

四、何时（以及为什么）现代主义（即功能主义）过时了

今天，对乌尔姆设计学院的批判似乎显得很时髦。这主要是因为过去的几十年里，乌尔姆模式在设计教育中一直占据着绝对统治地位。从荷兰的设计学院^[10]、德尔福特科技大学和意大利的多姆斯设计学院到英国皇家艺术学院，乌尔姆是所有欧洲顶尖设计学校的蓝图。乌尔姆功能主义多年来用其铁拳统治着欧洲的设计界，从打字机到灯具，从咖啡机到邮筒。这当然激起了强烈的不满，因为乌尔姆将美学与伦理等同视之的理念本身就显得有些傲慢自大。在乌尔姆人的眼中，任何喜欢天鹅绒面的“祖母的沙发”而不是马丁·维瑟的BR027^[11]

长椅的人，都是品位低下的、落后的可怜人，他们看不到现代技术所带来的光明的未来，或者说他们起码是非常缺乏文化教育的人。这有些言过其实吗？一点也不。早年的《好房屋》杂志（20世纪60年代荷兰的功能主义杂志）中有这样一篇文章，描述了当时海牙市政厅中的一间市长办公室（当然是小布尔乔亚式的）。我们可以看到，评论者冷酷地指出，能把房间的品位搞得如此之差的设计师肯定是二战期间荷兰的纳粹分子。

在一定程度上，今天人们仍然谈论功能主义是可以被理解的，这就像是家庭中也会带着伤痛和厌恶的情绪，谈论着专制家长主义的传奇。当然，祖父肯

定有其自己的风格，但是，天啊！他真的过时了。他这么直挺挺地死掉，不管怎么样，至少对祖母来说是件好事。人们至少知道这样一个事实，功能主义与人文现代主义的强势发展一起打造了现代世界的面貌。现在我们并未彻底迷恋它的原因有两个：首先，我们忽略了大众消费现象这一事实；其次，功能主义用了太长时间才渗透入市场，假如我们从相当长的历史时期来看，我们只能发现功能主义与大众消费之间保持良好关系的状况。

二战结束之初，形式纯粹的功能主义一开始将其目标瞄准了错误的群体：富人、成熟的中产阶级。其最纯粹的形式可以在诸如博朗公司、西门子公司、

伦理 VS. 审美：基于功能主义和后现代主义视角的设计批评 (2)

The Battle between Ethics and Aesthetics:
Design Criticism from a Functionalist and Postmodernist Perspective (2)

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4. When (and why) modernism (and so: functionalism) became obsolete

Nowadays it seems more or less fashionable to speak disdainfully of the Hochschule Für Gestaltung Ulm. The primary explanation for this would appear to be many decades during which the Ulm doctrine exerted a crushing dominance over design education. Ulm was the blueprint for all leading European design schools, from the Design Academy¹⁰ and Delft University of Technology in The Netherlands, the Domus Academy in Italy and the Royal College of Art in Britain. It was Ulmian functionalism that for decades ruled the entire European design scene with an iron fist, from typewriters to nightlights, from percolators to pillar boxes. That, of course, aroused irritation, strengthened by the fact that the Ulmian ideas were not entirely free of arrogance, stemming from its meddling attitude to

equate aesthetics with ethics. Anyone who preferred a velvet-clad 'Granny's'-sofa' from a multiple furniture store to Martin Visser's 'BR027'¹¹ was not just someone with poor taste, within the eyes of an Ulmian, but actually an inferior, pitiable and backward person, who had not yet seen the light of a shining future, controlled by modern technology. At the very least, such people needed a heavy dose of cultural re-education. Exaggerated? Barely. An early issue of the magazine Goed Wonen (Good housing), the journal of Dutch functionalists in the 1960s, contained an article, describing the (certainly petty bourgeois) mayoral chamber in the town hall in The Hague. One could see, the reviewer coolly observed, that the designer of this tasteless ensemble must have been a Dutch Nazi during World War 2.

To a certain extent it is understandable that functionalism is still discussed today

in the same way as the family will discuss a legendarily autocratic paterfamilias, with a mixture of tenderness and revulsion. Yes, grandfather certainly had style, but heavens! He really could cut loose. Good job he's dead as a doornail, for grandma's sake at least, if nothing else. This passes by the fact that functionalism, together with the rousing success of humanistic modernism, has made the modern Western world what it is. That we are not so charmed by that now, comes from two things: we regard the phenomenon of mass consumption as so matter-of-fact that we ignore it; and it took so long for functionalism to penetrate to the underside of the market that one only gains a good picture of the relationship between functionalism and mass consumption if one is prepared to look at it from a great historical distance.

奥利维蒂办公设备公司、沃尔沃和奥迪汽车公司生产的家用设备和音响设备中看到，他们每一年都在追求技术上的逐渐完善——就像奥迪的广告说的那样，“在技术上走到竞争者的前面”。拿来任何一本关于20世纪设计的书，或者参观任何一间设计博物馆，你会看到，20世纪60年代和70年代的制造商都是众所周知的现代设计象征。直到今天，他们在许多方面仍然如此。

假如我们要告别功能主义，我们必须问，功能主义的胜利是否不应该被看作得不偿失的胜利。毕竟它的信条提高了社会地位低下者的物质福利。可是在哪里我们能更多地看到布劳恩的唱机、西门子的厨房设备和奥迪汽车呢？

当然，在博物馆中能看到，但在工人阶级中呢？我们却看不到。在资本主义高档郊区的豪宅中进进出出的，大多数是踌躇满志的医生、理想主义者的律师和左派自由主义的政治家。提高大众的生活？这是不可能的。这就是后现代主义在批评功能主义时最重要的论据之一，这种批评在20世纪70年代开始赢得了人们的关注。在不到10年的时间里，诸如此类的论据就将功能主义从专业领域的宝座上拽了下来。

然而，这样指责是错位的。正是在这种批判爆发的年代里，历史上第一次，西欧进入了大众消费的时代。^[12]也正是在此时，大多数人开始能够在日常所需之外，承担起一定数量的奢侈品消

费。除非用“包豪斯的古老理想在实践中实现了”的说法，否则很难解释这一现象。但是，请注意，古老的包豪斯预言家——他们中的很多人都是传统的共产主义者——可能会惊讶地发现某种政权统治着他们理想的实现。

功能主义的后现代主义批评者可能会回应说，“不错，但是这只能说明大众消费时代实现了可追溯到二战之前的那种理想，这种理想是被一些先进的、现代的大脑所认同的。但尽管如此，它与肤浅的民主功能主义毫无关系。这种功能主义完全是精英主义的，而且两种功能主义之间彼此也没有联系。”但它们是有联系的！今天，当你走过商店（现代大众消费文化最大的拥趸），如百货

注释：

[10] 位于荷兰埃因霍温的设计学院现在是一个领导后现代主义设计发展的重地，然而这只是最近才有的转变——它存在的大多数时间里，一直严格遵循着功能主义原则。

[11]



上：马丁·维瑟，BR027长椅；下：“祖母的沙发”。
[12] 罗斯托 1960；德鲁克 1996。

16-17. 椅子：功能主义 VS. 后现代主义

18-19. 电唱机：功能主义 VS. 后现代主义



Initially post-War functionalism in its purest form was actually let loose on the wrong target group: the rich, sophisticated middle classes. Its purest expression was to be found in domestic and audio equipment made by firms such as Braun and Siemens, in Olivetti's office machinery, in Volvo and Audi automobiles, every year gradually evolving towards technical perfection –“Vorsprung durch Technik” (Ahead of Competitors by Technology) as Audi advertisements had it -. Just take down any book on 20th Century Design or visit some random museum's design collection and you will see that the manufacturers of the 1960s and '70s were – and in many cases still are – the generally acknowledged design icons of their time. If one just leaves it at that, then one is forced to question whether functionalism's victory might not have been a Pyrrhic one. The Holy Grail, after all, was to

improve the material welfare of the lower orders. And where does one encounter most of the Braun turntables, Siemens kitchen equipment, and Audi cars? In the museums, certainly, but in working class areas? Of course not! Most are inside and outside the fine houses of the ambitious doctors, idealist lawyers and left-liberal politicians in the capital's more upmarket suburbs. Elevating the masses? Not likely! This was one of the main arguments voiced by the postmodern critics of functionalism, which started to gain attention in the 1970s. In less than a decade, arguments like these were to topple functionalism from its throne in professional circles.

The accusation is misplaced, however. It was exactly in the years when the critical outburst began that, for the first time in its history, Western Europe entered the era of mass consumption.¹² This was when the

vast majority of the population could afford a certain amount of luxury besides their daily needs. It would be difficult to interpret this as anything other than the practical realization of the old Bauhaus ideal. But, mind you, the old Bauhaus prophets – many of them orthodox communists – would probably be astonished to see the sort of political regime that ruled over the realization of their ideal.

“That may very well be so”, functionalism's postmodern critic may respond, “but it's one thing to interpret the era of mass consumption as the realisation of an ideal that evidently dates back before the Second World War, among certain advanced, modernist souls. Actually, though, that had nothing to do with a superficially democratic functionalism. This brand of functionalism was thoroughly elitist and the two bore no relation to each another.” But they did! Today, as

10. The Design Academy at Eindhoven (The Netherlands) is now a leading design school in the postmodernist tradition. That is a pretty recent change in outlook, however. During the most years of its existence, its curriculum was strictly functionalist.

11. Left: Martin Visser, BR027; right: 'Granny's sofa'.

12. (Rostow 1960; Drukker 1996).

13. (Meadows, Meadows, Randers & Behrens III 1972).

14. My point that technological disasters have a quick and strong impact on people's views on technology and, by this, can cause sudden shifts

[13] (米都斯, 米都斯, 兰德斯 & 贝伦斯 III 1972).

[14] 笔者的观点是技术灾难能够对人们的技术观造成迅速和强烈的影响, 同时, 也因此导致一些主要国家在能源政策上的急剧转型, 比如德国或者日本, 最近日本福岛发生的核灾难就印证了这一点。

[15] 论后现代主义设计: (泰科拉 (编) 1988; 瑞兹曼 2010: 第 15 章)。

[16] 最广为接受的对“文化”的定义是: “文化是意义被生产、流通和交换的社会过程的总和” (特怀特, 戴维斯 & 缪

商店、DIY 连锁店、主干道两边的商店, 你会一眼发现其中的产品设计都是 20 世纪 60 年代功能主义产品形象的后裔。所以, 功能主义者当然实现了它对社会承诺, 然而讲究的设计大师们却对其取得的成果傲慢地嗤之以鼻。

功能主义在专业圈里失去了其作为普适性原则的统治力, 但是恰好与此同时, 同样的原则在愿意花一下午时间去逛宜家的人们那里却明显地取得了惊人的成功。当然, 这是一个极端的悖论, 但是到目前为止笔者提供的解释似乎并不包含太多的水分。批量生产以及产品因此而失去了独特性, 这是功能主义在职业设计师中失去吸引力的唯一理由吗? 为什么其原有的特殊魅力像六月天

的雪一样迅速消失了呢? 仅仅是因为功能主义在 20 世纪 70 年代开始变得通俗, 设计批评家就抛弃它了吗? 这将与后现代主义的批评产生很大的矛盾, 后现代主义认为功能主义实际上是隐秘的、精英的设计哲学。当它最终失去了对精英们的吸引力, 它就会被当作垃圾一样地倒掉。肯定还存在着其他的原因, 但是在哪呢?

实际上, 确实有其他原因。大约在 20 世纪最后的 25 年, 功能主义失去了其在专业人士中的吸引力, 与此同时, 它的精神基础——人文现代主义也正遭到持续的攻击。它受到了一些可怕的创伤, 尽管还不至于被完全赶下舞台, 但肯定是对其一直以来的强势的沉重一

击。在 20 世纪 50 年代和 60 年代, 标志性的思潮是无限的对未来的乐观主义, 但是 20 世纪 70 年代它让路于对技术统治世界的怀疑论和悲观主义。从乐观主义到悲观主义的转变, 其背景可以在一系列或多或少的独立事件中找到。它们加起来, 对人们的未来观产生了极大的影响。

关于技术疯狂带来的社会危机, 对于那些愿意聆听的人来说, 警告的声音在更早些时候就可以听到。这并不限于那些小说家关于未来的黑色幽默, 例如阿尔杜斯·赫胥黎和乔治·奥威尔。在《隐藏的说服者》(1957) 和《废品制造者》(1960) 中, 美国经济学家万斯·帕卡德表达了他对消费文化过分

20-21. 汽车: 功能主义 VS. 后现代主义



in the energy policy of major countries, like Germany or Japan, is corroborated by the recent nuclear disaster in Fukushima, Japan.

15. On postmodernist design: (Thackara (Ed.) 1988; Raizman 2010: Chapter 15).

16. From a broadly accepted definition of 'culture' – namely: 'Culture is the ensemble of social processes by which meanings are produced, circulated and exchanged' (Thwaites, Davis & Mules 1994: p. 1) – it follows that a culture in the sense of a cultural community can be defined as a group of people that share one and the same decoding system for signs.

you walk through the stores that are the greatest proponents of the modern mass consumption culture – the department stores, the DIY chains, the high street chemists – then your unprejudiced eye will see at a glance that the product designs are direct descendants of the functionalist icons of the 1960s. So yes, functionalism most certainly has fulfilled its promise to society, albeit in an environment that causes the refined gurus of style to sniff haughtily.

Functionalism lost its dominance in professional circles as the universal design doctrine at exactly the same time as that same doctrine was astonishingly successful and patently obvious to anyone who was prepared to spend the afternoon in IKEA. This, of course, is an extreme paradox, but the explanation I have offered up to now would not appear to hold much water. Was mass production and so the

loss of exclusiveness the only reason why functionalism lost its allure among the professional designers? Was that why its original avant-garde allure disappeared like snow in June? Was it simply that functionalism became common, vulgar, in the 1970s, which is why design critics turned their backs on it? That would be in flagrant contradiction to the postmodern critique that functionalism was in fact a covert, elitist design philosophy. When it finally lost its elitist allure, it just got dumped along with the trash! There must have been something else going on, mustn't there? Indeed, something else was going on. What in fact was happening was that in roughly the last quarter of the 20th century, when functionalism lost its allure among the professionals, its spiritual foundation, humanist modernism, was coming under sustained attack. It suffered some terrible wounds which, while not driving

it completely from the stage, certainly delivered a blow to its persuasive power. While the 1950s and '60s were marked by boundless optimism about the future, the 1970s gave way to scepticism and pessimism about the blessings of a world ruled by technology. The background to this reversal from optimism to pessimism can be found in a number of more or less independent occurrences. Together, though, they wielded a considerable influence on people's vision of the future. Warnings had been sounded even earlier, for those who had ears to hear, about the social hazards of technology run wild. Nor were they limited to the black futuristic humours of novelists like Aldous Huxley and George Orwell. In The Hidden Persuaders (1957) and The Wastemakers (1960), the American economist Vance Packard vented his spleen about the excesses of consumer culture. Rachel

之处的愤怒。蕾切尔·卡逊——哥伦比亚大学的生物学教授在《寂静的春天》(1962)中谈到广泛使用 DDT 导致全球污染,而瑞士化学家保罗·赫曼·穆勒正是因为这种杀虫剂而赢得了 1948 年的诺贝尔奖。拉尔夫·纳德尔在《任何速度都不安全》(1962)一书中毁掉了雪佛兰的科威尔,使得通用汽车公司非常恼火,他们监视了纳德尔很多年,试图抓住他的违法行为作把柄。然而,这些预言家并没有对当时的社会思潮产生直接的影响。技术进步的颂歌非常嘹亮,盖过了少数病态预言家房间里传出的刺耳的不和谐声音。

在接下来的几年,事情发生了变化,这主要是源于 20 世纪 60 年代末期出现

的一系列灾难。这逐步使人们看清,成熟的技术体系远比人们至今想象的要脆弱。而且,假如有些事情做错了,那么其后果也会完全失去控制。这里只举一些例子:世界上最安全的建筑,位于西贡的美国大使馆在 1965 年 3 月 30 日完全被北越共产党(越共)的炸弹所摧毁。这在很多年后仍然让人困惑不已,技术最先进的军队竟然无法赢得与原始游击队伍对阵的战争。在这次袭击之后差不多 10 个月,人们得知美国的战斗轰炸机坠入了西班牙帕洛玛雷斯附近的海域,机上带有四颗氢弹,很悲惨,这些氢弹现在都在地中海海底。五角大楼几天后才宣布这个消息。1967 年 3 月 18 日,托雷·卡尼翁号,一艘 61000

吨的油轮在英国的康沃尔地区翻船。英国和法国的海岸被油污覆盖了很多天。悲哀的是,那时还不知道这类环境灾难的英国政府决定派遣英国皇家空军用燃烧的方式炸毁废弃的油船。现代科技的绝对旗帜——航天工程在当时也制造了受害者。美国航天员格里森、查菲和怀特在一次训练中死于阿波罗号的宇航飞船中。在托雷·卡尼翁号事故的一个月之后,俄罗斯的宇航员科玛洛夫乘坐联盟 1 号太空舱返回地球,因在 7000 米高空时降落伞发生故障而坠毁。同年在东德和比利时的马特兰格发生了两次燃气爆炸,造成差不多 100 人死亡和几百人受伤。在此事故发生的几个月之前,布鲁塞尔的创新百货商店发生火灾,原

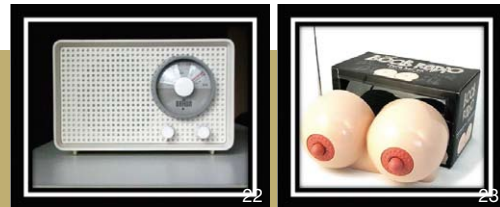
尔 斯 1994: p. 1) - 它认为一种文化共同体意义上的文化可被定义为对符号的意义具有相同理解的人群。

[17]



[18] 这实际上是少数后现代主义者的立场,他们将技术看作是具有积极性的。

[19] 1996 年在德尔夫特科技大学举办的一次论坛上,笔者主持了一场分论坛,意大利后现代主义设计师埃托·索



22-23. 收音机: 功能主义 VS. 后现代主义

Carson, professor of biology at Columbia University, wrote in *Silent Spring* (1962) about the global poisoning resulting from the widespread use of DDT, the pesticide for which the Swiss chemist Paul Herman Müller received the 1948 Nobel Prize. Ralph Nader destroyed the Chevrolet Corvair in his book *Unsafe at Any Speed* (1962), driving the General Motors Board into such a frenzy that they spied on Nader for decades, trying to catch him doing something illegal. Nevertheless, these prophets did not exert much direct influence on society's thinking at the time. The hymn of technological progress sounded forth fortissimo, drowning out the shrill discords of a few morbid prophets of doom.

Things changed in the next few years, which had to do with a series of disasters starting in the late 1960s. These gradually made it clear that technologically

sophisticated systems were far more vulnerable than anyone had hitherto supposed. Moreover, if something went wrong, the after-effects might well get completely out of control. To give just some examples: the most secure building in the world, the US Embassy in Saigon, was completely destroyed on 30 March 1965 by a bomb smuggled in by the North Vietnamese communists, the Vietcong. This gave rise several years later to the disconcerting realization that the world's most technologically advanced army could not win a war against a primitive little band of guerrillas. Barely ten months after this attack it became known that a US fighter-bomber had crashed into the sea near Palomares in Spain, with four hydrogen bombs on board, all of which, sadly, were now at the bottom of the Mediterranean. This was only announced by the Pentagon several days later. On 18

March 1967 the *Torrey Canyon*, a 61,000 ton oil tanker, ran aground off the coast of Cornwall, UK. The English and French beaches were covered in oil within days. In despair, but at that time unfamiliar with this sort of environmental disaster, the UK government decided to have the RAF bomb the wreck with incendiaries. The absolute flagship of modern technology – Space Travel – also started to claim victims at that time. US astronauts Grissom, Chaffee and White died in a fire during a drill in their Apollo capsule. A month after the *Torrey canyon* went aground, the Russian *Komarov* crashed due to defective parachutes on the *Soyuz-1* spacecraft, which failed at an altitude of 7 km. There were two gas explosions in that same year, in East Germany and in Martelange, Belgium, causing together some 100 deaths and many hundreds of wounded. A few months previously, for reasons that

18. This is indeed one of the very few postmodernist stances where technology is seen as positive!

19. During a conference a Delft University of Technology in 1996, I chaired a session in which Barbara Radice, the lover and spokeswoman of Italian postmodernist designer Ettore Sottsass, did a contribution on postmodernist Italian design. Afterwards, no one in the hall dared to utter a question, as Mrs. Radice appeared rather 'outspoken', to say the least. To break the painful silence, I uttered something like: "These views are indeed very interesting, Mrs. Radice, but at the same time, I

特萨斯的情人和代言人芭芭拉·雷迪丝，做了一场关于意大利后现代主义设计的报告。之后，会场里无人敢向雷迪丝女士直言不讳地提问。为了打破这痛苦的沉默，笔者提出了如下的问题：“这些观点真的非常有趣，雷迪丝女士，但是我同时也在问自己，你不认为它们也同样有点精英主义吗？”而她简短地答道：“谁在乎呢？”之后，使我欣慰的是，一位绅士在观众中举起手来，厉声说道：“我在乎，女士。”这位绅士就是维克多·帕帕奈克。

因尚未查明。狭窄的街道和拥挤的围观者，意味着消防队要几个小时才能赶到现场。1万多平方米的大厦燃烧得就像一只火炬。疯狂的受害者们从20多米高的大楼上纵身跳下，在众目睽睽之下摔在人行道上。结果是325人死亡，80余人重伤。讽刺的是，因为大火发生在星期一的早上，而比利时的商铺一般都开门较晚，所以这些伤亡人数已经算是少的了。

当然更早的时候也存在技术的灾难，但是被普遍认为是令人遗憾的偶然事件、坏运气，是我们为进步付出的代价。20世纪60年代及以后不断增多的灾难，再加上它们带来的严重后果，令人们的思想开始发生改变了。这种思潮

的转变也是为什么1972年的报告《增长的极限》带来破坏性影响的原因。^[13]一般来说，我们的反应是这样的：假如麻省理工学院（可谓是技术的圣地麦加）里面最杰出的教授（他们很少对嬉皮士式的理想抱有同情）接受工业家和政客组成的俱乐部的委托，在他们的报告中警告不受节制的、技术驱动的经济增长所带来的长期的灾难性后果，那么，事情肯定非常糟糕了。

虽然有些事后诸葛亮，但是我们可以发现，上述意外事件首先极大地加重了我们对于大规模技术控制的模糊的不安感，其次，《增长的极限》作为对技术灾难和准灾难发生的预告，在其出版之后，震惊了全世界。

1976年在意大利的塞维索，霍夫曼-罗氏化学研究所发生爆炸，释放出大量剧毒的二氧(杂)芑。政府一开始并未重视这一事件。最终城市居民被疏散，用铁丝网将城市隔离起来，但在几天中，已经有大量居民（以及他们的宠物）死于住宅区，和数不清的人因头痛、恶心等症状入院治疗。美国一个专家团队建议，70公顷内的所有绿植都要焚烧掉，之后整个城市应该被夷为平地。然而，这需要30年的时间，因为在30年内这片区域是禁止进入的。为什么美国人对这种相对少见的二氧(杂)芑知道得如此之多？原因也是很讽刺的。二氧(杂)芑代号也叫橙色落叶剂，美军曾经在北越南战场将其作为落叶剂喷洒在灌



24-25. 电话：功能主义 VS. 后现代主义

ask myself “Don't you think that they are also a bit elitist?”, to which she shortly replied: “Who cares?”. Then, to my relief, a gentleman rose from the audience and said in a stern voice: “I do, madam.” That gentleman was Victor Papanek.

20. That postmodernism is fiercely anti-technological, I have argued in (Drukker & Van Velzen 2009).

have never been explained, the Brussels department store À l'Innovation went up in flames. Narrow streets, filled with massed crowds of onlookers, meant that the fire brigade was able to attend the scene only after some hours. More than 10,000 m² of the complex burned like a torch. Panic-stricken customers jumped from heights of more than 20 m, smashing into the pavement in full view of the crowds. The result was 325 deaths and more than 80 serious casualties. No matter how cynical it might sound after the fact, we should perhaps qualify the number of casualties as slight because the fire broke out on a Monday morning, when the Belgian shops traditionally opened late.

There had been technological disasters earlier, of course, but they were commonly regarded as regrettable incidents, bad luck, just the price we pay for progress. The mounting series of disasters in the

late 1960s and after, coupled with their great seriousness, brought about a mind-shift. This change of climate was why the 1972 report *The Limits to Growth* had such a devastating impact.¹³ In general, the reaction was that, if the most eminent professors at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), technology's Mecca, were commissioned by a club of industrialists and politicians, themselves scarcely sympathetic to hippie ideals, and, in their report warned against the disastrous long-term consequences of unbridled, technologically-driven economic growth, then something must be seriously amiss.

With hindsight, though, we can view these incidents, which initially greatly reinforced vague unease about the control of large-scale technology, as relatively innocent harbingers of the bizarre sequence of technological disasters and near-disasters

that would start to terrify the world after publication of *The Limits to Growth*.

In 1976 the Hoffmann-La Roche chemical plant in Seveso, Italy, blew up, releasing vast quantities of a highly toxic dioxin derivative. The authorities initially ignored the event. The city was eventually evacuated and closed off behind barbed wire, but only after several days of mass deaths among pets in the neighborhood and countless hospital admissions due to headache and nausea. A team of American specialists advised that all greenery on the 70 hectare site should be incinerated, after which the city should be razed to the ground. That, however, would only be possible after three years, for the simple reason that the area could not be entered before that time. The reason why the Americans knew so much about this relatively obscure dioxin poison was not entirely devoid of cynicism, either. Dioxin,

木之上,以发现隐藏在下面的越共部队。10月,塞维索居民的1万个病例中有超过1千个是内脏器官衰竭,主要是肝脏和肾脏。1976年底,发现二氧(杂)芑污染的范围要比原先预计的更广。20世纪80年代,来自污染区的数不清的桶装二氧(杂)芑在法国和比利时的废旧仓库中存放过。它们是如何被运往这些地方的,并没有人发现。1979年3月,位于三里岛的哈里斯堡核反应堆的冷却泵出了问题,这些问题源于一系列的人为判断错误和不正确的操作,最终导致了美国政府称之为核能历史上最糟糕的事故。然而,这个事故只能算作准灾难,因为10万人口在恰当的时候被疏散,核反应堆最终得到了控制。这个

核电站(现在已经被关闭)一年后通过了审查,宾夕法尼亚州农业部和联邦环境保护部得出的结论是它并没有对人类、动物和植物造成损害。1984年12月3日,美国联合碳化公司所有的、位于印度博帕尔镇的工厂发生爆炸,这是我们现在所知的最糟糕的工业灾难。灾难的性质可与塞维索的意外事件相比,但是其结果更为严重。爆炸发生的三天后,超过8000人死于有毒气体,超过50万人受伤,大部分是失明。2004年有人做出估算,这一灾难造成2万人遇难。1979年发生在三里岛核电站的准灾难被广泛地用作反对核能的宣传,但是奇怪的是,它也经常被核能支持者放到自己的武器库里。毕竟,这一事故不

是在实践上展示了,无论核工厂有何种缺陷,尽管可能有一系列的人为错误,但是并未必然导致致命的灭顶之灾吗?所以核反应堆是肯定可以被控制住的。这一观点被1986年4月26日的一场爆炸彻底摧毁了,位于俄罗斯的切尔诺贝利核电站发生了爆炸,该事故也是由于一系列的错误操作引起的。在接下来的几天里,可怕的融化坍塌事故随时都会发生。释放出来的射线是20世纪50年代最严重的空气中核辐射的两倍。灾难后不久,在整个欧洲的大气层中都可以检测到高辐射物质的大幅度增长。^[14]

综上所述,在20世纪70年代以及其后,突然涌现出数不清的反现代主义、反技术运动,这并不奇怪。这些年一直

[20] 关于后现代主义强烈的反技术倾向,笔者曾经撰文进行过探讨(德鲁克 & 凡·维尔森 2009)。



26-27. 电视机: 功能主义 VS. 后现代主义

28-29. 榨汁器: 功能主义 VS. 后现代主义

under the code name Agent Orange, had been sprayed as a defoliant over the jungles of North Vietnam to reveal the Vietcong troops below. In October it appeared that more than 1000 of the 10,000 medical cases investigated among the residents of Seveso were suffering from degeneration of their internal organs, mainly liver and kidneys. Towards the end of 1976 it was found that the toxin had spread over a far wider area than had been predicted. Countless drums of dioxin from the disaster area turned up during the 1980s in waste depots in France and Belgium. How they got there could generally not be discovered. In March 1979 a coolant pump failed in the Harrisburg nuclear reactor on Three Mile Island, due to a chain of human failures of judgment or incorrect actions, leading to what the US government characterised as the worst incident in the history of nuclear

power. Nevertheless, it remained a near-disaster because 100,000 people were evacuated in good time and the reactor was ultimately brought back under control. The power station, now closed, could be inspected after a year had passed and the Pennsylvania Department of Agriculture and the Federal Environmental Protection Agency were able to conclude that there had been no damage to human, animal or plant life. Then we have the 3 December 1984 explosion in the American Union Carbide-owned plant in the Indian town of Bhopal, which even today is known as the worst industrial disaster ever. The nature of the disaster was comparable to the Seveso incident, but its consequences were far more serious. Three days after the explosion there were more than 8000 deaths from acute toxicity and more than half a million wounded, mainly people who had been blinded. In 2004 it was estimated

that the disaster had caused 20,000 fatalities. The near-disaster at the Three Mile Island nuclear facility in 1979 was widely used as propaganda by opponents of nuclear energy but, oddly enough, it also fitted into the arsenal of its proponents. After all, had this not been a practical display of how a defect in a nuclear plant did not inevitably lead to a fatal meltdown, despite a concatenation of human errors? So the reactor certainly could be brought back under control. That view was destroyed at one blow on 26 April 1986, when a safety exercise (!) in the Chernobyl nuclear plant in Russia exploded, once again due to a series of control errors. In the days that followed it started to look like the dreaded meltdown was actually going to happen. The radiation released had twice the intensity of the notorious atmospheric nuclear tests in the 1950s. Shortly after the disaster, considerable

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有大量游行示威反对核能以及反对在欧洲安放巡航导弹。这些年也是一些自称为毛主义者（完全没有自嘲或者反讽的意味）的知识分子，在完全非理性的、反技术意识形态的影响下，拒绝触手可得的、大量的关于文化大革命受害者的新闻，拒绝红色高棉政权下波尔布特对柬埔寨人们的再教育的新闻。他们认为，这一切仅仅是帝国主义的谎言。这些年中，我们也看到了 1968 年失败的新马克思主义学生抗议留下的创伤，而这一运动本身也有着充满仇恨的、反技术的底色。就像巴黎的学生所喊出的口号一样“权利归于想象！”突然西方世界被暴力的城市游击队员填满了：意大利的红色之旅、美国的望风者、西德的巴德尔-迈因霍夫团伙以及日本的红色军

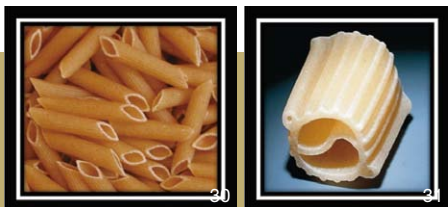
队，所有这些都是由左翼知识分子所领导的，它们都是致力于推翻西方的技术治理下的资本主义。20 世纪 80 年代的这些城市游击队仅仅是今天困扰我们的恐怖主义的先行者。

一开始政治机构对反现代主义运动的回应仅仅是些许的惊讶，但是这种惊讶最终滋养出不那么激进的运动，进而提出了对技术乌托邦的质疑。继而这增强了在整个西方世界的反现代主义。令人吃惊的是，那些之前是人文现代主义坚定捍卫者的知识分子都转而变成激进的反理性主义的信徒。无论是在欧洲的还是美国的大学校园里，你会突然发现那些褪色的蓝牛仔裤和花呢上衣之间，有着红色的或橘色的印度大师奥修（薄伽梵·室利·拉杰尼希）的追随者。

这是一个憎恶功能主义的世界：功能主义和现代主义之间的紧密关系必然意味着，当现代主义变得过时，主导了欧洲设计几十年的神圣信条也被封印了。

五、基于后现代主义视角的设计批评

近年来，设计失去了其便利性——笔者称其为社会民主性——这正是包豪斯-乌尔姆体系的基础。取而代之的是什么呢？当然是后现代主义。而那又将是什么呢？这是个不太容易回答的问题，因为后现代主义是极具折中性的。^[15] 后现代主义的本质否定了现代主义的普适性真理，而是认为功能主义就是一种文化（如同其他的许多文化一样），它伴随西方世界启蒙运动的兴起而出现，在



30-31. 通心粉：功能主义 VS. 后现代主义

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increases of deposited nuclear material were measured throughout Europe.¹⁴ In light of all that has been written above, it should come as no surprise that there was a sudden flourishing, in the 1970s and after, of countless anti-modernist, anti-technology movements. These are the years of mass demonstrations against nuclear energy and the siting of cruise missiles in Europe. These are the years when intellectuals, calling themselves Maoists (with absolutely no trace of self-mockery or irony), under the influence of an utterly irrational, anti-technological ideology, rejected out of hand all news of the countless victims of the Cultural Revolution and Pol Pot's collective re-education of the Cambodian people under the Khmer Rouge. These, it was held, were merely imperialist lies. These are the years when we saw the aftermath of the failed neo-Marxist student protests of 1968, which themselves had a virulent anti-

technological undertone. As the students slogan in Paris had it, 'l'Imagination au pouvoir!' (Power to the imagination!) Suddenly, the western world filled with violent urban guerrillas: the Italian Red Brigades, the Weathermen in the USA, West Germany's Baader-Meinhof Group, and the Japanese Red Army, all of them led by frustrated left-wing intellectuals and all of them dedicated to the overthrow of Western technocratic capitalism. And once again, the onslaughts of the urban guerrillas of the 1980s were merely the forerunners of the terror that confronts us today. The powerless astonishment with which the political establishment initially reacted to these anti-modernist movements also eventually fed the less radical movements that had cause to doubt the technological utopia. This in turn strengthened anti-modernism throughout the western world. Strikingly, it was those intellectuals who

had previously been the stoutest defenders of humanistic modernism who turned into adherents of a radical anti-rationalism. On many university campuses, both in Europe, and in the United States, one could suddenly see, between the pale blue jeans and tweeds, the red and orange of the followers of the Indian guru Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh. This is the world that sank functionalism: the close interrelationship between functionalism and modernism inevitably meant that when modernism became obsolete, it sealed the fate of what for decades had been the holy creed of European design.

5. Design Criticism from a Postmodernist Perspective

Within a few short years, design lost what for convenience I shall here call its social democratic, Bauhaus-Ulm roots. So what did we get in its place? Postmodernism,

20世纪中叶时达到高潮,并从那时起(像其他所有文化一样,一段时间后)开始呈现衰败之势。

从设计批评的角度来讲,重要的是强调符号学在后现代主义思想中的核心位置。产品并非由于其功能性,而是因其可能是某种象征性的载体或符号才被使用者所注意的。在这个识别过程中,“符号”转化为“意义”,但是……产品被赋予何种符号,取决于使用者的文化背景,这意味着,同一件产品在不同的文化中会具有不同的意义。^[16]换句话说,后现代主义始于一种假设——产品的价值本质上取决于使用者赋予它的意义,而符号和意义之间的精确关系是由文化所决定的。这一立场的结果是双重性的:首先,通过区别什么是“可爱、美丽、

of course. And what might that be? This is by no means easy to answer, because postmodernism is highly eclectic.¹⁵ In essence postmodernism denies that modernism holds a universal message for all mankind. It states that modernism is a culture (like many others) that bloomed in the Western world together with the start of the Enlightenment, had her climax somewhere halfway the 20th century and since then (like all cultures after some time) shows signs of decadence and decay.

From a viewpoint of design criticism it is important to stress the central role that semiotics play in postmodernist thought. Products are seen, not primarily as carriers of 'functions', but as carriers of symbols or 'signs' that are decoded by its users. In this decoding process 'signs' transform into 'meanings', but ... to what meaning a given sign is transformed, is supposed to be dependent on the cultural background of the user- decoder, which implies that

有意义的”与什么是“恶心、丑陋、无聊”,后现代主义在对什么是“好”设计和“坏”设计的判断上,从本质上是持有一种审美的而非伦理的观点;其次,既然对符号的解释等同于对我们周围世界的解释,那么后现代主义可以被视为“解释世界的广义相对论”。

从这个完全对立的世界观出发,能够得出对功能主义原则具有破坏性的观点,可列举为“粉碎功能主义十诫”的原则(见表2),而其中的一些看上去是合理的。

1. 对产品好坏的判断是由其使用者决定的,因此它无关于其设计的基本原

后现代主义设计批评: 粉碎功能主义十诫 POSTMODERNIST DESIGN CRITIQUE: SMASHING THE 10 COMMANDMENTS OF FUNCTIONALISM
1. 对产品好坏的判断与其设计的基本原理无关。 1. Whether a product is appreciated as good or bad has nothing to do with the fundamentals on which its design is based.
2. 人们对产品的欣赏是因为它对于使用者来说所具有的意义。 2. The appreciation of a product is determined by the meanings it radiates to its user.
3. 极简主义的设计很无聊。 3. Minimalist design is boring.
4. 功能主义设计缺乏装饰只是假象。 4. The absence of ornament in functionalist design, is a fake.
5. 并没有什么所谓的“普适性的审美准则”。 5. There is no such thing as 'universal aesthetics'.
6. 产品并没有“理想型”。 6. There is no unique 'ideal type' of a product .
7. 高技术的产品通常并不会被认为是“更好的”。 7. Technically superior products are not generally appreciated as 'better'.
8. 人人平等只是幻觉。 8. To think that all men are equal, is an illusion.
9. 功能主义的大规模生产让世界充斥着毫无意义的产品。 9. Functionalist mass production has flooded the world with meaningless products.
10. 有钱的客户始终存在。如果他们愿意付钱,为什么不为他们工作呢? 10. Rich clientèle do exist. Why not work for them, if they are willing to pay?

one and the same product will radiate different meanings in different cultures.¹⁶ In other words, postmodernism starts from the hypothesis that the appreciation of a product is essentially determined by the meanings the user attaches to it, while the exact relation between signs and meanings on their turn are culturally determined. The consequences of this stance are twofold: First, as appreciation discerns between notions as “likeable,

beautiful, meaningful” versus “disgusting, ugly, boring”, postmodernism holds essentially an aesthetical viewpoint instead of an ethical one in its judgment on what is ‘good’ and ‘bad’ design. Secondly, as the interpretation of signs is equated with the interpretation of the world around us, postmodernism can aptly be seen as ‘the general theory of relativity on the interpretation of the world’.

From this ultimately relativist worldview,

世纪与20世纪末的反技术先锋设计-艺术与手工艺运动和荷兰后现代主义”,(1)《装饰》,(2009.8), pp. 51 - 59; (2),《装饰》,(2009.9), pp. 44 - 53.

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理。设计的基础可以是科学的, 但也可以是历史的、艺术的、自然的、诗歌的、魔法的, 等等。总之怎样都行!

2. 人们对产品的欣赏并非是由于其功能性, 而是它对于使用者来说所具有的意义。功能性仅是产品所呈现的诸多意义之一。如果一件产品看上去不错, 它呈现出来的意义之一是: “这个东西很好用”。

3. 极简主义的设计使产品的意义受限, 虽然它自负得有些可笑, 但极简主义的设计终归是无聊的。

4. 功能主义设计缺乏装饰只是假象。功能主义的产品充满了“隐藏的信号”, 它们呈现出“隐藏的意义”, 并且一直都在起着重要的装饰作用。例如, 传说中的德国保时捷 911。^[17] 其设计在

装饰上十分精简, 但这就意味着它真的是一件“中性”的产品吗? 当然不是! 它告诉每个人: 我是一辆非常特殊的、高品质的、非常昂贵的汽车, 因此你可以看出拥有我的人是非常讲究品位的、非常有钱的人, 他对于产品, 尤其是汽车的鉴赏力是非凡的。

5. 产品的审美经验是建立在它之于使用者的价值基础上的; 这种价值是基于使用者赋予它的意义; 而这个意义是使用者对产品符号的解读; 而这种解读取决于使用者的文化背景。因此, 审美经验是由文化决定的, 它因文化不同而不同。

6. 产品并没有什么“理想型”, 要直接遵从这样的事实: 产品的品质认知度是由其使用者的认可度决定的。一把

生锈的、变形的煎锅也许对你来说比任何全新的、高技术的、功能绝对更好的煎锅都有价值, 因为生锈的煎锅可以让你回忆起你挚爱的祖母, 她经常用这把煎锅来做培根和煎蛋, 为儿时的你准备上学前的早餐。你仍然能闻到那种香味, 看到她在你面前, 也只是在你拿着这把生锈的煎锅的时候!

7. 首先: 恰恰相反! 它完全取决于产品呈现出的意义。如果一件产品的意义是: “我是一件非常复杂的、技术精密的产品, 而你, 可怜的使用者, 愚蠢得无法理解我的功能, 所以, 我猜你根本不会正确地操作我”, 那这件产品不可能被其使用者所欣赏。其次, 这条观点直接由上一条观点导出: 再想想祖母的煎锅吧。



32-33. 公共家具: 功能主义 VS. 后现代主义

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it launches a devastating attack on functionalism, that can be illustrated by ‘Smashing the 10 Commandments of Functionalism’ (Figure 2, p. 18). Some comments are justified, it seems.

Ad 1. Whether a product is appreciated as good or bad, is essentially decided by its user, and so has nothing to do with the fundamentals on which its design is based. These fundamentals can be scientific, but they also may be derived from history, art, nature, poetry, magic, or whatever. Anything goes!

Ad 2. The appreciation of a product is determined, not by its functioning, but by the meanings it radiates to its user. Its functioning is simply one of the many meanings the products radiates. If a products performs well, it radiates as one of its meanings: “This thing works nicely”.

Ad 3. Minimalist design is a constraint to filling a product with meanings, so minimalist design is simply boring, despite

its preposterous pretensions.

Ad 4. That functionalist design is devoid of ornament, is an illusion. Functionalist products are full of ‘hidden signs’ that radiate ‘hidden meanings’ and that is, as it always has been, the essential role of ornament. Take for instance, the legendary German Porsche 911. ¹⁷ Is this really a ‘neutral’ product, due to the lack of ornament in its design? Of course not! It tells everyone: I am a very exclusive, high quality, and very expensive automobile, and so you may aptly conclude that my owner is a very sophisticated and very rich man with a finely developed qualified taste for products in general and cars in particular.

Ad 5. The aesthetical experience of a product is based on the appreciation of a product by its user; the appreciation is based on the meanings the user attaches to the product; the meanings are produced by the user’s decoding of the

signs the products radiates; the decoding is determined by the cultural background of the user. So, aesthetical experiences are culturally determined and differ from culture to culture.

Ad 6. That there is no unique ‘ideal type’ of a product, follows directly from the fact that the perceived quality of a product is determined by the appreciation of its user. A rusty, crooked frying pan may be valued higher by you than any brand new, high-tech, and absolutely better functioning alternative, because the rusty one reminds you of your beloved grandmother, who used to prepare bacon and eggs for you in the morning before you had to go to school. You still smell them, and see her before you, only when you hold this pan!

Ad 7. First: On the contrary! It all depends on the meanings the product radiates. If one its meaning is: “I am a very complicated and technically sophisticated artifact, and you, poor user, are too

8. 认为所有人都是平等的，这是一种乌托邦式的价值加载，它在一些文化中是珍贵的，但并不是普遍事实。记得乔治·奥威尔写道，“所有的动物都是平等的，但是一些动物比其他动物更加平等”，不管你喜欢与否，他都是对的。另外，既然对世界的解释缘于对世界里的符号解读，而这个解读系统是由文化决定的，那这里事实上也并不存在普适性原则。

9. 功能主义的大规模生产让世界充斥着毫无意义的产品，而大规模生产实际上已经过时了。^[18]今天的“定制化批量生产”技术使我们可以向正确的方向迈进——也就是生产“个性化”的批量产品，并且赋予其一定的意义。是的，这里有设计师的任务，但从本质上讲这

是一个艺术的，而非技术的任务。

10. 在整个人类历史上的每种文化里都有一些精英人士。在历史的发展中，这些精英人士促成了那些最好的手工艺品的制作，它们留存至今，所有人都将其视作历史上高度发达文明留给我们的有形物质财富。这有什么错？^[19]

六、结论

后现代主义虽然有效地挑战了功能主义的范式，但是也为此付出了代价，在这个意义上说，后现代主义并未提供给我们一个有用的替代方法，即另一种可靠的、清晰的如何分辨“好”设计与“坏”设计的准则。另外，后现代主义在其特质上呈现出强烈的反技术倾向，但是这对于工业设计师来说意义不大：

它基本上以“艺术”取代了“技术”作为设计的核心。^[20]就长期以来我们对于功能主义原则的盲从而言，后现代主义以“怎样都行”取代了功能主义的“形式服从功能”，这也许让我们睁开了双眼，但最后，它也让工业设计师们两手空空……

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34-35. 太阳镜：功能主义 VS. 后现代主义

36-37. 设计师：功能主义 VS. 后现代主义

stupid to understand my functioning, so, I guess you will not be able to operate me properly”, the product will not be appreciated by its user. Secondly, this point follows directly from the previous one: Think again of Grandma’s frying pan. Ad 8. To think that all men are equal, is a value-loaded utopian statement, cherished in some cultures, and NOT a universal matter of fact. Remember George Orwell: “All animals are equal, but some animals are more equal than others”, and right he was, whether you like it, or not. By the way, as the interpretation of the world is done by decoding signs in that world, and as the decoding system is culturally determined, there are no universal matters of fact.

Ad 9. Functionalist mass production has flooded the world with meaningless products, while mass production is in fact technically outdated.¹⁸ With today’s technology of ‘customized mass

production’, we can do one step in the right direction, namely to ‘individualize’ massively produced artifacts, and so add some ‘meaning’ to them. Yes, there is a task for the designer here, but his or her task is essentially an artistic, and not a technical one.

Ad 10. During the whole of history there have been elites in each and every culture. During the whole of history these elites have commissioned the finest artifacts, that survive to the present day for all to see as tangible and cherished materializations of a highly refined culture in the past. What’s wrong with that?¹⁹

6. Conclusion

Postmodernism effectively challenges the functionalist paradigm, but there is a price to be paid for this, in the sense that it is NOT providing us with a useful alternative, that is, another solid, and clear cut set of rules on how to discern

between ‘good’ and ‘bad’ design. Moreover, as postmodernism is fiercely anti-technological in character, it has little to offer to industrial designers: It fundamentally re-replaces ‘art’ instead of ‘technology’ as being the heart of design.²⁰ As far as we have been blind for the relativity of the functionalist design paradigm, postmodernism, replacing the functionalist ‘Form Follows Function’ by ‘Anything Goes’, may have opened our eyes, but in the end, it leaves industrial designers also pretty empty handed...

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