

**FROM BAUHAUS TO IKEA:
INTEGRATION OF MASS PRODUCTION, STANDARDIZATION,
MODULARIZATION AND CLAIM OF UNIVERSALITY
WITH CAPITALIST MODE OF PRODUCTION**

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ABSTRACT

FROM BAUHAUS TO IKEA: INTEGRATION OF MASS PRODUCTION, STANDARDIZATION, MODULARIZATION AND CLAIM OF UNIVERSALITY WITH CAPITALIST MODE OF PRODUCTION

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This thesis questions the relation between political program and architectural production via a close examination of the modern myth: democratization through design. This idea is rooted in the 19th century arts and crafts movement, which indirectly caused the foundation of a very influential design school, the Bauhaus, where the idea of democratization of design has been invented. Years later, the slogan reappeared and became more visible than ever. This time it was IKEA, a furniture company that also promotes the idea of 'democratization through design' with references to Bauhaus announcing the democratic design utopia is back.

The survey of the study is based on four main principles that are developed at Bauhaus and later reinvented by IKEA. These principles, namely, mass production, standardization, modularization, and claim of universality characterize the modernist project of instrumentalizing mass production for social benefits.

Keywords: Mass Production, Standardization, Modularization, Claim of Universality

ÖZ

BAUHAUS'TAN IKEA'YA: KİTLESEL ÜRETİM, STANDARTLAŞMA, MODÜLERLEŞME VE EVRENSELLİK İDDİASININ KAPİTALİST ÜRETİM ŞEKLİNE ENTEGRASYONU

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Bu tez politik program ve mimari üretim arasındaki ilişkiyi 'tasarım yoluyla demokratikleşme' miti üzerinden inceler. Bu fikrin temeli 19. Yüzyılda dolaylı olarak tasarımın demokratikleşmesi fikrinin icat edildiği etkin bir tasarım okulu olan Bauhaus'un kurulmasına da sebep olan sanat ve zanaat hareketi yatmaktadır. Yıllar sonra slogan yeniden ortaya çıkmış ve her zamankinden daha görünür hale gelmiştir. IKEA, Bauhaus'a referansla "tasarım yoluyla demokratikleşme" fikrini destekleyen bir mobilya şirketi olarak demokratik tasarım ütopyasının geri geldiğini ilan etmiştir.

Çalışmanın detayları Bauhaus'ta geliştirilen ve daha sonra IKEA tarafından yeniden üretilen dört ana ilkeye dayanmaktadır. Bu ilkeler, yani kitlesel üretim, standartlaşma, modülerleştirme ve evrensellik iddiası, kitlesel üretimi toplum yararına işlevselleştiren bir modernist projeyi tanımlar.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kitlesel Üretim, Standartlaşma, Modülerleşme, Evrensellik iddiası

To My Family,

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	IV
ÖZ.....	V
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	VII
TABLE OF CONTENTS	VIII
LIST OF FIGURES	X

CHAPTERS

1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1. Definition of the Problem.....	2
1.2. Significance of Bauhaus-IKEA Pair	4
1.2.1. Theoretical Significance.....	5
1.2.2. Contextual Significance.....	6
1.2.3. Historical Significance	8
1.3. Aims and Objectives.....	10
2. HISTORICAL SURVEY	14
2.1. The dawn of modernity.....	14
2.2. The legacy of the WWI and Weimar Republic.....	17
2.3. The Rise of Fascism and WWII	27
2.4. From 1972 to the Present.....	41
3. DEFINING AND REDEFINING UTOPIA: FROM POLITICAL ACT TO CONSUMPTION.....	47
3.1. Utopia and the Nature of Avant-gardes:	47
3.2. Bauhaus, IKEA and Utopias:.....	56
3.2.1. Democracy as <i>Utopia</i> :.....	56

2.1.3.	Bauhaus: Design as Utopian Act.....	61
2.1.3.1.	Politicization of Aesthetics.....	65
3.1.4.	IKEA: Utopia and Consumption.....	69
3.1.4.1.	Aestheticization of Everyday Life through Consumption	74
4.	FORM AS SOCIAL PRODUCT	78
4.1.	Bauhaus as Design Based Movement.....	78
4.2.	IKEA as Design Based Development	81
4.2.1.	Design Principles.....	84
4.2.1.1.	Mass Production.....	84
4.2.1.2.	Standardization	95
4.2.1.3.	Modularization.....	98
4.2.1.4.	Claim of Universality.....	105
4.2.2.	Organizational principles	107
4.2.2.1.	Self Assembly.....	107
4.2.2.2.	World-Wide Pipeline.....	108
5.	CONCLUSION	110
	REFERENCES	120

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURES

Figure 1: First reference to Bauhaus reference made in 'the Unböring Manifesto', publication of an advertising campaign (2004).....	5
Figure 2: Lyonel Feininger, <i>Kathedrale</i> , front page of the Manifesto and Program of Bauhaus, 1919	63
Figure 3: Photo taken in Corporate Culture Center of IKEA in Älmhult. The music and lyrics of the song that celebrates the 'IKEA Way' are printed on a panel hanged in one of the training rooms.	72
Figure 4: Still from <i>The Lamp</i> , 2002.	74
Figure 5 Le Courbusier, Perspective drawing of Maison Citrohan, 1920.	101
Figure 6: Standardized building components, Walter Gropius 1923.	102
Figure 7: Models: standardized building components assembled into various types..	103
Figure 8: Prefabricated house for General Panel Corporation., Walter Gropius, Konrad Wachsmann. 1943-45.	104
Figure 9: Delivery of BoKlok House. The prefabricated moduls are assembled on site.	105
Figure 11: Ludwig Hilberseimer, illustrations from <i>Grossstadtarchitektur</i> , 1927	116

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

“We shape our buildings and thereafter our buildings shape us.”¹

Architect’s profession has nothing to do with brick and mortar. It is not building up enclaves but designing lives through those enclaves. They try to give order through form to both physical world and to the social one. The relation between social world and ‘form’ is dialectical since they are mutually dependent. This strange relation is not easy to understand, because both ends have variables depending on the cultural and economical factors such as the dominant mode of production or contemporary international relations. In order to understand the dynamics of this relation this thesis has two interlinked aims. First, it problematizes the binary relation between political program and architectural production, and secondly it tries to demystify how capitalist modes of production and organization effect and transform space. These two concerns are believed to form a base to discuss whether this idea is valid in our contemporary world.

¹ The aphorism belongs to Winston Churchill who is reported to have used this statement twice: first in 1924 at the Architectural Association in London, then in 1943 when requesting that the bombed-out British Parliament be rebuilt exactly as before. The quote appears in Brand (1994). See: Brand S., *How Buildings Learn: What Happens After They Are Built*, (New York: Viking, 1994).

1.1. Definition of the Problem

This thesis was inspired by comparisons of Bauhaus and IKEA in a number of non-academic texts² where they were positioned as if complementary in a progressive line of history. Further inquiry revealed that there was a twofold frame that pictured Bauhaus and IKEA comparable. These were their relations to political program and material production. They both made references to democracy in a way that renders design as an agency of this particular political program. On the other hand, they were not only known for their theoretical stance but also for their products. Based on these observations two interrelated goals were determined for this research: (1) to understand the nature of the binary relation between political program and architectural production, by examination of the modern utopia: 'democratization through design', and (2) to demystify how capitalist modes of production and organization effect and transform space by examining its modes of operation. These modes of operation are determined as four design principles that were operational throughout 20th century: Mass production, standardization, modularization, and claim of universality. They characterize the modernist project of instrumentalizing mass production for social benefits.

The idea of design capable of enhancing conditions of society is rooted in the 19th century arts and crafts movement, which indirectly, caused the foundation of a

² The texts comparing Bauhaus and IKEA are retrieved online. 'Is There Bauhaus in IKEA?' By David Barringer posted on 17.08.09 last retrieved on 24.05.2011 <http://observatory.designobserver.com/entryprint.html?entry=10397> ; 'Is IKEA Bauhaus?' posted on 28.08.2009. On the New Idiom student blog of Illinois Institute of Design last retrieved on 6.6.2011 <http://www.thenewidiom.com/post/174146185/is-Ikea-bauhaus> ; 'IKEA Takes Bauhaus to Your House', originally posted by Stephen Brown, reposted on 4.1.2005 by Levent Ozler. <http://www.designer.com/news/3575> last retrieved on: 6.6.2011 ; 'Before Ikea, there was Bauhaus' By Brendan Buck posted on 8 August 2009, last retrieved on 6.6.2011. ; 'The German Bauhaus – Ikea's bigger sister', posted on 11.11.2009 by anonymous user, last retrieved on 6.6.2011 <http://www.blogonlyapartments.com/the-german-bauhaus-berlin>; 'Van Bauhaus tot IKEA – 90 jaar Bauhaus', online material last retrieved on 6.6.2011 <http://wp.digischool.nl/duits/oefenen/land-en-mensen/duitsland-abc/van-bauhaus-tot-Ikea-90-jaar-bauhaus>.

very influential design school, the Bauhaus, where the idea of democratization of design has been invented. In the unique context of Weimar Republic, Bauhaus promoted the idea that design can enhance the quality of life for the public. Years later, the slogan reappeared and became more visible than ever. This time it was IKEA, a furniture company that also promotes the idea of ‘democratization through design’ with references to Bauhaus announcing the democratic design utopia is back.

Although this thesis focuses on Bauhaus and IKEA, it should be stated that they were not the only ones who articulated these ideas. A little earlier than Bauhaus, similar discussions took place in Vienna Workshops (*Wiener Werkstätte*) and a recent MoMA publication, titled *Modern Swedish design: three founding texts* reveals that it was also an issue in Scandinavia.³ Among contemporaries with Bauhaus one can list the Constructivists in Russia, the Futurists in Italy, De Stijl in the Netherlands and the Dadaists in Switzerland, but compared with Bauhaus, they were local and temporary. The emigration of Bauhaus masters to America after Bauhaus was closed turned it into a globally known movement. The ‘school of applied arts’ tradition has re-flourished there, into schools that still exist and claim to extend the Bauhaus legacy⁴.

One can ask how such a discussion can be made upon the cases of Bauhaus and IKEA, or could it be architectural after all, since they are primarily known for their furniture design rather than buildings. To understand that one should embrace the fact that the distinction between furniture design and architectural design is a rather new phenomenon and the interior designer is a new actor in the field. It is a consequence of capitalist mode of production, which induces specializations and

³The book was published in 2008. Some of the key text that the book contains were never translated and were only known for the references given by Swedish scholars. Their introduction to the English-speaking world extended the discourse on the origins of modernism. Lucy Creagh, Helena Kåberg and Barbara Miller Lane, eds., *Modern Swedish Design: Three Founding Texts* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2008).

⁴ Harvard University and Illinois Institute of Technology have such claims based on their connections with Walter Gropius and Ludvig Mies van der Rohe.

extreme division of labor. In a different context; for Bauhaus, furniture as an object of daily life was an ideal medium to materialize ideas before spatializing them. Similarly, with IKEA, which is known as a furniture company, the idea finally spatializes in various real estate developments in Europe.⁵ One should also consider the idea of *gesamtkunstwerk*⁶, which was influential upon these movements. From another perspective, to achieve one of the aims of this study, to understand how capitalist mode of production and organization effect and transform space one should realize that the transformation of space is not a top-down operation. It is rather a process where the change happens inside out. Changes in the furniture design changes the daily life and, consequently, changes the spaces where they take place.

1.2. Significance of Bauhaus-IKEA Pair

In the texts, which inspired the idea that this study was originated, Bauhaus and IKEA were often paired due to the resemblance of their products on a visual basis. It creates a false coherency which triggers style based discussions. Such attitude is rejected in this study. It should be stated that the reason behind their common visual language is the design principles they shared (and which are examined in this study). Significance of Bauhaus and IKEA pair can be evaluated from three different aspects namely theoretical significance, contextual significance and historical significance.

⁵ About the residential units IKEA recently stated to sell visit the website of the boKlok houses where additional information such as their locations, sizes, and varieties can be found. With recently announced sales in England, they are available in five countries. <http://www.boklok.com/> last retrieved on October 31st, 2011.

⁶ *Gesamtkunstwerk* translates as 'the complete artwork'; 'when applied to architecture and spatial design, describes a project that is designed as a cohesive whole, from the building itself to the smallest detail of the interior design.' See: Michael Coates and Graeme Brooker, *The Visual Dictionary of Interior Architecture and Design* (Lausanne: AVA Publishing, 2008).

1.2.1. Theoretical Significance

The reason behind the linkage is not easy to detect at first but it is rational for one to suspect IKEA's brand management strategies. A quite known advertisement campaign that IKEA used when it first entered the American market in 2002 points out their relation. The Unböring Manifesto, printed as part of this campaign, points out Bauhaus and claims that IKEA somehow uphold the aims of Bauhaus. Another strange link is given to one of the key texts about the origins of modern Swedish design.⁷(Figure 1)

It should be questioned whether this link between Bauhaus and IKEA is part of IKEA's self representation project or is there really a relation which connects them in a line of progress. From this perspective, they can be treated as parts of the grand discourse of modernism.

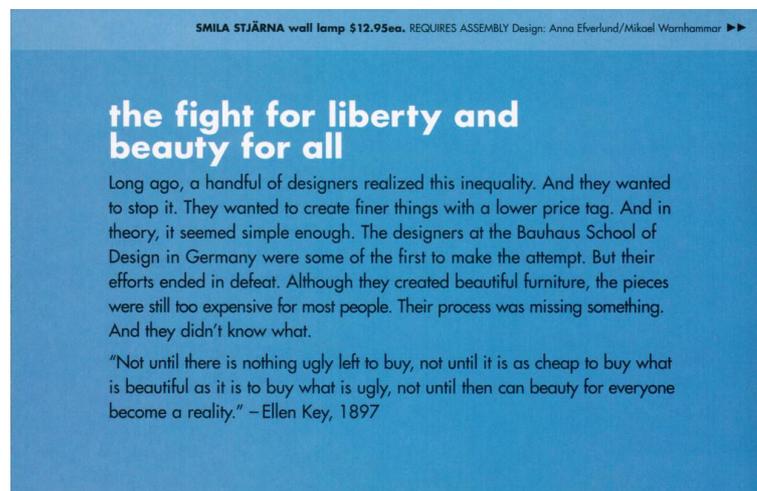


Figure 1: First reference to Bauhaus reference made in 'the Unböring Manifesto', publication of an advertising campaign (2004)

⁷ The reference to Ellen Key is given to a text reproduced in the *Modern Swedish design: three founding texts edited* by Lucy Creagh, Helena Kaberg, Barbara Miller Lane. Lucy Creagh, Helena Kåberg and Barbara Miller Lane, eds., *Modern Swedish Design: Three Founding Texts* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2008)

From a Tafurian perspective, the re-appearing avant-garde movements in modernism can be evaluated as symptoms of the re-organization of capitalist development, which adapts to the changing social conditions, so that the ideology of production remains hidden and enlightened minorities are manipulated. From his perspective, one can claim that IKEA is the repetition of democratic design utopia, which this time better adapted to the capitalist mode of production. A legitimate question would be whether it can keep its essentially utopian character or not. When the ideals and reality clash, it ends mostly in advantage of reality rather than utopia. It is worth questioning if IKEA is utopian in any sense.

1.2.2. Contextual Significance

Bauhaus was founded right after the WWI, simultaneously with the rise of monumental systems of fascism and communism. People were depressed in post-war economic and social conditions and were desperate for order. Financially dependent on state, intellectually a product of *Deutscher Werkbund*, Bauhaus was politically oriented. On the other hand, IKEA, free of any strings with Swedish government was founded in 1943, right before the end of WWII. Europe was once devastated by an industrialized war and before it was recovered, become once again a battlefield. On the contrary, the economic conditions in Sweden were not so bad. While German economy was ruined after the war, since Sweden did not participate in the war and remained non-belligerent, it did not lose its powers of production. By trading with Germany and later with allied forces, from whom it was paid for the loss due to ending trade with Germany, Sweden was financially fit for any business to flourish, let alone IKEA.

The contexts where Bauhaus and IKEA were to be founded may not seem similar at first glance but if they are evaluated by the need caused by the war, one should realize that both IKEA and Bauhaus emerged in the catastrophic atmospheres of post war Europe where the forces of production were heavily damaged. In order to maintain the continuity of production, they offered reformed ways of production and trade. This may be the primary reason for discussing if IKEA is utopian or not.

An important aspect of utopia, which Tafuri noted, is the relation between utopias and crisis. Utopias emerge when the capitalist mode of production is interrupted, and the flow of capital slowed down. They open new ways of and for production.

Another similarity among their contexts was the effect of nationalist flows, which were predictable regarding their historical context. In the shadow of two world wars, Europe has experienced extreme nationalist beliefs. In the case of Bauhaus, in order to take the biggest share of the market, products of German industry was supposed to be ideal for anyone (presumably everyone). It rejected any cultural bonds with the past and aimed at a tradition-free, style-free design with no reference to the cultures or traditions.

When IKEA was founded, the nationalist wave was still influential. The dominant emphasis on Scandinavian design is an outcome of this context. It should also be noted that this nationalist emphasis is far from played out. It is still sound and clear in *Leading By Design*, the book about the IKEA story by Bertil Torekull. Among many nuances, it is most visible in the proud quotation from James J. Hill: 'Give me enough Swedes and I will build a railway right through hell.'⁸ Ingvar Kamprad also states that IKEA products should be perceived as 'typically IKEA' in Scandinavia and 'typically Swedish' elsewhere⁹.

They both claimed for universality in terms of design quality but an etymologic survey will reveal their inner character. Bauhaus was German in essence, its ideals were considered within the framework of German idealism, which Mark Wegierski defines -over Luis Dumont's works- as 'a synthetic amalgam of holism and individualism arising as Germany's world-historical response to the universalism

⁸ James J. Hill, quoted by Bertil Torekull, in *Leading By Design: the Ikea Story*, (New York: Harper Business, 1999)

⁹ Originally stated by Ingvar Kamprad in his manifesto: *A Furniture Dealer's Testament*, written in 1976. The text is available as an appendix in Bertil Torekull, *op. cit.*, p.230.

of the French Revolution.’¹⁰ Similarly, IKEA is essentially Swedish. All the one-word names that each product identified are Swedish in origin; the name of the company itself is composed of the initials of the founder’s name and the place where it was founded.

1.2.3. Historical Significance

These two examples are often reported as if they are connected in a line of progress where Bauhaus represent the beginning when the idea appeared but the political economy was not furnished with the necessary apparatus, and IKEA represents the other end, its contemporary condition.

Do they belong to the same era? If Bauhaus is considered to be one of the major avant-gardes of Modernism could they both be evaluated as modern? There are different periodizations about Modernism, early Modernism, late-Modernism and even postmodernism. A discussion about this periodization issue or the designation of periods is beyond the scope of this thesis but it is also necessary to define its position. Modernism is an outcome of the enlightenment project, which had progressed at different paces in different places. This desynchronized line of events is the reason why its records are hard to track. . In his comprehensive book *The Modern Mind: An Intellectual History of the 20th Century*, Peter Watson tries to offer an alternative history of Modernity, which does not rely on the series of events but the ideas, starts with the *fin-de-siècle* Vienna.¹¹ Another book, which tries to demystify modern atmosphere, *Modern Times, Modern Places* by Peter Conrad, also starts the history of ‘modern’ with the start of 20th century. Looking from the other end, David Harvey, in his influential book, *The Condition of Postmodernity*, often refers to Charles-Pierre Baudelaire who, in *The Painter of Modern Life* provides one of the earliest definitions of the modern condition. Referring to Baudelaire, Harvey

¹⁰ Mark Wegierski, Review of *German Ideology: From France to Germany and Back* by Louis Dumont, *The Review of Metaphysics*, Vol. 52, No: 1 (1997), p. 148.

¹¹ Peter Watson, *The Modern Mind: An intellectual History of 20th Century*. (New York: Harper Perennial, 2002)

assigns the beginning of Modernity, in the second half of nineteenth century.¹² Periodizations made by writers within the field of architecture also vary. Marshall Berman traces the history of modernist thought until mid 18th century to include Nietzsche, Marx, and Rousseau whom, in Berman's account, was the first to use the word 'moderniste' the way it is used in 19th and 20th centuries.¹³ Leonardo Benevolo makes a distinction between the beginning of modern architecture and modern movement. In his account, modern architecture precedes modern movement in architecture. He states that while 'modern architecture began with the effect of the Industrial Revolution on building and town planning, i.e. between the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth, and more particularly in the years immediately after the Waterloo.'¹⁴ He claims that it was not a coherent line of thought and action until the start of Morris's practical career in 1862 and it was only after the WWI, 'when Gropius opened the Weimar School' that one could 'begin to talk about 'modern movement'.¹⁵ If one identifies Modernity with the advances in engineering that came with the Industrial Revolution, which is the case in Benevolo's account, a distinction should be made between the conception of modernity before and after mid 19th century when the 'universal exhibitions' were started.¹⁶ This periodization oddly falls in line with Harvey's account, following, which one can easily detect his uses of early and late modernisms, that roughly coincide with early 20th century, and the period from WWII until 1960s. Although he states that he had been skeptical of the term 'postmodernism' in the preface, he also points out the year 1972, as the time since around there has been 'a sea-change in the cultural and political-economic practices'.¹⁷ Fredric Jameson, another figure who mentions postmodernism, questions the validity of the term, and reformulates

¹² David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity, an enquiry into the origins of cultural change* (Basil: Blackwell, 1989)

¹³ Marshall Berman, *All That Solid Melts Into The Air*, (London, New York: Verso, 1983), p. 17-22

¹⁴ Leonardo Benevolo, *History of Modern Architecture* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1971), p.xi

¹⁵ *ibid.*

¹⁶ In the first half of the 19th century, exhibitions were national. In 1851, the first universal exhibition opened in London. *ibid.*, p.96

¹⁷ *ibid.*, p. vii

it as 'the cultural logic of late capitalism'.¹⁸ While he questions the nature of a new era, and states that it was not a point of divergence but an adaptation to the new level of capitalism, he also verifies the end of a period. It can be said that even though IKEA has survived the point of break in 1970s, its first three decades and the life-story of Bauhaus belong to the same era.

Besides the year 1972, WWI and WWII, during which the powers and means of production were mass-destructed, can be taken as the breakpoints of periods. Understanding the dynamics of 20th century is essential to understand the historical significance of Bauhaus and IKEA. For that, following chapter provides a historical overview of 20th century. This overview has been written in order to provide a brief account of the key social, political, and economical developments that shaped 20th century in many ways. The reader who is familiar with the dynamics of 20th century is encouraged to start with Chapter 3.

1.3. Aims and Objectives

The thesis has two interlinked aims: (1) to understand the nature of the binary relation between political program and architectural production via a close examination of the modern utopia: 'democratization through design', and (2) to demystify how capitalist mode of production and organization effect and transform space. To achieve these goals this study is constructed upon a tripartite frame, which coincides with three following chapters.

Following chapter will provide an historical overview covering the social and political dynamics of 20th century with a special emphasis upon two design bodies that marked the 20th century in different ways: Bauhaus and IKEA. It includes intellectual, social, and economic matters without claiming to be complete or concrete. It is not motivated by a determinist notion that the study of history makes it possible to predict its future. The historical overview that will be provided in the

¹⁸Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism, or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991), p.xii.

second chapter is not to predict future events but to form the background to understand the dynamics of the 20th century, which is essential to understand both modern and contemporary discourses.

Chapter 3 interrogates the encounters of 'design' and 'democracy.' They are brought together, in order to express ideas beyond material design product both by Bauhaus and IKEA. On the other hand, 'design' and 'democracy' have different definitions. It is necessary to clarify whether they refer to same definitions or not. While they both conceptualize the act of 'designing' in relation to the act of 'making', what 'design' represents varies. It represented housing and furniture projects for Bauhaus, and for IKEA, it represents mostly furniture¹⁹.

What they referred as 'democracy' also varied.²⁰ An interesting point is that, in Bauhaus's case, we see 'democratization', the process towards democracy, rather than 'democracy' as a state of being, whereas IKEA, which stand for 'democratic design' claims to achieve this goal.²¹ This may seem to support the common assumption that situate Bauhaus and IKEA in a line of progress, and see Bauhaus as a precedent for IKEA. This projection should be treated critically. Here the idea of 'democratization through design' is discussed, only because as it is the mediator which enables the juxtaposition of Bauhaus and IKEA within the modern movement. Whether democracy is an ideal condition attributed to the future, or a contemporary condition, which is not an end in itself, but a state of being will be

¹⁹ It was mainly furniture. IKEA has recently started to produce houses and hybrid furniture that bring furniture and electronic appliances together. In the texts in which references to democracy are detected, IKEA is considered as a furniture manufacturer.

²⁰ Democracy is an ambiguous term that has evolved through its two thousand years history. We assume to have a common definition for it, but the significant policy differences within a system or among countries that stand for democracy, show that it is a flexible term. It is further discussed in the third chapter.

²¹ For instance, in 2009, Munich International Design Museum, has hosted an exhibition that was named 'IKEA democratic design.' Its catalog is also one of the examples where 'design' and 'democracy' are brought together. A brief introductory text about the exhibition can be found online at museums website: Die Neue Sammlung, *Democratic Design-IKEA*
http://www.die-neue-sammlung.de/z/muenchen/aus/2009/ikea_09/ikeal_09_en.htm Last accessed on 05.09.2012.

further discussed in the second chapter discussing the changing definition of utopia based on conceptions of Tafuri and Mannheim.

Based on Berman's assumption that 'participatory democracy' is 'a modern tradition'²² one can claim that 'democratization' is a part of 'modernization.' This statement is further supported by the definition of modernization that Berman makes. He states that:

'Current thinking about modernity is broken into two different compartments, hermetically sealed off from one another: 'modernization' in economics and politics, 'modernism' in art, culture, and sensibility.'²³

If 'modernization' is the term that represents modernity in economics and politics, and if participatory democracy is a modern tradition, then one can claim that 'democratization' is 'modernization' in politics. Bringing this assumption further, if modernization and Modernism are halves of Modernity in economics and politics, and in realms of art and culture respectfully, than 'democratization' and 'modernism' are complementary concepts dependent to each other. Theoretically, this explains dominant tendency to see design as means of democratization in Bauhaus.

This brings us to the second aim of this study: To understand how capitalist mode of production and organization effect and transform space. In order to achieve this goal, the fourth chapter investigates modernization in economics, meanly the integration with capitalist mode of production, which was realized by adoption of new production techniques inspired by the industrial revolution: the means of mass production, standardization, modularization, and the claim of universality, which represent the ways to legitimize mass production.

Understanding their dynamics and the conditions that they were born into, one may develop a new understanding of the basic notions behind modern movement,

²² Marshall Berman, *op. cit.*, p.17

Although Berman's notion of modernity starts with the Enlightenment Project, Modernization is a 20th century phenomenon.

²³ *ibid.*, p.88

which started with grand premises, but stuck into mechanisms of capitalist mode of production. This study bears hope to find new ways to utilize them in order to bring their hidden potentials out.

The method proposed to conduct the research is qualitative case study research method that combines 'historical-interpretative research' and 'comparative case study research' methods respectably. For the chapter 2 and chapter 3, historical survey and the inquiry dealing with the question of utopia, a historical-interpretative research will be used. The outcomes of the research will be narrated. For the fourth chapter, a comparative case study method is proposed. While the cases will be evaluated in comparison, both their contexts and material evidence will be carefully integrated. The comparison is limited with the mass producible housing proposals made by Bauhaus and IKEA. Throughout the text, the words 'architecture' and 'design' are used in the broadest possible sense. It is expected that by discussing how similar forms can be interpreted in discrete contexts, the study aims to clarify the comparisons about Bauhaus and IKEA and bring a new perspective about their compatibility.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL SURVEY

2.1. The dawn of Modernity

In *The Painter of Modern Life*, Baudelaire provides one of the earliest accounts of Modernity. From his perspective: 'Modernity is the transient, the fleeting, the contingent; it is one half of art, the other being the eternal and the immovable'.²⁴ In addition, the painter of modern life tries to capture 'the fleeting moment and of all that it suggests of the eternal'. This metaphor of 'painter' has two suggestions, on one hand, it reflects the current discussions in art, on the other hand, it reflexes one of the dualities that modernity bears, which later Hilde Heynen re-evaluates as programmatic and transitory concepts of modernity.²⁵

Baudelaire, as a citizen of its capital, was aware of the transition in the world of art. Throughout nineteenth century, especially in the second half of the century, artists were grouped as the ones following the academic tradition and the others who rejected and challenged it. Starting with Gustave Courbet, who also explains his opinions in his *Realist Manifesto* in 1855, artists were concerned about the ordinary

²⁴ Charles Baudelaire, 'The Painter of Modern Life', *Selected Writings on Art and Artists*, P. E. Charvet, trans. (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972), p. 403.

²⁵ Hilde Heynen, *op. cit.*, p. 11

people and places more than bygone characters of stories and myths. They intended to express what was current and contemporary. Baudelaire, who took on an art critic hat by then, illustrates the interrelated discourses in fine arts and literature by the painter metaphor.

Due to provision of sources, that industrialization has demanded; the workforce that was provided by the masses migrating to cities, and raw materials that then was accessible despite great distances; 19th century Europe has witnessed rapid urbanization. On one hand, industrialization symbolized the goals set by the Enlightenment Project; the use of science and technology in the service of mankind; and assigned positive connotations like development and progress. On the other hand, the rapid urbanization that industrialization has led has transformed urban life radically. The introduction of a new actor stresses this radical change. The city changed so rapidly with all it contained that a new actor emerged: the *flaneur*, who wandered and looked around, who explored and witnessed it. One may consider that they represent different phases of modernity: The early Modernity, where it was just recognized, and later when it was replied with programmatic modernist views. Contrarily, these two different aspects of modernity that Heynen points out, repeat themselves in different geographies without an essentially chronological order.

While Baudelaire expresses the atmosphere in Paris, other European capitals were also dealing with the dynamics of industrialization. In Vienna, the introverted urban form has triggered interdisciplinary discourses. The *Ringstrasse*, a ring of monumental buildings such as the university, the opera house and the parliament building that was built in the second half of the 19th century surrounded the inner city and bridged it with outer suburbs. As Watson reports, it enclosed “the intellectual and cultural life of the city inside a relatively small and very accessible area” and housed the “city’s distinctive coffee houses” which operate as informal institutions where whose tables were” just as much of a platform for new ideas as the newspapers, academic journals and the books of the day”, and where the

exchange of ideas took place between intellectuals of many professions.²⁶ Watson characterize Vienna as an Half-way house, which was neither conservative, nor totally free of the Catholic Church, where, for example, psychoanalysis can emerge as science without offering any scientific method or, where people can compare individualism and universalism, religion and science easily.²⁷ On the other hand, in architecture there was no place for gray zones. Vienna was famous for ornamental Art Nouveau of the Viennese Secession and strong functionalism of Adolf Loos and Otto Wagner, which denied ornament and even declared it as a crime.²⁸

While Paris was dominated by the romantic point of view and Vienna enabled contrast views about modernity, in England, reactionary movements were already started. John Ruskin and William Morris strived to find means of connecting the artistic creative process and the means of production in a socio-economic base. The aim of Arts and Crafts Movement was avoiding the damage that culture was subjected by industrialization. What they offered was the revival of handcraft techniques in order to produce high quality goods.

By the time Morris glorified craftsmanship, the effects of industrialization were already evident in England. The population and occupation has gone through some rapid change, which was hard to adapt.²⁹ "In one hundred fifty years, the greatly increased populations of the major Western powers had shifted from agrarian to industrial and from rural to urban."³⁰ More than the design products, Morris was complaining about the social imbalance that industrialization has caused. By decreasing the work force necessary to sustain the economy while increasing the

²⁶ Peter Watson, *The Modern Mind: An intellectual History of 20th Century* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2002), p.27

²⁷ *ibid.*, p.26-38.

²⁸ Adolf Loos, 'Ornament and Crime' (1908), in Ulrich Conrads (ed), *Programs and Manifestoes on 20Th-Century Architecture* (London: Lund Humphries, 1970), p. 19-24.

²⁹ In 1750, 95% of England and Wales' six and a half million population were engaged in agrarian pursuits. By 1850, the island was almost three times more crowded and only 20% of eighteen million citizens were engaged in agrarian pursuits. In 1900, 7% of population could feed thirty-three million. David Lance Goines, *The Bauhaus isn't Our House*, 1986. Last retrieved on 31.05.2011. http://www.goines.net/Writing/bauhaus_isn't_our_house.html

³⁰ *ibid.*

productive capacity, industrialization has caused severe unemployment. Morris' criticism, and glorification of labor can be summarized as 'employed man is happy man'³¹ which more or less reflected the situation in all over the industrialized Europe. By revitalization of handcraft techniques or revitalizing the old mode of production, he wants to replace the social disorder with the old social relations.

Ideas of Ruskin and Morris have created a reform wave, which showed itself in the reformation of arts and crafts schools in which the applied art became the major assignment. Henry van de Velde, a leading figure and a follower of Morris' ideas, had founded the School of Arts and Crafts in Weimar, in 1907. The same year, artists and industrialists who aimed improving German economy by improving craftwork founded *Deutscher Werkbund*. In 1914 after the annual *Werkbund* Exhibition the famous Muthesius- Van de Velde debate about the function of design and the position of designer took place.³² Idealism of Van de Velde has clashed with the realism and pragmatism of *Deutscher Werkbund*. As a result of this debate and the growing nationalist anxiety, Walter Gropius was nominated by Van de Velde to replace him. He was supported by *Werkbund*, to realize his idea of reform in the art school by founding Bauhaus in Weimar, out of the School of Arts and Crafts in Weimar.

2.2. The legacy of the WWI and Weimar Republic

The effects of industrialization on international scale were also becoming more brutal. In 1914, the evident tension between Germany, England, and France about

³¹ About the pleasure in work, see, Norman Kelvin (ed), *William Morris on Art and Socialism*, (New York: Dover, 2000). Morris states:

"A man at work, making something which he feels will exist because he is working at it and wills it, is exercising the energies of his mind and soul as well as of his body. Memory and imagination help him as he works. Not only his own thoughts, but the thoughts of the men of past ages guide his hands; and, as part of the human race, he creates. If we work thus we shall be men, and our days will be happy and eventful."

³² Ullrich Conrads (ed.), 'Muthesius/Van de Velde: Werkbund theses and antitheses', *Programs and Manifestoes on 20th-century Architecture* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1970), p.28-31

sharing the existing and potential markets has been transformed into the conditions which led to the WWI that brought an unexampled destruction in Europe.³³ The conflict between Austro-Hungary and Serbia over the assassination of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand has first incorporated Germany allied with Austro-Hungary, and Russia allied with Serbia. Within a week, Germany declared war on France and Britain declared war on Germany, and Europe tumbled into general conflict.

It took four years, before any of the parties were all tuckered out. In the course of four years, the members of the parties changed. Italy and the Ottoman Empire were incorporated. With the Russian Revolution and the declarations of independence in Balkans, the political landscape of Europe and the world at large has changed for long. When it finally ended, with the armistice ending WWI that was signed on November 11, 1918; both parties were war-torn. Besides the financial lost, the cost of war was losing means and powers of production including the human workforce and material forces. Moreover, although the war was officially ended with the armistice, with the Allied blockade remaining in effect, the life conditions did not change for better for the citizens of vanquished land until the Peace Treaty that was signed at Versailles on June 28, 1919. Even after the Peace Treaty, for the vanquished it was not over yet: Germany was considered responsible for the loss and damage caused by her and her allies. Moreover, by *Article 232* besides the compensations for the damage done to civilian population of the Allied and Associated powers, Germany was sentenced to pay for the complete restoration of

³³ Due to the surplus production England, became superior to the rest of Europe in terms of exports. In 19th century Germany and France has introduced high duties and implemented import bans. The market struggle has achieved to a point where Germany and France were transformed from a competitor to a market of England. England kept its position during the war which challenged strongest economies in Europe. It wasn't expected to last any of the economies of participant countries before they eventually broke. When the war ended, England distributed the shares from the defeated countries. Somer Ural, 'Türkiye'nin Sosyal Ekonomisi ve Mimarlık: 1923-1960', *Mimarlık*, sayı:1-2, Ankara (Ocak- Şubat 1974), p.7-15.

Belgium and to make reimbursement of all sums Belgium has borrowed from allied forces during the war.³⁴

In the bitter aftermath of war, German economy was ruined. Besides the lack of production forces, it was hard for the German people to understand how they could have lost the war without losing a decisive battle and without letting enemy conquer the German territory. In this context, the conditions of the treaty, which hold Germany in an eternal financial and military bondage, seemed extremely unfair.³⁵ Accelerating hyperinflation, while increasing the value of the debts, reduced the value of what was left to individuals after the war. This economical instability has instigated the political landscape in the Weimar Republic. For the majority of the public, the socialists and democrats who represented the new Republic were responsible for the German defeat. The first trial of democracy of Germany was born into this insecure atmosphere. In addition, although there was a great enthusiasm to leave the monarchy behind and move forward to a democratic future, this insecure atmosphere has affected the process of making constitution of the new republic. The unfortunate *Article 48* that gave the president the power to proclaim a national state of emergency and temporary dictatorial powers was Achilles heel of the constitution, which eventually opened the way for the end of democracy.³⁶

³⁴ *Article 232* of the Treaty of Versailles defined both the compensations that Germany will make as a consequence of his defeat and the ways how these compensations will be collected. For the full text of the article see: *Peace Treaty of Versailles*, Part VIII: Reparation, Section I, General Provisions, retrieved from Yale Law School Lillian Goldman Law Library, Avalon Project: <http://avalon.law.yale.edu/imt/partviii.asp> on 15.04.2012

³⁵ The financial bondage was as tangible as the military one. As Conrad reports, while one dollar was worth just over four marks in 1914, and seventy-five marks in 1919, in October 1923 one dollar could be exchanged for four hundred and forty million marks. See: Peter Conrad, *op. cit.*, p.321.

³⁶ *Article 48* which empower president with major authorities states:

If a state does not fulfill the duties incumbent upon it under the national Constitution or laws, the President of the Reich may compel it to do so with the aid of armed forces.

If, public safety and order in the German Reich are seriously disturbed or endangered, the President of the Reich may take the measures necessary to the

In the catastrophic atmosphere of post-war Germany, people were depressed and they were searching for ways of re-establishing the forces of production. Bauhaus, an intellectual production of *Werkbund*, offered a vision, which coincided with the aims of the young republic. Bauhaus aimed at uniting art and industry, craft and technology to achieve definition of a new kind of guild between the craftsmen and artist which was consisted of them both. Given in the service of industry, this new guild was supposed to produce well designed prototypes of everyday objects which were going to be available for large masses with the help of mass production. This vision lit a glimmer of hope. A representation of the Weimar Republic's aims: prosperity to pay the debts and become a welfare state.

Bauhaus was the materialization of a political program, which was also stated by Morris and Van de Velde in a different tone, into a design school. With its strong rhetoric and charismatic figures who gathered around Gropius's ideal: "to introduce good design into the world of crafts and industry"³⁷ in order to "reunite the world of art with the world of work",³⁸ for a period, Bauhaus has directly served its initial aims in a metaphysical belief in itself, and through writings and exhibitions made their claim of "a new architecture" known to a considerable

restoration of the public safety and order, and may if necessary intervene with the armed forces. To this end, he may temporarily suspend, in whole or in part the fundamental rights established in Articles 114 (inviolability of person), 115 (inviolability of domicile), 117 (Secrecy of Communication), 118 (freedom of opinion and expression thereof), 123 (freedom of assembly), 124 (freedom of association), and 153 (inviolability of property).

The President of the Reich must immediately inform the Reichstag of all measures taken in conformity with sections 1 or 2 of the Article. The measures are to be revoked upon the demand of the Reichstag.

A national Law shall prescribe the details.

Eugene Schroder and Micki Nellis. *Constitution, Fact Or Fiction: The Story of the Nation's Descent from a Constitutional Republic Through a Constitutional Dictatorship to an Unconstitutional Dictatorship*, (Cleburne: Buffalo Creek Press, 1996), p. 113.

³⁷ Helmut Von Erffa, 'The Bauhaus before 1922', *Collage Art Journal* (November 1943), p.14-20.

³⁸Walter Gropius, *The new architecture and the Bauhaus*. (Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 1998), p.62.

public.³⁹ The two masters system, which was the operational ground to achieve the socially conscious new architecture, was a revolution in art schools and Bauhaus was considered as an experiment.

Early in 1922, Gropius has restructured his ideas about the aims of Bauhaus. He directed its focus towards 'industrial methods of production and their consequences for design'.⁴⁰ This led to a conflict between Gropius and Johannes Itten.⁴¹ Considered together with Muthesius-Van de Velde debate, this was the second time individualism of the artist and industrial production techniques was discussed in Bauhaus. And again it concluded in favor of Gropius, consequently, caused a change of people and positions. Itten leaved Bauhaus following year.

The change of direction should be considered within its political and economical context. It coincides with the peak of hyperinflation, which inevitably affected the state funded school. Although workshop products of approved quality were branded with a stamp and sold, the only workshops, which could make 'appreciable contribution through their sales', were pottery and weaving workshops.⁴² It is important to state that the pottery workshop, which the first Bauhaus designs for industry came from, was quite isolated from the rest of the school, and settled in a local pottery workshop.⁴³ It is reasonable for one to suspect that the success of the workshop was in their use of existing technologies, and the concentration provided by the distances from other settlements,⁴⁴ and one may surely suspect that Gropius' change of direction may have been inspired by the success of this workshop and his aim for independence from public funding.

³⁹ This emphasis on "a new architecture" was not particular to Bauhaus or Germany. It should be considered as part of a greater tendency in the post war Europe.

⁴⁰ *Bauhaus Archive Berlin Museum of Design- The Collection* (Berlin: Bauhaus Archive Berlin Museumspadagogischer Dients Berlin, 2004)

⁴¹ Johannes Itten was an inspiring figure who then directed the *Vorkurs* (previously *Vorlehre*), which is often translated as 'preliminary course' but coincides with basic design in contemporary terminology of design education.

⁴² *ibid.*, p.16.

⁴³ Walther Scheidig, *Crafts of the Weimar Bauhaus:1919-1924/An Early Experiment in Industrial Design.*, P. M. Ruth Michaelis-Jena, Trans. (London: Studio Vista ltd.; 1967).

⁴⁴ Dornburg is situated 25km away from Weimar and 10km from Jena.

The tension, that Bauhaus was subjected to, continued due to the conditions outside the school. The school was subject of discussion both in the political scene and in media. It was accused of propagating bolshevist architecture and considered as a misuse of public funding. Although the *Werkbund* and Circle of Friends of Bauhaus⁴⁵ had backed up Bauhaus, after the elections in Thuringia, the tension continued with stronger local opposition and caused a search of a more hospitable place for school. A number of cities were keen to welcome Bauhaus.⁴⁶ The negotiations were ended in favor of Dessau. As a result, the school moved there. From April 1925, the teaching continued in Dessau.

Barbara Miller Lane states that out of the fourteen years of the Weimar republic, only the six years between 1924 and 1930 were of relative stability.⁴⁷ It is the period starting with the elections that caused Bauhaus to leave Weimar, and continued until the 1930 federal elections. One would be mistaken to think of this periodization within the internal political landscape of Germany. After the peak of hyperinflation in 1923 America has interfered German economy through huge loans twice: in 1924 and 1928. These loans balanced and stabilized German Economy for a while but it also made German Economy more fragile and dependent upon US. When the stock market crash hit American economy in October 1929, all interlinked markets collapsed, including Germany. When the short-term loans were requested, Germany was once again in economical chaos. The effects of economy over politics will be narrated later in this chapter.

⁴⁵ The Circle of Friends of the Bauhaus was a group of intellectuals who provided moral and practical support for the school and helped to raise money for the school to move to a more hospitable city. It's members included leading figures from different fields such as artist Marc Chagall and Nobel prize winners theoretical physicist Albert Einstein, and dramatist Gerhart Hauptmann. Barry Bergdoll; Leah Dickerman, *Bauhaus 1919-1933: Workshops for Modernity* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2009) p.328.

⁴⁶ As Boris Friedewald reports, these cities were: Frankfurt am Main, Hagen, Mannheim, Darmstadt and Dessau. Boris Friedewald, *living_art:Bauhaus*. (New York: Prestel, 2009): p.46.

⁴⁷ Barbara Miller Lane; *Architecture and Politics in Germany, 1918-1948*. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1968). p.5.

Nevertheless, we should first concentrate on the relatively stable period in which Bauhaus has been most productive and influential.

With the change of location, Bauhaus, which was a state school, became a municipal institution. If the government patronage was the reason of local opposition in Weimar and the accusations of fostering Bolshevist architecture, with the mass housing projects financed by the liberal left-wing municipal governments, Bauhaus became more visible and the new architecture was strongly associated with a certain political program.

In Dessau, there was no suitable building for the school and Gropius was commissioned by the municipality to design one. The building was opened in 1926 with a grand ceremony, which more than a thousand guests participated. With its flat roofs, curtain walls and façades dominated by steel and glass, the building was unconventional. Besides providing the necessary spaces for the school, the building became an icon of modernism. In addition to the school, Gropius designed Masters' houses and later an experimental settlement for workers. The design and construction of Bauhaus Dessau was evidential for Gropius's early claims (as chairperson of *Novembergruppe's Arbeitsrat für Kunst*) to bring all the arts together "under the wing of a great architecture."⁴⁸ Until the Dessau period, architecture was posterior to arts. Dessau building has catalyzed the process in which architecture was integrated to Bauhaus program. Additionally materialization of Bauhaus ideal into a school and revised program has also catalyzed the revision of its status by the local government. The title 'School of design' was added after its name and its status was upgraded from municipal institution to the level of university.

The Dessau period was also marked with politicization among the Bauhaus people. While in Weimar, political activities were seldom and strictly forbidden, due to the

⁴⁸ Anton Kaes, Martín Jay, Edward Dimenberk (eds); *The Weimar Republic Sourcebook*. Work Council for Art Manifesto (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), p.478.

increase in left oriented students in Bauhaus Dessau, life was more politicized. Friedewald reports that “in 1927 a Communist cell was founded at the Bauhaus” and Bauhaus was called the Red Bauhaus among the population of Bauhaus Dessau.⁴⁹ Due to the popularization of Bauhaus locally and internationally, Gropius was more popular both as an architect and as a guest lecturer. He was often busy with his private business and lectures. His frequent absences enabled politicization among students and of weakened Bauhaus’ against right- wing reactions.

In 1928, besides the growing tension about the politicization of Bauhaus, Gropius being hard to contract with due to his constant travels caused tension between Gropius and Mayor Hesse who welcomed Bauhaus to Dessau and supported it since then. Although Gropius were used to severe criticism, this time he had chance to bring the aims the laid for Bauhaus in the realm of architectural practice and he chose to concentrate on his career as an architect. He named Hannes Meyer, who was an instructor of the architecture department and his partner in architectural practice, as is successor.

Meyer implied autonomy of Bauhaus tradition, which was immune to changes of directors in spring 1928,⁵⁰ though his period has differed significantly. He first devised a new syllabus, which reorganized the workshops partly and stressed upon production rather than design or education. The metal workshop, wall painting workshop and furniture workshop were incorporated into construction workshop (*Ausbauwerkstatt*). Photography workshop was opened for the first time. As Droste informs us Meyer also published ‘a set of workshop guidelines’ which emphasized ‘greatest possible cost efficiency, self administration of each cell and productive teaching principles’.⁵¹

⁴⁹ Boris Friedewald, *living_art:Bauhaus*. (New York: Prestel, 2009), p.90.

⁵⁰ As Friedewald reports, Meyer said: “Let us compare the Bauhaus to a factor: the director too is merely a worker, and a change of workers does not cause any disturbance to the whole.” *ibid*.

⁵¹ Magdalena Droste; *Bauhaus 1919-1933*. (Berlin: Taschen, 1993), p.174.

Three days of the week, the work went on for eight hours a day, like a real factory.⁵² The emphasis on production or productive education is distinctive of Meyer period. Though embracement of industrialization was already introduced by Gropius, Meyer saw it incomplete without the concept of 'units'; he later criticized the products of early Dessau period being stylistic.⁵³ It was not coincidental that Bauhaus has seen many of its products manufactured either in workshops or by its contractors early in his period.⁵⁴ Together with relatively settled economic conditions of the day, Bauhaus made noticeable profit. While getting closer to being financially independent, due to Meyer's criticism of individualism as luxury, Bauhaus has lost the last defenders of individualism: Oskar Schlemmer and Paul Klee. Meyer was not alone in his critic of singular products and emphasis on the industrially produced object, which will fulfill the common needs of many. The second CIAM congress, which took place in Frankfurt, in 1929, was also concentrating the daily needs of many. In the postwar housing crisis, it was centered on the subjects related to the production of 'decent accommodation' for the mass of people that would 'allow them to enjoy a minimum of modern comforts at a rent they could afford'.⁵⁵ In other words, this new concept of housing was based on economic optimization of housing units in order to find design solutions to the problem of high rents for low wage earners. Consequently, they were planned with the minimum area of use, with contemporary sanitary and electric

⁵² Magdalena Droste points out to Meyer's art- science dichotomy in Bauhaus. Monday was reserved for arts and Friday was for science; three days in between are devoted to workshops. Through new appointments and series of lectures, Meyer encouraged scientific orientation of design activities. *ibid.*, p.171.

⁵³ In his open letter to Mayor Hesse, which he published after his dismissal in mid 1930, he said and Droste quoted: 'Incestuous theories blocked all access to healthy, life oriented design: the cube was trumps and its sides were yellow, red, blue, white, grey, black... As head of the Bauhaus, I fought the Bauhaus style.' *ibid.*, p. 199.

⁵⁴ Among the successful industrial products Marianne Brand and Hin Bredendieck's table lamps, Mural painting workshop's Bauhaus wallpaper and the furnishings of General German Trades Union School could be listed. Droste notes that "almost all the furniture of this period is extraordinarily flexible; it can be folded, collapsed, adjusted and assembled in a number of different stages." *ibid.*, p.175.

⁵⁵ Hilde Heynen, *Architecture and Modernity: a critique*. (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press; 1999); pp. 48-49.

installations. This parallelism between Bauhaus and the agenda of contemporary architecture was an ammunition for the right-wing opponents of Bauhaus which criticized it for being not German enough.

Above-mentioned economic landscape did not go on for long. Meyer also witnessed the effects of Black Friday on the New York stock exchange, which unleashed the great depression first in America, then rest of the world. Yet his resignation was not because of economy. During his period the politicization among students were increased. Bauhaus was always accused of promoting bolshevist art but this time there were plenty of evidence that linked Bauhaus with Communism. Besides local scandals caused by left wing students; Meyer's promotion of exchanges with Vkhutemas through lectures and publishing were interpreted as spreading communist ideas. Based on these interactions, right wing politicians were attacking Bauhaus for misusing public funding.

The left wing reactions were undermining both Bauhaus and the local government which supported them. Mayor Hesse was not comfortable with Meyer's actions. After a series of publicized talks, which took place in order to justify Meyer's dismissal in front of the public, Meyer resigned. The talks also spared time for the search of a new director. Only an apolitical Bauhaus was acceptable such as the one Gropius directed once. He was asked to come back but he was not interested. On the other hand, with his offer, Mies van der Rohe was willing to succeed Meyer.

The second breakpoint of Bauhaus history coincides with contemporary politics. The conditions which ignited the process for Bauhaus were also valid for central and local governments in Germany. The relatively stabilized era in economy has ended with Black Friday, which consequently caused America to call all short-term credits back. With the regressive economy already, fragile balance of power has changed.

2.3. The Rise of Fascism and WWII

The great depression changed the balance of powers dramatically. Severe unemployment has undermined the trust in the Republic. Representatives of the Weimar Republic, once blamed for the 'unfair Treaty', were now seen responsible for the crisis. Although intensively studied, it is hard to analyze early twentieth century political landscape as things can move between opposing ends immediately. This was the case for post war Italy where ex-syndicalist Benito Mussolini turned into a fascist autocrat. The situation in Germany was following a similar route.

In the field of political science, based on studies of Merry Wiesner and Kekke Stadin, Lahtinen and Staudenmaier point out the "distinction between *power* – meaning the ability to shape events – and *authority* – designating a formal recognition and legitimation of power" and adds that "it is necessary to divide legal (legally acceptable) and legitimate (socially accepted) forms of power and authority" (original emphasis).⁵⁶ From this perspective, one may infer that the situation in Germany was never settled. The Weimar Republic represented authority but never had power such as a grand scale public support. Beyond law, which was on their side, they had to legitimize every action politically in the eyes of the public. The sudden rise of the National Socialist German Workers' Party should be evaluated in this perspective.

When the waves of Stock market crisis hit Germany, it brought the chaos back. Even through the relative stagnation years, German economy was behind its contemporaries, with its comparatively low investment ratio and slow economic growth.⁵⁷ Since the economy was not ideal, but just stable before the crisis most of

⁵⁶ Anu Lahtinen, Johannes Staudenmaier; 'Power and Decision-Making in Early Modern Germany and Sweden: Noble Families and Princely Government' in Cànâ Bilsel, Kim Esmark, Niyazi Kızılyürek, Ólafur Rastrick (Eds.), *Construction cultural identity, representing social power* (Pisa: Plus; 2005), p.102-3.

⁵⁷ Although its relatively low starting point, while the unemployment figure was 7 percent in 1928, with depression it rose up; in 1932 it was 30.8 percent. Almost one of every three

the people who lost their jobs were waged workers and sole providers of their family. Inevitably, there were complaints about families with double income and holders of well-paid positions. Working women and Jewish people were subject of rage.

The growing rage also affected Bauhaus, which was advocating parallel concepts with international agenda and consisted of people of various nationalities. In addition to the constant pressure about fostering bolshevist art and not being German enough, the search for a new director was also affected by this atmosphere. Although his apparent position as an influential representative of modern architecture Mies van der Rohe has eluded the filter with his famous Barcelona Pavilion, which represented Germany at the 1929 International Exposition in Barcelona, Spain.

Mies van der Rohe had a considerable reputation of his own and he was politically correct, but he was far from the Bauhaus tradition. His Barcelona pavilion was far from Meyer's strict functionalism and adorned with expensive materials and furnishings. His appointment was not welcome, it caused provocation and strike 'demanding discussions about the future work of Bauhaus'.⁵⁸ Mies put on an authoritarian leadership and with Mayor Hesse's support called for the immediate closure of the institute. He cancelled all former statutes, and replaced them with new ones; current students had to undergo re-admission for the following semester. This was a filtration of discredited students. Soon he also revised the curriculum, reducing it to six semesters and purging remnants of Meyer's productive education from the curriculum by eliminating the workshops that stood between basic education and architecture. It can be said that Bauhaus was turned into a school of architecture with some additional workshops.

German was unemployed. For further reference see: Hans-Joachim Braun; *The German Economy in the Twentieth Century: The German Reich and the Federal Republic* London: Taylor & Francis; 1990, p.31.

⁵⁸ Magdalena Droste; *op.cit.*, p.204.

Despite Mies was apparently apolitical; his assignment did not calm the national socialists. Bauhaus allocations gradually decreased. Continuity of Bauhaus was more and more depended on higher student fees, and patent contracts, which Mies owed to Meyer period. Privatization of Bauhaus was the beginning of the end; it started to decline.

The ideals that Bauhaus has put forward, if not shaped, matched the Weimar Republic's vision. As a state funded institution, it was identified with the Republic. Their fate was bound together. Decline of Bauhaus coincided with the beginning of the end for Weimar Republic. The great depression of 1929 has enabled National Socialists' first major breakthrough in the Reichstag parliamentary elections in September 1930.⁵⁹ The elections were also in favor of communists who attracted a large number of votes.

⁵⁹ The right wing-left wing polarization was repeated in the regional election of Thuringian Lantag and municipal election of Dessau. As economy declined, the polarization and popularization of National Socialists increased. The source of their popularity, besides the triggering economic condition was a combination of their mixed political associations and Hitler's oratorical skills. National Socialist German Workers' party, as its unnecessarily long name suggests, was a potpourri of catchy slogans for everyone without a clear political program. It promised something to everybody. The party program that Hitler announced on 24 February 1920 was mixture of extreme rightist and extreme leftist claims. The initial points were those of the extreme nationalists: 'the union of all Germans in a Great Germany on the basis of the principle of self-determination' and abrogation of the Peace Treaties of Versailles and St. Germain for the equality of German people with the people of other nations. There followed the points that describe the blood driven nationalism which can easily be called racism: 'Only those who have German blood can become citizens', only they can have 'the right to choose the government and determine the laws of the State'. Furthermore, they claimed that 'any further immigration of non-Germans must be prevented' and that 'all non-Germans who have entered Germany since August 2, 1914', should be expelled immediately. On the other hand, they also called for social reforms such as 'nationalization of all trusts, profit-sharing in large industries, and an agrarian reform' that grants 'the abolition of ground rents, and the prohibition'. It should be noted that although the preconditions of being German was defined by blood and race, it was practiced for Jews and other non-Germans as well as homosexuals, gypsies, physically and mentally disabled. The nationalist tendency and emphasis upon Aryan myth was operationalized to discriminate discrete social groups. For the full text of the party program see: "Program of the National Socialist German Workers' Party." *Lillian Goldman Law Library: The Avalon Project*. N. p., 1924. Web. Last retrieved on 07 June 2012. <<http://avalon.law.yale.edu/imt/nsdappro.asp>>.

In 1931 and 1932, electoral success of National Socialists was repeated. Each successful election brought them legitimate authority to demand further authority, but not the legal authority they demanded. As Weimar experience has showed; and Lahtinen and Staudenmaier analyzed, authority was incomplete without the power to shape events. For that, National Socialism was related with *freikorps*, a paramilitary unit, and mostly formed by members of former veterans. This so-called political group with a para-military force alone can give a hint on the political landscape of Germany by then. Gordon Smith stresses upon the 'double strategy' operated by Nazis and State that: 'the approach through legality brought the Nazis into the arena of normal party politics and electoral competition, but the other element in the strategy was based on the threat of force: parades of paramilitary units, violence in the streets, intimidation of political opponents, the techniques of terror'.⁶⁰ This could be seen as the hint of forthcoming authoritarian regime.⁶¹

⁶⁰ Gordon Smith; *Democracy in Western Germany: Parties and Politics in the Federal Republic*, Third ed. (Worcester: Gower Publishing, 1986), p. 30.

⁶¹ Nevertheless, Hitler's support has grown and his oratory skills, which made him the face of the party, enabled him to take over it. Though his growing public support, it took a while before he reached power that he demanded.

The process in which Nazis joined the parliament and grew stronger has witnessed the elimination of remainders of the Weimar Republic. The second president of Weimar Republic, Paul von Hindenburg was one of the last survivors. Although his public support was originated in his military background, he was considered as a conservative politician and he was referred to as the Ersatzkaiser (substitute Emperor), and took his homage to the Weimar Constitution seriously. In 1932 election, which Hitler also had an eye on the presidency; von Hindenburg was re-elected by the opposing group in the parliament. Although his political stance was closer to Hitler as he longed for monarchy; he was aware of the fact that Hitler's access to such power was a threat for the constitution. On the other hand, it was his political actions, which paved the way for Hitler to take control. The Weimar constitution, which von Hindenburg took seriously, had an ambivalent character about the balance of powers. While it set the standards of a parliamentary democracy, it also introduced a president who is subject to direct election, which provides him an authority comparable to the parliament. The ambivalence between parliamentary and presidential rule did not end at a particular point but over an extended period. Hindenburg's extensive use of *article 48*, which was originally established with good intentions in order to maintain the integrity of parliament and to ensure continuity of Republic and provided president an unrestricted right to appoint and to dismiss the chancellor, centralized power and extend the presidential authority in expense of the parliamentary authority. Smith claims that the critical event, which completed 'the slide from parliamentary to presidential rule', was the dismissal of Heinrich Brüning based on

The process of centralization of power, or in other words, sliding from democracy to autocracy, expresses, once more the parallel histories of Weimar Republic and Bauhaus. While the centralization of power has already started with the assignment of Mies van der Rohe, who reorganized Bauhaus and eliminated the tradition collective act. Mies's reform was not enough. In September 1932, Bauhaus Dessau had to close. Mies has foreseen the inevitable threat. As soon as he arranged the continuity of the payments to the masters, he moved to Berlin with his teaching staff, students and few stools and tables as well as the 'rights to the name Bauhaus and existing license agreements and patents'.⁶² The school's new address in Berlin was soon visited by the Gestapo who looked for communist materials. They took few photos and locked down Bauhaus. Although Mies, tried everything to reopen the school, his attempts were mostly unfruitful. Droste informs us about a conditional approval that Mies received in mid June about his application for permission to run a private art school.⁶³ Reopening of the school was depended on these conditions: Kandinsky and Hilberseimer would not continue teaching, and if there is any Jewish member of staff, they also had to leave. Moreover, it was recommended for some members to join the party. Almost simultaneously, the contract, which guaranteed the continuation of payments by Dessau Municipality, was terminated. Under such political and financial conditions, on 19 July 1933, Bauhaus members have agreed upon the final closure of Bauhaus. Droste evaluates the closure of Bauhaus as a 'final exercise in the intellectual freedom of choice'.⁶⁴

Article 48. It had two major consequences: first the dissolution of the parliament required a new election. In the ambiguous atmosphere caused by the sudden dissolution; the elections were resulted in favor of the extreme right and left wing parties. Nazis became the most powerful party in the parliament and their success in elections and Hitler's way towards chancellorship was cleared. Moreover, this political act was exemplary, to legitimize future acts. When von Hindenburg died, Hitler declared state of emergency and legalized his action of uniting the positions of presidency and chancellorship based on *article 48*. Gordon Smith; *op. cit.*, p.29.

⁶² Boris Friedewald, *op. cit.*, p.69

⁶³ Magdalena Droste; *op. cit.*, p.235.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p.236

The closure of Bauhaus was an outcome of Nazi policies to control the arts and architecture. Totalitarian regimes need to control every channel of self-expression. It is rational to ask if art is a political act. Considering it as a medium of communication, it is. From this perspective, the strong opposition against Bauhaus was not necessarily related with the school itself but with what it represented. Architectural styles- more than styles in any of other arts- were considered as symbols of specific political views. This belief was not a product of totalitarian regime. It was inherited from the republican past. The Nazi regime was so harsh upon Bauhaus and the avant-garde tendencies because of the great expectations The Weimar Republic has loaded on them.

The closure of Bauhaus definitely foreshadowed the end of Weimar Republic, but the following chain of events was beyond anyone's projections. Hitler's access to legal power was approved in January 1933. Hitler's first act was to ask Hindenburg to dissolve the Reichstag for that the Nazis and DNVP could increase their number of seats and pass the Enabling Act. Short after, upon the request of vice president Papen, a law that sharply limited freedom of the press was signed. After the Reichstag fire, Hindenburg, at Hitler's urging, signed into law the *Reichstag Fire Decree*, which suspended all civil liberties in Germany and enabled the government to institute mass arrests of Communists, including all of the Communist parliamentary delegates. The Nazis went from being a plurality party to the majority; subsequent elections confirmed this position and thus allowed Hitler to consolidate his power.

The Enabling Act, which gave the government an unrestricted decree making power, has transformed Hitler's government into a legal dictatorship. The abolition of the trade unions and their incorporation into state controlled *arbeitsfront* has followed the act. When Hitler dissolved the parties and the parliament was possessed by national socialists, Hindenburg became the only remnant of the Republic. Following Hindenburg's death, based on the Enabling Act Hitler passed the law that merged the presidency and chancellorship and he stood as the

'omnipotent leader controlling the state, the government, the party, and the German people'.⁶⁵

The years from 1933 until 1945 are evaluated by Smith as a whole period. Although this period is the Nazi period in Germany, in a larger scale there are a number of issues, which should be noted in this historical survey. In the social realm, Nazis disarmed 'all potential opponents of National Socialism in order to make any form of organized resistance impossible'.⁶⁶ In the economic realm, Aldcroft reports, since the problem of unemployment was the main target, rather peaceful policies were implemented during the first years of totalitarian regime. A massive program of public works was launched. 'The employment creating effects of this expenditure' soon grew palpable fruits but starting with November 1934, the priority was shifted from un-employment to rearmament and war preparations.⁶⁷

The rearmament and aggressive foreign policies has served Hitler's ambitions well. In March 1938, German troops invaded Austria; when Hitler, demanded that the *Sudetenland* be ceded to Germany, Britain and France, hoping to prevent a possible conflict, agreed to his demands at September 1938's Munich conference. He became

⁶⁵ Gordon Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

⁶⁶ *ibid.*

⁶⁷ Extreme controls were implemented on private sector in order to shift resources away from this sector. While these precautions were effective to create employment, the average wage of the workers did not rise. Aldcroft states that: the 'money wages remained more or less stable after 1933 at a level below those of 1929'. See: Derek H. Aldcroft, *The European Economy 1914-2000*, 4th ed. (New York: Routhledge, 2001), p.83.

This shows that the domestic public works were effective to distribute the national income more evenly but it was ineffective to raise it. Hitler was aiming at external resources of eastern Germany. In 1936, Hitler ordered the rearmament of Rhineland, which was demilitarized due to Versailles Treaty. He was not alone in the so called the 'rearmament race'. Eloranta and Harrison report that, 'Soviet Union and Japan began to rearm at the end of 1920s' while Germany started in early 1930s. On the other hand, it was not the dominant tendency in Europe. While some states fluctuated between disarmament and rearmament policies; 'many smaller states did not begin active rearmament until after 1935'.⁶⁷ 1935 marked the first serious violation of the Treaty, which foreshadowed the impending war: the reintroduction of Conscription by Hitler. For further reference see: Jari Eloranta, Mark Harrison. 'War and disintegration, 1914-1950' in K. H. Stephen Broadberry (Ed.), *The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Europe Volume 2: 1870 to the Present*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p.139.

even bolder as he realized that Britain and France were unwilling and unable to challenge German expansionism.⁶⁸ In March 1939, he divided and invaded Czechoslovakia. He faced no opposition until the invasion of Polish land in September 1939, which is considered as the event that started WWII. Even then, the support from west to Poland was rather a promise or encouragement than an active support.

On the face of politics, Germany's territorial expansion eastwards was motivated by Hitler's racist policies. He claimed that it was his desire to unite German-speaking people, and provide 'living space' for the Aryan Germans.⁶⁹ On the global scale; Germany's expansionist claims were part of the rivalry for colonies.⁷⁰

It can be said that the famous periodization of WWII, 1939-1945 is about the European wars. On global scale, there were a European and an Asian war. United States and Britain were involved in both after 1941, and eventually both included Soviet Union. Nevertheless, it was the European war, which was decisive, and

⁶⁸ R. A. C. Parker, *The Second World War: A Short History*, 3rd Revised ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001)

⁶⁹ Hitler invaded Eastern Europe based on the concept of *Lebensraum*, which can be defined as the idea of providing Aryan Germans with 'living space.'

⁷⁰ Eloranta and Harrison, who review the two world wars and the interwar period as a continuous whole, explain the situation in world as:

'The British French and Dutch have defended their empires. The Soviet Union defended the frontiers of former Russian Empire. The Japanese looked to create a new empire, first to the north in Manchuria and Siberia, then, when the Soviet Union proved too difficult an adversary, turning south to the British, French, and Dutch colonies. The Italians looked to build an empire around the Mediterranean, from North Africa to the Balkans and Greece. And Germany looked towards Eastern Europe and Russia for complementary resources and markets and an ethically restructured living space. To realize these plans the Japanese moved first (into China), then Italy moved (into North Africa), and finally Germany (into Eastern Europe). If Lenin had been alive, he would have recognized the picture. The imperial powers were re-dividing the world by force.' Jari Eloranta, Mark Harrison, *op. cit.*, p.140.

Germany had a key position as she triggered the war and her exhaustion ended the war.⁷¹

1.1.1.1. Post war Europe and A New Beginning

Following the end of WWII, the allied countries have formed the United Nations by signing the United Nations Charter in June 1945. It effectively came into existence on 24 October 1945 once the Charter had been ratified by the five permanent members of the Security Council: The main victors of the Second World War⁷² and by most of the other 45 signatories. The UN, which aimed to succeed where the League of Nations had failed, was 'formed in a spirit of co-operation with the hope of providing a body to the international community which would help prevent future wars.⁷³

The signing of the North Atlantic Treaty in April 1949 was the first step to providing security in a collective defense arrangement between North America and Europe. Fears of communist expansion, especially at the outbreak of the Korean War in June 1950, accelerated this process. Within a very short period of time, NATO developed into an international security organization.

⁷¹ The European war also globalized the war since the major colonial powers were European. For instance, when Britain joined war, Canada and Australia also participated. Canada's participation played a key role in battles in Atlantic.

It can be said that the event that changed the course of the war was the US partaking the war. In September 1943, Italy surrendered and soon swapped sides and declared war on Germany. In June 1944, British and U.S. troops successfully landed on the Normandy beaches of France and opened a Second Front against the Germans. They gradually moved forward. In August they reached Paris and in September they entered Germany. On the east, also Soviets started to put pressure. After liberating Warsaw and Krakow in January 1945, they captured Budapest, and in April they launched their final offensive, encircling Berlin. Following the Berlin Battle, a week before Germany surrendered to the western Allies and Soviets, Hitler committed suicide. Although the European war ended in May 1945, it took three more months and two atomic bombs for the Japanese to surrender.

⁷² Main victors of the Second World War were China, France, the United Kingdom, the United States, and the USSR.

⁷³ NATO. *North Atlantic Treaty Organization web site*. 2009; Retrieved June 24, 2012, from NATO Declassified:
http://www.nato.int/ebookshop/video/declassified/#/en/encyclopedia/the_birth_of_nato/developing_a_new_world_order/end_of_second_world_war/

The establishment of NATO was just one aspect of the western integration. As Eloranta and Harrison report, there were also 'additional dimensions of new institutions for multilateral coordination':

It was complemented by other bodies that emerged in the immediate postwar period: the Bretton Woods system of exchange rate coordination under the International Monetary Fund, the International Bank for reconstruction and Development (later the World Bank), and the Marshall Plan, which provided economic aid for rebuilding post-war Europe.⁷⁴

Between 1948 and 1951, in order to boost the economic cooperation in the region and to promote trade liberalization and market integration among recovering economies, US have poured large amounts of money into the economies of Western Europe through Marshall Plan. This package of economic aid was essential since the means of production and the means of transport were mass destructed in a scale that dwarfed WWI.

While Marshall Plan and new complementary institutions of NATO helped to recover the European Economy, it should also be noted that the European countries who took part in the war were not all devastated. The situation was different even in some neighboring countries. For instance, while Norway was socially and economically challenged by the war, Sweden, whose domestic defense share has declined by the end of 1930s and performed an active pursuit of disarmament, faced different conditions. She was one of the 'rising military exporters of the 1930s'.⁷⁵ During the war, as a provider of raw materials, especially Iron Ore that is essential for war industries, Sweden was treated differently.

Following the regenerative process catalyzed by American aid, Europe took decisive steps to rule its own destiny.⁷⁶ In the relatively settled political landscape,

⁷⁴ Jari Eloranta, Mark Harrison; 'War and disintegration, 1914-1950'. In K. H. Stephen Broadberry (Ed.), *The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Europe Volume 2: 1870 to the Present*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p.153.

⁷⁵ Eloranta and Harrison report that 'Czechoslovakia and Sweden, followed by Belgium and Norway, were the rising military exporters of the 1930's.(2010152)

⁷⁶ The establishment of the European Coal and Steel Community by ECSC Treaty, which was signed in Paris in 1951, should be considered as the starting point. Besides the aims of

the economical boost, post war shortages of housing and spaces of production gave rise to architectural production. Besides the scales of production another significant aspect was the variety of industrial materials, such as metals, alloys, composites and synthetics, which were developed by the war industry and became available to building industry after the WWII.⁷⁷ On the other hand, the Unitarian politics were not operative in architecture. With the decentralization of German architects, the focus of CIAM meetings, where the Modern Architecture was driven, was shifted towards urbanism and 'dominated by the personality of Le Corbusier.'⁷⁸ The process, which urbanism was the centre of attention, and Athens Charter was produced as a guide, lasted until the ninth meeting with minor fragmentations. In July 1953, the ninth CIAM meeting, was dominated by the younger generation who criticized the strictly functionalist attitudes advocated by modern architects and witnessed a major schism. The younger group, whose criticism and search for a 'more precise relation between Physical form and the socio-psychological need' was most evident in the tenth CIAM meeting that they organized, and for which they

its founders, establishment of the ECSC was not only an economic transformation but also a political transformation in Europe. Steel and coal were the basis of the industry and power of central European countries. Construction of a common market and international legal bodies that will regulate this market would stimulate the political integration of Europe in order to overcome the pressure on both western and eastern European countries, which were treated by aids, loans, and cooperative political acts to choose sides or to act as satellite states. The common market that the Treaty advocated was opened on 10 February 1953 for coal, iron ore and scrap, and on 1 May 1953 for steel. Though established for primarily economic reasons ECSC was the first politically unified legal body that preceded the European Union and its complementary institutions. For further information about the treaties, see: The Official Website of the European Union. EU, 15 October 2010. Last accessed on 29 June 2012.

<http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/institutional_affairs/treaties/treaties_ecsc_en.htm>.

⁷⁷Wessel de Jonge, 'The Technology of Change: The Van Nelle Factories in Transition,' in Hilde Heynen and Hubert-Jan Henket (eds.), *Back from Utopia: the Challenge of the Modern Movement* (Rotterdam: 010 publishers, 2002), p.45.

⁷⁸ Kenneth Frampton, *Modern Architecture: A Critical History*, fourth ed. (London: Thames and Hudson, 2007), p.270.

were known as the Team X⁷⁹; 'challenged the four functionalist categories of the Athens Charter: Dwelling, Work, Recreation and Transportation'.⁸⁰

Around mid 1960s, around the time their various offers⁸¹ as 'urban fixes' were proved to be inadequate for the problems they defined, the group has lost its integrity and remained as a name, rather than a uniting bond. One can say that their criticism about the modernist functionalist approach was melted away in their loyalty to rationalism, which eventually caused a reinvention of the Corbusian attitude. While criticizing Corbusier's Haussman-like approaches (consider, for instance, *Plan Voisin*) for creating an incoherency in the city, the mega structural blocks, and transport nets of the project for Berlin-Hauptstad⁸² caused the same effect. By 1966, enthusiasm for an urban fix was replaced by despair. Former team X member Aldo van Eyck stated that: 'We know nothing of vast multiplicity- we cannot come to grips with it- not as architects, planners, or anybody else'⁸³.

If we put aside the disappointment of architects, and look at a broader perspective, the situation was positive. The recovery process of Europe was faster than the process after WWI. Europe has seen a comprehensive structural change in which the labor force and production has shifted from agriculture to industry and increasingly to services (consequently from rural to urban social order).⁸⁴

⁷⁹ The most active and influential members of this group were Jaap Bakema, Georges Candilis, Giancarlo De Carlo, Aldo van Eyck, Alison and Peter Smithson and Shadrach Woods.

⁸⁰*ibid.*, p.271.

⁸¹ Particularly the multilayered organizations and mega structures like Golden Lane Project by Alison and Peter Smithson.

⁸² Project for Berlin-Hauptstad, designed by Alison and Peter Smithson and Peter Sigmund, in 1958.

⁸³ Aldo van Eyck, quoted by Kenneth Frampton, 'the vicissitudes of ideology: CIAM and Team X, critique and counter-critique 1928-1968', in *Modern Architecture: A Critical History*, *op. cit.*, p.276.

⁸⁴ Moreover, the increasing growth rates in Europe rendered the 1950s and 1960s as 'the golden age'. Demand and supply have expended mutually and 'attained very high and sustained rates of change'. See: Stefan Houpt, Pedro Lains, Lennart Schön; *Sectoral Developments, 1945-2000, Volume 2: 1870 to the present*. In Stephen Broadberry, Kevin H.

With increasing participation of women to the labor force, the purchasing power of the individual has increased and household appliances have arisen as a new sector. Housing and furnishing, besides the shortages caused by the world war, were subjects of a different discussion than they were after WWI. Introduction of many new house appliances, such as refrigerator, television, and air conditioner, has changed the definition of decent living, which in the interwar period was naively defined by hygiene, electricity, and water supply. It is a common trend to consider these changes as part of a larger tendency in Europe: Americanization. While it is open to discussion if it was indeed Americanization with all the negative connotations the word still conveys, there was a tangible American influence.⁸⁵ Duignan and Gann express the US cultural influences as followed:

‘Americanization proceeded in everyday matters too, in the introduction of air conditioners, car ownership, all kinds of electrical equipment (refrigerators, washing machines, etc.) IBM, snack bars, American style cafes, food vending machines, eating and drinking habits (Canada Dry, Coca-Cola, milk shakes, sundaes), and so on. There was more open discussion of sex in popular magazines and newspapers. Movies and records spread the American vision. The United States provided the Europeans with military technology, industrial machinery, Business techniques, advertising and public relations. Suburbs, tract housing and supermarkets have all come from the US, and English spread everywhere in diplomacy, science, technology and social sciences’⁸⁶.

O'Rourke (Eds.), *The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 333-359.

The economic growth went along with the population growth which provided extended markets and a growing labor force. Additionally, Houtt *et. al.* claims that: ‘[N]ew practices aimed at increasing efficiency, such as mass production, consumption, and distribution technologies, provided important productivity and utility gains. At the same time, these new modes of production and consumption combined well with trade liberalization and intra-European product market integration [.]’ *ibid.*, p.343.

⁸⁵ Rather than an imposition of values in one direction, one should see the cultural exchanges as an outcome of western and global integration, established simultaneously with the embracement of free market economy. Murray Fraser and Joe Kerr offer a further discussion in *Architecture and the 'Special Relationship: The American Influence on Post-War British Architecture* (New York: Routledge, 2007), p.16-24

⁸⁶ Peter Duignan, Lewis H. Gann, *the Rebirth of the West: The Americanization of the Democratic World, 1945-1958* (Cambridge, Mass: Blackwell, 1992), p. 182. Quoted in Murray Fraser, John Kerr; *Architecture and the 'Special Relationship: The American Influence on Post-War British Architecture*, (New York: Routledge, 2007), p. 20.

These influences were not limited with the introduction of new elements to the material world of Europe but drifted structural changes too. Emergence of the welfare state has assigned states unpredicted authority and which was not always welcome.⁸⁷ 1960s were marked by the social unrest throughout the world, for variety of claims. Although the reasons vary, in the new world after WWII, interconnected with television broadcasting, chain stores, franchised restaurants and shared fear of a nuclear war, discrete events could go along. The zeitgeist of the period is hard to understand, let alone explain, for anyone born in 1980s or later into a world that was changed by the events of 1968s, but based on Herbert Marcuse's diagnosis in *One Dimensional Man*, one can say that there was a sound distrust to both manipulative media and the authorities who directed them. Marcuse states:

We are again confronted with one of the most vexing aspects of advanced industrial civilization: the rational character of its irrationality. Its productivity and efficiency, its capacity to increase and spread comforts, to turn waste into need, and destruction into construction, the extent to which this civilization transforms the object world into an extension of man's mind and body makes the very notion of alienation questionable. The people recognize themselves in their commodities; they find their soul in their automobile, hi-fi set, split-level home, kitchen equipment. The very mechanism, which ties the individual to his society, has changed, and social control is anchored in the new needs, which it has produced.⁸⁸

Alienation was a key concept to understand their mind. Both Herbert Marcuse and Guy Debord stress upon that concept. While Marcuse claims that material world has replaced individual's body and mind, whose existence was expressed in its

⁸⁷Governments have undertaken a new role in economy. About governments managing economy, Derek H. Aldcroft states that:

'Not only has the state absorbed a much greater, and increasing, share of national resources which in some cases involved an extension of public ownership of economic activities, but it also accepted responsibility for maintaining full employment and achieving growth and greater stability, among other things.'

It is rational for one to say that the anti-authoritarian protests of 1968 were against the new relation between state and society, targeting the instruments of control operationalized by governments.

⁸⁸ Herbert Marcuse, *One Dimensional Man*. (London ; New York: Routledge, (1964) 2002), p.11.

needs and possessions rather than its thoughts and feelings, Debord make similar assertions about the society and states that: 'Everything that was directly lived has moved away into a representation' and claims that 'social relation among people [is] mediated by images'.⁸⁹

The protests were started by university students. While it had clear aims such as protesting war, supporting freedom of speech and civil rights against racism in America; in Europe it was a general anti-authoritarian revolt against conservative authorities whose practices restricted individual liberties. Yet what made these events significant was their sudden change of nature from cultural to political by participation of workers and white collars. In Paris, the student revolt, which was oppressed by the police, was taken over by workers, and white-collar laborers such as teachers, researchers, writers, actors, doctors, and architects.⁹⁰

Participation of workers in the 1968 protests has shown the fragility of the post WWII world order, whose performance has been celebrated until then, and foreshadowed the end of the 'golden years' with the oil crisis in early 1970s.

2.4. From 1972 to the Present

Post-War Europe has witnessed a rapid reconstruction and integration. The reconstruction of mass destructed powers of production and means of transport have revitalized European economy and consolidated its position in the global market, whose equilibrium has changed after the global world war. The integration

⁸⁹ Guy Debord, *The society of Spectacle* (New York: Zone Books, (1967) 1995).

⁹⁰ The main determining power which changed the course of events was the participation of blue collars, which paralyzed the country by interrupting both industrial production, power supplies and the public services such as public transport and postal services. On the other hand, workers participation encouraged professional intelligentsia, whose acts targeting the authorities of their profession proved the anti-authoritarian character of the revolts. Daniel Singer, who reports the actions of white collars, states that: 'A group of doctors occupied the premises of Medical Order', 'actors went on strike and closed all the theaters in the capital', and writers 'occupied the house belonging to the Society of Men of Letters'. Daniel Singer, *Prelude to Revolution: France in May 1968*. Second ed. (Cambridge: South End Press, 2002), p. xix, 159.

of European countries has strengthened its competitiveness in the world market. This integration in continental and global scales was, if not imposed, catalyzed by US. If this recovery process was financially fuelled by US, physically it was fuelled by Iranian oil until the oil crisis in 1972. Europe, dealing with the cultural surges at home was blindsided but there might have been cues that hinted the crises.⁹¹

In 1960s the oil production was developed in many host countries in Middle East, North Africa and South America, mainly by British, French, Dutch and Scandinavian firms mostly in group partnerships, based on concessionary agreements providing 50/50 profit share. While main arguments between host governments and developers were about how the profit was to be calculated⁹², due to new host countries or governmental changes in the existing ones, there have

⁹¹ It cannot be said that the crisis were on its way or inevitable but there had been other small scale crisis that preceded, and these early crisis which were handled with political and economical negotiations showed the vulnerability of the energy supplies and a possible political threat in case of an East-West conflict. This assumption and the further evaluation of the development of oil sector and oil crisis are preliminary based on Frank Brenchley's *Britain and the Middle East: An Economic History, 1945-87*, among other sources such as *Oil Panic and the Global Crisis: Predictions and Myths* by Steven M. Gorelick; *The Petroleum Shipping Industry: A nontechnical overview* by Michael D. Tusiani and *Inclusive Aid: Changing Power and Relationships in International Development* by Leslie Christine Groves and Rachel Barbara Hinton.

Furthermore, Iranian oil was the subject of trade relations between the Iranian and British since the beginning of nineteenth century. Its development process was of frequent ups and downs. During the politically disordered pre-war and inter-war periods, it both suffered from the economical decline at the European countries, the main market for Iranian oil, due to rising defense shares and declining domestic expenditure, and enjoyed the competitive market stimulated by the rivalry and growing need of power sources generated by war. By the time Europe entered the recovery process and reconstructed its means of production and transport, energy became an urgent and constant need. Although other suppliers emerged in various locations, some advantageously close to Europe, its capacity developed in long term cooperation with the British made Iran an important supplier. Even when Europeans discovered oil beds in the northern sea, they were still dependent since construction of the infrastructure to extract and more importantly to transport the oil took about five years and it took even longer until it reaches reliable capacity. Discovery of gas in the southern parts of North Sea in the second half of 1960s was followed by finding oil in important quantities on the Norwegian side of the median line between England and Norway. See: Frank Brenchley, *op.cit.*, p.197-198.

⁹² Profits were calculated based on 'posted prices' determined by developers, which may not always reflect the real prices which fluctuate in the market based on demand.

been singular attempts of cutbacks or concession terminations to raise the prices⁹³. These attempts were not critical for Europe but their importance grew gradually with the increasing oil demand of Japan, and the establishments of OPEC⁹⁴ and OAPEC⁹⁵ by host countries to proceed 'towards their goals by legislative and regulatory measures rather than through lengthy and fruitless negotiations with the companies.'⁹⁶ In the 1970s, with the interference of OPEC and OAPEC, the production reduction and uncertainty increased the oil prices.⁹⁷

The oil crisis was a break point that marked the end of the rapid growth period. It had two major results. First, it changed the economical policies in global scale. European countries try controlling growth and conduct it parallel to energy growth. The potential of energy trade as an instrument of political control forces Europe decrease, and if possible, eliminate energy dependency through reducing energy consumption and diversify its sources with special interest to renewable

⁹³ Consider, for instance, the change of regime in Libya. The military coup, which claimed to change the regime from kingdom to democracy, and for this promise, saw no resistance from Europe has assigned governmental powers to Muammer Qaddafi, who eventually became a dictator. When he first seized power he looked for a price raise first by joining OAPEC, than by one-to-one negotiations, and by cutbacks. Frank Brenchley, *op. cit.*, p.201

⁹⁴ *Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries*, founded in 1960. Original members were Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and Venezuela. As their exporting levels became significant, Abu Dhabi, Algeria, Ecuador, Gabon, Libya, Nigeria and Qatar also joined the organization.

⁹⁵ *Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries*. Founded in 1969. Founder members were Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Libya of King Idris. It was some sort of 'Rulers' Club', established to preempt dangerous initiatives of 'radical Arab Oil producers', such as Algeria and Iraq. The radicalization of Libya, has changed its principle rule, later it was a common organization open to all Arab oil exporters. Frank Brenchley, *op. cit.*, p.161.

⁹⁶*Ibid.*, p.200.

⁹⁷ In 1973 OPEC raised the oil price twice. Steven M. Gorelick reports that 'The first price increase of 70 percent was a simple show of muscle' and 'the second increase was tied to the Arab-Israeli War, which began as Egyptian and Syrian forces invaded Israel' in 1973. OAPEC established an embargo and refused to sell oil to countries that supported Israel, namely, US, Netherlands, Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesia. OAPEC cut production from 21 to 16 million barrels per day which was over 23 percent of total production, with the production increase in the rest of the world; it caused a net reduction of 9 percent globally. See: Steven M. Gorelick; *Oil Panic and the Global Crisis: Predictions and Myths*. (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010): p.63.

sources. In 1974, International Energy Agency⁹⁸ (IEA) was founded within OECD⁹⁹ to take cooperative actions to deal with energy dependency, and to regulate and stabilize energy trade. While various renewable ways are considered, major investments were made for nuclear power, which is still a favorable power production method today.¹⁰⁰

Second outcome of the energy crisis was, due to price increases, rapid accumulation of monetary reserves in OPEC countries and strong inflationary pressures, and consequently, increase in interest rates and reduction of imports in industrialized countries.¹⁰¹ This was a change of international power relations. While Middle Eastern countries were in an inferior position in early twentieth century, with their integration to world market, which was a parallel development with European integration, their natural reserves were mobilized and provided economical power. Considering the fact that after the oil Crisis the world had to get used to crisis, whose period is shortened while its domain is enlarged.¹⁰²

⁹⁸ Its initial aims, still valid today, were. (1) *Taking a cooperative stand to reduce excessive dependence on oil through energy conservation and research and development of alternative energy sources*, (2) *establishing an international oil information system*, (3) *Cooperating with both oil-producing and consuming nations to establish a stable international energy trade*, (4) *taking action to reduce the risk, and the consequences, of a major disruption of oil supplies.*(Tusiani 1996, 12)

⁹⁹ Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development. Originally founded as The Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC) established in 1947 to run the US-financed Marshall Plan for reconstruction of war torn countries. Canada and the US joined OEEC, in 1960, in order 'to carry its work forward on a global stage'. 1961 it was renamed as Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development. It has 34 members around the world.(History: OECD n.d.)

¹⁰⁰ It should be noted that three major tragedies, Three Mile Island in 1979, Chernobyl in 1986 and Fukushima in 2011, made it politically questionable among the voters.

¹⁰¹ Leslie Christine Groves; Rachel Barbara Hinton; *Inclusive Aid: Changing Power and Relationships in International Development*. (London: Earthscan, 2004): p.24.

¹⁰² The enlargement of the domain does not only characterize 'global crises'. In terms of effect, there have been global crisis before. Consider for instance the great depression after the 1929 stock exchange crisis that hit most of the world. But then, the power relations were unilateral, mostly from west to east. In a colonial world, when it hit England, it would hit India too. The difference between the crisis before and after 1972 was that crisis became multilateral in a globalized world economy. For instance around 1991, the crisis originated in Japan, based on land prices but known as banking crisis, and the crisis originated in

From an economic perspective, the oil crisis was one of the events that shaped the postwar world, but from a cultural one it was shadowed by the tensions of cold war, whose state of political and military tension between east and west continued to overhang as a global threat until the European integration is completed by the fall of Berlin Wall, the physical reflection of the iron curtain that separated the western world and eastern bloc, in 1989. The fall of the Berlin Wall was Eastern Blocks opening itself to the world. It culminated in the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, leaving America as the only superpower, and flattening the global landscape, which, then on, were to be defined by center and periphery rather than polar conditions.¹⁰³

Although the separating barrier was destructed, cultural distinction between east and west has prevailed as visa requirements. It took a little more than a decade, until the order of opposites was re-established with destruction of another symbolic structure in September 2001. The terror attacks targeting the World Trade Center Towers in New York City and The Pentagon in Washington became the ultimate symbol of the order of fear.

The world was not quietly in peace before 9/11 either. Although the end of cold war created 'a wave of optimism about an end to world wars and a possible reduction in global scale violence,' and the 'third wave of democracy' reaching far corners of the world have supported this belief;¹⁰⁴ it worked only for the wars between nation

Sweden for similar reasons, and made Sweden to nationalize banks in order to take measures against speculation, exemplify how crisis can effect discrete parts of the world beyond the east-west dichotomy. For further information about Swedish financial crisis of 1991 see: Urban Bäckström, 'What Lessons Can be Learned from Recent Financial Crises?. The Swedish Experience' paper presented at the Federal Reserve Symposium 'Maintaining Financial Stability in a Global Economy', in 1997. Available at <http://www.riksbank.se/pagefolders/1722/970829e.pdf> last retrieved on 12.07.2012. About Japanese financial crisis in 1991 see: Zongxian Yu, Dianqing Xu; *From Crisis to Recovery: East Asia Rising Again?*, (Singapore: World Scientific Publishing, 2001)

¹⁰³These definitions described the competency in cultural realm. In the economic realm, there were a number of centers.

¹⁰⁴ Diane E. Davis states that this belief was based on the idea that democratic states would not fight each other. Diane E. Davis, Anthony W. Pereira ; *Irregular Armed Forces and Their*

states.¹⁰⁵ Davis notes that '[w]e .. see popularly constituted or clandestine armed forces who frequently act on behalf of sub-national groups (often defined in terms of ethnicity, language, region, or religion)'.¹⁰⁶ 9/11 falls into this group of actions.

While a detailed analysis of the changing nature of war making is out of the scope of this thesis, the fact that it is transformed but still exists is one of the points this historical survey should include. It is a common trend to exaggerate the past or favor the present and the future. But development may not always mean progress. Since it touches upon Bauhaus (past) and IKEA (present) the position taken here should be well defined. While the objects of study are both evaluated in their historical situatedness, it is rejected to make the definitions only upon the changing conditions. A similar point is made by John Allen who states that 'against the backdrop of capitalist globalization, looming environmental disaster, international terrorism, and increasing polarization between an underdeveloped Third World and a bloated First World' our agenda is not less important than the agenda of our Modern Movement forefathers' 'against the backdrop of totalitarianism, world war, outmoded class system and the atomic bomb.'¹⁰⁷ Similarly, any comparison or evaluation of Bauhaus and IKEA cannot be made only upon their historical conditions. For this reason, this historical survey should be considered the background of the ideas and concepts that Bauhaus and IKEA shares, rather than the histories of their developments.

Role in Politics and State Formation. (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003): p.3-4.

¹⁰⁵ *ibid.*, p.3-4.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p.4.

¹⁰⁷ John Allen states that every generation should consider the grand questions, that modern movement has offered answers, in their own reality. John Allan, 'Challenge of Values' In Herbert Jan Henket, & Hilde Heynen, eds., *Back from Utopia: The Challenge of the Modern Movement*, (Rotterdam: 010 Publishers): p.24

CHAPTER 3

DEFINING AND REDEFINING UTOPIA: FROM POLITICAL ACT TO CONSUMPTION

3.1. Utopia and the Nature of Avant-gardes:

Defining utopia, a term coined by Thomas More in sixteenth century, is a challenging task since its critical power lies in its ambiguous definition. Blurring the border between *eutopia*, the good place, and *outopia*, the non-existent place, utopias describe fictional states where political disturbances are overcome and social relations are perfectly ordered. They can be evaluated as literary fictions of political visions, which typically provide a depiction of a place that is spatially or temporally remote, but not the operational ways to get there.

So far, we tried to describe utopia and this is an outdated trend in utopian studies because it is proved to be impractical to deal with the ever growing literature upon various examples.¹⁰⁸ Instead, we must search for the essential feature that manifests itself in every utopia. For instance Krishan Kumar, without naming it, states that:

‘Thomas More did not just invent the word ‘utopia’, in a typical witty conflation of two Greek words (*eutopos*=‘good place’, *outopos*=‘no place’): he invented the *thing*. Part of that new thing was a new literary form or genre; the other, more important,

¹⁰⁸ Some examples of literary utopias would be, but not limited to, Tommaso Campanella’s *City of the Sun* (1602), Francis Bacon’s *New Atlantis* (1627), Edward Bellamy’s *Looking Backward* (1888), William Morris’s *News From Nowhere* (1891), Aldous Huxley’s *Brave New World* (1932), George Orwell’s *1984* (1949), and utopian theories of 19th century such as the works of Charles Fourier, Auguste Comte, Herbert Spencer. See: Krishan Kumar, *Utopianism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991).

part was a novel and far-reaching conception of the possibilities of human and social transformation.’¹⁰⁹(Original emphasis)

The ‘thing’ Kumar mentions is beyond the form and content of various utopias. It is a feature of the term. Ruth Levitas claims that the essential element of utopias, ‘which remains constant while content, form and function vary’ is the ‘desire for a better way of being and living.’¹¹⁰

The desire for a better way of life, in another context which essentially deals with ‘the problem of the relationship between thought and action,’¹¹¹ is also stressed by Karl Mannheim, a key figure whose work is one of the touchstones of related literature.¹¹² Mannheim studied and worked in Germany during the Weimar period, and one should also take into account that he wrote the essays which later brought together to form his book *Ideology and Utopia* in around 1925-1929,¹¹³ during the rather stable period of Weimar Republic.¹¹⁴

Mannheim was not interested in how ideas (in forms of ideology and utopia) are ‘produced in society but in what circumstances they may be able to affect society’.¹¹⁵ His interest in utopia, and in ideology, was about their potential to generate action. In his account, their basic difference was their relation with what exists. Stephen Ackroyd claims that, for Mannheim, ‘ideology is a partial and somewhat distorted version of what is actual and real’ and ‘corresponds, at least in part, with what exists’.¹¹⁶ While this bond with what exists makes it ‘possible for an ideology to be

¹⁰⁹ Krishan Kumar., *Utopia and Anti-Utopia in Modern Times* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987): p.24.

¹¹⁰ Ruth Levitas., *The Concept of Utopia.*(Bern: Peter Lang, 2010): p.8.

¹¹¹ Stephen Ackroyd, ‘Utopia or Ideology: Karl Mannheim and the place of theory’. In Martin Parker (Ed.), *Utopia and Organization* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002)

¹¹² Especially *Ideology and Utopia* among his other works. Karl Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia: An Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge*. Translated by Louis Wirth and Edward Shils (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, [1936] 1968).

¹¹³ Pointed out by Stephen Ackroyd, *op.cit.*, p.43.

¹¹⁴ This period is narrated in the previous chapter. See p.21-26.

¹¹⁵ Stephen Ackroyd, *op.cit.*, p. 44.

¹¹⁶ *ibid.*, p.48.

sustained or to be imposed by one group on another'¹¹⁷, it is the absence of such bond with reality that signifies utopia. Mannheim states that:

'Only those orientations transcending reality will be referred to as utopian which, when they pass over into conduct, tend to shatter, either partly or wholly, the order of things prevailing at the time.'¹¹⁸

Based on his words quoted above, it can be suggested that, for Mannheim, utopias are conductible and they bear a potential to destabilize, or even to disrupt, the existing order for a change towards better. From this perspective his notion of utopia, oriented toward future, strictly contrasts with his notion of ideology which, as following statement shows, is oriented towards present and functions to stabilize the existing order:

'Knowledge is distorted and ideological when it fails to take account of new realities applying to a situation, and when it attempts to conceal them by thinking them in categories which are inappropriate.'¹¹⁹

A critical feature of Mannheim's notion of utopia is that, although it is oriented towards future, its 'ground shattering' feature can only be judged in historical perspective. In other words, besides its progressivist nature utopia is temporal and it can only be detected in the past. On nature of utopia, he writes that: 'only in utopia and revolution is there true life, the institutional order of society is always only the evil residue, which remains from ebbing utopias [.]'¹²⁰

The relation between ideology and utopia is complicated. While they seem to contrast at first sight, his notion of the latter is more fragile and when it 'ebbed' but used to validate or justify an act it is transformed into ideology.

¹¹⁷ *ibid.*

¹¹⁸ Karl Mannheim, *op. cit.*, p.192.

¹¹⁹ *ibid.*, p.86.

¹²⁰ Quoted by Stephen Ackroyd, 'Utopia or Ideology: Karl Mannheim and the place of theory'. In Martin Parker (Ed.), *Utopia and Organization* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002): p. 50.

Although *Ideology and Utopia*, the translated book from *Ideologie und Utopie* (1929), is a questionable source due to the changes during translation process¹²¹, it is important to express Mannheim's account on utopia and ideology, within the scope of this study, for two reasons. First, his account represents the understanding of this concept in the first half of the twentieth century. He was familiar with the political vision that Weimar Republic represented and the program and actions of Bauhaus as an institution of Weimar Republic. His account of these notions cast a strong base to discuss the question if Bauhaus was utopian for the Bauhaus people, which will be discussed in the following subchapter. Secondly, Manfredo Tafuri, another critical theorist, whose work will be referenced to explain the changing definition of utopia in the second half of 20th century, bases his theory extensively on Mannheim's studies.¹²²

The concept of utopia was brought up again by Manfredo Tafuri, an influential architectural historian, with a sound title *Architecture and Utopia: Design and Capitalist Development*.¹²³ Tafuri's purpose in the book was, in his words, 'rereading the history of modern architecture in the light of methods offered by an ideological criticism, understood in the strictest Marxist acceptance of the term'.¹²⁴ Considering the Mannheimian notion of utopia, it can be said that Modernism has a utopian impulse since it aims to abolish the existing order by radical rejection of its tradition. On the other hand from Tafuri's perspective, the Modernist impulse is

¹²¹ Ackroyd states that Mannheim, who emigrated from Germany to England prior to the rise of Nazis in Germany, changed the book substantially for it to be 'well received in England'. He added an introduction and made 'changes to the original text'. *ibid.* p.46-47 While we use the version in English, we inform the reader that our source although supervised by the author misses some parts on the subject of utopia. Tafuri refers to the original version in German. See *Architecture and Utopia: Design and Capitalist Development*, 1976, p. 52.

¹²² This relation of Tafuri's work with Mannheim's is pointed out by Zeynep Tuna in *Reading Manfredo Tafuri: Architecture and Utopia Design and Capitalist Development*. Ankara: Unpublished Master Thesis, 2002.

¹²³ The book was originally published in Italian, with the title *Progetto e Utopia* (Bari: Laterza and Figli, 1973). It is an enlargement of Tafuri's essay 'Per una critica dell'ideologia architettonica' published in the periodical *Contropiano* (1969, no:1).

¹²⁴ Manfredo Tafuri, *Utopia and Architecture- Design and Capitalist Development*. (B. Luigi La Penta., Trans.) (Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1976): p.vii.

only rhetorical and its functions, by idealizing and legitimatizing to conceal the modernist ideology. His notion of utopia and its relation with ideology is slightly more complicated than Mannheim who, in Tafuri's account, 'offers a rather mystified version of the functioning and reality of utopia.'¹²⁵ Tafuri rejects the distinction between (conservative) ideologies and (futuristic) utopias, which is central in Mannheim's account.¹²⁶ He sees ideology and utopia as different aspects of the same (capitalist ideology), which is best represented by avant-gardes, and the only categorizations he offers (and which can be applied to them) is between 'negative' and 'positive' avant-garde attitudes.¹²⁷ Providing a new account of architectural history covering the time from enlightenment to (then) present, Tafuri asserts that 'utopia itself marks out the successive stages of its own extinction.'¹²⁸

Through Tafuri's survey, 'historical avant-gardes'¹²⁹ play an important role. They are useful to demonstrate the dilemmas of modern movement and their reflections in architectural realm. Avant-gardes, with their strict rejection of the past and their practices orient towards future, bear the essential characteristics of modernism. Matei Calinescu who, in historical perspective, asserts that 'avant-garde started by dramatizing certain constitutive elements of the idea of modernity and making them into cornerstones of a revolutionary ethos,' conceptualizes it as 'a little more than a radicalized and strongly utopianized version of modernity'.¹³⁰

¹²⁵ *ibid.*, p.52.

¹²⁶ Tomas Llorens, 'Manfredo Tafuri: Neo-Avant-Garde and History', *Architectural Design Profile*, no: 51 (1981), special edition: 'On the Methodology of Architectural History'

¹²⁷ Tomas Lorens states that 'the contrast between positive and negative avant-garde attitudes was popularized by Renato Poggioli', and 'the distinction was useful as a means of classifying the different avant-garde movements' in two groups. The positive category which also called 'constructivist' included Cubism, Constructivism, De stijl and Bauhaus, while Expressionism, Surrealism, Dadaism falls into the 'negative' category. *ibid.*, p.83.

¹²⁸ *ibid.*, p.63.

¹²⁹ Tafuri calls the avant-garde movements of early twentieth century historical avant-gardes in order to differentiate them from the (neo) avant-gardes flourished after 1960.

¹³⁰ Matei Calinescu, *Five Faces of Modernity: Modernism, Avant-garde, Decadence, Kitsch, Postmodernism*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 1987), p.95. As the quotation also suggests, some scholars, including Matei Calinescu, Raymond Williams, Richard Murphy, indicates a disparity between modernism and avant-garde. Unlike Tafuri, who, in Michael Hays'

Although he builds a strong case based on varied examples, Tafuri's interest in avant-gardes is not to identify and demystify each and every attempt but to discuss the possibility of such a concept. David Cunningham states that:

As Tafuri notes, of particular significance to the 'ideology' of architectural modernism is the specific conception of 'utopia as a project' where the work of architecture is teleologically directed toward – as 'aim' or 'ideal' – a (more or less immediate) 'construction of the future' in which the crises and antagonisms of modern life would be overcome. It would be hard then not to concur with Tafuri that such 'projection' into the future must be thought, in its essential temporal logic, as 'a part of the whole climate of the intellectual work of the avant-garde'.¹³¹

Tafuri explains the state of utopia in modernity putting a strong emphasis on the 'decline of social utopia' around mid 19th century and leaving its place to the 'utopia of form'.¹³² He stresses the importance of the early 20th century utopian thought once more in the first page of the third chapter titled 'Ideology and Utopia': 'Ultimately, the problem is that of evaluating the significance given in the early part of our century to *utopia as a project*.'¹³³ From his perspective the importance of the early 20th century avant-gardes was originated in the changing position of the intelligentsia and the function of intellectual work which embraced technology and created an 'ethic of development'¹³⁴ He also says that 'the ethic of development has to be realized *together* with development, *within* development's processes' and the only way of controlling development was 'an accurately controlled image of the future.'¹³⁵ The main task of avant-gardes was, the 'mediation' between the world of quality (society defended by artists) and the

words, 'formulates the entire cycle of modernism as a unitary development', they see avant-garde as a branch within a broader modern movement. See: K. Michael Hays, *Architecture Theory since 1968*, (Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 2000), Raymond Williams, *The Politics of Modernism: Against the New Conformists* (London, New York: Verso, 1996); Richard Murphy, *Theorizing the Avant-garde: Modernism, Expressionism, and the Problem of Postmodernity* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

¹³¹ David Cunningham, (2001). 'Architecture, Utopia and the futures of the avant-garde'. *The Journal of Architecture* 6, no:2 (2001), .p.169.

¹³² Manfredo Tafuri, *op. cit.* p. 46-48.

¹³³ *ibid.*, p.50 (italics original).

¹³⁴ Tafuri calls Benjamin's 'end of aura' as 'the identification of an 'ethic of rationalization' completely directed upon itself.' *ibid.*, p.56.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, p.57.

world of quantity (world of capitalism or the market), by creating a utopia, an image of the future, as the final destiny.¹³⁶

Tafuri's notions of utopia and ideology are based on Mannheim's theory¹³⁷ but there is a critical difference between these two theorists. Mannheim rejects the Marxist notion of ideology which Tafuri uses as an ontological base. Denying the concept of 'dominant ideology,' Mannheim asserts that ideologies are produced by groups. For him, whether these groups are close to or discrete from the centre of power is irrelevant. For him, the way of politics to solve the problems of social organizations were possible by 'development of institutions which routinize and order social life' and by 'intellectualization of politics', or in other words participation of independent intellectuals in politics.¹³⁸ On the other hand, Tafuri shares the Marxist aim of demystification of the core dynamics of capitalist mode of production, and the ways they integrate with various sectors of cultural production. His criticism targets the whole capitalist system. From a Tafurian perspective, the development of organizing institutions can only be a dead end, since they will be regulated by the system, which they are to regulate and within which they have to operate.¹³⁹

So far, the perspectives of Mannheim and Tafuri are analyzed to understand the notion of utopia in first and second half of the 20th century. Before continuing with the inquiries that focus on the cases in the next chapter, we should make some points clear. It is true that reading Tafuri, who concludes 'that architectural

¹³⁶ Tafuri originally states: 'Art becomes then a sort of prototype of the technological processes: or better, a mediation between world of quantity—perceived in its abstract values—and a world of quality—resolved in mirroring of the subjective emotions towards machines.' Manfredo Tafuri, *Theories and History of Architecture*, (Granada Publishing Limited, Granada, 1980): p. 33.

¹³⁷ *ibid.*, p.37-39

¹³⁸ Stephen Ackroyd, *op. cit.*, p. 48-49.

¹³⁹ Tafuri stresses the uselessness of architectural ideology, and the impossibility of a change originated within architectural realm since architecture through negotiation with the market cannot act independently.

ideology no longer serves the interests of capitalism'¹⁴⁰ and 'cannot bear any honest promise for any eventual new (non-capitalist) society'¹⁴¹ makes one suspect possibility of any future for architecture let alone utopias, but this is only one way of interpreting it. For a broader perspective one should read him in his situatedness both in history and geography.

The essay that preceded *Architecture and Utopia* and *Theories and History of Architecture* were published in 1969, in Italy, when Europe was in cultural crises, and before the book was published Europe also experienced the economical crisis that followed.¹⁴² According to Tomas Llorens Tafuri's diagnosis should be considered with 'the similar diagnoses formulated around and after 1968, bespoke the death of film, of painting, of psychiatry, of books, and eventually Marxism itself.'¹⁴³ Pier Vittorio Aureli also surveys the atmosphere in which Tafuri lived and produced. He states that, 'between the 1950s and the 1960s Italy went through an intense process of modernization that changed the political, social and cultural geography of the country.'¹⁴⁴ Comparing it with the changes happened in 1930, in the US, he described it as:

'the shift from backyard capitalism based primarily on accumulation to a capitalism based on the politics of "waged labor", technological innovation, and the organization of production in the form of the *reorganization* of the entire spectrum of social relationships.'¹⁴⁵

It is true that, after carefully explaining the 'processes and forms through which the content of intellectual work [is] structurally linked'¹⁴⁶ with the capitalist modes of production; Tafuri leaves the reader, who seeks a solution, alone with his/her despair. But it is only because Tafuri does not search for a solution. He leaves no

¹⁴⁰ Tomas Llorens, *op. cit.* p.86

¹⁴¹ *ibid.*

¹⁴² For an historical overview see previous chapter.

¹⁴³ Tomas Llorens, *op. cit.* p.90

¹⁴⁴ Pier Vittorio Aureli, *Intellectual Work and Capitalist Development: Origins and Context of Manfredo Tafuri's Critique of Architectural Ideology*. 2011, March. Available from 'The City as a Project': <http://thecityasaproject.org>, Last retrieved July 31, 2012.

¹⁴⁵ *ibid.*

¹⁴⁶ *ibid.*

option for the *social activist* or the *reformist* other than self-awareness. Aureli states that 'the aim of his critique was not a *will to power*', 'but more a *will to understand*, a will to deeply disentangle the historical processes through which intellectual subjectivity was made' (Italics original).¹⁴⁷

Although Tafuri's criticism, which combines a wide spectrum of analyses through politics, aesthetics, political economy and architecture, kills the possibility of *utopias*, it leaves a place for *utopia*. Within Marxist tradition, there are also defenders of utopia.¹⁴⁸ They reject *utopias* as concrete representations of a good society but have faith in *utopia* as a desire for a better way of life. Frank Cunningham points out to the dilemma that a critical theorist who wants to contribute to actual change will face: visionary/realism dilemma.¹⁴⁹ While radical visions that are beyond our present reality propose no possible way to achieve them, tamed utopias of realist position will hinder radical goals. One solution to bypass this dilemma was formulated by Henri Lefebvre, within the context of the city. He stated:

'To the extent that the contours of the future city can be outlined, it could be defined by imagining the reversal of the current situation, by pushing to its limits the converted image of the world upside down.'¹⁵⁰

It can be said that Lefebvre, in a general context, was preceded by Herbert Marcuse in *One Dimensional Man*. The position he advocated was a mode of opposition based on the idea of 'great refusal' against the present(ed) conditions.¹⁵¹ Peter Marcuse, like Lefebvre, mentions the potentials and danger of concrete representations:

¹⁴⁷ *ibid.*

¹⁴⁸ For instance, David Harvey stresses upon the necessity of it and states that 'without a vision of utopia there is no way to define that port to which we might want to sail.' Quoted in Frank Cunningham, 'Triangulating utopia: Benjamin, Lefebvre, Tafuri'. *City 14*, no:3 (2010): p.268 originally from David Harvey, *Spaces of Hope*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000) p.189

¹⁴⁹ *ibid.*, p.269.

¹⁵⁰ Quoted in Peter Marcuse, 'From critical urban theory to the right to the city', *City 13* no:2-3 (2009), p.193. Originally from: Henri Lefebvre, 'The Right to the City', in Eleonore Kofman, Elizabeth Lebas (eds) *Writings on Cities*, (London: Blackwell,[1967] 1996), p. 172

¹⁵¹ Herbert Marcuse, *One Dimensional Man* (London ; New York: Routledge, [1964] 2002).

'[W]hatever is done will surely have a spatial aspect also. But a spatial focus has its dangers too: most problems have a spatial aspect but their origins lie in economic, social political arenas, the spatial being a particular cause an aggravation, but only partial.'¹⁵²

Moreover, Peter Marcuse, like his father, proposes a mode of opposition. He formulates it a three step program, 'expose, propose and politicize',¹⁵³ and proposes a participatory method as the only method that has a chance.

So far, the research has dealt with the concept of utopia and the concepts which are needed to discuss it. It should be clarified that this study concentrates on two cases: Bauhaus and IKEA. While Bauhaus can be identified as avant-garde¹⁵⁴ the thesis has no intention of claiming that IKEA was an avant-garde,¹⁵⁵ but it is interesting to note its resemblance to them. The aforementioned 'mediation'¹⁵⁶ is one of IKEA's promises. This will be further discussed in the section '3.1.4. IKEA: utopia and consumption'.

3.2. Bauhaus, IKEA and Utopias:

3.2.1. Democracy as *Utopia*:

In the following sections it will be discussed whether there was utopian impulse in the formation and operations of Bauhaus and IKEA, or is the utopian ideals they advocate are mere veils concealing their 'sublime uselessness'.¹⁵⁷ The discussion will be based on the framework that has been drawn in the last chapter dealing with the definition and function of utopia.

¹⁵² Peter Marcuse, *op. cit.*, p.195.

¹⁵³ Peter Marcuse, *op. cit.*, p.194-195.

¹⁵⁴ While its institutional character seems like a contradiction, it is categorized within the group of progressive, i.e. constructivist avant-gardes.

¹⁵⁵ Avant-garde did not strictly belong to the world of art. For instance, it can be discussed within politics too. However, since it is operational to mediate between art and capitalism, it would be ungrounded to discuss it solely within business where Ikea belongs.

¹⁵⁶ Manfredo Tafuri, 1980, *op. cit.*, p.33

¹⁵⁷'Sublime uselessness' define the drama of architecture which is obliged to return to 'pure form' of 'form without utopia'. Manfredo Tafuri, 1976, *op.cit.*, p.ix,x.

Before evaluating Bauhaus and IKEA separately, it is better first to clarify the operational term which makes them comparable. As stated in the introduction, these two distinct bodies are compared on two grounds: based on the visual resemblance of their products and the references they make to democracy ideal. Their shared design principles and methods of production, which we will discuss in the following chapter, explain the visual resemblance. On the other hand, their references to democracy are more complicated. In order to discuss their complicated relationship with the idea of democracy one needs to make a brief account of what democracy is, and then, what democracy was throughout the 20th century.

It is interesting to note that democracy is similar to utopia with an ambiguous colloquial expression and a puzzling Greek etymology. Democracy is used to signify either the concept of democracy or an existing system of government, which claims to be democratic. This causes the concept of democratization to be understood as the systematical changes within politics, like elections, institutions and organizational structure of the state, instead of establishing and sustaining freedom and equality, the notions embedded in the concept, in social realm. Moreover, the misleading equation of democracy with ‘actually existing Western systems of government’, signify an ‘ascendancy of the ‘already democratic West and, as such, constitute the foundations of an international order predicated upon Western dominance’, and render democratization as a new form of colonialism which strictly contrasts with the idea of democracy.¹⁵⁸

Democracy, like utopia, is derived from Greek words whose composite creates ambiguities both in their classical and modern conceptions. It is derived from the Greek words *demos* and *kratos*; and together with *monarchia*, *oligarchia*, it compose the three key terms of Greek vocabulary for regimes. Josiah Ober points out to an

¹⁵⁸ Jean Gruegl, points out to the structural inequality between different interest groups within the pluralist democracy. Jean Gruegl, *Democratisation, a critical introduction* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire ; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002): p.3,8,21

etymologic nuance about the original conception of the word, which its modern conception misses:

While the Greek vocabulary for regime-types is extensive, the three key terms for the rule of the one, few, and many are *monarchia*, *oligarchia*, and *demokratia*.(...) [U]nlike *monarchia* (from the adjective *monos*: solitary) and *oligarchia* (from *hoi oligoi*: the few), *demokratia* is not in the first instance concerned with “number.” The term *demos* refers to a collective body. Unlike *monarchia* and *oligarchia*, *demokratia* does not, therefore, answer the question: “how many are empowered?” The standard Greek term for “the many” is *hoi polloi*, yet there is no Greek regime name *pollokratia* or *pollarchia*. (Italics original)¹⁵⁹

Many scholars assert this miss conception about the term as ‘a rule of many’ than the rule of all.¹⁶⁰ It can be argued that practices of the Greek democracy were exclusive too, but apart from the interest in etymology, Greek democracy is far from being center of interest since it was an example of ‘direct’ democracy, which can only be possible for small communities such as city states.¹⁶¹ Within the field of democratization studies¹⁶², scholars try to enlarge its scope and make more inclusive definitions.¹⁶³

Although some start the history of democracy with the Greek city-states and continue with the Roman examples, history of ‘democracy as we know it’ starts with its reformulations in England and North America, in seventieth and

¹⁵⁹ Josiah Ober, ‘The Original Meaning of “Democracy”’: Capacity to Do Things, not Majority Rule’, *Constellations* 15, no: 1, p.3-4

¹⁶⁰ It is often stated as a critique of ‘representative’ of ‘parliamentary’ democracy, which by group who specialized in politics; making *democracy* work as some sort of *oligarchy*. Charles Tilly evaluates his arguments with concrete examples, like Kazakhstan, where the necessary institutions of democracy are present but the processes are not. He points out to the miss-conception of democracy as a mere ‘way of ruling’. See Charles Tilly, *Democracy* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007). Moreover Robert A. Dahl stresses that the mutual relationship between modern democracies and market economy, limits the potentials of democracy by creating inequalities in the distribution of political sources. Robert A. Dahl, *Demokrasi üstüne*. (B. Kadioglu, Trans.) (Ankara: Phoenix, 2001): p.71, 193-195. Jean Gruegl, points out to the structural inequality between different interest groups within the pluralist democracy. Jean Gruegl, *op.cit.*, p.10, 20-22.

¹⁶¹ Jean Gruegl, *op. cit.*, p.14.

¹⁶² Gruegl identifies this research field and provides an historical account. *ibid.*

¹⁶³ To achieve a more inclusive theory of democracy, a number of alternative approaches to democracy, which ‘place the notion of active citizenship at its core’, were developed. *ibid.*, p.30-31.

eighteenth century. Gruel explains the transition from direct to liberal democracy as followed:

Both the American and French Revolutions were carried out in the name of democracy. But what was meant by democracy changed over time. By the eighteenth century, with the shift from city state to nation state, direct democracy no longer seemed feasible because of the size of the polity. Liberal notions of representation, equality before the law, and accountability were eventually grafted onto democracy, although they were at odds with the more radical democratic traditions of republicanism and communitarianism.¹⁶⁴

Democracy, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries should be considered within the 'broader trends in European and North American societies at the time: development of liberalism, emergence of socialism, spread of revolutionary ideals, and expansion of capitalism'¹⁶⁵. In nineteenth and early twentieth century, 'the key problem for liberal democracy was specifying the rights and duties that citizenship entailed and establishing the form democracy should take.'¹⁶⁶ Citizenship determined by property or income qualifications excluded women and people of certain races and color until after WWII.¹⁶⁷

In the 1960s, liberal democracy was criticized by Marxists who advocated the concept of socialist democracy. Their criticism was that as long as capitalism created economical inequalities, the political rights are meaningless and unrealizable.¹⁶⁸ They also criticized the myth of choice. Herbert Marcuse once asserted that:

'The range of choice open to the individual is not the decisive factor in determining the degree of human freedom, but what can be chosen and what is chosen by the individual. The criterion for free choice can never be an absolute one, but neither is it entirely relative. Free election of masters does not abolish the masters or the slaves. Free choice among a wide variety of goods and services does not signify

¹⁶⁴ *ibid.*, p.14.

¹⁶⁵ *ibid.*, p.15.

¹⁶⁶ *ibid.*, p.16.

¹⁶⁷ In some cases, such as US and South Africa, it took a lot longer. *ibid.*

¹⁶⁸ *ibid.*

freedom if these goods and services sustain social controls over a life of toil and fear
[.]¹⁶⁹

Although the Marxist critique of liberal democracy was reasonable, things were already changing in the political realm. WWII had two important outcomes that redirected the history of democracy. Due to the 'mass mobilization of ordinary man' and the dramatic demographic changes in participating countries, the grounds of political exclusion based on sex or occupation were shaken and the limits of participation were stretched. Moreover, the resulting Cold War atmosphere was accompanied with the propaganda that presented all anti-liberal movements essentially anti-democratic.¹⁷⁰

The identification of democracy with existing systems of government (western governments) assigned it to the vocabulary of real politics to function as a kind of litmus paper between the free world and Communism.¹⁷¹ Grugel, states that the identification of democracy with real politics was an offspring of the cold war atmosphere and the 'need to justify liberal democracy', and adds that it indicated the trend in politics, which deals with the 'modern systems of power and organized rule' instead of 'the abstract notions of the good society'.¹⁷²

Yet democracy still needs justification and legitimatization. One might easily get lost in the terms that theorists of democratization produced to analyze and understand it. There are plenty of new versions, with varied adjectives, such as: bourgeois, socialist, capitalist democracies; direct, liberal, participatory democracies, pluralist democracy (polyarchy). Regardless of the classifications adopted, studies always end with the conclusion that while the idea of *democracy* is dimmed due to our experiences in the 20th century, *democracies* are secure in the west not because they offer the lofty vision of a better world, but because there is no better alternative.

¹⁶⁹ Herbert Marcuse, *op. cit.*, p.9-10.

¹⁷⁰ Jean Grugel, *op. cit.*, p.17.

¹⁷¹ *ibid.*

¹⁷² *ibid.*

Within the scope of this study, it can be said that both in the contexts of post-WWI Germany and WWII Europe, around the times when Bauhaus and IKEA were established respectively, *democracy* represented both the ideal and its constitution. Democracy was then a utopia as much as a form of government. The reason behind its different uses and their potentials will be further evaluated in the conclusion.

2.1.3. Bauhaus: Design as Utopian Act

As we have explained before, in the early 20th century, the concept of utopia had different connotations. On one hand, it had positive connotations as a way of generating act, on the other, in the world of art, it recalled the socialist utopias of the 19th century, and was severely criticized. By the turn of the century, the tendency towards rationalism was perceptible in arts,¹⁷³ but it was not yet the only game in town.

In the early years of Bauhaus, the influence of th19th century socialist utopianism was still traceable. The ideas manifested in the proclamation of Weimar Bauhaus (1919) were originated in the arts and crafts movement. The emphasis upon almost religious *faith* is another significant feature of those years.

‘Let us create a new guild of craftsmen, without the class distinction which raise an arrogant barrier between craftsman and artist. Together let us conceive and create the new building of the future, which will embrace architecture and sculpture and painting in one unity and which will rise one day toward *heaven* from the hands of a million workers like the crystal symbol of a new *faith*.’¹⁷⁴

The religious connotation of the *faith* in the promise of a united art, which will rise towards heaven, is also emphasized by the visual language that accompanied the text. The woodcut produced by Lyonel Feininger, employed an abstract image of a

¹⁷³A good example would be the transition from transition from *Wiener Sezession* (Viennese Secession) to *Wiener Werkstätte* (Viennese Workstations). From culturally oriented group of artists and architects to designers and artists, which would design art that, would be accessible to everyone.

¹⁷⁴ Walter Gropius, *Proclamation of the Weimar Bauhaus*, 1919. Quoted in Kenneth Frampton, 2007, *op.cit.*, p.123.

cathedral, with three towers lit by three stars, which Frampton calls the 'Cathedral of Socialism'.¹⁷⁵ (Fig. 2)

Moreover, one should also note the presence of Johannes Itten, as an indicator of the mysticism inherent in the school. Besides various exercises, he implemented in studios, Von Erffa, who studied at Bauhaus, states that Itten believed in shaping not only souls but bodies as well.¹⁷⁶ He states that Itten's teaching was 'part of the mysticism that swept over Germany in 1920-21' when 'everybody was reading German mystics or Buddha's sermons or Lao-Tse'¹⁷⁷

The mysticism and transcendentalism of Weimar Bauhaus, an attribute it inherited from German Expressionists, is interesting when one thinks of it together with Mannheim's theory. One of the four 'utopian mentalities'¹⁷⁸ he analyzed to illustrate his thesis about the reality shattering character of utopias was orgiastic chiliasm¹⁷⁹ of Anabaptists.¹⁸⁰ Alan F. Geyer claims that Anabaptists, who believed in the impending reign of Jesus for a millennium and acted for the sake of it, 'spiritualized politics.'¹⁸¹ Mannheim believes that modern liberalism took over 'chiliastic revolutionary credo' and transformed it into the idea of progress.¹⁸² According to Mannheim, the spiritualized politics can generate progressive thought within politics. In other words, promotion of progressive thought, or rationalization, can arise from spiritualized (or religious) acts, which are *de facto* irrational.

¹⁷⁵ Kenneth Frampton, 2007, *op. cit.*, p.124.

¹⁷⁶ Helmut Von Erffa, *op.cit.*, p.18.

¹⁷⁷ *ibid.* p.16

¹⁷⁸ These four mentalities, briefly, are: (1) Millennial Chiliasm, (2) Liberal Humanitarianism of Enlightenment, (3) Conservative philosophies that cause Counter utopias, and (4) Socialis-Communist Utopia. See Alan F. Geyer, *Ideology in America: Challenges to Faith* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press.1997), p. 15.

¹⁷⁹ Chiliasm, also known as millennialism, is the doctrine stating that Jesus will reign on earth for a thousand years.

¹⁸⁰ Anabaptism (16th century) is a radical reformist sect within Protestants. They are known as a schismatic group within post-reformation European Protestantism.

¹⁸¹ *ibid.*, p.15-16.

¹⁸² Stephen Ackroyd, *op. cit.*, p.49-50.



Figure 2: Lyonel Feininger, *Kathedrale*, front page of the Manifesto and Program of Bauhaus, 1919 (Bauhaus-Archiv, Museum für Gestaltung. *Punkt, Linie, Fläche: Druckgraphik am Bauhaus*, K. Weber (Ed.), Berlin: G+H, 1999, p.107)

Mannheim, though explains at length, does not provide a clear description of how this transition occurs. In the case of Bauhaus, it is through opposition. The early years of Bauhaus, with a program promoting intuition and experimentation were not as fruitful as Gropius expected them to be. As a result, the emphasis has been gradually shifted from craftsmanship to industrial mode of production. In 1922 Gropius adopted a new philosophy based on industrial cooperation which was expressed by the motto 'art and technology a new unity!'¹⁸³

The transition process was marked by its internally contradictory products, which were made by handcraft techniques but admired and aimed at machine aesthetics. George H. Marcus, who studied products of this transition process designed by Wilhelm Wagenfeld and Marianne Brandt, says that 'there was a rapid change in the aesthetic they projected, from one that emphasized the individual expression of the craftsperson to one that reflected the concept of the impersonal modern machine[.]'¹⁸⁴

Klaus Weber has noted that 'Brandt's tea and coffee vessels have been customarily discussed as symbol or ideas rather than actual objects.'¹⁸⁵ The transition from crafts aesthetic to machine aesthetic can be taken as the end of humanism and the start of object oriented design at the Bauhaus. The change of direction towards industrial techniques was not fully completed until 1925 when Bauhaus moved from Weimar to Dessau. The Dessau period saw the real life implementations of its new program. The new program, which was based on adoption of industrial production techniques, proved to be fruitful.¹⁸⁶ In the Bauhaus Dessau, emphasis upon mechanical production was finally satisfied in terms of studio products some of which were actually prototypes for mass production, the iconic Bauhaus Dessau building, and (later) with the mass housing projects that Bauhaus produced or

¹⁸³ Quoted in George H. Marcus, 'Disavowing Craft at the Bauhaus: Hiding the Hand to Suggest Machine Manufacture,' *The Journal of Modern Craft* 1, no:3 (2008): p.347.

¹⁸⁴ *ibid.*, p.348.

¹⁸⁵ Quoted in George H. Marcus, *op. cit.* p.350.

¹⁸⁶ But we should also keep in mind that this process coincides with the politically stabilized period (between 1924-1930) that was sustained by US loans. See p. 20-26.

participated. Both the products and the buildings were popular and their pictures, circulating through media, entailed discussions about 'Bauhaus style', which Gropius opposed, but politicians (both admirers and critics) enjoyed.

It was the 'Bauhaus style', that the sponsoring political authorities finally found an expression of their own. If one remembers the Bauhaus proclamation of 1919, which aimed at achieving 'a crystal symbol of a new faith'¹⁸⁷ it can be said that Bauhaus has achieved at its primary aim. It completed the mission as a utopia and from then on it was the story of survival until becoming a residue of 'ebbing utopia.'¹⁸⁸

From a Mannheimian perspective, who offers a rather mystical but also optimistic conception of utopia, it can be said that, the first phase of Bauhaus between 1919 and 1922 witnessed utopian impulses that shone and dimmed through the second phase until it went out in 1933.

2.1.3.1. The Politicization of Aesthetics

Bauhaus was opened as a state institute, later changed into a municipal institution but always aimed at financial (and presumably political) independence. It was never *just* a school. In Weimar, it provided a projection of the visions of young republic¹⁸⁹. In Dessau it provided the intellectual work that enabled the mass housing projects. When it eventually became independent, out of necessity rather than idealism, it had to encounter with the political authority. One way or another, it was as always in touch with it. However, politicization of aesthetics cannot be explained solely based on its interaction with politics, rather one should question

¹⁸⁷ Walter Gropius, 1919. Quoted in Kenneth Frampton, 2007, *op. cit.*, p.123.

¹⁸⁸ Karl Mannheim (1936), p.178. Quoted in Stephen Ackroyd, *op. cit.*; p. 50.

¹⁸⁹ Although Gropius and his colleagues had aligned themselves with leftist politics, due to the severe criticism Bauhaus was subjected to, Gropius prohibited his faculty from publically joining any political parties. But as Lauren Weingarden also stated: 'While the socialist rhetoric was quelled in official Bauhaus addresses and publications, socialist overtones persisted in its theoretical discourses.' See Lauren S. Weingarden 'Aesthetics politicized: William Morris to the Bauhaus,' *Journal of Architectural Education* 38, No:3 (1985), p.10.

the reason of politics' interest in Bauhaus. It can be said that this interest was a derivative of the suspended social claims that Bauhaus had taken over from Morris and the extra-artistic meanings assigned to Bauhaus products.

According to Lauren S. Weingarden, who treats Morris's development of arts and crafts and Weimar Bauhaus as a continuous historic process, the politicization of aesthetics was originated not in the umbilical relationship of Morris' arts and Crafts with Ruskin's ideals but rather in the secularization of these ideals and conceptualization of the connection between artistic creative process and the means of production within a particular socio economic base.¹⁹⁰ Such conception enabled Morris to identify 'a system of craft values to facilitate the process of disalienation and, in turn, a peaceful revolution from capitalism to socialism.'¹⁹¹ He conceptualizes real art as a kind of joyful labor: 'an expression of man's happiness in his labor—an art made by the people, and for the people, as a happiness to the maker and the user'.¹⁹² Assuming that the products of Merton Abbey, the rural workshops of Morris' firm 'Morris and Co.' as the visual counterparts of the aesthetic that products of joyful labor defined, it can be said Morris's ideals were attainable. Based on his conception of joyful labor in which 'man expresses his pleasure in labor', and which is practicable and facilitates social change, Wiengarden remarks that 'Morris invoked handi-craft, the product of *praxis*, as a tool for social change and a criterion for social evaluation.'¹⁹³ Consequently, she informs the reader about the definition of *praxis* that she bases this remark. In the

¹⁹⁰ Due to its direct relation with the Weimar School of Arts and Crafts which it succeeded, Bauhaus's relation with the English Arts and Crafts movement are recorded by almost every architectural historian that wrote about Bauhaus, but it is often related with their stance about handcrafts or the place of 'workshop' in the art education. Weingarden discusses it in terms of politicization of aesthetics. Lauren S. Weingarden, 'Aesthetics politicized: William Morris to the Bauhaus,' *Journal of Architectural Education* 38, No:3 (1985).

¹⁹¹ Weingarden suggest that Morris' craft values 'brings the 19th century model for explaining the continuity between the creative process and aesthetic experience out of the transcendental realm into the social, material realm of human experience.' *ibid.*, p. 9

¹⁹² William Morris, 'The Art of the People' (1789), in *William Morris on Art and Socialism*, edited by Norman Kelvin, (Mineola, NY: Courier Dover Publications, 1999), p.31.

¹⁹³ Lauren S. Weingarden, *op. cit.*, p. 10

related footnote, she says '[p]raxis revolutionizes existing reality through human actions.'¹⁹⁴ It is in that sense that she treats it as a precedent of Bauhaus.

The relationship between Arts and Crafts were not only detected or stated by Weingarden. Due to its direct relation with the Weimar School of Arts and Crafts which it succeeded, Bauhaus's relation with the English Arts and Crafts movement are recorded by almost every architectural historian that wrote about Bauhaus. On the other hand such direct connection misses some pre-Bauhaus organizations. In 1919, same year with the formation of Bauhaus, Gropius and Bruno Taut has formed the *Arbeitsträt für Kunst* (Work Council for Arts), through which they invoked artists and architects to return to the handcrafts and become 'builders' again.¹⁹⁵

It can be said that, as it also provided theoretical courses which focus on form rather than method, Bauhaus was, to a degree, related with the artistic avant-gardes like cubism or neo-plasticism.¹⁹⁶ A visual assessment would also suggest such link. Moreover, the idea of arts extending into life, total artwork was also preceded in these movements. For instance, Piet Mondrian in *Plastic art and Pure Art* stated that: [W]e shall no longer have need of painting and statues, because we shall be living within art. Art will disappear from life in the measure in which life itself gains in balance.'¹⁹⁷ On the other hand these movements were mostly remained on two dimensions. Although there are few examples where their ideas were spatialized, like Gerrit Rietveld's Schroeder House, as J. J. P. Oud, another representative architect of the movement stated, it was not for architecture:

'Such a development seemed to me superficial for architecture: it had really more to do with painting and –as far as form was concerned- it was too hard and static. I

¹⁹⁴ She uses Schlomo Avineri's definition in *The Social and Political Thought of Karl Marx*, (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge university Press, 1968) p.138-139. *ibid.*, p.13.

¹⁹⁵Ulrich Conrads, *Programs and Manifestoes on 20th-Century Architecture*, (Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 1975), p. 46.

¹⁹⁶ Also known with its mouthpiece periodicle's name, *De stijl*.

¹⁹⁷ Quoted in Leonardo Benevolo, *History Of Modern Architecture*, vol. 2, (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1971), p.409.

abandoned it and began to move in another direction: a healthy, broad universal social architecture could never come from this, i.e. from so abstract an aesthetic.¹⁹⁸

They lacked the medium to put their theory in practice. The difference of Bauhaus and the reason of its linkage with arts and crafts was the fact that it proposed a strategy to unite theory and practice. The call to become *builders* again should be evaluated in this context. It was a laboratory where theorizing and practice were carried simultaneously.

As earlier noted in this chapter, Tafuri claims that the architectural ideology has neither any use nor any hope to create a change since 'the new tasks given to architecture are something besides or beyond architecture.'¹⁹⁹ From his perspective the avant-gardes whether they defended progress or end of history, order or chaos, they both served the idea bourgeois ideology. He makes a solid case about how the artist/designer, in historical context, acted as an agent of dominant ideology which searched for the tools for aestheticization and spatialization, and how architectural ideology served them to expand into the private lives of the individuals. Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to generalize it as a symptom of modernity, and as a vicious circle. Architecture has always been instrumentalized by dominant ideologies. Its representational power provided means to convey meanings and narratives. Moreover, though he explicitly reveals that the utopian impulses within architecture in early modern times failed, it is ambiguous how he concludes that it would always fail. While Tafuri enjoys the authority that he gathers due to his critical distance from the subject of his studies, he leaves no distance for future possibilities. Politicization of aesthetics was not provoked by politics. It was a bipartite act, which both parts voluntarily participated. His conception misses the fact that the architect, whom Tafuri identifies as ideologist, is a part of society.

¹⁹⁸ Quoted in Leonardo Benevolo, *op.cit.*, p.411.

¹⁹⁹ Manfredo Tafuri, 1976, *op. cit.* p. ix

3.1.4. IKEA: Utopia and Consumption

The reason IKEA and utopia brought together is IKEA's references to democracy and the incomplete project of Bauhaus. The idea that IKEA promotes is expressed in their official site, as well as in the documentary book narrating the IKEA story, as followed:

The IKEA Concept is based on offering a wide range of well-designed, functional home furnishing products at prices so low that as many people as possible will be able to afford them. Rather than selling expensive home furnishings that only a few can buy, the IKEA Concept makes it possible to serve the many by providing low-priced products that *contribute to helping more people live a better life at home*.²⁰⁰

Basically, IKEA aims at producing well-designed, functional but low-priced products which will serve the people to live a better life in their homes. As one of their ads suggest, they also aim to continue what Bauhaus once started but 'ended in defeat,' and make 'beauty for everyone a reality'.²⁰¹ (fig. 1)

IKEA's emphasis upon mass-production is in line with Bauhaus's discourse which was decades old by then. While mass production by nature reduces costs and increases availability, it is interesting to note that everyday objects and housing units are the main area of operation which potentials of mass production were put into practice. Recent studies that involved with IKEA discuss the rhetoric that is centered around 'home' on both material and conceptual levels.²⁰² Another shared interest among researchers is the nationalist stand or the 'national identity' that IKEA reinforces.

²⁰⁰ Inter IKEA Systems B.V. (n.d.). *The IKEA Concept*. Retrieved August 16, 2012, from Inter IKEA Systems B.V.: <http://franchisor.ikea.com/showContent.asp?swfId=concept2>; Bertil Torekull, *Leading By Design: the Ikea Story* (New York: Harper Business, 1998).

²⁰¹ See p.6.

²⁰² These studies include but not limited to the following: Keith Michael Murphy, *State of the Art: Design, Democracy, and the Production of Style in Sweden* (Los Angeles: ProQuest, 2008).; Tod Hartman, 'On the Ikeaization of France'. *Public Culture* 19 no:3,(2007): 483-498, Ursula Lindqvist, 'The Cultural Archive of IKEA Store', *Space and Culture* 12 no:1 (2009): 43-62; Buck Clifford Rosenberg, 'Scandinavian Dreams: DIY, Democratization and IKEA'. *Transformations* 11, (2005).

Keith M. Murphy and Ursula Lindqvist claim that there is a semantic link between 'democratic home space' and 'essentially democratic national culture', origin of which dates back to 1928 when the slogan of 'People's Homes' was adopted by Social Democratic Party to illustrate the nation as a big family and the state as their home.²⁰³ To understand this strange link between politics and brand management, both IKEA's development process and the adoption of People's Homes by political rhetoric should be evaluated historically.

The trade activity that preceded IKEA, as we know it has started in Agunnaryd, in 1943. Two years before the peace had settled. Sweden was not an active battlefield and it was relatively isolated from the effects of the war due to its special economic position²⁰⁴. Still it was hard to be a utopian. It was simply a one-man company, which traded cheap consumer goods such as pens, lighters, and files. When the owner Ingvar Kamprad had to move due to his military service, it was turned into a mail order company. While the product range broadened and included furniture in 1948, it remained as a mail order company until the first IKEA store was opened in Älmhult in 1958. Yet the story is never told so simply. IKEA story is always constructed around its founder Ingvar Kamprad. He is identified with the (now international) company to the extent that, the timeline showing the development of IKEA, in IKEA's official web site, starts in 1926 when he was born.²⁰⁵ In the book it is taken more seriously and the story starts with his grand parents' arrival at Småland.

Besides the heroic founder figure, another interesting point that these constructed histories strongly emphasize is the Swedishness -of IKEA and its products- or more specifically being originated from Småland. In an interview, IKEA CEO Anders Dahlvig states that 'the whole IKEA idea was based on the Scandinavian range of

²⁰³ See Keith Michael Murphy, *op. cit.*, p.43-6; Ursula Lindqvist, *op. cit.*, p.44-45.

²⁰⁴ Sweden was an Iron Ore provider. See previous chapter, p.40-42

²⁰⁵ Inter IKEA Systems B.V. (n.d.). The IKEA Concept. Retrieved August 16, 2012, from Inter IKEA Systems B.V.: <http://franchisor.ikea.com/showContent.asp?swfId=concept2>; Bertil Torekull, *op. cit.*, the book starts with his grandfather's immigration to Sweden.

furniture, which is out of the Swedish heritage'.²⁰⁶ He also states '[t]here is some kind of quality aspect conneted to 'Swedishness' and adds that IKEA's origanizational culture is 'based on a few values that have their roots in Smäländish or Swedish culture.'²⁰⁷

The nationalistic theme is evident in almost all the materials IKEA published. It is not only a textual reference, the symbolic importance of its hometown is further stressed by corporate firm's management. Although the head quarters of IKEA's parenting companies are abroad and the Kamprad family lived abroad since 1973; Älmhult -where the first IKEA store is- hosts IKEA's Corporate Culture Center. It accomodates a permanent exhibition called 'IKEA Through the Ages', and a private section for IKEA family members including a number of offices, meeting rooms, cafeteria where IKEA staff from around the world are trained and socialized.²⁰⁸ It is like a shrine devoted to the 'IKEA concept' and every company executive visits it. IKEA's policy requires all the new company executives to attend a weeklong training in the 'IKEA Way' which is celebrated with an anthem derived from the famous song 'My way'²⁰⁹(Fig. 3)

Ursula Lindqvist treats the IKEA store as a national archive of Sweden. She suggests that 'via a historicized reading of the multinational IKEA store and the signs it gathers into itself', Sweden's repressed national archive can be mined.²¹⁰ She claims that the nationalist narrative of Sweden is 'a narrative of Swedish exceptionalism

²⁰⁶ Katarina Kling., Ingela Goteman., 'IKEA CEO Anders Dahlgvig on international growth and IKEA's unique corporate culture and brand identity,' *Academy of Management Executive* 17, no:1 (2003): p.33.

²⁰⁷ *ibid.*, p.35.

²⁰⁸ Ikea's policy requires all the new company executives to attend a weeklong training in the 'Ikea Way.'

²⁰⁹ 'My way' is a song popularized by Frank Sinatra. Its lyrics were written by Paul Anka and its melody is based on a French song called *Comme d'habitude*.

²¹⁰ Ursula Lindqvist, *op. cit.*, p. 45-46.

which ‘allowed Sweden to claim universal and beneficial contributions to European modernity, such as industrial innovation and democracy [...]’²¹¹.

Lindqvist analyzes the narrative and deconstruct it in a way that its hidden histories such as ‘Sweden’s involvement with the transatlantic slave trade and its onetime embrace of racial biology and eugenics’ and the way IKEA is linked with that narrative. The public Swedishness of the firm and of the founder confirm the positive – being democratic, free, ideal etc.- traits assigned with Swedishness and disguises the facts that Ingvar Kamprad was of German origin and a sympathizer, of the Swedish Nationalist movement which favoured racial biology.²¹² It disguises the fact that IKEA who choses to be *on the side of many*, and sells the products of Swedish culture that will increase their quality of life, ‘could not exist as a company if the standards of living in the developing countries were to reach Scandinavian levels’.²¹³



Figure 3: Photo taken in Corporate Culture Center of IKEA in Älmhult. The music and lyrics of the song that celebrates the ‘IKEA Way’ are printed on a panel hanged in one of the training rooms.

²¹¹ *ibid.*

²¹² *ibid.*, p.48.

²¹³ *ibid.*, p.54.

The inner contradictions within IKEA story are disguised by a multi-layered veil. While the heroic figure of the founder and the association with Swedish nationality mystifies its history, the final layer that made it opaque is its ties with European modernism which is cleverly concealed by the dominant theme of Scandinavian culture.

The intellectual course of Swedish Modernism was not as distant or self referent as Sweden's national archive suggests but in close contact with Germany. For instance, Helena Kåberg reports that in 1909 Muthesius visited Sweden upon an invitation to the opening of an exhibition in Stockholm, titled 'The White City', and he was named an honorary member of the Swedish society.²¹⁴ When WWI ended, the interest in German context was not yet consumed, a 1919 essay by Gregor Poulsson, which was influential in Sweden, promotes the aims that *Deutscher Werkbund* has set.²¹⁵ It can be said that Swedish modernism was part of European Modernism and was affected by German Modernism but at some point their fates diverged. Lucy Creagh, et. al. explain this with Sweden's late and slow industrialization:

'Large scale industrialization occurred here only in 1880s and 1890s, late in comparison especially to Britain, but also to the United States and Germany. In Sweden, however, industrialization built on a long tradition of manufacturing that has often been termed "proto-industrial." [...] This proto-industrial structure eased the transition to full industrialism, making it perhaps less jarring, and permitted the long term survival of crafts' traditions into the modern period, and into modern design.'

IKEA's history and the discourse that it adopted show many internal contradictions. From this perspective it is hard to see any utopian claims. On the other hand, considering the effects of German Modernism in Scandinavia, Sweden's late adaptation to industrialized Europe, and artificial link that suggested historic continuity from German avant-gardes to Swedish modernism (based on the

²¹⁴ Lucy Creagh, Helena Kåberg and Barbara Miller Lane, eds., *op. cit.*, p.62

²¹⁵ Gregor Poulsson, 'Better Things for Everyday Life' (1919) in *Modern Swedish Design: Three Founding Texts*, *op. cit.*

common formal language and their shared interest in everyday objects), one can understand the formation of its pseudo-utopian character.

3.1.4.1. Aestheticization of Everyday Life through Consumption

A 2002 TV commercial, which targeted American market as part of the Unböring Campaign, shows an old lamp being replaced by a new one. A woman takes the lamp out with garbage and leaves it by the road. Camera is positioned on the same height with the lamp as if the audience sees from its point of view and a sad melody accompanies the view. Soon a man, who does not fit the frame, shows up and with a distinguished accent says: 'Many of you feel bad for this lamp that is because you're crazy. It has no feelings. And the new one is much better.'²¹⁶ The ad identifies furniture as a fashion item, and conveys the message: feel free to change them with whatever you like, whenever you like. (fig. 4)



Figure 4: Still from *The Lamp*, 2002.

²¹⁶ 'The Lamp' was a tv commercial produced by Crispin Porter + Bogusky agency for Ikea. It was 60 seconds long and was directed by Spike Jonze. Zander, David. (producer), *The Lamp*, available from <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I07xDdFMdggw>, last accessed on 18.08.2012.

Although IKEA initially aims 'to create better everyday life for the many by offering wide range of well designed, functional home furnishing products at prices so low that as many people as possible will be able to afford them'²¹⁷ this ad proves the fact that IKEA favors consumption over beauty or function. And both beauty and function comes after the price. This may seem contradictory with the universality based on 'being democratic.' But it is neoliberal democracy that IKEA supports, one that favors making choices among predefined options to represent individuals, one that excludes individuals. IKEA, like neoliberal democracy, supports the message: If it does not suit you make a new choice.

This is evident in IKEA stores. While IKEA rejects the old tradition of selling furniture in sets of functional pieces that are adorned with same colors and ornament, and allows the customers make their choices for the sake of democracy, they still choose from palettes that are not associated with a shared style but with activities, they support. Tod Hartman claims that behind the creation of agency through the democratization of choice and self-assembly, IKEA does not break the class order. He says, the 'all in one *chambre complete*,' which is consisted of "a bed, a table, a bedside table, two chairs, a small rug, mattress, box spring, linen, and armoire' was intended for 'the poorest of couples setting up housekeeping in one room' and were often purchased by 'non elite consumers in 19th century.'²¹⁸ He defines the relationship between the individual objects in a set as 'a nonessential one' that is based on being 'decorated with the same motif' according to varying themes that 'occupied different places in a hierarchy of cost and taste.'²¹⁹ He states that the most expensive furniture was rarely sold in sets and those who could afford costlier furnishings would buy them in pieces. Choice was culturally coded as a privilege special to the bourgeois. Although the sets are separated on the

²¹⁷ Ingvar Kamprad. 'A Furniture Dealer's Testament' (1976). It appears as an appendix to *Leading By Design: The Ikea Story* (1998). See Bertil Torekull, *op.cit.* p.228-239.

²¹⁸ Tod Hartman, 'On the Ikeaization of France,' *Public Culture* 19, no:3 (2007): p. 487.

²¹⁹ *ibid.*

surface, now the customer with limited sources chooses among different identities. Hartman says that IKEA offers 'stagelike *tableaux* suggesting different productive activities carried out in the home: writing, gourmet cooking, serious reading, and artistic pursuits.'²²⁰ These identities, which the customer does not have but can purchase for a reasonable price, reproduce the class system that they seem to break as practices of choosing.

From another perspective Buck Clifford Rosenberg, asserts that IKEA, by providing DIY projects²²¹ at home, enables customers to engage in a small scale construction activities which give the feeling of 'building their house.' He also states this productive leisure, help to construct one's own identity, and change it.²²²

Although IKEA stresses upon 'design' as an important part of the IKEA concept, the unique relationship of IKEA products and customers is not design based. It is developed through the store experience and self-assembly. From this perspective, the praised IKEA concept is based on how the products will be sold rather than how they will be produced. IKEA's innovative production techniques are developed due to match prices, not to develop projects further. Another sign of IKEA's stricter control over consumption than over production is Anders Dahlvig's proud assertion that IKEA does not have the means of production, products are supplied with simple contracts.²²³ On the other hand, IKEA owns the stores, Dahlvig explains that they first buy the land and build the store themselves.²²⁴ The primacy of the sales over production, by controlling the spaces and the procedures of sales while distributing the production process to subcontractors increases the accumulation of capital and it is a fine proof of IKEA's solely profit oriented strategy.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, p.483.

²²¹ Most of its products are self-assembled by the customer.

²²² Buck Clifford Rosenberg, *op. cit.*

²²³ Katarina Kling., Ingela Goteman., *op. cit.*, p.33

²²⁴ *ibid.*

In the light of discussion above, one can say that IKEA and Bauhaus have some common points such as their interest in everyday objects and in people's homes. They both associate design a transformative power. They accept mass production as a given of the capitalist mode of production, and try to benefit it. On the other hand, while Bauhaus aimed at a large scale, long lasting social transformation, IKEA provides individual and transitory transformations.

CHAPTER 4

FORM AS SOCIAL PRODUCT

4.1. Bauhaus as Design Based Movement

In *Scope of Total Architecture*, a retrospective record of his approach to architecture, Gropius states that Bauhaus idea was an outcome of the destructive experience of WWI. From his perspective, war made artists and architects think about how to realize their ideals. He states:

'After that violent eruption, every thinking man felt the necessity for an intellectual change of front. Each in his own particular sphere of activity aspired to help in bridging the disastrous gulf between *realism and idealism*.'²²⁵

He further articulates how this realization would occur. Architectural practice alone would not be enough. He proposes an educational goal, a school that would educate the people who would mediate between *reality and ideals*:

'It was then that the immensity of the mission of the architect of my own generation first dawned on me. I saw that, first of all, a new scope for architecture had to be outlined, which I could not hope to realize, however, but my own architectural contributions alone, but which would have to be achieved by training and preparing a new generation of architects in close contact with modern means of production in a pilot school which must succeed in acquiring authoritative significance'²²⁶

²²⁵ Walter Gropius, *Scope Of Total Architecture* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1956): p.23

²²⁶ *ibid*.

His proposal was original only in the sense that it did not directly propose a set of formal regulations but an educational environment where the form would be produced collectively with artists and craftsmen as well as architects. He believed that '[t]he dominant spirit of the epoch [was] already recognizable although its form is not yet clearly defined.'²²⁷ While it aimed, in the long run, to achieve the form of the epoch, it made two important contributions: (1) Introduction of the studio as the center of education and (2) institutionalization of design practice.

The conceptualization of studio was one of the important aspects of Bauhaus. The studio, by bringing artist and craftsman in the same space, was the symbol of the new world concept which succeeded the old dualistic one that 'envisaged the ego in opposition to the universe.'²²⁸ This new concept of studio was so successful that its legacy still lingers in schools of architecture around the world.

The studio was also the medium of institutionalization of design practice by redefining the competencies that designer should have: technical knowledge and artistic creativity. Considering the controversy between craftsmanship and industry, or artistic creation and mechanistic production, which was tangible within *Werkbund*, the studios were somewhere in between. They were to bring up a new actor who belonged neither camps.

The early years of Bauhaus, the studios were dominated by ambiguity. The influences of Expressionism, which many of its faculty were former representatives, were effective. In time, its basic principles emerged. These principles can be listed as mass production, standardization, modularization, and claim of universality. They were not original. And they did not come out all at once, but rather in tandem.

Mass production was the idealized outcome of industrial techniques of production. It was not in the horizon until the famous slogan of 1923, which called for the

²²⁷ Quoted in Leonardo Benevolo, *op. cit.*, p.421.

²²⁸ *ibid.*

alliance of art and industry.²²⁹ Then, although intended, it was not fully achieved until late 1920s when Bauhaus finally produced successful prototypes that made the alliance through the contracts for mass production. Standardization and modularization were outcomes of the adoption of mass production as ideal way of production. They were developed on the way towards effective mass production and were different aspects of 'rationalization.' On the other hand, in *The New Architecture and The Bauhaus*, Gropius make a distinction between standardization and rationalization by explaining them separately in different sections.²³⁰ Gropius attributes standardization to *product* and rationalization to *production*.²³¹ He does not separate these concepts but treats them in separate sections in order to justify the criticisms about standardization.

He attributes embracement of standardization to civilization by the following statement: 'Standardization is not an impediment to the development of civilization, but, on the contrary, one of its immediate prerequisites.'²³² In the following paragraph, he further develops this relation of standardization and civilization and states:

The fear *that* individuality will be crushed out by the growing 'tyranny' of standardization is the sort of myth which cannot sustain the briefest examination. In all great epochs of history the existence of standards — that is the conscious adoption of type-forms— has been the criterion of a polite and well-ordered society; for it is a commonplace that repetition of the same things for the same purposes exercises a settling and civilizing influence on men's minds.'²³³

While standardization was 'the criterion of a polite and well-ordered society' rationalization was the way that would lead towards that state of society. Rationalization, then, meant the transition from traditional methods of production to mass production in terms of methods and scale. He states that '[the]

²²⁹ 'Art and technology, a new unity' the theme of the lecture Gropius gave at the opening of Bauhaus exhibition in 1923. See Magdalena Droste, *op. cit.*, p. 105-106.

²³⁰ Walter Gropius, *The New Architecture and The Bauhaus* (Cambridge MA: MIT Press, (1935) 1965)

²³¹ *ibid.*

²³² *ibid.*, p.34.

²³³ *ibid.*, p.34-37.

concentration of essential qualities in standard types presupposes methods of unprecedented industrial potentiality, which entail capital outlay on a scale that can only be justified by mass production.'

From his perspective, rationalization was closely related with the utilization of technological developments that enabled mass production. And this technology oriented *design rationale* was legitimized as a universally valid success by its economical consequences. The basic principles of rationalization will be further inquired in following pages.

4.2. IKEA as Design Based Development

Although it is contradictory with IKEA's contemporary self-representation design was not one of IKEA's primary features. It was not founded by, nor employed any designer in 1943. Design has not been an issue until it started to sell furniture in 1948. Even then, it was not anything similar to the contemporary meaning of the term.

Ingvar Kamprad tells that when IKEA entered furniture market, its prizes were not welcome, and there had been several boycotts and exclusions.²³⁴ He lists events that he was impeded to enter local fairs and his suppliers were boycotted by other firms.²³⁵ Design was then operationalized as a way of disguising the suppliers and avoiding other firms' boycotts. It was not considered as producing authentic designs for the firm but making small stylistic changes on the existing products so that the rivals could not claim it was stolen or cannot condemn the producer for selling same furniture to IKEA and their firms.²³⁶ In *Leading by Design*, Ingvar Kamprad recalls those days and says: 'Those were the days of simple operations, improvisations, times of joy, and sudden impulses. We were feeling our way along,

²³⁴ Bertil Torekull, 'The Troublesome Capitalist: Boycott, Divorce, and Success' in *Leading By Design, op. cit.*, pp.43-85

²³⁵ *ibid.*

²³⁶ *ibid.*

failing, trying again, and succeeding.²³⁷ While it is questionable whether these changes were innocent variations or plagiarism, it is beyond the scope of this study to decide.

It took about four years until the design idea, comparable to IKEA's contemporary image came about. Kamprad credits his multitasking employee Gillis Lundgren, who also made the 'small changes' earlier, for bringing up the idea of self assembly furniture.²³⁸ The first self-assembly furniture was included in IKEA's 1953 catalog.²³⁹

While design was not an innate aspect of IKEA, it clearly constitutes an important aspect of contemporary IKEA. Kamprad states that the practical advantages of self assembly furniture in terms of transport have led IKEA's integration with design, and 'innovation' was forced upon IKEA by 'reality'.²⁴⁰ No sign of the sustainability concept, which contemporarily celebrates the idea of flat packing, ever shows up in IKEA's early history.

Another familiar discourse that IKEA operates on was invented rather earlier. The idea of 'democratic design' was derived from a trip to the Milan design fair that Ingvar Kamprad took in the 1950's. He states that seeing the contrast between the homes of 'ordinary' Italians with their 'heavy, dark furniture' and the furniture exhibited in the fair has awakened him.²⁴¹ Kamprad states that he Milan experience has enabled the development of IKEA's key concept, which Lennart Ekmark²⁴² described as 'democratic design': 'that is, a design that was not just good but also from the start adapted to machine production and thus cheap to produce. With a design of that kind, and the innovation of self-assembly, we could save a great deal

²³⁷ Ingvar Kamprad, quoted in Bertil Torekull, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

²³⁸ *ibid.*

²³⁹ The first self assembly furniture was a table, named 'Max'. Kamprad states that '[a]fter that followed a whole series of self-assembly furniture, and by 1956 the concept was more or less systematized.' *ibid.* p.52

²⁴⁰ It reduced the percentage of damaged furniture in transport and reduced the cost of transport. *ibid.*

²⁴¹ Ingvar Kamprad quoted in Bertil Torekull, *op. cit.* p. 53.

²⁴² *ibid.*

of money in the factories and on transport, as well as keep down the price to the customer.²⁴³ While this may not seem completely at odds with the Bauhaus reference, it is clear that this reference does not stand for an influence of or historical coherency with Bauhaus. It is a later added dressing to IKEA concept.

The concept of democratic design required a strictly planned trajectory from design through production to consumption. Ideally, the production process, based on mass machine production, which lowers the overall cost to the company, will enable the firm to pass part of this cost savings on to the consumer through cheaper products. This reorganization makes modern-design furniture affordable for the masses. Buck Clifford Rosenberg argues that: “Democratic design’ [...] works to generate a democratization of design, allowing it to spread to virtually all social strata.”²⁴⁴

Through the book, *Leading by Design*, Kamprad declares that ‘democratic design’ contributes towards widespread democratization of modern societies. He states:

‘[ou]r business philosophy contributes to the democratizing process. It makes good, handsome, and cheap everyday articles available to a great many people at a price they can afford. That seems to me to have something to do with down-to-earth democracy’²⁴⁵

Such a concept of democracy, which is grounded on the equality on the level of consumption, clearly distorts the idea of emancipation. Rosenberg claims that ‘as society becomes ever more consumer-driven, where consumption is central to politics and identities, such comments may very well foreshadow what a consumer-democracy might comprise.’²⁴⁶

²⁴³ *ibid.*

²⁴⁴Buck Clifford Rosenberg, ‘Scandinavian Dreams: DIY, Democratisation and IKEA,’ *Transformations* 11 (2005), accessible online at journal’s website. http://www.transformationsjournal.org/journal/issue_11/article_02.shtml Last retrieved on 16.08.2012.

²⁴⁵ Ingvar Kamprad quoted in Bertil Torekull, *op. cit.* p. 153

²⁴⁶ Buck Clifford Rosenberg, *op. cit.*

Although IKEA's version of democracy is distorted, its resemblance to Gropius's assertions about liberation through mass production is undeniable. Both praise over the potentials of technological developments and conceptualize democracy as a kind of quantifiable liberty.

Besides the shared design principles, which come as part of the pack of mass production, IKEA invented two principles that facilitated its global organizations. These principles will be evaluated later in this chapter.

4.2.1. Design Principles

4.2.1.1. Mass Production

'In 1925 American editor of *Encyclopedia Britannica* wrote to Henry Ford asking him to submit an article on mass production for the three volume supplement to Britannica. Apparently Ford's office, if not Ford himself, responded favorably and promptly set Ford's spokesman, William J. Cameron, to work on the article. Cameron consulted the company's chief production planner about how to state the principles of mass production for the 'general reader.' When Cameron completed the article, he placed Henry Ford's name beneath it and sent it to the *Britannica's* New York office.'²⁴⁷

Mass production –also called the American way of production– was popularized by an article which was written upon request of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*. Historian David Hounshell says that 'this article played a fundamental role in giving the phrase *mass production* a place in the English vocabulary.'²⁴⁸ With this article, the term mass production superseded *Fordism* and *Taylorism*. It still dominates contemporary literature.²⁴⁹ The original article published in 1926 was as followed:

'Mass production is not merely quantity production, for this may be had with none of the requisites of mass production. Nor is it merely machine production, which

²⁴⁷ David A. Hounshell, *From the American System to Mass Production, 1800-1932: The Development of Manufacturing Technology in the United States*, (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985): p.1.

²⁴⁸*ibid.*

²⁴⁹ Although *mass customization* is recently added to related vocabulary, its effects, and the areas it influence is far from the influence of mass production. It is most influential in service industry and electronic goods. Car industry has also been transformed by this concept but compared with the areas that mass production dominates; it is still a secondary way of production.

also may exist without any resemblance to mass production. Mass production is the focusing upon a manufacturing project of the principles of power, accuracy, economy, system, continuity and speed.²⁵⁰

Contemporary definition of mass production is given in *Encyclopedia Britannica* as 'application of the principles of specialization, division of labour, and standardization of parts to the manufacture of goods.'²⁵¹ It is stated that 'such manufacturing processes attain high rates of output at low unit cost, with lower costs expected as volume rises.'²⁵² The article also states the two general principles that mass production methods are based on: '(1) the division and specialization of human labour; and (2) the use of tools, machinery, and other equipment, usually automated, in the production of standard, interchangeable parts and products.'²⁵³

Although there are crystallized definitions of mass production today, it has a long history of development until its basic principles were formulated. Related literature can date its origins back to the Venetian Arsenal²⁵⁴ in early 16th century, and the Portsmouth Block Mills²⁵⁵ in the early 19th century, as the earliest example of industrialized era; but it gained its true meaning with the technological and organizational developments following the industrial revolution.

Both Venetian Arsenal and the Portsmouth Block Mills were production centers that served armies. The early forms of productive organizations were developed within and for armies. For Lewis Mumford, army as consisted of standardized,

²⁵⁰ Quoted in David. A. Hounshell. *op. cit.*, p. 217

²⁵¹ *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, s. v. "mass production", accessed August 23, 2012, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/368270/mass-production>

²⁵² *ibid.*

²⁵³ *ibid.*

²⁵⁴ Robert C. Davis states that scholars' interest in Venetian Arsenal was because of 'a conviction--not always explicitly stated--that the Arsenal, as a flourishing example of the proto-industrial 'machineless factory', was a kind of testing ground for many of the problems that would eventually have to be solved by the first 'true' factory operators in the British Midlands.' Robert C Davis, 'Venetian shipbuilders and the fountain of wine,' *Past & Present* 156 (Aug. 1997): p. 55.

²⁵⁵ Portsmouth Block Mills was conceived as the 'earliest mechanized factory for mass production.' *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, s. v. "block mill", accessed August 23, 2012, <http://www.britannica.com.libeproxy.iyte.edu.tr:81/EBchecked/topic/1365531/block-mill>

interchangeable parts, which are organized in goal-oriented groups, was the first form of productive organization.²⁵⁶ The 19th century has witnessed the rise of another productive organization: the factory. The efficiency movement, led by engineers,²⁵⁷ has suggested a similar organization for the factory. Its early achievements were development of wage payment system, and determination and application of standards of performance, methods, and equipments.²⁵⁸ This phase of production techniques were named after the most notable pioneer of the efficiency movement Frederic Winslow Taylor: Taylorism.

Taylorism –also called the system of scientific management–is famous for the time-and-motion studies²⁵⁹ to analyze singular tasks of production processes and the specializations at managerial level. Taylor’s famous book in which he has expressed the basic principles of his theory, *The Principles of Scientific Management* was published in 1911.²⁶⁰ However, it was soon superseded by another term that arose from the success of Ford Motor Company in 1914. Taylor’s engineering to find the most efficient way of working in terms of timing and simplifying (through breaking into simple tasks) was mechanized.²⁶¹ The assembly line re-organized the

²⁵⁶ He thinks it started to develop with the invention of ‘kingship’ as a form of government. Lewis Mumford, ‘Authoritarian and Democratic Technics’, *Technology and Culture*, Vol.5, No:1 (1964), p.3.

²⁵⁷ Although they were not all formally trained leading figures such as Frederic Winslow Taylor, Henry R. Towne, and H. L. Gantt were members of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers.

²⁵⁸ For a historical account evaluating both the achievements and their order of appearance see: C. Bertrand Thompson, ‘The Literature of Scientific Management’, *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Vol. 28, No. 3 (1914).

²⁵⁹ Time-and-motion study is ‘analysis of the time spent in going through the different motions of a job or series of jobs’. See: *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, s. v. "time-and-motion study", accessed August 29, 2012, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/596089/time-and-motion-study>

²⁶⁰ Frederick Winslow Taylor, *The Principles of Scientific Management* (New York, London,: Harper & Brothers, 1911).

²⁶¹ It is not to suggest that Taylor’s time and motion studies were only about the motions of arm labor. Although Taylor’s basic principles of management were about organization of the labor, his studies also included analyses of mechanical applications. Merritt Roe Smith points out ‘his discovery of the properties of chromium- tungsten tool steel and its applications of cutting metals’ which in his point of view was one of the reasons Taylor’s ideas attracted major employers and made a sound reputation. Merritt Roe Smith, *Military*

workflow, and shifted the focus of management towards financial management and marketing. Although they seem related, it is more likely to say that they were the outcomes of same spirit of the age.²⁶²

In his seminal book *The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business* Alfred D. Chandler provides a broader perspective.²⁶³ He claims that the managerial development was not a reformist move but an inescapable one which compensated the developments in transportation and communication sectors.²⁶⁴ From his perspective, the key development that shaped the history of American business was the construction of railways.²⁶⁵ Both their construction and operation required nation scale cooperation. The operation of railways required precisely constructed timetables, staffs that mastered scheduling, service network that would provide repairs and spare parts nationwide. Besides the studies that made railroad

Enterprise and Technological Change: Perspectives on the American Experience (Cambridge, MA.: MIT Press, 1985), p.13.

²⁶² The connection is also rejected strictly by Charles E. Sorensen, one of the key figures of the team that realized the developments at Ford Motor Company. In his almost autobiographical book *My Forty Years with Ford* he states:

'One of the hardest-to-down myths about the evolution of mass production at Ford is one which credits much of the accomplishment to 'scientific management.' No one at Ford—not Mr. Ford, Couzens, Flanders, Wills, Pete Martin, nor I—was acquainted with the theories of the 'father of scientific management,' Frederick W. Taylor. Years later I ran across a quotation from a two-volume book about Taylor by Frank Barkley Copley, who reports a visit Taylor made to Detroit late in 1914, nearly a year after the moving assembly line had been installed at our Highland Park plant. Taylor expressed surprise to find that Detroit industrialists 'had undertaken to install the principles of scientific management without the aid of experts.' To my mind this unconscious admission by an expert is expert testimony on the futility of too great reliance on experts and should forever dispose of the legend that Taylor's ideas had any influence at Ford.'

See: Charles E. Sorensen; Samuel T. Williamson. *My Forty Years with Ford*, (New York, New York, USA: Norton 1956): p.41.

²⁶³ Alfred D. Chandler, *The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1977)

²⁶⁴ The primary developments in the transportation and communication sectors were the developments of railways and postal services.

²⁶⁵ He considers the railways as the first modern business enterprises. The organization of chapters also reveals their chronological relation. the chapter dealing with 'the revolution in distribution and production' follows the chapter dealing with 'the revolution in transportation and communication.' *ibid.*

operations possible, and which preceded Taylor's scientific management; the expanded transportation network allowed an unprecedented degree of centralization for management and decentralization for production. Through this network, suppliers could both communicate and cooperate with distant providers of raw material and could reach distant markets. As a result, suppliers had to develop new ways of organization to control the flow of production and distribution.

A similar comment, again with specific material explanation,²⁶⁶ was also made by Sigfried Giedion. In *Mechanization Takes Command*, he states that the assembly line was the fruit of a long development and Henry Ford 'had the advantage of coming not at the start but at the end of a mechanistic phase.'²⁶⁷ While Giedion convincingly explains the unoriginality of the assembly line as a technological development, he confirms the significance of Henry Ford. His significance was not derived from the development of assembly line, which was a mere phase of mechanization but the design and production of legendary Model T:

'Henry Ford's function is to have first recognized democratic possibilities in the vehicle that had always ranked as a privilege. The idea of transforming so complicated a mechanism as the motorcar from a luxury article into one of common use, and of bringing its price within reach of the average man, would have been unthinkable in Europe.'²⁶⁸

Another critical notion Ford introduced was his wage policy. Although raising the wages of workers was also an issue for Taylor, he conceived it as a mean to raise the production within factory. On the other hand, Ford believed that the low wages were cutting buying power and curtailing the home market. By increasing wages to the level that the producers of automobiles could actually afford to buy them, he

²⁶⁶ From Giedion's point of view, the origin of the assembly line idea is the 'moving-line' used in slaughtering and meat-packing industries in America in the 19th century. Sigfried Giedion, *Mechanization Takes Command* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1948), p.115. For details of the mechanization in slaughtering and meat packing see p.213-40.

²⁶⁷ Sigfried Giedion, *Mechanization Takes Command* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1948), p.117.

²⁶⁸ *ibid.*, p.116.

enlarged the market. The significance of this idea lies in the fact that while earlier practices were aiming at raising production by increasing the speed and the number of units per hour, the assembly line of Ford was directly linked with the lines of distribution. As Giedion puts it '[t]he efficiency of the sales force [was] as precisely worked out as the tempo of the assembly line.'²⁶⁹

Regardless of the names given (Taylorism, Fordism or mass production), it can be said that, in America, around the turn of the century, 'industrial capitalism' gave way to 'managerial capitalism.'²⁷⁰ Such a transition was not yet exemplified in Europe. The 'American way of manufacture' was known to Europeans through the international World fairs²⁷¹ and it attracted Europeans, especially British industrialists. In the second half of 19th century, the British studied the American way of manufacture to search for new ways of manufacturing small arms for British army. The influence of this way of manufacture was also visible in other parts of Europe. The standardization-artistic production debate in *Werkbund*, which was initially interested in the 'form' that German industry should adopt, was a reflection of the dichotomy between mechanization and handcrafts. The discussion, which seems to be about stylistic concerns, was directly related with the production techniques, the desire for the adoption of industrial techniques, i.e. mechanization, against the advocates of the aura of objects.²⁷²

²⁶⁹ *ibid.*

²⁷⁰ Managerial capitalism can be defined as the capitalist system in which the capitalist enterprises are controlled by salaried managers instead of the owners of the enterprises. See: Alfred D. Chandler, The Emergence of Managerial Capitalism, *The Business History Review*, Vol. 58, No. 4 (1984).

²⁷¹ David A. Hounshell, based on Nathan Rosenberg's *The American System of Manufactures*, stresses the importance of 1951 Crystal Palace Exhibition during which the Englishmen familiarized with the new productive methods that were 'promptly dubbed 'The American System of Manufacturing.' David A. Hounshell, *op. cit.*, p. 15-16.

²⁷² The debate was primarily between Herman Muthesius and Henry van de Velde. It took place during the *Werkbund* exhibition in 1914. See: Ullrich Conrads, (ed.); 'Muthesius/Van de Velde: Werkbund theses and antitheses', *Programs and Manifestoes on 20th-century Architecture*, (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1970): p.28-31

While the pre-war debates were harsh, the conditions that WWI brought, the constant need of armory, vehicles and various material needs of the army, has favored industrial production. When it finally ended, besides the socio political restlessness (described in first chapter), Europe, especially Germany has faced the renewed dilemma: The premises of prosperity through industrial ways of production which enabled the mass destruction during the war, or the belief in recovery through revival of the old state of production. Both positions and the position in between were taken by various individuals and organizations. The dynamics of the process is already given in previous chapters. Hence, it can be said that the decade following WWI was a process of reconstruction of politics, and culture and economy. The mode of operation of this period was *rationalization*. It was as effective in politics and culture as it was in material production.

In terms of material production, the need suppressed the will and rationalization represented the adoption of industrial techniques. In political sphere, democracy symbolized the integration of science as the ultimate rationale, it brought the perspective that regards the question of authority was a matter of quantity, and helped to legitimize the position of the government. In cultural sphere, the reconstruction of values required stronger foundations and again science was taken as the model. What must be added are the consequences of the technological developments of production and the rationalization in other spheres, in the architectural realm, where material and cultural production intersects.

In the decades following WWI, the developments in architectural realm in America and Europe were as discrete as the states of their industries. Both were dealing with housing shortages but their ways of operation and the outcomes were different. In America, as in Europe, industrialization caused mass migration to cities since the 18th century but unlike Europe, with increased availability and use of the automobile for home-to-work commutes, suburbs as we know them today started becoming popular among middle class in the 1920s America. These houses were considered out of architectural practice. Mostly, they were produced form plans

purchased from mail order companies, while architects were trying to find the unique expression of the American architecture in cities. An exceptional example both among architects and the plan traders, was the 'Architects' Small House Service Bureau'²⁷³ which was advocating the position of the architect within house building activity, in a similar tone with that of engineers of efficiency movement. In 1922, an article in one of bureau's publications titled 'What is an Architect?' the architect was defined as a key person who would supervise the building activity. It stated:

'An architect is a man hired at small expenses to make cheap mistakes with a one-cent pencil on a two-cent piece of paper and erase them with a five-cent rubber to save his client making a \$50,000 mistake on a \$25,000 lot.'²⁷⁴

Unlike the American architect who sought to reclaim his professional authority through the rhetoric of 'efficiency movement' engineers, European architects were directly involved in the reconstruction process in Europe. Although they did not have much chance to build until 1924, what they build later were fruits of their intellectual labor dealing with possible solutions to the problem of housing since the end of war. Bauhaus was one of the centers of intellectual labor where architects, together with artists were searching for the new ways of reconstruction.

The housing shortage in the Post-WWI Europe was an outcome of the war, which partly destructed the building stock and changed the demography.²⁷⁵ Until the American loans which relieved German economy and enabled a rather stable economy there was not much to do no matter what the architect thought about

²⁷³ Architects' Small House Service Bureau was founded in 1914 by a group of Minnesota architects 'to provide a solution to the shortage of affordable middle-class housing in the United States.' They provide an alternative service among many plan book services by integrating architectural consultancy and service through their local members to adjust the generic plans according to site and individual needs. Lisa Marie Tucker., *The Architects' Small House Service Bureau and Interior Design in the 1920s and 1930s*, *Journal of Interior Design*, Vol.34 (1) (2008).

²⁷⁴ Lisa Marie Tucker, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

²⁷⁵ World War I drew vast numbers of men away from family and work and caused women to fill men's positions in the public sphere. Both the war casualties and the working women's decreased birth rates German society were radically changed.

mass production. Gropius's initial aim of bringing artist and craftsman together was rational considering the state of industry after the Great War. He was simply investing in the future. This change of direction is not shocking either. Mary Nolan, who evaluates the relation between American business and German modernization, narrates the early 1920s as a process in which the Social Democrats' conception of American business was as positivist and progressive.²⁷⁶ She stresses the importance of Ford's unexampled success in their conception of American industry and states that Ford 'became something of a hero of German popular culture in the mid 1920s.²⁷⁷ From her point of view' [Social Democratic] Party and trade union officials hailed Ford's productive accomplishments as a reformed version of capitalism that promoted socialism.²⁷⁸

Similar ideas were promoted by Bauhaus too. Although it seems contradictory with the pre-1922 Bauhaus, and the famous Bauhaus products, generally furniture and house appliances, in 1924 Gropius was advocating standardization that, from his point of view, would lead adaptation of mass production for housing industry. He once stated:

'Who would dream of having shoes custom made? Instead we buy stock product which satisfy most individual requirements, thanks to refined production methods. Similarly, it will be possible for the individual in the future to order from stock dwellings suitable for his purposes.'²⁷⁹

From Gropius's perspective the problem of housing for people had to be 'simultaneously approached from three angles of *economy, technology and form*'

²⁷⁶ Mary Nolan, *Visions of Modernity: American Business and the Modernization of Germany: American Business and the Modernization of Germany* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), p.39.

²⁷⁷ *ibid.*

²⁷⁸ She ground her assertion with left wing social democrat Heinrich Ströbel's words who admitted that Ford might be correct in claiming that his economic methods could solve the social question within a capitalist framework, "if only all capitalists were economic organizers of the caliber of Henry Ford." ' *ibid.*, p.39.

²⁷⁹ Originally from: *Bauhausbücher*, Vol.3, Versuchshaus des Bauhauses, Albert Langen Verlag München, 1924. Reprinted in English: Walter Gropius, 'Housing Industry,' *Scope of Total Architecture*, Ruth Nanda Anshen (ed). (New York and Evanston: Harper & Row Publishers, 1955), p. 152.

which were all 'interdependent.'²⁸⁰ He claimed that to solve the housing problem 'a radical reformation of the entire building trade along industrial lines was necessary.'²⁸¹ Although he never stated any direct references to either Ford or American industry, it is easy to see those references as he further develops what he means by *radical reformation along industrial lines*. In a long paragraph, which he started by stating the importance of reducing the cost of dwelling construction for 'national budget' and inadequacy of the 'conventional handcrafts methods of construction', he announces the solution as manufacturing them 'by mass production methods of stock dwellings which are no longer constructed at the site but are produced in special factories in the form of component parts or units suitable for assembly.'²⁸² His idea of prefabricated housing was laid out with details in the 'Housing Industry', which was written in 1924. His ideas will be mentioned in the following sections of this chapter which are dealing with basic features of mass production, but it should be noted that the concept of mass production, which is considered with the products of metal workshop, and furniture workshop (or the construction workshop in which metal and furniture workshops were later incorporated), was embraced as an all encompassing method.

Mass production was also a key concept in the development and operations of IKEA. It would not be wrong to say that it is *the* concept, which IKEA was founded upon. As earlier stated²⁸³, the early trade activities of IKEA were small mass produced items that Ingvar Kamprad bought in large quantities and retailed. When IKEA evolved into the furniture company as we know it today its primary principle was 'offering a wide range of well-designed, functional home furnishing products at prices so low that as many people as possible will be able to afford them.'²⁸⁴ As mass production was accepted as a given fact, rather than a genuine invention, the

²⁸⁰ *ibid.*, p.153 (Emphasis added)

²⁸¹ *ibid.*, p.152-153.

²⁸² *ibid.*, p. 153.

²⁸³ See p. 60, 71.

²⁸⁴ Inter IKEA Systems B.V. (n.d.). *The IKEA Concept*. Retrieved August 16, 2012, from Inter IKEA Systems B.V.: <http://franchisor.ikea.com/showContent.asp?swfId=concept2>; Bertil Torekull, *Leading by Design: the Ikea Story* (New York: Harper Business, 1998).

concepts of standardization and modularization were also operational since the beginning. In the following sections it will be discussed how these concepts were transformed and expanded their scope as IKEA grew into a multinational enterprise. However, the real difference between the concept of mass production in Bauhaus and in IKEA was about legitimacy. In addition to the criticisms about the alienating effects of mass production, IKEA also faced a crisis of legitimatization around 1968. The skepticism about modernist canons in the West was perceivable through 1960s, intensified after 1968 and it dominated early 1970s.²⁸⁵ IKEA went through a crisis of legitimatization, which gave rise to the sustainability and charity themed campaigns and changed the face of the company. It will be further evaluated in section '4.2.1.4. Claim of Universality.'

Considering the nuances based on historical and geographical differences stated shown above, it is hard to credit the clear definitions given in the beginning of this chapter. But we can note a simpler but general definition which also takes its historical development into account, made by Pat Kirkham. Mass production is defined as:

'Production of a large number or mass of a single given object, either by hand or machine. The term mass production usually also implies machine production and the division of human or automated labour to reduce the cost of production when a sufficient quantity is produced.'²⁸⁶

The definition made by Kirkham enhances both the American and European concepts of mass production, which flourished about two decades apart. While the term mass production is generally related with the production techniques developed in US, Europeans preferred the term *rationalization*. In the following sections, the basic principles that mass production (and rationalization) required will be evaluated. These principles are standardization, modularization, and claim

²⁸⁵ Tafuri's *Architecture and Utopia: Design and Capitalist Development* (first published as an article in *Contropiano* in 1969), Marcuse's *One Dimensional Man* (1964) and Debord's *Society of Spectacle* (1967) were all representatives of this period.

²⁸⁶ Pat Kirkham. *Grove Art Online, Oxford Art Online*. s. v. "Mass production" last accessed on 23 August 2012. <<http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T055037>>.

of universality. In the second half on 20th century, IKEA added organizational principles that complemented these basic principles. They also fall under the scope of this chapter.

4.2.1.2. Standardization

Standardization is the primary requisite for mass production. It is hard to define its position as either the cause or the effect of industrialization. In an early example, in Portsmouth Block Mills, it was applied by dividing the production process, which was traditionally performed by skillful craftsmen, into simpler necessary tasks which were performed by machines. Production of the mills was performed in a number of stages. The inner mill and the outer shell were manufactured and assembled.²⁸⁷ The craft production, no matter how well qualified the craftsmen would be, was far from the speed and the accurate results achieved through machines.²⁸⁸ The parts were not identical and assembly process required labor to adjust the pieces to fit each other. Unlike the craftsmen, once finely set, the machines could produce precisely identical copies. The standardization of the process has enabled the production of standard parts, which were easier and faster to assemble. Standardization has increased the production rate about ten times. Gavin Weightman expressed this development in following words:

‘The labour saved was spectacular: four men could now make *as* many elm block shells as fifty under the old craft system of manufacture, and six men could make as many sheaves as sixty. Overall, the labour force was reduced from over one hundred to ten men, affording a huge reduction in cost, and the Portsmouth Block Mills were soon supplying the whole of the Royal Navy, turning out 130.000 pulleys per year.’²⁸⁹

²⁸⁷ Gavin Weightman informs us about the three parts structure of the pulleys and the production process. In his words, in traditional way: ‘The shell of a pulley block was carved from elm and the inner ‘*sheave*’ which revolved inside the shell on an iron pin was made from a hardwood called *lignum vitae*.’ Gavin Weightman, *The Industrial Revolutionaries: The Making of the Modern World, 1776–1914* (New York: Grove Press, 2007), p. 74.

²⁸⁸ *ibid.*, p. 74-75.

²⁸⁹ *ibid.*, p. 75.

The achievement was spectacular, but widely overlooked. As Hounshell reports it took half a century, until the time when Europeans encountered the American products through the world fairs, for this method to attract industrialists for further use in various sectors.²⁹⁰ Its consequences were beyond the sector it was used. Soon it was popular. But some suggests that it was not as price efficient as it was then thought.²⁹¹

While Portsmouth Block Mills exemplifies the beginning of standardization idea, it has been transformed since then. The revolution in Portsmouth was based on the speed and precision through steam-powered machines. It was similar with the 'tale of interchangeable parts'²⁹² that inspired the British men about American way of manufacture. On the other hand, the American Industry was making experiments that would pass beyond the works of the machines. Around the turn of the century, Fredric Winslow Taylor was analyzing and standardizing the motions of manual worker. His studies have reignited the debates about alienation, which were rooted in the 19th century England.²⁹³

Although he managed to increase the production rates, Taylor's attitude was criticized for ignoring the fact that workers are social beings and considering them merely as a productive force (like land and capital). Additionally, some later studies showed that his studies may have been quasi-scientific since the interaction

²⁹⁰ Hounshell reports the specific importance of American arms industry, which attracted British army in 1850s. David. A. Hounshell, *op. cit.*, p. 15-25.

²⁹¹Unit cost of Springfield small arms with interchangeable parts almost certainly was significantly higher than that of arms produced by more traditional methods.' David. A. Hounshell, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

²⁹² David. A. Hounshell lists various studies about the development of American system of production or the production of interchangeable parts, and reports that this technology, although the English believed in its efficiency, did not enable cheap production of arms. Though, it was supported by American Ordnance Department. David A. Hounshell, 'Introduction,' *op. cit.*

²⁹³ Arts and Crafts movement was a reaction to the effects of rapid industrialization. It criticized the assignment of workers to separate phases of production and isolation from the product. This, as was claimed, degraded the workers creative labor to mere arm labor. Taylor's practice further reduced the workers job by redefining it as repetition of simple movements.

with workers through the analysis in factories were creating a temporary social condition, which in turn, affected the production rates.²⁹⁴ This phenomenon is named 'Hawthorne effect' after a series of Taylorist studies conducted in 1920s and in 1930s at the Hawthorne works of the Western Electric Company.²⁹⁵

Standardization had different connotations. It was loaded with philosophical meaning in addition to its economical premises. Gropius related it with civilization and stated that: 'Standardization is not an impediment to the development of civilization, but, on the contrary, one of its immediate prerequisites.'²⁹⁶ He made a distinction between mass production and standardization. Mass production was practical to provide him 'the material basis for a formal approach based on standardization.'²⁹⁷ For him standardization was a formal approach that enabled great variability. And as Wallis Müller suggested, it was 'a cultural phenomenon, not a constructional process.'²⁹⁸

Gropius would not confirm the kind of standardization that IKEA operates. For him standardization was to be applied only to the parts, which will be mass produced, and the whole was for architect to design. He once explained in detail:

"There is no justification for the fact that every house in a suburban development should have a different floor plan, a different exterior of a different style and different building materials; on the contrary, this is a wasteful and tasteless attitude of parvenus. [...] However, the danger of too rigid a standardization, such as is exemplified by the English suburban home, must be avoided because suppression of individuality is always shortsighted and unwise. Dwellings must be designed in such a way that justified individual requirements derived from the family size or the type of profession of the family head can be suitably and flexibly fulfilled. *The organization must therefore aim first of all at standardizing and mass-producing not entire houses, but only their component parts which can then be assembled into various types of*

²⁹⁴ John G. Adair, 'Hawthorne Effect' in *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Social Science Research Methods*, Vol.1. Alan E Bryman, Tim Futing Liao, Michael Lewis-Beck, eds. (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE, 2003) p. 452.

²⁹⁵ *ibid.*

²⁹⁶ Walter Gropius, *The New Architecture and The Bauhaus*, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

²⁹⁷ Kathleen James-Chakraborty (ed), *Bauhaus Culture: From Weimar To The Cold War* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), p. 75.

²⁹⁸ Wallis Müller, 'Architecture, Building, and the Bauhaus' in *Bauhaus Culture: From Weimar To The Cold War*, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

houses, in the same way as in modern machine design certain internationally standardized parts are interchangeably used for different machines."²⁹⁹(Emphasis original)

His emphasis upon the international character of standardization is interesting. He did not consider it only as standardization of parts but of measures, methods, and materials. Such a concept of standardization and the transition from handcraftsmanship to machine production required accurate measurements that communicated both the engineer and the worker. In the long run, it required international metastandards³⁰⁰ which would supervise the globalized process.

IKEA standardized measurements, tools, signs, methods, and even the shopping experience, which normally varies among different cultures. It sells almost the same articles in 325 IKEA stores in 38 countries around the world.³⁰¹

4.2.1.3. Modularization

Unlike standardization, modularization was not much publicized. The reason of the lack of attention may be the fact that the concept of modularity is reserved in the concept of standardization. In its early phase, mass production and standardization were identified as the way of production that products are composed of interchangeable parts. The notion of interchangeability can be applied in two ways: (1) autonomous i.e. within product itself or (2) among a set of products. They can be called internal and external modularity.

Autonomous interchangeability can be described as the state of product, interchangeable parts of which can be replaced beyond the level of production, in order to maintain or to upgrade the product. The latter depends on shared features of products (such as stylistic features, material, construction technique,

²⁹⁹ Walter Gropius, *The Scope of Total Architecture*, op. cit., p. 155.

³⁰⁰ Metastandards are used for measurements of quality and comparability. They are set by national and international standards setting institutionalized bodies such as American National Standards Institute (ANSI) and International Standardization Organization (ISO). They set local or global standards.

³⁰¹ The numbers are based on 2011 data. Inter IKEA Systems B.V. (n.d.). *Facts&Figures* Retrieved August 16, 2012, from Inter IKEA Systems B.V.: <http://franchisor.ikea.com/showContent.asp?swfId=facts1>

complementary functions etc.) which make them interchangeable, to be replaced by each other or to be integrated to each other. Contemporary customer is familiar with both these features since they are evidently used in many products such as furniture, clothing, electronics, or services.

They can both be used to simplify or complexify the use of the related product. For instance, for Henry Ford, one of the attributes the 'universal car' should have was 'simplicity in operation – because the masses [were] not mechanics.'³⁰² Maintenance and repair was considered as operation too. This simplicity, based on interchangeable parts was essential to appeal to the masses. Ford aimed at the car to be driven or repaired by unskilled masses. He said:

'It ought to be possible to have parts so simple and so inexpensive that the menace of expansive hand repair work would be entirely eliminated. The parts could be made so cheaply that it would be less expensive to buy new ones than to have old ones repaired. They could be carried in hardware shops just as nails or bolts are carried.'³⁰³

Ford wanted his cars to ensure internal modularity by their autonomous interchangeability. But this was hardly the reason why Model T became a legend. The kind of interchangeability that Ford aimed at had to be practical at the levels of production and use, and it should also support modifications to meet changing needs and the need of change through time. For that, it had to have both internal and external modularity. And it did. Basic parts of model T were simple to repair and maintain. Parts could be replaced when necessary. On the other hand, it allowed modifications too. From 1909 to 1927, twelve versions of Model T were produced on the same chassis and hardware with only furnishing variations.³⁰⁴

³⁰² Henry Ford lists seven basic attributes that the universal car should have; simplicity comes second after 'quality in material.' Henry Ford, *My Life and Work - An Autobiography of Henry Ford* (Sioux Falls, SD: NuVision Publications, 2007), p. 49

³⁰³ *ibid.*, p. 50.

³⁰⁴ Twelve versions of Model T were produced on the same chassis from 1909 to 1927: Tourster, Town car, Touring, Runabout, Coupelet, Coupe, Center door sedan, Turtledeck Roadster (1921), Fordor Sedan (1922), Roadster (1924), Tudor Sedan (1925), Fordor Touring

After WWI, Ford's success in car industry was influential in Europe. It aroused interest around the question whether the system of assembly line could be used for housing. The suggestion of a member of the parliament to House of Commons in post WWI England reveals the limits of this interest. As Murray Fraser and Joe Kerr quote the suggestion:

'As regards motorcars Mr Ford, the American, has thought what can be done by standardizing them, and I submit it would be possible to standardize every door and every window frame, to make them by the hundreds and thousands in government factories and thus get rid of good many difficulties[.]'³⁰⁵

While the possibilities were searched for to mass production of standardized houses and eventually, prefabricated housing in England, experts were skeptical about such a parallelism between car production and prefabricated housing.³⁰⁶ In 1920 Building Research Board was established to carry out government founded research.³⁰⁷ Unlike England, where the search was delegated to a state funded organization, France has seen the first insights of housing inspired by the car industry.

In 1920, Le Corbusier had already passed beyond words. It is not to suggest that he built a prefabricated house but has visualized one and named it *Maison Citrohan*, after the French car company *Citroën* (Fig. 5). Colin Davies relates this house to the dream of mass produced housing:

'Without knowing anything about the construction of this house we can see immediately that it is meant to be a standardized product. The perspective view shows two identical detached houses, differently orientated so as to show us all four elevations in a spacious urban setting. And the name Citrohan a slightly obscure pun on Citroen, the car-maker, seems to indicate that the house is not just standardized but also mass-produced in a factory.'³⁰⁸

(1926). John Gunnell, *Standard Catalog of Ford*, fourth Ed. (Iola, WI: Krause Publications, 2007), p.10-26

³⁰⁵ Murray Fraser, Joe Kerr, *Architecture and the 'Special Relationship': The American Influence on Post-War British Architecture*. (New York: Routledge, 2007), p. 136.

³⁰⁶ *ibid.*

³⁰⁷ *ibid.*

³⁰⁸ Colin Davies, *The Prefabricated Home* (London: Reaktion Books, 2005), p. 12

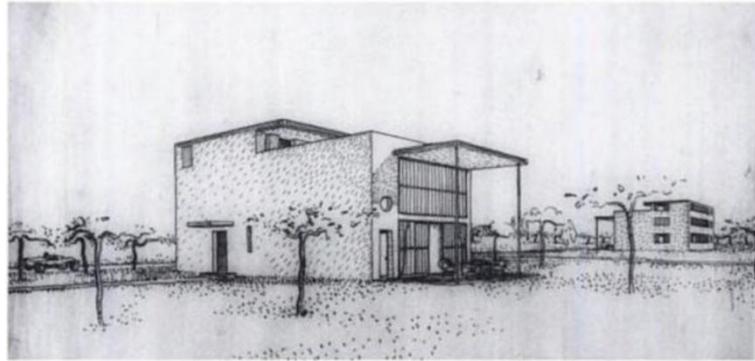


Figure 5 Le Corbusier, Perspective drawing of Maison Citrohan, 1920. (Colin Davies, *The Prefabricated Home*, London: Reaktion Books, 2005. p 12)

Although its name suggested mass production in a factory, considering Le Corbusier's earlier studies, it is more likely that *Maison Citrohan* was an adaptation of Domino house diagram. In that case, the use of reinforced concrete for the structural system disproves the likelihood of prefabrication that is similar to car production. While it lets some parts to be factory produced such as doors and windows, such constructional system is site bounded. What Le Corbusier aimed was rationalization of building activity, rather than building itself. Davies informs us that he titled it '*Maisons en Séries*' which, unlike the English word 'mass production', does not directly refer to factory production.³⁰⁹

It is interesting to note that the basic features of *Maison Citrohan*, such as double height living space with a deep balcony, were similar to apartments of *Unité d'Habitation* (1945) in Marseilles, which was built two decades later. The units of *Unité d'Habitation* differed in size, and were designed to be placed into the structural grid, like the bottles in a wine rack. These apartments, which 'were designed (yet not fabricated) as autonomous units, were simply to be slipped into

³⁰⁹ *ibid.*, p.13

their respective voids,³¹⁰ were more likely to be considered as mass production than *Maison Citrohan*. Upon *Unité d'Habitation*, with its diversity of autonomous units within regular grid, one can say that Le Corbusier adapted modularization to his mass housing proposals.

Modularity was also an issue in German context. A few years after Le Corbusier published *Maison Citrohan*, another proposal for mass produced housing was made by Gropius. In 1923, Gropius designed a series of housing components, which can be arranged in various schemes (fig.6, 7). His proposal, beside its modularity, resembled Le Corbusier's project. Gropius's project proposed a double story high living space that creates a terrace above like *Maison Citrohan*.

Gropius's proposal suggested a series of building components, which can be assembled to form residential units. He claimed that modular system allowed different arrangements depending on of the number and needs of the residents. Unlike Le Corbusier, Gropius does not only focus standardization and constructability but puts modularization in the center of his studies.

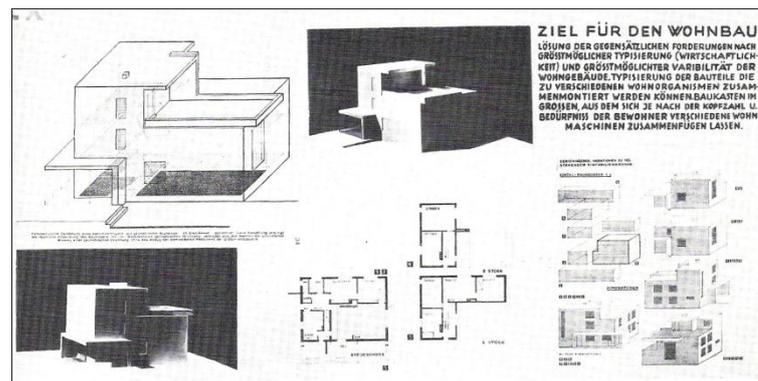


Figure 6: Standardized building components, Walter Gropius 1923. (Walter Gropius, *Apollo in the democracy; the cultural obligation of the architect*, New York: McGraw-Hill 1968, p. 83)

³¹⁰ Barry Bergdoll, Peter Christensen, *Home Delivery: Fabricating the Modern Dwelling*, (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2008), p.98

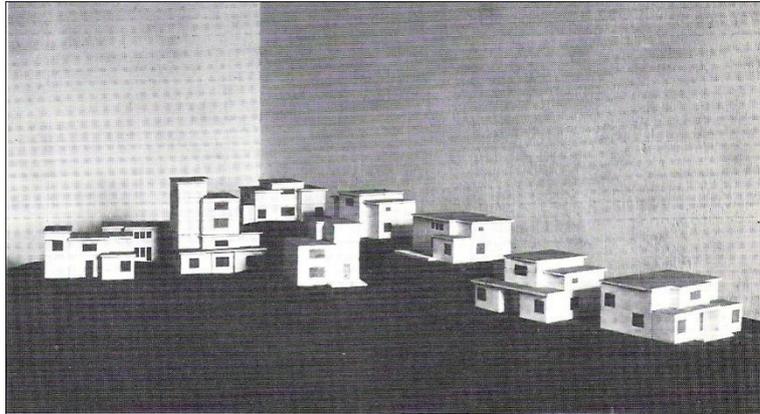


Figure 7: Models: standardized building components assembled into various types. (*ibid.*)

Consequently, modularization was integrated to Bauhaus furniture too. With the change of direction towards industry, Bauhaus workshops abandoned single standing craft object and started an interest in 'systems'. An early example was the kitchen of the *Haus am Horn*³¹¹. It was designed 'as an integrated unit to the house,' which was composed of smaller units that came together to form 'a continuous workspace.'³¹² The furniture and metal workshops were also interested in products that would be prototypes for industrial production.

Gropius's interest in rationalized housing continues after his Bauhaus years. In 1930s, he designed prefabricated housing units, which were to be assembled in different combinations. In 1940s, together with Konrad Wachsmann, he founded General Panel Corporation. In addition to structural panel units, they developed standard core and expansion modules, and special detailing solutions that made the house demountable. (Fig.8)

³¹¹ *Haus Am Horn* was a model house which was built as part of the Bauhaus Exhibition in 1923. It was designed by painter Georg Muche. Friedewald asserts that Gropius also had a design proposal for the house but Muche's proposal was democratically selected by Bauhaus students. Boris Friedewald, *op. cit.*, p. 44-45.

³¹² Sigfried Giedion, *op. cit.*, p. 521.

The prefabricated houses mentioned above, along with a small number of others³¹³ remained as experimental studies within half a century long search for mass produced dwelling leaving its place to mostly 'reinforced concrete.'

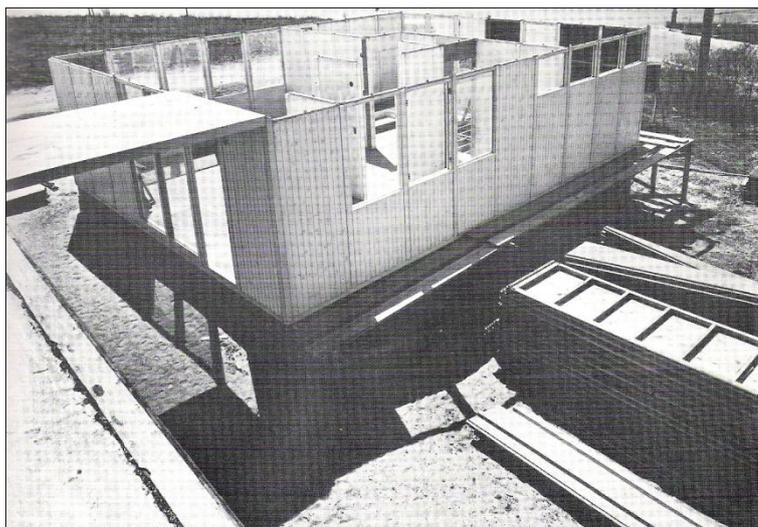


Figure 8: Prefabricated house for General Panel Corporation., Walter Gropius, Konrad Wachsmann. 1943-45. (*ibid.*)

Recently, mass produced (or prefabricated) housing have re-appeared, accompanied with the discourse of democracy through affordable housing. IKEA's Boklok Houses³¹⁴ introduced in Sweden in 1997 (later, in Denmark, Norway, Germany and England), are promoted with IKEA's familiar slogans centering on equality, and cost efficiency.³¹⁵ These houses do not offer modularity for the user in

³¹³ There are two recently published books on these studies. For a detailed list see: Barry Bergdoll, Peter Christensen, *Home Delivery: Fabricating the Modern Dwelling*, *op. cit.*; Colin Davies, *The Prefabricated Home*, *op. cit.*

³¹⁴ About four thousand Boklok apartments, at over 100 locations in 5 different countries have been built.

³¹⁵ 'We develop homes for the many people,' 'More housing for less money'

the sense Gropius formulated. Rather, customer makes choice among a predetermined set of schemes (based on number of rooms) and between an apartment and a terrace house. Choice is the only flexibility these houses offer.



Figure 9: Delivery of BoKlok House. The prefabricated moduls are assembled on site. (source: <http://www.zigersnead.com/blog/wp-content/uploads/2007/11/boklok-delivery-image-14.jpg> last retrieved on 31.08.2012)

4.2.1.4. Claim of Universality

The strict denial of history obscures modernism. Such destruction of the past would cast shadow on present and bring skepticism. This was the reason why modern architecture (or design in general) in Europe had to develop better ways to legitimize itself than its American contemporaries. Ford announced the huge numbers of sale or mere the prices while Europeans had to develop its aesthetic provision.

The progressive ideology was dominant both in Europe and America. And the quantifiable fact was one of its finest products but its influence was different on

discrete sides of the ocean due to the discrete characters of agency. While US have lived through an age of engineers, in Europe the modernist project was conducted by artists and architects as well as engineers.

The technological developments in America were grounded on science. As a result they were evaluated as 'applied science.' But Europe has experienced the rapid industrialization in the 19th century, which caused revivalist movements to rise. What Europeans tried to find in the 20th century was an equivalent of technology, one that keeps its advantages but is freed from its dehumanizing effect. They found the human part within art. Until 1922, art was conceived as an ally of craft. The alliance gave fruits but they were products of folk art rather than the visual counterpart of the new era. While the turn towards industry is often considered as a matter of efficiency and economic success, one should note that, before 1922, crafts were not unproductive. Some workshops such as the pottery and textile workshops managed financial contribution to school. But the influence of their products, which were practical, and represented the romantic folk taste, was local. It was incompatible within the pace of industry. The move towards industry was made for its symbolic value as much as economic value for Bauhaus.

Bauhaus, which originally set its goal to unite artists and craftsmen in their production, redefined its goal as to mediate between art and industry and unite their production. Artist and craftsmen soon leave their place to the *designer* who, in addition to the skills of artist and craftsman, could deal with the industrial production which was then the field of engineer. From this perspective, the change toward industry is not as radical as it seems. Design was, in a sense, applied art just as technology was applied science; therefore, it was comparable to technology. At least it was so, for the post 1922 Bauhaus.

The claim of universality,³¹⁶ grounded on science and art, proved to be practical in early twentieth century. They worked for the cultural and industrial production. But it went through another crisis of legitimacy with WWII. While Europe carried a process of reconstruction of its means of production, it went through a change. Like democracy that lost its transformative power, due to the aforementioned transition from abstract notion of democracy to governmental systems in real politics. The idea of progress has also lost its genuine effect. The constant threat of cold war has rendered the end possible.

The criticism of progressive ideology started to rise in 1960s and reached its peak with the 1968 events, which transformed the cultural production since then.³¹⁷ Though IKEA has survived this process, it adopted new slogans to legitimize itself. These new slogans were centered on environmental causes and charity. The slogan 'buying more for less' at IKEA, was backed up with the slogan 'making more with less.' Similarly, IKEA started to collaborate with UNICEF and WWF.

4.2.2. Organizational principles

4.2.1.1. Self Assembly

As earlier stated, self-assembly was not an innate aspect of IKEA. In its early years, IKEA sold pre-assembled furniture like any other firm. The way it is narrated, the idea was found almost incidentally. This incidental invention was very effective for IKEA to become what it is today. It had two main advantages that reduced the unit costs. It reduces the packaging and transportation costs. And it transfers one stage of production to the consumer, to after-sales.

³¹⁶ The claim of universality stands for universalist claims that both Bauhaus and IKEA pursued. It could have been coined as universalism, but universalism was not preferred in order to avoid its religious connotations.

³¹⁷ The growing suspicion about the historical avant-gardes and new promises made by neo avant-gardes caused a crisis of legitimization. See the historical survey provided in chapter 2.

On one hand, IKEA profits from this exchange and on the other, it helps IKEA's brand management. The self-assembly process gives customers feeling of making something. The effort put into it attaches symbolic value on the objects with low economical value. More over the engagement in such small scale construction activities gives the customers a feeling of 'building their house.' In the age of consumption-driven identities, in which our social position is virtually linked with our possessions, home has a symbolic value beyond its physical and economical value. Buck Clifford Rosenberg claims that such productive leisure activities, regarding construction of 'home' help to construct one's own identity, and change it.³¹⁸ IKEA's brand identity benefits from the emotional outcomes that customers have through self-assembly.

4.2.1.2. World-Wide Pipeline

IKEA was founded around the time when the distance between America and Europe has started to narrow. After WWII, Soviet threat has brought them together in economy and culture, as well as in politics. The process of economic integration, first European, then global, has paved the way for IKEA's contemporary organizational structure.

Another decisive factor was the contextual pressure that IKEA was subjected to. As stated earlier, in 1950s IKEA was dealing with its rivals boycotts of suppliers. As a result, it started to fall short of supplies. In 1960, IKEA started negotiating with Polish suppliers. Soon they were one of the main suppliers of IKEA.³¹⁹ As the first international interaction, Poland deserves some attention. In *Leading by Design*, the trade with Poland was explained as a relationship favoring both parts. One profits cash and the other enjoys the blessing of capitalism.³²⁰

³¹⁸ Buck Clifford Rosenberg, *op. cit.*

³¹⁹ Bertil Torekull, *op. cit.*, p. 57-67.

³²⁰ *ibid.*

Kamprad states that his interest in Poland was out of necessity and it turned out to be profitable. IKEA secured the contracts with its Polish suppliers in the middle of the Cold War period. As a satellite state, Poland was isolated from the recovering European Economy and welcomed contacts with it. Ragnar Sterte, a retired IKEA manager, stated that they 'seldom paid more than fifty percent of the corresponding Swedish manufacturing costs.'³²¹ Until the fall of the Berlin Wall IKEA bypassed the wall and sold Polish manufactures to the West (to Scandinavia and Europe in general).

IKEA concept was based on trade, buying from suppliers and retailing. It excluded production (with the exception of Swedwood, incorporated in 1991) and needed suppliers with low costs. For that, Poland was only a beginning. Around the same time, IKEA had contracts also with other eastern European countries. In the search for lower prices, IKEA later made contracts with Asian suppliers too.

The international interactions of IKEA served to ways. IKEA, like Ford motor company once did, sees its producers as potential markets. While securing supplies with long term contracts, in time the supplying countries are turned into markets. For instance, Poland housed six IKEA stores by 1999. With the fall of Berlin wall in 1989, the economic integration has been expanded to include further parts of the world. As the global integration of economy advances, IKEA's suppliers and markets enlarge.

³²¹ *ibid.*, p. 60

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Throughout this research the relation between political program and architectural production is questioned via a close examination of the modern myth: democratization through design. The preliminary diagnosis that inspired the research was that 'design' and 'democracy' were often brought together in order to express the ideas beyond material design products. The idea that links design with political discourse, especially with 'democracy,' is rooted in the 19th century arts and crafts movement. The ideas and practical career of William Morris can be identified as the seed of the idea that attached a social mission to artistic and industrial production. His ideas were reinterpreted in early 20th century Germany and the social dimension of production was reinvented in Bauhaus. Bauhaus's genuine contribution was the reformulation of the production process by bringing together the methods of industrial production and the social ideals that Morris grounded on craftsmanship. Integration of mass production techniques with artistic production should also be considered in the wider frame of global economy. The equation between economy and politics was formed under the conditions created by the asymmetrical powers of production on two sides of Atlantic Ocean. Mass production was idealized for its political premises as well as the economical ones. In the second half of 20th century, the myth of democratization through design has resurfaced with IKEA's celebration of 'democratic design.' Mass production is promoted with similar slogans and marketed among different corners of world where the powers of production are uneven.

The thesis had two interlinked aims: (1) to understand the nature of the binary relation between political program and architectural production, by examination of the modern utopia: 'democratization through design', and (2) to demystify how capitalist mode of production and organization effect and transform space by examining its modes of operation. These modes of operation are determined as four design principles that are operationalized for the reciprocation between capitalist mode of production and space throughout 20th century: Mass production, standardization, modularization, and claim of universality, to achieve these goals the study is organized as three main parts.

Regarding the first goal, a detailed historical survey was conducted to draw the outlines of social, economic, and political conditions within which the two cases were flourished. Understanding the context was not required to make determinist claims. On the contrary, such an attitude is strictly rejected. Since architecture is not an autonomous field, looking for simple cause and effect relationships often exaggerate the importance of single or limited factors. The motivation behind providing an overview of the 20th century was to bring up the key events that paved the way for an equation between economy and politics. The content laid out in chapter 2 is not directly related with the study; rather, it sets the scene for the discussions made in following chapters. Since it was already an ambitious attempt to write such an overview of a century, which two world wars, great depression, 1968 uprising, oil crisis and countless international conflicts, its scope was geographically limited with Europe. Some critical technological developments that took place in US in the first two of the 20th century are excluded in chapter 2. Although they were directly related with the popularization of industrial production techniques in Europe, they are excluded since these developments are evaluated in and comprise a large portion of chapter 4.

The context is critical for any research dealing with architecture in early 20th century Europe because artists and architects were socially engaged in their contexts. Depending on the researcher's point of view, they can be considered as prophets of

hope or servants of the ideology but not neutral, ineffective witnesses. For some reason, they believed in their potential to create social change, and their belief was shared by political authorities and industrialists. This enabled them to contribute modernization through their intellectual and material production. The survey indicates a prevailing inconstancy throughout the 20th century which witnessed two world wars; mass destruction of means of production, and demographic changes due to mass mobility and mass murder; yet the political premise of democracy still remains.

To understand the modern myth of democratization through design, the nature of utopian thinking and its operation by historical avant-gardes were interrogated in chapter 3. The concept of utopia is analyzed through works of Karl Mannheim and Manfredo Tafuri. The concept of ideology is also studied since they were closely related in both cases. Then, to evaluate Bauhaus and IKEA separately, the study focuses on democracy which was assumed to be the operational term that makes them comparable. Contradictory meanings were attached to democracy. Besides the puzzling etymology, obscuring between 'rule of many' and 'rule of all,' it is detected that the term signifies both an abstract concept of democracy and concrete systems of government interchangeably.

Both Bauhaus and IKEA referred to the egalitarian aspects of democracy.³²² Targeting the objects of everyday life, they proposed better living for masses. While Bauhaus advocated and the equal distribution of resources and availability public services, IKEA formulates equality based on comparable (not equal) power of purchase. Despite the stress upon sustainability, and demonstrations of social responsibility (through participation with international NGOs) indicate otherwise IKEA's egalitarian claims are primarily based on the equality of purchasing power

³²²Although one is an educational institution and the other is a firm and they are incomparable on the basis of their organizations, symbolically, they both stand for the political structure behind them. Bauhaus's umbilical relation with Weimar Republic is relatively less pronounced than IKEA's celebration of Swedish which is exposed on every possible ground (ads, publications, the food courts in department stores etc.).

which is supposedly achievable through mass production.³²³ Even though the increase in the efficiency of production process ideally decreases the cost of each product, it reduces the value of the labor engaged in that line of production. In other words while it increases the purchasing power of consumers, the purchasing power of laborer decreases synchronically. From this perspective it is pseudo-egalitarian. The ingenious 'IKEA Way' is dependent on inequality on global scale.³²⁴ One can claim that similar aims directed Bauhaus towards industrial production, and argue that there is a historical coherency from Bauhaus to IKEA. It would be a misconception. Although both Bauhaus and IKEA propose the same strategy for similar aims, under their specific contexts they projected different ends. In the post-WWI Europe Bauhaus witness the political reorganization of Europe. Although nation state was in favor of capitalist modes of production, through the formation process the interest in democracy was beyond mere concrete forms of government. The utopian ideals of the enlightenment process were revisited and the state was not only an organizer and referee of capitalist flow, it was more interested in defining the borders personal freedom based on the notion of citizenship. The idea of equal distribution of sources and accessibility of public services including social housing were to support the new definition of citizen. The key difference is the status and position of state in the contexts of Bauhaus and IKEA. In Bauhaus's case, the Weimar Republic was politically and economically weak.³²⁵ Political and economical stabilization were only rendered possible by the developments following WWII. The repair and reintegration period which was financially supported by US has reformed the status of state. When the political and

³²³ Mass production refers to the production of single objects in large quantities. Even though the increase in the efficiency of production process by using techniques of industrial production ideally decreases the cost of each product, it reduces the value of the labor engaged in that line of production. In other words while it increases the purchasing power of consumers, the purchasing power of laborer decreases synchronically.

³²⁴ The value transfer from labor to the product can be defined as a form of colonialism.

³²⁵ The representatives of the new republic were considered responsible for the unfair treaty and had limited political support of the sub-managerial units. Moreover, young Republic was burdened with the debts that it was sentenced by the Treaty of Versailles. See Chapter 2 for a brief account of the social and political conditions of the post-WWI Germany and Weimar republic.

economical conditions were settled, state was no longer needed as a protective controller and state intervention in economy has gradually declined. In other words, when mass production was idealized and utilized in post WWI Germany it was a national policy, and to a degree, it was for the sake of many and the less privileged. When similar ideas were considered on international scale the favored group of people is defined radically different.

Bauhaus was, like other historical avant-gardes, accused of serving the ideology of progress. It is a fact that the theory and design activity in Bauhaus has, in the long run, helped the mediation between quality and quantity³²⁶ but it would not be fair to accuse it being in the service of progressive ideology. For such an accusation one has to ignore the fact that architect, in addition to his/her role as a representative of his/her professional authority, is a member of the society that he/she works for. The historian, who enjoys his/her (decades long) critical distance, should consider this fact.

Fourth chapter is assigned for the second goal set for this study. In order to demystify how capitalist modes of production and organization effect and transform space, four shared design principles, that the reciprocation between capitalist modes of production and space are operated on, were evaluated. In addition to these modes of operation, namely, mass production, standardization, modularization, and claim of universality, two organizational principles developed by IKEA, self assembly and worldwide pipeline, were also evaluated. These principles are chosen because they are the mediums through which capitalist mode of production and organization transformed space. Unlike previous chapters, where the emphasis was upon the developments and dynamics within Europe, the inquiry made in chapter 4, also considers the technological developments in America. The reason America is excluded in previous chapters and placed at the center of this one was that until WWII, America was politically isolated from

³²⁶ Manfredo Tafuri, 1980, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

Europe. Although they communicated and had economic relations US avoided direct interferences.³²⁷

While each principle is evaluated separately, they are evaluated both for Bauhaus and IKEA. Through this section, special emphasis was made upon their proposals about housing. Problem of housing was considered as a problem that could be solved by adopting the techniques of industrial production to produce mass housing. Although both Bauhaus and IKEA were known for their furniture, more than architecture, both have, at certain points, spatialized their approaches.³²⁸ Concentration on housing should be considered as a choice that could also be made otherwise among their various products. It is a frame that helped to narrow down the objects of inquiry.

Similar to the changing status of state, one can also concentrate on the changing position of the individual. From that perspective one can recognize parallels between discourses of history of democracy and history of architectural modernism. The dissolution of the individual is evident in both. While the individual was of interest in the late 19th and the early 20th centuries, starting with the increased efficiency in production in 1910s America, towards 1930s it gradually became a number in statistics. The trend towards mass reproduction (of almost

³²⁷ There were cultural and commercial relations between US and Europe but until the active participation of US in WWII their political relations were limited. Although US took decisive steps in WWI, their post-war role was a kind of referee who only proposed advisory statements (*Woodrow Wilson's 14 Points*) and did not participate the League of Nations, which was an organization to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace, set by the Versailles Peace Treaty. On the other hand, US were a founding member of NATO whose official purposes were 'deterring Soviet expansionism, forbidding the revival of nationalist militarism in Europe through a strong North American presence on the continent, and encouraging European political integration.' See: North Atlantic Treaty Organization, "A short history of NATO." Last Accessed September 5th, 2012. <http://www.nato.int/history/nato-history.html>. On *Woodrow Wilson's 14 Points* see: The Avalon Project: President Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/wilson14.htm>.

³²⁸ The choice of prefabricated housing is not made to suggest that space should be considered as a container, on the contrary, it is chosen because it represents the ultimate condition that space is reified and commercialized just like the design products. Additionally it serves well to narrow down the objects of study.

anything) created a mass audience or mass consumption whose number were more important than its features.

Focusing on the prefabricated housing proposals clarifies this fact. While mass production was considered as production of parts or components in massive amounts and making them accessible for the masses, who would build different end products out of them based on their needs, yet by the 1930s it was considered as reproduction of complete units in scales that exceeded single buildings (Figure 11). Tafuri calls this the dissolution of the architectural object³²⁹

From an architect's point of view, this can be evaluated as the end of architecture as an auratic object, yet it is not the focus of this study. In this study, the changeover from mass production to mass re-production, which regarded the quantity over quality and disregarded the individual, is evaluated. This dissolution of the individual is visible both in politics and in architecture and it is evident in our contemporary cities.

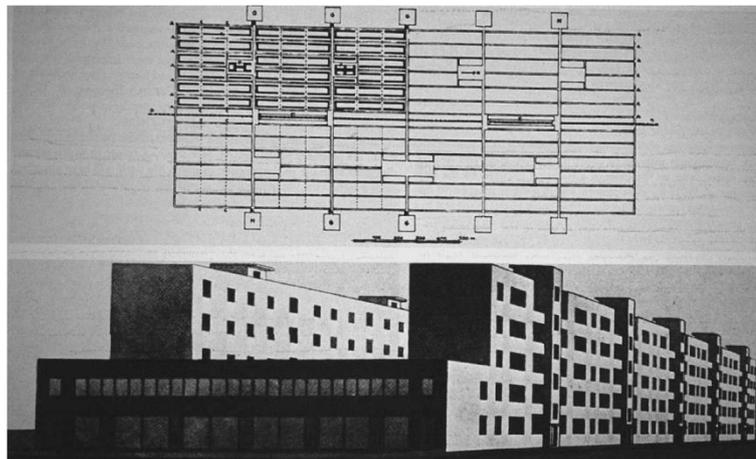


Figure 10: Ludwig Hilberseimer, illustrations from *Grossstadtarchitektur*, 1927, (included in Tafuri, Dal Co, *Modern Architecture*, Figs 307 308, p. 165, and Tafuri, *Architecture and Utopia*, Fig. 18, p. 108)

³²⁹ He shows Hilberseimer's *Grossstadtarchitektur* as evidence. Manfredo Tafuri, 'Toward a Critique of Architectural Ideology', (trans.) S Sartarelli, in *Architecture Theory since 1968*, M. Hays (ed.) (Columbia University Press, New York, 1999). p 22

Evaluating each mode of operation separately indicated that these principles, no matter how distinctive they seem, were socially constructed. They did not refer exact same definition in the 1910s America and in the 1920s Europe. Although the technological developments and their economic outcomes have attracted the war worn Europeans, these concepts were not easy to apply in the material conditions of Europe, instead in addition to their original use, they were loaded with political and cultural meanings. For instance, based on its premise of prosperity mass-production was reflected as egalitarian and democratic but the same concept was used to serve conflicting ends under different conditions. While it was considered as a way to human emancipation, under Nazi reign, the methods proposed by mass-production were used opposing ends such as repression and control of masses. Eventually, mass-murder of Jews was conducted by methods derived from assembly line.

This study showed that the notion 'democratization through design' well exemplifies the complex relationship between the political program and the architectural production that works on different levels simultaneously. As we have seen in previous chapters, the vocabulary and operational methods are not absolute. Utopia, democracy, rationalization are a few examples of these flexible terms. They are open to new interpretations as long as one rejects a too rigid conception of history such as the one drawn by Tafuri. He provides an unexampled overview of development and expansion of capitalism, and exposes how historical avant-gardes whether positive/constructivist or negative have served the progressive ideology of capitalism which they criticized in the first place. But his efforts to understand (and explain) have created a perception of a self-conscious, all embracing capitalism that leaves no space for the individual to emancipate, acknowledging the individual, whether he/she is conscious or unconscious about its dynamics, as captive of an illusion. Similarly, he sees no hope for architectural practice, which is bounded to the system. By announcing its inevitability, this perception serves the progressive ideal by way of naturalizing and normalizing it. It should be once more stated that, this is only one of possible interpretations. Other

critical theorists, who made similar observations, have proposed other future projections. They proposed modes of resistance and opposition. They re-assigned the critical position of utopia which marks the destination for the individual to determine the route. Such an understanding leaves possibilities of resistance for architects too. In urban scale, Peter Marcuse proposes a mode of opposition by a three-step program: 'expose, propose, and politicize.'³³⁰

As a result of the discussions made in previous chapter one way of resistance at the scale of architectural practice can be proposed here: (1) critical approach towards pure quantitative rationalizations. The quantitative data are more likely to favor profit than the anonymous individuals whose life would be affected by the decisions made them. While qualitative approach gives less distinctive inputs, the ambiguities can be partly clarified by using open and participatory methods.³³¹ In order to bring out their potentials to activate people Concepts such as democracy or equality should be evaluated in their original indefinite senses rather than concrete examples or definitions. In their original sense, they bear potentials of utopia, which is gradually emptied as they are solidified. In general, architects should search for the architecture beyond mere activity of building.

This research has questioned the relation between political program and architectural production in order to demystify how capitalist mode of production and organization effect and transform space. To narrow down this grand goal we have drawn two frames that limited its scope. Due to the choice of our case studies, the discussion on the notion 'democratization through design' was concentrated on twentieth century. Similarly, the we have interrogated the concepts that capitalist mode of production have operationalized through mass housing proposals, leaving other symbolic structures and furniture designs as well as the institutional actors

³³⁰ Peter Marcuse, *op. cit.*, p.194-195.

³³¹ New ways to interact and communicate the producer and consumer can be sought. As long as the consumer remains anonymous, he/she will never be more than a number in statistics and will be expendable.

outside. A further study extending this one can be made by extending its scope towards empirical knowledge through archival study. The modes of operation adopted by institutional actors can also be further studied.

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