

7 CRAFTING A DESIGN COUNTERCULTURE: THE PASTORAL AND THE PRIMITIVE IN ITALIAN RADICAL DESIGN, 1972–1976

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INTRODUCTION

The opening in 1972 of *Italy: The New Domestic Landscape: Achievements and Problems of Italian Design* at the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) in New York is recognised as a landmark moment in Italy's design history.¹ Curated by the Argentine architect Emilio Ambasz, the eagerly anticipated and heavily publicised show celebrated design's contribution to Italy's post-war development and its success in the international marketplace.

The esteem for Italy's architect-designers was based on two very different approaches: on the one hand, luxurious products designed by pre-eminent architects such as Gio Ponti and Vico Magistretti and, on the other, countercultural imaginings by a younger generation led by Ettore Sottsass and Superstudio. Together, the exhibition showed that Italy's architects were still leading the design of desirable commodities but were also at the vanguard of a critical position towards consumer society and architects' role therein.

This countercultural element in Italian design was not new. It had first appeared in the wave of contestation that had swept through Europe in the late 1960s, in which architects were active participants.² In 1968 architecture students and professionals occupied and vandalised the XIV Triennale di Milano, criticising an exhibition seen to embody a commercially oriented design establishment.³ This anti-authoritarianism also informed the fledgling radical design movement; the irreverent, pop-inspired designs by Archizoom Associati, Sottsass and Superstudio countered the dominant modernist orthodoxy and the desires of the mainstream marketplace through their ironic turn to the language of bad taste, kitsch and historical eclecticism. Produced by Poltronova, a Tuscan-based manufacturer established in 1957, objects such as Archizoom's Superonda sofa and Superstudio's Passiflora lamp, both designed in 1966, were on display at the MoMA exhibition.⁴

By the early 1970s, however, the optimism of 1968 had largely turned into frustration at the lack of societal reform. In this context the radicals' products were seen as ineffective and problematic critical strategies. The Marxist architectural historian Manfredo Tafuri lambasted these architects for peddling an 'increasingly commercialized' form of irony.⁵ In the Marxist rhetoric that pervaded the dominant leftist discourse in Italy at this time,

the radicals' pop products were seen as inadequate tools for social change; too readily consumed as status symbols by a younger generation of consumers, they spoke only of the market's ability to swallow up any attempts at subversion.⁶

The perceived failure of radical design's strategies in the late 1960s could also be seen in the displays of *Italy: The New Domestic Landscape*. This is another—albeit largely unacknowledged—reason why the exhibition was important, for it not only showed what Italy's architects had been up to in the last decade but also displayed what was coming next. As such, the exhibition marked the end of the first wave of radicalism and the emergence of the second, and final, wave.

While Marxist ideas continued to inform the majority of these architects' practice, their strategies demonstrated a marked change in approach and an increasingly utopian nature. In the exhibition catalogue art critics Filiberto Menna and Germano Celant described these new ways in which Italy's avant-garde architects sought to overcome the alienation that they perceived at all stages of design production, consumption and mediation. This was a 'crisis of the object' in which architects were shifting away from designing products to what Menna described as 'designing behaviours'.⁷ This was evident in environments such as Superstudio's proposal (Figure 7.1) for a 'life without objects', a 'negative utopia' of perpetual nomadism in which objects were reduced to 'neutral, disposable elements' devoid of any commodity fetishism.⁸



Fig. 7.1 Superstudio, 'Encampment' collage from their 'Life without Objects' environment at the exhibition *Italy: The New Domestic Landscape: Achievements and Problems of Italian Design*, curated by Emilio Ambasz, at the Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1972. Courtesy of Alessandro Poli.

This emphasis on behaviours was also evident in one of the least discussed environments, designed by the Florentine Gruppo 9999. This contribution remains largely unrecognised partly because it existed only on paper: Gruppo 9999 was one of two winners of the exhibition's 'Competition for Young Designers', whose entries were displayed as paper-based proposals on the museum's walls.⁹ This chapter briefly examines Gruppo 9999's entry before conducting a broader analysis of the role of craft for a number of architects involved in the second wave of Italy's radical design movement. This aspect, just like the Florentine group's MoMA environment, has been largely overlooked in the telling of post-war Italian design's history and yet was a vital part of this story.

GRUPPO 9999 AND THE PASTORAL MODE IN RADICAL DESIGN

Gruppo 9999 was set up in 1967 by four Florentine architects: Giorgio Birelli, Carlo Calдини, Fabrizio Fiumi and Paolo Galli. Their environment for *Italy: The New Domestic Landscape*, entitled 'Vegetable Garden House', consisted of a series of collages on graph paper that combined text with depictions of children and adults in various states of undress as well as illustrations and photographs of Brussels sprouts, cabbages and vegetable patches (Figure 7.2). The collages were intended to represent three components of the house's bedroom: water, a vegetable garden and an airbed.¹⁰

As with all the environments in the exhibition, Gruppo 9999's contribution had its roots in earlier practice. Theirs was the result of research and experiments conducted at the progressive Space Electronic nightclub they had established in 1969 in Florence.¹¹ Among the performances and installations that took place there, Gruppo 9999 created a two-room prototype of the 'Vegetable Garden House'. The first part was a living room, which was the continuation of a research project set up in 1970 with Superstudio, entitled 'S-Space (Separated School for Expanded Conceptual Architecture)', which the latter described as 'engaged in experimental teaching and the exchange of information'.¹² The second was the three-part bedroom exhibited at MoMA.¹³ (See Figure 7.3.)

The bedroom offered a different emphasis from the pedagogical orientation of the living room. In the text part of the collage, Gruppo 9999 described the rationale behind their vegetal vision for the domestic environment: 'up until now, technology has followed a completely autonomous path, one, we might say, in conflict with nature'.¹⁴ To counteract this distance between nature and technology they proposed

returning once more to elements that have long been lost and are by now forgotten: ancient and primordial things like food and water, side by side with technological inventions. It is our attempt to bring man back into relation with nature, even in this modern and hectic life.¹⁵

On the one hand, their manifesto epitomised the radical avant-garde's identification of an alienating distance between humans and their environment. It also conformed to Menna's identification of the radicals' focus on changing behaviours, rather than creating

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ITALY: THE NEW DOMESTIC LANDSCAPE

Fig. 7.2 Gruppo 9999, extract from their 'Vegetable Garden House' collage displayed in the 'Environments' section at *Italy: The New Domestic Landscape*, Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1972. Courtesy of Carlo Calдини.



Fig. 7.3 Gruppo 9999, prototype of 'Vegetable Garden House' at Space Electronic nightclub, Florence, c. 1972. Courtesy of Carlo Caldini.

products, to address this. On the other, its rhetoric exemplified the presence of a concept that is one of the foundations of this chapter and that can, furthermore, be seen as a quality associated with craft. Gruppo 9999's environment was premised on nature's condition as a primitive and remote 'other' to technological modernity. Described in a MoMA press release as 'arcadia reformulated', it can therefore be seen as an expression of the pastoral mode, conforming to the original literary meaning of the term as an idealisation of nature, a celebration of the simple and commonplace.¹⁶

'Vegetable Garden House' also expresses some of the qualities attributed to the pastoral since its origins are in the classical tradition.¹⁷ It exemplifies the political appropriation of the pastoral in this period—as in the Welsh cultural critic Raymond Williams's Marxian use of the term in his 1973 *Country and the City*—in order to expose class conflict and inequality.¹⁸ Gruppo 9999's pastoral expressed a commodity critique described by Italian critic Renato Poggioli in the 1960s as characteristic of the avant-garde: 'foremost among the passions that the pastoral opposes [is] . . . the possession, of worldly goods'.¹⁹ This is evident in Gruppo 9999's inclusion of an excerpt from Virgil's *Georgics* in which the Latin poet describes the seasonal work of a beekeeper. Although it was a comparatively

humble existence, the beekeeper was happy with his (or her) lot: ‘as he planted herbs here and there among the bushes, with white lilies about, and vervain, and slender poppy, he matched in contentment the wealth of kings’.²⁰

While the *Georgics* is mostly a didactic depiction of agricultural life, Williams affirms that parts of the poem are pastoral. This is due not just to their ‘idealising tone’ but to the fact that this ‘idyllic note is being sounded in another context’, expressing a cultural and temporal remoteness that is another key pastoral characteristic.²¹ Both Gruppo 9999 and Superstudio locate their antimaterialist utopia in a distant nature: in the former this was the vegetable garden; in the latter it was the mountainous landscapes that serve as the backgrounds for the isolated ‘encampments’, their remoteness amplified by the use of the perspectival grid.²²

Conventionally a literary trope, the pastoral can also be seen as a quality associated with craft. In his *Thinking through Craft* of 2007, Glenn Adamson identifies the pastoral, alongside supplementarity, skill, materiality and the amateur, as craft’s five ‘interrelated core principles’. Specifically, Adamson sees both the pastoral and the amateur as exemplary of ‘craft’s situation in the modern social fabric’, two ‘conceptual structures in which craft’s marginalisation has been consciously put to use’.²³ Although Adamson describes craft’s position in relation to art, Gruppo 9999 and Superstudio indicate that the same can be said of craft in relation to design: while neither group refers to the pastoral explicitly, arguably both adopted the pastoral precisely due to its existence outside of the modern industrial design mainstream.

This chapter argues that the pastoral was one of a number of craft concepts that informed Italy’s radical counterculture. These concepts, tied up with the anthropologically informed approaches of this second wave of radical design, are entirely absent from any existing reflections on the era and yet were central to the movement’s activities. Using contemporary periodicals and archival material, and informed by a craft-based approach, this chapter will therefore examine a number of the ways in which craft can be seen to have informed radical design practice.

In order to examine the role that craft played in Italy’s design counterculture, this chapter now expands its gaze beyond Gruppo 9999 to consider the wider context of craft in early 1970s Italy and the multiple ways in which key architects and collectives associated with what is variously known as radical design, antidesign or counterdesign all engaged with the handmade. These are Enzo Mari, Riccardo Dalisi and the Global Tools collective, in which Gruppo 9999 and Superstudio both participated. The second and third sections of this chapter focus on Superstudio, particularly the group’s interest in Aboriginal and Italian peasant material culture. Although the importance of all these groups to Italy’s design history is well recognised, none has received sufficient critical attention, and none has been examined in terms of their relation with craft. As such, this chapter not only reassesses one of the most fascinating periods in Italian design but also suggests the potential for using craft as an approach to design history in other contexts.

CRAFT AND THE DESIGN COUNTERCULTURE IN 1970S ITALY

This examination of the role of craft in Italy's design counterculture is part of a larger attempt to reassert craft's centrality in Italy's post-war design history. Craft has been largely marginalised in Italian design historiography, and yet it was key to the development of its post-war design culture. In Italy's fragmented and localised history of industrial development, craft was a vital means of production: even following the wave of rapid industrialisation in the early 1950s, the scale and sites of furniture and product manufacture stayed largely artisanal in nature.²⁴ The British design historian Penny Sparke, who pioneered craft-oriented approaches to Italian design in the 1990s, has demonstrated how craft materials and traditions remained important to Italy's architects throughout the 1950s and 1960s, from Ponti's vernacular-inspired straw-seated Superleggera chair for Cassina to Sottsass's Tuscan-made ceramics and Murano blown glassware.²⁵ Craftsmanship has continued to be an important quality in the consumption of Italian design, as the contemporary desirability of luxuries 'Made in Italy' demonstrates.²⁶

The turn to craft by Italy's countercultural architects in the early 1970s was informed by a wider surge of interest in the handmade. On the one hand, this period saw a growing popularity for do-it-yourself (DIY). Writing in *Modo* magazine in 1977, Claudia Donà noted how DIY had formerly been a minor concern in Italy, as the urban housing stock was largely made up of rented accommodation in which landlords were responsible for maintenance duties, and repairmen were in any case inexpensive. However, in the economic depression of the early 1970s, even these apartments' inhabitants were looking for ever cheaper ways to make do and mend.²⁷

In 1974 the outspoken architect Enzo Mari appropriated this trend for amateur making to radical ends. In 'Proposta per un'Autoprogettazione' (Proposal for a self-design) Mari invited the public to make their own furniture according to a series of his own simple, utilitarian designs that were published in a freely distributed catalogue.²⁸ In tune with the architect's Marxist politics, this was a project of consciousness-raising, one that used the craft figure of the amateur for its realisation. Mari hoped that by getting consumers to make their own furniture they would experience an unalienated mode of production and be freed from the binds of commodity fetishism.

The craft revival that was sweeping through North America and western Europe in the 1960s and 1970s was also felt in Italy.²⁹ This was evident in the presence of studio potters such as Alessio Tasca at the inaugural Sezione del Lavoro Artigiano (Section of Artisanal Work) at the XV Triennale di Milano in 1973. While craft had been present at previous Triennali, this was the first time its presence was framed by its cultural difference from industrial production. The studio crafts were seen as promising individuality in an otherwise homogeneous, mass-produced world.³⁰

As the architecture critic Joseph Rykwert noted in *Domus* at the time, this anti-industrial craft discourse signalled 'a kind of protest against the consumer society [that was] familiar in the Anglo-Saxon world' but unusual in the Triennale context.³¹ Rykwert's

critique is a reminder of the specificity of craft in Italy, where, in contrast to conventional Anglo-American discourse, it has not, historically, been constructed as ideologically different from industrial production. This is partly due to the nation's industrialisation process. As Italy did not experience the erasure of artisanal workshops that occurred in nineteenth-century Britain, there was no need for an arts and crafts movement to call for their revival.³² This was compounded by a rejection of socialism among Italy's intellectuals at the turn of the twentieth century, when the movement's ideas were disseminated.³³ While I do not want to oversimplify Italy's craft history, and in the absence of extensive research conducted in this area, this does mean that the difference between craft and industry in Italy has been seen as mostly a question of scale rather than ideology.³⁴

However, there were signs of the construction of craft as a site of authentic alterity, which has dominated what Adamson and other craft voices term 'modern craft', meaning craft that is seen to contain values that are considered 'other' to the condition of industrial modernity within which it is produced.³⁵ For example, Michelangelo Sabatino has described a turn to the vernacular by rationalist and neorationalist architects in the inter- and post-war periods, as practitioners such as Giuseppe Pagano and Giancarlo De Carlo sought an alternative to the dominant architectural language.³⁶

It was only in the 1970s that Italy's architects appropriated craft as an alternative to the values of industrial modernity on any large scale. Speaking at a conference organised on the occasion of the 1973 Triennale, the Neapolitan architect Riccardo Dalisi identified how a 'crisis . . . of the cultural value of the industrial product' was leading to a re-evaluation of the handmade and all its 'formal, social, economic values'.³⁷ Dalisi had been invited to the conference to speak about his experiments in *tecnica povera* ('poor technique') conducted since 1971 in the impoverished Neapolitan quarter of Traiano.³⁸ Informed by *arte povera's* interest in public participation and the use of unmediated, or *povera*, materials, Dalisi encouraged street children to spontaneously make furniture and structures with the simple tools and materials at hand.³⁹ He perceived a greater creativity among 'the children of the lumpen proletariat' in comparison to his own architecture students, a lack of inhibition attributed to the fact that these children had not experienced the stultifying effects of Italy's education system or the repressive rhythms of the assembly line.⁴⁰ As part of the project, Dalisi kept a diary and took photographs to document the children's behaviour; this identifiably anthropological approach indicated the wider influence of anthropology on design at this time.⁴¹

In his conflation of children with unalienated, pre-industrial makers, Dalisi also demonstrates another quality that can be associated with craft. The architect identified children as undivided selves closer to a natural state of spontaneous creativity—a distinction between the totality of the primitive other and the fragmented self that Daniel Miller has described as being at the root of the primitivism that underpins modern art practice.⁴² As this chapter will go on to suggest, primitivism can be seen as another characteristic of radical design in this period, as shown in Global Tools' interest in pre-industrial methods and makers and in Superstudio's research into the Tuscan peasant Zeno Fiaschi.

Set up in 1973 at the offices of *Casabella* magazine, the Global Tools collective was made up of the leading architects in Italy's radical counterculture; its members included Andrea Branzi, Dalisi, Michele de Lucchi, Alessandro Mendini, Sottsass, Gruppo 9999 and Superstudio. Like Dalisi, Global Tools was interested in free creativity and expressed this in explicitly craft terms: members proposed the 'teaching of crafts' in order 'to recuperate creative faculties atrophied in our work-directed society'.⁴³ The group planned to do so through a series of workshops that would be organised on the basis of five areas of activity: the body, construction, communication, survival and theory. Superstudio and Gruppo 9999 made up the survival group, and in the second of the two Global Tools bulletins that were published, they laid out their plans for research. As we shall see, these demonstrated the same qualities of the pastoral discussed in the introduction to this chapter, only this time with a distinctly primitive element.

GRUPPO 9999, SUPERSTUDIO, ABORIGINES AND THE PASTORAL PRIMITIVE

For Global Tools, Gruppo 9999 and Superstudio proposed a comparative study of 'the survival struggle', examining the production and consumption of items such as food, clothing, objects and tools in two contrasting locations: the 'town and . . . the country'. In this project of 'self-anthropology', the group described themselves as 'intellectuals on the Florence-Milan axis' who represented the town.⁴⁴ Although the text is silent on who the 'country' subjects were, the photograph of an Aborigine rubbing sticks to create fire is highly suggestive of their identity.

In 1975 Superstudio presented the research that had been outlined in the Global Tools bulletin in *Avanguardie e cultura popolare*, an exhibition curated by Giovanni M. Accame and Carlo Guenzi at Bologna's Galleria d'Arte Moderna that also included Dalisi's *tecnica povera* and Mari's *Autoprogettazione*. According to Accame, the exhibition aimed to bring together 'those whose profession is the creation of culture with those who have no culture other than their own way of life'.⁴⁵ Superstudio's interest in the latter can be seen as illustrative of a rediscovery of folklore and popular culture in Italy, domains regarded as untainted by the consumerist values of contemporary society.⁴⁶ Superstudio was not immune to this interest in non-intellectual culture, as their interest in comparing urban and rural, intellectual and Aboriginal, cultures demonstrates.

This perception of difference based on assessments of cultural level is another quality associated with the pastoral that was demonstrated by Superstudio and the exhibition curators. Thomas Crow, following William Empson, discussed the 'pastoral contrast' in terms of such a distinction: 'those who fashion or enjoy cultivated forms of art are compelled to compare their own condition, which permits this refinement, with that of the rustic whose existence affords no such luxury but who enjoys in compensation a natural, more "truthful" simplicity of life'.⁴⁷ Yet another element can be added to this pastoralism: in their anthropological identification of the Aboriginal 'other', Superstudio expressed the same primitivism seen in Dalisi's experiments. In the catalogue Superstudio denied this, however, claiming that they chose the Aboriginal community precisely to avoid

falling into such a trap: ‘Why have we chosen to compare ourselves with them? Because it is harder to apply to them than to other “primitives” the myths of the “good savage” and “happy islands”; because it is easier to see in them the signs of pain, of the difficulties, of diseases, of the effort of living’.⁴⁸ The fact that Superstudio felt the need to defend itself against accusations of primitivism implies its presence. This is confirmed by the fact that despite the Aborigines’ harder existence, Superstudio saw something preferable in their lesser reliance on material possessions: ‘we can learn from them the value of regaining a bit of freedom; and we can do this by getting rid of some of our objects, [such as] those least needed’.⁴⁹

Superstudio was partly interested in Aborigine culture as representative of what their own Italian society had been like before the march of industry, progress and modernity. John Storey has noted a similar interest in late Victorian Britain, when folklorists explored the ‘primitive’ both in the far-flung reaches of the empire and in Britain’s folk culture. As Storey argues, Britain’s ‘pastoral life’ was construed as a ‘primitive culture’, a conflation between the ‘savage’ and the ‘peasant’ that translated into a ‘primitive pastoralism’—a term that can clearly also be applied to Superstudio’s interest in Aboriginal culture.⁵⁰ This ‘primitive pastoralism’ was not evident just in Superstudio’s interest in Aborigines. It was also found in Superstudio’s largest project of anthropological research, their ‘Cultura Materiale Extraurbana’ (Extraurban material culture), conducted between 1973 and 1978.

SUPERSTUDIO, ZENO FIASCHI, ‘CULTURA MATERIALE EXTRAURBANA’ AND THE PASTORAL PRIMITIVE

As the 1970s progressed, Superstudio’s members devoted an increasing amount of their time to teaching at the University of Florence’s architecture faculty. In their ‘Cultura Materiale Extraurbana’ course and research project, Superstudio employed ‘anthropological techniques’ of observation and written and visual records to examine and document the materials and tools of the Tuscan peasant culture.⁵¹

Anthropological techniques were also employed when the group’s research focused on one figure—Zeno Fiaschi, a seventy-year-old peasant whom Superstudio member Alessandro Poli had met while buying a house in the Tuscan countryside.⁵² As part of his fieldwork, conducted between 1975 and 1976, Poli took photographs and drew up annotated diagrams of Fiaschi’s house, surroundings and possessions. Poli clearly believed that he had found an adult, Italian-based maker endowed with the same free creativity as Dalisi’s Neapolitan children and the same unalienated relationship with objects as in Aboriginal culture and among Mari’s would-be amateurs. As Poli later described it, ‘Zeno’s objects and utensils were paradoxes he had built for actual use and not for display . . . that arise from a total self-managed relationship between the individual, society and the environment’.⁵³

Superstudio’s concentration on Fiaschi conformed to another facet of the pastoral: the focus on isolated individuals (Figure 7.5) that made up the pastoral’s landscape. He was what Leo Marx called a ‘liminal figure’, ‘an efficacious mediator between the realm

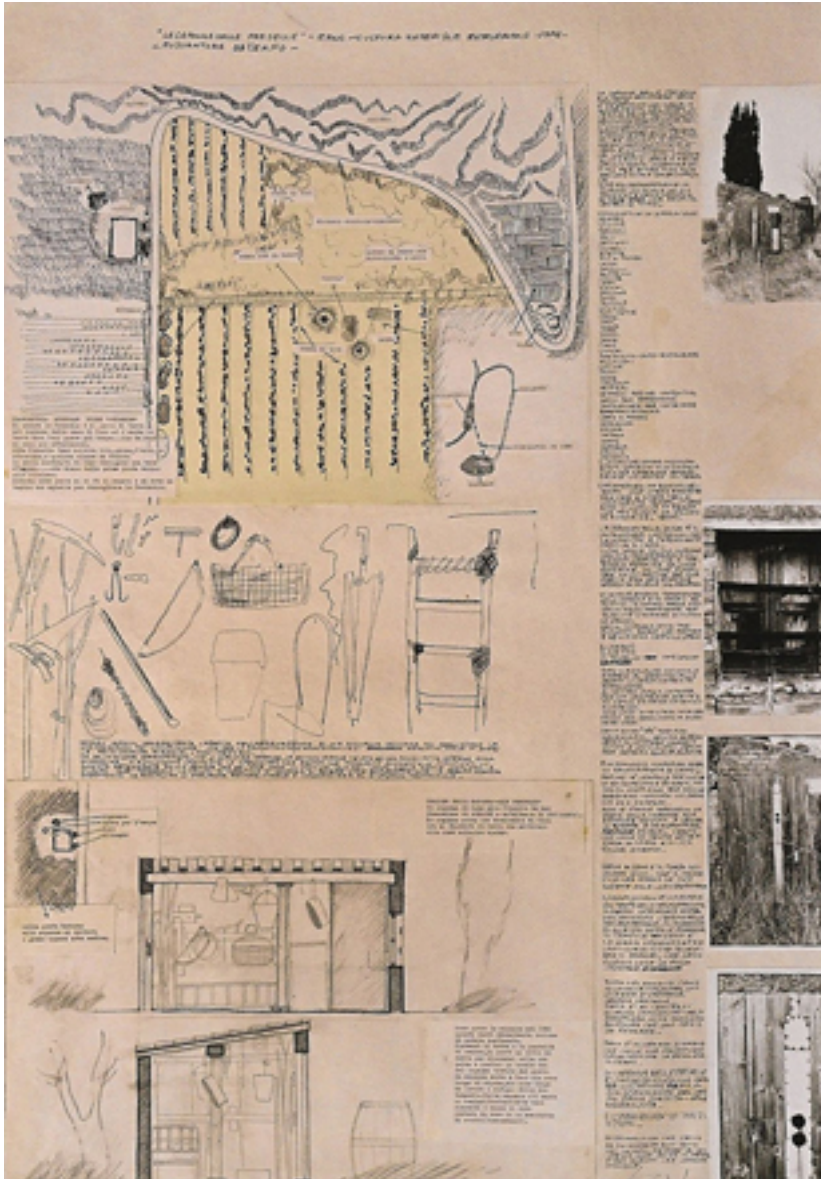


Fig. 7.4 Drawing by Alessandro Poli of the homestead of the Tuscan peasant farmer Zeno Fiaschi for research into a self-sufficient culture, 1979–1980. Courtesy of Alessandro Poli.

of organized society and the realm of nature'.⁵⁴ This interest in the pastoral figure was also evident in the work of Global Tools. A 'fundamental concept' of their research was 'the non-intellectual man, with his age-old innate wisdom, and all the possibilities which may derive from this, even to the point of reverting to a nomadic way of life, destruction of the city, etc.'⁵⁵ This was part of Global Tools' larger interest in pastoral simplicity, also seen



Fig. 7.5 Photograph taken by Alessandro Poli of Zeno Fiaschi in his house in Riparbello. Courtesy of Alessandro Poli.

in Gruppo 9999's turn to nature: 'the terminology, tasks, methods, and structure of the school are amazingly simple, as is all essential for those who wish to bridge the alienating gap which has been created between the functions of the hands and those of the mind'.⁵⁶

In line with the pastoral's marginal status, Fiaschi was not representative of a dominant way of being in Italy's rural regions. Rather, against a larger context of ongoing decline in Italy's agricultural sector and a concomitant flight from the rural regions to the cities, he struck an increasingly lonely figure. As Poli later noted, Fiaschi was 'the figure who represented the exception of continuity in these cultures that were disappearing due to migration and urban acculturation'.⁵⁷ Fiaschi was the one who stayed behind, a figure increasingly as marginal and remote from the Italy of the 1970s as was the culture of its disappearing rural traditions.

CONCLUSION

Superstudio's research into Zeno Fiaschi and Tuscan peasant material culture has remained one of their less-known projects. According to the architect Peter Lang, who is an authority on the group, this is because it 'lacked the checks, balances and earlier ironies that might have successfully lifted this project back on to a more international platform'.⁵⁸ Arguably, it was also due to the cojoined artisanal and agricultural nature of their subject matter, qualities that this chapter has demonstrated were central to radical design and yet have been largely overlooked in Italian design history thus far.

This chapter has focused on the second wave of radical design that sprang up in the increasingly violent early 1970s and was first exhibited in *Italy: The New Domestic Landscape*. If the bright, pop-like colours and forms of radical design in the late 1960s marked the optimism of the first wave, then arguably the marginality and remoteness of the pastoral were equally fitting for the second wave of radicalism in the 1970s. This period marked the end of radical design; in 1976 Global Tools folded, and several months later Studio Alchimia was set up. This postmodern group had Mendini's nihilism at its core, and the utopianism of the previous years had no place. However, although the 'primitive pastoral' was effaced from the short-lived second wave of the radical design movement, its influence can be seen in other moments in Italy's post-war design history. Sottsass's interest in suburban laminate coffeeshop counters in his Superboxes and designs for the Memphis group could be read as instances of a cojoined 'pastoral primitivism'. Ultimately, therefore, this focus on the pastoral and primitive demonstrates the potential of using craft-based approaches to revisit Italy's design history as a whole and to apply the multifaceted concept of craft to other cultures and contexts.

NOTES

1. For example, Jane Pavitt, 'The Bomb in the Brain', in *Cold War Modern: Design 1945–1970*, ed. David Crowley and Jane Pavitt (London: V&A Publishing, 2008), 117.
2. For more on this period see Jan Kurz and Marica Tolomelli, 'Italy', in *1968 in Europe: A History of Protest and Activism, 1956–1977*, ed. Martin Klimke and Joachim Scharloth (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 83–96.
3. Paola Nicolin, 'Protest by Design: Giancarlo De Carlo and the 14th Milan Triennale', in Crowley and Pavitt, *Cold War Modern*, 228–233.
4. Emilio Ambasz, 'Objects Selected for Their Sociocultural Implications', in *Italy: The New Domestic Landscape: Achievements and Problems of Italian Design*, ed. Emilio Ambasz (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1972), 108, 100.
5. Manfredo Tafuri, *History of Italian Architecture, 1944–1985*, trans. Jessica Levine (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1989), 99.
6. On Marxist politics and 1970s Italy, see Paul Ginsborg, *A History of Contemporary Italy: Society and Politics, 1943–1988* (London: Penguin, 1990), 298–347.

7. Germano Celant, 'Radical Architecture', and Filippo Menna, 'A Design for New Behaviours', in Ambasz, *Italy: The New Domestic Landscape*, 380–387, 405–414.
8. 'Negative' utopias refers to the fact these architects' utopias were not constructive but destructive—they aimed at destroying the problematic nature of existing society rather than creating a new one. Superstudio, 'Description of the Microevent/Microenvironment', in Ambasz, *Italy: The New Domestic Landscape*, 246; and Ambasz, 'Summary', in Ambasz, ed., *Italy: The New Domestic Landscape*, 421.
9. The other winner was Studio Tecnico Gianantonio Mari.
10. Mark Wasiuta, Luca Molinari and Peter Lang, 'Fabrication Laboratory 9999', in *Environments and Counter-environments: Italy: The New Domestic Landscape*, MoMA 1972 (Barcelona: Disseny Hub Barcelona [DHUB], 2011), n.p., <http://www.petertlang.net/design-culture/environments-and-counter-environments-dhub-barcelona-2010-11/> (accessed December 10, 2011).
11. Ibid.
12. Superstudio, 'Superstudio', in Ambasz, ed., *Italy: The New Domestic Landscape*, 240.
13. Wasiuta, Molinari and Lang, 'Fabrication Laboratory 9999'.
14. Gruppo 9999, 'Group 9999', in Ambasz, ed., *Italy: The New Domestic Landscape*, 276.
15. Ibid.
16. Museum of Modern Art, 'Italy: The New Domestic Landscape Competition', press release no. 56, 1972, http://www.moma.org/docs/press_archives/4834/releases/MOMA_1972_0063_56X.pdf?2010 (accessed December 8, 2011); and Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 17.
17. On the history of the pastoral, see Paul Alpers, 'What Is Pastoral?' *Critical Inquiry* 8, no. 3 (1982): 437–460.
18. Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973).
19. Renato Poggioli, *The Oaten Flute: Essays on Pastoral Poetry and the Pastoral Ideal* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1975), 4.
20. Virgil, *Georgics*, V, 124–145, quoted in Gruppo 9999, 'Group 9999', 277.
21. Williams, *The Country and the City*, 17. See also Poggioli, *Oaten Flute*, 1; and Glenn Adamson, *Thinking through Craft* (Oxford: Berg, 2007), 104. On the cultural and temporal remoteness of ideals, and the necessity that ideals remain elusive and unrealised, see also Grant McCracken, *Culture and Consumption: New Approaches to the Symbolic Character of Consumer Goods and Activities* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), 107.
22. Adamson, *Thinking Through Craft*, 104.
23. Ibid., 4–5, 4.
24. John Foot, *Modern Italy* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 3.
25. Penny Sparke, 'The Straw Donkey: Tourist Kitsch or Proto-design? Craft and Design in Italy, 1945–1960', *Journal of Design History* 11, no. 1 (1998): 59–69; and Sparke, 'Nature, Craft, Domesticity, and the Culture of Consumption: The Feminine Face of Design in Italy, 1945–70', *Modern Italy* 4, no. 1 (1999): 59–78.

26. On the contemporary desirability of Italy's products, see Rachel Sanderson, 'Value of Being "Made in Italy"', *Financial Times*, January 20, 2011, 16. For a discussion of the increasingly problematic nature of this label, see Simona Segre Reinach's contribution to this volume.
27. Claudia Donà, 'Bricolage, un problema di definizione tra tempo libero e tempo liberato', *Modo* 1, no. 2 (July–August 1977): 52.
28. Enzo Mari, *Autoprogettazione?* (Mantua: Corraini, 1974; repr., 2008), n.p.
29. For more on the craft revival see Marcia Manhart and Tom Manhart, eds., *The Eloquent Object: The Evolution of American Art in Craft Media since 1945* (Tulsa, OK: Philbrook Museum of Art, 1987).
30. 'Sezione del Lavoro Artigiano', in *Quindicesima Triennale di Milano: Esposizione Internazionale delle Arti Decorative e Industriali Moderne e dell'Architettura Moderna* (Florence: Centro Di, 1973), 51.
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