



## **TENSIONS OF EUROPE/INVENTING EUROPE**

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**TITLE:** European 'Ways of Life' in the American Century:  
Mediating Consumption and Technology  
in the Twentieth Century  
(EUWOL)

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#### **Abstract:**

This text is a revised version of the original Eurocores proposal of Sept. 2006 submitted under the title "European Ways of Life in the 'American Century'" (EUWOL). The EUWOL collaboration is a multinational investigation of European patterns of consumption in the 20th century. The underlying thesis is that although American patterns of consumption were eagerly adopted by Europeans, they did so on their own terms and in specifically "European ways." The program has three pillars: food, housing, and recreation. The methodology implies a critique of the "consumption junction" and relies heavily on the idea of "mediation," i.e. on the shaping of consumer preferences by actors and organizations that act as "intermediaries" between producers and consumers.

**European 'Ways of Life' in the American Century:  
Mediating Consumption and Technology  
in the Twentieth Century  
(EUWOL)**

*Collaborative Research Project*

*within the ESF EUROCORES Program*

*"Inventing Europe:*

*Technology and the Making of Europe, 1850 to the Present"*

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*Keywords:* Consumption; Technology; Housing; Food; Leisure; Europe;  
Mediation

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**European 'Ways of Life' in the American Century:  
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(EUWOL)**

**Description of the Overall EUWOL Project**

*Introduction*

In 1952 the Swedish architect, Eskil Sundahl, claimed that the Swedish supermarket "differs considerably from its place of origin" – that is, the United States. Rather than taking on such "enormous dimensions" as in the U.S., the "Swedish self-service store," Sundahl suggested, "has a kind of intimacy." This quote captures an important aspect of the European postwar consumer society: the United States as both a source of inspiration and counter narrative. As Victoria De Grazia argues in *Irresistible Empire* (2005), the expansion of the U.S. consumer regime to Europe was crucial for shaping America's soft power and matching its hard power based on military might. The making of the United States as a superpower required that Europeans to some extent appropriated the "American way of life."

As the above quotation suggests, however, Europeans were seldom willing to become a blueprint of the United States. The U.S. served as an important role model already in the interwar period, when "rationalization" of everything from manufacturing to housework became a pivotal metaphor (Nolan 1994). Still, already at that time European actors developed various appropriation strategies to reshape the U.S. production and consumption regime to fit what they considered domestic, regional, or local traditions. The research project argues that the U.S. challenge in fact inspired the formation of pan-European and national identities that to a large extent were defined on the basis of distinct modes of production, distribution, and consumption during what has been famously called the American Century. As a result, there never developed in Europe one particular "way of life" but several "ways of life," and, accordingly, several technological regimes.

The EUWOL project takes the U.S. challenge as its point of departure. Against Grazia's strong thesis, the project proposes a hypothesis that stresses the decisive importance of national appropriation strategies and highlights the intra-European networks that contributed to the formation of specific European consumption regimes and material cultures. The project uses the area of *consumption* to investigate the prospects and potentials of Europe in a global world that has, allegedly, become increasingly dominated by the United States, thus aiming at contributing to research topics no. 3 and 4 in the CFP "Inventing Europe." It asks which European models circulated between actors in different countries and through which professional, economic, political, and cultural channels such models diffused. As is well known from the famous 1959 "kitchen debate" between Richard Nixon and Nikita Khrushchev, even

the Soviet Union developed their consumption regime partly in response to the U.S. The outcome was different technological trajectories that manifested themselves in different ways to organize the ways people lived, made vacation, and acquired goods.

The project treats three interrelated areas of consumption, one that is connected with residing and *housing*, one that treats the emergence of various forms of *leisure* activities, and one that is related to the distribution, preservation, and packaging of *food*. The first area concerns the consumption patterns and the forms of daily life that developed in the public housing projects that mushroomed in many European cities before and after the second world war, the second with phenomena such as Eastern-European *dachas* (in the Soviet Union) and *vikendica* (taken from "weekend" in Serbian and Croatian) and Western leisure resorts set up by union and welfare organizations, and the third area deals more specifically with the food products and the distribution and retailing system that developed to serve the inhabitants in both areas.

#### *State-of-the-art on an International Level*

The project addresses several bodies of literature: history and sociology of consumption, history and sociology of technology, and science and technology studies (STS), in addition to the emerging literature on the history of Europe and the specialized political-science literature on mediation.

The project analyzes European consumption patterns as a part of the contested and ambiguous project of European modernity (Heynen 1999; Betts 2004). The diversity and richness of this twentieth-century European experience is just emerging in the diverse Anglo-Saxon dominated literature, with each approach carrying its own tradition, research agenda, and challenges (Miller 1995; Fine and Leopold 1993; Storey 1999; De Grazia and Furlough 1996). The project takes up a particular methodological path in this historiographical forest to understand how European actors confronted and negotiated the built environment and various consumer goods. In accordance with recent developments in technology studies and history of technology, it elaborates on the point that "users matter" (Oudshoorn and Pinch 2003).

To understand the similarities among and differences between various European ways of life, the participating researchers do not only ask how engineers, planners, and politicians configured, regulated and normalized daily life and routines. More importantly, they investigate how consumers and inhabitants appropriated domestic technologies and the built environment to fit their lifestyles and identities (Landström 1998). Although the history of technology and architecture often stresses the obduracy of modern technologies (Hughes 1994; Hommels 2005), the project highlights the influence exerted by actors such as cooperatives, consumer groups, and international organizations. In short, the researchers analyze the relationship between the international circulation of knowledge and experience in the area of consumption and local appropriation strategies developed by various kinds of actors (Misa and Schot 2005).

Several historians have insisted that production and consumption should be examined in the same frame of analysis instead of as separate worlds; sociologists of technology similarly point to how designers and users mutually shape each other (Glennie 1995). Despite strikingly similar interests, these historians and sociologists rarely exchange their insights. Few historians have tested the sociological insights into the mutual shaping, or co-construction, of design and use (König 2000). At the same time, sociologists have paid insufficient attention to the historical changes in the relationship between designers and users. They have also largely ignored the importance of "Europe" as a geographically bounded space and ideological construct. We therefore choose to historicize sociological theory and systematize historical case studies. By historicizing and systematizing the knowledge and location of mediation practices in several countries, this project opens up a new vantage point to investigate the emergence of consumer societies in Europe.

To apprehend the production and consumption of residential houses, food products, and leisure, the project investigates *mediation* processes. In the center of analysis are "intermediary" actors (e.g. city governments, trade unions, political parties, automobile clubs and consumer organizations) who act as spokespersons and representatives of producers and consumers. They publicly negotiate (with varying degrees of success) the form and content of consumer goods and the technological structures in which material forms of residing and leisure are realized. Often, mediators serve as bridges between politicians and citizens. Applying mediation as a research strategy implies paying special attention to the work of "mediators" located at "junctions"—often in the form of specific institutional loci: agencies, committees, or platforms (Cowan 1989; Oldenziel et al. 2005). At such junctions, mediators create links between production and consumption by articulating and negotiating wishes, expectations, interests and strategies of potential consumers and producers of products, services, and leisure (Zachmann 2002).

By analyzing the standpoints and interaction of mediators the project traces representations, images, and expectations of U.S., European, and national versions of the "technological sublime" (Nye 1994), as well as of the associated technological options. Following in the tradition of Daniel Rodgers's monumental study, *Atlantic Crossings* (1998), it also opens up for an analysis of prevailing ideas, images and expectations of "Europe" and "America" as concepts in juxtaposition. Studying mediation thus provides a window into differences and convergences around the construction of European consumption—and its regional and national variants—at a given moment in time and in reaction to competitive images like "America." It thus can be shown how mediators not only designed the form and content of commodities, but also protocols for their use, the "discursive frameworks" of their users and the user-context Europe (Hård and Jamison 1998).

#### *Aims and Objectives*

The participants in the research project investigate the development and use of

technologies related to housing, leisure and food in Europe between 1918 and 1989, in order to find out to what extent these have been the result of trans-Atlantic or European cooperation and knowledge exchange. Although it is tempting to interpret the increasing internationalization of European "consumption regimes" (De Grazia 1998) during the twentieth century as a homogenization and standardization process, over which consumers have increasingly little control, the project sets out to explore how European actors developed and appropriated consumption technologies, by means of which they have helped to shape European ways of life. To some extent, the project can be regarded as an attempt to thematically and chronologically expand the analysis that Martha Banta presented in her book, *Taylored Lives* (1993).

The project will challenge the standard understanding of consumption as an individual economic activity (Bauman 2000). The U.S. consumption regime is based on an individualist and monetary view of consumption, and this approach is also reflected in the scholarly literature. "Consumption" has become synonymous with "individual consumption," a notion that tends to obfuscate the rich forms of cooperative, collective, and state consumption regimes that competed on an equal footing for much of the twentieth century in Europe. The project aims to show that the acceptance of U.S.-style consumption in Europe was never a foregone conclusion. Liberal, social-democratic, and communist governments offered other forms of consumption as an alternative to individual consumption. The result: other priorities when it came to choice of technology and products.

EUWOL examines how different consumption regimes shaped technological developments in Europe after the First World War. In liberal economies, when companies started to push for selling more products for mass market, women's and labor organizations tried to renegotiate their use by testing novelties for user-friendliness and safety. Cooperatives were important mediators for the shaping of consumption and technology in many countries, and they created products which were specified on the basis of community and labor requirements—not least in the area of food distribution, processing, and preservation. In the countries under both socialism in Eastern Europe and social democratic rule in many Western European countries, consumption took on collective forms—not least in the area of housing and the organization of leisure (Hirdman 1992). In the most extreme cases, the state used procurement as a strategy to make private companies develop products that might otherwise not have appeared on the market (Kaiserfeld 1996).

The research project examines how the state, civil society, and the economy in various parts of Europe configured the *space of mediation* for shaping technological developments in numerous and differing ways. It provides an important amendment to Cowan's (1989) classic definition of "the consumption junction," which—in the minds of the project researchers—gives individual consumers too much power in shaping technological developments by choosing freely from a range of technical artifacts and systems. Seeking to complement Cowan's economically liberal view, the project seeks to understand how, in Europe, the state together with non-governmental organizations put consumption on the political agenda. It analyzes how intermediary

groups (including consumer lobby groups, labor unions, business associations, and government agencies) were crucial in shaping Europe's particular patterns of consumption, and seeks to understand how these groups sought to combine elements of mass, collective, and individual models of consumption which generated different consumer products and socio-technical regimes. In particular, the researchers will look at how America's position as the transatlantic "other" helped define local, national, and pan-European identities, and they will thus contribute to a better understanding of Europe's role in an increasingly globally intertwined world. The guiding story line in the various analyses is "European ways of life" – developed to highlight the plurality of Europe, as well as the contrast to the "American way of life." Since "Europe" cannot be treated in essentialist terms, it is the task of the researchers to work out if this adjective was at all used by the historical actors themselves, and which other identities they constructed.

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## Collaborating within EUWOL

European consumption in the 20<sup>th</sup> century is a huge area of investigation. In order to make it researchable the project will focus on the mentioned three pillars.

a) The *food* pillar investigates the development of the European cold chain (cooling and freezing techniques, the refrigerator, chilled and frozen food and the packaging thereof) and the reception and appropriation of a number of emblematic "American" comestibles. The main focus is on those East and West European actors who sought to develop, introduce and negotiate the cold chain and U.S. food-products in Europe. By investigating how the development of the cold chain in Europe came about and how U.S. food products were appropriated and domesticated in European households, supermarkets, cookbooks, and popular media, the project seeks to contribute to theoretical debates about technological (knowledge) exchange, the importance of a user perspective within science and technology studies, the domestication and appropriation of (foreign) technologies, while also contributing to the historical knowledge on processes of alleged Americanization. By identifying the social actors that played the main role in European and transatlantic mediation and appropriation processes, the pillar aims to show how the internationalization of the food system contributed to the formation of European ways of life. The goal is to revise the idea of the European consumer society as a predominantly U.S. inspired and copied development.

Research on food and eating usually stresses their important authenticating function. Food-ways are generally taken to be an important expression of people's (local, regional or national) 'identity'. But from the beginning of the twentieth century European food-ways have to an increasing extent been subject to and the result of international (incl. transatlantic) production and marketing processes over which people had no control. It is often claimed that the twentieth century rise of European consumer societies, with the increasing internationalization of the food system, has brought about increasing homogenization and standardization. In its most blunt form, this thesis was put forth by George Ritzer in his book, *The McDonaldization of Society* (1993). The role of America is often highlighted, especially with regard to food, eating and food-related technologies such as packaging. In spite of these assumptions, relatively little is known about the actual ways in which the internationalization of the (East and West) European food systems came about. What actors played a role, and how did they cooperate internationally before and after World War II? In what ways were 'foreign' developments appropriated locally? What cultural repertoires were mobilized to embed new technologies? How were they contested, negotiated, and reworked? What differences and similarities were there between national developments and between developments that took place in Eastern and Western, in

Northern and in Southern parts of Europe? And to what extent have the respective national appropriation processes of foreign technologies been comparable, thereby helping to shape 'European' food-ways?

Within this pillar, four individual projects (IP) or associate projects (AP) are being pursued, each with a specific take on the overall framework. Karin Zachmann, Marc de Ferrière, Per Østby, and Emanuela Scarpellini treat the emergence and co-construction of food consumption and the development of cooling and packaging technologies in Germany (incl. FRG and GDR), France, Norway and Italy.

b) The *housing* pillar explores the interpretive flexibility of mass housing, the degree of standardization of industrial construction methods, and the degree of normalization of everyday life in three stages of their development, and attempts to relate these topics to the United States as a role model or a warning. Each stage is roughly delimited by the following dates:

1. 1917-1945: restricted and experimental standardization, enabling organized tenants (often cooperative form) to influence the design of the domestic environment and develop group-specific ways of life; U.S. cities and housing solutions serve to a large extent as negative images
2. 1945-1972: rigid standardization and the obstructing of alternative voices; the normalization of daily life goes hand in hand with the massive introduction of U.S.-inspired household technology (via collective modes of consumption); Soviet-style architectural solutions meet Continental ways of life in Eastern Europe
3. 1973-1989: modular construction systems and the accommodation of user preferences; individual initiatives in both East and West; openness toward the 'American way of life'—but at the same time a growing awareness of its environmental side-effects; movement out of the city into "towns-in-between" that signify a European alternative to U.S.-style suburbia.

Although there is a rich literature on the international circulation of architectural ideas—especially within the modernist movement, the international exchange between local non-expert networks is hardly covered. It is not clear yet how local civil networks shaped technological choices and daily living. Nor is it clear how knowledge traveled between different configurations of stakeholders and whether separate networks of experts and non-experts converged or existed side by side. Instead of focusing on planning documents and drawings, the project assesses sources such as expert and non-expert study tours and congresses, local debates, minutes of neighborhood societies, letters-to-the-editor in housing journals, contemporary sociological investigations, and police records. Important actors to study are, e.g., public-housing associations acting as mediators between industry, politics, and inhabitants. By means of, among other things, oral history material, it will ask questions such as: Did inhabitants from different social strata and ethnic groups accept the way of life

prescribed by architects and existing technical structures, or did they successfully develop alternative ways of life? Did they conceive of these in terms of "European-ness," or which other identities did they adopt?

Within this pillar, five individual projects (IP) or associate projects (AP) are being conducted, each with a specific take on the overall framework. At the center are the projects by Mikael Hård, Dobrinka Parusheva, and Liesbeth Bervoets (part of Adri Albert de la Bruhèze's IP) which treat the emergence and co-construction of mass housing and its inhabitants in Sweden Bulgaria, Romania, Germany (incl. FRG and GDR), and the Netherlands. Complementary projects are Esra Akcan's politically important project about the encounter of Turkish immigrants with Central-European mass housing in Phases 2 and 3, as well as Leen van Molle's on the rejection of this kind of public housing on the part of middle-class groups in Belgium and one or two other countries. Molle's project will serve as an important bridge to the third pillar.

c) The third pillar treats *leisure*, in our times a rather ironic activity. Intended as an escape from the technological bustle of everyday life, the production and consumption of leisure services and products are organized by the same technological networks as its 'other'. This tension between perceived 'otherness' - in both its everyday mundane meaning and in an international 'American century' meaning - and technologically afforded continuity makes leisure a revealing cultural and political laboratory. Focusing on leisure, the pillar poses a method for investigating the formation of European and national consumption regimes and material cultures and uses it to expose a crucial hallmark of (both past and contemporary) leisure production and consumption: the dynamic interplay between standardization or collective consumption and individual consumption in a context of contested ideologies, coined as 'American century'.

The pillar addresses two main questions:

1. how 'American' ideas and concepts about leisure contributed to the formation of national and pan-European concepts of (the organization of) leisure. Restated, how European countries and transnational European organizations translated (different) images of American ways of life and leisure into (different and similar) concepts of (the organization of) leisure.
2. how these national and pan-European views were both shaped by and translated into technological requirements and technological infrastructures of transport, housing and food.

The hypothesis is that the outcome of mediation practices, i.e. the mediated production and consumption of leisure in 'response' to 'American' models of leisure, and their appropriation resulted into different national and similar European leisure regimes and material leisure cultures. These regimes and cultures took individual, collective and mixed forms of leisure. How these individual and collective forms emerged, clashed and co-existed is being investigated by focusing on:

- city-countryside relations, involving concepts of city planning, working, relaxation, health and 'modernity'.
- the relations between privately owned second houses and collectively organized leisure activities like summer holidays camps.

The program has a national and an international dimension. The national dimension deals with the actions and interactions of national actors in the making of national leisure. The international dimension deals with the activities and influence of transnational European actors like European organizations for tourism and leisure, European Trade Unions and European Welfare Organizations.

Within this pillar, four individual projects (IP) or associate projects (AP) are being conducted, each with a specific take on the overall framework. Adri Albert de la Bruhèze, Thomas Kaiserfeld, Per Lundin, and Michael Wagner treat the emergence of European forms of leisure and leisure technologies in the Netherlands, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Finland.

- To guarantee coherence, the network of researchers active in the project contribute to the overall aims of the project in the several ways. First of all, each IP and AP:
- takes "Americanization" as its point of departure, but remain open for the emergence of other ways of life and group identities
- focuses on developments throughout the whole period, i.e., ca. 1917-1989
- treats actors and processes not only on a national level and investigate the relevant bilateral or international networks
- develops research topics that overlap with contributors to the other pillars – housing, leisure and food.

The combination of international and national perspectives implies the study of archival materials from a number of national and European organizations, as they are seen – in our conceptual model of mediation – as spokespersons of national and European consumers and their desires.

## **Individual Project 01**

### **Producing European Consumption Regimes in the ‘American Century’: Housing and Leisure Technologies.**

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#### *Background*

Housing and leisure became socially and technically intertwined during the twentieth century. Urban planners increasingly went beyond their mandate of designing decent houses by also planning infrastructures for energy, transportation and communication, as well as planning parks, amusement parks, sport facilities, ‘garden cities’ and summer cities. Early on, social reformers had linked decent urban living and working conditions with rural leisure activities like outings and summer camps. Finally, physicians and social workers came to believe that the key to the health of urban dwellers and the working class was to get into the country side.

The interconnections of these social technical infrastructures and the cultural scripts of leisure, health, well-being, modernity and housing design offer important sites to study processes of technological diffusion. In twentieth-century Europe, process of Americanisation, i.e. the ‘translation’ of visions and images about modern American life style into new products, played a crucial role in this diffusion. For example, during the 1920s and 1930s, modernist architects promoted American conveniences of apartment hotels and kitchens they had encountered on their visits in the United States; after the Second World War the US Marshall aid stimulated a ‘modern’ standardized way of building that resulted in slab buildings and modernist suburbs. During these decades American corporations and the US government also did their utmost best to introduce and diffuse American models of leisure in Europe (Endy 2005). In the end, the success of these efforts depended on the ways European consumers and their organizations were able and willing to appropriate American technologies and their cultural scripts to fit local circumstances.

In the Dutch supported ESF project *Producing European Consumption Regimes* the processes of appropriation will be examined through two interrelated systems of mass housing and leisure activities in several European countries in the twentieth century. It will analyse European actors’ contestation and appropriation of American ways of

living. This appropriation will be understood as a process within the context of US-European relations, with an emphasis on the post-World War II era when America is traditionally said to have come to dominate Europe through military might, culture exports, and technological advance.

### *Aims and Objectives*

The research project seeks to provide a theoretical framework to understand the appropriation of American technologies in Europe and how this appropriation contributed to the emergence of local, national, and transnational identity formation. It will further theorize the concept of mediation junction between production and consumption by focusing on how European countries and European consumers appropriated American culture and technologies. Emphasis thus will be on the active role of receiving cultures to assess users' key role in the making and shaping of both technological developments and (local, national and transnational) cultural repertoires.

### *Methodologies*

The research group will consult European and American national sources and archives, but also focus on transnational (European) organizations and their sources as they better reveal the negotiations between international and local and national actors currently lacking in most monographs that take the nation state as their research frame. International organizations such as the modernist architects and European travel organizations will bring this transnational dimension into sharper focus by mining transnational archives such as the OEEC and the OECD archives located in Florence and the archives of the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam. The research project will be carried out by a research team of two senior researchers and a postdoc.

### **Subprojects:**

#### **I -European Leisure Project, Senior Dr Adri Albert de la Bruhèze.**

##### *Transnational and National Actors and the Making of European Leisure (Postdoc project)*

Tourism became part of the political struggle between the superpowers in which Europe figured centre stage. The US propagated car infrastructure (highways, road side hotel, motels, and restaurants) to promote individual freedom and open road vacations and leisure outings in Europe. By contrast, the Soviet Union and its satellite states emphasized government guaranteed and organized tourism and forms of transportation. The European tourism developed within a variety of state-market-society relations that demanded different technological solutions. As an important source of cultural authority, nation states, professionals, and political and cultural elites

claimed leisure for their own ends. Trade unions for example regularly organized leisure outings and (international) summer camps for members' children, while political organizations established sport and bicycle organizations for healthy relaxation. By analysing how consumers' representatives, industrialists, and the state mediated and shaped leisure activities, the research will shed light on the interplay between local leisure cultures and political regimes (Anderson and Tabb, 2002; Koshar 2000; Bertho Lavenir 1999, Baranowski & Furlough 2001). Although we currently associate leisure with individualism and the market, in Europe the state played a key role from the Soviet Union's emphasis of state organized vacation, the German Nazis goals of organizing racially pure tourist attractions to the French socialist Popular Front alternatives to such fascist initiatives by legislating paid vacations for its working class as a 'right of citizenship.' (Baranowski 2004; De Grazia 1981; Furlough 1998) The Cold-War era, capitalist and communist regimes also showed some remarkable similarities: hedonistic individual leisure for the elite coexisted with collective forms of rural leisure and tourism for the masses. (Spode 1996; Savicky 1974). The research focuses on how Europeans dealt with these competing tourist models during the Cold War era when the American government and corporations offered a seemingly irresistible alternative to these state sanctioned vacations. How did Europeans appropriate and contest both forms of leisure and what actors played a role in it?

#### *Aims and Objectives*

The research project *Transnational and National Actors and the Making of European Leisure* maps the development of national and transnational leisure regimes by focusing on the Cold War when American governmental agencies, national European organizations and Transnational (European) Organizations translated, contested and appropriated 'American' leisure models, articulating national and European forms of leisure, but also tracing the background of this kind of European actors into the interwar period. Transnational European actors like the European Travel Commission (ETC), the Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC), and its successor the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) will be examined and guide the selection of national actors to see how they translated transnational concepts for national use. The transnational organizations will analyze how 'Europe' as tourist destination and 'location' has been propagated in the age when most foreign travellers were Americans. The project will examine the historical archives of the OEEC and its successor the OECD, including records of the Tourism Working Group and the Tourism Committee, located in the European University Institute in Florence, Italy. It will also examine the archives of the European Travel Commission (ETC) located in Florence and the US National Archives Maryland. Records of national European leisure organizations are usually located in the national archives of these countries.



*Standardization Contested. European Large-Scale Housing Practice in the Netherlands, 1918-1989*

The modern "American" detached home and the modernist slab building – associated with "International Style" – characterized twentieth-century European housing. The research will focus on large-scale social housing because it dominated Europe, while its discursive associations have yet to be fully examined.

During the twentieth century European and American housing experts followed different tracks in solving the problem of large-scale social housing. In Europe housing was articulated as a longstanding, widely supported civil mission producing public housing policies that varied according to the different state-market-civil society configurations. In the interbellum (1917-1945), the urgency of mass housing created a space for new kinds of building technologies and civil action (Bijker and Bijsterveld 2000; Parr 2002). Heterogeneous tenants and professionals' networks negotiated its parameters, creating local experiments with new designs, ground plans, housing facilities, and construction technologies (Stieber 1998). Closely following European housing endeavours, Americans considered Western Europe a social housing laboratory and learned from it through instructional tours, international congresses, and exhibitions (Rodgers 1998).

In the Netherlands, housing experts (inspectors, architects, and engineers) housing societies, municipal housing departments, and consumer-tenants groups became the crucial vehicles of architectural and building innovations till 1940. The Dutch followed their own path of modernization, domesticating foreign (and American) housing technologies and designs and staying a middle course between individual American styled and collective Soviet-styled solutions. The organization of civil arrangements involving tenants' representatives and spokespersons such as housing corporations and consumer-tenants groups played a crucial role.

When, after the Second World War, millions of apartments had to be constructed, the government took an active and directive role, while the Marshall Aid weakened the international knowledge exchange between local housing networks. This new political arrangement resulted in slab buildings and modernist suburbs and terminated the influence of the relatively small group of modernist architects and civil organizations active during the interwar period.

*Aims and Purposes*

Taking as its point of departure the view that users indeed matter in the making of technologies (Oudshoorn and Pinch 2003), the project concentrates on tenants, residents, and consumers of large-scale housing projects and their representatives. It focuses on the intersection of the national and international by mapping the international circulation of knowledge and experience in housing experts and non-experts networks that shaped local Dutch practices of building and living. Archives of

Dutch housing societies, housing offices, and tenant organizations will be studied at the Amsterdam and Rotterdam municipal archives together with archives of the International Institute of Social History. The research will focus on how local civil networks shaped technological choices and daily practices; how knowledge circulated among different (national and international) configurations of stakeholders; and whether separate expert and non-expert networks either converged or co-existed. How did residents accept the way of life architects inscribe into the technical structures; did they develop alternative forms of life; what happened with the international networks of voluntary and professional associations under the pressure of the Marshall Plan and the European integration?

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## Individual Project 02

### **Standardization and Diversity of Foods in Europe Through Technical Innovations of Packaging in the European Food Industry: 1918-1989**

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#### *Aims and Objectives*

The aim of this project is to study how techniques of packaging in food industry build a European culture by producing uniform products from WWI onwards. Although national cooking habits remain important, it seems that the biggest influence came from US in both a marketing and a technical way.

As the geographical space remains heterogeneous, after WWII the European regulations, mainly from EEC, progressively built a global market with the same administrative and economic rules. The project thus contributes both to the topic of consumption and to Europe in a global world. It will investigate two themes:

1. Technical changes in packaging: How the food industry manages the changes from the loose goods at the beginning of the twentieth century to modern packaging at the end of the period. We also want to study the conflicts between wood and glass, glass and board, or between glass and board against plastic items. The logistics played a great role in those changes, from horses to trucks, from the control of cold to the new regulation for environmental protection (eco-packaging).
2. Marketing changes: As advertisements appeared directly on the packages, lots of other indications are printed as well: nutritional information, barcodes or traceability for example. All these new practices are superimpose on some ancient ones, as appellation of origin, or new ones, geographical indications, which recognize European regions. The goal of new packaging design is to marry tradition and modernity.

The investigations provide answers to the questions of the project: Which elements of the new technologies came from US and which were either European appropriation or self innovation? At this point we like to understand who forced the innovations in food packaging: consumers, European firms or US ones?

#### *Methodologies/experiments*

Since the subject is too large to be completely analyzed within 3 years, we are studying only some specific aspects of it. We choose to focus on the cold chain for different reasons. *Firstly*, the cold chain is very important in the way it changes the commercial methods, it helps the development of self-services, and acts as an important factor in the industrialization of foods. *Secondly*, the cold chain changes the way people treat food: by means of conservation, cooking, and so on. *Thirdly*, the cold chain concerns not only shops and supermarkets, but also private households because of the ever greater room required for refrigerator and freezer. In coordination with other new products, such as microwave oven, it not only changes the house but also the way of life by the introduction of new cooking methods. It interferes with places to eat as well: fast food could not exist without packaging. This implies the *fourth point*, studying changes in food packaging during the twentieth century means to study both ends of the chain and mostly the products. Do the changes in food packaging help the introduction of new types of food? Does it give advantage to American foods, from drinks (Coca-Cola) to sauces (ketchup)?

In order to address such questions we are studying different sources. For the period from 1920 until 1945, the project aims mainly at determining the type(s) of packaging in use in Europe and the technical literature published during that period. By studying cookbooks and magazines, we are trying to see if a new model appears.

For the period from 1945 onwards, we are working mainly in archives. We want to study some international professional associations, such as CEPI for the paper industry, EEC and Gatt for the trade discussions, mainly the Uruguay Round. We are using various archival sources: the plan is to work with Archives du Crédit Lyonnais and Archives du Crédit Agricole in Paris which owns lots of material on food industries and on packaging industries, for example Carnaud, but not only French ones; with Archives Saint-Gobain in Blois for glass packaging and also for board as Cellulose du pin was a subsidiary of Saint-Gobain. A good way to have a European and a world point of view is also to work with Nestlé archives in Vevey. As the first European Tupperware mill was established in Tours, we want to work also with its archives. An important aspect of such sources is that all those companies are international companies, working and selling in all the European countries.

The SIAL's archive, Salon International de l'Emballage, could be also a very good source. As a partner of the Institut d'Histoire de l'Aluminium (IHA), I will study there the archives from Pechiney and Alcan, on aluminium in the kitchen and in the food packaging.

The project aims at producing a monograph either on firms or on products, to understand how food packaging plays a role in the development of a European Way of life. The aim is not to work only on the French case but also on a really European one. This implies the study of products 'biographies' in different countries, the role of international committees, European companies and other transnational actors.

## Individual Project 03

### **Separate Summer Homes: The Scandinavian Model of Leisure and its Changing Ideology during the Short 20<sup>th</sup> Century**

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#### *Aims and Objectives*

With the advent of mass motorization during the 1950s, car holidays became increasingly popular. While in 1950 motor traffic was quite evenly distributed over the year, already in 1956 it peaked sharply during the summer month of July when it was more than twice as high as in March. Initially, Swedish car owners quickly adapted the American way of recreation with weekend car trips to the countryside. But already in 1960 the Swedish Tourist Association reported how Swedes after some years of car travelling had got tired of this kind of leisure activity. Instead, there aroused a newly awakened interest for the sport cottage, and the association wrote: "After that, the car has for many become a means of communication between the city flat and the cottage."

The introductory example reflects how the American way of life, centred around the car as it was, became a source of inspiration for Swedes. Simultaneously, it indicates how it was only a matter of a few years until the US-style of leisure was abandoned for a rediscovery of a distinct Scandinavian version of leisure, namely the separate summer home. Indeed, it shows how the Swedish conduct towards American culture was characterized by ambivalence (Godhe 2003; Lagerkvist 2005), rather than submission as historian Victoria de Grazia has argued (de Grazia 2005).

We argue that there has been a specifically Scandinavian (with the exception of Denmark) model of leisure during the short 20<sup>th</sup> century (1918–1989) taking the form of separate summer homes. By paying specific attention to two 20<sup>th</sup> century de-location patterns in the areas of transportation and leisure activities respectively, we analyze the shaping of a Scandinavian model of leisure. Transportation technologies and leisure ideologies will thus be brought together in order to understand the phenomena of separate summer homes. In the following, we will first present crucial changes in these areas using the Swedish case as example, then an outline of the projects that we wish to conduct to understand the Scandinavian model of second homes.

We roughly distinguish three phases in the development of the Scandinavian model of leisure, each highlighting a specific spatial interdependence between

transport and separate summer homes. The phases are “layered”, that is, new transportation modes are added to previous ones, new types of housing to earlier ones, etc. In each phase we ask: Which were the actors circulating the ideas and practices of separate summer homes? Did the circulation of ideas take place on an international level, if so, by which networks? How were these ideas received and appropriated at national, regional, and local levels?

The first phase takes place during the interwar years. Here, the train was the dominant means of transport. The ownership of separate summer homes was limited to the wealthier social groups and took the form of sport cottages close to highly esteemed nature types, such as mountainsides or lakes, easy accessible by train. Important actors are tourist organizations such as the Swedish Tourist Association and its Norwegian and Finnish counterparts. However, during the latter part of the period, labour unions and cooperative organizations entered the stage, initiating and influencing vacation reforms of the 1930s, offering the possibility of separate summer homes for workers (Eskilsson 2000; Sandell & Sörlin 2000).

The second phase takes place during the first decades after WW II, the golden age as British historian Hobsbawm has put it. In this period, cars and leisure time are truly democratized. The numbers of cars quintupled between 1950 and 1960, and vacation was extended to three weeks in 1951, to four in 1964. As has been mentioned, Swedish car owners adapted the American way of weekend car trips in the 1950s, but soon enough (by the end of the decade) many shifted back to the established pattern of separate summer homes. Thus, the Scandinavian model prevailed.

Two types of processes may be observed during this period. Firstly, existing cottages and houses on the countryside—abandoned as a result of the ongoing urbanization process—became more accessible by car allowing a socially more widespread ownership of separate summer homes. In 1960 more than 200 000 families owned a second home. Important intermediary actors were the car lobby in close collaboration with tourist organizations. Secondly, centrally planned “summer cities” started to appear on the drawing-tables of city planners, who wanted them to interact with the formation of new urban centres. The summer city was typically located on the periphery of the metropolis—perhaps a two-hour car ride away from city centre (Blomkvist 2001; Lundin forthcoming). Ideally it would be located in a traditional Swedish agricultural and cultural landscape that no longer fulfilled its original purposes.

The third phase ranges over the decades 1970s and 1980s. Travel by air increased dramatically, as well as vacation possibilities for both white- and blue-collar workers. In Sweden, vacation was extended to five weeks in 1978. As a result, the geographical dispersion of separate summer homes, now more accurately denoted separate vacation homes, started to transcend national borders. Villages of separate vacation homes, in essence fragments of the Scandinavian model, appeared in Spain, Greece, Thailand, and elsewhere. Important intermediary actors during this phase were building contractors as well as travel agencies and real estate agents. In the third

phase, typical intermediary actors no longer planned more room for vacationists, spatially or temporally. Instead, their ambition was to create and sell a desirable alternative to existing separate summer homes. From this perspective, the focus had turned from demand to supply.

The three phases outlined above can be summarized in a table.

<b>Phase</b>	<b>Transportation technology</b>	<b>Type of housing</b>	<b>Mediating actors</b>
1918 – 1947	Train	Sport cottages (individual, cooperative)	Tourist organizations, labour unions, cooperative organizations
1948 – 1972	Car	Cottages (individual), leisure resorts (cooperative, welfare, national)	Tourist organizations, car lobby, planners, state authorities
1973 – 1989	Airplane	Cottages (individual), leisure resorts (corporative, international)	Building contractors, tourist agencies, realtors

We have several reasons to believe that the Swedish development sketched above represents a Scandinavian model of leisure characterized by separate summer homes. The Scandinavian countries, and especially Finland, Norway and Sweden, share a number of characteristics: climate, geography, cultural, political and social values. They show similar evolvments of transport systems as well as welfare systems.

Our hypothesis is that there has been a specifically Scandinavian model of leisure during the short 20<sup>th</sup> century (1918–1989) taking the form of separate summer homes. In order to carry out our investigation we will apply a framework proposed by consumption researchers in the fields of history and sociology.

We will investigate *mediation processes*, that is, historical processes through which actors and institutions worked as communicating vessels between production and consumption of leisure. The mode of procedure brings the intermediary actors into focus. These “mediators” are often found at specific institutions such as lobby groups, state agencies, labor unions etc. (Cowan 1987; Zachmann 2002; Oldenziel, Bruhèze and

De Wit 2005).

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## Individual Project 04

### **Living in Kreuzberg:**

#### **Turkish Immigrants and German Post-War Collective Housing**

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##### *Aims and Objectives*

In conjunction with the “European ‘Ways of Life’”, this research will explore the post-war development of Berlin’s “Turkish neighbourhood” Kreuzberg, as an emblematic case for the living conditions of the Turkish diaspora in Europe. It will address the evolution of Kreuzberg from the late 1960s as the hinterland embodying the marginal and minority cultures of West Berlin, to its architectural rehabilitation during the 1980s by the IBA (Internationale Bauausstellung) Project that involved a high number of international architects, and finally to its gentrification after the unification of Germany.

The IBA project in Berlin followed models of mass housing that developed in Germany during the Weimar period, and thus intentionally differed from American residential norms of “good life” and suburban living. This research on the IBA project will thus

- explore the differences in the residential cultures between Europe and United States in the post-war era
- expose the continuity of mass housing models in Europe from the 1920s through the 1980s
- define the emergence of new European identities with the contribution of immigrants and different ethnic groups

Even though it has rarely been addressed in academic circles, the beginnings of German-Turkish relations and axes of immigration date well before the 1960s. The diplomatic alliance between the Ottoman Empire and Germany intensified in the eighteenth century as part of the modernization policies of the former. There was a significant leap in the rapport between Turkey and Germany in the early twentieth century. Turkey, during this period, was in the middle of an extensive modernization and Westernization program, implemented by the Kemalist state that came to power in 1923, putting an end to the Ottoman Empire and restructuring the country as a modern

nation-state. As part of its modernization and Westernization policy, the Kemalist State invited to Turkey some two hundred German-speaking experts in their fields for various duties assisting in the formation of the country's modern institutions and universities. The German professionals continued to shape the country's institutions till 1955, albeit with several shifts effected in part by the political and the cultural sways taking place both in Europe and Turkey. Kemalist national elites recognized in the practice of architecture and town planning an effective mechanism in the making of a modern country. With the schools, hospitals, houses and governmental buildings that these architects designed, the State was seeking to display the achievements of the Revolution, while subsequently disseminating symbols of modern and Western living to the nation by using architectural tropes.

Most of these direct encounters came to a close some years after the end of the Second World War, but the post-war era prepared the ground of another phase. Starting with the mid-1960s, the extensive immigration of workers from Turkey to Germany brought a significant turn in this relationship. Today, Berlin is a city that accommodates one of the largest urban Turkish populations. Unlike the Germans in Turkey who were influential in the upper-middle class professional activities, the Turkish diaspora has constituted for the most part the working-class in Central Europe. With the second and third generations, Turkish immigrants are recently finding more mediums to express themselves.

The development of the Kreuzberg neighborhood after the 1960s constitutes a perfect case study to observe the changing living conditions of the Turkish population in Berlin in particular, and Central Europe in general. The IBA project in and around Kreuzberg, carried by the West German government through the 1980s, was in part an attempt to regularize and normalize the "marginal" neighborhood of Berlin. Yet, once built, some of its sections were gentrified pushing the former Turkish immigrants outside its borders, while other sections were hybridized and enriched with the evolving living habits of its Turkish habitants. While these habitants did not want to fully assimilate themselves into a "German" identity, their "ways of life" significantly evolved into something other than their relatives in Turkey. This research will define this emerging identity as part of a new "Europeanness", by carefully recording the living conditions of its habitants.

During its planning and construction phases, the IBA project was divided into two. While one of its segments directed by Josef Paul Kleihues constructed new buildings in the urban lots left empty due to the bombings in the Second World War, the other segment directed by Waltherr Hämer was responsible for rehabilitating the existing run-down buildings mostly occupied by Turkish guest workers. Even though the Turkish population already occupied the neighborhood, the lack of Turkish experts despite the high number of international architects in the shaping of the IBA project is noteworthy. The unification of West and East Berlin, which suddenly brought this hitherto peripheral neighborhood to the center of the city, significantly effected its gentrification and increased its multicultural population.

This research will explore the unique neighborly characteristics of Kreuzberg, both those that were intended by the architects and the ones that emerged as the habitants defined new uses originally unintended by the architects. It will analyze the specific uses of the residential units, the common courtyards, and streets; and special food markets with its own habits of work hours, consumption models and consumed goods, which sometimes defy the German governmental regulations. It will explore how the residents changed the living rooms, bedrooms, balconies, service spaces (kitchens, bathrooms, appliances) in their apartments, how they use the common spaces (courtyards, common gardens, common terraces) in their buildings and neighborhoods. Here, it will especially profit from the cooperation with AP-01 (Hård).

#### *Methodologies/experiments*

The research will be carried in three phases:

1. Archival Research: The history of Kreuzberg (1960s–1989) (research about Kreuzberg’s gentrification after 1989 will also be carried).
2. Interview with key architects and producers of IBA: The IBA project involved a high number of well-known architects from numerous European countries and the United States. Interviews may be carried with Daniel Libeskind, Axel Schultes, Peter Eisenman, Rem Koolhaas, Mario Botta, Alan Colquhoun, John Miller, Giorgio Grassi, Gregotti, Zaha Hadid, Herman Hertzberger, Hans Hollein, Arata Isozaki, Rob Krier, Gustav Peichl, Christian de Portzamparc, O.M. Ungers and other involved architects
3. On-site research:
  - a. Documentation: Mapping and photographing
  - b. Interview with current (and former) Turkish habitants in Kreuzberg: This phase will involve area studies and questionnaires.

## Individual Project 05

### **Icing the Norwegian Nation: The Import, Transformation and Appropriation of Deep Freezing Technologies 1930 - 1970**

#### Principal Investigator

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#### *Aims and objectives*

The first attempts to introduce deep freezing in the households in Norway started in the late 1930s when *The Office for Experiments in the households (OEH)* was established. The first director of OEH, the chemist Bergliot Qviller Werenskiold, had spent one year in the US, studying Home Economics and related subjects at various universities. Back home she initiated experiments and information campaigns on an array of different subjects concerning home technologies and consumer articles, among them deep freezing. In 1950 OEH published its pamphlet "Freezing of food" which were distributed in the impressive number of 200 000 (in a country with about 3 million inhabitants) (Bergan 1989). During the 1950s families rented lockers in collective freezing units.

OEH in the 1950s became The Federal Institute of Consumer Research (SIFO) showing the growing awareness for consumer affairs and the willingness of the state to intertwine into these matters. Both the work of SIFO and the promotion of freezing technologies fitted all to well to the social democratic political ambition of the time. On the one side it represented the will to modernise business, trade, agriculture and fishing through rationalisation and technological innovation. Even more important was the party's intervention for public welfare. People should have a job, decent homes, be educated and kept healthy to the best of them selves and the nation as a whole. Appropriate nutrition was a key factor in this relation.

In 1959 one of Norway's first media celebrities Rolf Kirkvåg, left his job as a host of "talk shows" in the Norwegian State Broadcasting System and became the director of the *Deep Freezing Office (DFO)*. Thereafter he launched an impressive campaign to educate Norwegian housewives on how to conserve foodstuff by using a new type of freezing techniques, the individual home freezer. In the following decade Norwegian housewives went from storing meat and fish in lockers in collective freezer units to store all types of fresh food in their own home freezers (Kirkvåg 1980).

This last initiative was said to be independent, but was applauded by

commercial actors as well as the political elite. The Deep Freezing office also became an important arena for the establishment of FRIONOR, a semi-federal corporation that came to own a whole chain of large freezer and storage units that should serve the growing fleet of modern trawlers along the Norwegian coast. FRIONOR processed, stored and distributed large quantities of frozen fish packaged in small units to the households. We do see the formation of a cold chain with connections from production to consumption.

The establishment of an independent and non-federal institution may tell about a growing restlessness on behalf of commercial actors connected in the field of mass production and thus consumption of foodstuff. It may also indicate a contested field where the political bindings of the state initiated institution SIFO may have become a problem. Last but not least it may tell that SIFO had become an institution more for the control and regulation, and not for diffusion and promotion of new technologies. The seemingly different development of these two important mediators of deep freezing is interesting. It tells not only a story about the development of mediators in this sector, but also about changes in the way mediation were done. The alteration in the way mediation was carried out related to the introduction of deep freezing of food stuff is one aspect related to these two institutions. They also shed light on another interesting factor.

The Social Democratic party was dominated by a core of scientific experts. They came to influence ideology as well as the daily politics of the party. Quite a few of these experts were trained in the USA. At the same time they believed in the socialist ideas of the 1930s. There is a paradoxical love and hate story related to the political development of the time. In one way the political elite loved and longed for the individualism and consumption of USA. On the other hand their political decisions, their institutional set up and actions were deeply rooted and inspired by the socialism, a planned economy and collective solutions. This dualism does not seem to be restricted to politics alone. The tensions between the collective solutions and individualism are to be found in the solution of technologies as well as promotion campaigns, in consumer advice and in the activities at home. The tensions between "the love of America" and the ambition to create a more just and collective oriented Europe is a major target for this project.

Our project will however approach this question on a more concrete level. The examples shown above indicate a technological and cultural transformation that can be approached from various angles. First of all the formation of what is called the cold chain represented an important shift in the production, storage and distribution of foodstuff, with changes in the agriculture sector as well as in the retail business and the development of the supermarkets. The introduction of individual freezers meant a shift from buying daily fresh food from the grocers, to storing larger quantities at home. As a consequence we do see an alteration of daily routines and food habits for most households in the coming period. This many-sided and complex relation between production and consumption is one target for our examination.

The introduction, distribution and cultural embedding of this new conservation technology did not take place accidentally. The examples above points at the important roles of certain strategic institutions that can translate, inform, persuade and in short mediate, between various actors and discourses. These mediation junctions seemed to have played a crucial role for the information and diffusion, but also for the domestication and cultural embedding of this new technology. *The Deep Freezing Office* and *The Office for experiments in the households* are only two examples that illustrate these roles. Not at least they seemed to have been vital as channels between USA and Norway and between Norway and other European countries. To study the role and activities of these mediation junctions in Norway and in Europe is the another aim of our examination.

The knowledge and ideology, as well as the technology needed were from the very start collected from abroad. While the ideas for conservation by freezing seemed to have had American origins, the freezers to a large extent came from Germany and Sweden, and only much later from domestic producers. The use and cultural integration resembled what happened in USA and other European countries, but only to a point. There were certainly national ways in which the ideas as well as the praxis of freezing were culturally embedded.

Important in this context is what were the inspirations for the entrepreneurs of deep freezing? How was it brought to Norway? In what ways were these ideas and technologies transformed and integrated? Furthermore, in which ways did Norwegian households see, use and domesticate these technologies? Last but not least, which actors, channels and institutions were utilised when ideas and technologies were circulated between the North American Continent, Europe and Norway?

### *Methodologies*

Our theoretical and methodological basis are the more recent studies from Science, technology and Society studies field (STS) as well as the History of Technology, New Cultural History and Consumer analyses. A major trend in STS has been a movement from the studies of entrepreneurs, individual geniuses and production towards user studies (Oudshoorn and Pinch, 2003), furthermore on the integration and domestication of technologies (Lie and Sorenson, 1994).

Most studies of domestication however have been carried out by sociologist and have focused on the micro level and household technologies. There are however also historical studies that has utilised these concepts and approaches and examined the introduction and integration of technologies on a national level (Østby 1993, Thomassen 1997). These changes have also been accompanied by a growing interest in the actors and processes of the “in-betweens”, what is termed brokers, intermediaries or mediators. The consumption junction presented by Ruth Schwartz Cowan has got a parallel in the mediation junction which opens up for a more comprehensive and broader perspective of consumption.

One possible way to carry out an examination of the formation of the cold chain and the mediation of deep freezing technologies is to look at the national mediation junctions. Our main project has however a more ambiguous aim. Our goal is not only to deal with the national developments, but also to examine how knowledge and technology did float between countries as well as between continents. Important in this context is the channelling of ideas and technology between the various European countries, but also the formation of common ideas and technological culture produced by these circulations. *In this relation an important aim is to target and examine the international consumption junctions.*

Our project will start out by making an overview of Norwegian consumption patterns with a strong focus on national mediation junctions. We will utilise the archives of OEH and DFO. This examination will be the basis of our study. More important is to target the relevant international cooperation institutions. Which actors and institutions did OEH and DFO cooperate with? What was the nature of this cooperation? What types of visions and plans were transferred? As a starting point we know some of the more relevant cooperation institutions. One such common institution was The Scandinavian Consumer Organisation. Others were The European Federation of Association of Manufacturers Frozen Food and the Federation of Quick Frozen Food, The European Centre of Retail Trade, The European Association for Consumer Organisations, FAO, European Cooperation of Free Trade. In addition there seem to be parallel institutions of importance for this study in the US.

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## Individual Project 06

### **Making It All Work for You: Technological Discourses, Representations and Mediation Junctions in Danish Leisure Society 1920-1989**

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#### *Background*

After 1870 the modernisation process took off with accelerating speed in Danish society. With the loss of the two duchies Slesvig and Holstein in the war against Prussia and Austria in 1864, Denmark lost contact to the economically most advanced part of the country, which had served as a convenient cultural and economic bridge to the European continent. This called for an international reorientation of values in response to the total failure of nationalism. As a consequence numerous new private associations began transforming Danish civil society and initiated a collective project for the mental and economical recovery of the whole nation. What followed in the wake was in short terms industrialization, urbanisation, massive emigration to America, and also big engineering projects for the new infrastructure, railroads, reforestation, water building and land reclamation that would shape the foundations of the modern welfare state with its consumer society and culture of leisure in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

A small part of Slesvig was returned to the Danish state in 1920. At this time about 43% of the population was living in the city. When legislation for the collective 14 days vacation was passed through parliament in 1938 about 46% of the population was urban. In the modern industrial city life was divided into two spheres of work and leisure. With this kind of modernization followed a world-view totally different from what Danes had lived with in the traditional agrarian society.

#### *Aims and objectives*

The aim of this research project is to investigate the way modern leisure life was invented, constructed, presented and appropriated in Denmark from 1920-1989. How was leisure constructed as an ideology of collective consumption and recreation in the democratic welfare state? How was the technology for this new life of leisure produced and introduced to the individual consumer in Denmark compared to other countries in Europe after 1920? Who were the inventors and initiators? What inspired the mediators to propagate these new modernistic ideas? Were the ideas imported directly from



America or were they of European origin? Who formulated and introduced the ideology of leisure as consumption in Denmark? How was the ideology mediated in the public and appropriated by new organisations of consumers transforming it into a collective vision of the good life for the modern individual? Which role in shaping the new technology of leisure was played by the consumers in the construction of a cultural identity and in building a material reality that allegedly would benefit every citizen from childhood to old age?

This kind of investigation of the advent of a modern consumer and leisure society in Denmark points to a specific focus on three consumption junctions of leisure:

- Mechanization: cars, boats and bicycles.
- Sporting and recreation: non competitive sport, outdoor living, touring and sight seeing.
- Commercial organisation of adventure: holiday camps, camping tourism, charter tourism, event making and branding.

The three mediation junctions of leisure society where free time is exchanged into freedom through the consumption of products specifically designed for leisure life, vacationing, sports and out door living will be the field of the investigation. How was the Danish leisure culture constructed in the junction between state regulation and organisations in civil society and the market? This can be studied through the umbrella organisation Friluftsrødet (Council for out door activities) established in 1942, now with 92 national member organisations maintaining the interests of fundamental out door activities that are not purely commercial, and 21 associated organisations. The archives of this organisation are located in the National Archives.

Mechanization of leisure is the primary focal point to be studied through the non-governmental organisations of consumers like FDM (United Danish Car Owners) established 1909, DCU (Danish Camping Union) established 1926, DCF (Danish Bicycling Association) established 1905. The primary source to analyse this mediation junction will be the various printed membership magazines like the FDM magazine MOTOR (1906-) that is a very rich source covering the whole period of investigation. Some national newspapers especially the social liberal POLITIKEN were very active in promoting the modern life of leisure to the readers. The archives of some of these organisations may also be incorporated in the investigation. The archives of FDM are located in the National Archives (Erhvervsarkivet)

Sporting and recreation are also primarily being studied through the non-governmental organisations of consumers like Danmarks Naturfredningsforening (Danish Conservation Association) established 1911. DIF (Denmark's Athletic Association) established 1896 and from 1925 umbrella organisation for the specialized sport associations covering both mass and elite. The organisation Dansk Folkeferie (Danish Peoples Holiday Organisation) was established by the the United Workers Union (DsF) in 1938 to implement the collective 14 days vacation that the Social Democratic government had just granted to 500.000 Danish workers. The leagues of

fishing and hunting and many other organisations also took part in the political process of forming the life of leisure as a project for consumption, some of them have already been mentioned under the heading of mechanisation. The primary source to analyse this mediation junction will also be the various printed membership magazines. The archives of some of these organisations may also be incorporated in the investigation. The archives of Danmarks Naturfredningsforening and Dansk Idrætsforbund are also located in the National Archives.

The commercialisation of leisure life boomed after World War Two but many of these developments can be traced back to the beginning of the interwar years where the foundations for mass consumption were laid. Tourism by car was being advocated by FDM that opened a travel agency in 1920 to support this effort. Tourism by foot was supported by DVL (Danish League of Wanderers) established in 1930 with the purpose of building youth hostels after the German example.

The elaborated concept and huge phenomenon of charter tourism that became so extremely popular after World War Two falls into this category of investigation. Charter tourism got underway in the 1950's with the two big travel agencies 'Spies' and 'Tjæreborg' in the lead. Both travel agencies soon build up airline companies with large fleets of airplanes. In the 1960's charter tourism grew into a very large industry. The grand exhibitions of leisure equipment like the Holidays for All exhibitions that were extremely popular reflect this commercialisation of leisure and will be an object for the investigation. Another primary source to analyse the popular image of leisure life are Danish movies often representing the ideals of leisure in the form of a comedy.

### *Methodology*

In focus for the investigation are the actors who formulated the discourse on modern leisure and introduced the vision to various political and economic decision makers, and also the mediation junctions that brought the new technologies into a broader use for the general public. How did the mediating process take place in the state apparatus at national and regional level? How was new technology for leisure produced and presented at the marketplace. How did civil society respond to this construction of modernity, and how did the consumers appropriate the new technology: by accepting it in its own image, or by reshaping it for their own ends and use.

The primary sources for the investigation of the discourse on the prevailing ideas, images and expectations of Danish leisure life in relation to America and the rest of Europe is printed material from different national organisations and exhibitions of leisure. The popular movies directed from the 1950's and onward are also integrated in the analysis of the discourse that was used for the mediation of the modern life of leisure in the public.

The political interplay in the mediation junctions will be investigated through actor-network analysis of the relevant organisations. The primary sources to this side of the investigation will be the archives supplement with annual reports, etc.

## Associated Project 01

### **Household Technology and Modern Ways of Life in German and Swedish Housing Projects, 1918-1973**

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#### *Aims and Objectives*

Already at the beginning of the "short 20<sup>th</sup> century," Sweden and Germany belonged to those countries that were pioneers in the areas of social housing. In Germany we find modernist architects, ambitious engineers, and benevolent politicians who tried to solve "the social question" by means of large-scale projects. In interwar Sweden, projects were still of smaller size, but already then modernism and the burgeoning Social-democratic party began to walk hand in hand. The cooperatively organized HSB, founded in 1923, soon became one of the leading actors when it came to building modern apartment houses with collective washing machines, bath-rooms, and well equipped kitchens.

After the Second World War millions of apartments had to be constructed in Germany, and even Sweden experienced a construction boom. In the early 1950s the Stockholm suburb of Vällingby became a Mecca for West-German architects and planners, and in 1965 the Swedish government launched the so-called "million program" which foresaw that one million apartments had to be constructed within ten years. If any country served as a role model in this period, it was Great Britain and the "New Town" movement. In both Sweden and Germany, the U.S. was either of limited importance or served as a negative role model. Planners went to the U.S. to study traffic planning, but by and large the apartment-housing areas that emerged in the period 1945-1973 were seen as an alternative to U.S.-style suburbs.

The AP investigates the role that the built environment in large-scale housing areas has played for the development of particular [sub-]urban ways of life. Comparing Sweden and Germany/FRG, it examines differences and similarities on the level of daily life and tries to link these to the material structures. In particular, the AP asks if the international contacts that developed between modernist architects, planners, and tenant associations meant that not only the buildings, but also the norms for what was considered to be correct ways of life became increasingly similar. Not individuals, but housing cooperatives, municipally owned building companies, private proprietors, and national or municipal administrations decided how many stories the

houses should have and how many bedrooms the apartments should have, which kind of washing machines should be installed in the basements and which size the refrigerators in the apartments should have, as well as where the local store, the playground, and the school should be located. The thesis that guides the AP is that the developments of large European housing areas can be better understood in terms of "collective consumption." The formative actors were not individuals but institutions. Some of them were private, but the large majority were cooperatively organized or directly subordinated to the local government. A typical West-German name for this kind of actors was *Wohnungsbaugesellschaft* ("society for the construction of apartments"), and in Sweden they were even called *allmännyttiga bostadsföretag* ("building companies for the common good"). Collective consumption was not delimited to the Socialist countries.

### *Methodology*

Existing studies tend to focus heavily on the history of architecture, planning, and policy. Flagge's conclusion about daily life in large-scale housing areas is still valid: "We hardly know how these buildings were appropriated by the inhabitants." To amend this state of affairs, the project investigates the relationship between the collective actors mentioned above (in addition, see list of archives below) and the inhabitants themselves. It pays particular attention to the daily life of the inhabitants, and investigates to which extent their lives were molded by the built environment, the technical [infra-]structure, and various codified social norms (like the infamous German *Hausordnung*). By means of archival material from housing associations, oral history material, and contemporary housing magazines, it tries to address questions such as: Which roles did inhabitants play in the decisions taken by collective building companies? Did they accept the way of life prescribed by architects and the built environment, or did they successfully develop alternative forms of life? Which functions were modern household technologies meant to play in social-housing projects, and how did inhabitants domesticate them? Which channels developed between inhabitants, housing associations, and the political sphere? Which contacts developed on the international level, in particular between Swedish and German actors?

The AP studies housing associations and political parties as mediators between architects and planners on the one hand and residents on the other. Focus is not on the national level, but rather on a limited number of local projects. At the center of analysis are, for example, HSB and Riksbyggen in the Swedish and local tenant associations and construction companies (private and collective) in Germany/FRG.

## Associated Project 02

### **Keeping Cool in Cold War Germany: Cold Chain, Food System and Mass Consumption (1933-1989)**

#### Associated Partner

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#### *Aims and Objectives*

During the twentieth century European consumers witnessed dramatic changes in the food system. The emergence of the high input agriculture led to a tremendous increase in harvest per acreage. It was accompanied by a range of innovations in the food processing industries. The dissemination of supermarkets revolutionized the retail system as it replaced the salesmen and women as mediators of consumption by a host of new actors of mediation such as diet experts, advertisers, packaging engineers and designers and others. Moreover, the private households altered their ways of food consumption at the same time as they acquired more and more technical appliances. And last but not least the state increasingly intervened at several levels of the food chain beginning with agricultural regulations, going on with food laws as well as regulations of store opening hours and ending up with consumption taxes.

The transformation of the food system therefore was a highly complex process. It started already after WWI but accelerated enormously during the Cold War. Then the food system developed into a battlefield of the system competition as the standard of living became a measure for comparing the political blocs. It was transformed at both sides of the iron curtain although these alterations succeeded at quite different levels and at a different pace and efficiency.

The electrical refrigerator proved to be a key technology within the structural and cultural transformation of the food system. Refrigerating and freezing technologies improved food processing as well as they altered the retail system and changed consumers' behaviour. Thus, the electrical refrigerator provides an excellent starting point for investigating the transformation of the food system. The AP sets out to analyze the development of the German cold chain as an important pillar of the food system in the Nazi period and in both German states during the Cold War.

The US was first in establishing a cold chain. Here already in the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century a market for refrigerating services existed and the growing demand for natural ice gave rise to the development of refrigeration engineering. The main customers of refrigerating machines and artificial ice were the meat and food processing industries

but also restaurants, shops and already beginning prior to WWI well to do private households too. In Germany the breweries pushed the emergence of refrigeration engineering. The invention of the compression refrigerating machine by the Munich engineering professor and entrepreneur Carl von Linde put the German technology ahead. The market for cooling services and facilities, however, did not match the American format. As a second customer communal slaughter houses in Germany invested in refrigerating machines for the local butchers and private customers whom they rented lockers or sold artificial ice. At the end of the Weimar Republic German manufacturers began to produce electrical household refrigerators. Some of them as AEG or Opel acquired US patents whereas other firms such as Bosch, Siemens, DKW or Protos developed their own models. It was, however, only the Nazi-regime, that pushed for tying up a cold chain and thus strove to boost the diffusion of electrical household refrigerators. It promoted the refrigerator as a mean to secure "Food freedom" within its autarky policy. For that sake the Nazi state promoted the development of an inexpensive "Volkskühlschrank" but abandoned it by the beginning of the war. Utilities and manufacturers like Bosch attempted also to introduce the refrigerator into the average household though with limited success. The political and industrial attempts to close the cold chain spurred the establishment of research institutes for providing scientific knowledge on cooling and freezing food.

The transition from the hot into the cold war changed the situation tremendously. In 1953 West German chancellor Ludwig Erhardt launched a refrigerator campaign as a main step to spur his project of a social market economy. The campaign marked a significant shift within the West German consumption policy. Against the post war approach of making standardized goods at reasonable prizes available to as many consumers as possible, now the political decision makers turned to the American model of consumerism as they favoured the idea of free choice among high quality goods. In doing so they also looked for American assistance for the refrigerator campaign. It is, however, an open question, whether this decision could count as Americanization or rather mingled with the German home grown tradition of refrigerating.

The East German state also strove to extend the cold chain into the private household but allowed only a few manufacturers to produce refrigerators. Here it was not the concept of freedom to choose but a naturalized concept of use value that guided the decision. Refrigerators disseminated into the households during the mid fifties to the seventies. Nearly all households were equipped with refrigerators in the Federal German Republic at the end of the sixties and in the German Democratic Republic at the end of the seventies. This development was accompanied by the dissemination of self-service-shops and the increasing production and consumption of frozen food. At the same time the West and the East German agriculture underwent a dramatic modernization process. Albeit the ownership structure was radically different, main elements of the high-input-agriculture were implemented on both German states.

The AP is exploring whether and how the refrigerator fused the food system

into a large technical system thereby transforming the private household and the consumer into an element of this technical system and imposing on him the rationality of mass production, distribution and consumption. Which were the push and the pull factors in this process? To what extent did the consumers define and negotiate their part as an element of the food system? How did consumers get accustomed to food that could not be tested by smell or colour or material consistence in the process of buying? Why did consumers accept to be reduced on their digesting function as frozen convenience food robbed them of all their skills in food processing? How did the American model for the extension of the cold chain work? Why did in the beginning heavily used collective facilities of refrigerating and freezing technology not prevail? Who were the most influential stakeholders in changing the food system via the dissemination of the refrigerator? Did the extension of the cold chain foster the globalization of the food system? Did the cold war system competition divide up food and cold chains alongside the iron curtain? These are some of the questions the project is seeking to answer.

### *Methodology*

The project takes Ruth Schwartz Cowan's consumption junction as the point of departure as it places the refrigerator and freezer consumer centre stage. It firstly analyzes the dissemination of refrigerators and freezers in order to understand when, how and why German consumers connected themselves to the cold chain. Moreover, it will be looked at different actors such as producers of the cooling equipment, power authorities, housewife associations, state agencies and experts of refrigeration and of nutrition for their part in knotting the cold chain. Here the concept of the mediation junction will prove worthwhile. All these different actors will be analyzed as mediators who provide knowledge and suggest usage for the refrigerator and the freezer and thus imbued it with meaning.

Secondly the project deals with the retail system. In order to learn whether and how users of refrigerators and freezers changed their shopping habits the investigators are looking at changes in the retail system which accompanied the extension of the cold chain into the private household. Here a look into the logistics of food retailers will hopefully provide insights into how the retailers included the cooling section of private households into their merchandise planning.

Finally the project explores innovations in food processing which came with the extension of the cold chain. Here three types of products are being analyzed: vegetables (spinach), meat (poultry) and dairy products. These products changed from raw material for household production into semi processed food (which still had to be cooked) and finally into convenience food. Besides describing these changes the investigators explore who pushed for the transition from agricultural raw foodstuff to convenience food.

The AP focuses on Nazi-Germany and both German states during the cold war.

Though the project will be approached at a national level it is not intended to limit the study to Germany alone. On the contrary, looking from a national perspective allows for exploring whether and how the extension of the cold chain fostered the globalization of the food system. As we compare the cold chain within three different political systems it is possible to discern which changes within the food system and consumption regime have to be attributed to technology or to ideology or to the political structure.



## Associated Project 03

### **Tinkering in Daily Life: People, State and Consumption in South East Europe**

#### Associated Partner

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#### *Aims and objectives*

The main aim of the project is to enhance empirical and conceptual knowledge about the patterns of consumption in South East Europe during the “short 20<sup>th</sup> century” (1918-1989). ‘Consumption’ in the project’s title stays mainly for consumption of technology and this is a hardly investigated area as far as the South East Europe (SEE) region is concerned. The focus is on the Bulgarian case but data from neighbouring countries will also be taken into account. The eventual task is to map, both in geographical and mental terms, the SEE on the European map of consumption regimes, thus contributing to the analysis of variety (and plurality) of “European ways of life”.

After World War One people in South East Europe were attracted by “the European way of life” (they thought of it in the singular) and tried to imitate it. In the Bulgarian case it was predominantly Germany that was a point of reference, whereas in Romania a majority of the people used France (and Italy) as a model to follow. One may claim that “Europe”, be it Germany or France, or Italy or Belgium, was for SEE what “America” was for West Europe. In the post-WW II period ‘socialist’ consumption standards were developed very much in opposition to the ‘capitalist’ ones, no big difference here between the closer West (“Europe”) and far West (America). We are arguing that the South East European actors did their best to accommodate the West European “Ways of Life” to the domestic traditions of the region, exactly as it was the case of the (West) European actors developing various strategies to reshape the American model of (individual) consumption.

The project’s hypothesis is that in South East European countries a particular “tinkerers’ way of life” developed, as a way of dealing with the state trying to dominate mediation between people and consumption in Bulgaria and its neighbouring countries, for both pre-WW II and post-WW II period. Particular attention is being paid to the circulation of the ideas as well as artefacts and we are investigating the role of various mediators on the way to their appropriation by the users. The state as a mediation agent in consumption of technology has always been there, and because of the lack of civil society and accompanying associations and organisations during most of the time in question it was almost the only actor playing

on the stage. These attempts, however, turned out to be constantly undermined by people tinkering in daily life and with the state. Here the question about continuity and discontinuity seems relevant and is being addressed at two levels: (i) the micro level, with regard to appropriation strategies applied by people on daily basis (developed very much in accordance with the strong traditional patterns dominating the life of people in the region for centuries), and (ii) the macro level dealing with possible breaks to observe in the long-time perspective in both the state “prescriptions” and peoples’ responses. The objective is to see whether the establishment of a socialist regime lead to a break up, or one could claim there has been a kind of continuity at hand as far as relationship between people and (consumption of) technology is concerned.

### *Methodology*

As the consumption of technology is a huge field, a limitation of the subject is needed and the project participants have chosen to address housing and household technologies in particular while using other relevant material as well. Until recently, history has been focusing less on practices of usage as such as on the role of technology(ies) in society, particularly in terms of modernisation process; history of technology, on the other hand, has still been dominated by the description of the introduction and diffusion phases of technology, often leaving aside dimensions of (individual and collective) usage. This is particularly true for the situation in Bulgarian and generally speaking in South East European case.

People’s way of coping with state as the main mediating agent in the region provides evidence for the huge importance of cultural codes and mentality for understanding the history of technology, or at least that part of it which relates to consumption. Hence our attempt to apply methods of social and cultural history, more precisely history of everyday life, on the one hand, for we believe this would enrich both our knowledge and our understanding of people’s life in more diversified ways.

On the other hand, consumption will be considered in the framework of the sociological theory of socialism as network and gift-giving society as well. This approach is very appropriate especially for the socialist period (but not only): socialist consumption (at least until the mid-1970s) was staged in the official discourse as ‘merit’, ‘privilege’, ‘reward’, and ‘care’. Newsreels from the socialist time turned out to be a very rich and promising source; for the sake of the project they will be considered simultaneously as *analytical subject* (study of socialist past through the socialist consumption) and as *affective object* (study of the socialist past via the affective reactions of post-socialist men and women “reading” the officially imposed version about the consumption under the socialism).

Other sources we are using are personal recollections (published and unpublished memoirs and autobiographies as well as those stored in the oral history archives recently established at the Universities of Sofia and Plovdiv, resp. with the Departments of Cultural History and Ethnology); newly opened Communist party

archives; other central and local archive collections; statistical data (despite their manipulative character during the socialist regime) and contemporaneous publications (advertisement, practical guide books, newspapers and journals, etc.

In short, an attempt is being made to combine methods of both history and sociology of everyday life in order to outline patterns of consumption in South East Europe. In addition, comparative approach implies, for (as already mentioned) data not only from Bulgaria but also from its neighbouring countries will be investigated.

## Associate Project 04

### **Paradoxical Rurality: Dwelling in Rural Flanders, 1948-1978**

#### Associated Partner

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#### *Framework*

The project "Paradoxical rurality: dwelling in rural Flanders 1948-1978" fits into a larger interdisciplinary research program at the University of Leuven (including scholars of the departments of history, architecture and geography) which started in 2003 and concentrates on the links between spatial, architectural and social developments in the twentieth century. Building further on the results of two nearly finished projects (regarding dwelling culture in Flanders, respectively during the interwar period and the sixties and seventies), this new research intends to be innovative from two points of view: in the first place, by focussing on the countryside as a usually overlooked and popular living environment; secondly by relying upon fieldwork and oral history, in order to grasp how models of modern housing and living (architecture, technology, consumption) interacted with the every day life and identity of people. Flanders, characterized by a remarkable process of 'flight from the town', offers therefore an interesting subject of investigation. Research results for Flanders will be compared with evolutions in other countries, especially France and the Netherlands, to get a better understanding of different/similar positions of the rural environment in the construction of the European post war consumer society. Both the focus on the countryside and the input of oral source material, offer an important complement to and thought-provoking touchstone for the other participating projects in the EUWOL *housing* and *leisure* pillars. The AP investigates the Flemish case in terms of substitution and illustrates how rural housing became a wide-spread alternative for second homes (*dachas*, etc.) that other projects investigate in other countries.

#### *Aims and objectives.*

After the Second World War, dwelling in Europe changed rapidly and fundamentally, not only as regards living standards and forms of living (comfort, location, architecture, for example), but also as regards dwelling practices (use of the dwelling, interaction with the surroundings). This process was not restricted to the towns, but occurred in rural areas, too, a fact that has gained much less recognition.

The aim of this project is to gain an insight into the manner in which the expansion of dwelling in rural areas of Flanders during the 1948-1978 period was depicted and

experienced. The project revolves around the hypothesis that playing a role were not only material and rational considerations (price and comfort for instance, according to the modern American standards of living), but also the 'image' circulating of life in the countryside, including a strong identification with an imagined Flemish rural authenticity.

The Belgian De Taeye Law (1948), financing private housing, serves as the starting point of the investigation, as, until well into the 1970s, it served to give a powerful impetus to house-building on the part of individuals. The 'Year of the Village' (1978) is taken as the cut-off point, as it was an important moment of social reflection on what at the time was referred to as 'the decline of the countryside'. Between these two reference years, numerous interactive changes occurred – not only in society as a whole (Flanders in the Belgian and international context), but also at household level – that had an impact on living 'in the country'. To mention just a few examples, there were the technical innovations in agriculture and the release of hundreds of thousands of hectares of agricultural land, the changing gender and household patterns (with an increase in women working outside the home), the decrease in family size, the general rise in the standard of living (including the private possession of cars, televisions, deep-freezers, etc.), the increase in leisure time, the expansion of transport infrastructure, the laying-out of industrial zones and the building of collective facilities outside town centres (including supermarkets, sport complexes, hospitals and cultural centres).

Within this evolving context, thousands of households opted to quit the inner and outer areas of towns to build in the more spacious periphery or in the countryside itself. After 1945, as a reversal of the 'flight from the countryside', a *topos* in Belgian and international literature and indeed politics until the Second World War, there was a 'flight from the town' that brought about a steady decline in the populations of not only the big cities (Brussels, Antwerp, Ghent), but also of the smaller towns.

The project consciously focuses on that expansion of dwelling in the rural space, and does so partly through the micro-perspective of the inhabitants themselves (both the long-established population and the newcomers). In this respect, it looks to be innovative on two fronts; most studies in fact concentrate both on urban living and on the macro-perspective (urban planning, urban expansion, social housing policy, etc.). What prompted post-war households to choose the countryside to live in above the urban environment, previously the great magnet as a place of work and centre of culture and progress? Did dwelling in the country represent a counterculture (against urban standardized, industrialized and collective housing) or a new modernity in the reference period? And what forms and significance could 'Flemish rurality' retain or acquire in the paradoxical situation of 'petrification' and appropriation of technological innovations that was taking place in the countryside?

### *Methodology*

The purpose of the investigation is to gain an insight into this development in rural

dwelling culture, using a dual approach.

1. In the first place, it is the intention to chart 'the image of rurality', particularly of rural dwelling, that was current within broad swathes of Flemish society (in the Belgian and international context). The first part of the research will be based on the opinions of five clusters of intermediate and central players: a) policy-makers: the government, political parties, semi-governmental institutions and advisory bodies (the National Society for Small Properties, the National Committee for the Enhancing of Rural Life, for instance); b) architects and social housing companies; c) intermediary organizations and networks, especially the Farmers League and the Association of Farming Women; d) new pressure groups, particularly the environmental movement; e) media, including the image of rural life promulgated through the media by organized tourism (for instance, the Open-air Museum of Bokrijk, established in 1953).
2. Secondly, the intention is to question residents themselves about their daily dwelling practices and about rural living as they experienced it, including the their attitude towards material aspects of the American life style, collective housing and standardization, and the question of whether they have given concrete form to the image of rurality (in terms of period furnishings for the dwelling, participation in folkloric village events etc). For this second part of the investigation, recourse will be had to in-depth interviews (involving visits to homes) with at least sixty individuals/married couples (ca. 40 newcomers and ca. 20 belonging to the established population, males and females) who built or bought a dwelling during the period under review.

## Associate Project 05

### **Visions of the South: Consumption, Food and Technology in Italy, 1918-1989**

#### Associated Partner

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#### *Aims and Objectives*

The aim of this project is a contribution to the food pillar of the project; it will focus on the historical situation of Southern Europe, and particularly of Italy, from 1918 to 1989.

According to many historical and anthropological studies published in the 1960s and 70s, we could identify different patterns of consumption in Southern and Northern Europe. While northern countries were soon affected by a rapid process of industrialization, nations like Italy were in the middle of a transition from tradition to modernity in the first decades of the twentieth century. Early structures of urban capitalism seemed able to live together with large rural population linked to more traditional cultural models. A sort of distinctive cultural trait emerges from these analyses, combining industrial backwardness, strong local identities, and traditional social behaviors. Family played a central role within this 'Mediterranean' paradigm (Banfield 1958; Davis 1973, 1977); and food had a peculiar meaning in defining social rituals (both in private households and in the public sphere), hierarchies, gender roles, and ethnicity. While the assumptions about a polarization between tradition and modernity, and the very idea of a 'Mediterranean' perspective, are not shared by recent historiography, these studies still raise interesting questions. Can we talk of a process of international homogenization or should we better consider different paths to consumption and food preparation/consumption? Is there any distinctive difference between Northern and Southern Europe in this development? How did different social and technical backgrounds shape a diverse attitude toward new food products coming from abroad? How important was the role of the American model? And finally, can we find any 'inter-European' influence or reciprocity in the process of building new ways of life?

#### Interwar and Fascist period (1918-1945)

The research has started by studying the period of the Fascist dictatorship (likewise other research groups will analyze the Nazi period in Germany). Although refrigerating techniques and the cold chain were not really developed after the First World War, the regime paid a specific attention to food industries and their related technologies for two main reasons. The first one was the determination to boost Italian food products for economic motives and international reputation (since the Twenties)

and to achieve self-sufficiency through the autarkic policy in the Thirties. The second one was the attempt to create new forms of patriotism and ethnic identities among the Italian communities abroad (a good example is the propaganda effort among Italian immigrants in the United States during the colonial war in Ethiopia; see Luconi 2001). It is therefore worth investigating the State policy and the main actors of this development, which created the premise for the creation of an international market in the postwar period.

#### Economic 'miracle' and consumer society (1946-1989)

In the postwar period Italy was part of a European process of rapid economic growth in the Fifties and Sixties. This led to radical transformations in social, economic, technical and cultural spheres and to the formation of a consumer society.

Many historians have pointed their attention to these changes inside society: they highlighted how the "great transformation" evoked by Polanyi had deeply affected social and behavioral models, besides the morphology of economic system. The American Way of Life is considered fundamental in the building process of such models; the diffusion of myths coming from the United States was not only tied to mass culture but to the spreading of consumption. This aspect has been scarcely analyzed in Italy: the first studies were very critical and used only a sociological perspective (Alberoni 1964, Fabris 1972). Recently new studies have increasingly considered the active role of consumers in creating new patterns of consumption and their ability to negotiate with economic actors (Arvidsson 2003, Sassatelli 2004). But works about the actual mechanism of the coming of consumer culture and the food-related technologies, the role played by the American way of life and its perception in the country, and the flow of people and technologies in a common European area, are still lacking.

The aim of this research is to examine these issues along with the project common guidelines:

1. *The "American model"*: Following a rich and sometimes controversial historiography we are investigating social and cultural consumer patterns, originating in the American society, and the problem of their importation to Italy, both from a theoretical and a practical way. The starting hypothesis is that we cannot consider it a mechanical transposition, but a phenomenon of "interpretation", based upon preexisting values and historical context. How did Italians accommodate new 'American' food products within their traditional habits? Was there any difference with other European countries? How important were new technologies (starting with refrigerators and new kitchens) in shaping different ways of life? Was there a clear break or continuity with the Fascist period?
2. *Cold chain and supermarkets*: The importance of the creation of the cold chain and



the spreading of supermarkets cannot be undervalued. The first appearance of supermarkets took place in Italy in the Fifties and Sixties; their presence boosted the consumer culture coming from the United States. In this way they intertwined with contemporary social changes – for instance, inside the family – and contributed to shape a new attitude toward consumption. They also played a central function in the economic development and deeply affected the world of producers with their new techniques. Supermarkets were the first retailing outlets to sell products that included innovations such as frozen, processed food and new forms of packaging and constituted a break with the pre-existing Italian system of distribution. They had a large impact on commerce and the food industry and promoted the evolution of a proper cold chain.

It is worth noting that these experiences of mass distribution in Italy are directly connected to the American world. The first supermarket in Italy was created on the occasion of a congress in Rome in 1956, by the Department of Agriculture of the United States in collaboration with the National Association of Food Chain. After that, the first supermarket company was established under the name “Supermarkets Italiani”; it was created in Milan in 1957 by a Nelson Rockefeller’s company, the International Basic Economy Corporation. The IBEC introduced in Italian society the supermarket model existing in the United States, perfectly tested as regards commodity stocks, business management, technical know-how, and entrepreneurial policy. The company grew quickly, becoming the main firm in its sector and played an important “demonstration effect”. Our research analyzes these first experiences (private companies, public policies, technological changes) from the point of view both of producers and consumers, studying also the role of mediators (trade-unions, professional groups or lobbies, institutional agencies like Chambers of Commerce, etc.).

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