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DESIGN AND INDUSTRY: The Role and Impact of Industrial Design in Post-War Yugoslavia

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ABSTRACT

This study offers an overview of the design developments in the period following the Second World War in Yugoslavia and indicate the points of contact and departure between an emerging generation of architects and designers and state sanctioned design. The goal of this paper is to trace the development of the discipline of industrial design in this context, and argue for its revolutionary position in the development of a modern Yugoslavia.

INTRODUCTION

Following the end of World War II a new generation of architects and designers emerged in Yugoslavia, seeking to mediate socialist ideology with modernist forms. The group, mostly gathered around the progressive environment of the newly established Academy of Applied Art (1949-1955), attempted to promote art and design that was highly functional and aesthetically pleasing, and most importantly, available to all. What began as a probing of design terminology became a wide-reaching attempt to

promote modernist design as the appropriate expression of contemporary life. Through forming design organizations and developing relationships with manufacturers, the designers strove to bring their products to the market, at the same time utilizing various design publications in an attempt to educate the public on what was believed to be proper design. Finally, these ideas were disseminated to an international public through participation and organization of design fairs.

The products developed in this period merged forms inspired by international modernism with socialist ideals of equality, industriousness and moderation. The forms were also in distinct contrast, and oftentimes even opposition, to the Communist Party's preferred style of old-world opulence and historicist pretensions. Although the work of the generation was frequently not developed in overt resistance to the party, and was sometimes even condoned by it, it still implied a subversion of the regime, and with that — a transformation of the country itself.

This paper sets out to give an overview of design developments in the period following the Second World War in one of Yugoslavia's Republics (today's Croatia), and indicate the points of contact and departure between an emerging generation of architects and designers and state sanctioned design. The goal of this paper is to trace the development of the discipline of industrial design in this context, and argue for its revolutionary position in the development of a modern, and modernist, Yugoslavia.

This paper will draw from the rich historical research of Jasna Galjer, and her books *Design of the Fifties in Croatia: From Utopia to Reality and Expo 58 and the Yugoslav Pavilion by Vjenceslav Richter*¹, which give an overview of the design world in Yugoslavia of the 1950s. The paper will build on this solid, meticulously researched base and attempt to give an analysis of design created in this period, as well as look at its broader implications. The paper will follow the methods and theories developed by David Crowley and Susan Reid. Works such as *Pleasures in Socialism: Leisure and in the Eastern Bloc and Socialist Spaces: Sites of Everyday Life in the Eastern Bloc and Cold War Modern: Design 1945-1970*², look at the material culture of socialist countries and illuminate the complexities of this cultural context through the prism of everyday objects. Perhaps due to its specific position in-between the two blocs, Yugoslavia is entirely absent from this scholarship, and this paper will attempt to fill that gap.

The crucial archival materials for the paper include magazines from the era, *Man and Space* (Covjek i Prostor) and *Architecture* (Arhitektura) as the main architectural magazines of the time, as well as *The World* (Svijet) and *Woman* (Zena), as two popular magazines targeting female consumers. Information about interior fairs and exhibitions was gathered from reports on the Milan Triennial and various fairs that took place in Yugoslavia such as "The Family and Household," "An Apartment for Our Needs" and "Woman 1957". The final sources for media representation of interiors were films and television programs from the period, which often dealt with the topic of housing and domestic life in socialism.

THE SOCIO-POLITICAL CONTEXT OF MIDCENTURY YUGOSLAVIA

Given its geographical and political position it is perhaps not surprising that some of the most quintessentially modernist midcentury design was produced in Yugoslavia. Following World War II the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia attempted to develop a distinct political identity and increase its status in international politics, giving a viable option set apart from the two emerging political blocs. Although the six republics, which formed the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, initially modeled their politics after the Soviet Union, as disagreements arose between the two powers, after 1948, Yugoslavia's president Josip Broz Tito felt the need to distance his country from the Soviet socialist model. This period was also marked by Yugoslavia's rapprochement with the West, which not only gave aid in terms of funds but also offered schooling for architects, designers and artists³. Nonetheless, Yugoslavia, as a founding member of the Non-Aligned Movement⁴, saw itself as a viable third solution in the conflicts, which took shape as the Cold War unfolded.

The country's political bravado was not entirely unjustified. In the wake of the war Yugoslavia experienced a period of significant development, which mostly took the form of rapid industrialization. The development of industry heralded the advent of a set of new problems that required immediate design solutions. The cities struggled to adequately integrate industry and its accompanying housing. After the war, the urban areas of Yugoslavia witnessed an influx of people from rural areas that flocked to bigger cities in search of work and education. Urban centers began expanding, but the development of housing couldn't keep up with the incursion of this new population. This caused a housing crisis that was discussed in many articles and films from the time⁵. The government attempted to alleviate the crisis by calling for rapid development of new housing. The common belief was that Yugoslavia would develop the best solution for housing of the future because it would be able to draw from international lessons taken from countries that had already experienced significant industrialization, while its social system would allow for the best possible implementation of these lessons⁶.

A generation of architects and designers which emerged in the post-war period believed that old architectural forms no longer suited the new conditions of a fully industrial Yugoslavia. They espoused a new approach, one that followed the tenets of socialist ideology — industriousness, cleanliness and moderation — utilizing the forms adopted from international modernism. A particularly indicative example of new housing was the development of the Moscow Boulevard (today the City of Vukovar Street) in early 1950s Zagreb (Croatia). This street was meant to be a representative example that would guide future building. An expansive boulevard with several automobile lanes and one designated for public transportation, it was flanked by large apartment buildings designed in a style heavily influenced by Le Corbusier's 1952 Unite d'Habitation⁷. These one and two bedroom apartments were simple and utilitarian. They contained a large living area which was connected to the kitchen, offsetting the small bedrooms with low ceilings. They predominantly came unfurnished, but the long-term government plan

was to devise a standard of furnishing that would be applied to all new buildings⁸. The design and furnishing of apartments such as these, as well as education of the public on how to properly inhabit these spaces, through various media such as lectures, fairs, magazines and films, became a key preoccupation of designers in this period.



Figure 1. The newly developed Moscow Boulevard in Zagreb, mid 1950s.

The Question of Terminology and the Cultivation of a Design Scene

The crucial hub for the development of the budding design scene was Zagreb's (Croatia) Academy of Applied Art, which acted as the incubator for all considerations of design in this period of great change. Until the 1950s, design and architecture schools in Yugoslavia were highly specialized and closely connected to the world of fine art. With the advent of Academy of Applied Art, a highly progressive, if short-lived, institution, a generation of artists and architects gathered around a similar idea, based on Bauhaus and Ulm Hochschule für Gestaltung principles⁹. Although made up of mostly traditional departments such as painting, sculpture and architecture, the Academy's placed an emphasis on both the theoretical and practical, while a crucial tenet of this school was fostering the self-awareness of designers, particularly in their role of promoting the communication between manufacturers and the general public. Apart from training most of the key designers of the period in a highly liberal environment, the school also created a network of likeminded artists, who went on to collaborate on many projects. Some of the prominent lecturers in this context were Željko Hegedušić, Kosta Angeli Radovani and Vjenceslav Richter, while students included Mario Antonini, Bruno Planinšek and Jagoda Buić.

With this strong interest in the theoretical implications of design and its connection to culture, it is no wonder that the question of the role of design in the fifties began as a question of terminology.

As Yugoslavia became more industrialized there was an increasing understanding that the future of design lay in utilizing this very field. Industrial design, understood in the broad sense as any design produced on an industrial scale, was imbued with great social responsibility, as its successes and failures were set to be replicated hundreds and thousands of times. Famed designer Bernardo Bernardi, who examined the issue in his article “Definition and Social Significance of Industrial Design”¹⁰, Zlatko Kauzlarić, who tackled it in “Industrial Artist, an the Acute Need for One”¹¹, and “On the Terms and Definitions in the Field of Industrial Arts,” are only some of the examples of this growing need to define the new terminology of design, as well as its position in Yugoslavia¹².

Industrial design was seen as an answer to the need for design to respond to more than the ornamental and decorative demands, and to understand the functional and structural logic of the object and its existence in a world of mass industrial production. Instead of decrying the autonomy of this new discipline, young designers advocated a blurring of boundaries between the arts in shaping the domestic environment, a guiding thought that was to become the central tenet of the manifesto of the group EXAT 51¹³, which was at the forefront of the cultural revolution of the 1950s, as it disseminated its synthesizing tendencies through architecture and design schools. In championing abstract art and interdisciplinary modernist design EXAT 51 encapsulated the conflict between the emerging generation of designers and the styles favored by the party — primarily social realism in art and historicism in architecture.

Although greatly inspired by contemporary design coming from the United States, designers in Yugoslavia thought that a key difference between their approach to design and the one taken by designers in capitalist countries was in creating products with the goal of longevity, unlike the planned obsolescence they observed in the West, which still often reduced the role of the designer to one of decorator, who they believed only had to fashion the surface of the object in accordance with the latest trends. In one of his articles, Bernardo Bernardi, a founding member of EXAT 51, criticizes the continued use of Streamline Modern in household objects, because in its dissociation from the functional needs of the objects he found it no better than the kitsch of period furniture¹⁴. This is another reason why designers of the time preferred plain and durable materials such as plastic and metal¹⁵. In their “practical beauty”¹⁶, they were seen as manifestations of the industrial advancements of the country and thought to imbue the true ideology of socialist life that rejected the accumulation of unnecessary decoration. The rejection of American design wasn’t complete, as designs by such greats as Charles and Ray Eames and Eero Saarinen were greatly lauded, but what set Yugoslavian design apart was the continued desire to merge the best qualities of capitalism and socialism by providing long-lasting, functional and aesthetically pleasing solutions to various design problems.

In addition to EXAT 5, another organization which came to play a significant role in the advancement of modernist industrial design in this period was SIO, Studio for Industrial Design (Studio za industrijsko oblikovanje). Founded in 1955, following the First Zagreb Triennial, SIO was originally made up of 28 members — all artists, designers and architects. Their goal was to increase the quality of design and

design discourse available to the broader public both by producing new work and by disseminating these ideas through lectures, exhibitions and other media. The group believed that “through integrating fine art with industrial manufacturing, by designers aware of the social responsibility of such a delicate task, a new design approach would arise, one suitable for the country’s social, cultural, economic and political conditions”¹⁷.

INDUSTRIAL DESIGNING AS A RESPONSE TO NEW NEEDS

Yugoslavia’s urgency of creating new housing suitable for workers, students and the middle class encouraged the coordination of the architectural programs and industrial production with the hope of integrating furniture into newly built housing as part of the architectural design¹⁸. Designers proposed that every unit should come with a built-in closet and a furnished kitchen¹⁹. It was thought that designers should also be consulted on furnishing other aspects of the interior, making it into a cohesive whole. This corresponds to modernist ideals of creating a total work of art and life, a machine for living, but adapted to a socialist environment, where the function of the designed space was to aid individuals in developing and maintaining their role as productive members of society.

The preferred style for the new domestic environment was undoubtedly the International Style, as designers and theorists prescribed simple functional furniture and clear articulation of the interior. They praised formal developments of design in Scandinavia and the United States, and called for the melding of these forms with socialist ideology. A more practical reason for these stylistic interventions was the limited space offered in new housing. Another important aspect in the planning of future apartment development was the modular and modifiable character of the furniture. This was justified as necessary for the socialist worker who needed to be active in many spheres of community life and therefore needed his home to be highly functional. But this also allowed for the inexpensive production of furniture that could then be adapted to the needs of particular consumers. A good example is Zvonimir Marohnić’s single kitchen cabinet (1956), which had a built-in electric cooker and sink as well as other items necessary for cooking. In a 1956 article in *Covjek i Prostor*, Marhonić explains how the kitchen was aimed at “single residents in studio apartments, families living in small apartments with no real kitchen space as well as apartments which house more than one family”²⁰. In typical modernist fashion, the introduction of the scientific, technological and rational in the house began with the kitchen. This interest in both standardization and variability influenced the development of organizing elements, especially closets. Although heavily represented in the media and exhibitions, Marohnić’s kitchen never went into mass production, a telling sign of the discrepancy between ideals and execution.



Figure 2. Zvonimir Marohnić's design for a single-unit kitchen (1956).

MEDIA REPRESENTATION AND PROMOTION OF INDUSTRIAL DESIGN

Another important goal in ensuring the broad acceptance of the particular brand of modernism promoted by EXAT 51 and SIO was to empower the consumers so that they could make “informed” and “educated” decisions about their own environment²¹. The main sources for the dissemination of prescriptive ideas regarding the articulation of the domestic interior were newspapers and magazines. After the Second World War there was a proliferation of popular magazines, which reported on international fashion, interiors and products and developed a prescriptive discourse in teaching consumers how to dress themselves and decorate their interiors. Some of the popular magazines included; *Woman* (Žena), *Practical Woman* (Praktična Žena), *The World* (Svijet) and *Mozaik* (Mozaik). These were supported by more scholarly magazines aimed at the educated public and professionals in the field of architecture and design. Some of these new magazines included *Architecture* (Arhitektura), started in 1947, *Man and Space* (Covjek i prostor) from 1954, *Design* (Dizajn), and *15 Days* (15 Dana). Most of these magazines were founded by the same established network of urban intellectuals, architects, designers and critics who wanted to promote the public discussion on design and create a unified discourse on these matters. These magazines were related in their editorial decisions, bringing news of contemporary developments in western countries, and showing photographs of the work by famous manufacturers such as Knoll and Herman Miller²², while prescribing how these examples could be applied in the national environment.

How pressing the issue of design in the domestic environment was, is clearly evident from these magazines, which all had a section dedicated to interior decoration. Of particular importance was a series of articles by Andrija Mutnjaković in the magazine *15 Days*, which, in each issue, presented

a particular topic dealing with interior design, meant to both educate on broader themes of interiors and offer practical how-to advice. *15 Days*, as the official magazine of the Worker's University of Zagreb, had a strong educational editorial direction, even more overt than in other magazines of the time. In his articles Mutnjaković tackled the design of every room which could typically be found in an apartment and offered information on the correct ways of decorating it. The articles ranged from subtle nudges into specific stylistic directions to authoritative, even condescending, proclamations such as “Your furniture is ugly,” as a title of a 1959 article.

Mutnjaković's articles were far from being the only ones taking this approach. Each issue of the monthly magazine *Man and Space* (*Covjek i prostor*) had a page dedicated to articles on interiors written by famous architects and designers, who, once more, gave practical and theoretical advice on the correct way of articulating domestic space²³. Many books were also published on this topic, a popular one being Zvonimir Marohnić's *Contemporary Living* (*Suvremeno stanovanje*) from 1960²⁴. In these texts we can see a reflection of all the broader considerations of the interior in this period, from the ideological merging of modernism and technology with socialism to the practical need to employ minimalist decoration and modifiable furniture suited for the small spaces of new apartments.

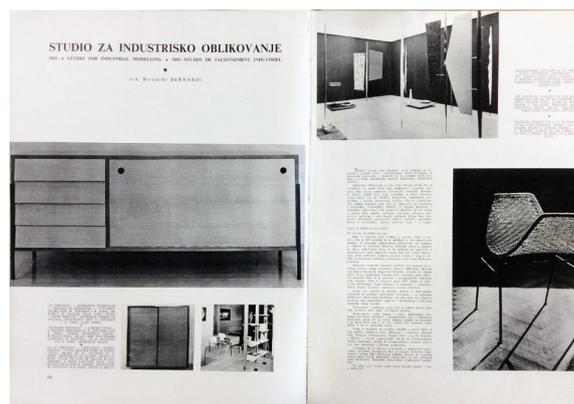


Figure 3. Bernardo Bernardi's article delineating the goals of SIO Studio for Industrial Design (Studio za industrijsko oblikovanje) from 1957/58 issue of *Mozaik* magazine.



Figure 4. Image of a properly design living room from Zvonimir Marohnić's *Contemporary Living* (1960).

Another important medium for promoting ideas of good design were exhibitions and fairs that centered on interior and product design. Some notable exhibitions included, “An Apartment for Our Needs” (Stan za nase prilike) in Ljubljana in 1956, “Contemporary Kitchen” (Suvremena kuhinja) in Zagreb, “Art and Industry” (Umjetnost i industrija) in Belgrade in 1957 and “Woman 1957” (Žena 1957), dedicated to “women and their specific needs”²⁵. The most popular were the “Family and Household” fairs, the first of which took place in Zagreb from September 7th to 22nd, 1957. The “Family and Household exhibitions,” with over 300 exhibiting companies over 65,000 square meters²⁶ were perhaps the most influential interior design fairs in the region.

Under the tagline “Comfort is not a luxury, but a necessity”²⁷ the “Family and Household” fairs tried to implement ideas of what was thought to be proper interior design. These exhibitions had a prescriptive and didactic character, teaching consumers, thought to be primarily women, what and how to consume²⁸. They attempted to intervene into the process of consumption by disciplining, guiding and rationalizing it through various methods. The newest advances in appliances were exhibited, along with modernist furniture, displayed as part of splendid tableaux which were meant to represent interiors that were expected to become available to everyone. Technically advanced products were accompanied by manuals or displays showing their use, accustoming consumers to new technologies.



Figure 5. Couple observing a displayed interior at the 1956 “Apartment for Our Needs” Fair.



Figure 6. Exhibition space in the 1956 fair “Apartment for Our Needs” where visitors could see displays on how to use new technologies.

Apart from new design gaining popularity in the domestic environment many of the products garnered attention on the international scene as well. Possibly the most important moment for the international presentation of the products and ideas developed by emerging Yugoslavian industrial designers was the country's exhibition at the 11th Milan Triennial in 1957. The exhibit was organized by SIO, curated by Mario Antonini and Boris Babić and included work by Richter, Bakić, Radovani, Picelj, and Antoljak. The display featured a materialization of the primary ideas advocated by this generation in its simple, streamlined and unadorned furniture and products. The interest in experimenting with new materials was offset by the presence of wood, historically the most important material in Yugoslavia's inland, while the sleek lines of the furniture were softened by the playful nature of textiles, in the form of curtains and rugs. The importance of the exhibition was validated in it being awarded the Triennial's Silver Medal and praised in both domestic and foreign press for successfully merging art and design, as the exhibition encapsulated precisely what the group of designers was seeking to achieve.



Figure 7. Interior from the Milan Triennial as presented in the 1959 issue of *Arhitektura*.

CONCLUSION

Much of the design work that was created in this period functioned in direct response and sometimes even opposition to the design preferred by the communist party and the country's leader, president Josip Broz Tito. Embracing highly traditional notions of luxury, the grand and the monumental remained the preferred mode of expression for the party's elite. Tito's personal interiors resembling old hunting lodges and Mediterranean villas were meant to inspire awe in both local and international audiences. The same style trickled down the party's ranks and manifested itself in what was referred to in the newspapers as the "monumental polish of heavy oak"²⁹. These examples embodied all the concerns designers had about the direction of Yugoslavia's cultural domain, that instead of creating a new egalitarian order the party was merely mired in the conceits of old.

Although the party promoted historicist styles and realist art it was also often unexpectedly open towards avant-garde developments, a significant departure from sentiments in other socialist countries. There are several possible interpretations for these developments, it is likely the party wanted to distance itself from the Soviet Republic, with its predilection for monumental figurative art and design that was either highly traditional or purely technical, or it considered that Modernist design was an appropriate mode of expression for the working class, giving the masses design that was both functional and appealing.

There is no doubt that contemporary media, which were usually in some way affiliated with different unions, were in part subsidized and supported by the government. In printed publications, the sway of the government was less apparent, but even the magazine *Man and World* (*Covjek i svijet*), which tended to be politically neutral in its approach to architecture and design, devoted an issue to celebrations honoring Tito's birthday. Most magazines also published favorable reports of the president's visits to design fairs³⁰. The magazines were also usually supported by various trade unions and organizations, which were more closely connected to the party, making the publications a combination of individualistic editorial decisions and broader ideological pursuits.

However connected media might have been to the politics of the time, there is no doubt that there was considerable liberty in media output. There was also little censorship in terms of foreign media access; American films drew large crowds to movie theaters, foreign television channels were easily available, jazz music was growing increasingly popular. Apart from articles dedicated to advancements in international design, each issue of *Arhitektura* magazine presented an overview of the topics from the most popular international design magazines of the time such as *Interiors*, *Industrial Design*, *Domus*.

The true scope of the government's influence on the media in the 1950s still remains ambiguous and the relationship between politics and design in Yugoslavia complex. Nonetheless, there is little doubt that the advancements in the understanding of design, and to a more limited degree, the manufacturing of products created by those at the forefront of the design revolution, marked the starting point of Yugoslavia's engagement with industrial design and set the course for future developments in this field.

Notes:

¹ Jasna Galjer, *Design of the Fifties in Croatia: From Utopia to Reality* (Zagreb: Horetzky, 2004); and Jasna Galjer, *Expo 58 and the Yugoslav Pavilion by Vjenceslav Richter* (Zagreb: Horetzky, 2009).

² David Crowley and Susan Reid, *Pleasures in Socialism: Leisure and in the Eastern Bloc* (Northwestern University Press, 2012); and David Crowley and Susan Reid. *Socialist Spaces: Sites of Everyday Life in the Eastern Bloc*, (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2002).

³ Popular daily newspapers of the time such as *Vjesnik* and *Narodni list* gave equal attention to the Soviet Union and the United States, praising their advancements in culture and technology, but remaining critical of their social and political conditions. In many newspapers of the time it was common to find articles such as: "Young America: The Victims of a Psychosis" and "The True Nature of the Crisis in the United States," (both from a 1959 issue of the newspaper *Vjesnik*) along with articles applauding American design and films.

⁴ The Non-Aligned movement is used to refer to the participants of the "Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries" first held in 1961. Formed during the Cold War, the organization brought together countries not formally aligned with any major power bloc, as the countries advocated for a middle course in the conflict between the Eastern and Western bloc. The crucial members in the early period of the movement were India, Egypt, Ghana and Yugoslavia.

⁵ Articles such as; Radovan Ivancevic, "Suvremeni stambeni blok," (The Contemporary Residential Block) *Covjek i prostor* 29-30, 1955; "Stambena problematika," (The Residential Question) *Covjek i prostor* 79, 1958, 4-5; "Ključ vlastitog stana," (Key to One's Own Apartment) *Vjesnik u Srijedu*, September 1, 1957; touch upon this issue.

⁶ Radovan Ivancevic, "Suvremeni stambeni blok," (The Contemporary Residential Block) *Covjek i prostor* 29-30, 1955, 15. This optimism in relation to future housing developments is particularly palpable in 1950s and lessens considerably in the 60s as many of the utopian plans fail to realize.

⁷ "Stambena problematika," (The Residential Question) *Covjek i prostor* 79, 1958, 4-5.

⁸ The new buildings also had areas designated for the development of supermarkets and communal services such as laundromats, cafeterias and various repair shops, which never became fully operational. It was believed that in the absence of personal ownership of new products and technologies, communal services would be made available in order to allow for a democratic dissemination of amenities. However, these plans did not take off for numerous reasons, from the cost of the services, to the general unwillingness on the side of the public to trust them.

⁹ Jasna Galjer, *Design of the Fifties in Croatia: From Utopia to Reality* (Zagreb: Horetzky, 2004), 65.

¹⁰ Bernardo Bernardi, "Definicija i društveni značaj industrijskog oblikovanja," (Definition and Social Importance of Industrial Design) *Arhitektura* 13(16), 1959, 6.

¹¹ Zlatko Kauzlaric, "Industrijski umjetnik neophodna potreba naseg vremena," (Industrial Artist: A Crucial Need of Our Time) *15 Dana* 2, 1959, 12.

¹²The attempt to define and position the industrial designer is pervasive in most issues of design magazines in the 1950s. Radovan Ivancevic, "Umjetnost i industrija: oblikovanje industrijskih proizvoda," (Art and Industry: Designing Industrial Products) *15 Dana 2 (18)*, 1959, 3; Radovan Ivancevic "Osnovna pravila industrijskog oblikovanja," (Basic Rules of Industrial Design) *15 Dana 2 (19)*, 1959, 3; Z. Potkovic, "Likovni umjetnik u industriji," (The Fine Artist in Industry) *15 Dana 2 (21)*, 1959, 3.

¹³This group of artists, architects, designers and theorists proposed an integration of architecture, design and art into a total work of art, as laid out in their 1951 manifesto. Although influenced by broader trends of integrative design they also responded to their immediate context. They were aware of the disconnect between these disciplines in Yugoslavia, especially when it came to applying them inside the interior, and through their exhibitions and writings they urged for a reevaluation of the roles of these fields. Members included architects Bernardo Bernardi, Zdravko Bregovac, Zvonimir Radić, Bozidar Rašica, Vjenceslav Richter, Vladimir Zarahović and painters Vlado Kristl, Ivan Picelj and Aleksandar Srnec.

¹⁴ Bernardo Bernardi. "Definicija i društveni značaj industrijskog oblikovanja," (Definition and Social Importance of Industrial Design) *Arhitektura 13(16)*, 1959, 6.

¹⁵ D.S. "Metal i plasticne mase," (Metals and Plastic) *15 Dana II*, 1959, 15.

¹⁶ D.S. "Metal i plasticne mase," (Metals and Plastic) *15 Dana II*, 1959, 16.

¹⁷ Bernardo Bernardi, "Studio za industrijsko oblikovanje" (Studio for Industrial Design) *Mozaik*, 1957-58, 56-57.

¹⁸ Radovan Ivancevic. "Oblik i svrha," (Shape and Function) *15 Dana*, 1959, 13.

¹⁹ Bernardo Bernardi. "Standardi za dnevni boravak i spavaonu," (Standards for the living room and bedroom) *Covjek i prostor* 39, 1955, 6.

²⁰ Zvonimir Marohnić, "Stan za nase prilike," (Apartment for Our Needs) *Covjek i prostor* 54, 1956, 4.

²¹ These and similar expressions regularly appeared in Andrija Mutnjaković's articles for *15 Days (15 dana)* throughout 1958-60.

²² Bernardo Bernardi, "Kultura stanovanja," (Culture of Living) *Mozaik*, 1959, 40.

²³ It is also interesting to note that although the target audiences for this magazine were predominantly male architects and designers, the interior design articles were mainly directed at female readers.

²⁴ Zvonimir Marohnić, *Suvremeno Stanovanje (Contemporary Living)* (Zagreb: Znanje, 1960).

²⁵ "Što ćemo vidjeti na reviji žena 1957." (What Will We See at the Fair-Woman 1957) *Vjesnik u srijedu*, 1957, 12.

²⁶ "Zagrebacki velesajam," (Zagreb Velesajam) *Vjesnik u srijedu*, August 28, 1957, 4.

²⁷ Jasna Galjer, *Design of the Fifties in Croatia: From Utopia to Reality* (Zagreb: Horetzky), 2004, 33. This tagline was also often quoted in newspaper reports on the fair, for instance in magazines *Svijet and Vjesnik*.

An analysis of the consumerist practices in any country is difficult without an understanding of some commonalities in the perception of the very idea of consumption. Both the East and the West relied on similar preconceived notions on gender roles and how they played out in everyday life. The consumer was always perceived as a “she,” and believed to be more easily seduced because she was supposedly often irrational in her desires. Therefore, socialist women were believed to have a “universal feminine desire to adorn themselves.”²⁸ They were also seen as the primary consumers of household items, so the cleanliness, efficiency, as well as the appearance of their kitchen indicated their value as a homemaker. As Victor Buchli observed it was always the “woman, housewife who was the pathologised object of reform.” (Victor Buchli, *Archaeology of Socialism: Materializing Culture* (Bloomsbury Academic), 136) The difference between the female role in the East and West was that, in socialism, the home was only one of the several fronts that women were expected to be active in. The efficiency afforded by the new products and functionally designed kitchens was meant to “free the woman and allow her to focus on her primary functions as an active agent in building a new society.” In: Bernardo Bernardi, “Definicija i društveni značaj industrijskog oblikovanja,” (Definition and Social Significance of Industrial Design) *Arhitektura*, 1959, 18.

²⁹ Marohnić, *Suvremeno stanovanje*, (*Contemporary Living*) 42.

²⁹ For instance: “Velesajam je otvoren,” (Velesajam is Open) *Vjesnik u srijedu*, September 1957.

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