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# Dizajn u prehrani – tradicijaska baština i suvremene prehrambene navike

*Unatoč tomu što ga nerijetko doživljavamo kao „modernu“ disciplinu, dizajn sa tradicijskom baštinom ima vrlo tijesnu vezu. Premda izrazito vezan uz tehnološki razvoj koji je obilježio posljednjih dvjestotinjak godina, dizajn je proizašao iz puno starijih modusa oblikovanja predmetne stvarnosti koja zapravo čini vitalni dio tradicijske baštine. I ne samo to. Slojevitost tradicijske baštine može predstavljati neiscrpan izvor teorijskih i praktičnih predložaka za stvaralaštvo u budućnosti. Kultura prehrane samo je jedno od mnogih područja unutar kojih postoje realni uvjeti za kvalitetnu razvojnu politiku temeljenu na tradicijskim vrijednostima.*

Ključne riječi: dizajn, tradicija, kultura prehrane

## Dizajn – definicija i temeljni pojmovi

Postoje brojne definicije dizajna i teško je izdvojiti jednu koja bi u nekoliko riječi jasno i nedvosmisleno opisala navedenu disciplinu. Naime, dizajn je relativno mlada disciplina koja uslijed ubrzanog tehnološkog razvoja društva još uvijek nije dosegla svoje konačne okvire. Dizajn, kakvim ga danas poznajemo, nastaje na tradiciji umjetničkog obrta u prvoj polovici 20. st. U početku se termin najčešće pojavljuje u sintagmi „*industrijski dizajn*“<sup>4</sup> i označava industrijsko oblikovanje predmeta koje zbog karakteristika serijske proizvodnje izlazi iz definicije *primijenjene umjetnosti*, odnosno *umjetničkog obrta* kao manufakturne proizvodnje koja posebnu pažnju posvećuje estetici predmeta. Producerska moć industrijske proizvodnje više ne počiva na obrtniku već *mašini*, što bitno mijenja pristup

kreiranju novih proizvoda. Mijenja se i pristup estetici te dominantno postaje stajalište da ljepota mora proizlaziti iz unutarnje logike predmeta, zbog čega se tradicija naknadnog ukrašavanja gotovih ili za proizvodnju pripremljenih proizvoda ergo, „primijenjena umjetnost“<sup>2</sup>, postupno napušta. Nova disciplina, tako, za zadaću ima, pored estetskih, unaprijediti i funkcionalne, ergonomске i komercijalne kvalitete proizvoda pri tom pazeći da na optimalan način iskoristi mogućnosti koje proizlaze iz karakteristika materijala i tehnologije proizvodnje (Vukić, 2003:54).

Drugim riječima, osnovna je zadaća *dizajna* u svakom smislu obogatiti i poboljšati materijalne uvjete života kroz kreiranje predmetne stvarnosti. Kasnije se isti termin koristi i za grafičko oblikovanje (*grafički dizajn*) koje zbog svojih komercijalnih i funkcionalnih karakteristika izlazi iz okvira likovne umjetnosti, a u posljednjih tridesetak godina zalazi i u sferu virtualne stvarnosti (npr.: *web dizajn*).

Bilo da se radi o industrijskom, grafičkom, web ili nekom drugom od podvrsta, dizajn je uvijek u tijesnoj sprezi s ekonomijom. Osim što u službi potrošača pokušava zadovoljiti potrebu za kvalitetom, dizajn istovremeno mora zadovoljavati potrebe proizvođača u smislu njihove konkurentnosti i opstanka na tržištu.

Predmetna stvarnost (a po svoj prilici isto vrijedi i za onu virtualnu), međutim, od pamtivijeka sadrži i određene karakteristike koje bismo najkraće opisali kao *duhovne*. Koliko neki predmet može određivati zajednicu zorno prikazuju brojni primjeri uzdizanja predmeta na razinu obožavanja, legende ili kulta; kraljevske krune i žezla, mačevi (kralj Artur), prstenje, rijetke poštanske marke, automobili i sl. Predmeti nam daju moć, snagu, osjećaj sigurnosti, samopouzdanje, socijalni status; bude sjetu, mržnju, radost, seksualno uzbuđenje; predmeti su nerijetko puno više od „predmeta“. Dizajner je osoba koja u predmete implementira upravo takve „dodane“ vrijednosti. Korisnik kupnjom *dizajniranih* predmeta tako na izvjestan način obogaćuje svoj život i u duhovnom pogledu zbog čega je spreman izdvojiti više novaca, čime je zadovoljen i temeljni interes proizvođača.

Izostavimo li ovdje raspravu o etici dizajna, možemo dizajn definirati kao izrazito interdisciplinarnu struku koja balansira između *potreba korisnika* i *potreba proizvođača*. Kroz dizajnirane kreacije proizvođač gradi o sebi sliku uspješnog 'provajdera' predmetne stvarnosti za pojedinca ili skupine koji, koristeći iste, definiraju sami sebe po

<sup>1</sup> Pevsner navodi da termin „dizajn“ iz engleskog jezika preuzimaju Nijemci početkom 20.st (Pevsner, 2005:170), dok Fruht napominje da termin „industrijski dizajn“ „neposredno posle I svetskog rata engleski slikar Joseph Sinnel prvi uvodi u praksu.“ (Fruht, 1976:18). U hrvatski jezik termin „dizajn“ ulazi tek tijekom pedesetih godina kada se teorija projektiranja za industrijsku proizvodnju u terminološkom smislu formira „...kao „oblikovanje“ (u značenju procesa) s pridjevom „industrijsko“ ili pak kao „oblikovanje industrijskih proizvoda“, dok se nositelj aktivnosti (budući da se o profesiji još ne može govoriti uslijed nepostojanja specifične obrazovne institucije) nazivao „industrijski umjetnik“ (...) Terminološki se u pojedinim slučajevima identificiralo oblikovanje i dizajn, ali tek da se detaljnije razjasni pojam, ili se pak koristio pojam design/designer, ali samo u slučaju ili razjasniti pojam oblikovanje ili pak ukazati na praksu oblikovanja industrijskih proizvoda u zemljama tržišne ekonomije. (Vukić, 2003:29)“

<sup>2</sup> Fruht definira primjenjenu umjetnost kao „...likovnu disciplinu koja je koristila i prenosila – primjenjivala likovne elemente i likovna izražajna sredstva na upotrebne predmete.“ (Fruht, 1976:17).

odabranim sociološkim i kulturološkim obrascima. Potreba za isticanjem pripadnosti određenoj grupi postoji od početaka civilizacije. Noblet tako ističe supostojanje dva milijuna do milijun i pol godina starih afričkih kultura na istom području koje su se, iako su imale slično gospodarstvo, bitno razlikovale u stilskom izrazu materijalnih proizvoda. Slični primjeri iz današnjice navode Nobleta na zaključak kako je „...stil predmeta vjerojatno jednako važan kao i njegova svrha“ (Noblet, 1999:22). Mogli bismo zapravo reći da u suštini dizajna leži stvaranje *identiteta*, bilo da se radi o identitetu onog koji proizvodi, bilo onog koji koristi.

## Prehrambene navike

Područje kulture prehrane dizajn dotiče u vidu kreiranja pribora, interijera i grafičkih aplikacija koje obrađuju temu prehrane. U istraživanju rađenom u sklopu diplomskog rada (Paškvan, 2006) pokušao sam istražiti kontekst u kojem su nastajali (i nastaju) elementi materijalne kulture u sferi prehrane. Rad sam ograničio na ono što najizravnije i u najvećoj mjeri povezuje dizajn i prehranu, a to je *pribor za pripremu, posluživanje i jedenje* ili jednostavnije rečeno – *kuhinjski pribor*. Istraživanjem povijesno-socioloških okolnosti koji uvjetuju rituale prehrane te istraživanjem povijesnog razvoja kuhinjskog pribora pokušao sam definirati određene zakonitosti u razvoju kulture prehrane. Uvid u jedan takav širi kontekst omogućio mi je bolje razumijevanje aktualnosti u sferi kulture prehrane i olakšao definiranje potencijalnog tržišta za industriju kuhinjskog pribora što sam podrazumijevao kao osnovni preduvjet za upuštanje u projekt dizajniranja takvih predmeta. Da bih pak preciznije definirao aktualne prehrambene navike određene ciljane skupine, smatrao sam potrebnim ozbiljno istražiti neke od karakterističnih pokazatelja. Tu sam zahvatio kuharice - bilo nacionalne, bilo komercijalne, zatim literaturu koja se bavi prehranom u kontekstu gospodarskih, političkih i vjerskih prilika u regiji ili državi, zaokruživši na poslijetku istraživanje terenskim dokumentiranjem stanja na tržištu kuhinjske opreme. Spoznavši aktualno stanje (koje se zapravo uvijek odnosi na recentno razdoblje od npr. nekoliko godina, ali ne isključuje mogućnost da su se neke krupne promjene dogodile u razdoblju od nekoliko mjeseci, a na koje navedeni indikatori još nisu stigli reagirati) i upoznavši povijest razvoja ciljanog tržišta mogao sam preciznije predvidjeti njegovo daljnje kretanje i razvoj. Usporedbom podataka koje sam dobio proučavajući stanje u svijetu i stanje u Hrvatskoj nastojao sam odrediti potencijale razvoja novih proizvoda u nas.

Općenito razlikujemo dva temeljna tipa prehrambene kulture: kulturu pečenog i kulturu kuhanog. Prva je karakteristična za nomadske kulture dok drugu vezujemo uz sjedilačke kulture. Povijest nas uči da kulturne tekovine, koje smatramo osnovom civiliziranog svijeta počivaju na temeljima sjedilačkih kultura Mezopotamije, Indije, Kine, Egipta te antičke Grčke i Rima. Međutim, suprotno znanstvenoj analogiji, u prehrambenim navikama ekonomski naprednih kultura današnjice ne dominira kultura kuhanog, već kultura pečenog. Razloge valja potražiti u ne tako davnoj eri industrijalizaci-

je. Ubrzanjem proizvodnih procesa ubrzala se i ekonomija što je posljedično dovelo i do ubrzanja tempa života. Život ljudi koji svakodnevno putuju desetke pa i stotine kilometara do svog radnog mjesta, provode u uredima gotovo cijeli dan obavljajući usput i prehranu i nuždu i odmor i seks, tijekom života više puta migriraju iz jednog u drugi grad ili državu, puno je bliži životu nomadskog ratnika u službi Džingis Kana negoli ratara u vrijeme Ramsesa II. Posljedično – ovi nomadi 21. stoljeća, kao dominantni oblik prehrane, upražnjavaju jela s nogu, pretežno pečenog tipa, izvan obiteljskog kruga. Najrecentnije faze globalizacije, temeljene na informatičkoj revoluciji, dodatno su ubrzale procese i dovele civilizaciju do točke na kojoj se nikad prije nije nalazila – čitava Zemlja ujedinjena je u jedno veliko carstvo – carstvo kapitala. Tržište, tako, gubi svoje regionalne karakteristike, po prvi puta u povijesti možemo govoriti o pravim globalnim tržištima. Svijet tako postaje uniforman. Kao reakcija javlja se želja pojedinca za povratak autohtonom; on teži ka definiciji vlastitog identiteta u okvirima manjih skupina i regionalnih cjelina te ponovnoj uspostavi različitosti kao temeljem za daljnji napredak. Kroz prizmu prehrane taj se rastući trend očituje kroz ponovni 'establišment' regionalnih kuhinja unutar svih značajnijih nacionalnih kuhinja. Paralelno s trendom političke, javlja se i svojevrsna gastronomska regionalizacija koja se očituje kroz isticanje specifičnosti kuhinja, kao posljedica određenih povijesnih, zemljopisnih i socioloških mikrosituacija. Tu za primjer možemo uzeti susjednu nam Italiju koja svjetska tržišta osvaja isticanjem svojih regionalnih posebnosti (Toscana i Chianti ili Alto Adige i Grappe), dok su pizze i tjestenine pomalo pale u drugi plan.

Podatke koje sam dobio proučavajući stanje u svijetu uspoređivao sam sa informacijama o stanju u Hrvatskoj nastojeći odrediti naše potencijale za razvoj novih proizvoda u datoj domeni. Za Hrvatsku bismo mogli reći da je u tranzicijskoj fazi, ne samo s političkog, već i s gastronomskog aspekta. Nadirući kapitalizam s jedne je strane pomaknuo kulturu pečenog s razine ćevapa na razinu hamburgera, a s druge je strane u mnogim obiteljima još uvijek dominantan kult „bakine kuhinje“, možda više kao posljedica ekonomske zaostalosti nego svjesnog izbora. Upravo zbog ekonomske zaostalosti i (ne)sretnih povijesnih okolnosti sačuvani su brojni fragmenti naše kulturne baštine koja bi danas u kontekstu novih promjena u smjeru globalnog kulturnog razvoja, mogla donijeti Hrvatskoj stanovite prednosti pred ekonomski naprednijim zapadnim zemljama. Vezano uz našu temu, te su nam povijesne (ne)prilike u nasljedstvo ostavile *bogatstvo običaja, navada i užanci* koje se u gastro-svijetu očituju kao *bogatstvo okusa, mirisa i boja* što posljedično donosi *bogatstvo oblika, materijala i tehnika* izrade predmeta vezanih za pripremu, posluživanje i konzumaciju hrane. Upravo to bogatstvo naše kulturne baštine čini velik kapital za budućnost hrvatskog dizajna u domeni prehrane.

## Baština u budućnosti i „skandinavski slučaj“

Važno je razlikovati nekoliko bitnih karakteristika *naslijeđenog* koje mogu biti presudne za planiranje budućnosti na temeljima baštinjenih vrijednosti. Kao prvo, moramo razlikovati *materijalnu* i *nematerijalnu baštinu*. Materijalna baština podrazumijeva opredmetljeno naslijeđe koje u domeni prehrane podrazumijeva drveno, keramičko i metalno posuđe, pribor za jelo i kuhanje te čitav niz drugih predmeta koji su posredno vezani za prehranu. Ti se predmeti čuvaju u muzejima i depoima nadležnih ustanova i taj je fundus od neprocjenjive važnosti za proučavanje prehrabene kulture naših krajeva u različitim povijesnim epohama.

Nematerijalna se baština odnosi na znanja i vještine potrebne za izradu navedenih predmeta. Ona je sačuvana u glavama i rukama tradicijskih obrtnika i živi onoliko dugo koliko žive oni koji se njome koriste. S obzirom na dugo razdoblje sustavnog zatiranja, stanje u našem tradicijskom obrtu danas je daleko od dobrog. Lončari, sudari, tradicijski stolari i ini, rijetki su kao i sredozemna medvjedica; polako nestaju i zadnje generacije preostalih tradicijskih obrtnika. Valja, međutim, imati na umu da su se isti procesi u većini tzv. razvijenih zemalja odvijali znatno ranije tako da je stanje u njima danas kudikamo gore nego u nas, čime naša obaveza da sačuvamo elemente naše nematerijalne baštine dobiva na težini i s gospodarskog aspekta.<sup>3</sup> Ono što je ovdje bitno naglasiti jest da je materijalna baština nepromjenjivog, dok je nematerijalna promjenjivog karaktera pa stoga, kada razmišljamo o mjerama prezervacije potonje, trebamo revidirati uvriježenu paradigmu o nerazdvoivosti predmeta i vještine koja ga je stvorila. Naime, određena se vještina tijekom povijesti neprestano mijenjala prilagođavajući se novim životnim navikama te usvajajući tehničke i tehnološke novine. Uzmemo li tako neki tradicionalni predmet iz istog kraja, ali različitih godina nastajanja, možemo ponekad uočiti jasne razlike i u ornamentici i u formi pa i u samoj namjeni,<sup>4</sup> iako su vještina pa i mjesto nastanka isti. Zbog toga je ključna stavka u strategiji očuvanja naše kulturne nematerijalne baštine uključivanje ljudi, koji još posjeduju vještine, u aktualne trendove. Tradicijski obrtnik neće preživjeti smjestimo li ga u muzej zajedno s ostalim eksponatima niti će mu to uspjeti bude li ostao orijentiran isključivo na produkciju suveniru. Njegova se vještina i znanje dade iskoristiti i za stvaranje nove predmetne stvarnosti koja odgovara aktualnim životnim navikama.

Zapreka ovakvom konceptu često je mišljenje da komercijalizacija kulture podrazumijeva i njeno prostituiranje. I doista, promatramo li kulturu kao neku vrst duhovnog dobra određene društvene zajednice, komercijalizacija iste može se doimati kao svetogrđe. Postavlja se, međutim, pitanje: da li je moguće odvojiti kulturni od gospodarskog života neke zajednice? Povijest nam govori o vrlo razvijenim kulturama Kelta,

<sup>3</sup> Indikativan je primjer upotrebe ručnog lončarskog kola, primitivnije preteče nožnog lončarskog kola, koje se do današnjih dana održalo samo u Španjolskoj, Portugalu i dinarskom području Hrvatske, Bosne i Hercegovine te Srbije (Barlek, 1982:5).

<sup>4</sup> Tako npr. kada govori o keramici panonskog areala, Barlek spominje lonce uskog dna u kojima se kuhalo „u starinskim pećima (posude su se stavljale unutra s pomoću željeznih burklji), dok su se lonci široka dna pojavili kad i štednjaci.“ (Barlek, 1982:4).

Maja, Inka, Sjevernoameričkih indijanaca i drugih, koje su u srazu s gospodarski naprednijim društvima gotovo zbrisane s lica zemlje. Primjeri brojnih drugih kultura koje su, bilo zbog unutarnjih razloga, bilo zbog sraza s gospodarski jačim društvom u nekom trenutku izgubile svoju gospodarsku moć ili autonomiju, govore nam da je nakon gospodarske uvijek slijedila i kulturna smrt, iz čega proizlazi da je kulturni život zajednice ovisan o gospodarskom. Sasvim sigurno vrijedi i obratno. Mnogi globalni gospodarski subjekti šire i jačaju svoje tržište poglavito kroz širenje utjecaja kulture kojoj pripadaju. Ono što danas često nazivamo „mekdonaldizacijom“ nije samo gospodarska, već možda u prvom redu kulturna ekspanzija utjecaja niza gospodarsko-političkih subjekata koje bismo kulturološki mogli svrstati pod „američki kulturni krug“. Utjecaj „američkog“ *lifestylea* kroz film, glazbu, internet, „beauty“ magazine i sl. presudan je za transformaciju hrvatskog, bosanskog ili kazahstanskog tržišta u novo „američko“ tržište. Ključnu ulogu u ovim „osvajanjima“ novog tipa igraju mehanizmi tzv. „kulturne proizvodnje“ odnosno „kulturne industrije“<sup>5</sup> pod koje bismo mogli svrstati i dizajn. Dojma sam da kultura koja nije spremna iskoristiti svoj komercijalni potencijal za jačanje gospodarskih subjekata s kojima dijeli životni prostor ima male izgleda preživjeti sraz s „američkom“ ili nekom drugom globalnom gospodarsko-kulturnom simbiozom. Isto tako, gospodarski subjekti čiji produkti nisu kulturološki određeni teško mogu značajnije utjecati na globalno tržište. Nužnim mi se zbog toga čini postaviti *razvoj kulturnih industrija* kao jednu od smjernica nacionalnih i regionalnih razvojnih politika u Hrvatskoj. Mehanizmi kulturne industrije ovdje bi se, dakako, trebali koristiti ne samo kao sredstvo za gomilanje kapitala, već i kao snažno oružje u očuvanju kulturnog identiteta većih i manjih društvenih zajednica i podzajednica pa u konačnici i samog pojedinca.

Naše kulturno naslijeđe moglo bi se, tako, iskoristiti kao platforma znanja i iskustva za lansiranje novih proizvoda. Presudnu ulogu u procesu prilagodbe narodnih znanja jednoj novoj produkciji mogli bi (i trebali) odigrati upravo dizajneri. Na primjerima skandinavskih zemalja možemo naučiti da takav koncept može dugoročno donijeti sjajne rezultate, kako na gospodarskom, tako i na kulturnom planu. Skandinavske zemlje, ne samo da od svoje proizvodne industrije u znatnoj mjeri povećavaju svoje ionako debele proračune, već su svojim nadaleko poznatim dizajnom izgradili jedan vrlo pozitivan imidž zemalja koje su kvalitetnim i promišljenim ulaganjima u vlastite ljudske, kulturne i prirodne resurse uspjeli stvoriti društvo mira i prosperiteta. Skandinavski dizajn, koji se uvelike oslanja na skandinavsku kulturnu materijalnu i nematerijalnu baštinu, odlično utjelovljuje sve navedene karakteristike zemalja koje su baš kao i Hrvatska relativno malih populacija, ali su pametnim korištenjem vlastitih resursa uspjele svojim građanima osigurati visoki životni standard i prosperitet.

<sup>5</sup> „Sam nastanak pojma kulturna industrija vezan je uz jedno poglavlje knjige Dijalektika prosvjetiteljstva (1977/1944). U tom se djelu Adorno i Horkheimer koriste pojmom kulturna industrija da bi označili (za njih negativnu) pojavu standardizacije svih oblika proizvodnje, pa tako i standardizacije područja kulture. (...)Kulturne industrije podrazumijevaju vrlo široku lepezu područja, a pod ključnim kulturnim industrijama Hesmonhalgh podrazumijeva reklamu i marketing, radijsku i televizijsku industriju, zatim filmsku industriju, internet, glazbenu industriju, izdavaštvo (bilo lasično ili internetsko), te videoindustriju i kompjuterske igre.“ (Primorac, 2004:237)

Nordijci se vode logikom da nacionalnu strategiju dizajna određuje njihov način života, koji je opet određen realnim životnim uvjetima, a ne TV-reklamama ili popularnim serijama. Pritom, oni često zaviruju u riznicu svoje baštine nebi li od svojih predaka saznali kako se sve može boriti protiv hladnoće, leda, nedostatka svjetla ili pak kako iskoristiti sezonski višak dnevnog svjetla, vjetrove, more, i ostale prirodne datosti koje vjekovima određuju njihov način života. Projektanti njihovog industrijski proizvedenog namještaja tako su od starih drvodjelja baštinili istančan osjećaj za materijal i detalje, dok „tajnu“ uspješnosti njihove novije arhitekture možda najbolje otkriva danski arhitekt Claus Bonderup riječima: „Modernist took our architectural history away. Now some of us are trying to put it back. I don't think we abandoned modern. I think we are making it richer.“ (Gaynor, 1987:104). Pokušavajući svojim proizvodima rješavati konkretne probleme koji proizlaze iz logike njihove kulture života, Skandinavci su razvili jednostavan, ali jedinstven stil, koji svoju prepoznatljivost duguje upravo činjenici da je usklađen s karakterom svojih tvoraca i primarnih korisnika. Skandinavska proizvodna industrija možda nije najjača na svijetu, ali je usklađena s vlastitim potrebama i nastoji optimalno iskoristiti vlastite potencijale. Villy Sørensen na zgodan način opisuje tu filozofiju: „Getting more of something is good – but getting something good is better.“ (Gaynor, 1987:11).

Primjeri skandinavskih zemalja daju nam za vjerovati da je očuvanje kulturne i ekonomske neovisnosti malih nacija u globaliziranom svijetu moguće. Specifičnosti koje proizlaze iz logike života u relativno malim društvenim zajednicama kakva je u globalnom kontekstu i Republika Hrvatska, mogu predstavljati izvjesnu prednost u borbi za gospodarsku, a onda i za kulturološku neovisnost. U kontekstu prethodno navedenih kretanja trendova na globalnom tržištu, a uzimajući u obzir relativno dobru očuvanost kulturne baštine u odnosu na susjedna tržišta, mišljenja sam da Hrvatska ima dobru priliku pametnom razvojnom politikom vlastitim snagama stvoriti proizvodnu strukturu za produkciju predmeta vezanih uz prehranu (ali i drugih) koji mogu dati značajan podstrek hrvatskom gospodarstvu u budućnosti.

## Zupajol – prijedlog za drugačiji pristup

Razradom problematike kulturne baštine Hrvatske u domeni kulture prehrane došao sam do saznanja koja mogu biti temelj za kreiranje novih proizvoda vezanih uz prehranu. Zupajol je koncept koji pokušava revalorizirati tradiciju objeda kao društvenog događaja koji zauzima centralno mjesto unutar dnevnih rituala u malim društvenim zajednicama. *Obitelj* i *krug prijatelja* društvene su grupacije od iznimnog značaja za očuvanje identiteta pojedinca u globaliziranom svijetu. Zajednički objed u tom je smislu neizostavni dio životne svakodnevnice. Zupajol pokušava etablirati pomalo zaboravljenu tradiciju jušnih jela koja su zbog topline i načina posluživanja oduvijek predstavljala važan dio obiteljskog rituala objedovanja. Kroz primjenu novih materijala, Zupajol svoju funkcionalnost prilagođava manjim kuhinjama kakve danas prevladavaju u kućanstvima; zamišljen je kao sklop predmeta koji pokriva čitav proces

od kuhanja, preko posluživanja pa sve do konzumacije hrane i otvara mogućnost za pripremu različitih vrsta jušnih jela. Važno je napomenuti da je ovaj proizvod samo jedan od bezbroj mogućih prijedloga koji bi mogli proizaći iz ovog ili sličnih istraživanja. Većim ulaganjima u razvoj koncepata koji koriste resurse naše baštine za stvaranje novih proizvodnih linija došli bismo i do brojnih drugih prijedloga od kojih bi mnogi zasigurno imali potencijala biti razvijeni u rješenja koja mogu biti primjenjiva i konkurentna na međunarodnom tržištu.

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# Design and Dining – Traditional Heritage and Contemporary Habits

*Despite the fact that we often perceive it as a ‘modern’ discipline, design is closely linked to traditional heritage. Eventhough it is mostly related to the technological development which has marked the last two hundred years, design has stemmed from much older concepts of shaping our material reality, a constitutive part of traditional heritage. But that is not all. Traditional heritage in all its complexities can present an eternal source of theoretical and practical inspiration for future projects. The culture of food and dining is just one of many fields in which there are objective conditions for the high quality developmental politics based on traditional values.*

Key words: design, tradition, culture of food

## Design – definition and basic concepts

There are many definitions of design and it is difficult to single out only one which would, in a few words, clearly and unambiguously describe this concept. Design is a relatively young discipline which, due to the fast technological development of our society, has not yet reached its final form. Design as we know it today is based on the tradition of art trades and crafts from the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. At the beginning, the most commonly

used term was 'industrial design'<sup>1</sup> and it referred to the design of objects produced by industry which, because of the serial production, simply stepped out of the definition of applied arts (or art trades), a manufacture production which paid special attention to the aesthetics of the objects. The production potential in industrial production no longer relied on the craftsman but on the machine, which significantly changed the approach to the creation of new products. The attitude towards the aesthetics was also changed, the new dominant attitude was that the beauty should stem from the internal logic of an object and because of that the tradition of the additional decoration of the produced objects or objects prepared for production, i.e. 'applied arts'<sup>2</sup> was slowly abandoned. The new discipline, therefore, was faced with the task to improve not only the aesthetic, but also functional, ergonomic and commercial qualities of new products and in the same time, to use the production materials and technology in the optimal way (Vukić 2003:54).

In other words, the basic task of design was to enrich and improve in every way possible the material qualities of life through the creation of material reality. Later the same term was used for graphic design which, because of its commercial and functional qualities, stepped out of the framework of fine arts. In the last thirty years the term has entered the field of virtual reality (for example web design).

Whether we are talking about industrial, graphic, web or some other of its sub-disciplines, design is always closely linked to economy. Besides being in the service of consumers and trying to satisfy their needs for good quality products, in the same time design has to satisfy the needs of producers in terms of their competitiveness and survival on the market.

Material reality (and probably the same can be said of virtual reality), however, from ancient times contained also certain characteristics which we could describe as spiritual. The ways in which certain objects can symbolize a community can be illustrated by numerous examples in which objects were raised to the level of worship, legend or a cult; royal crowns and insignia, swords (King Arthur), rings, rare postal stamps, cars, etc. Objects give us power, strength, feeling of security, self confidence, social status: they invoke in us nostalgia, hatred, joy, sexual excitement; objects are often much more than just 'objects'. Designer is the person who implements in objects these 'add-

<sup>1</sup> Pevsner claimed that the term 'design' originated in the English language and was introduced to German language at the beginning of the 20th century (Pevsner 2005:170), and according to Fruht the term 'industrial design' was introduced for the first time by the English painter Joseph Simmel just after the World War I' (Fruht 1976:18). The term entered Croatian language as late as the 1950es, when the theory of design in industrial production was formed in terminological sense..... as 'designing' (meaning process) used with the adjective 'industrial' or used as the collocation 'designing industrial products', while the person carrying out this process was called (we could not speak about a profession at that time because of the non-existence of a specific educational institution), an 'industrial artist' (...). Terminologically in some cases we could identify 'shaping' and "designing", but only with the purpose to explain the term in more details, or we used the term 'design/designer', but only when we wanted to distinguish it from other related terms or to point to the design of industrial products in the countries with market economy. (Vukic 2003:29).

<sup>2</sup> Fruht defined applied arts as the ... subdiscipline of fine arts which used and transferred/applied the artistic elements and artistic expression to the items of everyday usage (Fruht 1976:17).

ed values'. By buying designed objects the consumer therefore in a way improves his/her life in a spiritual sense as well and because of that he/she is ready to spend more money and this satisfies the producer's basic need.

If we here leave out the discussion about the ethics of design, we can define design as an interdisciplinary field which balances between the needs of consumers and the needs of producers. Through designed creations the producer creates an image of himself/herself as a successful provider of material reality for an individual or a group and they, by using these same products, define themselves according to certain sociological and cultural patterns. The need for displaying belonging to a certain group is as old as the civilization itself. Noblet pointed to the existence of 2 to 1,5 million years old African cultures which coexisted in the same region and, even though their economy was very similar, highly differed in the decorative styles of their material products. Similar contemporary examples made Noblet conclude that '...the style of an object is probably equally important as its function' (Noblet 1999:22). We could actually say that the focal point of design is the creation of identity, of producers and consumers alike.

## Dietary habits

Design enters the field of dieting culture through tableware, the interior and through graphic applications which deal with the topic of food and diet. In a research conducted for my graduate thesis (Paškvan 2006) I tried to explore the context in which the elements of material culture were (and are) created in the field of food and dining. I limited my research to the objects which most directly and to the greatest extent linked design and dining, and these were items for preparing and serving food and for dining – in other words, kitchenware. Through the research of historical-sociological circumstances which determined the dietary rituals and through the research of historical development of kitchenware I tried to establish certain irregularities in the development of the culture of food and dining. This insight into a wider context provided me with a better understanding of the recent developments in the field of dining culture and helped me in defining the potential market for the industry of kitchenware which I saw as a basic precondition for starting a project of designing these items. In order to define the contemporary dining habits of my target group more precisely, I thought it necessary to study in more details some of the characteristic elements of the phenomenon. I started with the cookbooks, both national and commercial, then went through the literature which dealt with food and dining in the context of economical, political and religious circumstances in a region or a state and finished with the field research of the kitchenware market. By gaining some knowledge on the current state of affairs (which actually refers to the period of the last few years, but does not exclude the possibility that some major changes have occurred in the period of a few months to which the outlined indicators could not have reacted), and by studying the history of the development of my target market, I could predict

its future development with more precision. By comparing data I gained through analyzing the situation in the world and in Croatia, I tried to determine the possibilities for the development of new products in Croatia.

Basically, we can distinguish between two types of cultures of food and dining: the culture of the baked and the culture of the cooked. The first one was characteristic of nomadic cultures and the second one of sedentary cultures. History teaches us that cultural achievements which we consider the basis of the civilized world stem from the sedentary cultures of Mesopotamia, India, China, Egypt and Ancient Greece and Rome. However, contrary to the scientific analysis, in the dietary habits of the economically advanced cultures the dominant culture is the culture of the baked and not the culture of the cooked. The reasons should be sought in the era of industrialization which happened not so long ago. Speeding up of social processes resulted in speeding up of economy which, in turn, resulted in a faster rhythm of life. Lives of people who travel everyday for tens and even hundreds of kilometers to their jobs, who spend in their offices almost whole days and where they take care of their diet, their biological needs, their relaxation and sex, who migrate during their lifetimes several times to different cities or states, are much closer to the lives of nomadic warriors of Dzingis Khan than to the lives of warriors of Ramsez II. As a consequence, the dominant type of diet of those nomads of the 21<sup>st</sup> century is the fast food, of the roasted type, consumed outside of the family circle. The most contemporary phases of globalization, based on IT revolution, have additionally speeded up the social processes and brought civilization to the point never reached before – the whole Earth is united in a big empire – empire of capital. The market, therefore, has lost its regional characteristics and for the first time in history we can speak about real global markets. The world has become uniformed. As a reaction, an individual feels a desire for the autochthonous; he/she aims at the definition of his/her own identity under the frameworks of smaller groups and specific regions and towards the re-establishment of diversity as the basis for future development. In the field of diet, this growing trend is observable in the re-establishment of regional cuisines, inside the already existing frameworks of national cuisines. Parallel to the trend of political, there is also a trend of gastronomic regionalization which is observed in emphasizing the specificities of respective cuisines as a consequence of various historical, geographical and sociological microsituations. As an example we could take the neighboring Italy which conquered world markets by emphasizing its regional specificities (Toscana and Chianti and Alto Adige and Grappe), while pizzas and pasta were pushed aside.

Data I gathered while analyzing the situation in the world, I compared with the situation in Croatia and tried to determine the potentials for the development of new products in this field. We could say that Croatia is in a transitional phase, not only from political but also from gastronomic standpoint. The invading capitalism has, on one side, in the culture of the roasted exchanged 'čevapi' for hamburgers while, on the other side, in many houses the 'granny's cooking' is still the dominant cult, even though this is maybe more a consequence of economic underdevelopment than a conscious choice. Due to this economic underdevelopment and (un)fortunate historical

circumstances numerous fragments of our cultural heritage have been preserved and in the context of the new changes in the sphere of global cultural development, our cultural heritage could provide us with certain advantages as compared with other economically more developed Western countries. In relation to the topic of this article, these historical circumstances have provided us with the legacy of variety of customs, habits and enjoyments, which in the gastro world are expressed as the variety of tastes, smells and colors, and this results in a variety of shapes, materials and techniques of production of items for preparation, serving and consummation of food. This richness of our cultural heritage is a great capital for the future of Croatian design when it comes to food and dining.

## Heritage in the future and the ‘Scandinavian case’

It is important to differentiate a few important characteristics of heritage which could be crucial for planning the future on the basis of inherited values. First, we have to distinguish between material and intangible heritage. Material heritage refers to the objects and items which in the field of food and dining include wooden, ceramic or metal tableware, kitchenware for cooking and eating and a number of other items linked to culture of dining. These items are kept in museums and depots of related institutions and these holdings are invaluable for the research of the culture of food and dining in our regions in different historical periods. Intangible heritage refers to knowledge and skills needed for the production of the enumerated items. It is preserved in the minds and hands of craftsmen and will live as long as the people who use it. Taking into consideration the long period of systematic neglect, the situation with our traditional crafts is today far from satisfactory. Potters, notaries, traditional carpenters and others are almost as extinct as the Mediterranean Sea Lion; last generations of traditional craftsmen are slowly disappearing. However, we should have in mind that the similar processes in the majority of the so-called developed countries have occurred much earlier and that the situation in those countries is much worse than here, which makes our obligation to preserve the elements of our intangible heritage much more serious from the economic aspect as well.<sup>3</sup> Here it is important to emphasize that material heritage is of non-changeable, while intangible heritage is of changeable character and therefore, when discussing the measurements for the preservation of the latter, we should revise the old paradigm on the inseparability of items and skills which produced them. Namely, a certain skill has been changing constantly over time and has been adapting to the new lifestyles by incorporating new technical and technological findings. If we take, for example, a traditional object from the same region, but produced in different periods, we can observe

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<sup>3</sup> An important example is the hand pottery wheel, a more primitive predecessor of the foot wheel, which is today preserved only in Spain, Portugal and Dinaric regions of Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia (Barlek 1982:5).

some significant differences in the decorations, the form and even in the function<sup>4</sup> of this object, eventhough the skill which produced it and the place of production were the same. Therefore the key element in the strategy of preservation of our intangible cultural heritage is to introduce the people who still posses the skills to the current trends. Traditional craftsmen will not survive if we place them in the museum together with the museum items nor will they survive if they stay oriented only towards the production of the souvenirs. Their skill and knowledge can be used for the creation of new material reality which corresponds with the current lifestyle.

The critics of this concept claim that commercialization of culture leads to its vulgarization. True enough, if we perceive culture as a form of spiritual asset of a certain community, then its commercialization can seem as a blasphemy. However, we have to ask the question: is it possible to separate culture from economy in a given community? The history tells us the story of highly developed cultures of Celts, Mayas, Incas, North American Indians and others, which were, after encountering the economically more advanced societies, almost eradicated from the face of the Earth. Examples of numerous other cultures which, either due to internal reasons, or due to the clash with economically stronger societies, at one point lost their economic power or autonomy, confirmed the idea that economic death was always followed by cultural death and hence that cultural life of a community depended on its economic life. And the other way around. Many global economic powers are expanding and strengthening their markets primarily by spreading their own cultural influence. What we call today 'McDonaldization' is not only an economic, but maybe, primarily, a cultural expansion of influences of a series of economic-political subjects which could culturally be defined as 'the American cultural circle'. The influence of American lifestyle through films, music, internet, beauty magazines, etc. was crucial for the transformation of Croatian, Bosnian or Kazakhstan markets into new 'American' market. The key role in the 'conquers' of this type have the mechanisms of the so-called 'cultural production', i.e. 'culture industry'<sup>5</sup>, where we could also include design. I think that the culture which is not prepared to use its commercial potential for strengthening the economic subjects which inhabit the same cultural space has little chance to survive the clash with the American or some other global economic-cultural symbiosis. Furthermore, economic subjects whose products are not culturally determined can hardly have a serious influence on the global market. I therefore think that the development of cultural industries should be one of the guidelines of national and regional developmental politics in Croatia. Mechanisms of culture industry should not,

<sup>4</sup> When he speaks about the earthenware of the Panonic area, Barlek mentions the pots with narrow base which were used for cooking in 'the old fashioned stoves (pots were placed in them using iron rods), while the pots with wide base appeared only after the introduction of common stoves.' (Barlek 1982:4).

<sup>5</sup> 'The creation of the term 'culture industry' is linked to the chapter of a book titled *Dialectics of Enlightenment* (1977/1944). In this book Adorno and Horkheimer use the term 'culture industry' to refer to the phenomenon (which they consider negative) of standardization of all forms of production, including culture. (...) Culture industries include a variety of fields and Hesmonhalgh claims that the most important are the industry of commercials and marketing, radio and television industry, film industry, internet, music industry, publishing (classic or e-publishing) and video industry and computer games'. (Primorac 2004:237).

of course, be used only as a means for accumulation of capital, but also as a strong weapon for the preservation of cultural identity of larger and smaller social groups and sub-groups and, in the long run, of the individual himself/herself.

Our cultural heritage could hence be used as a platform of knowledge and experience for launching of new products. Designers could (and should) have the key role in the process of adaptation of folk knowledge to the new forms of production. We can learn from numerous examples from Scandinavian countries that such concepts can yield excellent long term results, both in economic and cultural sphere. Scandinavian countries have not only significantly increased their already thick budgets from their production industry, but they have also, through their world famous design, managed to create a positive image of themselves as the countries which have, through planned quality investments in their own human, cultural and natural resources, created a society of peace and prosperity. Scandinavian design, which is highly based on Scandinavian cultural material and intangible heritage perfectly embeds all the characteristics of the countries which are, just like Croatia, relatively small in size, but which have, through intelligent usage of their own resources, managed to ensure high living standards and prosperity for their citizens. The Nordic logic is that the national design strategy should be determined by their way of life which is in turn determined by realistic life conditions and not by TV commercials or popular TV shows. In doing that they often peak into the vaults of their heritage in order to learn from their ancestors how to fight from cold, ice, lack of sunlight or, furthermore, how to use the seasonal excess of daylight, winds, sea and other natural resources which have been influencing their lifestyle for centuries. The designers of their industrially produced furniture have inherited from the old carpenters the fine sense for materials and details, while the ‘secret’ of the success of Scandinavian contemporary architecture was maybe best revealed by the Danish architect Claus Bonderup: ‘Modernist took our architectural history away. Now some of us are trying to get it back. I don’t think we abandoned modern. I think we are making it richer.’ (Gaynor 1987:104). By using their products to solve the real problems originating from the logic of culture of their everyday life, the Scandinavians have developed a simple, but unique style, which owes its uniqueness exactly to the fact that it has been harmonized with the character of its creators and primary users. Scandinavian production industry might not be the largest in the world, but it is in accordance with its own needs and it is trying to use its own potentials optimally. Villy Sørensen described it wittily: ‘Getting more of something is good – but getting something good is better.’ (Gaynor 1987:11).

The examples of Scandinavian countries can show us that the preservation of cultural and economic independence of small nations in the globalized world is possible. Specificities which stem from the logic of life in relatively small communities, and the Republic of Croatia is such a community in the global context, can represent a certain advantage in the struggle for economic and cultural independence. In the context of the above discussed trends on the global market and taking into account the fact that our cultural heritage is relatively well preserved as compared to the neighboring markets, I think that Croatia has a good chance to create, by its own resources and



through clever politics, a production strategy for the production of items related to food and dining (and other fields as well) which can significantly boost the Croatian economy in the future.

## **Zupajol – suggestion of a different approach**

By analyzing the aspects of Croatian cultural heritage in the field of food and dining, I have come to the findings which could form a good basis for the creation of new products related to food and dining. Zupajol is a concept which is trying to revitalize the tradition of lunch as a central social event in the daily rituals of small communities. Family and circle of friends are social groups of great importance for the preservation of identity of an individual in the globalized world. A joint lunch is in this sense an unavoidable part of everyday life. Zupajol is trying to re-establish an almost forgotten tradition of eating soups which, because of their warmth and the way of serving, have always presented an important part of the ritual of a family lunch. By using new materials, Zupajol is adapting its functionality to the smaller kitchens which are now dominant in most of the households; it is envisaged as a set of kitchenware which covers the whole process from cooking to serving and consummation of food and opens up possibilities for preparation of all kinds of soups. It is important to mention that this product is only one of many possible suggestions which could come out of this or similar research. Through larger investments in the development of concepts which use our cultural heritage for the creation of new product lines we could come up with many more new suggestions and a lot of them would probably have the potential for being developed into solutions which could be materialized and competitive on the international market.

*Translated by Tanja Bukovčan*