

A mixed-media artwork featuring a grey face with red-rimmed glasses and a bowl of sliced red potatoes. The face is rendered in shades of grey and black, with large, expressive black brushstrokes for hair or a headband. The eyes are detailed with blue and white tones. The glasses are a vibrant red. Below the face, a bowl filled with sliced red potatoes is visible. The background is a collage of colors and textures, including a red vertical strip on the left and various brushstrokes in black, blue, and orange.

# COLLABORATION AND ITS (DIS)CONTENTS

ART, ARCHITECTURE, AND  
PHOTOGRAPHY SINCE 1950

EDITED BY  
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**Collaboration and its (Dis)Contents: Art, Architecture, and Photography since 1950**

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Designed by Matthew Cheale

**Cover Image:**  
Detail of *Untitled*, 2013 (from *Work*)  
Courtesy of Klaus von Nichtssagend Gallery.

# CONTENTS

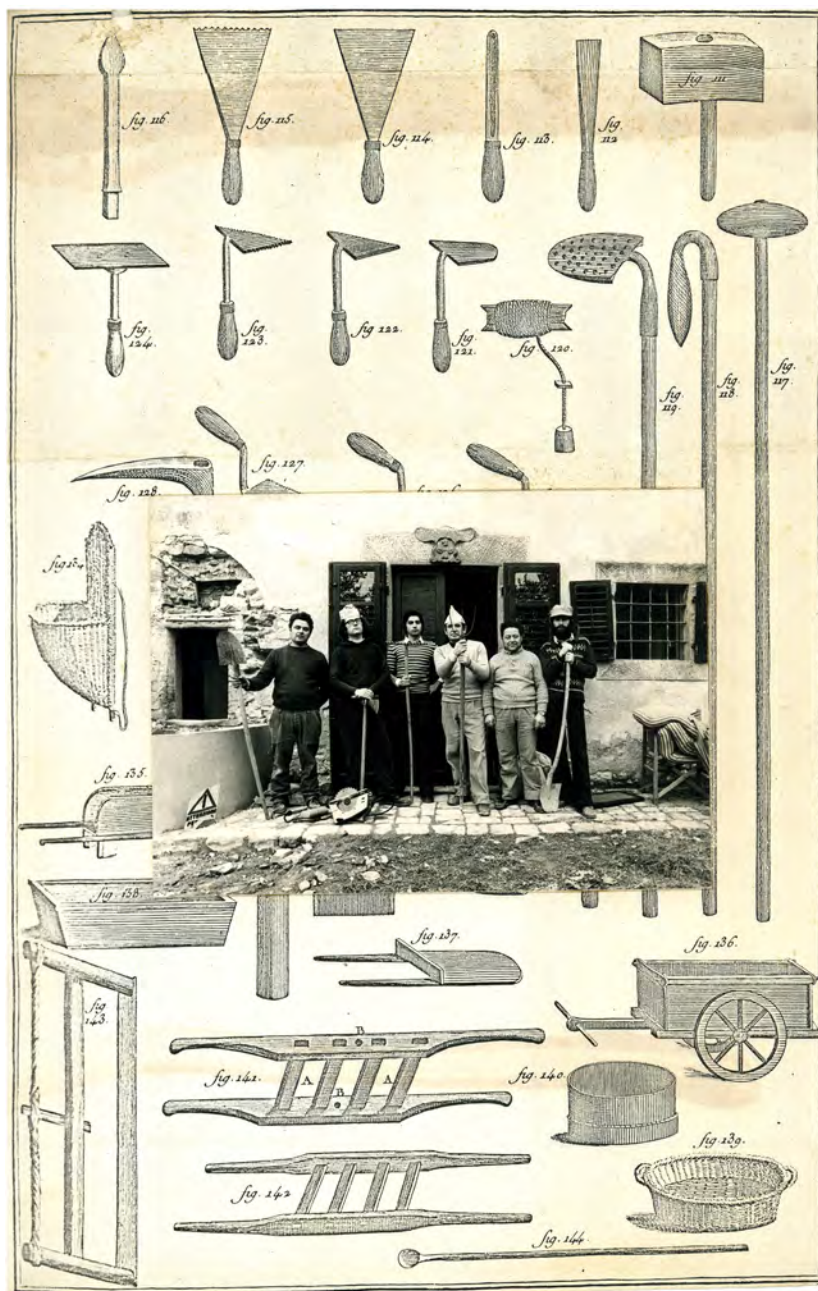
List of Illustrations	5
Notes on Contributors	7
Acknowledgements	10
<b>Foreword: The Social Turn Ten Years On</b> Claire Bishop	11
<b>Introduction: Collaboration and its (Dis)Contents</b> Meredith A. Brown and Michelle Millar Fisher	12
<b>Exploring Collaboration in Architecture, Planning, and Renewal in California, 1935–1965</b> Marci Muhlestein Clark and Michelle Millar Fisher	20
<b>Margin of Life: Post-war Concerned Photography in Mexico and Guatemala, 1947–1960</b> Andrianna Campbell and Ileana L. Selejan	39
<b>Artists' Project: <i>Work</i></b> <b>A Conversation about <i>Work</i></b> David Kennedy Cutler and Sara Greenberger Rafferty	60
<b>Points of Origin: From a History of Alternative Art to a History of Alternative Institutions</b> Sofia Gotti and Marko Ilić	71
<b>Artists' Project: <i>In Times Like These, Only Criminals Remain Silent</i></b> Andrea Geyer and Sharon Hayes	93
<b>Deschooling, Manual Labour, and Emancipation: The Architecture and Design of Global Tools, 1973–1975</b> Sara Catenacci and Jacopo Galimberti	99
<b>Artists' Project: <i>BREAKDOWN</i></b> <b>Collaboration 'Breakdown': A Conversation with Liz Magic Laser and Simone Leigh</b> Andrianna Campbell	122

<b>Making Art with Your Kids: Generation, Cooperation, and Desire in Parent–Child Artwork of the 1970s</b> Meredith A. Brown, Oriana Fox, and Frances Jacobus-Parker	134
<b>Collaboration is Not An Alternative: Artists Working Together in London and New York, 1974–1981</b> Fiona Anderson and Amy Tobin	158
<b>Afterword: Beginning ‘The Ends’</b> Alexander Nemerov and Richard Meyer	179
Photograph Credits	183

CHAPTER 4

# DESCHOOLING, MANUAL LABOUR, AND EMANCIPATION: THE ARCHITECTURE AND DESIGN OF GLOBAL TOOLS, 1973–75

SARA CATENACCI and JACOPO GALIMBERTI



4.1  
Page from *Global Tools*  
*Bulletin 2* (January  
1975).

In front of a country house door, a group of men pose for a picture (fig. 4.1). Some are holding shovels and others pitchforks, but they are not farmers returning home after a hard day at work. Rather, the picture depicts Global Tools, a collective of Italian architects and designers, during a four-day seminar in Sambuca Val di Pesa, a small village in the



**Al di fuori del design**  
**GLOBAL TOOLS SCUOLA DI NON-ARCHITETTURA**

In un seminario svoltosi in novembre a Sambuca è stata definita l'attività della scuola per il 1975. Global Tools, a school of non-architecture: its future activity has been discussed and defined during a seminar held in November at Sambuca near Florence

**Andrea Branzi**  
**TECNOLOGIA O EUTANASIA**

Per la festa dei Maestri, ma anche per quella di Tutti i Santi, grande raduno a Sambuca vicino a Firenze, della Global Tools, al richiamo commentato scossoni da libri, specchi, manifesti, manuali, riviste, cialtrilli diversi, gli Archizoom, i Superstudio, Etornio e la Nanda, Bruno Zevi, Ugo La Pietra, Gianni Pettana, Ego La Pietra, i napoletani Alison e Dalisi, Franco Castelli, amici e colleghi, curiosa sinuosa varia e disprezza sul poggio lungo la superstrada per Siena.

Stretti dalla morsa di un freddo precoce, dentro una casa colorata sbianciata ma attrezzata di macchi, cavi, nastri, registratori, rotolini fotografici, cassette, sedimi, segnapagina, pasticci, letti, tavoli, piatti e bicchieri, alcuni cani che ringhiano, i bambini, presenti quasi settanta persone, parcheggi di ghiaia intarsiati di macchione, sedotti e cespugli, e partenza finale di una monografia e suo recupero, una nuova partenza e viaggio in alto oltre le nuvole.

Nasce ufficialmente il progetto finale di architettura, (o non architettura), (o non scuola, primo tentato)

so di pagine gialle della cultura, promissario di laboratori provvisori e previsti nella città, agone di defusione nella società di tutte le attività creative legate all'uso di tecniche costruttive e di tutti i sistemi sotto-architettonici di identità dell'ambiente. - Una, due, sono.

La vittoria funzionalmente sopra dell'idea di una segreteria che mette in contatto chiunque: le desideri, con tutti i luoghi, le persone, i gruppi, che lavorano sulla direzione definita come liberazione del Tuomo dalla cultura, intesa come tecnologia e unico che costruisce l'individuo dal libero uso della propria creatività. In questo senso verrà preparato un piano di possibilità stagionali da offrire, perché non, come ginnastica di recupero, come spezione in uno spazio mescolato dalle risorse umane e creative di una città, si potranno imparare sistemi volutamente imperfetti e anche sarti, strutture instabili e anche taglio dei sagelli, archeologia del futuro e anche l'aggettivazione, viaggi come comunicazione e anche la tecnica della cartapesta.

La sede della scuola non scende in valle. L'indirizzo della segreteria: via Bressa 5, Milano, ma esistono tante scuole, quasi sono i luoghi



countryside near Florence. The image was accompanied by written reports of the experienced and appeared in the second issue of the group's bulletin, which was published in January 1975. Other photographs show the designers and architects carving wood, digging holes in the ground, moving stones, carrying work tools, and conversing around a wooden table in the house's main room (figs. 4.2 and 4.3). The manual activities depicted in these photographs stood in stark contrast to the standard images characterising designers and architects within the framework of industrial production. The singularity of the collective's self-fashioning, their rudimentary implements, combined with the rural setting of their meeting, emerges even more strongly when compared to the *Linea Italiana* (Italian line), a sophisticated vocabulary of shapes developed by several Italian designers, which gained worldwide commercial success and prestige in the 1960s. Despite this apparent disparity, some Global Tools members, such as Ettore Sottsass, were among the foremost symbols of the *Linea Italiana*.

Global Tools was founded on 12 January 1973 in the office of the Italian architectural magazine *Casabella*, a seminal event that was covered in *Casabella's* May 1973 issue (fig. 4.4). The collective was made up of individuals (Remo Buti, Riccardo Dalisi, Adalberto Dal Lago, Ugo La Pietra, Gaetano Pesce, Gianni Pettana, and Ettore Sottsass, Jr.), groups (Archizoom Associati, Gruppo 9999, Superstudio, UFO, Zziggurat) and the *Casabella* editorial team.<sup>1</sup> These practitioners were among the representatives of Italian 'radical architecture', to borrow the term coined by the art critic Germano Celant in 1972.<sup>2</sup> 'Radical' architects had begun working around the mid-1960s, mostly in Florence, Turin, and Milan. The umbrella term 'radical architecture' had the merit of illuminating their shared questioning of the architectural discipline's core tenets, despite the diversity of both their production and their cultural backgrounds. The critical approach of 'radical' architects, who often also worked as designers, constituted a reaction to modern architecture's functionalist diktats, which had been largely contested already in the mid-1950s

4.2  
 Global Tools seminar,  
 Sambuca Val di Pesa  
 - Adolfo Natalini and  
 Franco Raggi during the  
 clay workshop  
 (1-4 November 1974),  
 unknown photographer.

4.3  
 'Global Tools scuola di  
 non-architettura' from  
*Casabella*, no. 397  
 (January 1975), article  
 featuring pictures of the  
 workshops held during  
 Global Tools seminar in  
 Sambuca Val di Pesa  
 (1-4 November 1974).



and had experienced a definitive decline in the 1960s, especially following the dissolution of the Congrès internationaux d'architecture modern (CIAM) in 1959. In order to challenge the long-lasting prominence of modernism in the schools of architecture in Italy and abroad, 'radical' architects devised experimental conceits and strategies, which they described as '*superarchitettura*' (superarchitecture), '*architettura inconscia*' (unconscious architecture), '*architettura disequilibrante*' (unbalancing architecture), '*architettura concettuale*' (conceptual architecture), '*architettura eventuale*' (possible architecture), and '*progettazione di comportamento*' (behavioural planning).<sup>3</sup> Relying on irony and provocation, they aimed to

4.4  
Adolfo Natalini, Cover  
design for *Casabella* 377  
(May 1973).

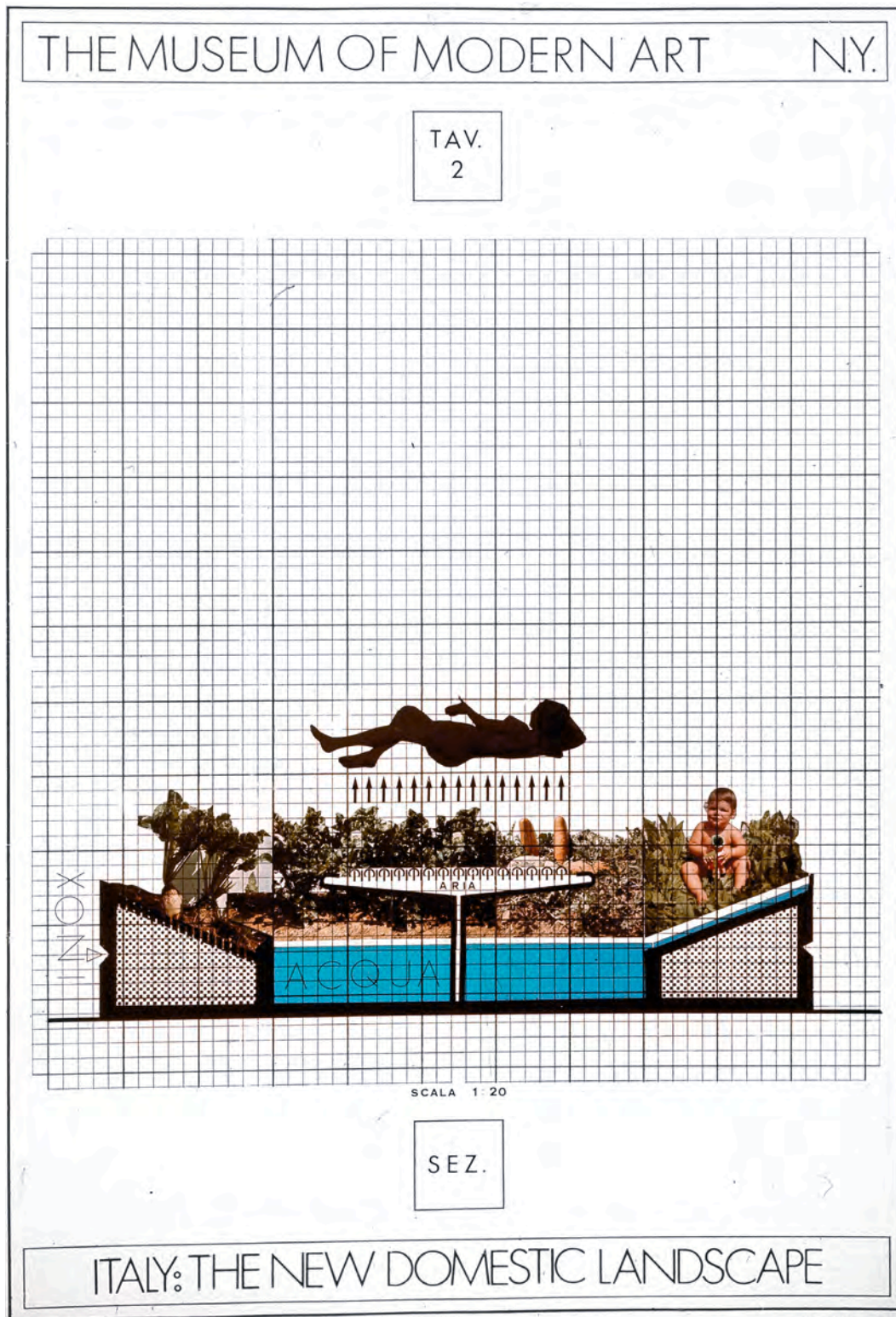
dismantle the traditional principles and applications of architecture, city planning, furniture, and product design. According to one of their members, Andrea Branzi, rather than design human environments embodying unattainable ideals and goals, 'radical' architects' utopian projects exposed and examined the contradictions of the architectural discipline and existing society.<sup>4</sup>

Current scholarship has explored the relationship between the 'radical' architects' proposals and 1960s Italian society, contemporary philosophical and political thought.<sup>5</sup> In particular, scholars have explored the connections between *operaismo* (a heterodox strand of 1960's Leninism) and Archizoom's 'critical utopias'.<sup>6</sup> Likewise, some studies have concentrated on the influential role played by Umberto Eco, a member of the School of Architecture at the University of Florence between 1966 and 1969, whose theories of semiotics and communication informed the sardonic performances of the UFO group.<sup>7</sup> These strands of research on 'radical architects' have identified the Italian specificities of these projects as well as their connections to the architectural utopias developed in Europe and the United States in the same decade, from Hans Hollein's 'Alles ist Architektur' manifesto, to the techno-pop proposals of Archigram and the actions of the Utopie group and of Yona Friedman, and, finally, to the Californian counter-cultural initiatives by Ant Farm, Anne Halprin and Lawrence Halprin, and others.<sup>8</sup> However, the short-lived experience of Global Tools, which can be seen as the final stage of 'radical' architecture and design, remains largely unstudied.<sup>9</sup> The group's name, its members' cultural backgrounds, its focus on manual labour, and, finally, its decision to set up a collaborative project based on a 'school' model all deserve further investigation. These issues will be discussed in the following and linked to the social and political conjunctures of Italy in the 1970s.

## FROM 'RADICAL ARCHITECTURE' TO GLOBAL TOOLS

The future members of Global Tools were mostly designers and architects, but they had already extensively engaged with artistic media and activities in the 1960s. Ugo La Pietra, Gianni Pettena, and UFO organised happenings and actions. UFO participated in the 1968 student protests, utilising inflatable objects, and staged a provocative 'ritual' during the IV Premio di pittura Masaccio (4th Masaccio Art Prize) in San Giovanni Val d'Arno. Pettena participated in the same event, polemically reframing the town's thirteenth-century city hall façade with a pattern of oblique stripes.<sup>10</sup> The intense collaboration and personal friendship among architects, designers, and artists occasionally materialised in experimental showcases. For instance, two night clubs, the Florentine Space Electronic (whose interior was designed by Gruppo 9999), and the Turinese Piper (whose interior was designed by Giorgio Ceretti, Pietro Derossi, and Riccardo Rosso), presented works, performances, concerts, and art exhibitions ranging from theatrical works by the New York-based Living Theatre to work by Italian Arte Povera artists. While these artists/architects/designers were active mostly in Italy, a lively exchange with northern





4.5  
Gruppo 9999, Design for *Vegetable Garden House* (bedroom section), for the exhibition *Italy: The New Domestic Landscape; Achievements and Problems of Italian Design*, Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1972. Collage of cut colour slides on Plexiglas, originally mounted in a retro illuminated light box.

European and American groups had been integral to their work. Nonetheless, it was only in New York, and specifically at the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA), that their multifarious experimentations acquired international fame and their work came to be described as 'radical architecture'.

The MoMA show *Italy: The New Domestic Landscape* took place in 1972 and was meant to be a design exhibition, showcasing the forefront of Italian design. Yet the exhibition developed an expanded notion of design, articulating its complex connections to social, political, and ecological concerns.<sup>11</sup> It is not surprising that the exhibitors presented short films, photonovels and what the curator of the exhibition, Emilio Ambasz, called 'counter-environments' (fig. 4.5); in other words, environments that were specifically produced for

the exhibition and staged a visual commentary upon, and criticism of, the status of design and urban planning at the beginning of the 1970s.<sup>12</sup> Ambasz, divided the exhibition into sections such as ‘conformist’, ‘reformist’, and ‘contestation’; these terms were intended to define the different positions of the designers with regard to industry and production relations in an attempt to introduce the American public to the social and political dimensions the exhibits encoded.<sup>13</sup> By the same token, Celant defined the exhibitors as ‘radicals’ and their production as ‘radical architecture’ in the exhibition catalogue.<sup>14</sup> Celant’s designation and Ambasz’s curatorial policies collided with the exhibition’s market-minded display as well as its heavy dependence on corporate and government sponsorship.<sup>15</sup> The ‘radical’ architects may have been seen as ambiguous, if not opportunistic, from an outsider’s perspective. Indeed, the display included both their polemical ‘counter-environments’ as well as the furniture they designed for renowned manufacturers such as Poltronova and Gufram. Yet, this tension was not necessarily seen as a contradiction by insiders. As Global Tools members Adolfo Natalini and Branzi later explained, conceptual architecture, sociopolitical commitment, and market-oriented design were not antithetical concepts in Italy.<sup>16</sup> Rather, many young architects experimented with furniture design, mainly due to high levels of unemployment. Likewise, little specialised industry and training for furniture design existed in the 1960s, so Italian design firms, which still relied predominantly on low-scale production, often hired young and ambitious architects. This situation allowed for informal relationships and fruitful partnerships between employers and young practitioners, enabling the latter to enter the market of luxury objects without necessarily renouncing their critical attitude.

Global Tools was launched shortly after the MoMA show. On one level, *Italy: The New Domestic Landscape* granted international visibility to ‘radical architecture’, but on another level, this acclaim came late, as the composite network of architects and designers were increasingly producing different, and at times incompatible, works.<sup>17</sup> Archizoom member Branzi referred to this predicament in autumn 1972, proposing that ‘radical’ architects adopt a ‘long-term strategy’: ‘One thing we should all be committed to is a confrontation over theses of vital importance which enable us to draw up the premises for more incisive work . . . which is no call to order, but a preparation for the final attack’.<sup>18</sup> A few weeks later, this final attack against what they perceived as the architectural establishment, and particularly the Italian movement *Tendenza*, was waged under the standard of Global Tools.<sup>19</sup> While the formation of a collective enabled the ‘radicals’ to join forces, it was not unrelated to economic concerns. As argued by Paola Navone and Bruno Orlandoni in 1974, the foundation of Global Tools partly served as an appealing brand that promoted the work of its members in the art world, which had discovered the ‘radicals’ at MoMA.<sup>20</sup>

With the appointment of Alessandro Mendini as editor-in-chief in 1970, *Casabella* magazine acted as the main outlet for the ‘radicals’. In 1973, Mendini intensified his collaboration, taking part in Global Tools activities directly.<sup>21</sup> *La Pietra*’s magazine *Progettare in più* also joined the cause, promoting Global Tools’s initiatives. The group received financial

support from the owner of the Milanese gallery *Luomo e l'arte*, which paid for the publication of the two bulletins issued by Global Tools in 1974 and 1975.<sup>22</sup> The group defined itself as a 'system of laboratories . . . dedicated to promoting the study and the use of natural technical materials and their relative behavioural characteristics'. Its collaborative endeavours were closely related to the goal of achieving the 'individual's liberation—first psychologically and then materially—from the system of needs which a closed circuit culture induces in him, bartering them for [the] individual's own autonomous choices'.<sup>23</sup> The members of Global Tools believed that individuals could attain true autonomy through 'the free development of individual creativity' and the 'ideological refounding of manual labour'.<sup>24</sup> Initially relying on organisational models common to associations, the group created a technical committee, which was responsible for the creation of what they defined as a 'school' and for its teaching programmes and workshops. In particular the workshops would be implemented by subgroups, named according to themes: 'The Body', 'Construction', 'Communication', 'Survival', and 'Theory'. Germano Celant and fellow artists were supposed to take part in the work. The workshops, which were implemented by small subgroups, should have evolved into a proper network of 'schools', but this ambitious and almost utopian project never took place. Mendini, Davide Mosconi, and Franco Raggi taught a workshop on 'The Body' in 1975, and only Franco Vaccari contributed to the 'Communication' subgroup, whose sole output consisted of photographic documentation of its members' trip on the Rhine River.<sup>25</sup> By 1974 the Florentine groups 9999 and Superstudio had already moved away from Global Tools, and the group disbanded in 1975. Mendini resigned from *Casabella* in the same year.<sup>26</sup>

Global Tools started its activities at a moment of crucial change in both industrial production and national politics. In order to tease out the cultural and political subtexts of Global Tools' work and the way in which their work intersected with these broader shifts in politics and culture, it is helpful to discuss in detail some key notions summarising the group's ambitions—namely, the 'ideological refounding of manual labour', 'poor technique', and 'simple technology'—as well as the name Global Tools.

## GLOBAL TOOLS' CONCEPTUAL TOOLS

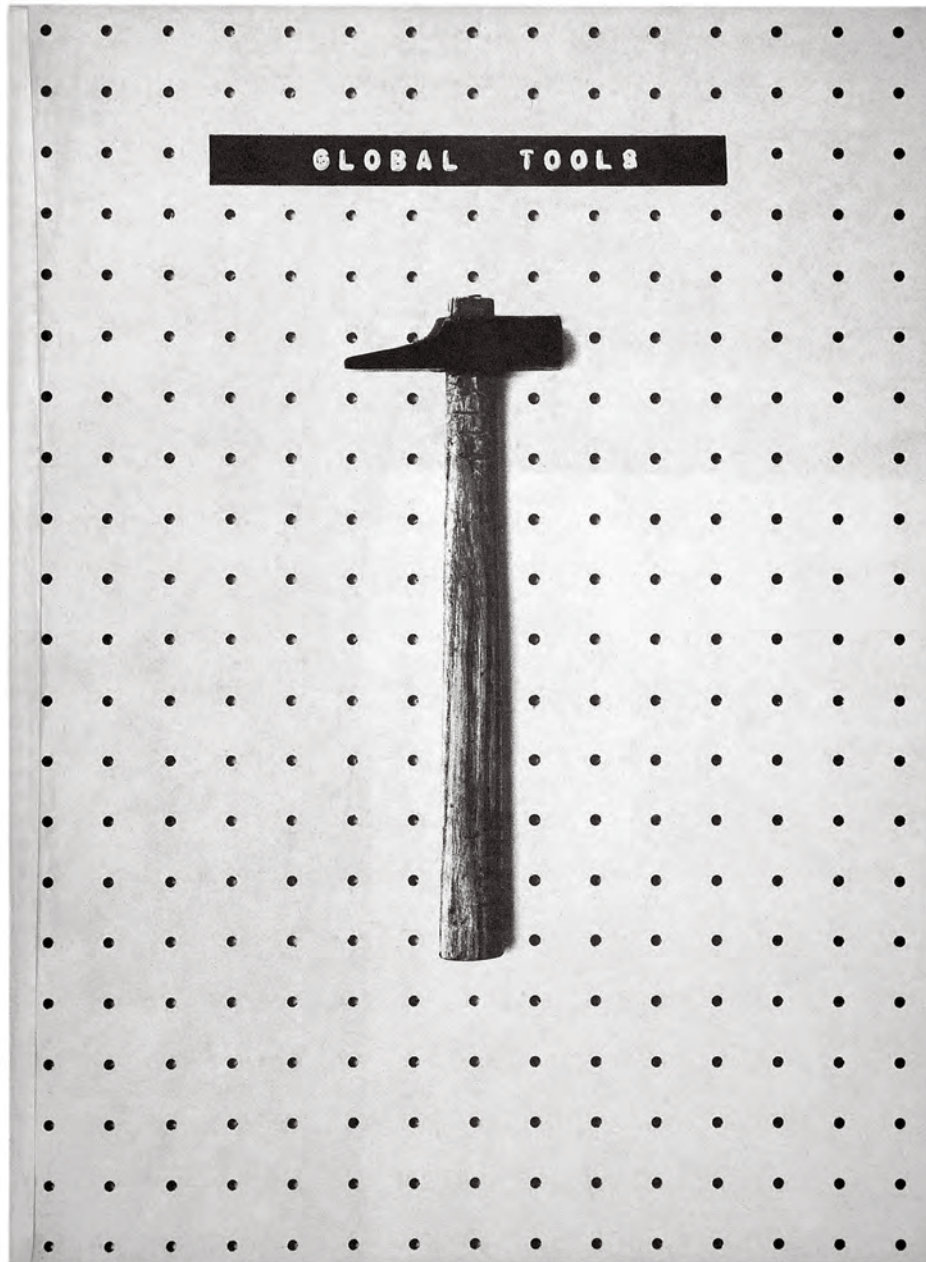
Global Tools was founded during a period that witnessed major changes in industrial production. In the spring of 1973, workers went on strike and eventually shut down the Fiat factory in Turin, one of Italy's most important manufacturers. The protest appeared as a demonstration of strength, and resulted in salary rises and new worker rights. However, the occupation turned out to be the swan song of the Italian factory-based working class. The following autumn, the oil embargo put a definitive end to the virtually full employment that had marked the previous fifteen years. The policy of redundancy came to be a key weapon in the hands of capital, allowing management to dismiss combative workers on economic grounds. What is more, the development of new technologies, the resulting

possibility of outsourcing, and an increasingly global market economy further fragmented the traditional working class. By late 1973, when Global Tools's project gained momentum, it was increasingly clear that capitalism and its chief mode of production, Taylorism, would never be the same. An unprecedented political and cultural situation was about to unfold.<sup>27</sup>

The major militant organisations that emerged during the 1968-1969 period tended to anchor their revolutionary ambitions on the figure of the factory worker. By 1974, however, they all had either dissolved or experienced crises, which culminated in 1975 with the formation of the Democrazia Proletaria (Proletarian Democracy) party.<sup>28</sup> The party gained more than 550,000 votes in the 1976 political elections; however, that number amounted only to a disappointing 1.5 % of the total vote. Furthermore, the participation in the elections contradicted the extra-parliamentary activism that had characterised the far left until that point. This decision can hardly be understood without considering the impact of the Chilean coup on 11 September 1973. This tragic event shocked the Italian left, because the Chilean situation presented affinities with the Italian one, including a strong, if contentious, leftist camp and the presence of neo-fascist groups partly supported by the Italian secret service.<sup>29</sup> Neo-fascists had already tried to implement their political designs in 1969, when a bomb killed seventeen people in Milan. This attack initiated the so-called 'strategy of tension', which consisted of producing false evidence that the culprits were anarchist in order to pressure the government into passing emergency laws. When the public became aware of this plot, whose instigators remain unknown, all of the leftist organisations momentarily rallied under the banner of anti-fascism. In this period of economic and social upheaval, politics informed every aspect of Italian culture. The Global Tools phrase 'ideological refounding of manual labour' should be located within this context. In particular, the key term 'ideological' and its derivatives pervaded not only political discourse, but also art, education, cultural production, leisure time, and intimate relationships.

The way Global Tools used this phrase is partly the result of this politicisation of society. Yet, it also mirrors the anthropological nuances with which the term was imbued. 'Ideology' conflated not only the phraseology of Marxism but also that of the social sciences, where it occasionally indicated a complex and consistent set of values and beliefs.<sup>30</sup> Not all of the Global Tools members were Marxist; rather, the ambivalence of the term 'ideological' helped to create consensus around key ideas. The word *rifondazione* (refounding), which suggests both a profound renewal of the *status quo* and a return to the basis or origins, facilitated agreement. This semantic ambiguity was at the core of Global Tools, which combined Marxism with a quest for a hippy-minded, holistic approach to the environment (the latter being perhaps predominant). The photograph of a hammer on the cover of Global Tools's first bulletin can be framed within these tensions (fig. 4.6). If a hammer and a sickle was a symbol laden with rhetoric, the close-up of a hammer by itself typified a self-effacing return to the actual life of labourers and craftsmen.

Members of Global Tools were fascinated by artisan tools and techniques, rural material culture, the reuse of salvaged material and, not least, the autarkic life of some



4.6  
Cover design for  
*Global Tools Bulletin 1*  
(June 1974).

individuals. For example, the group Superstudio (whose member were also part of Global Tools) presented a sort of ethnographic study of a farmer named Zeno at the 1978 Venice Biennale.<sup>31</sup> In order to contextualise these interests, which are well summarised by the concept of ‘manual labour’, it is necessary to discuss the emergence of folklore and new political subjectivities in 1970s Italy.

The study of folklore has a long tradition in Italian culture. Folklore’s significance already constituted a subject of debate for prominent philosophers such as Benedetto Croce and Antonio Gramsci in the first half of the twentieth century. In particular, Gramsci’s observations on folklore appeared in his *Prison Notebooks*, published between 1948 and 1951. On one hand, Gramsci acknowledged that folklore was not to be seen as a repository of quaint traits. Those who embodied folklore, he argued, were the legitimate representatives of a genuine disavowal of ‘official culture’.<sup>32</sup> Yet, on the other hand, their ‘class instinct’ was immature and needed to be channelled toward the appropriate emancipatory struggles of the Communist Party. Apart from Gramsci’s meditations, the interest in folklore was also sparked by the perceived concern that industrialisation would lead to the loss of ancestral traditions and crafts. Italian folklorists tended to focus on southern Italy, where the lack or delay of industrialisation had allowed traditions and crafts to survive. This

persistent and widespread fascination with Italian folklore accounts for Global Tools's exploration of manual labour. The collective deemed labourers, with their deft hands and related expertise, to be unwitting custodians of ancestral knowledge, although perhaps more pristine for their supposed lack of formal training. Global Tools rejected the criticism that they were resurrecting the myths of the noble savage, Arcadia, and the Luddite, or Gian Battista Vico's simplistic theses about the decay of imagination in civilised people.<sup>33</sup> However, it is apparent that their research was tainted with what can be viewed as primitivism; that is, an idealisation of skills, implements, and forms of expression that can also be seen as stemming from ignorance, dilettantism, or degraded forms of products originally participating in 'official culture'.<sup>34</sup>

This romantic interest in the rustic and the humble as reservoirs of less alienated forms of life was accompanied by a discovery of subjects and regions left uncharted by the far left's geography. The factory workers' struggle of 1969 resulted in political victories and a new labour law of 1970, momentarily halting the workers' protest. As a result, the militant group called Lotta Continua (Continuous Fight), the most enthusiastic advocate of the masses' 'revolutionary spontaneity', tried to extend its activity to southern Italy, notably Naples, where the virtual absence of large plants forced the activists to redefine their theories and modes of interventions. In 1971, Lotta Continua began integrating figures such as the unemployed, the housewife, and the lumpen-proletariat into an approach still largely predicated on the male factory worker. The focus on these subjectivities, their abilities, and their urges for rebellion grew even stronger with the onset of the oil crisis, which generated widespread unemployment even in the country's industrialised north. Through the slogan '*Riprendiamoci la città*' (Let's Take Back the City), which suggested the re-appropriation of urban spaces, and the theories about the advent of a new political and technical 'class composition', meaning the emergence of a novel type of working class grappling with new production relations, large components of the far left attempted to politicise the proletariat and the lumpen-proletariat outside the factory, regardless of its positioning within the production process and even its refusal of work. This focus on the lumpen-proletariat resonated with Global Tools's fascination with self-sufficiency, creative responses to hardship, and secession from mainstream society.<sup>35</sup> As Global Tools member Andrea Branzi observed, the cult of popular wisdom and its primeval traditions came to be a dangerous domain after War World II because of the Fascists' praise of rural life and essentialist discourses linking *Italianità* to *Latinità* (Italyness and Latinity).<sup>36</sup> By contrast, in the early 1970s the radical left's move away from hard-line Leninism opened up new territories for both militantism and imagination.

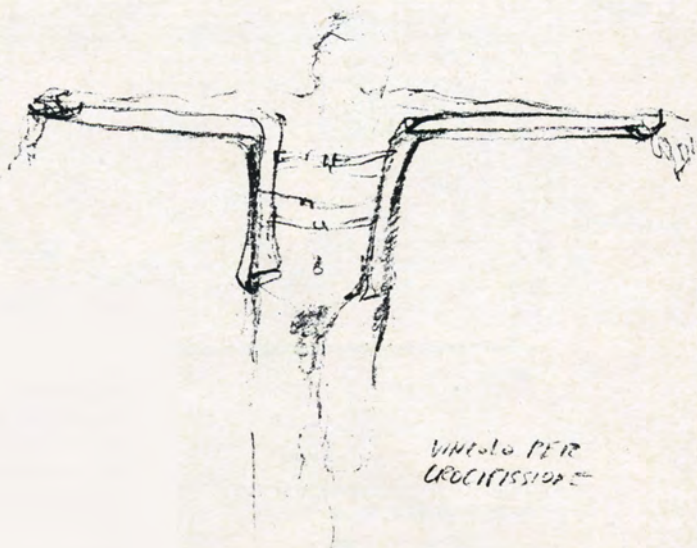
One exception was Maoism. After the summer of 1968, the activists of *Servire il popolo* (Serving the People) headed to southern Italy in order to politicise impoverished farmers, using the example of Mao's recruitment of peasants and the poor. Although *Servire il popolo* had lost its initial thrust by 1974, Maoism remained a major reference point from which to envisage a revolutionary subject alternative to the factory worker. It does not come as a

# GLOBAL TOOLS

Milano - giugno '75

## IL CORPO E I VINCOLI THE BODY AND THE BONDS

L'uso anomalo del corpo  
come strumento conoscitivo.  
Azioni-oggetti-progetti (in)utili  
The anomalous use of the body  
as an instrument for knowledge.  
Actions-objects-useful(less) projects





4.8  
 Franco Raggi at Global  
 Tools Workshop 'The  
 Body and the Bonds',  
 Milan, June 1975.

surprise that several Global Tools members, such as Carlo Guenzi and Franco Raggi, were Maoist-minded. The latter, in particular, expressed rapt admiration for Chinese design in the pages of *Casabella*.<sup>37</sup> Nonetheless, this unconditional eulogy, written after a two-week trip to China, can arguably be located within the *longue durée* of twentieth-century primitivism. Global Tools's combination of radical politics, primitivism, romanticism, and ethnology, as well as ecologist and hippy culture, might appear unusual. And yet, from an artistic perspective, the post-1968 phase was informed by a high degree of syncretism, of which documentas curated by Harald Szeemann in 1972, provides a good example. Alongside conceptual art, this exhibition showed works by *Geisteskranken* (the mentally ill), kitsch objects labelled 'trivial realism', agit-prop figuration, the work of Maoist painter Jörg Immendorf, and devotional images from the nineteenth century.

Unlike Italian revolutionaries, Global Tools were not seeking revolutionary subjects, but rather revolutionary bodies capable of radically altering their relationship with the environment. Global Tools saw the body as an ultimate form of architecture, an object of analysis enabling a departure from the narrow disciplinary field to which architecture





was confined (figs. 4.7 and 4.8). The human body proved to be the ideal common ground on which to bring together the diverse tendencies of the group. In their bulletins and the *Casabella* articles linked to their research, they invoked the body as the locus where a hidden political and creative potential awaited to be liberated. But whose body/architecture? Certainly not the body of the numbed consumer, and even less so that of the factory worker for whom 1950s/1960s capitalism had turned the modernist ideal of *Existenzminimum* into an experience of social and sensual deprivation. Rather, Global Tools envisioned to bodies capable of sleeping in the open, fasting bodies resistant to all sorts of adversities, bodies experiencing a mystical unity of mind and muscle, bodies that developed ancestral techniques for meditation, and bodies alien to shame and disregardful of the bourgeois idea of beauty. They provided, albeit in passing, some examples that revealed both an idealisation of the unknown as well as the typically male (all but one of the Global Tools members were male) desire for a heroic, indestructible physique. They evoked or offered illustrations of the nomad (notably the bushman), the cowboy, the hitchhiker, the judo fighter, the yoga practitioner, the hippy, the autarkic farmer, the Buddhist monk, the eighteenth-century Shaker, and, not least, the Camden squatter, to whom *Casabella* devoted an article in 1974.<sup>38</sup>

In the article 'The Body: A Natural Object', Global Tools member and *Casabella* director Alessandro Mendini equated nudity with freedom and authenticity and went on to suggest the moral bankruptcy of the West, remarking that, 'the only . . . image of mass nudity that the Western age has been able to produce is that of Jews being herded into Nazi death camps'.<sup>39</sup> However, there was an undoubtedly Western tradition that might have appealed to Global Tools members. This was Cynicism, a philosophical trend spanning almost one thousand years, from the mid-fourth century BCE to the fifth century CE.<sup>40</sup> With their cult of individual self-sufficiency, frugality (*euteleia*), non-conformism (including nakedness), and refusal of intellectual sophistication, the Cynics might have been part of Global Tools's pantheon. Diogenes' decision to sleep in a *pithos* (a storage jar

4.9  
Riccardo Dalisi's  
Workshop, Rione  
Traiano, Naples,  
ca. 1972–74.

for wine) and to get rid of his glass – his only design piece, so to speak – after seeing a child drinking from his hands could be considered one of the Western precedents of Global Tools' provocative approach to architecture and design.

An instructive example illuminating the divergences, but also the will to compromise, within Global Tools is the dialogue between two of its members, Branzi and Riccardo Dalisi. In 1971 Dalisi began conducting research into the most indigent boroughs and housing developments of Naples.<sup>41</sup> His interventions included supplying tools and found material to local children and encouraging them to collaborate in the construction of everyday objects and simple architectural structures of their own invention (fig. 4.9). At the same time, Dalisi examined the way in which the local lumpen-proletariat rearranged their domestic interiors, discovering that, beyond the superficial aping of bourgeois households, their vernacular architecture showed similarities to Pompeian houses.<sup>42</sup> He called the idiosyncratic tricks and skills he saw in action '*tecnica povera*' (literally, poor technique). The adjective *povera* carried with it positive connotations. Along the lines of Arte Povera, it suggested the dignified humility of the poor and the refusal of unnecessarily sophisticated machineries.

Branzi was one of the founding members of Archizoom, a group of architects and designers informed by a type of Italian Marxism called *operaismo*.<sup>43</sup> Branzi sympathised with Dalisi in the article he wrote about him, and yet his praise was mixed with scepticism. He lauded Dalisi's 'spontaneous . . . didactic' and his 'exploration in an as yet unexplored field of energy', but he also highlighted the shortcomings of Dalisi's research.<sup>44</sup> What was his goal, he wondered, if the empowerment of the lumpen-proletariat did not aim at any political outcome? The risk was falling back into a populist aestheticising of misery, transforming poverty into a 'possible cultural category'. Some recent commentators see Branzi's approval of Dalisi's endeavours as slightly opportunistic, but his meditations can also be explained in a different way.<sup>45</sup> One of the key principles of *operaismo* is that the working class should not elaborate a working-class culture antithetical to bourgeois culture. This would prove ineffective, as capitalism has provided enough evidence of its capability of co-opting counterculture, making it just another niche in the cultural market. Early 1960s *operaismo* was adamant in this respect: the working class should demand a higher salary and less work, and it should up the ante every time capitalists were willing to make concessions.<sup>46</sup> In Marxist terms, Dalisi focused on the re-appropriation of use value, whereas *operaismo* emphasised the role of the exchange value of the labour force.<sup>47</sup> However, the changes brought about by the new technical and political 'class composition' made *operaisti* acknowledge the political significance of appropriative strategies implemented outside the workplace. In the early 1970s, one of their struggles pertained to the severance of salary from productivity, a concept that was based partly on the idea that wealth was increasingly generated outside the factory by collectively produced knowledge. But capitalists and land owners, as Branzi argued in a 1974 text, had always used working-class and peasant practical knowledge to their ends.<sup>48</sup> The specifics of mid-1970s Italian political debates

brought closer some anti-dogmatic leftists such as Branzi and Dalisi. Thus, there is no conflict in the fact that in 1973 Branzi and his wife, Nicoletta Branzi, created a series of embroideries and tapestries, challenging the conventional definition of design but also stressing the progressive implications of manual labour. However, the uneasy cohabitation of Dalisi's *tecnica povera* and Marxism within Global Tools resulted in the group's shift from *tecnica povera* to what they defined as *tecnologia semplice* (simple technology). This development was meant to convey the need for a more systematic approach than Dalisi's overly 'spontaneous' methodology.<sup>49</sup>

If the nuances of the word 'tool' are now clearer, the term 'global' still needs to be discussed. 'Global' was a relatively new word in the early 1970s; after all, the first image of the whole earth as seen from space was released only in 1968. The blue sphere presented in this image strengthened the sense of belonging to humanity, especially in circles steeped in Beat and hippy culture like Global Tools, whose founding member Ettore Sottsass was a friend of Allen Ginsberg. The term 'global' was also a key notion in *War and Peace in the Global Village* (1968) by Marshall McLuhan, an author whose theories were discussed by Global Tools. A further element accounting for the group's name was the *Whole Earth Catalog* (1968–72).<sup>50</sup> This California-based catalogue listed and advertised numerous environmentally friendly products and tools intended to support a sustainable lifestyle. The publication stands out as one of the most celebrated products of late 1960s California counter-culture. The catalogue was very popular among Italian architects, and Global Tools included a plate depicting manual tools from the *Architecture Maçonnerie* (architectural masonry) section of the *Encyclopédie* in its bulletin.<sup>51</sup> This selection reminded *Casabella's* readers that humanism, progressive culture, and technique were inextricably linked.

## LEARNING TOOLS

In the conclusion of his article 'Radical Story', Franco Raggi introduced Global Tools as a new stage in the experiments of what Ambasz called the Italian 'counter-design' avant-garde.<sup>52</sup> Particularly, he stressed the importance of Global Tools's 'school' model as 'a collective project in continuous transformation and continually subjected to verification', which appeared to them 'to be the instrument best suited for overcoming the impasse of that "secret cultural society" carried by the specialised [architectural] reviews'. Finally, he summarised the goals of the collective:

To make it possible to transmit and expand an experience while leaving it open to eventual developments; to make the results known in a kind of collective laboratory; [to come] out of the dark secrets of the [design] studios to suggest, even in general terms, an alternative to traditional education, but not a [definitive] model.



This interest in anti-authoritarian education and its connection with the ‘development of free individual creativity’ also needs to be discussed.

Education was a central topic for an architectural movement that was, in Piero Frassinelli’s words, ‘born in the occupied university’, as was the case of ‘radical architecture’.<sup>53</sup> The first occupations began in 1963 in Florence and Milan, yet at the beginning of the 1970s the students’ unrest was still a pressing concern. In 1968, the students of the School of Architecture at the University of Milan promoted a series of self-managed didactic activities that re-shaped the teaching programmes, which were partly supported by the head of the department. This experimentation based on teamwork, multidisciplinary research, and social commitment lasted three years, until 1971, when the Italian education minister replaced the department head and expelled the professors involved in what were defined as ‘counter-classes’.<sup>54</sup> The protests that occurred in the aftermath of the minister’s intervention were documented in the magazines *In* and *Casabella*.<sup>55</sup> The occupation and self-management of the School of Architecture at the University of Milan was only one of numerous attempts to convince Italian universities to engage with alternative pedagogy. The first and most important of these others was the ‘Negative University’ of Trento, where the students of the sociology department rewrote the teaching programmes and set up classes contradictory to the institutional ones.<sup>56</sup> On the whole, these were years of extremely vital, if controversial, experimentations with alternative pedagogies, both inside and outside the university. Adolfo Natalini’s assertion that the activity of Superstudio had always been ‘pedagogical’, even before the inception of Global Tools, should be embedded in this context.<sup>57</sup> Aside from Natalini’s appointment as a university teaching assistant, Superstudio’s first didactic endeavour was the S-Space (Separate School for Expanded Conceptual Architecture), founded in 1970 in collaboration with Gruppo 9999. The multidisciplinary workshops of the S-Space were usually held at the Florence night

4.10  
Gruppo 9999, S-Space  
(Separate School for  
Expanded Conceptual  
Architecture) Indoor  
Jam Session No. 1,  
1970, Space Electronic,  
Florence (participating  
students: Massimo De  
Cristoforo, Anna Pia  
Pusteria, Andra Ponzi,  
Vanna Taiti, Paolo  
Demanicus, Margie  
Paganelli, Paola Troise,  
Gianna Scoino).



club Space Electronic. These experiences were intended to be a sensual re-appropriation of space, and they conflated ephemeral projects, performances, electronic music, samples of natural sounds, and videos (fig. 4.10).<sup>58</sup> The S-Space activities culminated in 1971 with the organisation of the international S-Space Mondial [*sic*] Festival, which also featured the participation of the British group Street Farmer and the California collectives Ant Farm and Portola Institute, the latter of which was involved with the *Whole Earth Catalog* (figs. 4.11 and 4.12).<sup>59</sup> The following year, Superstudio published the storyboard for the film *Education in Casabella*. *Education* should have been the second film of the series entitled *Five Fundamental Acts*, which introduced an expanded, holistic concept of architecture. Combining the tone of a fairy tale with a university lecture in information technology and anthropology, the film described the origins of the ‘ritual’ of education, its repressive nature, and, not least, the resulting struggles between the youngest and the eldest generations.<sup>60</sup> When Global Tools was founded, Natalini was teaching at the School of Architecture at the University of Florence. In 1973, he began teaching a series of courses that involved the students in a kind of ethnographic rediscovery of handicraft tools and objects produced in the Tuscan countryside. These courses later developed into the research project entitled ‘Extra-urban Material Culture’.<sup>61</sup> His presence in the preparatory meetings to organise Global Tools’s didactic method can thus be seen as the logical consequence of his previous undertakings. These meetings initially resulted in a document listing a number of ‘tools’ for an *autoeducazione creativa* (self-education through creativity). This first tentative outcome was indebted to both Superstudio’s interest in education and the ‘spontaneous’ method adopted by Dalisi in his workshops in Naples.<sup>62</sup>

Another key reference should be mentioned in order to further clarify Global Tools’s pronounced interest in pedagogy. Its members drew from the idea of a ‘non-school’, theorised by the libertarian Christian thinker Ivan Illich.<sup>63</sup> The collective abandoned the approach related to the *autoeducazione creativa*, drafted in its first internal documents, partly because some Global Tools members intended to follow more closely Illich’s theories of ‘deschooling’. Andrea Branzi was the first to underline the importance of Illich’s writings, which were translated into Italian between 1972 and 1974.<sup>64</sup> At the beginning of

4.11  
Gruppo 9999 and  
Superstudio, Space  
Mondial Festival No. 1:  
Life, Death and Miracles  
of Architecture,  
1971, installation view  
(ground floor), Space  
Electronic, Florence.



the 1970s, the popularity of libertarian pedagogies, which encompassed education, politics, and ecology, was not limited to Illich's theories. For example, Dalisi was informed by Paulo Freire's influential book *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, as was the case of many teachers and 'art workers' (artists, musicians, and actors) engaging with similar experiences in the villages of southern Italy and the suburbs of Milan and Turin. However, if these figures were active in the context of marginalised communities and used creativity as a means of attaining social emancipation, Global Tools's interpretation of Illich's critique of the educational system and society at large was directed toward the 'liberation' of the professional designer from both his/her role in the production system and his/her isolation within a cultivated bourgeois elite.<sup>65</sup>

Viewing the school system as a repressive institution in which pupils were 'lectured' into the passive acceptance of a service (teaching) in lieu of a value (learning), Illich argued for a permanent self-directed education relying on collaborative relationships and autonomous 'learning webs'. In his book *Deschooling Society*, he suggested four different

4.12  
Gruppo 9999 and  
Superstudio, Space  
Mondial Festival No. 1:  
Life, Death and Miracles  
of Architecture, 1971,  
installation view (first  
floor), Space Electronic,  
Florence.

non-institutional approaches promoting access to educational tools: ‘Reference Services to Educational Objects’, ‘Skill Exchange’, ‘Peer-Matching’, and ‘Reference Services to Educators-at-Large’.<sup>66</sup> Slightly modified to suit Global Tools’s needs, these are the same points detailed by Raggi in his article ‘Radical Story’. In the conclusion of his book, Illich read from a reverse perspective the Greek myth of Prometheus (the name literally means ‘fore-thought’), who stole fire/technology from the gods, and his brother Epimetheus (‘after-thought’), who distributed the gods’ good traits to the animals but, in his generosity, forgot to save some for human beings. The theorist illuminated the figure of Epimetheus, who was also Pandora’s husband and custodian of her gifts, defining him as an individual who ‘remains freely convivial with the world while the progenitor of the new world, Prometheus, remains bound and chained by his own creative deed’.<sup>67</sup> Illich’s stress on the need for the ‘rebirth of the Epimethean man’ was in tune with Global Tools’s retreat into the countryside, as well as its fascination with the products of de-skilled labour. Illich’s critique of both modern industrial society and revolutionary ‘Promethean’ humanism appealed to those ‘radical’ designers in search of a less contentious relationship with society than that proposed by Marxism.

## TODAY’S TOOLS

Global Tools emerged as a response to the crisis of ‘radical architecture’, which paradoxically coincided with the acclaim of ‘radical architecture’ in New York in 1972. Simultaneously, the collective engaged directly and indirectly with broader issues, including the political, cultural, and economic situation generated by the oil crisis. Global Tools’s focus on collaborative didactic, manual labour, the body, and the Epimethean man can hardly be fully comprehended without the specificities of early 1970s Italian society. Nonetheless, the group’s experience provides valuable insights into more recent artistic practices, including current attempts to merge art and design methodologies, as well as artistic endeavours predicated on the establishment of collaborative networks and convivial practices. A good example is Sarah Pierce and Annie Fletcher’s *Paraeducation Department* project, begun in Rotterdam in 2004, which represents a flexible platform for the communal exploration of the creative and political potential of education. Anton Vidokle’s *unitednationplaza* and *Night School* projects, originally intended for Manifesta 6 in Cyprus (2006) but never realised there, were both similarly developed as temporary art schools. The meetings for Vidokle’s projects took place in Berlin and New York with the collaboration of Boris Groys, Jalal Toufic, Liam Gillick, Martha Rosler, Natascha Sadr Haghghian, Nikolaus Hirsch, Tirdad Zolghadr, and Walid Raad.<sup>68</sup> In the late 1990s, artists J. Morgan Puett and Mark Dion founded the rural community *Mildred’s Lane* in Beach Lake, Pennsylvania. This community’s pedagogical strategies address issues relating to the ‘environment, systems of labo[u]r, forms of dwelling, clothing apparatuses, and inventive domesticating; all of which are form[s] [of] an ethics of comportment—and are embodied in *workstyles*’.<sup>69</sup>

Finally, it is possible to mention the artist Fernando García-Dory's collaborative project *Inland/Campo Adentro*, which began in 2010 and is structured as a kind of anarchic para-institution that aims to support cultural and social change in the use of land. *Inland/Campo Adentro* promotes activities in specific rural locations, opens branch offices, artists' residencies, and schools for craftsmen and peasants. The project connects associations and activists from different nations, challenging a stereotypical vision of the rural, and the current neo-pastoral trends that go with it, by fostering opportunities to think bottom-up about self-generated economies.

These participative works partly originate in the reassessment of pedagogical methodologies elaborated by the libertarian thinkers who emerged in the 1970s. In particular, they confirm the current relevance of a holistic/ecological approach to art practice and design, which was explored by Global Tools. Today, just as in the 1970s, these practices understand the aesthetic as a component of a broader ethical investigation that relates education to the pursuit of happiness. The art historian Fabio Belloni has recently defined 1970s projects akin to Global Tools as pursuing 'eudemonia'.<sup>70</sup> This term can probably be used also to describe these more recent endeavours, which merge pragmatic and visionary aspects. After all, as the philosopher and historian of art Wladyslaw Tatarkiewicz wrote about happiness in 1966: 'Imagination often means as much as, or more than experience, anticipation means as much as, or more than the present with all its reality. And thus happiness is also determined by things which never were and never will be.'<sup>71</sup>



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All references in *Courtauld Books Online* are hyperlinked. To navigate to a footnote, click on the reference number in the body of the text. To return back to the main text, click on the number at the beginning of the footnote.

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1. Archizoom Associati included Andrea Branzi, Gilberto Corretti, Paolo Deganello, Massimo Morozzi, Dario Bartolini, and Lucia Bartolini. The editorial team of *Casabella* was composed of the magazine's editor-in-chief Alessandro Mendini, Carlo Guenzi, Enrico Bona, Franco Raggi, and Luciano Boschini. Gruppo 9999 included Giorgio Birelli, Carlo Caldini, Fabrizio Fiumi, and Paolo Galli. Superstudio was formed by Adolfo Natalini, Piero Frassinelli, Alessandro Magris, Roberto Magris, and Cristiano Toraldo di Francia, and in the 1970s Alessandro Poli was also included as a collaborator. The UFO's were composed of Carlo Bachi, Lapo Binazzi, Patrizia Cammeo, Riccardo Forese, and Titti Maschietto. The group Zziggurat included Alberto Breschi, Giuliano Fiorenzuoli, Roberto Pecchioli, Nanni Cargiaghe, and Gigi Gavini.
2. Germano Celant, 'Radical Architecture', in Emilio Ambasz (ed.), *Italy: The New Domestic Landscape; Achievements and Problems of Italian Design* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1972), pp. 380–82. Published in *In* in 1971, the first version of Celant's text did not yet use the term 'radical architecture'.
3. Ugo La Pietra, 'L'architettura radicale è morta: viva l'architettura radicale', *Spazio Arte* 10/11 (June–October 1977), p. 2.
4. Andrea Branzi, introduction to *Architettura 'radicale'*, by Paola Navone and Bruno Orlandoni (Milan: Documenti di Casabella, 1974), pp. 7–15.
5. Peter Lang, 'Suicidal Desires', in Peter Lang and William Menking (eds.), *Superstudio: Life Without Objects* (Milan: Skira, 2003), pp. 31–51.
6. Pier Vittorio Aureli, *The Project of Autonomy: Politics and Architecture Within and Against Capitalism* (Amsterdam: Buell Centre, 2008); Amit Wolf, 'Discorsi per Immagini: Of Political and Architectural Experimentation', *California Italian Studies* 3:2 (2012), eScholarship, <http://www.escholarship.org/uc/item/8dgd290qj>.
7. Amit Wolf, 'Superurbefimero n. 7: Umberto Eco's *Semiologia* and the Architectural Rituals of the UFO', *California Italian Studies* 2:2 (2011), eScholarship, <http://www.escholarship.org/uc/item/8q61n35f>.
8. Milco Carboni and Tim Powell, 'Sconfinamenti', in Gianni Pettea (ed.), *Radicals: Architettura e design 1960/75* (Venice: La Biennale di Venezia, 1996), pp. 42–43; Martin Van Schaik and Otakar Máčel (eds.), *Exit Utopia: Architectural Provocations, 1956–1976* (Munich: Prestel, 2005).
9. This essay was completed in June 2014, prior to the publication of the first book devoted to Global Tools, Valerio Borghonovo and Silvia Franceschini (eds.), *Global Tools, 1973–1975* (Istanbul: SALT/Garanti Kültür AŞ, 2015). Aside from a few brief accounts discussing Global Tools's activities, such as Andrea Branzi, *Il design italiano, 1964–2000*, rev. ed. (Milan: Electa, 2008), pp. 166–68, few scholars have focused on the work of the collective. Two important sources are Catharine Rossi, 'Crafting Modern Design in Italy, from Post-War to Postmodernism' (PhD thesis, Royal College of Art, 2011), pp. 391–413; and Marion Arnoux and Jean Baptiste Dardel, 'La Global Tools: Fin de l'utopie radicale', *Azimuths* 30 (2008): pp. 68–81.
10. Tommaso Trini, 'Masaccio a UFO', *Domus* 466 (September 1968), pp. 55–56; Gianni Pettea, *L'Anarchitetto: Portrait of The Artist as a Young Architect* (1973; repr., Rimini: Guaraldi, 2010).
11. For a similar approach, see Barbara Kamprad (ed.), *Design als Postulat am Beispiel italien: Katalog und Anthologie zur Ausstellung im IDZ Berlin* (Berlin: Internationales Design Zentrum, 1973); Luca Palazzoli (ed.), *Gli abiti dell'imperatore* (Milan: Galleria Luca Palazzoli, 1974); Giovanni M. Accame and Carlo Guenzi (eds.), *Avanguardie e cultura popolare* (Bologna: Galleria d'arte moderna, 1975).
12. These films have been recently recovered and were shown at the Graham Foundation's exhibition *Environments and Counter Environments: "Italy: The New Domestic Landscape"; MoMA 1972* (2013), curated by Peter Lang, Luca Molinari, and Mark Wasituta; Emilio Ambasz, 'Environments: Introduction', in *Italy: The New Domestic Landscape*, pp. 137–38.
13. William Menking, 'The Revolt of the Object', in *Superstudio: Life Without Objects*, pp. 53–63.
14. Celant, 'Radical Architecture', pp. 380–382.
15. Rossi, 'Crafting Modern Design in Italy', pp. 350–56.
16. Menking, 'The Revolt of the Object', p. 60; 'Interview with Andrea Branzi', by Olympia Kazi, in Beatriz Colomina and Craig Buckley (eds.), *Clip Stamp Fold: The Radical Architecture of Little Magazines* (Barcellona: Actar, 2010), pp. 249–51.
17. Peter Lang and William Menking, 'Only Architecture Will Be Our Lives', in *Superstudio: Life Without Objects*, p. 25; Adolfo Natalini, 'Com'era ancora bella l'architettura nel 1966...', *Spazio Arte* 4 (June–October 1977), p. 7.
18. Andrea Branzi, 'Strategia dei tempi lunghi', *Casabella* 370 (October 1972); p. 13. All of the quotations from *Casabella* use the magazine's original English translation.
19. Andrea Branzi, 'Architettura disegnata', *Data* 23 (October–November 1976), pp. 72–73. Among the practitioners of *Tendenza* were Carlo Aymonino, Ezio Bonfanti, Giorgio Grassi, and Massimo Scolari. These architects were informed by Aldo Rossi's and Manfredo Tafuri's theories. The movement was largely present at the XV Milan Triennale in 1973.
20. Navone and Orlandoni, *Architettura 'radicale'*, pp. 82–83. In 1973 all Global Tools's members participated in the large exhibition entitled *Contemporanea* in Rome; they were included in a section curated by Mendini; Bruno Mantura (ed.), *Contemporanea. Roma, Parcheggio di Villa Borghese*, 11.1973/2.1974 (Rome: Incontri internazionali d'arte, 1973), pp. 289–332.

21. 'Interview with Alessandro Mendini', by Olympia Kazi, in *Clip Stamp Fold*, pp. 389–92.
22. Minutes of the Global Tools meeting, Milan, 22–23 June 1974, Riccardo Dalisi Archive, Naples.
23. Franco Raggi, 'Radical Story: The History and Aim of Negative Thinking in Radical Design since 1968: The Avant-garde Role Between Disciplinary Evasion and Commitment', *Casabella* 382 (October 1973): p. 45. Translation in the magazine slightly modified by the authors.
24. 'Global Tools: Documento 1', *Casabella* 377 (May 1973): p. 4; 'Global Tools: Programma 1975; Falegnameria storica', *Global Tools* 1 (June 1974): n.p.
25. The 'Communication' group included Guido Arra, Ugo La Pietra, Gianni Pettena, and Franco Vaccari. See *Global Tools* 1 (June 1974): n.p.; and Franco Vaccari, *Viaggio sul Reno, settembre 1974* (Brescia: Nuovi Strumenti, 1974).
26. Minutes of the Global Tools meeting, Milan, 22–23 June 1974, Riccardo Dalisi Archive, Naples; Natalini, 'Com'era ancora bella l'architettura nel 1966...', p. 10.
27. See, for instance, the sections on 1970s Italy in Gerd-Rainer Horn, *The Spirit of '68: Rebellion in Western Europe and North America, 1956–1976* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 77–92 and pp. 111–117.
28. Robert Lumley, *States of Emergency: Cultures of Revolt in Italy from 1968 to 1978* (New York: Verso, 1990).
29. Daniele Ganser, *NATO's Secret Armies: Operation GLADIO and Terrorism in Western Europe* (London: Frank Cass, 2005).
30. For example, this is how the term is used in Louis Dumont, *Homo aequalis: Genèse et épanouissement de l'idéologie économique* (Paris: Gallimard, 1977). See also Clifford Geertz, 'Ideology as a Cultural System' (1964), in *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (London: Hutchinson, 1975), pp. 193–233.
31. Piero Frassinelli and Adolfo Natalini, *Superstudio: La moglie di Lot e la coscienza di Zeno* (Venice: La Biennale di Venezia, 1978); Lara Vinca Masini (ed.), *Utopia e crisi dell'antinitura: Momenti e intenzioni architettoniche in Italia—Topologia e morfogenesi* (Venice: La Biennale di Venezia, 1978), pp. 35–39.
32. For Gramsci on folklore, see Alberto Maria Cirese, *Intelletuali, folklore e istinto di classe* (Turini: Einaui, 1976), pp. 67–104.
33. Antonio D'Auria, 'L'ideologia artigiana', *Casabella* 389 (May 1974): pp. 10–12; Marco Dezzi Bardeschi, 'Il solino di Golia: Per una psicanalisi dell'avanguardia; Note a margine della mostra "Avanguardia e cultura popolare" Bologna 1975', *Casabella* 402 (June 1975): pp. 6–7.
34. Alberto Maria Cirese, 'Per una nozione scientifica di arte popolare', in Francesca Frattini (ed.), *Arte popolare moderna* (Bologna: Cappelli Editore, 1966), pp. 11–21; and Catharine Rossi, 'Crafting a Design Counterculture: The Pastoral and the Primitive in Italian Radical Design, 1972–1976', in Grace Lees-Maffei and Kjetil Fallan (eds.), *Made in Italy: Rethinking a Century of Italian Design* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), pp. 145–60.
35. 'Conversazione fra Binazzi, Branzi, Celant, La Pietra, Mendini, Natalini, Raggi, Sottsass Jr.', *Global Tools* 1 (June 1974): n. p.
36. Andrea Branzi, 'Avanguardie e produzione intellettuale di massa', in Accame and Guenzi, *Avanguardie e cultura popolare*, p. 52. See also Michelangelo Sabatino, *Pride in Modesty: Modernist Architecture and the Vernacular Tradition in Italy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010).
37. Franco Raggi, 'China 14–30 May 1974: A Traveller's Report', *Casabella* 400 (April 1975): pp. 32–45.
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