Globalizing Design History and Global Design History

D. J. Huppatz

For at least a decade, design historians have been arguing that a global perspective on the discipline is essential. However, despite some initial efforts, the project of a global design history remains in its infancy. In response to the growing interest in globalization, this article considers the potential possibilities and problems in globalizing design history, albeit from a limited, Anglophone perspective. It begins in the first half by reviewing recent debates in historiography over world and global histories, so that we might more confidently position global approaches to design history. The second half of the article assembles initial attempts to globalize design history as well as themes and methods for further research, plotting potential themes and methods for globalizing design history, drawing upon existing scholarship and knowledge. Following historian Jerry H. Bentley, I am proposing design historians both 'globalize history and historicize globalization', in order to ensure the ongoing relevance of the discipline and engage with contemporary developments in other disciplines.

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A decade ago, in a special issue of this journal devoted to 'the global future of design history', Christopher Bailey argued that 'the need to develop a genuinely global field of enquiry has moved beyond being a challenge to becoming a duty'.[1] In *The Design History Reader*, Grace Lees-Maffei declared that 'the globalization of design history remains a priority for all interested in the present and future validity of the discipline'.[2] Evidently, some design historians agree that a global perspective is vital, but the issue of what a global design history might look like remains only partially addressed. Following historian Jerry H. Bentley, I am proposing design historians both 'globalize history and historicize globalization'.[3] By engaging with such mainstream historical challenges, design history might also begin to overcome what Victor Margolin characterized as the field's marginal status.[4]

A brief note on globalization

Political scientists, sociologists and economists first used the term globalization in the 1980s to describe recent international political, economic and social transformations.[5] In various fields of inquiry, globalization emerged as the preferred term to describe a multiplicity of trans-national forces—political, economic, cultural, ecological and technological—that have increased in velocity and intensity over the past five or six decades. Globalization can be understood as the 'increasing liquidity and growing multi-directional flows' of these intra-planetary processes, 'as well as the structures they encounter and create'.[6] The literature on globalization over the past twenty-five years—a trickle of material in the 1980s that became a flood in the 1990s and 2000s—now seems overwhelming.[7] For better or worse, globalization is an unavoidable keyword of our age.[8] However, the critique of 'metanarratives', totalizing stories claiming to encompass the whole of humanity, perhaps most famously expressed in Jean-François Lyotard's *The*

Postmodern Condition, deserves serious consideration by scholars wishing to develop a global perspective.[9] Postmodern and post-colonial theorists illuminated numerous issues—from the exclusion or marginalization of women and indigenous people to the repression of colonial violence—that render problematic claims to universal experience and a singular, totalizing narrative. Thus, both caution and precision are required to proceed with the globalization of design history.

To make my position clear, I understand globalization as a dynamic and multi-directional series of flows—of people, material goods and information across geopolitical borders—rather than as a single, deterministic process in which the inevitable outcome is a homogenized world modelled on Europe or the United States of America. There is a legitimate fear in the latter understanding of globalization, but, as I shall argue below, the term is more absorptive than some early commentators proposed.[10] Since the 1960s, the growing awareness of a global consciousness—that is, of inhabiting an increasingly interconnected and interdependent planet—is a shared experience that seems undeniable on various levels. However, this is not to say that globalization is historically inevitable, nor prophetic of a future state (which may entail as much 'de-globalization' as further globalization). It is hardly controversial to acknowledge globalization as a set of *quantitative* changes brought about by digital communications technologies, international financial markets or increased carbon emissions, but to argue that these constitute *qualitative* changes is. From a historical perspective, some processes attributed to recent globalization may be merely a continuation of processes that have been active and trans-planetary for a long time (in forms such as the telegraph, inter-regional trade and pollution, for example). It is necessary to understand the major positions in historical thinking about such large-scale social, political, economic and technological processes before addressing the potentials for repositioning design history.

World history: civilizations, structures, systems

> It is only today that it has become possible for the first time even to imagine a whole world consisting of peoples who have in the fullest sense entered into history and become the concern, no longer of the colonial administrator or the anthropologist, but of the historian.
>
> E. H. Carr, 1961[11]

In the 1960s, English historian E. H. Carr was not alone in imagining a history capable of encompassing the 'whole world'. Although constructing a 'world history' was not a new ambition,[12] it acquired new methods and approaches in the 1960s and 1970s. It is worth noting the parallel between Marshall McLuhan's contemporaneous concept of a 'global village' connected by new communication technologies and world historians' similar compression of time and space into coherent 'village stories'.[13] Thus, the historiographic account that follows is not arbitrary, but begins at the start of the 'global era' with a new understanding of the world and its people. I will focus on the three best-known historians of large-scale developments across broad geographical expanses—William H. McNeill, Fernand Braudel and Immanuel Wallerstein, scholars who laid the foundations for later global historians.

William H. McNeill's *The Rise of the West: A History of the Human Community* (1963) was perhaps the most successful attempt to paint a comprehensive world-picture of human history. McNeill's narrative set the standard for world history, and presented new possibilities for understanding the interactions between, and the integration of, pre-modern civilizations. The four major civilizations that dominate McNeill's story—Europe,

China, India and the Middle East—finally converged in the 1850s as a new era dawned. 'Instead of four (or with Japan, five), autonomous though interconnected civilizations,' argued McNeill, 'a yeasty, half-formless, but genuinely global cosmopolitanism began to emerge as the dominant reality of the human community.'[14] However, this is not 'global cosmopolitanism' as we might understand it in the twenty-first century, but specifically the triumph of 'Western civilization'.

McNeill's more accessible book, *A World History* (1967), reiterated a decisive shift in the mid-nineteenth century. The culmination of the democratic and industrial revolutions, he argued, had global repercussions and 'the result was to raise the power and wealth of the Western style of life so far above those familiar to other civilizations as to make resistance to Western encroachment no longer possible'.[15] As for the fate of non-Western people, McNeill writes:

> From about the mid-nineteenth century, the age-old retreat of barbarian and savage societies acquired a new velocity with the development of mechanical means of transport and communication. As a result, within scarcely more than a single century almost all the regions of the earth which in 1850 were still occupied by such simple societies have been either pre-empted by civilized settlers or else brought under civilized types of administration.[16]

In McNeill's world history, barbarian and primitive cultures, whether beaten back by a pre-emptive settler strike or a slower subjugation by colonial bureaucracy, retreat before the inevitable rise of Western civilization.[17]

The 'rise of the West' proved a particularly popular historical narrative in post-war American education in the second half of the twentieth century. In their comprehensive historiographic survey of the American tradition, Benedikt Stuchtey and Eckhardt Fuchs argue that during the Cold War, 'Western Civilization', an 'obligatory introductory course for history students at American universities, was actually world history with the ideological and political mission of putting the USA at the top of historical development'.[18] The primitive-to-present 'rise of the West' narrative found similar expression in Kenneth Clark's popular UK television series, *Civilization* (1969) and accompanying book, and lives on in American art and design history textbooks such as H. W. Janson's *A History of Art*, Phillip Meggs' *A History of Graphic Design* and John Pile's *A History of Interior Design*.[19] Most recently, Niall Ferguson's populist history *Civilization: The West and the Rest*, titled apparently without a hint of irony, continued the triumphant 'rise of the West' narrative.[20]

An alternative stream in world history, developed in France prior to the Second World War, is associated with the so-called '*Annales* school'.[21] The *Annales* approach focused on 'the *longue durée*' of history in which cultures, identities and mentalities persist, despite short-term political or social changes. Fernand Braudel's 1949 study of 'the Mediterranean world' in the age of Philip II, for example, encompassed a large geographical region containing various cultures, religions and states, with the nation-state and its institutions no longer providing the key narrative thread.[22] In *A History of Civilizations* (1963), in contrast to McNeill, Braudel was ultimately interested in 'structures' rather than 'civilizations': 'these structures, are generally ancient and long-lived, and always distinctive and original. They it is that give civilizations their essential outline and characteristic quality.'[23] Shifting the emphasis from episodic or event-dominated histories, *Annales* histories typically focused on founding structures and Braudel in particular stressed integrated research across the social sciences.[24] *Annales* historians concentrated on the pre-modern world, and Georg Iggers argues that their approach was

'remarkably free of confidence in the superior qualities of a Western civilization built on scientific and technological skills, and free of the concepts of modernization so central to much social science theory'.[25] Given Braudel's interest in social history and material culture, his work has had some impact on design historians.[26]

Expanding Braudel's spatial and temporal scope, Immanuel Wallerstein's *The Modern World-System* (1974), begins in sixteenth-century Europe and traces the development and spread of capitalism. His work characterizes 'the modern world-system' from the sixteenth century at 'a certain level of abstraction, that of the evolution of structures of the whole system'.[27] For Wallerstein, the modern world is characterized by a system unbound by political, linguistic or cultural borders but inherently based on an unequal relationship between the developed core and the underdeveloped periphery. However, Wallerstein's analysis focuses on charting the development of political and economic changes in the core, primarily Europe and the United States. Although he followed Braudel in arguing for an interdisciplinary inquiry across the social sciences, Wallerstein has shown little interest in material culture or the minutia of everyday experience, and has had little direct impact on design historians.

McNeill, Braudel and Wallerstein set the agenda for later historians interested in globalization, by constructing historical frameworks for understanding large-scale processes unbound by the nation-state.[28] Other historians, also referred to as transnational historians, have proposed alternative long-term and broad geographic histories.[29] Janet Abu-Lughod, for example, in an analysis of trade and communication networks linking Western Europe, the Middle East, China, India and Southeast Asia, stretched Wallerstein's 'world-system' back to the thirteenth century.[30] Philip Curtin's 'comparative world history', *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History*, similarly examined pre-modern trade networks in an attempt 'to avoid a Western ethnocentric outlook'.[31] While Wallerstein's world-system stretches back 500 years, Andre Gunder Frank and Barry Gills argued for a 'world system' stretching back at least 5,000 years, without a decisive break around 1500.[32] Indeed, it is possible to trace trade networks, migration, cultural exchange and communication between geographical regions back to the prehistoric era. Consequently, recent globalization can be understood as an intensification and expansion of already existing processes, interactions and flows rather than as a radical break. Precisely when the division between a world comprised of primarily local or regional experiences and a globally interconnected one occurred is still a topical debate among historians.[33]

Dilemmas: Eurocentrism, modernization and the people without history

> [. . .] and indeed it can be argued that the major component in European culture is precisely what made that culture hegemonic both in and outside Europe: the idea of European identity as a superior one in comparison with all the non-European peoples and cultures.
>
> Edward Said, 1978[34]

Regardless of temporal divisions, from the 1980s onwards, several dilemmas haunting the world historical project came to the foreground. As well as postmodern critics of the 'metanarrative', Indian scholars associated with the Subaltern Studies group and influenced by Edward Said's *Orientalism* offered alternative historical perspectives.[35] Additionally, critiques of modernization and progress, coupled with an increasing recognition of what anthropologist Eric Wolf referred to as 'the people without history', further dismantled many assumptions of world historians.[36] There is an inevitable

overlap between these critical perspectives, and, rather than aim to provide a comprehensive overview of postmodern or post-colonial theory, my intention is to summarize the major dilemmas faced by contemporary global historians.

An initial critique of world history, particularly the 'rise of the West' narrative, was that it is inherently Eurocentric. Historians Michael Geyer and Charles Bright, for example, argued that world history '[. . .] has remained intimately linked to totalizing Western world images and stereotypes. The very act of mapping and thinking the world implicated historians from around the world into a nexus of histories of imperial power from which their "other" worlds and histories were either excluded entirely—subaltern to the point of non-existence—or rendered subordinate.'[37]

In *Provincializing Europe*, Dipesh Chakrabarty exposed what he termed European historicism, a mode of thinking that 'posited historical time as a measure of the cultural distance (at least in institutional development) that was assumed to exist between the West and the non-West. In the colonies, it legitimated the idea of civilization.'[38] The underlying structural unity of mainstream historical processes, he argued, posited the non-West in a perpetual catch-up game with the civilized West. Following poststructural theorists such as Jacques Derrida and Michel Foucault, post-colonial theorists such as Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak and Homi K. Bhabha questioned Western conceptual systems derived from the European Enlightenment, including history.[39] The price paid by 'the rest' for the rise of the West was not only in colonial plunder, violence and occupation, but also in colonial structures of knowledge and conceptual categories.[40] World history of the 1960s and 1970s, as outlined above, was thus understood to be inescapably Eurocentric, not only in its content but in its narrative structure and conceptual categories.

As history was professionalized in nineteenth-century Europe, the non-West was relegated to the realm of anthropology, archaeology, African or Oriental studies. Historian Patrick O'Brien argues that it was during the nineteenth century that representations of European civilization as culturally advanced became the norm: 'Hegelian presumptions that Europe maturing into the West represented a model for modernity and progress became present in the writings of most historians, who implicitly, and often explicitly, derived that assumption from a succession of canonical social scientists, including Malthus, Hegel, Tocqueville, Saint Simon, Comte, Mill, Spencer, Marx and Weber.'[41]

Meanwhile, non-Western people were understood to be 'without history'. African historian Steven Feierman writes that any examination of African history reveals that the organizing concepts and methods of history are never neutral but 'the categories that are ostensibly universal are in fact particular, and they refer to the experience of modern Europe'.[42] He concludes: '[i]f what is European is defined as normal, then the non-European appears to be disordered, abnormal, primitive.'[43] As written, taught and popularly understood in Europe from the nineteenth century, history emerged within a West/non-West dichotomy with its associated preconceptions of civilized/primitive people.

In *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in 19th-Century Europe*, Hayden White characterized historical consciousness as inherently Western, 'a prejudice by which the presumed superiority of modern industrial society can be retroactively substantiated'.[44] This suggests that, like Eurocentrism, modernization was similarly embedded within European historical thinking. Geographer James Blaut described European history as 'the colonizer's model of the world', in which Europe was characterized as the dynamic core of historical development and technological change, and the rest of the world as a

stagnant periphery.[45] Samir Amin argued that Wallerstein's 'world-systems' continued this Eurocentric narrative in its 'mythic construct' of a centre/periphery relationship established as a binary opposition between Europe and the Rest.[46] Earlier ideas about historical civilization and progress morphed into economic theory's modernization in which 'progress means developing along a particular path towards a particular socio-political and economic state of organization—Western modernity'.[47] Modernization theories privilege Western technological and cultural progress that diffuses to the rest of the world. In history, this narrative sequence can be distilled as 'first the West, then the Rest'.

The twin dilemmas of Eurocentrism and modernization have proved difficult to overcome for historians, with Arlif Dirlik, for example, arguing that 'confronting Eurocentrism requires ultimately a confrontation of history and the project of modernity as a whole'.[48] From this position, any narratives purporting to be universal and all claims to 'world history' are inevitably Eurocentric and infused with the idea of modernization as a teleological process. However, Chakrabarty argued that post-colonial historians, rather than abandon history, have actively engaged in a 'politics of translation' between Western and other modes of thinking. His aim in 'provincializing Europe' is to 'write narratives and analyses that produce [. . .] translucence—and not transparency—in the relation between non-Western histories and European thought and its analytical categories [. . .]'[49] How might historians proceed with the construction of such 'translucent' global histories?

Globalizing history and the new global history

A new generation of historians has begun to rethink large-scale histories across a broad geographical expanse. A promising position is the new *global* history (as differentiated from *world* history) that aims to mature beyond 'the scientific and technological triumphalism of the West'.[50] In contrast to world history, global history refers to a revised notion of large-scale temporal and geographical narratives, explicitly inclusive of the 'multiplicity of "globalizations"'.[51] This project aims to avoid Eurocentrism, reject the dichotomy of modern and traditional cultures, avoid technological determinism, and remain open to other approaches and disciplines (from post-colonial and feminist theory to anthropology and sociology, for example). The new global history also proposes to acknowledge the heterogeneity of globalizing processes, the interaction of the local and the global, and to incorporate existing local, regional and national histories.[52] An accessible introduction is the Monash/Warwick Global History Collaboration, founded in 2011, an online resource containing bibliographies, teaching and research resources.[53]

Importantly, the erasure of non-Western structures of knowledge and conceptual categories—so often implied in critiques of Eurocentrism—was never complete. A global comparative historiography dedicated to comparing how various cultural traditions viewed historical change has been underway for almost a decade. Historical texts, methods and traditions of the non-West, long suppressed or ignored, have been collected into accessible anthologies and overviews.[54] This integration and interaction of different historical traditions is an ongoing project, but it is yet to make an impact on large-scale historical narratives. Translating between Western and non-Western knowledge and conceptual categories may be one path towards the 'translucent' histories advocated by Chakrabarty. Ultimately, this approach requires rethinking the assumption of a linear, progressive transition from 'traditional' to 'modern' cultures or practices;

that is, thinking beyond the modernization paradigm that posits the traditional as pre-industrial, feudal, rural, undemocratic and religious, and the modern as industrial, capitalist, urban, democratic, secular and scientific. These categories—embedded within the Eurocentric historical project—uphold the metanarrative of 'progress'.

A related project that Bruce Mazish refers to as the 'New Global History' is 'dedicated to the study of the new globalization that has emerged some time in the period after WWII'.[55] This is perhaps more straightforward as a characterization of historical accounts of the 'global era' beginning in the 1950s or 1960s (though Mazish opts for the 1970s as the significant turning point). Historians engaged in analysing recent globalization aim to avoid the economic perspective of globalization as the most advanced stage of development, the linear narrative of technological progress, the political narrative of the nation-state's inevitable decline, the geographical narrative of spatial shrinkage and the cultural perspective of ever-increasing homogenization. Instead, the New Global History aims to explore these issues as tensions between convergence and fragmentation, as well as the impact of such global forces on local people, communities and cultures.[56] New topics that arise from this era include new 'actors' such as multinational corporations, Non-Government Organizations (NGOs) and global activists, as well as new themes as diverse as global communications, politics, economics, environmentalism and human rights, ideally analysed from a multi-disciplinary perspective.

Towards a global design history

The most crucial problem for globalizing design history is a definition of design. If we define design as the conception and creation of artefacts for mechanized mass production—'industrial design' in its purist sense—then the British Industrial Revolution of the eighteenth century seems a logical origin.[57] However, if we define design as the conception and creation of useful artefacts in general, then the scope of inquiry expands to include 'pre-industrial' objects.[58] Many popular and enduring design historical surveys have adopted the former approach, with the exception of popular American textbooks, as noted above, which follow the more comprehensive 'world history' approach.[59] Other options for constructing general design historical narratives are to trace the development of 'modern design' or to begin in the twentieth century. Implicitly—if not explicitly—these are founded on assumptions about British industrialization and European exceptionalism.[60] Regardless of approach, the Western 'grand narrative' that extends from 'Lascaux to Brooklyn' (as Paul Rand put it) or, less ambitiously, from the Industrial Revolution to the present, prevails as the dominant framework for most design historical teaching and scholarship. If design historians are serious about establishing a global perspective, the dilemmas of world history outlined above need addressing.

A significant hurdle in conceptualizing a global design history is the discipline's preoccupation with modernism and a particular canon of modernist designers and design icons.[61] Narratives of modernist design—typically following Pevsner's initial blueprint in *Pioneers of the Modern Movement*—are based on a 'diffusionist model' whereby modernism begins in Western Europe and diffuses outwards. The fixation on modernism is aligned to an often-unstated narrative in which the vanguard of design culture naturally follows technological progress and socio-economic development. Design historians typically adhere to the 'first the West, then the Rest' dictum. Denise Whitehouse characterizes this as a geographical 'power play' grounded in 'design history's agreed definition of design as the product of industrialization, technological innovation, and mass manufacture, which excludes countries that lack mass manufacturing and its

technologies but that nevertheless shape sophisticated design cultures'.[62] To restate the initial problem, if our definition of design is limited to artefacts conceived by professional designers and produced by mechanized mass production, then is design history inherently Eurocentric (or more specifically, inherently Anglocentric)?

This question has provoked some design historians—in both Europe and beyond—to start building alternative narratives. Beginning in Barcelona in 1999, progress towards a more inclusive global design history has occurred at the biannual International Conference on Design History and Design Studies (ICDHDS).[63] Papers and discussions at these conferences have uncovered a wealth of local and regional design histories—particularly from Spanish-speaking countries—that challenge the long-accepted European canon as well as modernist ideas as they were transferred, adopted and adapted in non-Western contexts.[64] Convenor of the first conference, Anna Calvera, suggested two approaches for globalizing design history:

> a common, large narrative of the World History of Design, open-minded enough to be shared by different regions or nations. It permits a research approach that works from the general to the particular. The second research direction aims at finding points and aspects to be compared between different local, or rather national, identities notable for their differences. This approach works from the particular to the general and, through sharing particularities, it should introduce new interpretative models (might we also call these larger narratives?) that are adapted to local realities.[65]

Victor Margolin has adopted the first approach, the 'common, large narrative', for his three-volume *World History of Design* (forthcoming, 2015). Margolin has meticulously documented design from the prehistoric era to the present, including regions of the world absent from earlier design histories. However, while admirable in expanding existing knowledge, the *World History of Design*—particularly the first volume's coverage of prehistorical to modern design—is modelled on a narrative framework derived from McNeill and Braudel.[66] In an earlier theoretical overview, Margolin advocates 'a narrative that emphasizes social actors and the forces with which they interact' rather than a chronology of styles or nation-based histories.[67] These social actors, he argues, include not only individual designers but also governments and institutions. Thus a world history of design, argues Margolin, functions 'as a history of how empires, nations and other political entities have used it [design] to advance their political and economic agendas, while also showing how designed objects and images have contributed to the formation of national and global sensibilities'.[68]

Another holistic project exemplifying the 'common, large narrative' is Pat Kirkham and Susan Weber's 2013 edited volume *History of Design: Decorative Arts and Material Culture, 1400–2000*.[69] Allocating equal weight to major geographical entities—East Asia, India, The Islamic World, Africa, Europe and the Americas—the volume's scope is comprehensive and earlier Eurocentric models have been displaced by a more even geographical spread. However, given each geographical entry is a discrete overview of the material culture of a particular time, place and culture, there is little sense of the global production and consumption of objects. A further limitation for this type of design history survey is its museological focus on material objects, a focus which tends to exclude Margolin's broader inclusion of various social actors, including governments and institutions.

The second, a comparative approach suggested by Calvera, follows Braudel's possibility of a network model rather than a one-way flow from centre to periphery.[70] Calvera

also acknowledges that peripheral histories tend to be characterized by chronological delay and dependence on models from the centre.[71] However, self-conscious marginalization is potentially problematic. Tony Fry argued in an essay on Australian design that design in a marginal locale is dependent on distant centres, with the local designer operating 'as one of the key mediators gatekeeping the induction of the elsewhere'.[72] Similarly, Gui Bonsiepe has long advocated design in what he refers to as the 'periphery'. His history of the 'Ulm Model', for example, addresses the development of industrial design pedagogy and practice in Latin America.[73] The fundamental problem with this approach is that terms marginal and periphery immediately situate design activities—whether Australian or Latin American—always already in a subordinate relation to a (real or perceived) centre. Ultimately, design histories that adopt a centre/margins or centre/periphery model adhere to the 'first the West, then the Rest' sequence. However, self-consciously using this model may well be a useful strategy in certain circumstances, such, for example, as analysing colonial relationships in design history.

In contrast, the short essays in *Global Design History* (2011) illustrate alternative approaches. Editors Glenn Adamson, Giorgio Riello and Sarah Teasley aimed to correct what they claimed was 'the dominant, lopsided representation of the history of design as occurring primarily in Western Europe and the United States'.[74] The essays follow either a comparative or a 'connections' approach based on analysing global flows of objects, people and ideas. From the 'global Renaissance' to pre-modern Japanese, Chinese and Indian examples (design here is clearly not defined by industrialization), to reimaginings of twentieth-century design and contemporary globalization, the collection represents a series of promising beginnings. In another article, Adamson and Riello discussed the possibilities of an object-based approach in order to 'show how the object itself can produce its own global history or can be used as a way to challenge, revise, or relativize established narratives'.[75] These examples consciously resist the totalizing ideals of a 'world history' or an overarching narrative. How such 'microhistories' might be incorporated into larger historical narratives (or even whether this is a desirable aim), remains to be seen.

Beyond these beginnings, there are alternate options for globalizing design history. Existing research on peripheral design cultures, typically framed in national or local terms, could be repositioned within a global context. However, the aim of this strategy should be to remap earlier periods while acknowledging different understandings of design, its processes, production and consumption within different cultural contexts. Rather than understand the periphery as an imitation of Europe, there needs to be an understanding of the multi-directional nature of global flows—this may require developing both new terms and new structures for analysis. One strategy is to build upon existing scholarship on European or American design and to 'provincialize' or 'globalize' it. Rather than begin afresh, this entails adopting a global lens to existing design historical knowledge. As examples of the latter approach, I will consider two significant design historical moments: mid-nineteenth century Britain and inter-war Germany. Rather than a comprehensive coverage, I offer these as illustrations of global lenses applied to already existing design historical knowledge.

Globalizing design reform

> [. . .] the designers in this country are just as likely to be called upon to frame a design which will suit the taste or the want of it, of the African savage on the coast of Mozambique, as that which may be necessary to meet the requirements of the inhabitants of Mayfair.
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> Henry Cole, 1851[76]

Design reform in mid-nineteenth century England—encompassing the Great Exhibition of 1851, the *Journal of Design*, the establishment of design education and national design policy, as well as characters such as Henry Cole, Owen Jones and Gottfried Semper—constitutes an important topic for design historical scholarship and teaching. While typically framed within an English context, what Arindam Dutta has termed the 'South Kensington system'—comprising a pedagogical model, a legal framework for design patents, an exhibition culture and the rhetoric of design reform—was also (to some extent) a global phenomenon.[77] The dissemination of both the system and its colonial imagination (an image of the world centred on England) had a significant effect on design education, exhibitions, publications and policy in various parts of the British Empire and beyond in the nineteenth century.[78] The particular discourse of design reform was initially bound to British colonial trade and tracing its diffusion, adoption and adaption 'from Mayfair to Mozambique' could provide alternative narratives to the common Anglocentric one.

The 1851 Great Exhibition, for example, has been the subject of a revised, global perspective in recent years.[79] The first international event dedicated to display the material progress of industrialization, the Great Exhibition also represented a potential new world order of 'free trade' beyond national boundaries. Not surprisingly, the Exhibition and the 'South Kensington system' align neatly with McNeill's periodization of the 1850s as the era of the great 'convergence' into a global cosmopolitanism. The Exhibition encapsulated a hierarchical ordering and compression of global cultures, but a very particular one: a British imperial world-picture based on the logic of centre and periphery. McNeill's civilization/savagery dichotomy was made concrete via displays of (British) industrial objects and (colonial) primitive crafts.[80] The broader discourse of design reform and policy located the professional designer and industrial manufacturing in Britain while the colonies provided raw materials and an export market.[81] Finally, as systemized approach to design education, the South Kensington model was replicated in some British colonies, particularly Canada and Australia, but was also adopted in other countries, such as the United States, Brazil and Japan.[82]

Rather than seeing late nineteenth century design culture in England as contained within a nationalist context, a global perspective might offer new insights. The design reform discourse, extending through the Arts and Crafts movement, could also be framed globally, with the spread of information via *The Studio* and the exports of Morris & Co. to the colonies, for example.[83] In this case, the diffusionist historical model needs adjusting to acknowledge the adoption and adaptation of Arts and Crafts ideas in their new contexts. In England meanwhile, Morris' (and others') self-conscious turn to vernacular sources might be as much a reaction to the increasingly global trade of commodities, ideas and people, as it was to mechanization.[84] Acknowledging the imperial context of mid-nineteenth century British design might also be a first step in shifting the narratives of triumphant technological progress and British exceptionalism that haunt design history. A comparative method could entail juxtaposing British industrial products with those of China or India, not as products of an inferior civilization without machines or a 'purer' culture closer to nature but as mass-produced objects exported and consumed globally (although in many cases informed by British interests or by markets established by Colonial powers). Just as Cole envisaged British-designed objects produced for global export, mid-nineteenth century Chinese and Indian mass-produced objects were equally produced for global export.[85] Beyond production, a further research angle would be to analyse how these were objects promoted and consumed in their final destinations.

Globalizing international Modernism

The Bauhaus remains an important institution for design historians. It is difficult to imagine a general survey of the field that does not feature at least some of its iconic

objects, designers, publications or its pedagogical model. While a great deal of scholarship exists on the Bauhaus in its German context, it could also be understood as global. Importantly, the Bauhaus was unusually cosmopolitan in its student body and international in its aims from the beginning.[86] Like the dissemination of the 'South Kensington system', we might also consider a 'Bauhaus system' disseminated around the world by designers who taught or were educated there. The Bauhaus diaspora in the United States is well known and documented, but for the rest of the world the scholarship is patchy. After the Second World War, for example, the Bauhaus diaspora spread to the USSR and Eastern bloc countries in Europe, as well as to Israel, Japan and Africa.[87] Recent publications on the global impact of Bauhaus pedagogy, Japanese designers at the Bauhaus and the visit of Rabindranath Tagore to the Weimar Bauhaus add to the image of a global Bauhaus.[88] However, studies of the Bauhaus system's diffusion need to avoid a concentric model whereby peripheral cultures are characterized as merely imitating the German original.[89]

In *Bauhaus Dream-House: Modernity and Globalization*, Katarina Rüedi Ray argued that the dissemination of Bauhaus ideas occurred through both the 'threads of communication and influence' of personal relationships, as well as through 'new communication technologies—expanding exponentially in the inter-war period'. These, she argued, 'connected the Bauhaus with far-flung individuals, organizations, and audiences'.[90] Following this idea, the role of communications technologies in the inter-war period—from cheap illustrated printing, advertising and newspapers to radio, cinema and the telephone—in moulding an international community of modernist designers and institutions has not been fully recognized by design historians. This recognition could acknowledge modernist design as a parallel project of designers and consumers around the world responding to various economic, political, technological and social changes rather than simply a diffusion of ideas from Germany. However, the uneven distribution of this project and the limitations of the international flows of information and people would also need to be taken into account.

Beyond the Bauhaus, the inter-war period in Europe was notable for the development of various modernist design ideals, including a self-conscious international ambition. The development of ISOTYPE by Otto Neurath and his collaborators in Vienna, for example, often portrayed as 'industrializing' or 'rationalizing' visual communication, was founded upon a universal ideal. His 1936 book, *International Picture Language: The First Rules of ISOTYPE*, for example, outlined a consistent, logical 'pictorial information' system that could potentially subordinate 'individual and national interests to the needs of an international community'.[91] Beyond its characterization as a rationalization of visual language based on standardization, simplicity and efficiency, scholars have begun to analyse how this particularly European system spread around the world in the post-war era.[92] However, it was not simply copied by non-Europeans, but was adapted to local conditions, existing symbolic systems and cultural expectations.[93]

Many modernist designers operated in a trans-European, trans-Atlantic or international context over the course of their careers and self-consciously pursued the twin ideals of internationalism and universalism.[94] Ironically, this trans-national practice is usually framed within national histories that tend to downplay the global aspects of individual designers' careers, the travels of designed artefacts or their transnational production. The national framework remains strong for various practical reasons—the prevalence of national archives, funding bodies and institutional constraints, for example, can work against framing scholarship across national boundaries. However, interconnected histories have emerged of design's role in national states' international ambitions and policy development, particularly American and Soviet design cultures during the Cold

War.[95] Networks of practitioners, the impact of improved communications technology and travel in the modernist era were also significant—and a means by which designers and consumers could envisage themselves as part of a modern global consciousness.

Multiple modernities

Another strategy is to abandon design history's myopic focus on modernist design and instead highlight more populist versions of modern design. Often downplayed, the varieties of modern styling lumped together as Art Deco spread rapidly around the world via films, journals, newspapers, graphic communications and consumer objects. Art Deco or 'moderne' commercial, retail and apartment buildings and their interiors, for example, transformed cities from Shanghai to Sydney and from Asmara to Bombay.[96] The 'impure' forms of Art Deco's variegated styling in the 1920s and 1930s represented an urban, cosmopolitan style—an 'international style'—that was adopted and adapted (rather than copied) by designers around the world. A telling comparison in the representation of Art Deco versus Modernism as 'international' styles was the two Victoria and Albert Museum exhibitions: in 2003, 'Art Deco: 1910–1939', and in 2006, 'Modernism: Designing a New World'. These two exhibitions (and accompanying catalogues), covering roughly the same period, confirmed that Modernism was an exclusively Euro-American phenomenon, while Art Deco was global. While the Modernism exhibition focused on Europe, the Art Deco exhibition's final part, 'The Deco World' featured examples of 'moderne' objects and architecture from Japan, China, India, Australia, Latin America and South Africa.[97] However, the emphasis on Paris as the origin and original Art Deco confirmed a 'first the West, then the Rest' sequence.

Despite these possible global perspectives on existing scholarship, the diffusionist problem remains. Diffusion, historian Raymond Grew argues, has possibilities if we shift 'the focus to the *process* of diffusion' and '[t]hen the object of study becomes the process of adoption, resistance, assimilation, adaptation, and transformation, and the analysis uses comparison more than sequence'.[98] Studies of the spread of what Guy Julier terms 'design culture'—comprising institutions, publications, education, exhibitions and the self-conscious professionalization of design activities—outside of Europe and the United States has begun.[99] For example, recent survey articles in this journal documented the development of modern design cultures in Japan, Greater China and Korea.[100] This scholarship could potentially be integrated into broader historical narratives in which it appears on equal footing with the development of modern design cultures in European countries. A network model, as suggested by Calvera, could also explore flows of information, designers and objects between 'peripheral' places. No doubt there is a great deal of material documenting design in various places written in languages other than English that is yet to be translated. Indeed, this issue highlights the English language as a dominant factor that has shaped design history and limited our understanding of design in a global context.[101]

A further challenge for globalizing design history is how to integrate indigenous or traditional material culture into design history—or whether to include the 'people without design' at all. Interestingly, *The Design History Reader* begins with an excerpt by Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, 'An Indian Basket, Providence, Rhode Island, 1676'. The basket was clearly hand-made in a 'traditional' manner, yet in its materials, and in its context of creation and reception, it is also a modern artefact.[102] If a global design history is to proceed along a material culture line, then it must acknowledge the plural notions of what might constitute design in various cultures. Here, for example, an anthropological approach to indigenous culture such as Nigel Barley's analysis of everyday objects in Southern Nigeria

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is a useful model.[103] But this need not be limited to traditional or vernacular artefacts and practices, but should also include modern urban cultures that might mix imported, modern and traditional artefacts and ideas. David Stairs' brief survey on Ugandan design, for example, rather than dwelling on imported objects and ideas, analyses vernacular signage, traditional seating and objects such as sandals made from recycled tires. Stairs recognized that 'the influence of Western design often is diluted, absorbed, and made Ugandan'.[104] It is important not to assume indigenous or traditional design necessarily equates to pre-industrial or primitive.[105] Lastly, incorporating an indigenous perspective might involve, as Stairs has, shifting emphasis from the production of designed artefacts to local consumption and adaptations of industrial mass produced artefacts.

Design history in an era of globalization

The final but no less difficult task is mapping design practice in the global era. There seems little controversy in characterizing design of the past fifty years or so as increasingly bound up with global processes. Analyses of more recent globalization in design already exist, but have a tendency towards mapping contemporary design rather than historicizing it. In *The Design Dimension*, for example, Christopher Lorenz examined the design industry's globalization in the 1980s, largely in response to the international success of Japanese cars and consumer electronics. Although early promoters of globalization such as Theodore Levitt argued that the world's consumer tastes and needs were becoming increasingly homogenized through standardized products, Lorenz presented the counter-view that 'new life styles were emerging and new, differentiated markets were opening up'.[106] The 1980s globalization 'hype', Lorenz concluded, was materialized by large corporations in their production and marketing of standardized products throughout the world.[107] Lorenz highlighted the era's 'awkward paradox' in relation to global products and brands by contrasting attempts at a singular global design language with national variations.

Additional research on contemporary aspects of design and globalization are no doubt valuable, but a design history of the last five or six decades might proceed across various fronts.[108] This could include, for example, new approaches to existing themes such as analyses of the global production and consumerism of designed objects, global corporations founded on particular design ideals such as Apple or IKEA, new global design consultancies such as Frog, GK Design or IDEO, or the careers of individual designers who work in a global context.[109] Following the biographies of objects, companies, consultancies or designers could contain global design histories within manageable case studies that help illuminate a broader picture of design's global movement over the past fifty years or so.

Related fields, particularly anthropology and material culture studies have much to offer design historians interested in globalization, particularly for their analyses of how designed objects are consumed in various contexts. Seminal texts, including Igor Kopytoff's 'The Cultural Biography of Things', first published in Arjun Appadurai's *The Social Life of Things*, and John Brewer and Roy Porter's edited collection, *Consumption and the World of Goods*, signalled not only anthropology's turn to material culture but also its global turn.[110] From the 1990s, a range of scholarship has emerged from anthropologists and sociologists that analyses the shifting contexts, mediation of and meanings attributed to material culture on a global scale.[111] However, much of this work remains centred on the 'lives' of commodities as they circulate around the globe, while their conception, design and production remains little analysed. For design historians, the latter themes of conception, design and production have great potential for additions to work already done on tracing the global trajectory of objects or future inter-disciplinary collaborations.

Beyond such smaller scale studies, larger themes await the attention of design historians. Design and development, for example, were global issues for designers, particularly in the 1960s and 1970s. As a theme extending from the Eames' 1958 India Report to the 1979 Ahmedabad Declaration, design's role in development has once again become a popular idea among designers and critics.[112] Another possibility, suggested by Jonathan Woodham, is analysing the role of design organizations such as the International Council of the Societies of Industrial Design (ICSID, founded in 1957), the International Council of Graphic Design Associations (ICOGRADA, founded in 1963) and the International Federation of Interior Architects/Designers (IFI, founded in 1963).[113] Such global bodies confirmed the idea that design was international and potentially poised to solve global problems. Finally, sustainability is clearly a contemporary global issue but also one with which professional designers have been concerned since at least the 1960s: no-one has comprehensively mapped its history to date.[114] Obviously, this brief list is not comprehensive, but it would seem to me that design historians contemplating design's history since the 1960s cannot avoid a global perspective.

Conclusion

Establishing a global framework for design history is important, but, as I have demonstrated above, it is not necessarily a singular project or one that requires comprehensive geographic coverage. Furthermore, a global design history need not negate local, regional or national histories, nor reject existing methods, but might more usefully build upon existing knowledge and methods. Historian Raymond Grew argued that global history could become 'another way of regrouping interdisciplinary and cross-cultural research—a continuing project and not the expression of a single theory', and global design history could be characterized in the same way.[115] As a first step, it seems to me that the crucial issue is reframing existing knowledge so as to avoid European exceptionalism by which 'design' originated in Europe and then flowed out to the rest of the world. The next step would involve a better understanding of the multi-directional nature of flows, particularly flows of designed objects (of which much work has already been done in related fields, as noted above), the movement of designers, interactions between design-related institutions (from consultancies and design-led corporations to educational institutes and professional associations) and the circulation of information related to design production, processes and thinking. Critically, a global design history begins with an acknowledgement of design cultures in the rest of the world as equal to those of the West and an understanding of the global as a dynamic set of processes and interrelations.

D. J. Huppatz
Swinburne University of Technology—Interior Design, Victoria, Australia
E-mail: dhuppatz@swin.edu.au

D.J. Huppatz is Senior Lecturer at Swinburne University of Technology's School of Design in Melbourne, Australia. He recently completed an edited collection, *Design: Critical and Primary Sources*, for Bloomsbury.

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Notes

1 C. Bailey, 'The Global Future of Design History', *Journal of Design History*, vol. 18, no. 4, 2005, p. 233.

2 G. Lees-Maffei, in *The Design History Reader*, G. Lees-Maffei & R. Houze (eds.), Berg, Oxford & New York, 2010, p. 469.

3 J. H. Bentley, 'Globalizing History and Historicizing Globalization', in *Globalization and Global History*, B. K. Gills & W. Thompson (eds), Taylor & Francis, Hoboken, NJ, 2012. p. 18. In his excellent summary of the issues, historian A. G. Hopkins phrased this project as questions: 'what can historians contribute to the debate on globalization, and what can the debate on globalization contribute to the study of history?'; A. G. Hopkins, 'The History of Globalization—and the Globalization of History?', in *Globalization in World History*, A. G. Hopkins (ed.), Pimlico, London 2002, p. 21.

4 V. Margolin, 'Design in History', *Design Issues*, vol. 25, no. 2, 2009, pp. 94–105.

5 An early and influential characterization of globalization is in economist Theodore Levitt's 1983 essay, 'The Globalization of Markets' (*Harvard Business Review*, vol. 61, no. 3, May-June 1983, pp. 92–102). This and other 'classic' essays on globalization are collected in M. B. Steger (ed.), *Globalization, The Greatest Hits: A Global Studies Reader*, Paradigm Publishers, Boulder, CO, & London, 2010 (Levitt's essay is at pp. 16–32).

6 G. Ritzer, *Globalization: The Essentials*, Wiley-Blackwell, Oxford & Malden, MA, 2011, p. 2. Ritzer further elaborates on the 'liquid' trope in 'Globalization I: Liquids, Flows, and Structures', ch. 1 of *Globalization: A Basic Text*, Wiley-Blackwell, Oxford & Malden, MA, 2010, pp. 1–32.

7 Hence the large number of short introductory texts and readers currently available. Among the many introductions, M. B. Steger, *Globalization: A Very Short Introduction*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2009, is a useful short summary of globalization's economic, political, cultural and ecological dimensions. Of the many readers, F. J. Lechner & J. Boli (eds), *The Globalization Reader*, 3rd edn, Blackwell Publishing, Oxford & Malden, MA, 2008, contains important articles from the past twenty-five years across various disciplines. The classic cultural perspective on globalization is A. Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, MN, 1996.

8 Raymond William's 1976 classic *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (Croon Helm, London) did not include 'globalization', but a 2008 revised version did. See L. Grossberg, 'Globalization', in *New Keywords: A Revised Vocabulary of Culture and Society*, T. Bennett, L. Grossberg & M. Morris (eds), Blackwell Publishing, Oxford & Malden, MA, 2005, pp. 218–23. Grossberg's narrowly Marxist definition of globalization reduces it to a characteristic of capitalism.

9 J.-F. Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, MN, 1984.

10 See, for example, Theodore Levitt's early essay 'The Globalization of Markets', op. cit., and the early popular book on globalization, T. Friedman, *The Lexus and the Olive Tree*, Farrar, Strauss & Giraux, New York, 1999.

11 E. H. Carr, *What is History*?, Penguin, London, 1961, p. 199. Carr was also a diplomat, so his interest in international relations and its history was not surprising.

12 One of the earliest historical narratives, written in the fifth century BCE by Herodotus, was an account of various inter-regional wars in what was then conceived to be the 'world'. See Herodotus, *The History*, D. Grene (trans.), University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1987.

13 In his introduction to *Understanding Media*, McLuhan writes: 'Today, after more than a century of electric technology, we have extended our central nervous system in a global embrace, abolishing both space and time as far as our planet is concerned.' M. McLuhan, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man*, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1964, p. 3.

14 W. H. McNeill, *The Rise of the West: A History of the Human Community*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago & London, 1963, p. 727.

15 W. H. McNeill, *A World History*, Oxford University Press, Oxford & London, 1967, p. 411.

16 Ibid, p. 416.

17 The distinction and narrative framework was repeated in numerous reprints under various titles and was still intact in a 1993 student version: W. H. McNeill, *A History of the Human Community: Prehistory to the Present*, 4th edn, Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1993.

18 B. Stuchtey & E. Fuchs (eds), *Writing World History, 1800–2000*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2003, p. 2.

19 The original editions are K. Clark, *Civilization*, Murray, London, 1969; H. W. Janson, *A History of Art: A Survey of the Visual Arts from the Dawn of History to the Present Day*, Thames & Hudson, London, 1962; P. Meggs, *A History of Graphic Design*, Van Nostrand Reinhold, New York, 1983; and J. Pile, *A History of Interior Design*, Wiley, London, 2000. Each of Janson, Meggs and Pile has been revised and updated since these original editions but the narrative framework remains intact. See also my article on the search for origins for this narrative: D. J. Huppatz, 'The Cave: Writing Design History', *The Journal of Writing in Creative Practice*, vol. 3, no. 2, 2010, pp. 135–48.

20 N. Ferguson, *Civilization: the West and the Rest*, Allen Lane, London, 2011, p.7. Not surprisingly, Fergusson draws upon Clark (*Civilization*, op. cit.), McNeill's *Rise of the West* (op. cit.) and Fernand Braudel's *A History of Civilizations* (R. Mayne (trans.), Allen Lane, London, 1994) in his introductory chapter (see pp. 1–18). He begins his narrative with 'Western Civilization 1.0', which 'arose in the so-called Fertile Crescent stretching from the Nile Valley to the confluence of the Euphrates and the Tigris' (p. 17), continuing the bizarre Civilizations narrative that situates the origins of 'the West' in the geographic East.

21 The term refers to a loose affiliation of historians formed around the journal *Annales d'Historie Economique et Sociale*, founded by Lucien Febvre and Marc Bloch. A useful overview is P. Burke, *The French Historical Revolution: the Annales School, 1929–1989*, Polity Press, Cambridge, UK, & Malden, MA, 1990, and a good comparison between the *Annales* approach to history and Wallerstein's 'world-systems' analysis is R. E. Lee (ed.), *The Longue Durée and World-systems Analysis*, State University of New York, New York, 2012.

22 F. Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, S. Reynolds (trans.), 2 vols, Harper & Row, New York, 1972. The original French edition was in 1949 (*La Méditerranée et le Monde Méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II*, Librairie générale française, Paris).

23 Braudel, *A History of Civilizations*, op. cit. The original French edition was in 1963 (*Le Monde actuel, histoire et civilisation*, Belin, Paris).

24 See Braudel, *A History of Civilizations*, op. cit, especially ch. 2, 'The Study of Civilization Involves all the Social Sciences', pp. 9–23, in which he refers to both Michel Foucault and Claude Lévi-Strauss.

25 G. G. Iggers, *Historiography in the Twentieth Century: From Scientific Objectivity to the Postmodern Challenge*, Wesleyan University Press, Middletown, CT, Hanover & London, 1997, pp. 63–4.

26 See, for example, A. Calvera, 'Local, Regional, National, Global and Feedback: Several Issues to be Faced With Constructing Regional Narratives', *Journal of Design History*, vol. 18, no. 4, 2005, pp. 373, 380, 381; and V, Margolin, 'A World History of Design and the History of the World', *Journal of Design History*, vol. 18, no. 3, 2005, p. 236. Perhaps of most interest to design historians has been Braudel's later *Civilization and Capitalism* trilogy, particularly F. Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism*, vol.1: *The Structures of Everyday Life*, S. Reynolds (trans.), University of California Press, Berkeley & Los Angeles, CA, 1992, in which he addresses themes such as houses, interiors, transport and technology.

27 I. Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century*, Academic Press, New York, 1974, p. 8. He differentiates his analysis of the 'world-system' from earlier histories of empires and nation-states, primarily on the basis of a 'world-economy'. See also his later overview, I. Wallerstein, *World-Systems Analysis: An Introduction*, Duke University Press, Durham, NC, & London, 2004, p. 16.

28 See P. N. Stearns, *Globalization in World History*, Routledge, London & New York, 2010, esp. pp. 1–11.

29 For an accessible overview of transnational, world and global histories, see C. A. Bayly, S. Beckert, M. Connelly, I. Hofmeyer, W. Kozol & P. Seed, '*AHR* Conversation: On Transnational History', *American Historical Review*, vol. 111, no. 5, 2006, pp. 1441–64. I have not used the term 'transnational' in this article because, following Bayly's comments on p. 1442, the term 'transnational' seems problematic when discussing history prior to the nineteenth century spread of nation-states. 'Transnational' also implies the use of the nation as a central analytical category, potentially marginalizing other interactions between regions, cultures, or individuals.

30 Janet Abu-Lughod reveals that parts of Euro-Asia were integrated into a single, 'world system' as early as the thirteenth century, though this was obviously not global in today's sense; J. Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony: The World System AD 1250–1350*, Oxford University Press, Oxford & New York, 1989.

31 P. D. Curtin, *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1984, p. ix.

32 B. K. Gills & A. G. Frank (eds), *The World System: Five Hundred Years or Five Thousand?*, Routledge, London & New York, 1993. See also B. K. Gills & A. G. Frank, 'The Five Thousand Year World System in Theory and Praxis', in *World System History: The Science of Long-Term Change*, R. A. Denmark, J. Friedman, B. K. Gills & G. Modelski (eds), Routledge, London & New York, 2000, pp. 3–23. The hyphen is a differentiating factor between the two approaches: Gills and Frank argue that Wallerstein's 'world-history' charts the development of capitalism from its origins in Europe and relegates the rest to an undifferentiated periphery.

33 See, for example, Stearns, op. cit. Stearns proposes four possible turning points for the global convergence: around 1000 CE, around 1500, around 1850 and after the Second World War.

34 E. Said, *Orientalism: Western Concepts of the Orient*, Penguin, London, 1991 (1978), p. 7.

35 The Subaltern Studies Collective, formed in 1981, comprised historians who shared an interest in colonial and post-colonial Indian history, and included Ranajit Guha, Partha Chatterjee and Dipesh Chakrabarty.

36 E. Wolf, *Europe and the People without History*, University of California Press, Berkeley, CA, 1982.

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37 M. Geyer & C. Bright, 'World History in a Global Age', *American Historical Review*, vol. 87, no. 4, 1995, p. 1036. This was an early critique of world history and an attempt to revise world history into global history. From another perspective, Islamic historian Marshall Hodgson was another early critic of McNeill's world history in particular as both 'diffusionist' and 'Westernist'. See M. G. S. Hodgson, 'On Doing World History', in *Rethinking World History: Essays on Europe, Islam, and World History*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1993, p. 93.

38 D. Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ, 2000, p.7.

39 See R. Young, *White Mythologies: Writing History and the West*, Routledge, London & New York, 1990, for an overview of the poststructuralist critiques of a European totalizing universal project, including those of Foucault, Derrida, Sartre, Spivak, Said and Bhabha.

40 Even before post-colonial theory, the civilization/barbarian dichotomy that is at the foundation of world historical narratives recalls Walter Benjamin's dictum: 'There is no document of civilization which is not at the same time a document of barbarism.' W. Benjamin, 'Theses on the Philosophy of History', in *Illuminations*, H. Zorn (ed.), Schocken Books, New York, 1969, p. 256.

41 P. O'Brien, 'Historiographical Traditions and Modern Imperatives for the Restoration of Global History', *Journal of Global History*, vol. 1, no. 1, 2006, p. 12.

42 S. Feierman, 'Africa in History: the End of Universal Narratives', in *After Colonialism: Imperial Histories and Postcolonial Displacements*, G. Prakash (ed.), Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1995, p. 50.

43 Ibid, p. 48.

44 H. White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth Century Europe*, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, MD, 1973, p. 2.

45 J. M. Blaut, *The Colonizer's Model of the World: Geographical Diffusionism and Eurocentric History*, Guilford Press, New York, 1993.

46 S. Amin, *Eurocentrism: Modernity, Religion, and Democracy, A Critique of Eurocentrism and Culturalism*, R. Moore & J. Membrez (trans.), 2nd edn, Monthly Review Press, New York, 2009, p. 103. (Originally published in French in 1988 as *L'eurocentrisme, critique d'une idéologie*, Anthropos, Paris.)

47 B. Bowden, *The Empire of Civilization: The Evolution of an Imperial Idea*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 2009, p. 71. Bowden traces the idea of progress from the European Enlightenment to its present uses.

48 A. Dirlik, 'History Without a Center? Reflections on Eurocentrism', in *Across Cultural Borders: Historiography in Global Perspective*, E. Fuchs & B. Stuchtey (eds), Rowman & Littlefield, Lanham, MD, 2002, p. 276. Although arguing for alternatives to history and modernity, Dirlik presents none.

49 D. Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ, 2000, pp. 17–18.

50 O'Brien, op. cit., p. 36.

51 B. K. Gills & W. Thompson, 'Globalizations, Global Histories and Historical Globalities', in *Globalization and Global History*, B. K. Gills & W. Thompson (eds), Taylor & Francis, Hoboken, NJ, 2012, p. 4.

52 A comparison between the *Journal of World History* (founded in 1990) and the *Journal of Global History* (founded in 2006) suggests the difference in approaches, while initially clear, has become more subtle with the increasing overlap of authors, themes and methods.

53 Monash-Warwick Global History Collaboration <http://artsonline.monash.edu.au/global-history> accessed 18 July 2014.

54 G. G. Iggers & Q. E. Wang, with S. Mukherjee, *A Global History of Modern Historiography*, Pearson, Harlow, 2008, p. 15.

55 B. Mazlish, *The New Global History*, Routledge, London & New York, 2006, p. 12.

56 See the early anthologies, B. Mazlish & R. Buultjens (eds), *Conceptualizing Global History*, Westview Press, Boulder, CO, 1993, and B. Mazlish & A. Iriye (eds), *The Global History Reader*, Routledge, London & New York, 2004.

57 This is the starting point for John Heskett, for example in his classic *Industrial Design*, Thames & Hudson, London, 1980. Heskett's narrative traces the development of design in Europe and the United States. The rest of the world is mentioned briefly in the 'Conclusion'. It is also worth noting that there is not necessarily a definitive line separating industrial and pre-industrial artefacts.

58 Victor Margolin is perhaps the most prominent design historian representing this position. 'Rather than considering design to be a product of industrialization,' he argues, 'we need to think more broadly about the conception and planning of material and visual culture.' Margolin, 'A World History of Design and the History of the World', op. cit., p. 239.

59 For the American textbooks, see note 19 above.

60 Enduring surveys such as P. Sparke, *An Introduction to Design and Culture: 1900 to the Present*, Allen & Unwin, London, 1986. J. Woodham, *Twentieth Century Design*, Oxford University Press, Oxford & New York, 1997, and D. Raizman, *History of Modern Design*, Laurence King Publishing, London, 2nd edn, 2010, trace the development

of design in Europe and the United States. The exception to the Western focus of all three books is the inclusion of post-war Japanese design.

61 Various scholars have made this point. See, for example, C. Dilnot, 'The State of Design History, Part I: Mapping the Field', *Design Issues*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1984, pp. 4–23, esp. pp. 14–17; T. Fry, *Design History Australia*, Hale & Iremonger, 1988; and D. Whitehouse, 'The State of Design History as a Discipline', in *Design Studies: A Reader*, H. Clark & D. Brody (eds), Berg, Oxford & New York, 2009.

62 Whitehouse, op. cit., p. 62.

63 Another initiative worth noting is the UK-based Globalising Art, Architecture and Design History project (GLAADH), 2001–2003, comprising workshops, resources, website, curriculum development initiatives and collaborations. These resources are still available online < http://www.glaadh.ac.uk/> accessed 6 February 2015.

64 Limited accessibility of these conference proceedings is an impediment for further dissemination of these ideas. The ICDHS website (<http://www.ub.edu/gracmon/icdhs/index.html> accessed 30 October 2014) has information about each of the nine conferences to date. Some of the conference links include conference paper abstracts and/or links to publications of conference proceedings. My own lack of Spanish language ability is also an impediment in accessing some of this material which is only available in Spanish.

65 Calvera, op. cit., p. 372.

66 Although not published at the time of writing (the first two volumes are due out in February 2015), the Table of Contents clearly outlines the narrative structure, and Margolin has theorized the project in in 'A World History of Design and the History of the World', op. cit., 2005, pp. 235–43.

67 Margolin, 'A World History of Design and the History of the World', op. cit., p. 241. The limitations of a nationalist framework are further discussed in D. J. Huppatz, 'Introduction: Reframing Australian Design History', *Journal of Design History*, vol. 27, no. 2, 2014, pp. 205–23.

68 Margolin, 'A World History of Design and the History of the World', op. cit., p. 242.

69 P. Kirkham & S. Weber (eds), *History of Design: Decorative Arts and Material Culture, 1400–2000*, Yale University Press, New Haven, CT, & London, 2013.

70 Calvera, op. cit., p. 374.

71 In her own research, Calvera has convincingly situated the local design culture of Barcelona within a global context. See, for example, A. Calvera, 'Design in Barcelona: Its History and Its Future in the Globalized Scene', *The Design Journal*, vol. 4, no. 2, 2001, pp. 4–13.

72 T. Fry, 'A Geography of Power: Design History and Marginality', *Design Issues*, vol. 6, no. 1, 1989, p. 26.

73 Among his many publications on this topic, see especially G. Bonsiepe & J. Cullars, 'Designing the Future: Perspectives on Industrial and Graphic Design in Latin America', *Design Issues*, vol. 7, no. 2, 1991, pp. 17–24; and G. Bonsiepe, 'The "Ulm Model" in the Periphery', in *Ulm Design: The Morality of Objects*, H. Lindinger (ed.), The MIT Press, Cambridge, MA, 1991, pp. 266–8. In the latter, Bonsiepe notes the HfG Ulm's international faculty and student body and traces how in the 1960s their pedagogical model reached the Escola Superior de Desenho Industrial in Rio de Janeiro, and the National Institute of Design, Ahmedabad.

74 G. Adamson, G. Riello & S. Teasley, 'Introduction: Towards Global Design History', in *Global Design History*, G. Adamson, G. Riello & S. Teasley (eds.), Routledge, London & New York, 2011, p. 2.

75 G. Adamson & G. Riello, 'Global Objects: Contention and Entanglement', in *Writing the History of the Global: Challenges for the 21st Century*, M. Berg (ed.), Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2013, p. 193. Their examples covered various historical periods and included a suit of armour presented by the Emperor of Japan to England's James I in 1613, the Victoria Terminus railway station in Mumbai and a contemporary soccer ball.

76 Henry Cole (1851), cited in A. Dutta, *The Bureaucracy of Beauty: Design in the Age of its Global Reproducibility*, Routledge, London & New York, 2007, p. 161. Dutta cites the full reference as Appendix to the *Report of the Proceedings of the Designs Office from the 1st July 1829 to the 31st December 1852, Furnished in Conformity with the Directions of the Lords of the Committee of Privy Council for Trade*.

77 See Dutta, op. cit., 2007. This book is a crucial reference for understanding how the dissemination of design reform worked, particularly in an Indian context. On the South Kensington museum program, see T. Barringer, 'The South Kensington Museum and the Colonial Project', in *Colonialism and the Object: Empire, Material Culture and the Museum*, T. Barringer & T. Flynn (eds), Routledge, London & New York, 1998, pp. 11–28.

78 As well as Dutta, op. cit., see also M. Rampley, 'Design Reform in the Habsburg Empire: Technology, Aesthetics and Ideology', *Journal of Design History*, vol. 23, no. 3, 2010, pp. 247–64.

79 See P. Young, *Globalization and the Great Exhibition: the Victorian New World Order*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2009; and J. A. Auerbach & P. H. Hoffenberg (eds), *Britain, the Empire, and the World at the Great Exhibition of 1851*, Ashgate, Aldershot & Burlington, VT, 2008.

80 Stacey Sloboda argues that Owen Jones' *The Grammar of Ornament* (London, 1856), is both an imperialist and a cosmopolitan ordering of visual language through comparisons. See S. Sloboda, '*The Grammar of Ornament*: Cosmopolitanism and Reform in British Design', *Journal of Design History*, vol. 21, no. 3, 2008, pp. 223–36.

81 This tradition continued through nineteenth and early twentieth century World's Fairs, again central to design history (and these have also been subject to colonial and global readings). See, for example, Z. Celik, *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-Century World's Fairs*, University of California Press, Berkeley, CA, 1992, and P. Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas, The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs, 1851– 1939*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1988.

82 Starting points for research on the spread of South Kensington pedagogy are: M. Stankiewicz & D. Soucy (eds), *Framing the Past: Essays on Art Education*, National Art Education Association, Reston, VA, 1990; and M. Romans (ed.), *Histories of Art and Design Education: Collected Essays*, Intellect Bristol, 2005. Of particular interest are the two articles in these volumes by Graeme Chalmers on the Canadian adoption of the British model. On Brazil, see A. M. Barbosa, 'Walter Smith's Influence in Brazil and the Efforts by Brazilian Liberals to Overcome the Concept of Art as an Elitist Activity', *Journal of Art and Design Education*, vol. 3, no. 2, 1984, pp. 233–46; on Japan, see A. Okazaki, 'European Modernist Art into Japanese School Art: the Free Drawing Movement in the 1920s', *Journal of Art and Design Education*, vol. 10, no. 2, pp. 189–98 (the Japanese connection to South Kensington methods is intriguing but briefly stated in this article).

83 See, for example, W. Kaplan, *The Arts and Crafts Movement in Europe and America*, Thames & Hudson, London, 2004, an exhibition catalogue charting the Arts and Crafts movement across two continents—a useful start on the transnational Arts and Crafts, as was K. Livingstone & L. Parry, *International Arts and Crafts*, V&A Publications, London, 2005, an exhibition catalogue which covered Europe, America and Japan.

84 The importance of mechanization in nineteenth-century design in Britain is often overstated in design history. See Adrian Forty's 'Design and Mechanisation', for example, in A. Forty, *Objects of Desire: Design and Society Since 1750*, Thames & Hudson, London, 1986.

85 This is a project that could be carried back to the seventeenth century, by examining the trade conducted by the Dutch and British East India Companies, for example, as Anne Gerritsen has for Chinese ceramics and John Styles for Indian textiles— mass produced artefacts for global export. See A. Gerritsen, 'Global Design in Jingdezhen: Local Production and Global Connections', in Adamson, Riello & Teasley, *Global Design History*, op. cit., pp. 25–33; and J. Styles, 'Indian Cottons and European Fashion: 1400–1800' in Adamson, Riello & Teasley, *Global Design History*, op. cit., pp. 37–46.

86 Japanese designer Iwao Yamawaki noted in a 1931 letter from the Bauhaus, for example, 'Germans, French, Dutch, Russians, Czechoslovakians and two Asians, including myself, as well as some Turks and blacks, form a large international body'; Y. Iwao, 'Reminiscences of Dessau', *Design Issues*, vol. 2, no. 2, 1985, p. 64. To situate the Bauhaus in a broader political context, John Maciuika's research on the earlier Werkbund in the context of German colonial and global ambitions is a useful model: see J. V. Maciuika 'The Globalization of the Deutscher Werkbund: Design Reform, Industrial Policy, and German Foreign Policy, 1907–1914', in Adamson, Riello & Teasley (eds), *Global Design History*, op. cit., pp. 98–106.

87 Perhaps the most interesting character of the diaspora was Ernst May, who, after designing buildings and cities in Germany in the 1920s, went to the Soviet Union in the early 1930s. Then in 1933, he purchased a coffee plantation in the British colony of Tanganyika (now Tanzania), later moving to Nairobi where he opened an architectural practice and designed modernist buildings in Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika. See K. K. Gutschow, 'Das Neue Afrika: Ernst May's 1947 Kampala Plan as Cultural Program', in *Colonial Architecture and Urbanism in Africa: Intertwined and Contested Histories*, F. Demissie, Ashgate, London, 2009, pp. 236–68.

88 K. Rüedi Ray, *Bauhaus Dream-House: Modernity and Globalization*, Routledge, London & New York, 2011; H. Čapková, 'Transnational Networkers—Iwao and Michiko Yamawaki and the Formation of Japanese Modernist Design', *Journal of Design History*, vol. 27, no. 4, 2014, pp. 370–85; Y. Iwao, 'Reminiscences of Dessau', *Design Issues*, vol. 2, no. 2, 1985, pp. 56–68. On the Indian connection, see R. Bittner & K. Rhomberg, *The Bauhaus in Calcutta: An Encounter of the Cosmopolitan Avant-Garde*, Hatje Cantz, Ostfildern, 2013. This is an exhibition catalogue of a recent exhibition revisiting the 1922 artistic exchange. While the transcultural issues raised are fascinating, the focus was modernist art rather than design.

89 In Australia, for example, there have been numerous attempts to elevate the post-war career of Australia's only Bauhaus Master, Ludwig Hirschfeld-Mack. After fleeing Germany in 1942, Hirshfeld-Mack taught in a regional high school and, although he continued to create work in various media, he had virtually no impact on Australian design culture.

90 Rüedi Ray, op. cit., p. 88.

91 E. Lupton, 'Reading Isotype', *Design Issues*, vol. 3, no. 2, 1986, pp. 47–58. Despite appearing neutral, Lupton exposes Neurath's stylized icons as rhetorical and culturally specific.

92 See K. Bresnahan, '"An Unused Esperanto": Internationalism and Pictographic Design, 1930–70', *Design and Culture*, vol. 3, no. 1, 2011, pp. 5–24.

93 See the comprehensive global coverage of ISOTYPE's development and dissemination in C. Burke, E. Kindel & S. Walker, *Isotype: Design and Contexts, 1925–1971*, Hyphen Press, London. This includes, for example, Eric Kindel's essay on Marie Neurath's work in British colonial West Africa in the 1950s, 'Isotype in Africa: Gold Coast, Sierra Leone and the Western Region of Nigeria, 1952–8' (pp. 449–97). Finally, see also N. Vossoughian, *Otto Neurath: The Language of the Global Polis*, NAI Publishers, Rotterdam, 2008.

94 See Paul Greenhalgh's useful overview, P. Greenhalgh, 'Introduction', *Modernism in Design*, Reaktion Books, London, 1990, pp. 1–24.

95 See D. Crowley & J. Pavitt, *Cold War Modern: Design 1945–1970*, V&A Publishing, London, 2008. A good overview of the use of design as 'soft power' by both superpowers is G. Castillo, *Cold War on the Home Front: The Soft Power of Midcentury Design*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, MN, & London, 2010. On the Soviet side, see also D. Crowley & S. E. Reid, *Style and Socialism: Modernity and Material Culture in Post-War Eastern Europe*, Berg, Oxford, 2000. However, all of this scholarship focuses on Europe (and the USA in the case of the first two) in the Cold War. Much work remains on establishing the use of design in the rest of the world during this era.

96 See C. Benton, T. Benton & G. Wood (eds.), *Art Deco 1910–1939*, V&A Publications, London, 2003. A more recent exhibition and catalogue focused on Art Deco in Japan is K. H. Brown (ed.), *Deco Japan: Shaping Art and Culture, 1920–1945*, Art Services International, Alexandria, VA, 2012.

97 Benton, Benton & Wood, op. cit.; and C. Wilk (ed.), *Modernism: Designing a New World*, V&A Publications, London, 2006.

98 R. Grew, 'On the Prospect of Global History', in *Conceptualizing Global History*, R. Buultjens & B. Mazlish (eds), Westview Press, Boulder, CO, 1993, p. 239.

99 Julier describes 'design culture' in detail in ch. 1 of G. Julier, *The Culture of Design*, Sage, London, 2nd edn, 2008, pp. 1–17.

100 Y. Kikuchi, 'Design Histories and Design Studies in East Asia: Part 1', *Journal of Design History*, vol. 24, no. 3, 2011, pp. 273–82; W. S. Wong, 'Design History and Study in East Asia: Part 2 Greater China: People's Republic of China/Hong Kong/Taiwan', *Journal of Design History*, vol. 24, no. 4, 2011, pp. 375–95; Y. Lee, 'Design Histories and Design Studies in East Asia: Part 3 Korea and Conclusion', *Journal of Design History*, vol. 25, no. 1, 2012, pp. 93–106.

101 An interesting paper in this regard is C. Cheng & Y. Ping-Yu, 'A Discussion on the Changes and Progress of Design-Related Terms', paper delivered at the International Association of Societies of Design Research, November 2007. The authors trace the etymology of the word 'design' in Chinese.

102 L. T. Ulrich, 'An Indian Basket, Providence, Rhode Island, 1676', in Lees-Maffei & Houze, op. cit., pp. 15–21. This is a provocative beginning to the anthology.

103 N. Barley, 'Design in a Tribal Context', *Journal of Design History*, vol. 5, no. 2, 1992, pp. 103–11.

104 D. Stairs, 'Okuwangaala: the Persistent Vitality of the Vernacular', *Design Issues*, vol. 18, no. 3, 2002, p. 87.

105 Other starting points for considerations of African design are the *Design Issues* special issue on South African design: M Sauthoff & I. Sutherland (eds), *Design Issues*, vol. 20, no. 2, 2004, and the South African-based journal *Image and Text: A Journal for Design*, from 1992, available online at <www.imageandtext.up.ac.za> accessed 23 July 2014.

106 Levitt, op. cit.; C. Lorenz, 'Global Hype and Reality', in *The Design Dimension: Product Strategy and the Challenge of Global Marketing*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford & New York, 1986, pp. 136–44.

107 This homogenization was the target of the first wave of anti-globalization protests in the 1990s, the sentiments of which were expressed by Naomi Klein; see N. Klein, *No Logo: Taking Aim at the Brand Bullies*, Flamingo, London, 2000, esp. ch. 1, 'New Branded World', pp. 3–26.

108 A good early account is in H. Aldersey-Williams, *World Design: Nationalism and Globalism in Design*, Rizzoli, New York, 1992; while more recently, a *Design Issues* special issue, 'Design in a Global Context', *Design Issues*, vol. 25, no. 3, 2009, contained a variety of responses to globalization in design, as does J. R. Bryson & G. Rusten, *Industrial Design, Competition and Globalization*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

109 On global companies, see H. Aldersey-Williams, *World Design: Nationalism and Globalism in Design*, Rizzoli, New York, 1992, especially the chapter 'Globalism, Nationalism, and Design', pp. 8–17. More recently, see S. Kristoffersson, *Design by IKEA: A Cultural History*, Bloomsbury, London & New York, 2014, for a good model. For a good example of a global design career, a biography of Marc Newson is a good illustration—born and educated in Sydney, Newson cultivated a global design career in the 1990s by basing himself firstly in Tokyo, then Milan, then Paris and finally, London. On his career to 2003, see C. L. Morgan, *Marc Newson*, Thames & Hudson, London, 2003.

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110 I. Kopytoff, 'The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process', in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, A. Appadurai, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1988, pp. 64–92; J. Brewer & R. Porter (eds), *Consumption and the World of Goods*, London, Routledge, 1993. See also the *Journal of Material Culture*, founded in 1996.

111 For a good overview of material culture and globalization, see R. J. Foster, 'Tracking Globalization: Commodities and Value in Motion', in *Handbook of Material Culture*, C. Tilley et al. (eds), SAGE, London, 2006, pp. 285–302. For more recent scholarship in consumption studies, including a range of specifically global topics, see F. Trentmann (ed.), *The History of Consumption*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2012; and for a more recent collection of essays on ancient, early modern and contemporary material culture, see H. P. Hahn & H. Weiss (eds.), *Mobility, Meaning and Transformations of Things: Shifting Contexts of Material Culture Through Time and Space*, Oxbow Books, Oxford, 2013. A slightly different approach to tracing the effects of global commodities worth considering—from a cultural studies perspective—is represented by Scott Lash and Celia Lury's *Global Culture Industry: the Mediation of Things*. See especially their analysis of Swatch and Nike in 'The Mediation of Things: In Medias Res', in S. Lash & C. Lury, *Global Culture Industry: the Mediation of Things*, Cambridge & Malden, MA, Polity Press, 2007, pp. 109–34.

112 For an overview, see V. Margolin, 'Design for Development: Towards a History', *Design Studies*, vol. 28, no. 2, 2007, pp. 110–15. See also S. Balaram on the Declaration's impact in India, 'Design in India: The Importance of the Ahmedabad Declaration', *Design Issues*, vol. 25, no. 4, 2009, pp. 54–7. The work of Victor Papanek as both an author and activist would be essential to this project.

113 J. Woodham, 'Local, National and Global: Redrawing the Design Historical Map', *Journal of Design History*, vol. 18, no. 4, pp. 257–67.

114 Two useful summaries of early sources on ecological design and its history are P. Madge, 'Design, Ecology, Technology: A Historiographical Review', *Journal of Design History*, vol. 6, no. 3, 1993, pp. 149–66, and P. Madge, 'Ecological Design: A New Critique', *Design Issues*, vol. 13, no. 2, 1997, pp. 44–54.

115 Grew, op. cit., p. 244. This article is a useful summary of possible directions for global historians.