

Hybrid Identities and Paralyzing Traditions: Contemporary Croatian Design within the Context of Social Transition

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The term “design” defines a series of interrelated, but somewhat different, areas of interest in Croatian culture in the period starting in 1989 when a design program was founded as an interdisciplinary study within the Architecture School of the University of Zagreb. By 2005, this institution had “produced” more than three-hundred designers. This fact has continued to have a major impact on the public discussion of design in Croatia.

It also is important to remember that only a year after the founding of this program, Croatia experienced a significant social change as the result of its first parliamentary elections. This change entailed a shift from the concept of society based on a planned economy to a free market society. In other words, a socialist paradigm was replaced by the concept of liberal capitalism. Thus, 1990 ushered in the “third Croatian modernization,” which again placed the local context on the periphery, albeit a periphery that is somewhat different and perhaps even more remote than ever before.¹

How does the discipline of design function within the transition from one social context to another? We now can discuss “design” as a formal and standard field, as it is listed in the official register of careers and disciplines of the Republic of Croatia, and also is the subject of a program of study at the university level. Nevertheless, it is important to note that design at this level of education still is considered an artistic discipline, and design theory still does not exist as a scholarly field. These two facts indicate the peripheral and specific position of the discipline of design within the local context.

Methods of Discussion

It is possible to discuss “design” in terms of its products which, in turn, can be evaluated through criteria usually borrowed from art history terminology, the goal of which is to emphasize the importance of the field, or the international awards that Croatian designers have received as of late. But the term “design” as a form of signifier is used more today in the mass media as a way of referring to aesthetics or styling. An example of this is when automotive magazines, when referring to the look of a series, use the term “design” (*dizajn*).

1 Ivan Rogic, *Tehnika i samostalnost: Okvir za sliku treće hrvatske modernizacije* *Technics and Independence: A Framework for the Third Croatian Modernization* (Zagreb: Hrvatska sveučilišna naklada, 2000), 513–603; and Josip Zupanov, “Industrijalizirajuća i dezindustrijalizirajuća elita u Hrvatskoj u drugoj polovici 20. Stoljeća” (“Industrializing and Anti-industrializing Elites in Croatia of Second Half of Twentieth Century”) in *Upravljacke elite i modernizacija* (*Managing Elites and Modernization*), D. Cengic and I. Rogic, eds. (Zagreb: Institut društvenih znanosti Ivo Pilar, 2001), 11–372.

At both levels, design is understood as art (visual art), either as a product of an individual/collective creation in the domain of graphic communication, or as an aesthetic applied to an industrial product.

Very rarely does one find the term “design” used in Croatian cultural context to denote the social formation of an object, a complex strategy for the formation of (or a change in) a specific material culture, or as a way of directing the possibilities of research in contemporary or historical design, either at the general theoretical level, or in the context of a specific analysis of an actual object. It is precisely these characteristics that define the public debate about design in a peripheral context when compared to centers of modernization. Gui Bonsiepe describes this phenomenon when he says: “Peripheral contexts lack a serious discourse about design.” Here, Bonsiepe is referring in particular to the lack of a critical density of participants needed to have this discussion, and not about the discussion as a one-sided/directed form of promotional communication, which often is equated with a theoretical discussion in a local context.² The position of a motivated researcher in this peripheral context has some resemblance to Foucault’s idea of an “observed observer,” which is a useful way of describing the multilayered susceptibility of cultural identities being developed in the practice of design, and which the observer/researcher seeks to observe and research within the unfinished nature of the Croatian context and its political transitional process, striving from the periphery to the center.³

It is worth mentioning that two years after the publication of Foucault’s book, *Les Mots et les Choses*, Matko Mestrovic, one of the leading figures to establish and define the term design in Croatia from the early 1960s on, used the term (“observed observer”) in his text describing the new media culture, referring to the dual identity of a consumer and producer of information.⁴ While Foucault’s observed observer is the subject of historical and scientific incompleteness, Mestrovic’s is the subject of media manipulation. Both are protagonists of a complex cultural identity, precisely because they are aware that the issue they are concerned with avoids a fixed theoretical examination. This type of figure could describe the researcher of design in contemporary Croatia as well.

It also is worth mentioning that local modernization, particularly in peripheral, transitional countries, is only one part of a worldwide transition towards a Western model of mass production/consumption, and an economic exchange of technology and work that directly affects design as well. This condition has, within different circumstances, made Habermas’s notion of modernity as an “unfinished project” current again, but with different types of production which layer into cultural modernity and social modernization.⁵ The centers of modernization are dispersed throughout the globe. This dispersion, both material and symbolic, also is assumed by the term “design,” as its meaning, constructed mostly in theory,

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- 2 Gui Bonsiepe, “Cultural Identity and Otherness” in *Interface, An Approach to Design* (Maastricht: Jan van Eyck Akademie, 1999), 116.
 - 3 Michel Foucault, *Les Mots et les Choses: Une archeologie des sciences modernes* (Gallimard, 1966) (Croatian translation: *Rijeci i stvari, Arheologija humanističkih znanosti* (Zagreb: Golden Marketing, 2002), 337.
 - 4 Matko Mestrovic, “Promatrani promatrac” (“Observed Observer”) in *Bit International 1* (Zagreb: Galerije grada Zagreba, 1968): 7–17.
 - 5 Juergen Habermas, “Modernity: An Incomplete Project” in *The Anti-Aesthetic: Essays on Postmodern Culture*, H. Foster, ed. (Seattle, WA: Bay Press, 1983), 3–16.
 - 6 John A. Walker, *Design History and the History of Design* (London and Boulder, CO: Pluto Press, 1989); and John Heskett, *Toothpicks and Logos: Design in Everyday Life* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).

implies.⁶ But at the same time, the broad and layered meaning of the term “design” does not mean that it has become the symbol or term for any form of cultural production, as was noted by Willem Flusser in his reading of the “observed observer.”⁷ His question suggests an even more relevant issue: what are the particulars of modernization at the periphery today and, perhaps more important, what are the particulars of the center?

According to relevant sources from dispersed centers, design (as a term and practice) has taken the equivalent position as has the English language: while one is a kind of contemporary Latin, and the other is a term that equates all material production without regard for local (peripheral) particulars of culture, religion, or forms of production. Through this semiotic process, hybrid identities appear as combinations of delayed or remaining peripheral/local cultural elements and global elements of cultural material production imposed to periphery. Advertising campaigns of multinational corporations in local contexts are good examples of this. In using local cultural values as semantic codes, advertising promotes newly constructed identities composed of combinations of global and local elements, as a McDonald’s ad implies in its “recommended by local Croatian potatoes” headline (Figure 1).

This phenomenon is, on the one hand, a direct result of the restructuring of the world by the news media in the postcolonial period, and the mass media—including graphic design—define globally universal symbols for the purpose of mass consumption.⁸ On the other hand, one cannot ignore the fact that the entire realm of design, including everything from “the spoon to the city,” (“dal cucchiaio alla citta,” as the original Rogers’s phrase puts it) was one of the main issues of the discourse of the historical modernist design movement. But the actual realization of that idea does not go further than the commercial synthesis of various cultural identities through the establishment of multilayered signifiers throughout the world, wherever the relation of mass production and consumption can function.⁹

Figure 1

Part of advertising campaign for McDonald’s ketchup in Croatia, Salvia Premium Food, 2006.

- 7 Willem Flusser, “About the Word Design” in *The Shape of Things: A Philosophy of Design* (London: Reaktion Books, 1999), 17–22.
- 8 Nikos Papastergiadis, “Restless Hybrids” in *The Third Text Reader on Art, Culture and Theory*, R. Araaen, S. Cubitt, and Z. Sardar, eds. (London and New York: Continuum, 2002), 168–177.
- 9 Ernesto Nathan Rogers, “Tradition and Modern Design” in *The Aspen Papers: Twenty Years of Design Theory from the International Design Conference in Aspen*, R. Banham ed. (New York and Washington: Praeger, 1974), 78–86. (This paper was originally written in 1957); *Modernism in Design*, P. Greenhalgh, ed. (London: Reaktion Books, 1990); M. Bholey, *Globalization and the Culture of Design, Design Plus, News and Views from NID* (Ahmedabad: National Institute of Design, 2001), 30–31; and G. Julier, *The Culture of Design* (London: Sage, 2000).



Peripheral and Transition

Transition in the local context, however, existed as a method of social change and as an ideological project before the actual transition towards neo-liberal capitalism. What is now known as design discipline in the Croatian context has developed a regional or local character due to the state of permanent social change which distinguishes it from the character that design has in the various countries at the center of modernization.¹⁰ Since, from the center to the periphery, the notion of a strategic orientation to the market has become dominant, most of the local industrial resources dedicated to production have disappeared, and with that the need to create objects for mass production has also gone. Along with this, the term “design” in Croatia during the nineties began to exclusively denote commercial communication. The majority of students, upon graduating from the School of Design, go on to work in the advertising industry, and all local and international awards and honors received by Croatian designers are in the visual arts. As a result, the term “design” in Croatia today has little in common with the meaning that was defined during the 1960s.¹¹

In this way, the field of design, as a part of the cultural industry, has contributed to the identity of the peripheral modernization of Croatia in the 1990s. But design is still an elusive process of symbolic appropriation of the material of everyday life. This identity grew out of the continual state of transition in Croatian society, and within which the design process has still not been able to institutionalize itself as a discipline, methodology, or social practice of identifying the relations between the individual and the collective. After the first theoretical foundations of design as a methodology for the process of creating material objects and symbolic values in the human environment, mostly influenced by the Ulm school, more than twenty years passed before an institution of higher education in the field was founded. During those twenty years, the social context (i.e., the self-management socialism of Yugoslavia) has disappeared and been replaced by a new peripheral context of post-socialist transition.¹² During this period, the ideological tasks expected from design also have changed: the state, with large corporations as its primary clients, has disappeared (or is in the process of disappearing) and, in its place, have appeared new types of private commercial corporations. During the earlier period, the tasks at hand focused on the industrialization of material production; while, today, the focus is on quick sales. In the 1950s, the public promotion of industrial goods was the direct communication of the state, then the only corporation, which used cycles of five-year economic plans to feed society (Figure 2). Now, the multinational corporations that own local companies use visual language and semantics that are general and functional on the international level (Figure 3).

10 Dusan Bilandzic, *Historija SFRJ: glavni procesi 1981–1985 (A History of Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia, Main Processes*, third edition (Zagreb: Skolska knjiga, 1985), 314–317, 385–391, 438–441, 446–453, 474–483, and 484–494.

11 *Od oblikovanja do dizajna, Teorija i kritika projektiranja za industrijsku proizvodnju (From Formgiving to Design: Theory and Critique of Industrial Design)*, Fedja Vukić, ed. (Zagreb: Meandar, 2003).

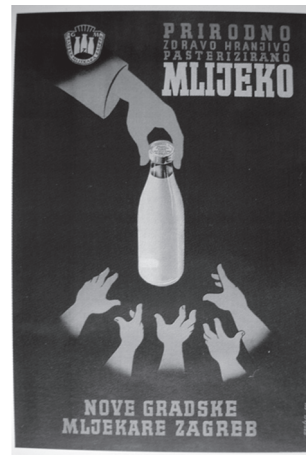
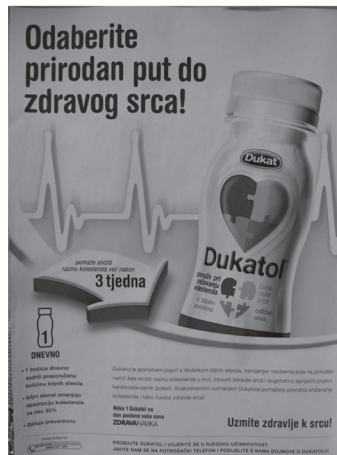
12 Fedja Vukić, “Petnaest godina Studija dizajna” (“Fifteen Years of Graduate School of Design”) in I. Doroghy, *Radovi diplomiranih studenata Studija dizajna nastali u profesionalnom djelovanju nakon diplome (Graduated Students’ Works after the Diploma)* (Zagreb: Studij dizajna, Arhitektonski fakultet Sveucilista u Zagrebu, 2004), 8–13.

Figure 2 (left)

Poster from the mid-1950s by New Municipal Zagreb Milk industry (Zvonimir Faist, illustrator), Museum of the City of Zagreb.

Figure 3 (right)

Part of an advertising campaign of Dukat milk industry, BBDO Zagreb, 2008.



The political ideal of material well-being for all has been replaced by the material ownership of the well-to-do. Profit has replaced the former goals of the Communist party. Through this, the local peripheral context hopes to merge into the global exchange of capital, technology, and labor. Meanwhile, it is developing a cultural identity that could be characterized as “peripheral modernity.”¹³

In this peripheral modernity, hybrid identities are forming on the basis of paralyzing traditions. These hybrid identities are various cultural subjects formed through the joining of contradictory historical and contemporary social conditions, which affect the discourse and practice of design. The simultaneous existence of multiple identities within the same context is the result of the transitional process from one type of society to another, particularly from the remaining forms of cultural practices and social elements left over from the time of socialist state corporatism, which are being blended with the new elements of neo-liberal capitalism.¹⁴ The simultaneous existence of these two models has a particular effect on the practice of symbolizing identity, as well as on design as a social phenomenon. This hybridity also can be clearly experienced in the simultaneous coexistence of companies at various stages of transition in economic models

Figure 4

Communication in unoccupied architectural space, City of Zagreb, 2006. Photo by author.



13 Tony Fry, “A Geography of Power: Design History and Marginality,” *Design Issues* 6:1 (Fall 1989): 28.

14 Josip Zupanov, *Industrijalizirajuća i dezindustrializirajuća elita u Hrvatskoj u drugoj polovici 20. stoljeća* (*Industrializing and Anti-industrializing Elites in Croatia of Second Half of the Twentieth Century*), 22–30.

Figure 5
Croatian national television network symbol
(Boris Ljubicic, designer, 1996).



and models of ownership, as they change from public to private. And it can be defined at the level of the change in the communication of personal identity, particularly in conflicts between the individual and the communal—for example, in situations where issues of property in an urban area are still unresolved, or when both legal/commercial and illegal/free use of public space for the purpose of advertising exist simultaneously.¹⁵ In this context, various types of nonregulated public communication appear; most often in urban settings; making functional use of empty spaces (Figure 4).

In this state of hybridity, the concept of the “observed observer” (the researcher of design) also is a type of hybrid state, specifically at the level of discourse on design as defined by Walker.¹⁶ According to his structural model, in Croatia, as a typical context of peripheral modernization, there exists only a discourse on method and a journalistic promotion of design within the domain of the creation of commercial visual messages. Communication on design occurs at the level of commercial aesthetics. The term “design” almost is never used to define the practice of creating symbolic values outside of the mass media, or outside of formally taught aesthetic rules. Furthermore, the proliferation of software has made the manipulation of images and typefaces accessible to all, so that amateurs can create for business purposes communication programs whose symbolic and cultural foundation largely combines local tradition with influences from the mass media. In addition, there has been a significant trend toward expressing the idea of national identity, both within amateur and professional circles, and it penetrates deep and wide in many social areas (Figure 5).

However, the fact is, at the practice level in Croatia, there has been a massive production of symbolic contents that could be discussed in terms of design. This practice especially has developed in small urban and suburban contexts as the result of the needs of small businesses with limited financial resources and—as in the case of Zagreb’s alternative nightclub *Klub Močvara*—as the communica-

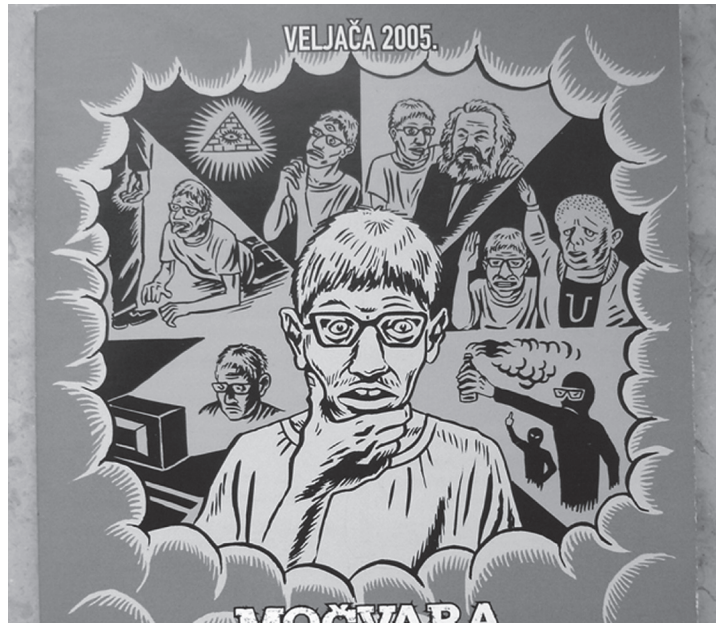
15 Fry describes a state such as “hybridized modernisms” as the connecting and mixing of cultural codes in relation to the modernization efforts of the center and the resistance of the periphery, by which a “marginal modernity” is formed. Fry, “A Geography of Power: Design History and Marginality,” 28.

16 John A. Walker, *Design History and the History of Design*, 14–16.

17 Fedja Vukić, “Educated vs. Uneducated Design” in *Papers Summary Book, Design Education: A Dialogue Across Borders International Symposium* (Umjetnička akademija Split Croatia, 2001), 22; and “Korporativni identitet i tranzicija” (“Corporate Identity and Transition”), *Up&Underground 6* (Zagreb: AGM i Bijeli val, 2003), 148–156, 22; and Mochvara Design Team, “Dnevni snovi i noćna stvarnost” (“Daydream and Night Reality”) in *Pet godina Močvara (Five Years of Močvara A. Kostadinov*, ed. (Zagreb: Zina, 2004), 5–7.

Figure 6

Cover of program booklet of Klub Mo vara (Mocvara Design Team and Igor Hofbauer, illustrator, 2005).



tion of alternative models of cultural practice.¹⁷ Within this context, the rules defined by formally taught design are rarely followed. Instead, simple computer manipulations of images and words are used to create appropriate identity situations. This design approach is operative in reference to either the notion of a national identity or the idea of global culture. In the case of *Klub Mo vara*, the aesthetic of the message is built on an ironic (almost camp) redefinition of certain assumptions borrowed from mass culture, in combination with commentary on the current condition of Croatian society. The use of personalized, handmade illustrations within the framework of a computer-generated, verbal message is a kind of alternative to anonymous “softwared” illustration (Figure 6).

This segment of Croatian cultural identity could be defined as “uneducated design,” “anonymous design” (Walker’s term), or “vernacular design” (Dilnot’s term).¹⁸ This lack of education is quite relative, however, in specific cases; but as a term it is meant to denote the difference between this approach and those taught at design school, which tend to be similar to international curricula. This uneducated design takes cues from local and peripheral inspirations, thus developing forms of symbolic meaning peculiar to the local context. These symbols, although outside of the sphere of interest of the local critics and theorists, significantly contribute to peripheral particulars of local culture in the context of transitional modernization. This is the basis of the hybrid identity of design in Croatia, as a term and a practice, in the domain of the creation of visual meanings. In this field, two opposite concepts or identities converge: the trend to denote the idea of national identity, and the concept of alternative urban culture.

18 John A. Walker, *Design History and the History of Design*, 18; and Clive Dilnot, “The State of Design History Part II: Problems and Possibilities” in *Design Discourse, History, Theory, Criticism*, Victor Margolin, ed. (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1989), 245.

These two concepts flourish outside of the dominant modernist aesthetic rule of educated design “produced” by higher education.

The Globalization of Design

How does one theoretically approach this phenomenon? The difficulty comes from the paralyzing traditions inherited by the Croatian cultural context from the recent past—traditions which encourage the formation of a hybrid identity. This hybrid identity has developed within the unresolved situations of this past that present themselves in various ways as unexplainable and unexplained traditions, primarily based on the first period of Croatian modernization (before WWII), and the idea of national identity. This idea burdened the actual social transition on various levels: at the level of the idea of the nation, at the level of common identity, and at the level of private ownership.

A comparable situation can be experienced in the spatial transformation of Croatian cities where, under the process of the return of private property to the original owners, chaos reigns in public space; particularly in the contact between private and public property. In this situation, many business premises located in city centers, which would otherwise bring large rents to their owners, are closed, while their shop windows and façades are used only as informal billboard space. Moreover, the development of private housing has respected few, if any, of the interests of the public. Thus the use of communal public spaces always presents a problem. These paralyzing traditions, inherited from the unfinished processes of the past, define hybrid identities in an urban context that are difficult to negotiate among the many competing interests.

In the domain where “design” exists as a term defined by the Croatian language, one way in which it is understood and practiced today is formed at the level of higher education and aspires to satisfy the needs and interests of the newly formed large corporate clients. The other type appears occasionally as a way of defining elements of communication for small and medium-size businesses, or even for subcultural (alternative) social formations. Paralyzing traditions are evident here not only in design practice, of both types, but within discourse about design, starting from the very definition of the disciplinary field. In practice, these traditions appear as a series of methodic rules which need to be followed in order to satisfy an ideal of execution excellence, but without having to engage specialized “tools” for the research of social situations and trends, as well as symbolic values that occur as creative interpretations of the commissioned work.

It is not at all coincidental that design is considered a fine art, at least as it is defined in higher education, and in fine art there is no analysis or methodology, but simply unquestionable personal creativity. A similar aspect can be observed in “uneducated design,” but within a different social stratum and with an emphasis on

different symbolic representations. The difference is only in form and technological level. But in both cases, the practice and understanding of design in Croatia is defined by a lack of thought about the discipline and its meaning within the social context. This lack is compensated for by promotional discourse by professional organizations in “educated design,” and by amateur work and social activism in uneducated design. In the public discourse which treats design as a form of fine art, the term is losing the original meaning it had in the 1960s in Croatia under the influence of the Hochschule für Gestaltung in Ulm. The contacts among members of the Ulm staff and local theorists were long and fruitful, even after the demise of school, as witnessed in a 1969 issue of the bilingual *Bit International* magazine dedicated to the topic of “design/dizajn” (Figure 7).

In the dynamics of this change, the intended meaning of design as a methodology for the systematic formation of material culture has been changed by the unquestioning formation of symbolic content for public and particularly commercial needs. Within this newly formed semantic field, one can search for particulars inherent in the peripheral context and the cultural identity of transition. However, it is worth noting that a comparison with related terms and their semantic fields in other similar (post-socialist) peripheral areas of transitional modernization suggests similar particular identities within peripheral contexts that are changing from places of mass production to those of mass consumption.

Figure 7
Cover of *Bit International* magazine, 1969
(Ivan Picelj, designer).



Could this hybrid identity be discoursed along with the paralyzing traditions? Adapting and simplifying the methods of art history and formal criticism—in other words, formal analysis focused on the description of an object—will not be enough to identify the specific characteristics of design at the periphery of modernization. This is so largely because, on the level of meanings and symbols, this periphery is nearly saturated due to the mixing of continual local and global transitions, but also because of traditions from the past that could not be solved even in the former context of self-management socialism—not even through that period’s systematic planning that was meant to give it some closure. Just as the discipline of design in Croatian society is going through a dynamic change, the semantic field of the term also is shifting. Even though this discipline currently is categorized as within the field of fine arts, a more progressive approach will be needed for its analytic research—along the lines of Stevenson’s critique of design history as a formal extraction from the more established methods of art history.¹⁹ This is because the description of design as a fine art, as Dilnot has suggested, is no more than a social myth in which the “past is a simple anticipation and legitimization of the present” and which, according to Barthes, only “creates a world without contradictions ... in which things mean something simply because they exist.”²⁰

Can this kind of historical narrative create an analytical framework for the comprehension of design at the periphery of modernization? Possibly the question should be changed and posed as follows: Could or should theory and history of design, as an eventually conceived academic discipline, be based on and methodologically satisfied by the simple formal registering of products, without an understanding of the reasons for their creation or without the critique of those products in the context of peripheral modernity? Could design history and theory even function as an autonomous discipline in the local context? This is clearly the key question and, as Tony Fry already has suggested for theoretical cultural analysis at the periphery, and with the help of the center, there is a possible research approach which ties art history together with other disciplines including anthropology, sociology, cultural studies, and archeology among others, and which could be useful for the development of design theory as Dilnot puts it.²¹

Towards a Design Theory at the Periphery

In order to establish such a discipline at the local peripheral level, it will be necessary to carry out a critical analysis of the original meaning of the term “design” in Croatian, and its comparison with the later dynamic change of the referential field. Only then will it be possible to discuss methods of interdisciplinary investigation as a framework for research. Prior to that, it seems unavoidable not to return to the theoretical framework which was formative for the very adoption of the word “*dizajn*” (a derivative of the English “design”)

19 Greg Stevenson, “Archaeology as the Design History of the Everyday” in *Archaeologies of the Contemporary Past*, V. Buchli and G. Lucas, eds. (London: Routledge, 2001), 51–63.

20 Clive Dilnot “The State of Design History Part II: Problems and Possibilities,” 236–237; and Roland Barthes, *Mythologies* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1972), 142–143.

21 Tony Fry, “A Geography of Power: Design History and Marginality,” 28; Clive Dilnot “The State of Design History Part II: Problems and Possibilities,” 238–250; *Archaeologies of the Contemporary Past*, V. Buchli and G. Lucas, eds. (London: Routledge, 2001); and *The Material Culture Reader*, V. Buchli, ed. (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2002).

into the Croatian language and culture, and that is the idea of environment design as it was formulated by the body of theory at the School of Design in Ulm. The analysis of the original idea and scope of this theory, as well as its reception by Croatian theorists and critics, is an inevitable step towards any future discourse on design at the periphery of modernization for, as Bonsiepe stated, "Design is the motor power of modernity."²²

Since the conditions defined by the global exchange of capital, technology, and labor have made the relation of center to periphery relative, in the new topography of capital-product ties, it is becoming more clear that the cultural identity of the industrial epoch and the national economies is changing and becoming part of the same problem in the environment. The contemporary map of the world brings into question the modern relation of center to periphery, and it is possible to confirm with Bonsiepe that "Cultural identity, particularly in design, lives in the discourse of the viewer." This is similar to Jameson's "narrative category," even in the perspective of the "observed observer," mentioned earlier—which for the purpose of insight into peripheral modernity resembles more closely Mestrovic's than Foucault's view.²³ If design still has elements of fine art, then this is due to the adaptation of its methods to the wishes of those who commission design intervention. Could designers assume the position of the "observed observer"? Could they, from this position, more realistically examine the situation in which they manipulate meanings, without realizing themselves that they are being manipulated? History and theory of design could possibly, as one type of interdisciplinary "critical dialectic" research, aid in the clarification of the theoretical and practical contradictions of hybrid identity and paralyzing traditions at the periphery of modernization.

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- 22 Gui Bonsiepe, "The Cartography of Modernity" in *Interface, An Approach to Design* (Maastricht: Jan van Eyck Akademie, 1999), 129; Tomas Maldonado, "Kako se boriti protiv samozadovoljstva u izobrazbi dizajnera" ("How to Fight Against Complacency in Design Education") in *Bit International 4* (Zagreb: Galerije grada Zagreba, 1969): 19–29; Gui Bonsiepe and Thomas Maldonado, "Znanost i dizajn" ("Science and Design") in *Bit International 4* (Zagreb: Galerije grada Zagreba, 1969): 29–51; Gui Bonsiepe, "Edukacija za vizuelni dizajn" ("Education for Visual Design") in *Bit International 4* (Zagreb: Galerije grada Zagreba, 1969): 51–61; Fedor Kritovac, *Sto je environmental design* (dizajn okoline) (Zagreb: Covjek i prostor 197, 1969), 8–9; Fedor Kritovac, *Dizajn na putu znanosti* (*Design on the Scientific Pathways*) (Zagreb: Život umjetnosti 21, 1974), 63–67; and Matko Mestrovic, *Teorija dizajna i problemi okoline* (*Design Theory and Problems of Environment*) (Zagreb: Naprijed, 1980).
- 23 Gui Bonsiepe, "Cultural Identity and Otherness," 117; and Frederic Jameson, *A Singular Modernity: Essay on the Ontology of the Present* (London: Verso, 2002), 40.