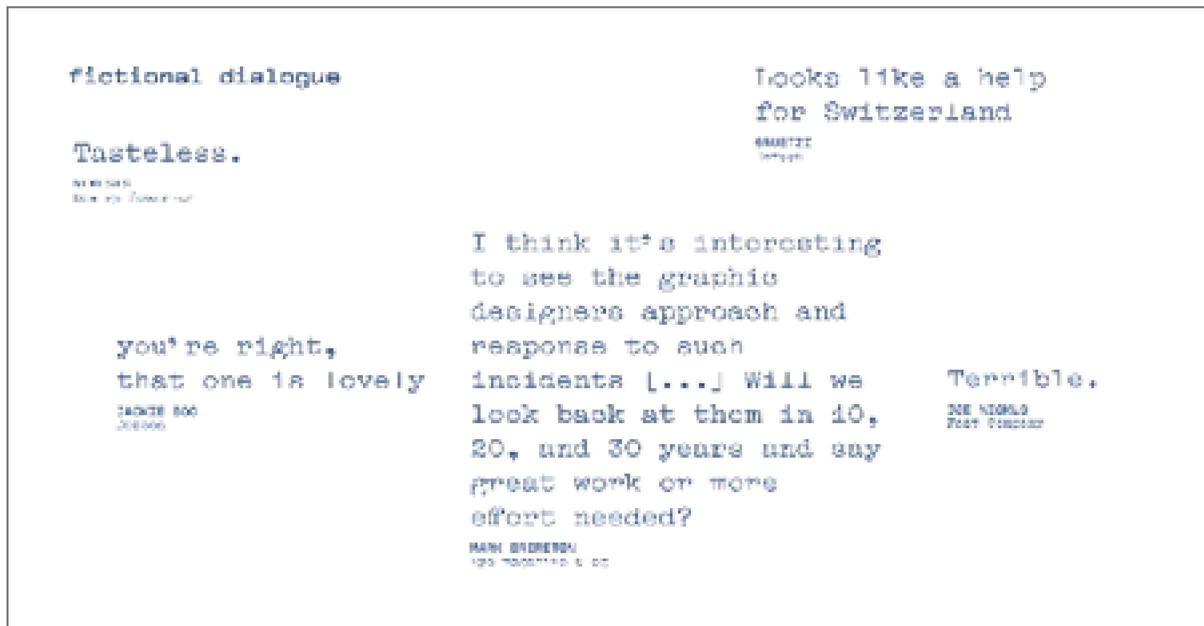

Figure 5. Graphic intervention of reader comments about the Fukushima crisis posters, as a fictional dialogue. (Source: Jessica Barness).

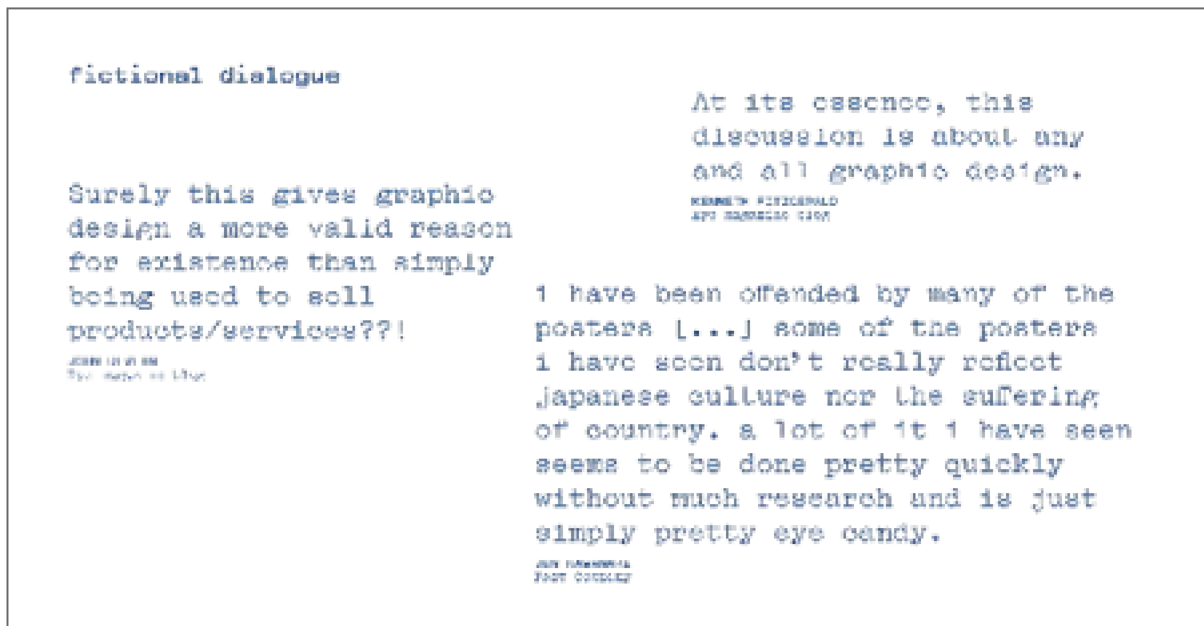

Figure 6. Graphic deformation and text assemblage of reader comments, as a fictional dialogue. (Source: Jessica Barness).

4. Reflections and Conclusion

Arranging the comments within themes and fictional dialogues results in readings that differ from those performed while scrolling through a blog. The thematic approach provided a means to identify patterns within the discourse and locate principal topics within the discussion:

- cultural concerns (shown in Figure 3)
- make, sell, buy, donate (shown in Figure 4)
- designer recognition

- futures of this history
- expression and cultural production
- “good” outcomes
- on design practice

The second approach, sketching fictional dialogues, provided a less constrained approach to the comments (figures 5 and 6). These compositions show imagined discourse among a small group of people and suggest catalysts for the debates and discussions that might have emerged.

Among the reader conversations, several perspectives and opinions are visible but a few stand out among the rest. Japanese readers shared that they were offended by the posters, and their voices are present in these comments. Concerns related to culture and appropriation are found within four of the blogs. The most frequent points of reader debate, however, focused on posters designed for fundraising or awareness being in conflict with self-promotional goals; therefore, the posters might be viewed as “capitalistic” rather than humanitarian. Readers also pointed at the nature of graphic design practice more broadly, with debates at the intersection of commercial roles and artistic values. As noted by a couple readers, the posters (or any graphic design product) could be inconsequential to the Fukushima crisis as they serve as a vehicles for personal expression rather than measurable solutions. In contrast, the posters may serve the purpose of commemorating or documenting the event. This connects with readers’ self-awareness of the futures of this history, most notably in considering how the posters might be seen, remembered, or discussed at a later date.

Reader comments in this study connect with a multitude of ethical and cultural concerns. What is the role of graphic design in a time of crisis, such as recent public health and social justice crises? How might this design alt-lit -- whether live or archived -- have value for us today, or in the future? What kind of relevance does anonymity have in the context of reader commentary, and could this shift the way we perceive certain historical design events? This critical, practice-based exploration of design blog reader commentary provides different readings of an event relevant to everyday graphic design discourse. Through these readings, there is potential for new lines of inquiry as well as recognition of overlooked reader voices of the past.

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Imagining Other Futures: Historical Interrogation and Radical Publishing

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Abstract | As an industry, graphic design appears willfully fettered to universalist narratives of capital. But a number of critical practitioners are working to define alternative practices and imagine other, plural futures. This paper observes three such approaches at the intersection of historical interrogation and radical publishing. First in discussion is Laura Rossi García and Jason Alejandro's project *Almanaque*, a study of mid-century graphic design in Puerto Rico that expands knowledge of local heritage expressed through visual culture. Second is Jessica Barness's positioning of design blog comments as alt lit. Her study elucidates the history of debate around poster competitions in response to global tragedy. Last is Paul Soulellis's notion of *urgentcraft*, which traces the history of artistic publishing in liberation movements to search for a new language and a new methodology for independent publishing beyond capitalism. Each of these projects demonstrates an orientation to historically-informed contemporary practice that situates knowledges in specific times and places, reveals ethical blind spots in the field, and points to new trajectories for design.

Keywords: Graphic Design, Critical Practice, Radical Publishing, Design Histories

1. Introduction

> Rest assured that the historical picture of graphic design as a discipline inhabited by socially concerned humanists fighting for a better world is a gross misrepresentation of what this discipline has ever had to offer.
>
> Metahaven (2017)

Born in the dream of industrial progress, design has proven to be an agent of our contemporary crises. Blauvelt (2020) observes that just as acts of design make the future, they unmake other futures. Modernity has brought comforts only to some while ushering in climate change, racial injustice, and myriad global disparities. The future is not a void, as Fry (1999, 11–12) reminds us: it is already determined by events that happened in the past and are presently happening. The future we are poised to inherit is neither equitable nor sustainable. In the wake of this reckoning, critiques of design are timely. Yet Midal (2019, 183) shows that modernist design has long been mistrusted, for its "disingenuous link between the aesthetic and the moral, between timelessness and universalism" and for placing "blind faith in the redemptive powers of technology." How do designers depart from this legacy and imagine other futures? What might it look like to design *in time* and embrace plurality, specificity, localization, and situatedness?

This paper observes three research-based approaches to practice at the intersections of historical interrogation and radical publishing. These terms—*historical interrogation* and *radical publishing*—avail themselves to multiple definitions. On the one hand, historical interrogation means to *interrogate via history*: that is, to wield historical research as a tool for examining our present or recent times. This suggests a mode of questioning or reflecting on design by tracing its historical conditions. On the other hand, historical interrogation can mean to *interrogate history itself* by challenging its value systems, methods, selection criteria, frameworks for interpretation, and narrativization in language. Just as the term historical interrogation has embedded in it an outward question—*What can history do?*—and an inward one—*What kind of knowledge is history?*—so too does the term radical publishing. In one sense, the term enunciates *publishing as a radical act* in the struggle for emancipatory futures. Publishing has always played a part in resistance movements by disseminating political ideas and assembling communities of like-minded actors. In another sense, radical publishing names a practice that aims to *fundamentally recast publishing* or even dismantle its very essence within the discourses of power it supports.

The projects described here all draw on history and publishing to instigate alternative trajectories. Each of the authors examine archival materials, forming new texts from overlooked sources. They each show how design objects were created, disseminated, and used in the past, noting not just their material qualities, but also the history of ideas surrounding these objects in their time. It is through this contextual engagement with historical design that each presenter highlights various lacunae in the field while pointing to new opportunities.

2. Almanaque

Laura Rossi García and Jason Alejandro (2021), two graphic designers with Puerto Rican heritage, collaborated to create the zine series *Almanaque*, an exploration of Puerto Rican identity, visual culture, and history. While survey texts of graphic design history focus primarily on the work of European and American designers whose careers contributed to national or global movements, García and Alejandro's study showcases the particular locality of Puerto Rico during the process of modernization. Originally home to the Taíno people, Puerto Rico was colonized by Spain in the fifteenth century, became a U.S. territory in 1917, and is populated today by Latinx communities who are largely Spanish-speaking.

García and Alejandro conducted research by analyzing archival materials such as those of DIVEDCO (Division of Community Education), a mid-20th century government agency in Puerto Rico that hired local artists to create educational materials in the form of posters, publications, and films. They contextualized their study of historical graphic design in the influential politics of Luis Muñoz Marín's administration. Nicknamed "The Architect of the Puerto Rico Commonwealth," Marín

oversaw the growth of real estate and industry on the island. He encouraged cooperation with the United States while actively suppressing the PNPR, Puerto Rico's Nationalist Party whose primary goal was independence. Marín also established DIVEDCO.

García and Alejandro compared the output of DIVEDCO's graphic arts program to representations of the island found in WPA (Works Projects Administration) posters. In the latter example, Puerto Rico is presented as a tourist destination: an island paradise seen through the gaze of a white mainland American leisure class. By contrast, DIVEDCO's arresting typography and imagery represented the island from within, reflecting a sense of urgency regarding Puerto Rico's public health, literacy rates, and social welfare.

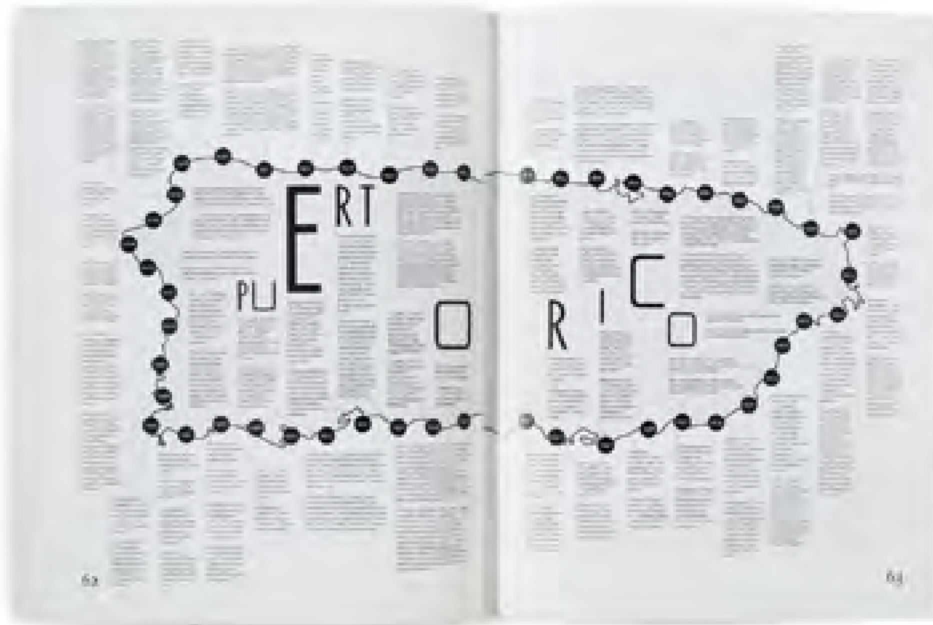

Figure 1: Timeline spread from Almanaque, *2016. Image courtesy of Kennon Photography.*

Almanaque presents the story of Puerto Rican graphic design in compelling, bilingual text. The narrative intertwines design history with political history. One spread features a timeline shaped like the contours of the island (Figure 1). In this visualization, time appears as a loop, rather than a linear, directional path. Upon first glance, there does not appear to be a discernible beginning or end to this map of time. A closer look shows the starting point is meaningfully placed at the site of Christopher Columbus' landing, the exact location of which is debated by historians, but the gesture nevertheless indicates a dramatic turn of events on the island once called *Boriken* by the Taíno.

ALMANAQUE

Figure 2: Title treatment for Almanaque, 2016. Image courtesy of Laura Rossi García.

Figure 3: Covers for Almanaque, 2016. Image courtesy of Kennon Photography.

Figure 4: Spread from Almanaque*, 2016. Image courtesy of Kennon Photography.*

Almanaque's visual design imparts another layer of meaning, anchoring the text in references to the graphic design it historicizes. The typography, image treatments, and materiality cite historical sources from DIVEDCO's brochures and poster designs. García designed the typeface used for the main body text, named Irene, based on the lettering work of Irene Delano, the first director of DIVEDCO's Graphic Arts Program. The display face, Leon, is inspired by designer Lorenzo Homar's lettering. The title treatment of the series (Figure 2) is a typographic collage in which each letter refers to a unique historical source. The outside cover of each zine is bound with a facsimile version of a DIVEDCO brochure cover (Figure 3). The size of the books and the choice to silkscreen the covers harken back to DIVEDCO's materials and production methods. The interior contains a collection of poems printed on bright orange paper which also echoes DIVEDCO's methodologies (Figure 4). Every decision in the making of *Almanaque* is grounded in the purpose of tracing the lineage of Puerto Rican graphic design. Knowledge of this heritage can instigate an "other" future for design, one imagined in the specificity of Puerto Rico and situated in its local practices.

3. Design Debates as Alt Lit

Jessica Barness (2021) studies the history of everyday conversations in design. The topic of her recent research is the comments sections of design blogs, which she identifies as both a product of design and a form of alt lit. Alt lit describes a type of self-published literature associated with social media and Internet culture. Barness notes that blog comments, as the precursor to social media, once allowed for candid debate and discussion about prominent design issues. Although blogs and blog posts may be preserved and studied, the comments sections are often overlooked. This is due in part to their low status as cultural forms and historical sources, and because an out-of-date plug-in that, in some instances, prevents comments from being archived.

Using the Internet Archive's Wayback Machine, Barness searched for and compiled a register of blog post comments from prominent sites like *Design Observer*, *Eye* magazine, *Print* magazine, *Dezeen*, *FastCo*, and the AIGA blog. The resulting collection of snippets becomes a new digital text that serves as the source material for Barness's ongoing examinations in which she uncovers the way historical designs and design issues were perceived in their time. While so much of design history focuses on designers and design objects, Barness's study highlights the history of ideas in design.

Barness draws on Lorber-Kasunic and Sweetapple's (2018) technique of "graphical text deformation." This is a kind of recontextualizing of digital texts for the purpose of examining their graphical qualities and arriving at unique readings. Barness stripped the blog comments of their associations with particular usernames, blog titles, and posts, and visually rearranged them in various ways: according to chronology, for example, or theme. She also rearranged them typographically, observing the language in different visual stylings. Using this process, Barness is able to observe the "praise, debate, and criticisms of note," with more clarity (Barness, 2021). Her analysis draws on methods from both the digital humanities and design practice; an approach which may also be described as *graphesis*, as in Johanna Drucker's scholarship. A distinctly visual process, graphical text formation, like graphesis, results in graphics that do not simply display knowledge, but actually *produce* it (Drucker, 2014, 3).

Figure 5: Slide from Jessica Barness's 2021 DHS presentation. Image courtesy of Jessica Barness.

For her DHS 2021 conference presentation, Barness narrowed her study to one issue: the graphic design community's response to the Fukushima Nuclear Disaster (Figure 5). In 2011, a major offshore earthquake and a tsunami that killed 19,500 people caused the disabling of the power supply to three nuclear reactors in the Fukushima prefecture. This led to meltdowns, hydrogen explosions, and the release of radioactive contaminants (World Nuclear Association, 2021). Designers responded to this atrocity by creating posters, selling them, and donating the proceeds to relief efforts in Japan. This is a familiar pattern in the history of graphic design. Designers responded to the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001 with a similar outpouring of posters, and more recently, poster competitions cropped up in response to the COVID-19 pandemic (Toppins, 2020).

Following the disaster, numerous Fukushima-inspired poster projects populated the blogosphere. Many of these posters drew on predicable tropes: the red circle from the Japanese flag; references to Hokusai's *Great Wave Off Kanagawa*, as well as images of cracking, waves, and gases. Barness's research into the comments sections of blogs covering the issue elucidates the debates surrounding the impulse to sell posters in the wake of disaster. Positive comments tended to address the poster

designers' visual ingenuity and their generosity in raising money for people in need. "I see this poster's release as a good thing. It's beautiful, it provokes consideration of Japan's situation by all viewers, and it's been raising money," reads one such comment (Barness, 2021). Negative comments pointed to the tastelessness of the imagery, the questionable ethics of appropriating Japanese cultural symbols, and the fact that the poster is a commodity whose sale uses tragedy as leverage in the designer's own self-promotion. For example: "I'm concerned…that more and more designers… are doing a sort of visual 'ambulance chasing,' waiting for the next catastrophy [sic]…with questionable motives and limited results" (comment reference in Barness, 2021).

The documentation of these historical conversations speaks to an evergreen question regarding how, and if, graphic design should respond to crises. Barness's research also testifies to the necessity of understanding how design projects performed in their time and place. If we were to study the Fukushima posters without knowledge of their tepid public receipt, the narrative about them risks becoming singular and unproblematic: a mythology of the poster. Access to this debate allows us, who work in the present, to see the historical ambivalence surrounding these posters and it provides a basis for questioning the recurrence of such patterns in the future.

4. Urgentcraft

Paul Soulellis is a publishing artist, designer, and founder of Queer.Archive.Work, a non-profit publishing studio, reading room, and community space in Providence, Rhode Island. His practice looks at publishing histories and their roles within liberation movements as inspiration for developing new methods that might locate artist publishing "below, outside of, against, or after capitalism" (Soulellis, 2021c). Publishing has always been political, and publishing is more than making books. It is a platform for "making public" (2021a), a term Soulellis borrows from Warner (2002), to mean the act of *making knowledge public* (dispersing information) and *cultivating a public* (as in, an audience or a community) *through that discourse*.

Figure 6: Queer.Archive.Work #3 installation at Printed Matter's NY Art Book Fair, MoMA PS1, 2019. Image courtesy of Paul Soulellis.

Soulellis (2021a) observes a paradox inherent to publishing in times of crisis: while “artists, community organizers, scholars, and activists collectively [engage] with sophisticated modes of publishing to record and communicate in real time, … those in traditional positions of power use those same tools to engineer and control our defining narratives.” This is particularly true of social media, where influencers can distribute content to thousands of followers, while at the same time performing as surveilled consumer-subjects serving up data to corporate platforms. The art book fair (Figure 6) is another space marked by contradiction. While art book fairs can reach a broad public and connect independent publishers with opportunities to grow in like-minded communities, they are first and foremost commercial events. The expense of exhibiting can be high and the need to recuperate costs can delimit what artists can do. “The hustle space of independent, artistic publishing, centered firmly on the art book fair, leaves little room for un-profitability, experimentation, or failure. There is only so much tolerance for radicality or disruption… before the economics become untenable,” writes Soulellis (2021b). With these issues in mind, Soulellis calls for a new language and a new set of methods for radical publishing unfettered by sales.

In search of the new, Soulellis looks to historical precedents, drawing a constellation between the practices of the Black Panther Party, the Combahee River Collective, AIDS activists like ACT UP, as well as various queer and socialist zine makers. Soulellis observes that in the late 1960s, the Black Panther Party used a mutual aid distribution method in which members would sell the Party’s newspaper on street corners for twenty-five cents and keep ten cents for themselves. In the

1970s, the Combahee River Collective, spearheaded by Barbara Smith and Audre Lorde, created Kitchen Table Press, a press unlike the exclusionary worlds of commercial and academic publishing. Soulellis notes that Smith began this publishing journey by distributing inexpensive photocopies hand-to-hand at conferences. Soulellis further describes the jacket worn by David Wojnarwicz at an ACT UP demonstration reading “IF I DIE OF AIDS FORGET BURIAL JUST DROP MY BODY ON THE STEPS OF THE FDA” as an *urgent formation* that uses *interference* to communicate. In previous writing, Soulellis (2021b) compared this gesture to Parker Bright’s protest at the 2017 Whitney Biennial of Dana Schutz’s painting *Open Casket*, which depicted the mutilated body of Emmett Till. Bright, wearing a t-shirt reading “Black Death Spectacle” on the back, stood for several hours in front of the painting, blocking it from view. Finally, Soulellis draws attention to the importance of *sharing culture* as opposed to the cult of individual genius, through the example of queer publishing collectives like *Come!Unity*, active in the 1970s, and *Gendertrash*, active in the 1990s. From these examples emerge the principles of urgentcraft: mutual aid, humble materials, interference, and sharing culture (Figure 7).

Figure 7: Urgency Reader 2, Queer.Archive.Work, 2020. Image courtesy of Paul Soulellis.

Soulellis (2021c) concludes that “the long fight for justice” continues in contemporary “antifa, abolitionist, anarchist, activist, queer, and mutual aid publishing practices.” He proposes that the future of independent publishing is part of this already present trajectory and in the plural histories of publishing which are yet to come. In Soulellis’s observation, publishing is radical when it actively moves away from white supremacist, heteronormative spaces of capitalist power and this is practiced by artists and non-artists alike.

5. Conclusion

This article presented three projects that, through historical interrogation and radical publishing, imagine other futures for design. A common thread passing through each of these examples is a question about the role of graphic design

language in the struggle to achieve equitable, sustainable worlds. For García and Alejandro, research at the margins of canonical histories and, more specifically, into local histories of graphic design in Puerto Rico, can bring forward cultural expressions that suggest new possibilities with form. These possibilities can contribute to understandings of identity and heritage. Barness shows that familiar forms and language can become strange through processes like graphical text deformation, giving rise to new readings. And yet, her research also points to the limitations of form through the example of the Fukushima posters. Although they may raise money for relief efforts, posters embody a reductive language which may add insult to injury when they attempt to reify grief and when they put forward "simple solutions" at times of ineffable tragedy.

Bourdieu (1984, 324) wrote that nothing is "less subversive" than the "controlled transgressions" of legitimate culture. As middle-brow taste-makers, graphic designers have historically been agents of legitimate culture. Barness's research on design blog comments after the Fukushima disaster bears witness to the ways that designers have conflated activism with commodity fetishism. Soulellis departs from associations with graphic design altogether and aligns his purpose with art and politics. His research shows that radical initiatives can reach a premature end when circumscribed by capitalism; that is, when economic imperatives overtake the political content of independent publishing. It can certainly be argued that radical politics can find no lasting expression in graphic languages, for every subcultural form can be (and often is) co-opted by actors who exploit the connotations of radicality for commercial again. In turbulent times, as Metahaven (2017) observes, there are chasms between what design says it does and what it actually does. While graphic design often stakes a claim in humanitarian activity, what it actually does is produce and promote commodities. In imagining other futures, the most interesting questions are therefore not visual ones, at least not unless they are inextricably linked to critical, methodological, and even metaphysical questions. *What can graphic design do? What kind of knowledge is graphic design?*

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Re-engaging with Design History through the Practical Turn.

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Abstract | This paper reflects on the interpretation of design histories for use in contemporary design practice. After the introduction and advocacy of STS approaches in design history by Fallan in 2010, I started to become interested in using these approaches for understanding contemporary design challenges. This interest resulted in the development of historically informed design methods in the context of the Practical Turn. The Practical Turn is a term that is coined by Eggink and Dorrestijn for the collaboration between Philosophy of Technology and Design Research. Some results of this collaboration are Utopian Technology, the Product Impact Tool, and Open Script Design. In this paper I will explain the use of Utopian Technology for designing responsibly, based on the experiences with a one-week Industrial Design Workshop at the University of Antwerp. Here, students executed a conceptual design project for the improvement of public space. Apart from having interesting design results, the project shows how the students used the historic precedents in their design explorations and how their design solutions in turn helped shaping their understanding of design history.

Keywords: Design Practice, Utopian Technology, Responsible Design, Practical Turn, Science and Technology Studies

1. Introduction

This paper reflects on the interpretation of design histories for use in contemporary design practice. After the introduction and advocacy of STS approaches in design history by Fallan (2008, 2010), I started to become interested in using these approaches for understanding contemporary design challenges (Eggink, 2016). This interest resulted in the development of several historically informed design approaches (Eggink, 2017; Eggink & Snippert, 2017) and also provided some theoretical background in hindsight for earlier work, in which I connected meaningful design to the history of unruly design practice (Eggink, 2011). This approach to design history as a resource for future exploration is recently thoroughly investigated by Göransdotter (2020), who describes how multiple perspectives on the past can inform the deeper understanding of possible futures.

2. The Practical Turn

The Practical Turn is a term that is coined by Eggink and Dorrestijn (2018c) for the collaboration between Philosophy of Technology and Design Research. Following the 'empirical turn' before, the practical turn in philosophy of technology aims to study concrete technologies and contexts. This study has produced a substantive amount of theories and reflections about the impacts of technology and innovations on our daily lives and social behaviours. Design Research can use the frameworks of philosophers to theorize the findings from practice, to make sense of the past, and for ethical reflection on the impacts of design and the moral responsibilities of designers. Or, still more practical, philosophical insights in the relationships between humans and technology can contribute to design for usability and design for behaviour change (Eggink & Dorrestijn, 2018a). Design practice, with its capability of actually changing things, offers in its turn a powerful approach to developing critical future-making practices. This implies that philosophy of technology moves beyond thinking and discussing concepts and starts to engage more closely with practical probing. The Practical Turn is then a collective effort in further developing this approach, with a change from 'study and description' towards 'interventions by design' leading eventually to the actual redesign of technologies and correlated ways of doing (Eggink & Dorrestijn, 2018b).

Some results of this effort are Utopian Technology (Dorrestijn & Verbeek, 2013), the Product Impact Tool (Dorrestijn, 2012; Dorrestijn & Eggink, 2014; Belle, Dorrestijn & Eggink, 2018), and Open Script Design (Stam & Eggink, 2014; Stam, 2015). This paper specifically centres around the concept of Utopian Technology.

3. Utopian Technology

Utopian Technology is a design approach, based on the notion that in design history, several periods and accompanying movements are discernible that envisioned to radically change society through design. To the trained historian this is not new, however in this context it is valuable for showing how knowledge of design history can make better designers for the future. In the approach we restrict ourselves to four distinct and well-known design movements; Arts & Crafts, Modernism, Late modernism, and Postmodernism (figure 1). The designs, ideas, values, approaches and underlying world views of these movements are then used as possible guiding principles in the design process.

Figure 1. representation of the four Utopian Design movements in Architecture, used in the workshop instructions (Eggink & Dorrestijn, 2020).

The four mentioned periods then respectively lead to a 'restorative', a 'socially-functionalistic', a 'technology-at-a-human-scale', and a 'diversity-of-lifestyles' utopian vision on design (Dorrestijn & Verbeek, 2013). The first three of these terms were coined by Selle (1973) in the 1970ies. Dorrestijn and Verbeek added the Postmodernist ideal of the individual self-actualisation, devoid of boundaries as a 'diversity-of-lifestyles utopia'.

4. Workshop

I will explain the use of Utopian Technology for designing responsibly, based on the experiences with a one-week Industrial Design Workshop at the University of Antwerp. Here, 18 students executed a conceptual design project for the improvement of public space. During the process they applied the idea of Utopian Technology in both the analysis of the problem and in the synthesis phase of their designs.

After a thorough explanation of the Utopian Technology concepts in the first day of the workshop, the students were sent out to find examples of designs and situations that could reflect these different visions on design in public space. Figure 2 and 3 show a selection of the images that the students presented as results of this exercise.

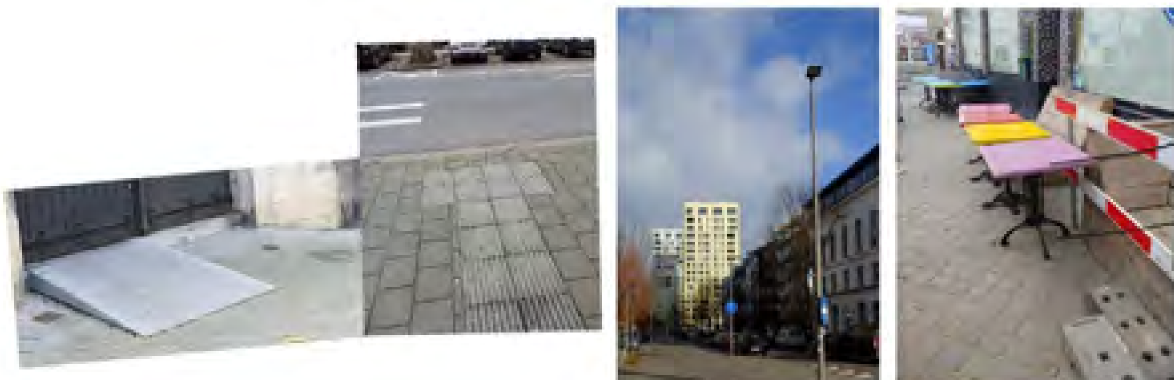

Figure 2. Examples of Utopian Design that were collected outside the classroom by the students: technology-at-human-scale, socially-functionalistic, and diversity of lifestyles.

The pictures, taken on the streets in the surroundings of the design faculty of the University of Antwerp show two things. First, that the students were able to identify the differences between the typical appearances of the four design

movements. Secondly, that the ideals of the four respective Utopian design movements are still incorporated in our surroundings everywhere. The two images on the left show technological adaptations of the environment on a human scale, to improve accessibility for the disabled. A typical ideal of the late modernist movement, targeted at equality. The towering buildings in the picture in the middle are representations of the efficiency and uniformity that stems from the modernist movement. From which the more principled participants were convinced that efficient and uniform design of products, architecture and environment also would lead to efficient and uniform -desired- behaviour of users and inhabitants. Paraphrasing Le Corbusier(2008); “the city as a machine for living in”. In contrast, the coloured café tables at the right are firmly grounded in the postmodernist ideal of individual choice, based on individual preferences and the associated possibility of an individual truth (Jameson, 1991).

Figure 3. More examples of Utopian Design that were collected by the students: restorative, technology-at-human-scale, and socially-functionalistic.

The café-table with raw planks in the left picture of figure 3 is a typical example of a restorative utopia where the connection with nature stands for honesty in material use and craftsmanship, resulting in what is supposed to be an improved experience of ‘being human’ (Zaczek, 1999). The public bike sharing system on the right is another fine example of the socially-functionalistic perspective on society; all the bikes are the same and the user has to obey to the system -taking out and putting back the bike in a pre-defined place- to make it work. Efficiency, uniformity and desired use are firmly build into the system itself. The electric scooters in the middle are part of a sharing system without docking stations. The latter is improving the user experience on an individual human scale, because checking in and checking out is far more flexible. However, the students also recognised that the individual behaviour of users was a cause of collective nuisance, because of discarded or abandoned scooters scattering around the streets. This led the student group to rethink and redesign the system in the second part of the workshop.

5. Design results

The results of the workshop ranged from an open electric scooter-sharing system to a bus-stop that fosters ethical discussion (Eggink, 2021). The interesting thing is that specifically in the ideation phase of the design process, the inherent world-views of the four Utopian Design movements are clearly visible. This, although the student groups did not deliberately used the perspectives in their ideation. However, by connecting the conceptual design proposals with the respective design movements, the possible positive and negative effects of the solution could be easily identified, envisioned, and discussed. The design history knowledge in this respect served as a specific lens towards the possible future (mis)use scenarios of the proposed designs. Especially with the electric scooter-sharing system, the project showed how in a very early stage of development the possible behaviour changing effects of the design could work-out in the end, and relevant side-effects and associated ethical concerns could easily be revealed.

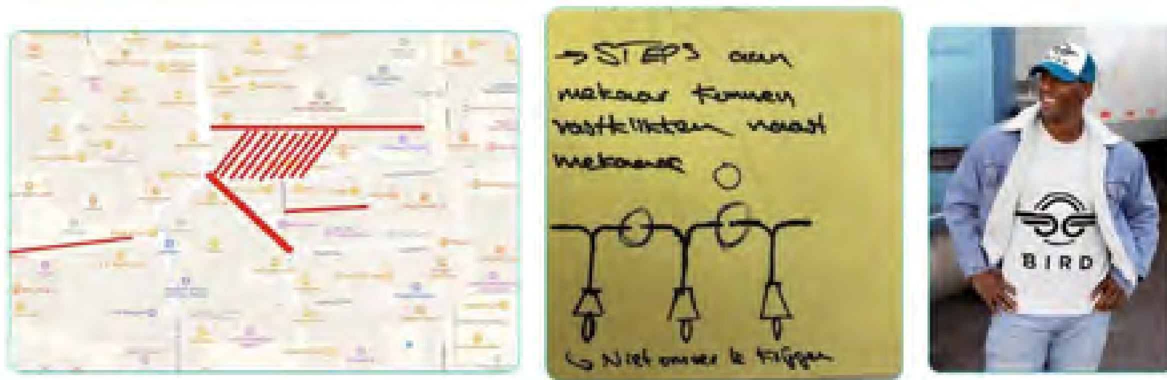

Figure 4. Visuals of ideation for solutions on the problem of nuisance by an electric scooter sharing system (by Kobe Baudewijns, Emile Cognie, Pieter De Beucker & 1 other student).

Some examples of the ideas presented by the student group working at the electric scooter sharing system are shown in figure 4. One might say that due to the priming exercises with utopian design, the presented solutions differed heavily from each other. The first solution, depicted on the right as an adjusted city map is based on the principle that the scooter system itself will not allow to discard them at unwanted places. These are envisioned by the red areas on the map and could be for instance shopping streets with limited space, crowded sidewalks, or sites of historical relevance. This solution can be seen as a correction on the technology-at-a-human-scale solution that the existing scooter sharing system represents. With this correction, the desired responsible behaviour is build-in in the technology itself. The students recognised that this is then actually also a movement in the direction of the socially-functionalistic utopia, because the user has to obey to the rules of the system again. Moreover, problems may arise when the system is not absolutely clear in communicating the ‘forbidden’ areas. In that sense it is ethically inferior to the design of the bike-sharing system with docking stations as provided by the municipality. The latter is a so-called coercive design, where one has to obey to the rules of the system in according to have it ’work’ for the user. However, the presence of the docking stations in real life is clear and in that sense transparent to the user. This transparency is an important characteristic in ethical discussions about the use of technology. If the system of docking stations is replaced by an invisible, virtual ‘docking area system’ the user has to obey to a system that can be characterized as an ‘invisible enemy’.

The second solution, sketched in the middle was geared towards cooperation. The scooters in this concept could only be discarded by connecting them to another scooter, thus resulting naturally in the socially-functionalistic ideal of ‘neat’ rows of scooters. This would also prevent them from falling over, which was seen as a problem. The students noticed in their analysis that scooters lying down were unwantedly associated with rubbish. Although this solution is also coercive and restricting, the transparency of the system is preserved and the freedom of use remains. Not on an individual basis anymore, but on a cooperative basis as the user can always start a new row of scooters at a desired place together with at least one other user.

The last solution depicted here was based on stimulating preferable behaviour by offering incentives. The ‘good’ user would be rewarded with specific merchandise. This is very much related to the diversity-of-lifestyles utopia, where the user remains totally free to choose their behaviour. The idea was also that the users behaving properly would become natural ambassadors for the scooter system. This led eventually to a new discussion whether this was desirable. By being connected to the brand, the ambassadors could also become held accountable for the misuse of the system by others.

This paper leaves no room to show all the results of the student groups, however I hope that I have given the reader a sneak peak in how the Utopian Technology inspired exercises informed the design investigation of the students in a natural and practical way. In my opinion, this is by showing them the dilemmas connected to design, coming directly from their own results in practice. Historical precedents are then helpful in envisioning the possible consequences - especially the (sometimes unpredictable) behaviour of people. By doing so, I also hope to stimulate their intrinsic interest in design history knowledge as a relevant part of their designer skill set. In analogy with the concept of cultural capital, I call this knowledge their ‘design capital’.

6. Discussion

This project shows in a nutshell how design can make tangible the inherent dilemmas and conflicts in designing for public space, where collective responsibilities and individual concerns often collide. Supported by knowledge and examples from design history from the Utopian Technology approach, this led to both a high amount and a high quality of ethical discussions during the workshop week. In my opinion it did not so much lead to better designs in the sense that they would be readily applicable, however the students were in the end very profound in explaining the dilemmas around their designs and in defending their decisions accordingly. In doing so, I permit myself to say that the students elaborated implicitly on the model of transitional design histories by Göransdottir (2020, 290). By repetitively analysing, designing and reflecting, the students were able to use the historical perspectives not only to reveal a possible, plausible or probable future, but also to envision a more desirable future (Figure 5).

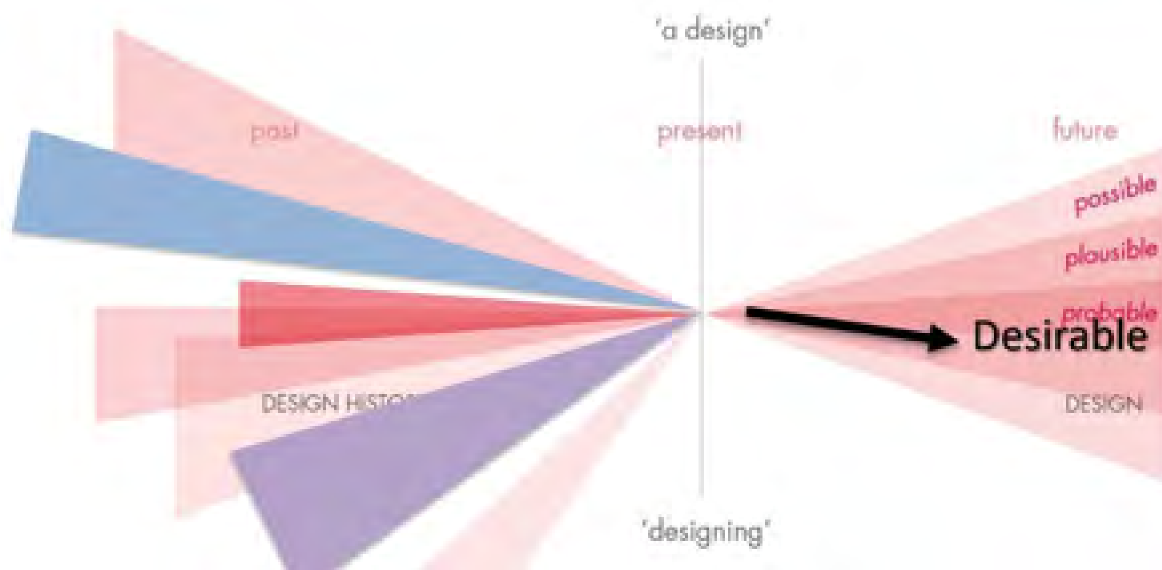

Figure 5. Visualisation of the use of Utopian Design for informing designs of the future. The multiple perspectives on designs of the past help in envisioning a -not only probable, but also- desirable future. Adapted from (Göransdotter, 2020, p.290).

In interpreting the positive results of the workshop one should however take into account a possible bias in the group of students as they all applied voluntarily for a workshop about responsible design. So one might expect that they were also more than averagely interested in ethical dilemmas in design. However, there was no mentioning of ethics in the first place. It is that with the practicing of responsible design, the ethical discussion comes naturally to the fore.

In the end, the experiences were more interesting than the results, although in my opinion the experiences could not have been so interesting without the intermediate design results. This is what we call the reciprocal effect of the combination of design with philosophy of technology: the conceptual designs are informed by the reflective analyses from in this case Utopian Technology. While in turn, the ethical reflections are informed by the practical examples of the concrete design proposals (Eggink & Dorrestijn, 2020).

7. Conclusion

Apart from having interesting design results, the project shows how the students used the historic precedents in their design explorations. On the other hand, the design solutions in turn helped shaping their understanding of design history. This reciprocal effect is what I mean with re-engaging with Design History through the Practical Turn.

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Dr. Ir. Wouter Eggink is assistant professor, especially interested in the relationships between design, technology, and society. He is coordinator of the master programme Human-Technology Relations. Eggink researches human-technology relations both from a history and future perspective. His approach is based on the collaboration between design research and philosophy of technology, for which he coined the term "the practical turn".

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S24

Stories for industrial design: A close reading of a corded portable electric drill.

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Abstract | In the history of industrial production the corded portable electric drill has received little attention from historians and scholars, yet its impact on how work was performed was significant. This research will study a corded portable electric drill manufactured in Australia in the mid 1960s. Objects and the stories they can tell are interesting and valuable; however, for many objects, their stories remain untold. Early corded portable electric drills provided workers with increased freedom and flexibility and it enabled novice users access to a form of automated technology. This drill will not be studied from the perspective of an archaeologist, historian or sociologist, but from the field of industrial design, a discipline focused on the design and manufacture of objects like the drill. The author, who has experience in industrial design practice, will carry out a close reading of the drill. The reading begins broadly then moves to a narrow and detailed analysis. In addition to the physical examination of the object, contextual information sourced from historical catalogues and trade journals will provide additional information. An initial observation of the drill reveals a restrained design that contrasted with contemporary equivalents. Consideration was given to the user, but also to the possibility of repairing the object. Material selection indicates an appreciation for context of use, and its heaviness demanded care and attention during use. Precise labelling of the location of production shows a sensitivity to product origin. The close reading reveals an object concerned with the user, repair, and product longevity. This approach to product design and manufacture may provide contemporary designers support to adopt similar principles. Additionally, this story told from the perspective of an industrial designer may contribute a different way to understand objects like the corded portable electric drill.

Keywords: One, Two, Three, Four, Five

1. Background

Figure 1: Drill, Black and Decker CP2, photo Berto Pandolfo

Industrial design is one discipline where the object is central. Industrial design defines what sort of object is needed, who it is designed for, how it should be made, what sort of materials and functional features it should have, and how it should look. Although the history of objects goes back thousands of years, the history of industrial design is a little over a century old, emerging because of the industrial revolution.

In the history of industrial design, there are documented records of key protagonists such as Raymond Loewy (Loewy 1979) and Dieter Rams (Rams, Ueki-Polet et al. 2011). There are detailed accounts of objects such as the automobile (Bardou 1982), the toaster (Artman 1996) and the typewriter (Casillo 2017). Notwithstanding these examples, the object has been given a marginal role in the process of reconstructing history (Riccini 1998, 43). This occurred in part because manufacturing companies did not acknowledge the connection between the object and their own corporate identity (Anceschi 1991, 74). With no other connection to the object other than one driven by profit, there existed little motivation for companies to establish and maintain records, with exceptions, such as AEG in Germany, Olivetti in Italy, and Apple in the United States. Other types of stories about objects originate from historians, sociologists and anthropologists which are rich and insightful and reveal unique and fascinating information about objects.

2. Reading objects

Objects contain evidence that can be read to establish facts (Fleming 1974, 160) and it is an advantage that many objects are able to physically persist over time (Hodder 2012, 172). An example of an object-based study from a historical perspective is Cowan's (1985) 'How the fridge got its hum'. This is an account of a technological battle that details the limitations, commercial motivations and communication challenges between two refrigerator designs (Cowan 1985). Interestingly, the battle between the gas refrigerator and electric refrigerator was not decided on the basis of which design was better; rather, success was achieved by who won the social, political, and economic debate (Bell 2014).

Cowan's article addresses the development of refrigeration as it transformed from an industrial technology into a domestic product. Lupton (1996) in her article on the electric carving knife, the focus is narrower and from the perspective of a visual communicator. A key point in Lupton's article demonstrates how male consumers were targeted by advertisements that appealed to their sense of masculinity. The electric carving knife would enable even the most unskilled man a way to perform the symbolic yet challenging function of carving meat at mealtime.

Industrial designers conduct close readings of objects as part of the industrial design process. This helps establish an understanding of how design related issues such as; material use and manufacturing have been addressed. Designers also look for styling and form inspiration, as well as how functional aspects and performance features have been incorporated. Designers generate a deep and sophisticated understanding about objects which is used in assisting the designer's decision-making process on new projects. However, the recording of this part of the industrial design process is limited and commonly not shared outside the design studio. This study aims to address these shortcomings by conducting a close reading of an object from the perspective of an industrial designer. It will employ a specific method to conduct the close reading and importantly, explore what can be learned.

Procedures in reading an object are analogous to those required to decipher written documents. First and foremost, the analyst or reader must be literate, which in the case of reading written material, requires an understanding of words and meanings. It is the same for reading an object; the reader must be fluent in the vocabulary of material, design, manufacturing, function, and use (Fleming 1974, 160). Additionally, as demonstrated by the historian Cowan and the visual communicator Lupton, credibility depends on the professional credentials of the person conducting the analysis (Hodder 2013, 14). The reading of the object in this study is conducted by the author, an industrial designer with over thirty years' experience. Fifteen years spent working for companies in Australia and Italy, the last seventeen years as an industrial design academic at an Australian university.

Being equipped with the necessary credentials to conduct a close reading is a first and important step; how to conduct the analysis is another. A model to conduct a close reading of an object is useful to establish a framework and guidelines. Fleming (1974) developed a model to study objects from the decorative arts such as furniture and lighting. These are objects valued for their utility, rather than exclusively for their aesthetic qualities and it is this acknowledgement that positions Fleming's model as a suitable method for reading objects from the perspective of industrial design.

3. Close reading of an object

The method described by Fleming (1974) is divided into two parts; one part involves classifying the object in accordance with five properties that classify the essential characteristics of the object. The five properties are; history, material, construction, design and function. The second part requires four operations: identification, evaluation, cultural analysis and interpretation. These operations may involve all five properties of the object listed above. The objective of the four operations performed on the properties is to uncover detailed insights about the object.

The first operation, identification, includes classification, authentication, and description, resulting in a body of distinctive facts about the object. In determining the classification of an object, one of six categories can be selected. They are listed in a sequence from decorative through to utilitarian; they are:

art, diversions, adornment, modifications of the landscape, applied arts and devices (Prown 1982, 3). The second step in the identification process is authentication, which is particularly important for objects of value. Determining the authorship, date, provenance, material, and construction will establish if an object is genuine or fake. Authentication relies on connoisseurship and sometimes scientific analysis. The final step in identification is a description of the physical aspects of the object.

The second operation evaluates the properties of the object with respect to our culture's value system. One type of evaluation is an appraisal of the aesthetic quality and workmanship, effectiveness of design, and expressiveness of form, style, and ornamentation. Another type of evaluation compares one object with other similar objects in quantifiable terms such as size and cost. Another type of comparative evaluation may be made between different objects from the same maker, or similar objects made in different regions. These first two operations, identification and evaluation, are the purview of connoisseurship. It is a step that requires a trained eye and a knowing touch, the type of expert understanding that results from extensive experience in examining and comparing objects.

A cultural analysis is the third operation and aims to study the relationship between an object and the culture it belongs to. It is more extensive than the previous two operations, because cultural exploration offers a wide variety of perspectives. The principal objective of the cultural analysis is to identify features of a common group, which enables the researcher to make general assumptions about the relationship between society and the object. There are different forms of cultural analysis, such as product analysis (the way in which a culture leaves its mark on an object) and content analysis (the way an object reflects its culture). One particularly relevant to this study is functional analysis. Function involves the concrete properties of an object, material, construction, design etc., but also the abstract properties, such as why was it made, or intended and unintended uses. A functional analysis reveals the importance and meaning of the object, and in some cases, this will indicate how an object became an agent of change within its culture (Fleming 1974).

Where cultural analysis concerns itself with the relations of the object to its culture, the final operation interpretation concerns itself with connections between the object and our culture, or in the case of this study, to the culture of industrial design. An interpretation centres on the association between something discovered about the object through identification, evaluation and cultural analysis, and a key feature of the culture of industrial design. This resulting relationship must be rich enough to reveal meaning, significance, or relevance. Notably, there is no single interpretation of an object, as this will vary in accordance with the diversity of interpreters analysing the object.

4. The corded portable electric drill

The following is a close reading of a corded portable electric drill conducted by the author, using the Fleming method. The examination was limited to what was visible to the naked eye and physically experienced by hand. The object was not dismantled to expose any of the internal components. Material from media advertisements and trade journals provided supplementary information.

The motivation behind selecting a drill to study was informed by the little information found regarding this type of object, and the fact that it belonged to my grandfather. My grandfather was a carpenter, and as a small child I have memories of this drill inside his workshop. Another factor was due to the iconic position the drill has amongst tools. A drill is one power tool nearly every tradesman, home handyman, and tinkerer would own. It is a tool that, although designed primarily for drilling holes, has shown to be easily adapted to other functions, such as sanding, cutting, screwing, and paint stirring. Like the hammer, it is a tool that becomes an extension of the arm and empowers the user with confidence and the belief that work can get done. The electric drill was the first electrified portable power tool and the beginning of the power tool industry.

4.1. Identification

The object used in this study is a drill, model CP2 (see Figure 1) made by Black and Decker, an American power tool company established in 1907. A distribution centre opened in Australia in 1929 and a manufacturing plant in 1957 (Australian Hardware Journal 1964, 44). The earliest CP2 found in Australian literature was in an advertisement from 1963 (Australian Hardware Journal 1962, 47) and the drill is classified as a device (Prown 1982, 14).

On first analysis, it is noted that the drill is made from metal, except for the grommet, power cord sheath, and carbon brush housing. The main body is most probably an alloy of zinc or aluminium. The switch and locking button are made from mild steel and the chuck is made from hardened steel. The drill is finished in a silver and copper coloured hammertone paint finish.

The drill body is made up of four metal components, the geometric complexity and smooth surfaces suggests all four were moulded. It is not possible to determine if the moulding was pressure die cast or gravity cast without conducting an internal investigation, (which is beyond the scope of this study). The four parts together house all the internal components and are held together with screws. The two screws on the handle are countersunk, i.e. flush mounted. The three holding the gearbox housing, air vent, and main body together are mounted proud of the surface. The switch is pressed sheet metal and the chuck is an assembly of machined steel components. All the plastic parts, grommet and bush assembly appear to have been injection moulded, whereas the cord outer sheath has been extruded.

The design of the CP2 adopts the dominant configuration for portable electric drills: a motor positioned horizontally and approximately in line with the chuck. The handle is attached below the motor at approximately right angles. The switch is mechanical, on or off and includes a locking button. Branding and model name is visible only on the information plate. The CP2 is rated to hold drills up to at 5/16” or 7.9mm in diameter and the motor is rated to 2500 revolutions per minute.

4.2. Evaluation

An initial visual observation regarding the quality of the CP2 noted the sturdy and durable nature, which is communicated via its all-metal body. Physically, the drill is heavy, which conveys a sense of robustness. There is visible wear and tear on the exterior body, but this is limited to superficial dents and scratches. The paint finish on the main body and the aluminum information plate also shows signs of significant use. These markings are like the patina on well used furniture or leather goods. With respect to its contemporaries such as the Sher Powermatic (see Figure 2) the CP2 is smaller and lighter. The KBC Powerchief (see Figure 3) is more appealing visually, due to the distinctive colour and futuristic form.

Figure 2: Drill, Sher Powermatic, photo Berto Pandofo

Figure 3: Drill, KBC Powerchief, photo Berto Pandolfo

Although the all-metal body was sturdy and robust, there are aspects of the way the CP2 was made that would no longer be deemed acceptable. The visible linishing marks around the handle where it joins the main body are distinguishable from the smooth surface elsewhere on the object. This would indicate flashing was produced during moulding. Flashing, is the seepage of material through small unwanted openings in the mould. It is removed by linishing, a form of industrial sanding. The linish marks were sufficiently deep that not even the thick hammertone paint was able to disguise them.

The handle is accommodating, it is a good length and width, with soft edges that make it easy to grasp. The handle is inclined forward slightly, which reduces stress on the wrist when pushing on the drill. Just below where the handle joins the body, there is a reduction of the handle circumference; this allows a good purchase on the switch by the pointer finger. The handle is positioned close to the object's centre of gravity.

The air vents at the rear of the main body are neatly detailed, with rounded ends and edges, and they integrate well with the rest of the drill. The air vents at the

front, close to the chuck are narrower, have a different length, and the treatment of the edges is not uniform. The switch is well located; it provides a positive response when activated. The locking switch is easily activated by a right-handed user, but more difficult for left-handed users.

The CP2 has the rear vents positioned on the side of the body; this allows the user to place their hand on the rear of the drill when extra pushing force is required, without interrupting the flow of air into the drill. The Sher Powermatic (see Figure 2) has air vents on the rear surface which will impede airflow if covered by a hand. When holding the CP2, the user is advantaged by the centrally located handle, unlike the Black and Decker GD15 (see Figure 4), which has the handle mounted at the rear, which places increased leverage pressure on the user's wrist and forearm.

Figure 4: Drill, Black and Decker GD15, photo Berto Pandolfo

4.3. Cultural Analysis

Most of the work of a tradesperson in the 1960s was carried out using manual tools; any holes required would have been created using a manual tool such as the brace drill. The adoption of automated mechanical tools such as an electric drill would have required a significant investment and an adaptation to a different way of working.

The use of cast metal alloy for the body of drills was standard practice during the 1960s this enabled the object to withstand significant knocks and falls. Metal alloys were materials used extensively to house motors in all types of machinery. As a result, manufacturing methods during this period were dominated by metal processing.

The CP2 was designed in a way that allowed the owner to conduct repairs, carry out maintenance, or replace faulty parts. The CP2 uses slot screws which can be unscrewed with a standard screwdriver or thin piece of metal or knife blade. Another advantage of an all-metal body was that screw threads were integrated. This ensured screws could be screwed and unscrewed repeatedly without damaging the thread.

CP in the CP2 name of the drill stands for Consumer Product; this suggests a strategy by Black and Decker to target users beyond factory workers and tradespeople. The design reflects a more accommodating and easier-to-use product. It is smaller than some of the larger industrial drills and therefore less intimidating. Black and Decker were responding to an increasing demand by people to carry out work at home and the emerging DIY market.

4.4. Interpretation

The design of the KBC Powerchief (see Figure 3) compared to the CP2 is distinct due to its level of design and resolution. The decision to emulate a science fiction-inspired ray gun can be both applauded and criticised. The space race that captivated many during the 1960s may have been a motivator behind the KBC Powerchief that is inspired by space travel and rockets ships. The CP2 however, may be advantaged by its understated design that directs attention to focus on its primary function.

An important component of the CP2 is the information label where current, voltage, company name, model, and serial number is recorded. But distinct from the common practice of stating only the name of the country, such as Made in Japan, the label on the CP2 includes the town, state and country of production – Croydon, Victoria, Australia. This would indicate that such specific details were important to consumers of this period, and that a sense of pride might have been experienced in knowing precisely where the CP2 was made in a similar manner to why souvenirs are purchased.

The 1960s was a period when manufacturing reached its highest level in Australia in terms of contribution to the nation's GDP (The Australian Industry The-Australian-Industry-Group 2019). Electric drills, although not classified as luxury objects, were highly popular items. Drills like the CP2 were advertised on popular celebrity shows (Hardware Trader 1960) and endorsed by media and sporting personalities (Australian Hardware Journal 1982), (Australian Hardware Journal 1971). This period represented the peak in the cultural status of the portable electric drill, visible to the average consumer via the media on a regular basis.

Drills and other power tools that followed the CP2 would eventually be constructed using plastic. Plastic was cheaper and faster to process, which resulted in more people being able to afford objects like the portable electric drill. This change, however, is the beginning of a fall from a highly elevated status to a commodity status. By the end of the 20th century, corded power tools were no longer seen in advertising; their costs had fallen significantly, so much so that they became a commodity, easily purchased and easily disposed of.

5. Discussion

The close reading articulated above relates to a conservative example of 1960s industrial design. At first glance, the CP2 seems unremarkable, and unsurprisingly, not present in any celebratory document about design. Yet its absence from glossy publications does not reduce the impact of the CP2 as an object of utility that contributed to improving the life of its user. Rather than just a glance, it is the close reading that reveals the CP2 as a strange object, rich in meaning and significance. It is not the inaccurately moulded body parts of the CP2 that are highlighted by the irregularly worn paint finish, or the heaviness of its all-metal body, or the lack of design refinement evident in the different air vent designs that should receive our attention. Rather it is the provenance and its role in the evolution of corded portable electric drills that is of particular significance.

It was a strategic decision by Black and Decker not to fill their subsidiaries around the world with people from the US head office. Black and Decker recognised the importance of employing locals to run and operate these businesses (2013 Youtube.com). This acknowledges the significance of provenance, not only where an object is made, but also who made the object. Black and Decker further highlight this position by removing any ambiguity as to where the CP2 was made. On the information label, not only is the country listed, but also the state and town. This acknowledgement of provenance adds another layer of meaning to the CP2. The reference to a precise location is similar to how some wine and cheese are recognised by their specific geographic origin. Through association, Croydon, the town where the CP2 was made, would have become known for the manufacture of quality power tools such as the CP2.

The CP2 plays an important role in the broader picture of portable electric drills. The 1952 KBC drill (see Figure 5) was another Australian made drill and it was more unremarkable than the CP2. It used an off-the-shelf switch, and the handle and body, from a design perspective, are poorly integrated. The CP2 is superior to the

KBC drill and probably learned from KBC's mistakes. All objects, including the KBC and the CP2 drills, play a vital role in informing the next generation of solutions.

Figure 5: Drill, KBC, photo Berto Pandolfo

This impact is more effectively studied from a distance. The benefit of hindsight enables the CP2 to be viewed in a way designers of the 1960s could not. Just as the CP2 was a disruptor with regard to manually operated drills, the CP2 would itself by made redundant by newer technologies; the most significant of these was the more widespread use of plastic. Although plastics had been used earlier in consumer products it had not yet broken into power tool design. For Black and Decker Australia, it was models that preceded the CP2 where plastic was first introduced. Initially, plastic would be used together with metal alloys (see Figure 6) and eventually becoming all plastic (see Figure 7). This move to plastic represents the beginning of a downward trend for drills which would see them become commodity items. This impacted the Black and Decker brand, which suffered significantly due to the cheaper and less durable plastic models. In this context, the CP2, although unremarkable, is significant as the last of the Black and Decker products that was respected for being tough and reliable.

Figure 6: Drill, Black and Decker 1202, photo Berto Pandolfo

Figure 7: Drill, Black and Decker 82419, photo Berto Pandolfo

6. Conclusion

A close reading of the CP2 drill using the Fleming model, from the perspective of an industrial designer, has A close reading of the CP2 drill using the Fleming model, from the perspective of an industrial designer, has established a detailed account of this object that incorporates the four stages of analysis. The CP2 can now be understood in terms that resonate with the practice of industrial design. However, from this very perspective, that of an industrial designer conducting the close reading, a large part of the drill remains a mystery. Beneath the exterior surface is the motor, gears and wiring, but exactly how these components are placed and what sort of relationship they have with exterior elements remains unknown. An examination of the interior of the CP2 would enable another layer of understanding and learning to occur.

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The Future of our Collective Memory: Design-driven Approaches for Digital Artefacts.

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Abstract | A vast body of publications has recently reflected upon the opportunities offered by “digital memories” and the intangible dimension of memory. Nowadays, this theoretical framework affects the interpretation of the social function of collective memory, that is becoming more relevant than ever also in design processes. At the same time, a new understanding of the relationships between temporalities and people, in an age infused with memory and past, has been central to several studies, even related to design cultures.
Starting from the assumption that the growing trend of mobile devices has triggered an immense proliferation of geo-referenced data, digitally connected to the places and spaces of our real lives, this paper argues how digital information could generate narratives and how new forms of collective memory (in our case, we refer to data cultures) can be interpreted, shared, mediated, or performed through design actions.
After presenting a synthesis of the theoretical debate and the historical-critical studies on collective memory, the authors propose a model that reflects upon the possible impact of the use of data and digital visualisation tools on our ability to preserve past experiences. These forms of future communications and experimental visual narratives will be analysed, studied, and described. As a consequence, the paper poses questions about if and how these data can be considered sources in the evolution of the historical interpretations of territories and their inhabitants.
From the reflection upon this topic, it emerges that forms of design action are evolving in new participatory bottom-up practices that generate information. By aggregating knowledge, mediating between material and immaterial aspects, and interfacing with users, designers will be asked to anticipate digital artefacts that allow the stratification of collective memory as a fundamental component of our collective future.

Keywords: design cultures, collective memory, data, communication and visualisation, future of past

1. Introduction

The authors wish to investigate a possible scenario in which the role of the historical researcher will change in relation to the changing role of the digital in our lives. This reflection starts by questioning the future implications of digital artefacts - more specifically *big-data*, *geo-data* and *geo-media* - on collective memory, in relation to territories and urban environments. Are social and personal media activating new possible forms of historical chronicles, as well as chronicles of the contemporary?

The speculative design approach adopted in this research attempts to activate an anticipatory process rooted in the scientific literature on memory, but, at the same time, strictly linked to contemporary projects and design experimentations on data visualisation and social activism. This topic arises from a research background strongly anchored with the study of relationships between design and anticipation. This research started in 2010 and matured, since 2015, at the Advanced Design Unit of the Università di Bologna through a series of publications aimed at defining the links between advanced design and future studies (Celaschi et al. 2019, Formia and Vai 2019). Among the previously explored research field, we would like to focus, in this specific work, on Experimental Design, which uses new materials and technologies in order to reconfigure our understanding of life, nature, and being in a changing human environment (Celaschi 2015).

The topic of memory, and thus of collective memory with its relation to spaces, places and environments, is undergoing a cultural transformation in connection with the use of new technologies. To support this speculative research, we hereby underline a group of publications that has recently reflected upon the opportunities offered by “digital memories” and on the intangible dimension of memory (Flusser 1990; Bisogno 1995; Maldonado 2005; Bagnara 2006). Today, this theoretical framework influences the understanding of the social function of collective memory. The main question that arises is: how is digitalization changing our perception of collective memory?

The discussion on the role of collective memory, with its ambivalent position within the contemporary historiographical debate, has been the necessary background of reference to understand which theoretical frameworks we may include in our proposal. In fact, we have started by considering the definition of collective memory anchored to the intellectual French context, in particular to Maurice Halbwachs’ studies of the early 1920s, later developed by scholars such as Pierre Nora, Paul Ricoeur, and Jacques Le Goff as representatives of the *nouvelle histoire* (Halbwachs and Alexandre 1950; Nora 1984; Ricoeur 2004). From this point, we have traced the evolution of the concept by focusing on the relations between collective memories, spaces, times, and identities, as discussed over the last forty years. We are convinced that this debate is still actual and original, also due to the rapid change of the concept of memory itself. In fact, it implies an extension of meaning that involves, among other perspectives, the political use of collective memories and the relations with places and times (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983); the distinction between historical and collective memory; the links between memory and identity (Nora 1984; Gallagher and Greenblatt 2000) and between personal and collective memory (Ricoeur 2004); and the intangible dimension of cultural heritage, as introduced by UNESCO in 2003 and 2005 Conventions.

At the same time, a new understanding of the relationships between temporalities and people, in an age infused with memory and past, has been central to a number of studies which critically discuss existing approaches to time and history (Kemp and Adam 2019). As Arjun Appadurai (2013) has suggested “culture is a dialogue between aspirations and sedimented traditions”; a statement that often implies a difficult intertwinement between past, present and future or, in other words, between culture and development. It is thus evident that one of the key challenges of our time is understanding how to study and create futures we truly care about, and which are more social (Adam and Groves 2007; Fry 2008; Urry 2016). Appadurai (2013, 195) wrote: “By bridging the future back in, by looking at aspirations as cultural capacities, we are surely in a better position to understand how people actually navigate their social spaces”.

The social function of collective memory is therefore becoming more and more relevant also in design processes, as a vast body of knowledge has demonstrated (Branzi 2006; Bannon 2006; Celaschi 2016; Zannoni 2018).

2. State of the Debate

To understand how digitalization is changing our perception of collective memory, we hereby reflect on the form of digital data: *big-data*, *geo-data*, and *geo-media*. In his essay *Memory and Knowledge*, Tomás Maldonado supports the need to open new directions in research on the relationship between memory and digital media, between neuroscience and technological avant-garde, starting from the assumption that “if it is true […] that the advent of *Homo scribens* contributed in many respects to change the memory of *Homo oralis*, it is more than legitimate to conjecture that, with the advent of *Homo digitalis*, the same can happen to the memory of Homo scribens” (Maldonado 2005, 10).

If we try to define the implications on the evolution of the places and territories of a new concept of memory in the digital age, we can find several different positions about the transformation of the cities into digital networks (Mitchell 1995). Nevertheless, the works of Scott McQuire (2008; 2016) in particular are an interesting point of view to understand the concept of the “media city”, model that shifts from an idea about the use of the data to govern a hypothetical *smart-city* to a supposition that data is a part of the city (Zannoni 2018).

In any case, the correlation between the data and the place is related to the difference between *big-data*, *geo-data*, and *geo-media*. Explaining the meaning of *big-data* is unnecessary, because they are components of our ordinary digital connected life. Thus, it is more important that we try to explain what happens when people generate data with any ordinary smartphone. The term *geo-data* is a short form of “Geographic data and information”, which is defined in the ISO standard as “any data that have a geo-location”. As far as the meaning of the term *geo-media* is concerned, there is not a common definition or broader published research. It acquires multiple meanings in different disciplines. Some positions suggest that the term *geo-media* is a shortened version of “Geographical media sources”, but especially refers to visual information that has embedded GPS metadata. According to Lev Manovich, we consider that any media with geolocation are positioned in a globally networked hypertext, and this condition changes the concept of “media” itself (Manovich 2013, 182).

To understand these phenomena, since 2014 we have started to observe the experiments and the projects that have tried to give a value to *geo-media*. Is there a relationship between the real world and geographic information collected in the databases on the various Internet servers? It is not easy to answer to this question, however, it is not true that geographic information have a relationship of involvement in the real world. To define which are the conditions to consider *geo-data* connected with our life, it is important to know when these data could be considered media connected with our locations. This condition could be satisfied if, on one hand, data have a direct relationship with the people and a persistent connection with other data and, on the other hand, when this information generates a cultural relationship with the places and improves forms of memories that create a common identity.

This is only a primary valuation matrix, but it is a first step to define a classification of *geo-media* (Hochman and Manovich 2013). Starting from the assumption that the growing trend of mobile devices equipped with GPS has triggered an immense proliferation of geo-referenced data, digitally connected to the places and spaces of our real lives (Zannoni 2018), it is possible to argue how digital information could generate real values for territories and their inhabitants. This multitude of geolocalized data shared by people is forming a new layer of digital information: it represents an invisible reality, but, at the same time, is strongly related to the places where we live. On the base of these considerations, it is possible to question how design cultures could contribute in giving shape to possible forms of new participatory actions related to the use of technology, strictly connected to real places and people, through new forms of bottom-up activism. What is the space for design in this process? Can it play an anticipatory role in the development of our urban environments? Is *geo-media* the new field of study for the future of memory?

At the same time, the reflection upon the possible impact of the historical-critical studies on collective memory – and, consequently, on the future of our past –, as previously described, is widely manifested and described in design literature. By aggregating knowledge, mediating between material and immaterial aspects, and interfacing with users, designers will be asked to anticipate digital artefacts that allow the stratification of collective memory as a fundamental component of our collective future. Ongoing design projects are interesting to be analysed because they represent field experimentations that

anticipate future design practices. For example, the idea to represent “Cartographies of Invisible Networks” (Santamaria-Varas and Martínez-Díez 2015) is one of the most anticipated challenges of data mining processes. This data has progressively become a substrate of connections, or a representation of recursive behaviours that can allow a predictive interpretation of people’s behaviours in urban spaces (Ashbrook and Starner 2003; Manovich 2009; Hochman and Schwartz 2012). At the same time, the early studies by Carlo Ratti and Francesco Calabrese on the analysis of GSM cells in urban spaces (2006) and the experiments of Lev Manovich in the 2013 “Phototrails” project, show how the territory can be observed and listened in different ways.

Since 2017, we are experimentally investigating this field from a “research-action” point of view. Together with scientific outputs, such as papers and articles, we have experimented this topic in didactic activities involving our bachelor’s and master’s design students. In 2018 and 2019, we discussed with students the possibility to develop design projects that started from geo-media and digital memories to improve urban and non-urban spaces. Furthermore, in 2020, we proposed a design studio about the role of design in generating new forms of interpretation of cultural heritage, involving also the intangible dimension of digital memory. The key concept was that of human traces, while the research question concerns the possibility to imagine a future in which data could acquire a collective value and become a new form of cultural heritage: in short, the objective was to design new products and services aimed at generating new forms of collective memory and its link to territories, starting from digital data as raw material for the project.

In order to share the first results of the research, in a recent publication (Zannoni and Formia 2018) we sustained three possible approaches (narrative, generative, aggregative) as expressions of a growing sensitivity towards design-driven forms, processes and tools that can activate the collective memory of places. These approaches emerge from in-depth field research on cases of international experimentations based on new design scenarios that explore the possibilities offered by the digital dimension of spatial information. Regardless of whether the results of these projects are physical or digital interfaces, the designers need to consider how people could realistically use this information and how these data can become of value to territories. This huge group of case studies represents an interesting field of research in which new methods and forms of historic analyses may be identified.

3. Define the Observation Model

In relation to the possible implications on the use of data to create historical interpretations, it is important to open a debate on how we can use geo-media to activate forms of narration and collective actions.

Before answering and articulating the discussion, we need to analyse the current design and making practices in this field. We have tried to monitor a number of projects based on the use *geo-data* to generate a social innovation and strong relationship with the territories (a data sample of approximately thirty projects).

The thirty projects were classified following the systemization offered by the three main approaches defined at the start of this research. This initial analysis phase revealed design patterns deriving from the actions brought forward by designers and citizens. As the classification took shape – in the form of a preliminary register of case studies – the design actions became gradually more recognizable and led us to define the three previously described approaches (narrative, generative, aggregative).

Some of the designs analysed fell under possible categories focused on designers’/citizens’ initiatives focused on narrative forms to develop new awareness of datasets.

Others gave life to citizens’ initiatives that generated new data through the development of designers’ tools and bottom-up actions.

Particular situations highlighted a mode in which different data sources led to the development of a knowledge process deriving from newly discovered aggregations of datasets without a direct connection.

The three approaches were thus focused on actions introduced by the designers who developed design-driven projects based on geo-localised data. A similar form of analysis was developed by Giorgia Lupi who, in her attempt to categorise narrative

actions based on data, proposed two main approaches: *Visual-driven* and *Data-driven* (Lupi 2015). These were an interesting starting point but, once again, required a broader scope and relation with the topics of location, identity, and memory. The primary classification based on the three previously mentioned approaches gave rise to a set of guidelines for the setup of a permanent observatory on design actions. These projects: through data use or generation, become activators of knowledge of places and the people living in them, by producing chronicles and perspectives of past or ongoing events.

The observatory has developed semantic thesauri for the classification of case studies and configures itself as a set of tags and shared vocabulary allowing the construction of a register of ongoing design works. With this approach, data types and sources are also fundamental pieces of information in order to understand the processes and relationships with the areas where design and experimentation works have originated.

4. Discussion

The convergences between the approaches we have highlighted and Advanced Design Cultures pave the way for a process of historic research, where the activity of designing artefacts is a way of learning. The reflective practice of the designer thus becomes evident. The design projects we have seen are "experimental forms of design" which use new raw materials and technologies that reconfigure our understanding of culture, identity, territory, and life in a changing human environment. We have essentially tried to pose the question of how anticipatory design practices can shape future social and cultural paradigms. Evidence tells us that the overlapping areas concerning methods, tools, and themes, combine in the previously presented designs possible actions to create forms of narration and paths to understand, study, and preserve the non-distant past.

All three of the approaches selected as possible models for analysis prove the primary role of design action as a form of data interpretation in which the author operates to build intersections of data, narratives, and perspectives, with the aim to broaden the knowledge of people living in an area and, consequently, facilitate individual/collective action towards the development of identity-making social relations.

The considerations made – over time – in historical-critical, sociological, philosophical, cultural heritage, and anthropological studies on collective memory, as well as the research that such fields have activated in design disciplines, are currently shedding a new light on new challenges and posing unprecedented questions: on one hand, on the value of electronic data to develop new relationships to consolidate, promote, and activate knowledge on the identity and memory of places and territories; on the other hand, on the comprehension of a series of design experiments through which the potential of design to generate new cultural values is glimpsed. As the design disciplines produce awareness by combining forms of knowledge, mediating between tangible and intangible aspects, and interfacing with users, they open new scenarios in which the designers are asked to develop digital artefacts. The latter will allow a stratification of collective memory: a component that is inseparable from a territory's identity.

It is important to understand how the classification of processes following design-based approaches may be broadened, triggering the interpretations of designs at a temporal level, in relation to multidisciplinarity. More specifically, a design issue arises where designs disappear or become technically obsolete over time, becoming illegible or non-consultable traces of memory. Whilst the data generating them remain on servers and are still legible, the designs are removed or – even worse – the domains hosting them disappear. The life span, vitality, and update of such designs are fundamental indicators to understand how the presented interpretations have a real relationship with places and people.

A final, fundamental element that is still not included in the filing process is the role of artificial intelligence in such designs for data generation and construction projects such as IAQOS by the Italian artists Salvatore Iaconesi and Arianna Persico (2021) who, in 2019, through the use of a "Neighbourhood open-source artificial intelligence", developed a collective action in the Torpignattara neighbourhood of Rome. In the long term, projects combining citizen sciences, design, and artificial intelligence will be more and more frequent and effective. The need to develop initiatives with individuals at a local level will increasingly become common practice.

More specifically, narratives and prototypes are tools that involve research on several aspects of investigation and analysis. The role of the designer, and in particular the Advanced Designer, is becoming crucial: it is rapidly evolving from giving form to future scenarios, to making the practices to imagine the future and the related processes available to students and citizens, as well as private and public organisations.

The main goal is to change current conditions, engagement, and effects into alternative, preferred, or proposed ones. This can be done by working on the idea of time and temporality.

There is evidently a close relationship with enabling technologies, which are evolving and generate new ways to communicate and provide paths and narration to our places and personal environments.

The centrality of processes represents a fundamental aspect, in particular for the emphasis on transformative and participatory processes. Co-generation of future changes may be the goals – nurtured by a cross-disciplinarity and cross-sectoriality approach – that we may aspire to achieve through such processes.

5. Conclusions

In this paper, we tried to introduce a possible reflection to link design research and historical research, starting from the topic of collective memory by introducing the origins of its conceptualization. On one side, we noticed the growing role digital artefacts can play as new possible sources in the hands of scholars from different disciplines: in a future scenario for research, it would be interesting to translate the concept pf "digital natives" to that of "digital native heritage" which is progressively germinating. On the other, we mapped, through the observation of contemporary projects, how design cultures are implementing approaches and tools to read more critically this kind of data. By merging this research, we propose to offer new possible overlapping fields of investigation: the anticipatory approach suggests introducing new possible perspective on the future of our past and memory. Historical-critical, sociological, philosophical, and anthropological studies on collective memory, and thus on the future of our past, can benefit, on one hand, from the value of computer data to build new relationships, and, on the other hand, from understanding a series of projects and experiments which demonstrate the potential of design to generate new cultural values. By aggregating knowledge, mediating between material and immaterial aspects, and interfacing with users, designers will be asked to anticipate digital artefacts that allow the stratification of collective memory as a fundamental component of our collective future. This is close to the concept of “Knowledge Design” proposed by Jeffrey Schnapp (2013): a conceptual model in which the need to test new tools and co-design initiatives with a strong cross-disciplinary perspective is highly recommended.

In conclusion, if we were to trace a new possible research outlook, we could argue the need to open the debate towards a cross-fertilization of knowledge. Institutions of memory like museums, libraries, and archives are very good at accumulating, taking inventory, sorting, and storing the sorts of materials that make up a cultural record. On the other hand, designers may offer new approaches to narrate data and propose new interpretations of digital memories, with their intrinsically immaterial dimensions.

Thus, the cross-fertilization of curatorial scholars, such as semiotics experts and others, can represent the next step of the research, combined with the sharing of design projects and their progressive aspiration to a more complex scientization of the underlined studies.

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Interface Design in Digital History: An Interdisciplinary Dialogue

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Abstract | From the perspective of a historian and a designer, in this paper, we discuss examples of digital interfaces and data visualizations used in digital history research. We aim to question how the platforms and conventions of data display can limit or guide a specific interpretation of historical processes. We seek to understand the critical implications of using frameworks to create digital objects such as interactive narratives, timelines, and spatial-temporal visualizations. Following Johanna Drucker's work, we analyze interfaces as artifacts that can reveal arguments and go beyond presenting information to become graphical expressions of humanistic interpretations. First, we analyze projects that engage with emergent methodologies in the digital humanities, consisting of enhanced critical curation of primary sources for historical research. Secondly, we take a closer look at projects and tools that build historical narratives using geo-temporal visualizations as part of the spatial turn in digital history and more broadly the humanities. We analyze them in terms of their description and objectives, systems, methods, and infrastructures, project teams, visual representations, and vision on design and history. The selected projects discussed here are digital projects created in the United States since the early 1990s. We conclude with a discussion of the affordances that interdisciplinary work between designers and historians can accomplish for expanding the possibilities of interface design and its role in processes of knowledge production.

Keywords: Digital History, Interaction Design, Interface design, Visual Interpretation

1. Introduction

Since the emergence of the WWW, historians, like many other scholars in the humanities, have engaged with the creation of screen-based interfaces in addition to their written scholarship, to provide access to primary sources or create visualizations of historical processes. This engagement often happens in a collaborative environment and through the customization of already existing frameworks, platforms, and tools, implying that existing systems can be adapted to the needs of historical research. In parallel, since the 1980s, the term “interaction design” has been used to describe the design of digital products, environments, and systems. As a formal discipline, it has its roots in industrial and communication design, human factors, and human-computer interaction (Saffer, 2009). Interaction designers have participated, since the beginning of the web, in shaping multimedia content and designing efficient interfaces for people to use in digital environments. The search for efficacy in digital products and services has resulted in the proliferation of digital infrastructures with a focus on user experience design, templates, and the homogenization of standard practices to structure content on the web. Such phenomena might enhance or impose limitations to the methods that historians engage with for creating visual epistemologies in digital environments.

Digital history has been a term used to describe very broadly an approach to researching and interpreting the past using computer technologies to aid research practices from gathering sources, interpretation, reconstruction of historical artifacts and digital narratives and publication, to dissemination practices and public engagement (Brennan 2019). In this paper, we discuss a selection of early digital history projects that use graphic forms to represent historical narratives in contrast to regular narrative texts presented on web environments. We frame the projects intertwined with the evolution of the WWW since the 1990s and the discipline of interaction design.

Many early digital history projects focused on digitizing and publishing primary sources through interfaces designed for web browsers. The possibility to give the public online access to our cultural record made collection building a more common practice among historians who engaged in enhanced critical curation when interpreting primary sources in digital environments. Curation is an activity that involves filtering, “organizing and re-presenting the cultural record of humankind" (Burdick, et al. 2012, 34), can be described as an interpretative practice. Such practices, tied to the novel capabilities of the internet, have become key in digital historians' workflow. This initial approach to digital history results in what Johanna Drucker refers to as representational images, which in the case of a digitized collection of historical records, are images searchable in a digital interface and are a "secondary expression of preexisting data'' (Drucker, 2020). The primary expression being the original documents from which digital versions were derived.

Together with the curation and representational uses of digitized primary sources, Drucker asks how to create a graphic environment for representing interpretative processes or creating them. Instead of dealing with the problem of displaying information in digital interfaces and making design decisions about how something would look or be organized, her inquiry centers on how interfaces could allow for "modeling interpretation" and the creation of visual argument structures (Drucker, 2020). The work of creating screen-based interfaces has relied mostly on software engineers, computer scientists, and web designers and developers. Drucker's perspective differs from a widespread focus of commercially-oriented interfaces on usability, best practices, and human-centered design. It is also antagonistic to ideas of building on pre-existing platforms and digital services that tend to universalize the ways in which information should be displayed and accessed, or in this case, how interpretation could be modeled. However, tracing key moments in the development of so-called digital history projects provides context to understand the ways in which disciplinary boundaries between designers and historians can get blurred to create spaces of reflection and practice and potentially a shared scholarly agenda.

2. Early Digital History Projects

One of the pioneering digital history projects in the United States was born in the early 1990s at the University of Virginia. *The Valley of the Shadow* (Ayers, 2004)is a project that documented and digitized thousands of primary sources from the Civil War era, specifically from two counties, one in the state of Pennsylvania and one in Virginia. The documents were made publicly available through a website that features a search engine to identify and retrieve letters, newspapers, speeches, maps, census records, and images. Beyond providing access to these primary sources, the website's intent is to give voice to the hundreds of people whose life stories were forgotten during the Civil War era. The website includes a resource center for exploring timelines, an extensive bibliography, and documentation on how to navigate the project's databases.

Figure 1. Screenshots of The Valley of the Shadow homepage and timeline page

This project illustrates how, during the early World Wide Web, historical content started to be publicly available in forms other than books and printed articles. The cover page before entering the site and the use of image-based text are common features of websites from the 1990s. Built with static HTML pages, the project is described on their website as "more like a library than a single book". The website represents a transition from accessing printed documents in physical spaces to engaging with these materials through screen-based interfaces, transcriptions, and digital files. The main interface to navigate the three sections in which the site is divided features the image of an archive's floor plan (Figure 1, left). The physical space is represented in the screen and serves as a metaphor for entering the archive's rooms to search for documents. Facing limitations in speed for loading images and documents of the early web, the project was also created as a CD-ROM.

The user interface reflects the capabilities available during this time for presenting content on the web browser using HTML tables. The use of tables on web browsers in the early nineties was used as a layout to display complex material in rows and columns. The table in this case is the visual structure to organize historical events chronologically in a timeline (Figure 1, right). Timelines have often been discarded by historians as superficial chronologies that cannot grasp the complexities and interpretations of historical events (Rosenberg and Grafton 2013). Timelines convey an idea of history as a linear sequence of events, as a progression from point A to point B. But historical processes are messy, and timelines as a graphic form of expression of change and continuity across time might be a misleading and limited artifact when looking to express simultaneity, different timescales, and the relationship between time and space. However, the use of tables as timelines in the time period when this project was published is tied to what was possible at the time.

The focus of a project like "The Valley of the Shadow" is the online publication of primary sources to make them publicly available to others. This usually involves collaboration between scholars, students, and university libraries, among others. The website serves as complementary material to traditional scholarship. In the case of this particular project, as listed on their website, at least 70 people including co-editors, project managers, project staff, undergraduate and graduate students contributed to this project since its beginning in 1991. Through the years

since the inception of the web, standards for metadata creation, controlled vocabularies, and custom platforms for publishing digital collections have created a level of uniformity in the way collections are displayed on the web. Conventions of how to display collections, processes of search, and retrieval of information follow a logic of tried and tested practices that are often unquestioned. The optimized aggregation of digital collections to other archives relies on such standardized practices on the web for achieving interoperability between repositories. The documents are available for others to engage in interpretative work and since the beginning of the web, such projects face challenges of preservation and sustainability in the long term.

Figure 2. A compilation of homepages of early digital history projects. Column 1: Making the History of 1989; Civil Rights Movement Archive; DoHistory; Henry III Fine Rolls Project. Column 2: The Bethlehem Digital History Project. Reeves Library, Moravian College and Theological Seminary, 2000-2008; Colonial Latin America; Encyclopedia of Chicago; Lewis and Clark Across Missouri; The Lost Museum. Column 3: Bracero History Archive; Detroit Black Churches; The Flint Sit-Down Strike; Making of America

The challenges of preservation and sustainability of digital history projects become clear when accessing the Digital History Project, an organized repository of digital history projects published by the University of Nebraska that was active during the 2000s. The site includes reviews of projects and tools from this time period. It is noticeable that at least one-third of the 45 projects reviewed, are not available online anymore, at least in their original URLs, or are inaccessible due to using software not supported by current web browsers. In a few cases, new versions of the original sites have been created, implying an ongoing infrastructure of support and maintenance. The need for long-term preservation of visual interfaces and associated databases is not debated enough and obscured by need of providing access to content (Warwick 2020). Aware of the Internet Archive, Warwick suggests that digital resources should be preserved in usable form. The question remains of what an archival system for digital resources documenting digital history in the early web would look like. Aside from the preservation of original user interfaces, it is worth also considering that central to the web is the separation of semantic content from visual style. The interface as the public visual display is not the only possible object of preservation. The underlying information architecture, database, metadata, can become the raw material whose visual display can be iterated upon.

Embracing the possibilities of building multimedia historical narratives is another aspect of digital history projects that are enabled by online tools and platforms built specifically for this purpose. Questions that emerge from publishing large quantities of digital resources have to do with how these are searched and used by people for their research purposes, and what methods are in hand to analyze and animate the archive (Schnapp, 2008). In the earliest digital history projects, the focus was on time and chronology represented as timelines are still a stable of web-based projects seeking to explain and represent change over time. In the last few years, the discipline has increasingly paid attention to changing spatial relations over time. The ‘spatial turn’ in history refers to a set of methodological approaches that explore spatial relations, movement across time and space, and its relationship to historical processes. This has involved using Geographic Information Systems and creating visualizations as means of doing research to uncover spatial relations and reveal “historical relations that might otherwise go unnoticed.” (White 2010, 6).

3. Tracing History Through Geospatial Narratives

In the case of spatial history projects working with geospatial representations, there is a shift away from text-based history-making and linear logic in the web. This is manifested in the incorporation of data sets and spatial visualizations that lead the researcher to think graphically about their research and to seek digital visualization methods. The 2012 project, *Slave Revolt in Jamaica, 1760-1761,* (Brown 2012) is a cartographic narrative that has a tool for visualizing a type of information that is not easily apprehended by reading textual sources. The slave rebellion in Jamaica was a poorly recorded event by colonists and officials of the British Empire. The sources speak mostly of the fears, anxieties, and desires of the slaveholders. However, in the project website, Professor Vincent Brown argues that it is possible to discern something more about the rebellion by tracing the movements of the combatants in space. By tracking the locations of the slaves during the revolt, the project's interactive map unveils some of their strategies and allows us to observe the tactics of the slave insurrection.

The maps and timelines used by historians in their research were mainly developed in the natural sciences, social sciences, and statistics (Drucker 2020) and can be looked at in conversation with theories and practices of information design and data visualization. The interface of *Slave Revolt in Jamaica, 1760-1761*, uses spatio-temporal structures to create a screen-based narrative. The timeline is tied to the map that represents the territory where the events occurred (Figure 3). The way we structure time visually is organized around conceptual models of the dichotomy between linear and cyclical times. (Meirelles, 2013, 86). Time is represented as a linear phenomenon through a timeline that shows a sequential series of events. The history of the timeline as the ubiquitous visual structure that we know today dates back to the eighteenth century. These types of visual structures have been translated to screen-based formats and when combined with

geospatial visualizations are often placed at the bottom of the screen as a reference to geographic occurrences like in the case of the Slave Revolt project. The graphical conventions of timelines as devised by Joseph Priestly starting in 1765 are still part of the graphic systems used today that contain graphical elements like timescale, time indicators, line indicators to depict durations, and color code, among others (Meirelles, 2013, 95). Some of which are present in the timeline that is part of the project.

Space Revolt can be seen as tied to geovisualization, a field with roots in cartography but supported by GIS and tools and techniques for interactive analysis of spatial and temporal data. The nature of the medium allows trajectories to craft a narrative which is a common technique in flow maps often used to show migration and in the case of the *Space Revolt*, the locations and trajectories of slaves during the revolt. The spatio-temporal visualization allows viewers to engage with the data by interacting and navigating to specific days, or to have an animated version of the visualization to see the sequence of events. Different types of displays and ways of interacting with the data may accomplish different levels of cognition in users. Brown acknowledges that his project builds on the work pioneered by information designers and that "this and other projects require new styles of collaboration, as well as great investments of money, time, and labor." (Brown, 2016, 184). To accomplish the goals of his project, he worked with a specialized team of web designers and developers experts in interactive maps and geospatial visualizations. In the relationship between scholars and designers, new forms of scholarship start to emerge. He also reminds us that the driving force for historians' engagement with the tools and methods of visualization is still traditional scholarly questions. Working with a specialized team for these types of projects may not always be possible, and preexisting tools and frameworks can support historical research and visualizations with lower costs.

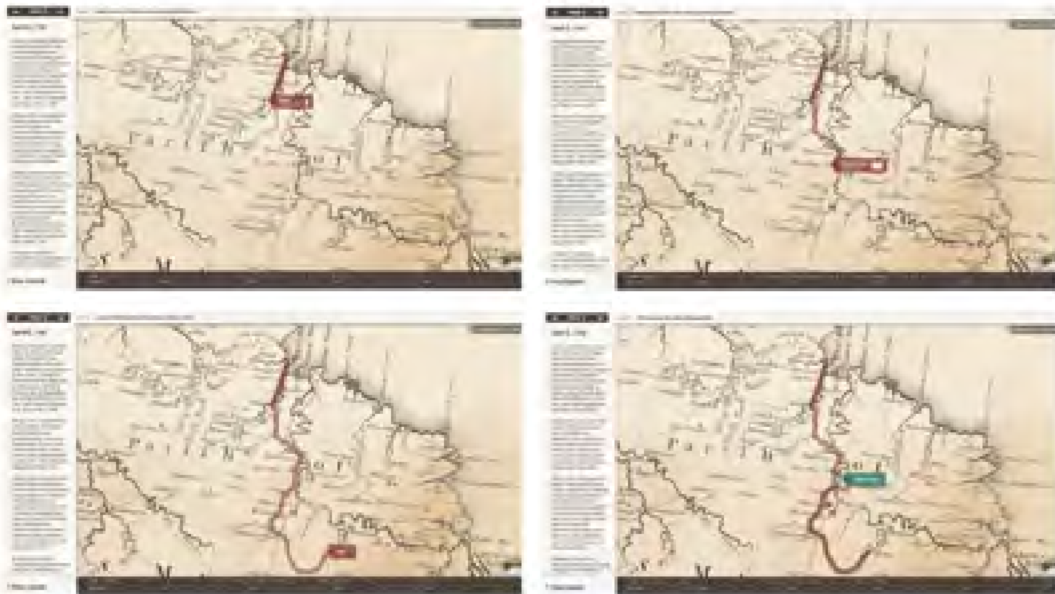

Figure 3. Screenshots of the map in Slave Revolt in Jamaica, 1760-1761.

4. Interfaces for Interpretation

From projects that digitized and published primary sources and created simple visualizations such as timelines, the second decade of 2000 brought about a boost in humanities scholar's projects that engaged not only with the use of digital interfaces but with its creation within the field of the Digital Humanities. Such is the case of Neatline, a NEH-funded project (National Endowment for the Humanities) released in 2012. The tool is a customized interface to create geo-temporal visualizations described as "interpretive expressions of the literary or historical content of archival collections". Drawing on Johanna Drucker's idea in "visual, incremental knowledge production, or *graphesis*", the researchers and practitioners behind Neatline sought to demonstrate "the value of iterative interpretation and knowledge production manifested in visual form." (Nowviskie, et al. 2013, 692) Going beyond digital history projects as finding aids for archival

collections or the production of catalogs of primary sources, Neatline "aims to demonstrate the value of archival metadata to interpretative scholarship." (Nowviskie, et al. 2013, 693). In addition, the development of a project like Neatline, aligns with the contemporary web and the proliferation of browser-based tools and applications to serve different needs and purposes. Different from Brown's project, Neatline emerged from a collaboration with the Roy Rosenzweig Center for History and New Media at George Mason University, a milestone for the development of digital history in the United States and the world.

Neatline is conceived as a tool that users can enhance with a suite of open-source plugins that extend the basic capacity of the platform. The tool is linked to Omeka, an open-source web-publishing platform in which scholars and memory institutions can display their collections and exhibitions. In this sense, both platforms allow for enhancing the curation of digitized primary sources together with interactive storytelling. The tool is designed to facilitate processes of interpretation of archival collections and makes it possible for people to engage in creating narratives for explaining, reframing, and ultimately expressing arguments in a graphic interface. Neatline allows the user to create spatio-temporal exhibits combining cartographic visualizations, image annotations, and narrative sequences. In web development, it is standard to work using existing front-end frameworks, a package containing a structure of files and folders of standardized code to get started. In a way, much of what is published today on the web is building upon an already established logic and a set of defaults. Neatline's about page describes that they provide sensible defaults but never make intellectual or aesthetic decisions on behalf of the user. How much building on an existing platform like Neatline could constrain a vision of what a project can become? Or how unfeasible and time-consuming it would be to build these types of projects without relying on existing tools and frameworks?

Similar to professor Brown's cartographic narrative, Neatline also provides a timeline tool that allows for chronological visualization. The developers of Neatline argue that the tool "also includes the ability to express temporal ambiguity, uncertainty, and nuance" (Nowviskie, et al., 2013, 694) It is not clear, however, how one can assess these expressions in the showcase of projects that use the tool. In most of them, the navigation of contents is chronological and alternatives to non-linear display do not seem like a straightforward feature. However, because of its modular nature in which different plugins can enhance the exhibitions, the tool is flexible and allows users to play around in order to show connections among documents and their spatial and temporal dimensions. In this sense, the tool is a scholarly artifact that historians can use to create other types of writing, different from books and articles, in which critical curation and geospatial storytelling create a type of rhetorical artifact mediated by interface, databases, metadata, and information architecture.

5. Discussion: Design Practices for Historical Research

Perspectives coming from design might tend to impose a view of user-centered design that guides the decision-making processes in the creation of an interface based on an intended audience. If historians are using visualization tools that are centered on presenting data efficiently ways, then their perspective will naturally be following practices that are focused on enhancing people's experiences when using an interface as a space to perform tasks. When digital interfaces are born as artifacts of digital scholarship that aim to produce knowledge, the decisions made in the design of the digital interface respond to research questions or the main argument. This process can lead to seeing the research process as an iterative, experimental process mediated by digital infrastructures. In the design process, a framework is generated to get the researcher closer to answering their research questions or studying their collected evidence. A final outcome, like the production of books and articles, is secondary in this case. The process is the goal and is mediated through digital tools but driven by humanistic inquiry. The process will change when the goal involves other audiences and methodological workflows.

The way the content on the websites we use in our daily life is displayed largely follows conventions, standards, best practices, and accessibility guidelines. With years of experience understanding how people use interactive products, technology companies like Google and Apple have developed guidelines for best practices in

interface design. For example, Google's Material Design website describes its guidelines as "an adaptable system of guidelines, components, and tools that support the best practices of user interface design." This set of standards lends itself to a level of uniformity in display and interactive features present in the user interfaces of websites and apps. People get familiar with certain ways of organizing information and therefore the universalization of what is expected from a web interface. The prevalence of this type of guidelines from the tech industry may obscure the potential of experimentation in humanistic inquiry. Similar is the prevalence of web frameworks for building websites. These provide a strong foundation for customization and when so much code has been developed and shared online, it only makes sense to work within such frameworks and customize to the needed extent of a particular project. But, why if designers and historians collaborate to adjust or create new guidelines that better support the aims of humanities research?

Historians can embrace design practices and visual ways of making scholarship in collaboration with designers. The use and design of digital interfaces to aid processes of interpretation of sources, contrast with designers starting a project usually considering an end audience and goals to accomplish related to that audience. Having digital history projects publicly published on the internet brings importance to considering how others, without scholarly interests, might perceive and learn from the public websites. The question of what a graphic interface and its information architecture should accomplish for the researcher and for other audiences is then a central question. To this respect, Browns asks, "What can historians expect anyone to learn from an analytical story in the form of an animated visualization?” (Brown 2016, 177). The internet as a broad public space places the historian and his research in front of diverse audiences and confronts them with the question of public engagement and possibilities to bring their research out of their narrow academic niche. In this scenario, concerns around digital literacy must be addressed to make it possible that the audience of these projects comprehends the historical interpretation of digital history projects that create geospatial visualizations and cartographic narratives.

Interfaces for digital history should not only deal with the problem of structuring and displaying information and making design decisions about visual style. In this sense, as discussed earlier, Drucker calls for "graphical forms capable of expressing ambiguity, contradiction, nuance, change, and other aspects of critical consideration." (Drucker, 2020, 13) Considering these intrinsic characteristics of a field of knowledge concerned with human experience is key in the conversations between interaction design and digital history. Drucker also advocates revising the engineering values of “task-oriented and efficiency-driven” design that have dominated the field of Human-Computer Interaction. This mechanistic approach, Drucker argues, eliminates crucial elements of humanities research and the very practice of reading in the digital environment. She proposes an interface theory that places in the center the practices of digital history and digital humanities. Interface theory, she argues, “has to take into account the user/viewer, as a situated and embodied subject, and the affordances of a graphical environment that mediates intellectual and cognitive activities.” (Drucker 2011, 8) How do we learn in web graphical environments is a question that both designers and historians should ask in designing interfaces.

We imagine that the development of interfaces born within the particulates of humanistic inquiry could happen in collaboration across disciplines (history, computer science, design, information science, geography), and as a synergy that will advance all areas equally. To do so, we can imagine new forms of collaboration across disciplines. This paper is the beginning of an inquiry that envisions scholarship in history influenced or in conversation with visual ways of making and thinking. How can designers collaborate with historians to create meaningful approaches to history through the design of interfaces or other alternative forms of scholarship? How can the collaboration with historians inspire designers to design interfaces less centered in the conventions of technology and more in the nuances of human cultures?

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To See in Reverse: Decoding and Decolonizing Design Language and Thinking

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Abstract | Based on decolonial theories developed by Walter Mignolo, Arturo Escobar and Grada Kilomba, and understanding that the process of colonization is also intellectual and language-based, we have developed a workshop held in 2019, which proposed to designers the experience of deconstructing language to bring out the colonizing preconceptions that may have shaped it. Influenced by the propositions of Brazilian educator Paulo Freire, who defends education as a practice of freedom, we adapted his method of adult literacy to 'unliterate' designers. This paper describes the workshop session and discusses the theoretical foundations we used to develop it. Searching for a design that avoids universalism and advocates for a participatory political praxis, we bring the conceptual foundations that helped us think about decolonization and language in design – unlearning to relearn, decoding to decolonize.

Keywords: Decolonial thinking, language, Paulo Freire, pedagogies of unlearning

1. Introduction

The activity of design has its historical origin linked to the Industrial Revolution and the production of consumer goods. Furthermore, in defense of the access of masses to these goods, modern design was intended to be universal. Nature seemed to be an inexhaustible resource, at the disposal of human beings, who considered themselves separated from the 'natural' world. Anthropocentrism results in the phenomenon that has been called anthropocene.

Anthropocene is configured as the Earth signals that it can no longer resist the voracious consumption of billions of human beings – a situation that designers have uncritically served. In addition to environmental concerns, issues of class, gender, race, and colonialism are notoriously absent in most design theories and practices, as is the issue of design's dependence on capitalism, a phenomenon that has a direct connection to the anthropocene. The professional activity of design remains linked to productive and economic processes that have been damaging the planet. Under these conditions, we need to ask ourselves what design we want to make and what world we want to design.

1.1. Decolonial theory

The anthropologist Arturo Escobar (Escobar 2018) states that design is intrinsically linked to capitalism and a liberal conception of politics. Advocating for radical politics, Escobar embraces the idea of 'ontological design' as a means of pondering on a transition from the hegemony of modern universalist thinking to the possibility of pluriverses. He defends an autonomous design that moves away from commercial and profitable ends towards more collaborative approaches. How can we direct our acting, as designers, to a plural world? One possibility is to unlearn what is naturalized as design thinking. Rethinking the specific language of the field (the way in which concepts materialize) can be the key to start a transition path, sensitive to the diversity of lifestyles and the environment and its resources.

Escobar recovers the decolonial debate and the notion of pluriverse, previously discussed by Walter Mignolo (Mignolo 2013), who understands pluriverse not as a world of independent units, but as a mode of thinking and comprehending that inhabits the borders. According to Mignolo, it is not a matter of perceiving boundary zones while inhabiting a fixed territorial epistemology: a pluriverse would not be somewhere out there that could be observed from the outside. To access such a mode of thinking one has to inhabit the borders, without passing through a boundary zone in order to observe or describe it, but remaining in it.

In line with Mignolo, Escobar argues that border zones are strategically important spaces for the reconstruction of an ethic and a praxis of care in relation to what should be designed, and how it should be designed. Quoting Tony Fry (Fry 2017), Escobar proposes that:

> 'this would be an ontology of repair of the broken beings and broken worlds that have resulted from centuries of defuturing designing and their alleged accumulated outcome, the anthropocene.' (Escobar 2018, 207).

In his view, this is not a total rejection of design, but of fomenting criticism and local innovation, allowing the creation of structures of care to sustain life on Earth. In Escobar, the contestation to design comes with an invitation to reinvent it. Abdicating the idea of designing for someone who is not there, such design practice would only take place as attention, encounter, care, and cooperation.

According to Donna Haraway, we will only be able to face what threatens us if we also become capable of transforming ourselves through strange and risky cooperation, which can thus constitute new and effective collective. The challenge is the 'practice of learning to live and die well with each other in a thick present'(Haraway 2016, 1). By cultivating together the arts to live on a damaged planet, we can learn to go on living in ruins.

This way of design thinking and making, that articulates the ideas of Escobar, Fry, Haraway, and Mignolo, does not intend to solve any crisis or even to propose definitive solutions. However, claiming design as a practice of cooperation, experimentation, and transformation invites us to recover our ability to live and to die well with difference.

Moreover, how to learn to design for pluriversal worlds? Brazilian anthropologist Eduardo Viveiros de Castro and Portuguese artist and theorist Grada Kilomba propose us to engage in the decolonization of thinking, so we are no longer the colonialists of ourselves, subordinated to key ideas of subject, authority, origin, truth. According to Viveiros de Castro:

> 'the decolonization involves a double movement, the recognition of the historical, socio-political decolonization of the world, and its effects over the decolonization of thinking.' (Viveiros de Castro 2012, 255)

Kilomba, who refers to bell hooks (hooks 2017), adds that it is not enough to oppose this colonization, we need 'to invent ourselves anew' (Kilomba 2008, 13).

Following clues in order to find modes of escaping the traps put by design, we question the modern Eurocentric belief that considers design as a problem solver, to assume a pluriversal approach in which 'design does not transform the world, rather it is a part of a world in transformation' as stated by Tim Ingold and Caroline Gatt (Ingold and Gatt 2013, 254). So how can we decolonize our thinking to allow us to make design otherwise? If we want to think of a design for transition, as suggested by Escobar, we must unlearn what is naturalized as design thinking.

It is not an easy task to perceive colonial structures in daily life when only such a model of thinking and acting is known. As Mignolo (Mignolo 2008) points out, the exercise of conceptualizing the colonial as constitutive of modernity is itself a decolonial practice. We are Latin American female designers and our practice and formative foundations were built majority on European and North American authors and in a foreign language, English – from where fundamental terms and vocabularies come. Doing the exercise of understanding where these foundations come from, we ask ourselves if a decolonization process of our practices shouldn't start with the generation of a new vocabulary, incorporating a more plural environment and including other ontologies.

2. Decoding to decolonize

Believing that this process begins with education, we adapted the proposals of Paulo Freire, who defends education as a practice of freedom. The method developed by him was not only intended to instrumentalize reading and writing of the literacy learners but to incite the freedom of the oppressed, for the construction of a democratic society. For Freire, education, from the perspective of a practice of freedom, is a political act (Freire 1987). He devoted himself to experiments in the field of adult education in proletarian areas, both urban and rural, and believed that education plays an indispensable role in the process of awareness and mass movements. Freire adopted, as part of his pedagogy, the search for common words of daily life of a particular social group. For him as a pedagogue, words could no longer be the vehicle of alienating ideologies but become the instrument of a transformation of man and society through the idea of being able to 'read the world'. This enables critical analysis of the illiterate to their own reality, social and political context, promoting the awakening to full citizenship and social transformation. We rely on his method of adult literacy to 'unliterate' designers, seeking to transform language from its source.

Freire's method is divided into three steps:

The first one is the Study of the context: students and teacher search, in the vocabulary universe of the students and the place where they live, words, and central themes of their biography.

The second is Thematization: they encode and decode these themes, looking for their social meaning, thus becoming aware of the lived world.

And the last step is Problematization: students and teacher seek to overcome a first magical vision for a critical vision of the world, passing to the transformation of the lived context.

This method begins with a survey of the vocabulary universe of a group. ‘Generative words’ are then chosen, as starting points for the process of literacy and awareness. These words are contextualized through the creation of images illustrating existential situations in which those come to life. There is a moment of discussion of the situations presented. The generative words are decomposed into syllables and from these, close syllables are generated. From the new syllables, participants form new words, which will also go through the process of contextualization and illustration of situations in which new words can be inserted.

Associating Freire's pedagogical proposal with debates on decolonization of thinking (Kilomba, Viveiros de Castro), border and decolonial thinking (Escobar, Fry, Mignolo), world reading and decoding (Freire, hooks), and the ideas of Haraway and Ingold & Gatt, we developed the workshop proposal, structured in four stages and lasted 2 hours.

2.1. The workshop proposal

Aiming to forge ruptures in the way we used to thinking about design, the workshop suggested a free exercise of observing, in language, signs of coloniality, proposing the deconstruction of terms and the creation of possible new references to vocabulary. The exercise revealed possibilities for transformation of one's own thinking and perception. Is it possible to transgress an established language that reduces possible openings of thought by limiting it in its structure? How, as designers, can we create out of the box in a universe of such solidified terms? Where to look for new words and definitions for other possible worlds?

As the workshop's first task, each participant should write a reflective narrative about their main activity, whether work or study, without mentioning its name. It was requested the creation of a free text, close to their daily experiences. After writing these reports, participants should read them aloud to the rest of the group. Since it was mostly made up of designers and architects, the descriptions were related, for example, to the creation of things, spaces, and futures; to listening to someone's wishes and then consequently fulfilling their dream; to design, having an idea in mind and making it a reality.

Participants were then instructed to choose one or more words of their texts that catch their attention.

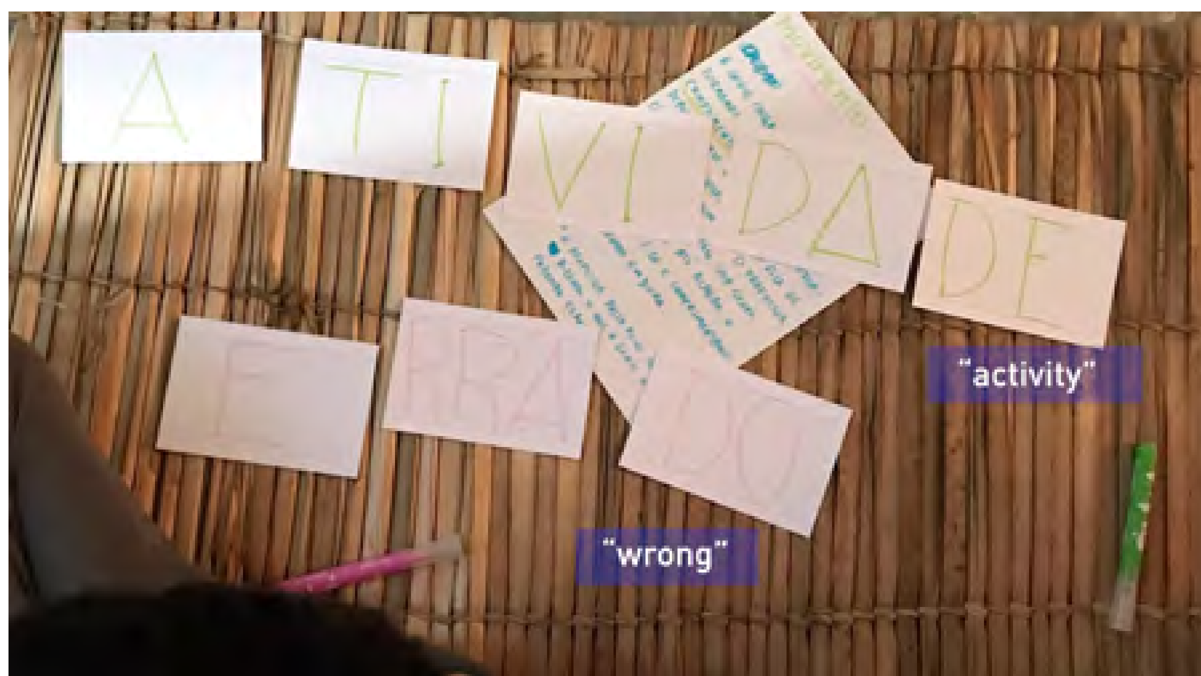


Figure 1. Words chosen by the participants

They would have to describe these terms with a childlike logic in mind: 'How would you explain this to a five-year-old child?' Briefly, the definitions should be enlightening enough for young children. Then, the words, chosen by each participant, were written syllable by syllable in separate papers.

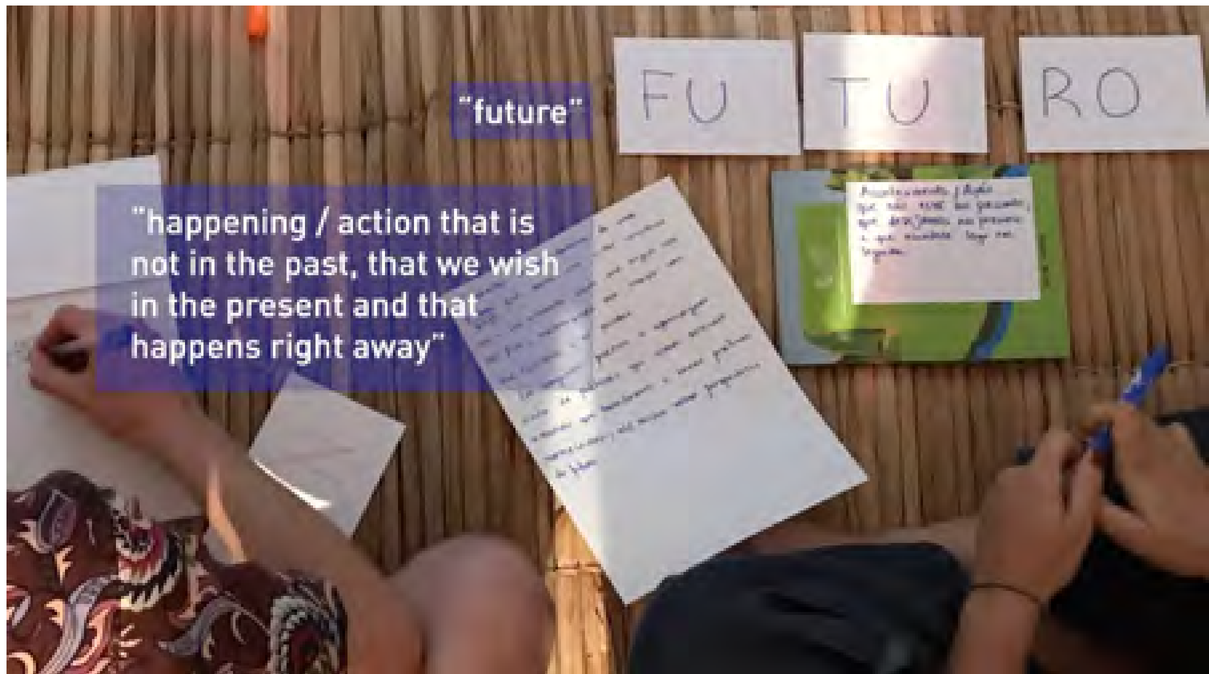
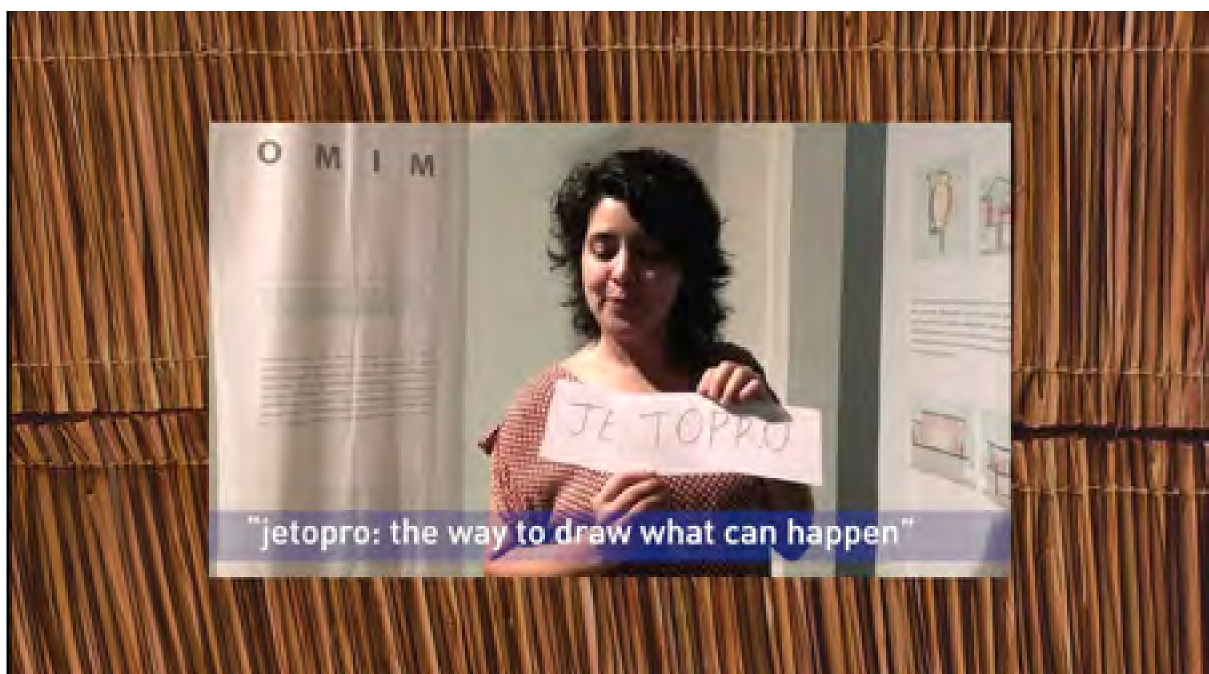
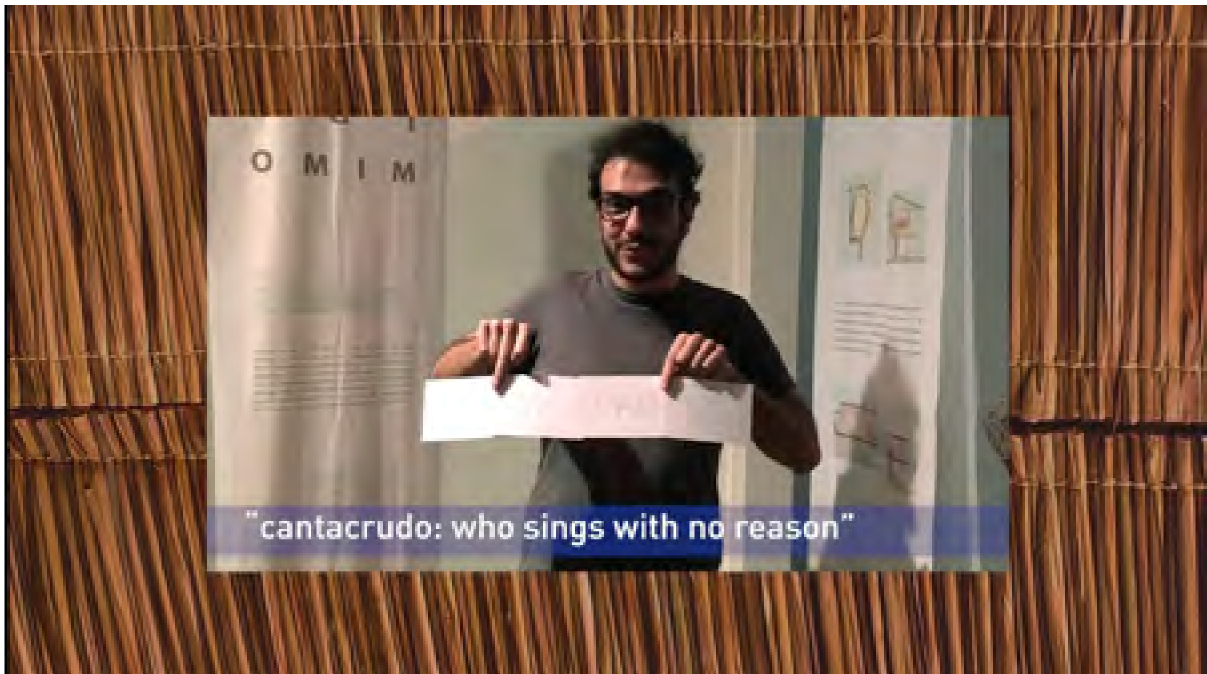


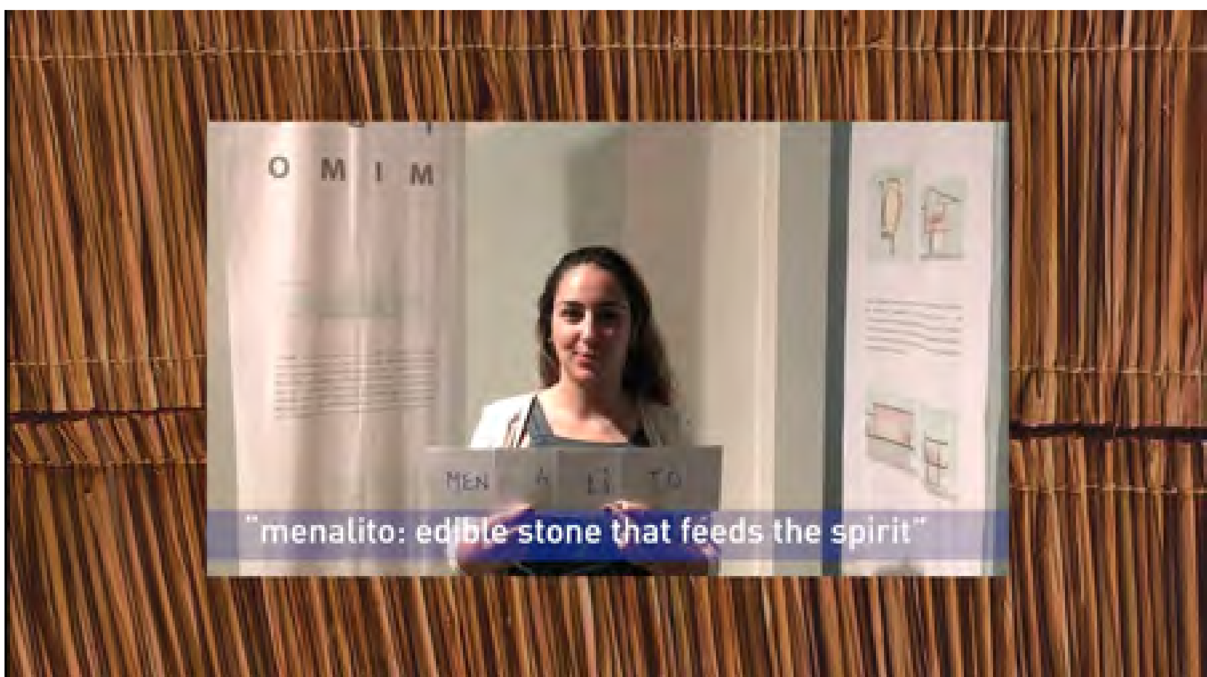
Figure 2. Definition of chosen word

As the last step, participants should shuffle the syllables of the chosen words, and create a new word with a meaning for it – a deconstruction of meaning from the definition of the original word. It was also possible to 'steal' syllables from other words or syllables left over from other participants. In case of any difficulty, it would be proposed a collective creation of a definition. At the end, the group discussed about the workshop experience and recorded in video the words they created, as well as their definitions.

One of the original stages of Freire's method contemplated making drawings that would correspond to the words of the group's vocabulary universe. However, for the short duration of this workshop, we decided to focus on creating new words.







Figures 3, 4 and 5. Stills of the video made in the conclusion of the activity

3. Perceptions, developments and next steps

The atmosphere of the workshop was informal. We had a group of ten participants, and the work was done individually. We explained the steps to be followed and talked about colonialism and language early in the process. The participants were sensitized and open to the creation of new words in a very free – even poetic – way. When generative words were decomposed and their syllables mixed together, we noticed that most participants wanted to maintain some link with the context of the original word.

Therefore, the new terms kept a connection with the generative words in opposite or somehow related definitions; they were not free concepts, but ideas that could change one's perception, normatively and automatically, of the original word chosen. Thus, we have reinforced the perception of how norms and rules of the linguistic system are internalized as natural and how we have difficulty giving up pre-existing meanings.

When we study a language or look for alternative vocabularies to what we use, we tend to look for the meaning of words in their etymological origin, understanding that this vision would be related to a true idea of origin. Such norms seem to be a tool of subordination to ideas characteristic of hegemonic thinking, as Grada Kilomba pointed out. By considering language only related to its etymology, not its use, we move away from creation possibilities based on the reality of our surroundings. Thus, we consider Paulo Freire's contribution essential to the proposed exercise of freeing words, and language, to which they are associated, based on a reflective perception of design practices. Exploring possibilities for extending this investigative work, we seek to further research these theoretical developments, in parallel with the realization of new workshops. We are now compiling speculative exercises and bringing up ideas for future workshops exploring assignments in design language.

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We Missed the Mark: The Impacts of Well-Intentioned, but Racist, Design

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Abstract | The design industry is no stranger to perpetuating racism by upholding the normality of whiteness. The beauty industry is no different– upholding a long-standing history of Euro-centric beauty standards and the erasure of darker skin complexions. Although there have been efforts made to center more people of color in the beauty industry, like Rhianna's Fenty Beauty cosmetic line, there still exists major problems in the ways that companies intend to include diversity within their media advertisements and product offerings. Throughout this paper, we will be looking in-depth at the Dove advertisement in which a Black woman removed her shirt and turned into a White woman. We will dissect the intentions of the advertisements as well as uncover the problematic elements of racism within the artifact (the advertisement), the system (the Unilever company), and the experience (the aftermath and harm) that well intentions caused. As design educators, it is important for us that we emphasize what design is and how it can be used to impact the world around us. In order for us to do this, we have developed a physical toolkit, Racism Untaught, that analyzes racialized design and allows opportunities for students and organizations to use design research to create anti-racist design approaches. The toolkit further reveals and analyzes the areas of design, which we have defined as; 1) An Artifact: an easily identifiable and tangible designed object or thing, 2) A System: an institutional or cultural set of procedures or principles in which people are organized, or 3) An Experience: an occurrence within a system or interpersonal encounters. Using this breakdown of design categories, we will analyze Dove's advertisement and how its *well* intentions were harmful in all areas of design.

Keywords: Design Education, Anti-Racism, Intentionality in Design

1. Introduction

The beauty industry– specifically the soap industry– has a long history of equating beauty and cleanliness to whiteness. This societal construct is another way to categorize Blackness as “other” and create a white social normality in which those with darker skin complexions would never be able to achieve. Examples of this prejudice range back to the early 1900’s with advertisements like the one below created by N.K. Fairbank Co. which “shows a little white girl asking a Black child why her mother won’t wash her with Fairy Soap...” (Figure 1) and the Pears soap advertisement which shows a Black child’s body turning white after taking a bath with their product (Figure 2)(Montford, 2014). These advertisements echo through the broader culture in the United States, perpetuating an unrealistic and exclusive model of beauty making it impossible for Black people and other people of color to be accepted as a beauty standard.

Figure 1. N.K. Fairbank Co. Fairy Soap Ad c. 1940 (Source: Montford, 2014)

Figure 2. Pears’ Soap Advertisement (Source: Astor, 2017)

This may seem like an issue of the past, however, racialized elements permeate in today's advertisements whether intentional or not. In 2017 Nivea created a set of advertisements to promote the brand's "Invisible for Black and White" deodorant. The advertisement pictured below (Figure 3) depicts the back of a woman's head with long, curly, dark hair cascading down an all-white garment. On the ad, in all caps, a slogan reads "WHITE IS PURITY." The ad first appeared on Nivea's Facebook page as a post with the caption "Keep it clean, keep bright. Don't let anything ruin it, #Invisible." (Wang, 2017) The advertisement was met with an uproar from consumers who shamed the company for its racist rhetoric and consumers who began to use the ad to push a white supremist agenda. What is hard to understand with large institutions that continue to approve racialized design is, "how did it get this far in the process?" What systems do institutions like Nivea have in place to not only safeguard from racist rhetoric, but perpetuate systemic racism in this way?

Figure 3. 'WHITE IS PURITY' Advertisement (Source: Wang, 2017)

Throughout this paper, we will use the Racism Untaught (Mercer et al. 2018) framework to investigate the negative impact of advertisements like the one above. Our framework breaks down design into three categories/identifiers– artifacts, systems, and experiences. We will examine the Dove advertisement (as an artifact) which perpetuates racial biases due to a lack of understanding around issues of racism and Euro/white-centric beauty standards. We will then analyze the system (the Dove brand- under the Unilever company) which uphold white-centric beauty standards, and then investigate the experience this ad created and how those instances affected the broader community. The question that guides our work is "How can design assist in identifying racialized designs and critically assess anti-racist concepts?" We use this question in the analysis of the Dove artifact as it affects the broader system(s) of oppression and the experiences of people of color.

2. The Artifact

The first of the three identifiers of design we have defined— artifact— is a designed object showing human craft or machine modification, which, in this case, perpetuates elements of racism. David Pilgrim, the founder and curator of a 12,000-piece collection of racialized artifacts at the Jim Crow Museum, says, “If you show me the things a society produces ... then I can tell you a lot about the attitudes, taste, and values of the people that made the stuff.” In other words, an artifact does not sit on its own, rather it is supported and upheld by a system (discussed in the next section) and influences people’s experiences (discussed in section 4). It is not the artifact itself that is racist, problematic, and/or political “...but the social or economic system in which it is embedded.” (Winner, 1980) When examining the Dove advertisement, there are implications of its intentions versus its impact due to the culture of white supremacy and anti-Blackness. We uncover the elements of racism along with a brief historical look at how advertisements such as these perpetuate a culture of prejudice.

2.1. The Dove Advertisement

In an attempt to be inclusive and to denormalize whiteness as the standard in beauty advertisements, Dove posted a 3-second GIF promotion to their Facebook page, showing three women who each removed a t-shirt of matching skin tone to reveal the next. These actions were done with a bottle of Dove body wash in the right foreground of the screen. The first woman, a Black woman, removed her shirt to reveal a White woman. The White woman then removed her shirt to reveal another woman of color. Then, as GIFs do, the ad repeats, over and over again. (Figure 4)

Figure 4. Captions (Source: Wootson, 2017)

[Image Description. Screenshot of a frame of the 3-seconds long GIF which shows the sequence of a Black woman removing her shirt to reveal a white woman.]

The first step in the Racism Untaught toolkit (Figure 5) is “context.” In this step, we have identified and defined elements of racism that are perpetuated in the racialized design we are analyzing. These elements of racism help to identify and broaden our understanding about what exactly is at play (racially) within this artifact. More analysis of these terms help us and participants of the toolkit understand that these elements work together, supporting each other and the system of white supremacy.

Figure 5. Captions (Source: Mercer et al, 2018)

Out of the 36 elements of racism in this deck of cards we have designed, we have identified at least ten terms that are shown in this advertisement.

1. Anti-Black Racism: Our toolkit defines this term as “elements of racism directed towards and experienced by Black people.” Because of the historic and insidious nature of
2. Cognitive Dissonance: the state of having inconsistent or contradictory thoughts, beliefs, or attitudes, especially as relating to behavioral decisions
3. Color Blindness: disregarding the experiences of People of Color by devaluing and ignoring their racial identity
4. Colorism: prejudice or discrimination against individuals with a dark skin tone, typically among people of the same ethnic or racial group
5. Explicit Bias: attitudes and beliefs about a person or group of people on a conscious level, usually expressed as a direct result of a perceived and/or socialized threat
6. Implicit Bias: the unconscious attribution of particular qualities to a member of a certain social or cultural group
7. Institutional Racism: racial discrimination that derives from individuals carrying out the dictates of a prejudiced institution or society
8. Intent Over Impact: prioritizing well intended actions over the negative impact they might have had on People of Color
9. Microaggression: a comment or action that subtly and often unconsciously or unintentionally expresses a prejudiced attitude toward a member of a marginalized group
10. Passive Racism: attitudes and actions that contribute to the maintenance of racism, without openly advocating violence or oppression

What we found most interesting is that ‘cognitive dissonance’ and ‘impact over intent’ support each other in the perpetuation of anti-Blackness. Although anti-Blackness may not have been intended, one cannot ignore the long history of racism in soap advertisements, as mentioned in the introduction. As designers, it is imperative that we inform ourselves about the history of our particular industries. If we want to claim that we are human-centered and focused on community, we should take care to advocate for those historically marginalized and misrepresented. The artifact that Dove created lacked the cultural awareness of its implications. It was color blind in that it was speaking to a future where an advertisement like this might make sense without first coming to terms with its own role in explicit racism of the past. Not too long ago in 2017, Dove had a similar issue with its Dove VisibleCare Body Wash advertisement, featuring a before and after closeup of skin with a Black woman underneath ‘before’ and a white woman underneath ‘after.’(Figure 6)

Figure 6. Dove VisibleCare Body Wash Advertisement (Source: Dove.com, 2011)

3. The System

The second of the three identifiers of design we have defined– system– is an organized set of doctrines, ideas, or principles usually intended to explain the arrangement or working of a systematic whole. Systems are designed to create a way of working that affects everyone, either negatively or positively. A racialized design system perpetuates oppression, which has limited opportunities and access for historically marginalized people and communities. The system of design is determined by both the internal agents, being designers themselves, and external agents, the people who respond or interact with a design.

The internal agents who developed Dove are part of a larger system and are a subsidiary company to Unilever. Unilever is a large for-profit organization that owns over 400 brands globally and is used by over 2.5 billion people, external agents, per day. It is one of the largest consumer goods-producing companies in the world. The problems within a system of this size are not always purposely developed but are perpetuated nonetheless. The issues and concerns of developing racialized designs by the Unilever system are rooted in the internal structure of complex systems (Meadow, pg.4) and are perpetuated by an institutional or cultural set of procedures or principles in which people are organized. In the same way, a sports team works together to make a goal or score a touchdown, the system of Unilever is a system that works together to develop beauty and personal care, foods and refreshments, home care, and water purifiers. There is a wholeness to the system in which their products are developed. There are the visible elements to their system, i.e. the corporate executives, geographic divisions, and the product type divisions that develop innovative products, but we also need to focus on the invisible elements of the system. The functionality or purposes in the different areas. The purpose for Unilever might be different than the purpose of the brand Dove. In the

Racism Untaught framework we break this down by level of oppression (Figure 5), outlined in our framework as 1) personal beliefs, 2) agentic action, 3) institutionally, and 4) culturally. In this section, the Dove commercial (Figure 4) that was posted to Facebook will be used to exemplify how these levels of oppression can break down the systems that allowed this ad to reach the public domain.

3.1. Levels of Oppression

The levels of oppression are represented as concentric circles, the most inner circle being personal beliefs. The personal beliefs, ideas, and feelings that perpetuate oppression. Dove saw this ad as “missing the mark” and then their non-apology was called out on social media by a Dove consumer on their Facebook page,“What exactly were y’all going for? What was the mark . . . I mean anyone with eyes can see how offensive this is. Not one person on your staff objected to this? Wow. Will not be buying your products anymore” (Wootson, 2017). This consumer is correct in questioning the personal belief a person would need to have to explain the point they were trying to make, and wondering exactly what the point it was meant to be. The next circle, agentic action, is when oppressive beliefs translate into oppressive behavior. The posting of this ad to Facebook was an oppressive action by a company valued at approximately 5.1 billion U.S. dollars. This results in institutional and structural oppression that results from agentic oppressive behavior. What systems are in place at Dove that allow for ads such as this one to put into the public domain? At the time this ad was put into the public domain what was their mission of diversity, equity and inclusion, if they had one, what systems were in place that question the status quo at Dove. The outer circle is cultural, the systems of norms, values, beliefs, and trusted systems of acquiring truth that preserve, protect, and/or maintain oppression. The cultural implications of a company as large as Dove, with the potential to reinforce and perpetuate personal beliefs. Culturally the belief that lighter skin is prettier is perpetuated by overlooking subtle and overtly outrageous implications of an ad like the ad we are analyzing, and other similar ads Dove has also published in the public domain.

4. The Experience

The third of the three identifiers of design we have defined– experience– is something personally encountered, undergone, or lived through. Sharing personal experiences have proven to be a key element in creatine anti-racist design approaches through the design research process and an integral part of understanding the audience for whom the designer is creating. Understanding how the artifact (Dove advertisement) and system (Unilever) work together, we can grasp how an experience of othering, dismissal, and racial gaslighting can be created.

Once the advertisement was released, the perpetuation of anti-Blackness and harm toward Black women was amplified. Rightfully so, Twitter users reposted the ad commenting on the misrepresentation and perpetuation of racism. A hashtag began, #boycottDove, which seems to be one of the only way consumers can gain collective power to change an industry's values in a capitalistic system. Celebrities even began speaking out, like actress Danielle Brooks who said “Wait. Dove, you want me to believe that using your soap will turn my skin into that of a white woman? No — that can’t be it. You want me to believe being black isn’t clean? You want me to believe that black = dirt and white = purity and using your soap will make me clean? Got it. You’re telling me my skin, the deep, rich melanin that I was born with and cannot change, is filthy. Got it.

That’s painful.

That stings.”

In a reactive response to the backlash, Dove expressed their regrets in posting the advertisement in a Twitter post stating “Dove is committed to representing the beauty of diversity. In an image we posted this week, we missed the mark in thoughtfully representing women of color and we deeply regret the offense that it has caused” (Astor, 2017).

The complexity of this system is exactly why the effects of boycotting campaigns can seem weak in effecting the stakeholders of the company. It is not until companies begin trending for the wrong reasons that there is regret and a statement

much like the title of this paper will be said "...we missed the mark." It is coded language for the mediocrity and creativity of any industry to seek inclusivity and question the impact of their work before it is released.

5. Conclusion

A long list of sincere, heartfelt, and misguided apologies are the result of ads that perpetuate systems of oppression. The Dove advertisements shared in this paper are only a few examples of the long list of racialized artifacts that are produced and placed in the public domain. The questions we most often hear from students are, how do the systems in a company as large as Dove not catch a blatantly racist advertisement? As design educators, it is imperative that we emphasize how design can be applied to impact the world around us. That we help students learn the language necessary to uncover problematic elements of racialized design within artifacts, how these artifacts are the result of outdated norms that are integrated in systems of approval, and the impact they can each have on the experience of all community members.

Racism Untaught is a framework and methodological intervention that analyzes racialized design and allows opportunities for students and organizations to use design research to create anti-racist design approaches. The framework is meant to be used in a collaborative and participatory setting, with the community it is meant to enact change within.

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Points of Inversion: Upending Structural Narratives in Design History

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This paper addresses the ways in which design culture educators and practitioners can transform design history narratives traditionally upheld by scholars – to decolonize our knowledge, confront the projects of modernism, and work towards a plural and non-centralized approach to understanding design culture. As a necessary step towards decolonizing, we must focus on design culture scholarship to examine the histories and narratives about design that we have intentionally constructed. These narratives have been dominated by the projects of modernism, beginning with the Industrial Revolution, and have reinforced a closed loop of Eurocentrism and capitalism in the study of design. In order to liberate our narratives and build an equitable and plural landscape of design culture narratives, this paper proposes three strategies: identify opportunities to invert narratives and methods in understanding histories; adapt new paradigms to locate and critique design that has typically been excluded from design histories, and develop terminology and taxonomies to expand our approaches to constructing design histories which could emancipate our work from traditional methods rooted in art history. These approaches negate the building of a design canon and move towards building design history that resembles a network or multi-modal infrastructure consisting of multiple knowledges, cultural contexts, taxonomies, typologies, methods, and materials. They move histories away from a linear canon of work that designers 'should' know towards bodies of work that designers could uncover and understand as an ecology of knowledge, terminologies, materials, and methods that inform contemporary practices in design.

Keywords: decolonizing, new paradigms, narratives, infrastructures, inversion

1. Infrastructures and Inversions

I presented this essay at the *Memory Full?* conference from my home office, situated on the traditional unceded territory of the Coast Salish peoples – specifically the –Sḵwx̱wú7mesh (Squamish), Stó:lō and Səl̓ílwətaʔ/Selilwitulh (Tsleil-Waututh) and xʷməθkʷəy̓əm (Musqueam) Nations ("https://native-land.ca/" 2021.) This territory is commonly known as Vancouver, Canada. When I make this territorial acknowledgement, I also accept the responsibility to continue to learn about reconciliation and the privileges I have experienced due to colonialism. I am also obliged to reflect on how I can care about the land and its people better and contribute to shifting our practices to make space for – or to emplace – these questions, practices, and concepts of a shared and reconciled future.

This paper addresses how design historians can transform narratives traditionally upheld by scholars – to decolonize our knowledge, confront the projects of modernism, and work towards a plural and non-centralized approach to understanding design culture. Canada, in particular, contends with the multiple layers of colonization from Europe and elsewhere, along with the cultural and capital influences of the US, which affect the narratives we construct and the way we share them.

In order to liberate our narratives and build an equitable and plural landscape of design history, I propose three strategies:

1. identify opportunities to invert narratives and methods in understanding histories;
2. adapt new paradigms to identify and critique design that has typically been excluded from design histories; and
3. develop terminology and taxonomies to expand our approaches to constructing design histories which could emancipate our work from traditional approaches.

These approaches move towards the construction of design history that resembles what Judith Atfield described as "a dynamic dimension of symbolic representation in artefacts which is more akin to language and which can be used to articulate a material world" (Attfield 1989.) They move histories towards an ecology of knowledge, terminologies, materials, and methods that inform contemporary practices in design.

1.1. Infrastructures

Attfield's fluid and flexible ecology of design history akin to language would mean that design works could be interpreted as inflections, formalities, profanities, or understood as emphatic. It opens design up to multiple interpretations. However, the classifications and structures from language do not automatically assist design history narratives in breaking free from the confines of social structures. Language is also socially structured. And, as Vincent Mosco (after Marx) reminds us:

> "…people make history, but not under conditions of their own making. In other words, social action takes place within the constraints and the opportunities provided by the structures within which action happens. We can bring about social change and 'make history' but only under the terms that social structures enable" (Mosco 2009, 16).

Socially practiced structures – *infrastructures* – precondition our understanding of what we believe to be notable narratives in design, guiding our thinking in categorizing design and building nomenclature. Still, this preconditioning is not a one-way process. Infrastructures are "a fundamentally relational concept. It becomes infrastructure in relation to organized practices" (Star and Ruhleder 1996.) While Mosco would have us believe that social structures dominate design history narratives, Star and Ruhleder indicate that our narratives, practices, and infrastructure are synergistic and mutually influential. A Design history infrastructure, then, is nested within our design practices, design technologies, and how we choose to research design. Without fully realizing this, we accept and contribute towards our Design History infrastructure without challenging its key components. Bowker and Star tell us, however, that we can invert the very infrastructures we construct to press the system for change and growth. They state

that "infrastructural inversion means recognizing the depths of interdependence of technical networks and standards on the one hand, and the real work of politics and knowledge production on the other" (Bowker and Star 1999, 34).

Inverting narratives and methods to uncover and rewrite design histories require identifying the networks and standards of our narrative infrastructure and acknowledging where we can expand our understandings of design. Infrastructures, once established, require ongoing critique. These critiques interrogate the emplacements and displacements that can occur in design as scholars and designers attempt to contribute to the field – or often attempt to dominate the discourse in the field.

1.2. Emplacement versus Displacement

One way of identifying opportunities to invert narrative infrastructure is to understand where design narratives displace knowledge and emplace knowledge. Narratives that displace knowledge require the occupation and control of intellectual space. They assert dominant, often Euro-centric, knowledge and vocabulary about design which displaces local cultural knowledges. In contrast, emplacing narratives recognize the context and effect of design narratives. They contribute towards the growth of place-based learning and towards an ability to expand competencies and adeptness. Emplacing narratives expands vocabulary, respectfully understanding how words, categories, taxonomies, and typologies pluralize, rather than confine, understandings about design.

For instance, if we were to consider an Anni Albers textile design from the 1920s and compare it with the abundance of Indigenous woven baskets, textiles, and wampum belts dating back to the 1600s, we would see that the modernist approach towards geometric abstraction is not as original as we design historians typically frame it. Albers' superb skills and accomplishments in textile design are not in question in this comparison. Nevertheless, Canadians must ask ourselves why we see a European example of textiles as precedent-setting or even original. We must ask why this knowledge and information *displaces* our understanding of Indigenous works and why we do not *emplace* Indigenous works within a history of design in Canada or position them as practices, materials, and skills about which designers can learn. We should also ask why these Indigenous textiles have not been considered equally influential outside of Canada.

It's important to note that the inclusion of Indigenous works in design history narratives does not mean that design history can make claims about this work. Emplacement means developing a contextual understanding of culture and place – positioning this work *not* as design, which indicates appropriation, but as a lesson for designers who might be keen to understand materials, methods, and aesthetics throughout history.

Following Bowker and Star's definition of infrastructural inversion, this example assists us in comprehending the interdependence between networks and standards in design history that uphold the myths of originality and singular accomplishments, especially in modernist movements such as the Bauhaus. This comprehension builds toward the real work of identifying opportunities to connect Indigenous culture to design culture, understanding that so much Indigenous work was systematically diminished and erased through governmental policy and physical force. As we continue to uncover points of inversion, we understand that new paradigms are required if we are to expand knowledge production in design history.

2. Building New Paradigms

2.1 Narratives begin with the self

Material autobiographies record the engagement of physical objects, mainly as the design object exists over time and within a variety of spaces and how it has shaped or contributed to someone's life. Material autobiographies allow design historians to understand how, why, or when a design has provided meaning to individuals and then develop a common and broader understanding of that design. It values design

that has been used, broken, repaired, and worn over time in contrast to the standardized pristine forms of design found in museums and textbooks.

In my investigation of Canadian Design Culture, I began with an examination of my personal collection of designed artifacts. My emotions, relationships, and identities towards the items in my collection are valid starting points of investigation that can be tested against more prominent general paradigms and positioned within an inclusive and equitable body of works. These items are indeed design artifacts, but it remains unclear who designed them or in what ways they are a product of a design and manufacturing process. To bridge the meaning of a personal possession with a public or shared perception of these works, we must speculate and use abductive reasoning to develop a narrative about these ordinary and everyday design works.

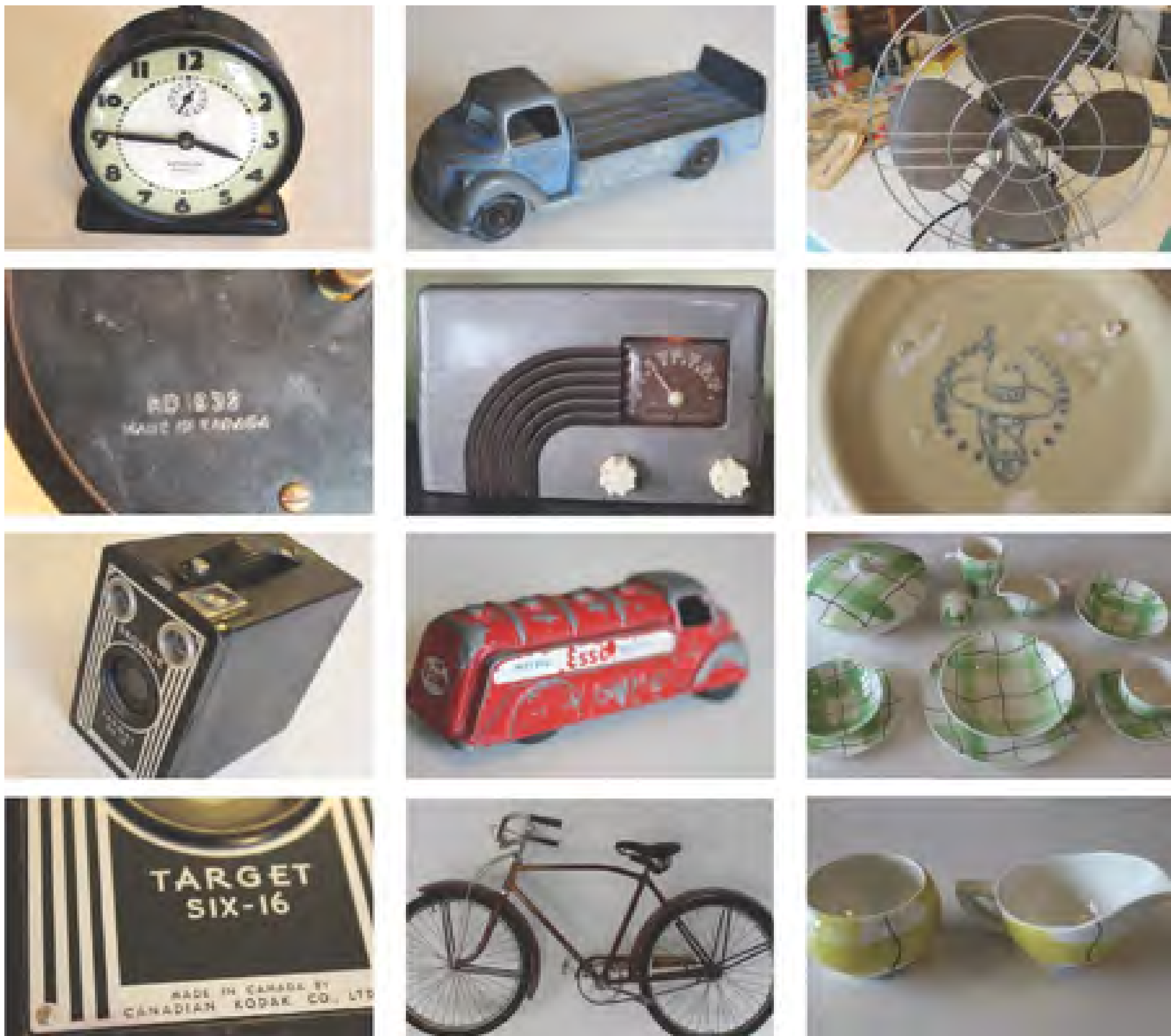

Figure 1. Personal Collection, Bonne Zabolotney (Source: author's photographs)

2.2 Adopting paradigms from other fields

Theories from literature and narratology can also be helpful to investigate the contributions of ordinary and anonymous design histories. These fields understand that context of the work is crucial in understanding its cultural impact. In particular, adaptation theory possesses flexibility and the ability to accept multiple interpretations of texts.

> Recognition and remembrance are part of the pleasure (and risk) of experiencing an adaptation; so too is change. Thematic and narrative persistence combines with material variation with the result that adaptations are never simply reproductions that lose the Benjaminian aura. Rather, they carry that aura with them (Hutcheon 2006, 4).

Design historians can learn from this approach to develop multiple meanings and understandings about design and the culture in which it is produced, consumed, and historicized. Theories of adaptation mobilize "a wide vocabulary of active terms [including] version, variation, interpretation, continuation, transformation, imitation, pastiche, parody, forgery" (Sanders 2006, 18), and so on, and allows the much-needed conceptual space to discuss the contributions of Canadian design in its own way, within its own cultural context, rather than dismiss them as unoriginal or simply copies of other works of design.

I often use the Medalta dinerware mug from my collection as a prime example of design adaptation. In Canada, most of design history is categorized within industry and business terms. In order to acknowledge the work of Medalta pottery and its contribution to design, it is necessary to pierce through ideas of industry and production to discuss its impact as an intentionally designed cultural force in mid-20th century Western Canada. Local histories document Medalta's effort to improve their line of restaurant ware to compete with English pottery, enabling them to step in and fill a market need for English vitrified pottery during and directly after World War Two (Antonelli and Forbes 1978, 111). It took years of research and development into the quality of local clay, the chemistry of glazes, and determining firing temperatures before Medalta began mass production of this pottery. In design terms, we would describe this as experimentation with material processes, prototypes, and an intense understanding of the cultural value of its appearance. Medalta dinerware was purposely designed to benefit from its aesthetic similarities to English and American vitrified ware, yet it was not composed of the same materials or by the same processes. According to traditional design history approaches, this Medalta mug would not qualify as a significant piece of design history because we do not or cannot identify the designer, it is not original in its appearance, and we have not measured its cultural impact. Conversely, "when we call a work an adaptation, we openly announce its overt relationship to another work or works" (Hutcheon 2006, 6). Adaptations are understood to be a repetitive version of creative work, but with levels of variation (ibid) that make the adaptation unique or considered separately from its originator.

Figure 2. Medalta Restaurant-ware alongside its English Counterpart, Bonne Zabolotney (Source: author's photographs)

This Medalta mug is an adaptation of an English design, made from Canadian clay, constructed by devices and machines designed to make this particular vessel. This mug is an adaptation that "…contain[s] further layers of transposition, [and relocate its] source texts not just generically, but in cultural, geographical and temporal terms" (Sanders 2006, 20). Using a theory of adaptation and the terms that can accompany this theory opens up the possibilities of critiquing and discussing this design within a cultural and temporal context. Notably, the terms used concerning this theory indicate an ongoing and active contribution to a body of work, further enabling the design in question to adopt an equally dynamic space as adaptations of other design work.

Another way of adopting frameworks from narratology is to consider anonymous works in the same way as folklore. Folklore never has an author (Propp 1984, 6) yet is

significant in the transmission of everyday values. Similarly, unidentified and anonymous illustrators and master printers have worked to create Eaton's catalogues over the years (Nicholson 1970, 70). Propp's seminal *Theory and History of Folklore* states that "The folklorist, with the aid of broad comparative material, discovers the conditions that brought forth a plot" (1984, 7). These catalogues thrived under the colonial conditions of rural Canada, conflating consumerism with citizenship. Folklore also accounts for –or acknowledges– the readers' or listeners' agency: the ability to shift and guide the context to produce more meaning and value from the content. As consumers began to rely heavily on Eaton catalogue's practical items, they also accepted the cultural and political influences of a corporation that upheld and amplified colonial power. Canadian settlers began to see themselves and their lives reflected back to them throughout these catalogues.

Figure 3. Eaton's Catalogue from 1955, Bonne Zabolotney (Source: author's photographs)

This folkloric approach to conflating consumption with citizenship is particularly evident in the 1955 Spring/Summer edition of Eaton's catalogue, featuring the town of Eatonia on its cover. The Canadian Pacific Railway founded and named Eatonia in honour of Eaton's when the railway first established a station stop in 1919. This catalogue specifically perpetuated a folktale that emphasized the Doctrine of Discovery, completely disregarding Indigenous and place-based knowledge (*Dismantling the Doctrine of Discovery* 2018.) It reinforced the colonial notion that the consumption of geographic space relates directly to the acquisition of material wealth. The catalogue remains a notorious example of Eaton's colonial domination of social space. Still, it is not the first time Eaton's catalogues directly related consumption with citizenship, colonialism, and modern progress through industrial endeavours. Their consistent seasonal delivery provided a cultural rhythm that reinforced primarily white, European, colonial values such as citizenship, modernization through technology, and progress through consumer activity.

2.3 Political Economy

In order to disrupt structures used to critique design, it is essential to understand where power within the political economy of design resides and how it might be affected. The political economy of design is a complex and detailed topic, which is challenging to tackle in such a short manner. The political economy of design is “the study of the social relations, particularly the power relations, that mutually constitute the production, distribution, and consumption of resources, including [design] resources” (Mosco 2009, 2). Examining this form of infrastructure allows us to critique design from financial perspectives, ecological standpoints, and cultural impact. Property rights, copyright, and legal patents complicate the relationship designers create for others and mask the cultural values created through collections and material autobiographies.

In this paradigm, design no longer merely represents the outcomes of a creative process but emphasizes the complexity and broad-reaching consequences of mass production and the creation of economic and cultural value. Understanding design’s political economy allows us to build a complex axiological position about design, asking what do we value, in what ways do we value design, and what are the mechanisms in which to create value in design? Our narratives of design history are often guided by or confined by licenses, patents, non-disclosure agreements with influential clients, and other political and economic forces that keep design history under the control of private interests (Zabolotney 2017, 19.) These private interests and concerns foreclose on the possibility of marginalized, non-authored, mass-produced, and/or adaptations of works moving closer to the centre focus of design studies.

2.4 Narratives of displacement

Personal, folkloric, literary, and political paradigms shift our thinking and open up conceptual spaces to explore infrastructural inversions. In addition to these paradigms, we can also apply Dan Hick’s work in museum studies using his concept of “necrographies.” Here he inverses the object story towards what he characterizes as “a kind of forensic death-writing, or autopsy of an object” (Hicks 2021). Necographies are histories of theft, displacement, violence, and colonial brutality. In Canada, we are confronted with the contradictory and complex history of the Hudson Bay Blanket. From many indigenous perspectives, this blanket is a direct reminder of colonial oppression and genocide. However, as Chelsea Vowel teaches us (2017), Métis culture established a complex relationship between their people and the Hudson’s Bay Company, with the Point Blanket at the centre of many cultural events.

Hudson's Bay Taps Moschino Creative Director Jeremy Scott To Design Limited Edition Collaboration

TORONTO, Oct. 6, 2020 /PRNewswire/ – One of the world's most recognizable luxury brands, Moschino, led by Creative Director Jeremy Scott, introduces a limited-edition collaboration with Hudson's Bay in celebration of the company's 350th anniversary. Inspired by the iconic Hudson's Bay signature stripes, distinctive Moschino Couture pieces from the label's core collection are reimagined through the lens of the classic HBC red, green, yellow and indigo. Anchored by the premium wool Moto Jacket, the eleven-piece collection features street-style staples like loungewear, a keyring, belt, t-shirt, dress, waist bag and Moschino's Moto Jacket Shoulder Bag enveloped in HBC Stripes. The luxury collaboration will arrive at select Hudson's Bay stores and thebay.com on October 6.

Figure 4. Screenshot of Yahoo Finance, Oct 6, 2020

The stripes blanket remains a boundary object (Bowker and Star) with multiple points of narrative reference – some culturally coded while others remain unreconciled as a symbol of colonial force.

> Boundary objects are those objects that both inhabit several communities of practice and satisfy the informational requirements of each of them. Boundary objects are thus both plastic enough to adapt to local needs and constraints of the several parties employing them, yet robust enough to maintain a common identity across sites (Bowker and Star, 1999, 297)

We can also see how the complexity of displacement grows with the constant reproduction of design items. These reproductions experience regimes of value, or the paths and diversions that Arjun Appadurai tells us “are examples of what we might call commoditization by diversion, where value …is accelerated or enhanced by placing objects and things in unlikely contexts” (1994, 89.)

3. Developing our terminology and taxonomies

As new paradigms open us to additional ways of understanding or interpreting design, they return us to language and the question of structures. New and emerging paradigms reveal a need to expand our terminology and taxonomies in design to break free from the constraining notions of authorship and ownership. A language that reflects political and economic influences in design production limits the way we choose to describe, categorize, curate, and ultimately value design. Language, as an infrastructure, also requires inversion to create plural and inclusive spaces for design.

Influences of Private Interests		Strength of Public Domain
belonging to, or licensed to, an author or owner *private* domain	vs vs	belonging to many *public* domain
Utilizes words: *original:* beginning, source, birth *authors, authority, authenticity:* connotes ownership and singularity *licence:* formal authorization	vs vs vs	Can utilize words: *compel/compelling:* drive to one place; demanding attention *Recognition:* knowledge/understanding of an event *constitute/constitution*: to enter into the formation as a necessary part; to set in order *acknowledge:* admit or show one's knowledge *common*: belonging to all
A license makes things/works "licit," also guiding its moral/ethical meaning	vs	Copies, replicas, can be unoriginal with unknown authors, and labelled illicit
historical canon	vs	historical ecologies: boundary objects and unfinished events

Table 1. Expanding Terminology and Taxonomies

Hicks describes displaced and stolen artifacts in museums as "unfinished events" (2021.) Similarly, Linda Hutcheon refers to adaptations as "unfinished cultural business" (2006, 116.) Both describe and position frameworks and paradigms that demonstrate to designers how we can recontextualize design as it moves through regimes of critique. Shifting lexicons away from the influences of private interests reinforces the strength of public domain to become more inclusive, plurally critiqued, and valued in differing ways and forms. This reasoning forms a new vocabulary for design history: a history that is common, public, inclusive, and equitable.

In this paradigm-shifting, language-like model, there is no canon.

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Beginnings of Swiss Game Design.
The Home Computer Scene of the 1980s.

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Abstract | This article is the beginning of further research into the history of Swiss Game Design, mostly uncharted and unknown to the public. It focuses on independent game design for home computers in the 1980s.

Switzerland had an interesting and innovative academic computing science community that developed important software (programming languages) and hardware in the 1970s and 1980s. There were also some games developed, but there was no commercially viable scene the likes of the United Kingdom where at the time games were professionally produced and published within a flourishing game and tech business world.

Outside of academia, young computer and game enthusiasts organized themselves locally in clubs and 'groups' and started cracking games. One of the groups called itself the Swiss Cracker Association. At the time the removal of copy protection mechanisms was not prohibited in Switzerland. The crackers embedded their names, greetings, and their own graphics into cracked games. This was their start into coding, porting and designing games. By cracking they gradually learned to code their own games. It followed a time in the 1980s in which Swiss game developers ported a lot of games from one computer system to the next. Independent game design in Switzerland was launched. Finally, they were able to make their own games and released around 30 original games. There was even a Swiss label, 'Linel' that published some of those games for an international market.

Keywords: Swiss Game Design, Home Computer, 1980s, Game Design Archive, Design History Research

1. Nerds, Freaks, and their communities

The history of Swiss game design is still largely uncharted and unwritten. There are different eras to be discovered that had their own habitats. But in almost all these eras, game designers or game developers (devs) had to establish their own communities and networks from scratch. Mainstream media and a skeptical social and political environment gave them a hard time. They were not taken seriously or plainly ignored in a world that was reluctant to learn how to use and live with the latest technology – especially in Switzerland.

One of the most important of these communities is the game dev/design scene of the home computer community in German-speaking Switzerland. This article tries to establish a first overview. The home computer scene existed in the years 1983 to 1996 and mostly worked with Atari ST and Amiga computers. Some of its lineage is known and can be shown but most parts remain largely uncharted up to today. This contribution is to be understood as a first approach to the unwritten history of Swiss game design. Within the framework of a bigger research project, further contributions will follow.

Figure 1: Rings of Medusa, Box, a strategy game, Amiga version by Christian A. Weber, Christian Haller and Jochen Hippel (music), for Amiga, published by Starbyte Software (1989). Photo: René Bauer.

In the mid 1980s the first generation of home computers like C64, Atari ST or Amiga reached the market. These low-cost computers enabled a first democratization of computer technology beyond the universities. The new home computers came with a lot of new technologies like graphical user interfaces, mouse control (originally introduced by the MacIntosh), a lot of colors, enhanced sound technology or small networks over midi.

The result of this development was a lot of new tools like text programs, paint programs or music programs (trackers) and finally tools for 'easily' coding computer games. A new ecosystem for computer games was created. The western video game crash of 1983 was partly a result of this process or at least it had accelerated the trend.

Figure 2: Traps'n'Treasures, a platformer with puzzle elements by Roman Werner, Ruedi Hugentobler (music) and Orlando Petermann, for Amiga, published by Starbyte Software (1993). Photo: René Bauer.

2. Social dimension

Up to the 1980s, mainframe computers dominated society's understanding of information technology (cf. Gugerli 2018, Bauer 2019). But in the 1980s computer technology diffused into society with the availability and proliferation of personal computers such as the Apple II or the IBM PC. Many companies are beginning to digitize insidiously. The game industry has already moved from analog arcades to CPU-based arcades and consoles shortly before. Telepong clones and new affordable consoles such as SABA, Philipps Videopac and Atari 2600 appeared as game machines in homes in the late 1970s.

A purely technological view of these years undercuts the cultural dimension towards this first or second democratization of digitalization (then called informatization) and its new possibilities. A "documentary" by Swiss television

from 1989 manages to capture the zeitgeist well and shows the ambivalences beginning with the title: “Cape of Digital Hope”. The music is by the emerging band Kraftwerk, one of the first bands to work its way up the charts with its digital electronic music.

Figure 3: Entrepreneurs at the Swiss Data fair. Sitting at the desk, wearing a suit, and explaining software is Matthias Heubi, one of the two developers of WAR HELI (1987). Source: SRF Documentary “Cape of digital hope” (Schlumpf/Trinkler 1989). Screenshot: Beat Suter.

The film introduces the viewer to the theme of digitalization of the workplace by showing a Swiss Data fair with bright rooms and people in business attire at computers. But after only a few shots, the camera shifts to darkness and shows the title screen of the game WAR HELI. An evening glow with a (Swiss?) mountain range, music, and real-time color gradients that are familiar to insiders from the demo and cracker scene.

The cutscene between is interesting too. It shows a mouse (a trademark of the second generation of home computers) and a businessman in a tie and jacket playing the game WAR HELI. Then the film dives fully into the dark with a joystick and a darkened study (room). And the young businessman appears, and he turns out to be Matthias Kohler, who is developing the game WAR HELI together with Matthias Heubi. Kohler interrupts the shooting with "Hör emal uf game!" (Stop gaming!) and resets the computer. At this point, the documentary switches from playing a game to game development. Kohler simply shows the newly created level by inserting it into the computer – and the two friends look at it critically, respectively they stage the development of the game in the dark study (room) that is illuminated by a table lamp and the computer. Kohler designed the graphics and the music for the game, and Heubi wrote the assembler programs. The two men had met in a computer club. In the following scenes, the game development is only shown taking place at night.

Figure 4: Matthias Kohler plays WAR HELI, and the audience hears and sees the impact of the grenades thrown from the helicopter. Source: SRF Documentary (Schlumpf/Trinkler 1989). Screenshot: René Bauer.

Kohler and Heubi talk about how they were always sitting in front of a computer and playing games. Becoming more and more interested in how the games were made, they slowly broke away from all that gaming and started programming games. One of them even became an active Christian, which led him to a job as a software developer. The film vividly shows how they create a game scene and sample individual tones and sound. A reporter's voice asks: Wouldn't they like a girlfriend? Don't they feel lonely just interacting with a computer? The camera zooms out. The scene ends with their house late at night, with only the light in the study still on.

Figure 5: Matthias Heubi and Matthias Kohler in their study at night, developing the game. Source: SRF-Documentary (Schlumpf/Trinkler 1989). Screenshot: Beat Suter.

The documentary continues in this style with various aspects of computers and games and slowly moves on to the aspect of communication. Several short portraits of other people involved with computers are interwoven with nocturnal car rides from the driver's perspective through empty streets.

3. Community of Freaks

Although the film shows compassion to the developers, it stages the prevailing opinion and prejudices towards video game players, games, and their creators before the 2000s. The people somehow all appear slightly "strange". Today they would be called nerds. The title of the article characterizes them as computer geeks, hackers, and crackers. They all – except for the young entrepreneurs – somehow move in a shadowy area. The documentary portraits them as different, socially absent, and mostly obsessed with their worlds. The term Freaks is probably an appropriate term for the image they receive in society and their own social environment.

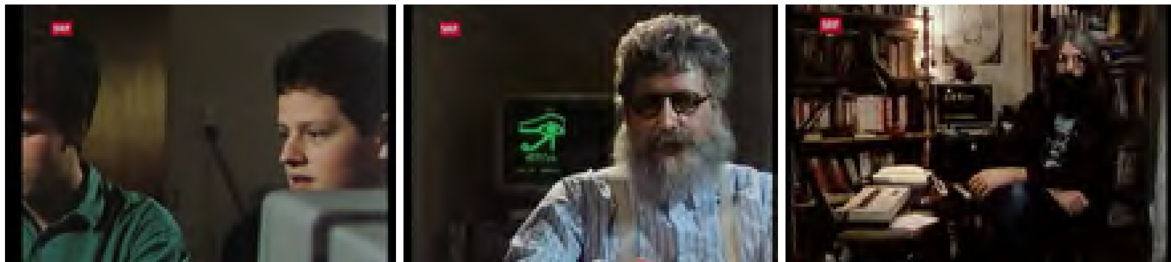

Figure 6: The most distinctive faces in the documentary – a community of freaks. Source: SRF Documentary (Schlumpf/Trinkler 1989). Screenshots: René Bauer.

However the documentary only indirectly reflects the concerns and rejection of any changes brought about by the new digital technologies. And that's how it was in those years: No one bragged that they liked games and enjoyed working with computers. Nobody bragged about what they did, because they didn't want to be considered as a freak – nor a gamer, nor a cracker, nor a hacker. They kept to themselves in public places, computer clubs or arcades, and exchanged information within their own little community; anything else would have been social suicide. At the same time, some of these scenes and communities were region-specific. In German-speaking Switzerland, for example, the "Spielsalons" (arcades) were mainly male, quite unlike in French-speaking Switzerland where more women were involved. The social environment of the game developers and computer tinkerers of the 1980s is almost completely unexplored and was hardly portrayed in the media of the time. This is a large uncharted area that needs to be addressed.

The latent hostility to technology of those years was a major factor in society's failure to recognize and interact with its young trendsetters. The NZZ (Neue Zürcher Zeitung), a dominant conservative Swiss newspaper, did not exactly distinguish itself as technology-friendly during the 1980s and 1990s. No wonder, then, that it noted in its culture feature pages that the other political side was also openly hostile to the new technologies:

„In der Schweiz und im europäischen Ausland engagierten sich linke Kreise noch während der 1980er Jahre im Kampf gegen die Informatisierung der Gesellschaft. Die Gewerkschaften riefen zur ‚Maschinenstürmerei' auf […]."
Stefan Betschon, NZZ 31.10.2008.

(Translation: "In Switzerland and in other European countries, left-wing circles were still engaged in the fight against the computerization of society during the 1980s. The trade unions called for 'machine storming' [...].")

In 2013 and following years, we were able to interview some of the Swiss game devs from the 1980s and 1990s. Unfortunately, no recordings were made in the process. A first meeting of various protagonists subsequently took place at the gameZFestival (2013) in the Zurich “Kunstraum Walcheturm”, a festival that centered around newly developed indie games but featured a curated show with games and their main mechanics that included older games as well and showed some of the Swiss video games of the 1980s for the first time. A second meeting took place a year later (2014) in the same venue and included arcade games and an expert presentation on arcades in Switzerland in the 1980s. Most talks and exchanges between new and old game designers were rather informal since many former game developers did not want to appear in the limelight. The results from the interviews and panels are summarized in this article and two follow-up articles that intend to provide an overview of the home computer scene. However, these and other interviews will have to be redone in the future with a clear focus and accompanied documentation including film and audio recordings as well as transcriptions.

Figure 7: A first Swiss Game Design History podium talk at gameZfestival 2013. From left to right: Matthias Heubi, Sam Jordan, Dario Hardmeier, René Straub, moderator René Bauer. Many other game designers were invited, among them members of the Computer Club Fluntern, but they didn't want to be on the podium, they sat in the audience. Photo: Beat Suter.

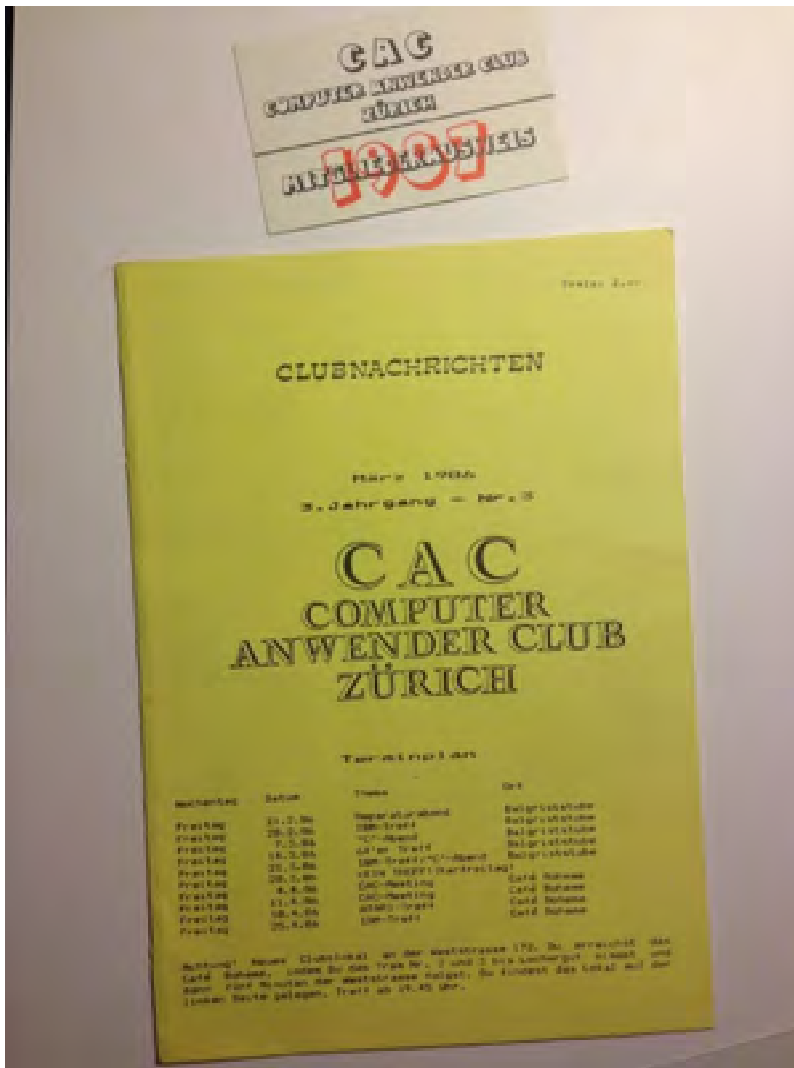

Figure 8: The program and the venues of the CAC, the "Computer Anwender Club Zürich" (applied computer club) from February to April 1986. There were repair evenings, an IBM meet evening, a 64 meet, an Atari meet, a "C" evening as well as the usual CAC meeting of the members. All the meets were open to anyone that was interested. Photo: René Bauer.

In the 1970s and 80s, communities met in various configurations. If they didn't meet in living rooms to play games together, they did so in designated playgrounds: in computer clubs, in game sale outlets – in Zurich, for example, in the EPA, where you could try out the latest games on computers and consoles – and of course, in the arcades, of which there were hundreds in Switzerland at the time. Probably the oldest gaming parlor in Switzerland was the Frosch gaming parlor on Froschaugasse in the Niederdorf district of Zurich. Opened in 1956, the Frosch was also used as a backdrop for shady characters in the famous Swiss film "Polizist Wäckerli" by Kurt Früh. At the time, it was filled with football tables and pinball machines. In the 1970s, videogame arcades were added. In 1978, the entrance age limit was lowered from 18 to 16. But by 1987, the Frosch was closed by court order because of noise pollution.

Figure 9: Pinball tournament at the Frosch gaming parlor in Zurich, 1978. It was dark so that the lighting effects came into play, the monitors didn't flicker so much – and the tournament was loud and the room full of cigarette smoke. Source: DRS Aktuell report from April 19, 1978. Screenshot: Beat Suter.

In the interviews, it quickly became clear that the game developers of the home computer era were going to the arcades because there, they found the most expensive and fastest gaming machines of the time. At best, the young game enthusiasts had free access to these machines from age 16. But not everywhere – in places where slot machines financed a large part of the arcades, the age limit had to be 18 years. The arcades were a mixture of various games, starting with analog table football and airfield hockey tables, analog and digital pinball machines and ending with digital video game arcades as stand-alone and cocktail table machines. The hardware of these arcades was usually the latest of the new, at least in the Zurich area. The game devs were fascinated by the expensive special hardware of the machines, which cost several thousand francs and offered everything you could imagine from fast processors, the latest graphics, and interesting interfaces to exciting new game mechanics.

"Unser nächstes Spiel lehnt sich schon an die Idee einer Arcademaschine an, aber sonst versuchen wir, eigene Spielideen zu verwirklichen." Linel, 1988 in: Kleimann 1988 (Aktueller Software Markt 2/88)

(Translation: "Our next game is borrowing somewhat from ideas of arcade machine games, but otherwise we're trying to come up with our own game ideas.")

Figure 10: R-Type (1987) was the epitome of speed, precision, and graphics. The design is strongly inspired by the Alien design of the Swiss artist H.R. Giger. Screenshot: René Bauer.

For most of the young Swiss game developers of the 1980s and early 1990s, the arcades were a fixed meeting place and an ideal starting point for their game discoveries and further pursuits. They discussed their ideas right there and in the many computer club events they attended. They went home inspired and with new ideas and continued to play on home consoles and computers and began experimenting with the games themselves. They formed cooperation and started serious independent game developing that kept them busy for years to come.

This article is only the beginning of further research into the history of Swiss Game Design that is mostly uncharted and unknown to the public. The GameLab (http://gamelab.zhdk.ch) of the Zurich University of the Arts (ZHdK) plans a comprehensive research project in cooperation with other Swiss institutions to document this historic game culture and preserve their games, cartridges, materials and objects and the corresponding machines in a physical archive that should be playable. The archive should be accompanied by a comprehensive digital database that will be open to other researchers and the public.

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Data Recovery of Lithuanian Design History: stories and links from visual folders of Antanas Kazakauskas' archive

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The paper "in motion" from the Design Foundation exhibition space in Vilnius was presenting the video-talk dedicated to a newly discovered Lithuanian graphic designer. This curatorial research study, like most of the Design Foundation initiatives, is a result of encounters with "missing", "destroyed", "deleted" documents and of attempts to locate, restore or reconstruct them. The study was inspired by the acquaintance with the author himself and by the opportunity to access his personal archive. Antanas Kazakauskas (1937–2019) is one of those unknown figures about whom little appears to have been written, even in Lithuanian. In the 1960s and the 1970s Kazakauskas was actively involved in graphic design, however, many of his works remained unknown because he tried to distance himself from the Soviet reality choosing the "self-isolation" strategy. His graphic design style had many influences from constructivism, pop-art and the Swiss typographic style. Kazakauskas lived and worked in the Soviet-era Lithuania, behind the Iron Curtain, however, most of his collage clippings were from foreign magazines. Apart from Polish samples, Kazakauskas' bookshelves also contained many Czech, Hungarian, French magazines, as well as the Swiss *Graphis*. The approaches of the research study are based on the interviews and the insights of the studies by Benoît Buquet, David Crowley, Piotr Piotrowski and open the stories related to the Cold War "lockdown", pop-art quotes, and citations. The process of comparative analysis reveals the appropriation examples, among which one the most interesting is related to Roman Cieślewicz and the links to his "Horoscope" (1965).The programmed foreignness of the images by Kazakauskas is interpreted as a critical attitude towards the Soviet system with the intent of distancing oneself from it.

Keywords: Lithuanian design history, blind spots in 1960s-1970s, Soviet graphic design, Cold war "lockdown", Swiss typographic style

1. Introduction

This archival and curatorial research study, like most of the Design Foundation (www.dizainofondas.lt) initiatives, is a result of encounters with "missing", "destroyed", "deleted" documents, entire archives even, and of attempts to locate, restore (at least partially) or reconstruct them. The archives of almost all the design institutions of the Soviet Lithuania of the second half of the 20th century were lost, including projects by Lithuanian designers as well as publications and documents of the Soviet period, previously stored in libraries.

Figure 1. The background of the video talk from Design Foundation space in Vilnius, on the wall – the layout from the Lithuania-London'68 catalogue by Antanas Kazakauskas (photograph by Karolina Jakaitė).

Due to these circumstances, Lithuanian design history is full of blind spots and uncharted territories. They can be explored with the help of personal archives and interviews with witnesses, as long as there is a possibility to access them. Antanas Kazakauskas (1937–2019) can be considered one of those unknown and undiscovered names of the second half of the 20th century. He was the first graduate graphic designer, who defended his thesis in the newly introduced specialization in industrial graphics at the then State Art Institute of the Lithuanian SSR (now Vilnius Academy of Arts) in 1962. Unfortunately, no illustrations or photographs of his final graduation work survived.

After creating several compelling posters, among them the most famous *Don't Harm the Landscape* (1966), Kazakauskas hardly worked in the field of advertising. He chose to work with texts and images, designed book covers and the monthly magazine about Nature. Already as a student Kazakauskas began collaborating with the main local publishing houses, in the 1960s and the 1970s was actively involved with book art and designed more than 140 books during his career. While creating modern graphic series during the Soviet era, Kazakauskas followed certain *self-isolation* principles in order to distance himself from the ideologised world of the official art. He had not conducted any solo exhibitions, and only a few records can be traced back to his graphic works exhibited in group exhibitions.

However, the successfully implemented advertisement commission – the catalogue for the Lithuanian SSR exhibition in London in 1968 – earned him a permanent place in the history of Lithuanian graphic design about 50 years later (Jakaitė, 2019). The

remarkably free typographic language, interpretations of the Swiss International Style, and successful citation and appropriation of works of other Lithuanian graphic artists make the catalogue a pioneering example of postmodern graphic design in Lithuania.

This study was inspired by the acquaintance with the author himself (during interviews conducted in 2013, 2015, and 2018) and by the opportunity to access his personal archive. The exploration of the surviving archive faced an ambiguous and contradictory situation. As a rule, Kazakauskas was not inclined to preserve and archive his works, he did not even sign and date his original graphic works. However, he still appreciated his work in the field of book art and design. He had mentioned this during the interviews, also, this importance is witnessed by several drawers of preserved numerous book covers, clippings of their flaps, as well as graphic design sketches (mostly postcard projects of the same period). Preserved photographs were accompanied by particularly detailed documented information and descriptions.

What stories and links are hiding in his archive – in the newly discovered graphic works, sketches, photographs, collage clippings stored in these drawers, folders and envelopes? The discovery of certain insights and terms – such as *self-isolation*, *Cold War lockdown*, *retreat to nature*, *virtual background* was also prompted by the COVID-19 pandemic situation. The study was launched during the first spring quarantine of 2020 and continued during the second quarantine in winter and spring of 2021.

Figure 2. The drawers from the personal archive of Antanas Kazakauskas with numerous book covers, layouts, as well as graphic design sketches from the 1960s and 1970s (photograph by Karolis Milaševičius).

2. Retreat to Nature reading foreign magazines

Kazakauskas' main field of activity was related to his "retreat to nature": during the period between 1965 and 1996 he worked as the art editor of the *Mūsų gamta* (Our Nature) magazine. Designing the layout of the monthly publication dedicated to the worlds of animals and plants, environmental protection, and hunting, Kazakauskas turned the magazine into a decades-long project of personal experimentation in graphic design. Every year he proposed new cover ideas, changed the layouts of pages and columns, the positioning of illustrations and the compositions of headings, and created original dividers, fonts, photograms, and advertisements.

Figure 3. Antanas Kazakauskas at the editorial house of the Mūsų gamta (Our Nature) magazine in the late 1960s (Source: personal archive of Antanas Kazakauskas).

Kazakauskas' style is recognizable from constructivist features, codes that were close to pop-art, various quotes and details. Most often, these were photo collages and recurrent motifs – numbers, arrows, exclamation marks, question marks, quote marks, also clocks, crowns, hats, angels, and feathers, that had traveled from books to magazines and graphic sheets.

Kazakauskas lived and worked in the Soviet-era Lithuania, however, most of his collage clippings were from foreign magazines. That is why another valuable part of the research of his personal archive was studying Kazakauskas' bookshelves. These bookshelves, precisely arranged by the artist himself, contain a lot of specialized graphic design literature in foreign languages and entire collections of the 1960s Polish, Czech, Hungarian, German, French, and English magazines. Among them also is the Swiss Graphis, the graphic design tradition of which is the first to come to mind when researching the language of Kazakauskas' typography (Jakaitė, 2015).

Most interestingly, in one of his folders there is a handwritten address of the Graphis Annual editorial office in Zurich, with the prices of the magazine in US dollars, Swiss francs, and German marks in 1976.

3. Cold War "lockdown" and *self-isolation strategy*

Various questions arise not only about the subjects of his collages, but also about the author himself, as well as his creative process. How did Kazakauskas make his collages? From where did he acquire photographs and other illustrations? It should be mentioned here that at the time these manual methods – scissors and glue – were used by every artist from the fields book design and applied arts: not only illustrations, but also fonts were photographed, enlarged, reduced, clipped, and glued. According to his contemporary, photo and graphic artist Rimantas Dichavičius, "he had certain courage to take things, cut them, arrange them, and do everything boldly. His favourite method was increasing the contrast of photographs. He would rephotograph them, draw additional details – and he was a good drawer, – then retouch and reproduce them again. This would result in a very clean contour. Kazakauskas searched for a distinctive plastic language, curvature and splayness, thus producing peculiar symbols. He never limited himself in playing and combining the uncombinable" (Dichavičius, 2021).

The artist's own photograph dating back to 1966 from his personal album is extremely valuable and illustrative.

Figure 4. Portrait illustrating the “self-isolation” of Antanas Kazakauskas' in 1966 (Source: personal archive of Antanas Kazakauskas).

It seems as if the master of collage directed his own collage photo-shoot which was made in his studio in Vilnius. It is really interesting to try to explore this photograph and the artist’s background and to find out what images, quotes, and messages are encrypted there. In the artist’s surroundings we can recognize a poster of the Leipzig Book Art Competition (Internationale Buchkunst-Ausstellung Leipzig, 1965) or, more precisely, its fragment. Most probably, the poster was reproduced based on Kazakauskas’ collage style: a photograph of a woman is pasted before the word INTER-NATIONALE, while at the top – a large photograph of a rosarium (another of Kazakauskas’ favorite motifs). The bird to the left from the artist and the diagonal Lithuanian word “SKAITYKITE” (“READ”) (written in capital letters and a non-serif font similar to Optima) make up a very specific message, which sounds especially relevant when analyzing the design of books. This word is also a quotation and the fragment from Kazakauskas’ own advertising poster “Read the weekly Literature and Art” (1963), in the center of which he incorporated the stylish title of the weekly magazine, masterly written by the famous Lithuanian graphic designer Telesforas Kulakauskas. This poster is partly covered by an advertisement for the French wine Vin des Rochers. Above it – two images of ships, one of them photographed and the other redrawn. The latter is from the cover of the book In Search of the Castaways by Jules Verne, the design of which was created by Kazakauskas.

What other messages does this collage photograph convey? Two foreign posters, one of which is the already identified poster for the international Leipzig book art competition. One of the most obvious messages of this fragment could be telling about the achievements of the Lithuanian book artists in Leipzig. In fact, it was in 1965 that as many as three prize places were won by the Lithuanian book artists (Algirdas Steponavičius won the gold medal, Antanas Kučas – silver and Stasys Krasauskas – bronze). However, it is also possible that Kazakauskas simply liked the word INTER-NATIONALE in the poster, which reveals his efforts at taking interest in international art and culture processes instead of those going on here, behind the Iron Curtain. During the thaw period, particularly in the 1960s, such opportunities became increasingly available in the Soviet Lithuania. The advertising message of the French wine is probably also related to this context, although the realities of consumption at the time make it obvious that it was an almost Utopian aspiration, possible only in the imaginary world of a collage.

4. Case study of appropriation and quoting

Quoting and appropriation was in the essence of his art and design – not to create something new, but to arrange and use "what has already been created by others" or, as he himself once said in his self-ironical style, "I clip things to make work easier, it's nothing serious" (Kazakauskas, 2013).

Kazakauskas mentioned that during the Soviet years Polish art and culture, which he had followed through literature, films, and exhibitions, had been his "grand school" or "the window to the West". A separate case study deals with Kazakauskas' appropriations based on quoting fragments of works by the graphic design master Roman Cieślewicz (1930–1996) and especially his photo collage entitled Horoscope (1965) made for the French magazine Elle. Kazakauskas really knew him and followed his work. Their style was similar in artistic taste, design language enriched with irony and humor, collage details, but most of all – the specific use of photographs.

The detailed analysis of Kazakauskas' photo collages has identified a series of cases of appropriation: fragments of female portraits from Roman Cieślewicz's Horoscope in the designs of the books Addressee Unknown (1968), White Clouds (1969), Pastor's Wife (1971), Another Woman (1972), and Phantom (1991).

Figure 5. Covers and layouts of books by Kazakauskas, and his graphic art examples with quotes from Roman Cieślewicz (photograph by Karolis Milaševičius).

While trying to interpret these tendencies in the context of the Eastern European research, the findings of studies and discussions by researchers Benoît Buquet, Piotr Piotrowski and David Crowley proved to be particularly valuable. To quote Crowley, "Pop provided an introduction to the practice of appropriation, a rebuttal of the shibboleths of modernist art: self-expression, originality and individuality" (Crowley, 2017).

Having in mind the limited, sometimes very constrained reality, clipping had additional meanings: a certain cynicism, resistance, a desire not to identify with the Soviet reality, but rather to just escape to another space, time, and context. The inability to leave, various traveling restrictions, censorship prohibitions pushed him into taking interest and living in those images that were lacking on this side of the Iron Curtain. And this is how photo collages of Western cinema, fashion, and pop world stars appeared on the covers of books designed by Kazakauskas (with the print run 20,000-30,000 books per title). "In the 1960s and 1970s the citizens of the people's republics might have been unable to consume many

branded consumer goods, or everyday luxuries like cars, washing machines and fashionable clothes but they were aware of the aesthetic codes which accompanied modern consumerism" (Crowley, 2017).

5. Conclusions

As the first graphic adman, Kazakauskas implemented only a few projects in this field, however, their persuasiveness and purity confirm his importance as a forerunner. He could be also considered as one of the first postmodern graphic designers in Lithuania.

The opportunity to become familiar with the documents stored in this personal archive revealed another tendency. Kazakauskas lived and worked in the Soviet-era Lithuania, behind the Iron Curtain, however, most of his collage clippings were from foreign magazines. A comparative analysis of the personal archives and graphic design works revealed that Kazakauskas possessed certain image banks. These he used conceptually, intentionally and at the same time sparingly or, in today's language, sustainably, without fear of repeating or copying the same image. The programmed foreignness of images could also be interpreted as a critical attitude towards the Soviet system with the intent of distancing oneself from it.

This study responds to another insight provided by Lithuanian art historian Erika Grigoravičienė, claiming that "interpreting the Soviet-era works of art from the current perspectives by linking them to the discursive contexts relevant to interpreters seemingly liberates them from the grips of the period" (Grigoravičienė, 2019, p. 80). However, in the case of Kazakauskas, this liberation and connection with the current discursive contexts of Lithuanian and foreign authors is especially significant, considering the author's chosen position of "self-isolation" or "withdrawal" and his personal decision to keep his graphic works from publicity during the Soviet era.

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These proceedings, the book of abstracts, recordings of the keynote lectures and many more contents can be accessed at the conference’s digital legacy platform. Please, visit it here: https://mediathek.hgk.fhnw.ch/event/MemoryFull

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