THE PRIZE OF SUCCESS: THE SWISS DESIGN AWARDS AND THE CLOSED NETWORKS OF PROMOTION

Jonas Berthod

[transcript] Design

Jonas Berthod
The Prize of Success

Design | Volume 64

THE PRIZE OF SUCCESS: THE SWISS DESIGN AWARDS AND THE CLOSED NETWORKS OF PROMOTION

Jonas Berthod

[transcript] Design

INTRODUC-
TION

1.1 A closing and an opening

On the evening of 18 October 2002, a crowd assembled in the foyer of the Museum für Gestaltung in Zurich (MfGZ).[1] These people had been invited to the opening of *Swiss Design 2002: Netzwerke / Réseaux / Networks*, an exhibition organised by the Museum in collaboration with the Federal Office of Culture (FOC) to present the work of the young designers who had just won the highest design prize in Switzerland, the Swiss Design Awards (SDA). It was the end of a week of nice autumnal weather and the mood was festive. The guests – mostly designers, members of the cultural scene and representatives of the Swiss government – were undoubtedly looking forward to the *apéro riche* that was about to be served. But the sense of anticipation in the air went beyond the promise of canapés. This was not just a regular exhibition opening: the guests had come to witness a special event that had been years in the making. Shortly after 7:30 p.m., the speeches began. Patrizia Crivelli, the secretary of the FOC's Design Service and one of the curators, announced:

An exhibition opening is always – or hopefully almost always – a nice thing. For us – the Federal Office of Culture – this evening is doubly important and joyful: it is both the closing point and the starting point of a major project. On the one hand, it marks the end of the reorganisation of design funding at the federal level and its implementation. On the other hand, it is the starting point of this new means of support, which aims to be contemporary and up to date.[2]

1 A list of the abbreviations used in this book is provided in the appendix.

2 "Eine Ausstellungseröffnung ist ja eigentlich immer – oder hoffentlich doch meistens – eine schöne Sache. Dieser Abend ist für uns – das Bundesamt für Kultur – doppelt wichtig und freudig: Ist er doch Schluss- und Startpunkt eines grossen Projektes gleichzeitig. Einerseits Schlusspunkt der Reorganisation der Designförderung auf Bundesebene und Implementierung derselben. Andererseits Startpunkt dieser neuen Förderung, die den Anspruch hat zeitgemäss und aktuell zu sein." Crivelli 2002b.

The evening marked a symbolic turning point in federal design promotion in Switzerland. This vernissage was the end of a five-year-long process to bring the SDA in line with new professional practices and the needs of designers. In fact, *Swiss Design 2002* represented the most significant changes to the SDA since their inauguration in 1918.

In the introduction to the *Swiss Design 2002* exhibition catalogue, Crivelli noted that the FOC was adopting a role "as a node in the so-called 'design network'".[3] In other words, the SDA were to get much closer to the field and become a member of the scene. For the FOC, taking such a proactive position was unprecedented, and it led to longstanding changes in Swiss design promotion. Having become closer to practitioners, the SDA soon grew controlled by a small section of the design scene. Graphic design was particularly affected. The discipline became controlled by designers stemmed from a new generation of graphic designers, a "new school" that had emerged because of professional changes that took place in the 1990s. These newcomers, who at the time were outsiders to the design establishment, would soon play an increasing role within the SDA, so much so that their generation would define the awards. In this sense, the diagram featured in the catalogue of the 2002 exhibition depicting the "Swiss Design Connection" augured the importance of these designers and their networks for the next two decades (Fig. 1.1).

3 Crivelli 2002a, 170.

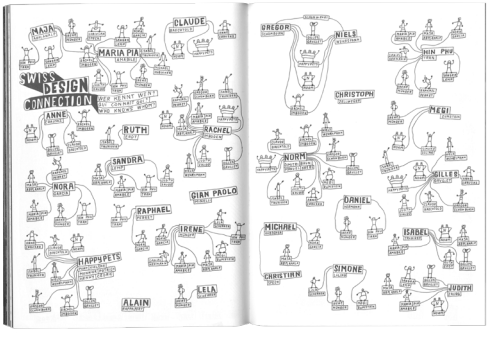


Fig. 1.1 "Swiss Design Connection" in the 2002 catalogue showing who knew whom amongst the 2002 winners. Illustration by Bastien Aubry. Design: Elektrosmog and Julia Born.

Ten years after the SDA were relaunched, I graduated from the *Ecole Cantonale d'Art de Lausanne* (University of Art and Design Lausanne, ECAL) with a Bachelor's in graphic design. Along many others in my cohort, I did not hesitate and immediately submitted my graduation project to the SDA. (Quite deservedly, I did not win.) During my studies, I had followed the annual SDA selection closely. The graphic design that won represented a gold standard – albeit one that was relevant only for a certain portion of the field that I thought represented the élite. I respected the design language of the works that won and attempted to emulate it. In my eyes and those of my fellow students, the SDA epitomised a benchmark in terms of recognition. Winning was a sure sign that you were amongst the best designers in the field, which in my mind was synonymous with a successful career. I also knew many designers previously awarded: most of my teachers had either won or served on the jury. For most designers of my generation and of similar training, the SDA were thus a barometer of critical acclaim. They played the role of an arbiter ruling over what we perceived to be the absolute best graphic design in Switzerland.

However, the SDA had not always played this role. In the 1990s, they had fallen out of favour. Consequently, their relaunch in 2002 was not simply an attempt to bring them up to date with new practices, but also addressed the harsh criticism to which they were subjected in the specialist press, who felt that the prizes did not represent the design scene accurately enough. Judging by the SDA's presence on the graphic design scene today, their reorganisation was a success. Yet despite their influence, the SDA have been the subject of surprisingly little scholarship in the past decades. The only significant publication on the topic was commissioned by the FOC for the 80th anniversary of the SDA in 1997.[4] Entitled *Made in Switzerland*, it situated the awards historically and critically, and helped the Design Service to formulate the SDA's 2002 relaunch.[5] The competition's catalogues between 1989 and 2011 and the exhibition documents, blog posts and sporadic publications thereafter sometimes included self-reflective texts, but

stopped short of offering a critical or historical discussion of the awards and their reorganisation. The effects of the relaunch itself were not analysed, not even on the centenary of federal design promotion in 2017.

4 Crivelli *et al.* 1997.
5 Crivelli & Imboden 1997, 86; FOC 1999a.

This book sets to correct the record by analysing the 2002 relaunch of the SDA in relation to changes in the design profession, and by offering insights into its aftermath. It revolves around a central question: what was the effect of the SDA 2002 relaunch on the field of Swiss graphic design? To answer it, I offer two perspectives and a series of hypotheses. On the one hand, I analyse the SDA relaunch from the perspective of federal design promotion. After falling out of favour, the awards now regained a prestigious status. I argue that they succeeded in doing so thanks to the type of work they promoted and to the visual language they used to communicate. There was also a shift in design patronage. The type of work awarded evolved, which contributed to the creation of a design scene located in the "cultural" sector. This shift in design promotion took place in parallel with the emergence of a new professional identity for graphic designers, to which I refer as a professional shift. The latter opens my second perspective. In the years preceding the relaunch of the SDA, a "new school" of designers emerged. These no longer identified with their predecessors' models, and therefore developed their own. I suggest that these designers, most of them from the same generation, used the promotional shift to support their new definition of the profession. They leveraged the awards for their own purposes and redefined them to suit their image, which had a dual influence on their success. Not only did they win the awards more often than others, but they were also able to change the awards' definition of "good design" so that it aligned with their practices. The SDA thus became both proof and harbingers of success.

1.2 The Swiss Design Awards

1.2.1 Organisation

Today, the SDA are overseen by the FOC in Bern. The 2009 law on the promotion of culture makes the FOC one of two instances of cultural policy for the Confederation. The other is the Swiss Arts Council Pro Helvetia, a public-law foundation based in Zurich which promotes Swiss culture abroad and supports cultural exchanges between regions.[6] The FOC operates within the Federal Department of Home Affairs (FDHA) and is responsible for federal cultural policy. Its activities are broad and are separated into sections that are themselves subdivided into different services.[7] Sections have assignments such as contributing to the preservation of historical monuments, managing museums and libraries, and supporting music education. Others promote, preserve and transmit cultural diversity. The Cultural Creativity section manages the SDA. It supports artistic creation in the visual arts (including architecture), design, literature, the performing arts and music. It does so with four aims: encouraging exceptional cultural creation, awarding cultural actors, promoting these actors, and increasing the general public's awareness of the cultural scene. In this book, I use the term "design promotion" to refer to these four activities when they apply to design. Two of the Cultural Creativity section's most direct tools for promotion are purchasing works and awarding a series of prizes. The FOC has full powers over the awards in terms of setting the rules and the monetary value of the prize given out.[8] Besides design, other prizes cover the fine arts, music, literature, theatre, dance and film. All of them operate independently but similarly to the SDA. They are organised by their respective services (Art, Design, Literature, Dance and Theatre, and Music) and are currently gathered under the banner of the Swiss Culture Awards.[9]

6 Federal Chancellery of Switzerland 2009. For a full discussion of Pro Helvetia's history, see Hauser *et al.* 2010.
7 Federal Chancellery of Switzerland 2020.
8 Federal Chancellery of Switzerland 2016.
9 See https://www.schweizerkulturpreise.ch/ (accessed 1 April 2021).

Submitting work to the SDA is free of charge, which is rare for design competitions. The awards give out prizes of CHF 25,000 to approximately 17 designers every year, which is an unparalleled sum of money both in Switzerland and internationally. They are given on a portfolio basis, meaning that applicants are neither required to present a project proposal, nor are they means-tested. Dossiers can be submitted independently or as a collaboration with others. The type of work accepted covers a wide range of practices, including graphic design, products and objects, fashion and textile design, photography, scenography and mediation and, since 2022, media and interaction design and design research.[10] Designers are allowed to submit their work eight times, and can win a maximum of three times. The jury of the competition is composed of the seven members of an extra-parliamentary commission, the Federal Design Commission (FDC),[11] and the experts invited by the same. From a legal perspective, the members of the FDC are appointed by the Federal Council with a four-year mandate that can be renewed three times.[12] In practice, the FDC or the FOC usually put forward potential members; the Federal Council then follows this advice and nominates them. This means that members of the FDC can preserve continuity in the commission's politics, even as its members rotate. The competition takes place over two rounds.[13] In the first, the jury selects applicants based on a digital portfolio. The number of designers who make it to the first round is not fixed and has ranged between 33 and 60 in the past 30 years. These designers are then invited to display their work in an exhibition which serves as the second round of the competition. The jury assesses the works in person and selects the winners, who receive the substantial monetary prize. The exhibition is usually supported by an events programme and a publication in one form or another, which aims to help designers connect with the industry.[14]

10 FOC 2019.
11 The FDC was called the Federal Commission of the Applied Arts (FCAA) until 2002.
12 Federal Chancellery of Switzerland 1998, Art. 8*g* and 8*i*; Crivelli 1999b.
13 FOC 2019.
14 Münch & Staub 2005. Needless to say, 2020 was an unusual year during which the exhibition did not take place. Because the jury could not assess the competition, the designers selected for the first round each received CHF 10,000. Furthermore, the FOC spent an additional CHF 100,000 in direct purchases for the Federal Art Collection.

1.2.2 The power of the Swiss Design Awards

The SDA are influential on the relatively small scene of Swiss design, both in terms of reputation and financial impact (which some designers recognise as being equally important).[15] While the awards are not followed widely by the general population, the SDA exhibition, which is usually organised during Art Basel, benefits from a high footfall.[16] Winning means gaining visibility and sometimes accessing a market that was previously out of reach. It can also help to secure teaching assignments. Finally, the substantial monetary prize allows designers to undertake independent projects, work on commissions with small budgets, or simply pay for the costs of launching or running a studio. It momentarily frees designers from commercial requirements and allows them to focus purely on advancing the design discourse.[17] In summary, the SDA wield consequential power on the design scene that goes beyond their impact on individual designers, and includes funding, visibility and connections as well as an impact on careers and practices.

15 Berthod *et al.* 2020b; Windlin quoted in Coen 2005, 58.
16 More than 11,000 visitors saw the SDA over a single week in 2018. Comparatively, the Museum für Gestaltung in Zurich welcomed approximately 40,000 visitors in the year 2017. Fiore 2019, 6; Hellmüller & Wildhaber 2018.
17 Berthod *et al.* 2020b.

Though the SDA give out money, their power is not just economic. Winning also means getting access to symbolic capital. There is thus an ambiguous relationship at the core of the competition. The connection between the sociological meaning of awards and the economy they create means that they have been studied by scholars across these fields. James English, a literary scholar specialising in sociology and economics, has explained that the etymological roots of the term "prize" point to notions of money and exchange – although an award is also a "gift" that cannot be purchased, or else it would void its symbolic value.[18] By applying the theories of the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu on symbolic capital to awards, English argued that they are part of a hidden "economy of prestige" (others have called it an "economy of esteem") in which individuals compete for recognition.[19] The sociologist Pierre-Michel Menger referred to the ubiquity of "comparison tournaments"

in creative work, whose presence is unmatched in any other type of career (excepted sports) because it is characterised by uncertainty.[20] Similarly, the economist Bruno S. Frey has argued that awards are particularly important in the cultural field, because prosperity is rarely recognised as a marker of critical success.[21] Disciplines such as graphic design give special importance to prizes because these produce status, generate prestige and bring recognition within a peer group – characteristics that are otherwise elusive in this field.[22] In other words, the SDA create a hierarchy in a discipline where social positions are uncertain. Additionally, they define the parameters of "good" design and thereby influence its production.

18 English 2005, 6–7.
19 Brennan & Pettit 2004; English 2014, 121–124.
20 Menger 2009, 10–11, 418.
21 Frey 2006, 380; Frey & Gallus 2014, 3.
22 Frey 2006, 380; Frey & Neckermann 2008, 199.

It is understood that there is no consensus on what constitutes "good" design. It is defined differently across fragmented scenes which each have clear ideas and either spoken or unspoken rules governing their outputs.[23] At any given time, different schools of thought have existed in Switzerland, often at regional level, and this has created heated debates.[24] Design competitions did not escape these discussions. In her research on poster awards and exhibitions in the 1940s and 1950s, the art and design historian Sara Zeller notably outlined how the competition *Die besten Plakate/Les meilleures affiches* (The Best [Swiss] Posters) was ruled by specific preferences to the extent that it became a kind of "good taste police" on the design scene.[25] This also applied to the promotion of fine arts. The art historian Gioia Dal Molin's study of governmental and non-governmental fine arts promotion in Switzerland between 1950 and 1980 offers insights into the evolution of the Swiss Art Award from what was seen primarily as financial support in the 1950s and 1960s to what became a prize in the 1970s.[26] In her research, Dal Molin outlines the impact of changing the criteria to define what art (and which artists) should be supported, and discusses the debates that have surrounded the mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion of art promotion at a federal level.[27] Design and art

promotion and their juries have thus played a defining role on the national scene.

23 Bourdieu 2016 (1992).
24 Klein & Bischler 2021.
25 Zeller 2021a; Zeller 2021b.
26 Dal Molin 2018, 324–330.
27 Dal Molin 2018, 328.

The question, then, of who defines "good" design is as important as how it is defined. The SDA bestow an unparalleled amount of symbolic capital, and so they play a significant role in determining what Bourdieu calls the rules of the field.[28] This definition happens in a loop. The jury – which includes graphic designers – awards certain practitioners whose work aligns with the jury's ideals; these winners then assume the role of paragons on the scene and thereby confirm the jury's status.[29] As English has argued, this does not imply any cynicism on the part of the jury members, but neither does it mean that they are beyond economic or self-interest:

In fact, the two views are merely obverse and inverse of the same fundamental misconception of the relation between habitus and field, a relation which normally secures a "good fit" between one's genuine inclinations, one's designated role, and one's best opportunities for advancement.[30]

28 Bourdieu 1977; 1993.
29 Bourdieu 2016 (1979).
30 English 2005, 122.

Over time, the jury's interests evolved and so did the SDA's definition of "good" design. From the 1980s onwards, graphic designers increasingly separated their practice into two fields, broadly categorised as commercial (or industrial) and cultural (including authorial, self-initiated and/or experimental). This had an impact on the SDA's choice of awardees.

Before the 1980s, practitioners worked indiscriminately across both cultural and commercial fields. Many of the most emblematic examples of graphic design history

are deeply embedded in advertising and industry. Practitioners still study Cassandre's advertisements for a fortified wine, Piet Zwart's catalogue selling cables, Herbert Matter's tourism brochures and Josef Müller-Brockmann's campaigns for public safety alongside their work for opera companies, theatres and art exhibitions.[31] The corporate identity work carried out in the 1960s and 1970s for multinationals such as Olivetti, Lufthansa and Knoll is analysed by academics and admired by designers, who rush to buy facsimiles or coffee table books on these programmes.[32] From the 1980s onwards, however, the scene became increasingly divided. Designers belonged either to the cultural or to the commercial sector.

31 See for instance Jubert 2005; Hollis 2005 (2001); 2006; Meggs & Purvis 2006.
32 Brook, Shaughnessy & Schrauwen 2014; Fornari & Turrini 2022; Shaughnessy & Brook 2014.

The terms "commercial" and "cultural" are imprecise and disputed. As one of the designer I spoke to put it, a poster for a theatre is still an advertisement; he went on to say that it serves the same basic function as yogurt packaging.[33] Yet as one of his colleagues also argued, a museum does not rely on the sale of a catalogue to fund its activities, and this gives the designer more leeway to experiment with its format and design language.[34] Because the distinction between commercial and cultural design is not clear, it can be difficult to assign a project to either category. I have been using an admittedly weak test to indicate whether design is more likely to be cultural or commercial. The test cannot rely on visual codes, because the visual language of "cultural" design often trickles down into commercial practices, and certain clients knowingly use a cultural or experimental appearance to sell their products.[35] Instead, it focuses on the client-designer relationship. If the designer is subordinate to the client's marketing imperatives, then the outcome is likely to be "commercial" design, whereas if the designer is able to shape contents in a way that is relatively free from the need to market a product – in other words, if the client does not rely on visual communication to sell it – then the outcome is more likely to be considered as "cultural", "conceptual" or "experimental" design.

33 Party 2021.
34 Gavillet 2017.

35 Frank 1997; Pountain & Robins 2000; Nancarrow & Nancarrow 2007. I once witnessed this trickle-down effect at first hand in a "commercial" branding agency in London who had prepared a mood board for the visual identity of a large corporate client. The board was made of references from the most left-field "cultural" projects that had come out recently. The final identity for the client featured many watered down, cherry-picked design elements from the mood board, in effect giving it the appearance of a cutting-edge proposal without it being supported by a strong design concept.

To add to the confusion, the dichotomy between commerce and culture tends to apply to the designers' professional identity as opposed to their work. Those who see themselves as part of the cultural sector often have commercial clients as well, though they rarely feature the latter prominently in their portfolios, conferences or monographs. Yet while these terms are imprecise, they are used by designers, are immediately understood, and are therefore still useful. Though imperfect, this distinction reflects the reality of the design field. This was also evident in the SDA's new approach: these prizes became synonymous with the cultural scene. From the late 1990s onwards, the SDA exclusively recognised graphic design that had been commissioned by cultural clients or that was the product of self-initiated projects; this then led to a redefinition of what "good" design was supposed to be.

1.3 Design promotion as a lens

1.3.1 Reading between the lines of promotion

In this book, I look at the field of graphic design in Switzerland through the lens of the SDA. This perspective is therefore intrinsically partial in all senses of the term: it is incomplete, biased and reflects the jury's preferences. Nevertheless, it enables me to understand how the field was determined, what type of design came to be defined as the "best" and how, and why certain professional models were put forward to the detriment of others. To avoid a distorted perspective through the selective lens of the SDA, I must read between the lines of design promotion. I will therefore first address several issues pertaining to its historiography.

Today, the SDA are open both to anyone residing in Switzerland and to Swiss nationals worldwide. This flexible approach is noteworthy because 20th century art, architecture and design promotion were often tied

to notions of national identity and cultural diplomacy. As the design historians Kjetil Fallan, Grace Lees-Maffei and many others have shown, design exhibitions and competitions were used to mythologise national identities in Belgium, Brazil, the Netherlands and Scandinavia among others.[36] Switzerland was no exception. Pro Helvetia used culture as a form of spiritual national defence (more commonly known in the country as *geistige Landesverteidigung*), while poster competitions and national and international travelling exhibitions were used either to consolidate a cohesive national identity or as forms of soft diplomacy.[37] However, from the mid-1960s onwards, these concepts lost their relevance.[38] The name of the Swiss Design Awards might admittedly imply a relationship to a national label – "Swiss Graphic Design"[39] – even if recent discussions on Swiss graphic design history have concluded that a monolithic interpretation of that label does not reflect reality.[40] By the time the SDA were relaunched in 2002, the relation to a national label was no longer part of the discussion. Today, despite their name, notions of national style or identity are no longer discussed or considered in the SDA.

36 Fallan 2007; Fallan & Lees-Maffei 2016; Meroz 2016; Meroz & Gimeno-Martínez 2016; Rezende 2016; Serulus 2018; Teilmann-Lock 2016.
37 Maurer 2010; Milani 2010; Mohler 2018; Zeller 2018; 2021a; 2021c; Zeller 2021d, 71–95.
38 Rüegg 2010, 158.
39 Früh *et al.* 2021. For a discussion of the label and an overview of the literature, see Lzicar & Fornari 2016.
40 Klein & Bischler 2021; Lzicar & Fornari 2016; Lzicar & Unger 2016.

Nevertheless, the semi-national framework implied by a study of the SDA such as I am undertaking here is not without relevance. Inspired by the design historian Anna Calvera, scholars have been arguing for a historiography that simultaneously encompasses local, national and global contexts.[41] Although I here analyse the graphic design that has been awarded prizes in a national competition, I follow the example of those scholars in that I approach my topic, not from the perspective of the nation state, but instead by focusing on the local and regional scenes of design promotion that are in fact well-connected despite a certain degree of fragmentation. My approach is thus in line with that of the research project *Swiss Graphic Design and Typography Revisited*, which aimed to revisit how Swiss design history was

constructed and disseminated, and which has also provided me with a framework for my research.[42]

41 Calvera 2005; Gimmi 2014, 9; Lees-Maffei & Fallan 2016; Lees-Maffei & Houze 2010, 467–509; Meroz & Gimeno-Martínez 2016; Serulus 2018, 25–27; Woodham 2005; Yagou 2015.

42 *Swiss Graphic Design and Typography Revisited* was funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation as part of its Sinergia programme and ran from 2016 to 2020. Its results are published in Barbieri *et al.* 2021, Bischler *et al.* 2021, Fornari *et al.* 2021a and Kaufmann, Schneemann & Zeller 2021.

The SDA promoted what their jury decided were the best examples of graphic design. Narrowing this selection further, the awards' increasing focus on self-initiated, cultural work automatically excluded practitioners working on commercial projects as well as those whom the graphic designer Cornel Windlin described somewhat disparagingly as the "bread-and-butter" type, namely jobbing designers.[43] My analysis of design promotion therefore meant approaching a doubly narrow selection of Swiss graphic design, which presents three primary challenges. First, the mythopoeic nature of the awards contributed to a process described by the historian Hayden White as the narrativization of the field.[44] Secondly, the SDA have tended to obscure design histories existing outside institutionalised practices (such as those promoted by the SDA).[45] Thirdly, as the design historian Victor Margolin has argued, the awards' aesthetic judgement resulted in the canonisation of certain designers and the disappearance of others, despite the fact that the latter may have played an important role in the development of the profession.[46] By singling out artefacts for their exceptional qualities, the SDA hierarchised the field and provided the basis for heroic figures and a canon to emerge.[47] This fabrication of a neat narrative has hindered the creation of what the design historian Martha Scotford has termed a "messy history" that would instead include less recognised figures.[48]

43 Barbieri 2021a.
44 Fallan 2007; White 1980.
45 Julier 1997, 2–3.
46 Margolin 2014 (1994).
47 Triggs 2009, 329.
48 Scotford 2014 (1994).

All the same, I cannot exclude the artefacts and their designers from the history of the 2002 relaunch; as the design historian Catherine Moriarty has pointed out, "design histories without designers remain rare".[49]

Nevertheless, I want to avoid the "objectification, personification, and glorification" that have characterised the last 50 years of Swiss graphic design history.[50] A framework grounded in the sociology of art enabled me to avoid these pitfalls, notably by situating design within networks. From the 1960s onwards, Raymonde Moulin pioneered the idea that art was the product of cooperation between actors.[51] Later on, she expanded on the role played by generational, affinity-based or aesthetically grounded networks, which she argued were more important in the cultural world than in any other.[52] In the 1980s, Howard S. Becker developed the notion of "art worlds" which encompassed all the actors involved in the production of art. His ideas, which have been since confirmed in countless empirical studies,[53] can be applied equally to the design world, which is made up of networks of people whose cooperation produces "the kind of [design] that the [design] world is noted for".[54] His work influenced Bourdieu's concept of fields of cultural production, which the latter had been using since the late 1960s.[55] However, Bourdieu also argued that Becker ignored the objective relationships that ruled fields, namely by envisaging artists without paying attention to the structures that influenced their work.[56] Indeed, for Bourdieu, habitus and symbolic capital ruled the art world. As a result of taking an approach here that was informed by Bourdieu and others, I needed to envisage the "design world" surrounding the SDA as the result of various levels of power relationships that were taking place – from details of the prize-winning works to the constitution of the scene in general – while also understanding that designers and juries were similarly engaged in relationships ruled by their own habitus and search for status. I refer to these networks as networks of promotion.

49 Moriarty 2016, 52.
50 Fornari et al. 2021b.
51 Moulin 1967 cited in Heinich 2004, 58–59.
52 Moulin 1992, 252.
53 See Buscatto 2013 for an overview of empirical studies relying on the concept of "art worlds".
54 Becker 1982, X.
55 Bourdieu 1993; Champagne & Christin 2012, 147–183.
56 Bourdieu 1991b; 1993; Fowler 1997, 99–100.

1.3.2 The networks of promotion

Becker and Bourdieu's ideas led me to analyse the projects that were awarded in the SDA because of interactions between the protagonists and parameters involved, rather than as unconnected, ground-breaking artefacts. The SDA themselves constituted one of the protagonists. They offered financial support, organised exhibitions and events and published catalogues. Moreover, the SDA were also composed of sub-networks. For instance, the FOC's employees in the Design Service, the FDC (and its predecessor the FCAA), the invited experts and even the nominees and awardees could be connected in ways that often intertwined. The notion of networks of promotion therefore applied on both the large-scale and the small-scale. It provided me with a basis for much of this book and helped me to avoid a mythopoeic narrative of the awards. It also led me to discover the actual networks of promotion that I reveal in my fifth chapter, where I discuss the notion of social networks in greater detail. By analysing these networks, I offer a more complex reading of designers' success, suggesting that the awards were not simply given in recognition of the best design, but also helped to define the overall scene.

To retrace these networks of design promotion – which meant both reading "between the lines" and finding the connections between their protagonists – I relied on a visual analysis of artefacts, on archival sources and on interviews. I focus on artefact analysis in my third chapter, where I discuss my methodology in depth. Most of my work here, however, has been informed by oral history. Oral history has a long and established history and has been described in detail in recent overview studies.[57] It has also already been applied to design history and employed in conjunction with archival sources.[58] As the design historian and oral history specialist Linda Sandino has argued, oral history is particularly useful for challenging narratives and recovering hitherto unheard voices; it can thus help me here to read between the lines of design promotion.[59] I relied on semi-structured interviews, which work with specific questions while also leaving space for new meanings to emerge from

conversations.[60] Excerpts from many of these conversations were published in the second volume of *Swiss Graphic Design Histories*, which disseminated the results of the research project *Swiss Graphic Design and Typography Revisited*.[61] In most of these interviews, I relied on being an insider – a graphic designer who is himself part of the Swiss network – in order to gain access to knowledge that might not otherwise have been discussed.

57 For recent overviews, see Perks & Thomson 2016; Ritchie 2015; Thompson & Bornat 2017.
58 Donnelly 2006; Ishino 2006; Sandino 2006; 2013; Sandino & Partington 2013.
59 Sandino 2006, 275.
60 Galletta 2013, 1–2.
61 Barbieri *et al.* 2021a. For our project's position on oral history, see Barbieri *et al.* 2021b.

1.3.3 Writing from within

As I mentioned above, I trained at ECAL, where I was taught by several of the designers who sat on the juries of the SDA or the Most Beautiful Swiss Books (MBSB) competition, or who won such awards themselves. After graduating, I worked for one of them; I also met many more while working on this book. In these meetings I was oft perceived by the interviewees primarily as a designer rather than a researcher. This gave me what Becker and his colleague Robert Faulkner have called a "view from the bandstand".[62] More prosaically, I was an active participant in the world that I was studying. I should therefore acknowledge my own place in these networks, which presented both advantages and challenges.

62 Faulkner & Becker 2008.

On the one hand, I had access to tacit knowledge. As a designer, I knew the visual and professional codes ruling the different circles of our field, and I was privy to the inner workings of a studio, relationships with clients and colleagues, and the challenges and interests involved in specific commissions. This gave me an insider perspective in what early scholars of auto-ethnography would have described as research into my "own people", though the comparison stops here since my analyses did not focus on my own experiences.[63] In my interviews, this helped me to understand implied value judgements and half-formulated sentences. It also enabled me to formulate questions and identify certain sticking points.

On the other hand, in the words of Bourdieu, being indigenous to the system was precisely what shielded it from me.[64] I initially submitted to the "collective beliefs" ruling the scene, which sometimes skewed my questions and delayed my findings. Because of my proximity to some of my interviewees, I was sometimes unable to ask provocative questions – or at least had to tread very carefully. Moreover, the designers interviewed wanted to control their personal image, and it was sometimes arduous to draw information from them that did not fit their personal narratives. In other words, my professional identity was both Trojan horse and Achilles' heel – useful in some respects, but a hindrance in others.

63 Adams, Ellis & Holman 2017; Hayano 1979, 99.
64 Bourdieu 2002 (1974), 206.

The more I analysed the networks of design promotion, the more I became involved with them. After contacting the FOC to gain access to their archives, I was commissioned for a series articles promoting the winners of the 2019 and 2020 SDA.[65] In this capacity – from the eye of the storm, as it were – I contributed in a small part to the historiography I was simultaneously analysing. This gave me insights into the porous nature of networks of promotion, which are the result of conscious decisions as much as the result of happenstance. This anecdotal evidence was confirmed in my research when I discovered the inherently "messy" nature of promotion, which comprises entangled networks. Although I was not embedded in the networks of design promotion as much as I was in the design scene, I nevertheless also benefitted from informal access to additional perspectives. I thus authored this book as a participant in the worlds of both design and design promotion. This enabled me to enrich my perspective on the SDA in ways I could not otherwise have envisaged, by providing me with a series of entry points to the SDA's politics, visual language, changes in the profession and the power balance of their networks.

65 Berthod 2019b; 2019c; Berthod *et al.* 2020a; 2020b.

1.3.4 Structure

In this chapter, I have introduced the SDA and situated their influence on the Swiss graphic design scene. I have also outlined the theoretical and methodological framework on which my book is constructed. In the next chapter, I shall retrace the arc of federal design promotion from its origins in 1917 until 2001, the year before the relaunch, to assess the role played by power struggles in defining what constitutes promotion. From the time that the SDA were founded until their reorganisation, they were governed by distinct groups with correspondingly diverse interests. These power struggles defined the politics of design promotion and contributed to the SDA relaunch in 2002.

In my third chapter, I shall examine how the SDA's reorganisation helped them to manoeuvre successfully into the new millennium. After a decade of criticism, it helped the awards to regain relevance and reposition themselves at the centre of the design scene. Furthermore, the SDA also adapted to the professional changes that were taking place in the 1990s and 2000s. I evaluate these changes and their corresponding new design languages in my fourth chapter, in which I identify how a series of technological, economic and sociological upheavals impacted on practices and led a "new school" of graphic designers. They adopted a new identity that broke with that of their predecessors. In my fifth chapter, I argue that the SDA and the new generation of designers helped each other in a process of recuperation. The awards associated themselves with the "new school" to support their agenda, which allowed the latter to take control of design promotion. These designers defined the SDA in their image, and I reveal how they used design promotion for their own devices. The awards adopted a definition of "good" design which was synonymous with self-initiated or cultural work.

In this book, I shall show how the SDA were at the nexus of power, success, recognition and the definition of good design, all of which impacted on the field of Swiss graphic design. By promoting a specific career model

located in the cultural sector, the awards contributed to redrawing the field's boundaries and became one of the defining forces on the landscape of Swiss design.

FROM COMMERCE TO CULTURE: THE ARC OF DESIGN PROMOTION 1917–2001

2.1 Conquering design promotion

2.1.1 Finding a place between art and industry

The SDA's history was shaped by a series of struggles for control going back as far as their inception. Different actors aimed to define the type of work that should be awarded, and each of these conflicts shaped design promotion. Professional associations were the first to define Swiss design promotion when they managed to procure public funding for the applied arts. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, design associations were founded internationally to promote the interests of their corresponding burgeoning professions.[1] The role of design associations, societies and councils in defining the design professions has been described in the literature.[2] They had varying agendas and different degrees of influence. Their goals included controlling the market, developing education and skills, standardising practice, promoting social mobility and gaining economic and social recognition.[3] They defined the profession's activities, structures and image, formulated codes of conduct, conferred a privileged status to their members, and generally promoted the profession.[4] Their publications and exhibitions allowed design to become visible "externally and to itself", which was an essential step in getting the profession recognised.[5] They were instrumental in defining, organising and promoting the profession and in providing designers with legitimacy. They may thus be considered the earliest "political" bodies in terms of design promotion.[6] Although not all these associations agreed with each other, they all strove to promote their discipline, whether from a social, cultural, political or economic perspective.[7] Some associations emphasised the idea of the applied arts as a craft, while others saw its future only in connection with industrial production.[8] This dichotomy led to debates and divisions which have remained unresolved ever since.[9]

1 Gnägi, Nicolai & Wohlwend Piai 2013; Woodham 1997, 165. For an overview of the literature on professions, see Dent *et al.*, 2016.
2 Armstrong 2014; Messell 2018; 2019; Yasuko 2003.
3 Armstrong 2016, 4; Larson 1977; Millerson 1998 (1964), 12.
4 Armstrong 2014; 2016; 2019; Barbieri 2017; Beegan & Atkinson 2008; Hasdoğan 2009; Lees-Maffei 2008; Messell 2019; Souza Dias 2019; Sparke 1983; Thompson 2011; Thomson 1997; Yagou 2005.
5 Millerson 1998 (1964), 12; Julier 1997.
6 Armstrong 2014, 65; 2016; Gnägi 2013, 265–266; Thomson 1997, 86–88.
7 Millerson 1998 (1964), 12; Woodham 1997, 165.

8 Woodham 1997, 165.
9 Aicher 2015 (1991), 88–89; Lees-Maffei & Sandino 2004; Schneider 2005, 35; Woodham 1997, 165–166.

The German Werkbund, which was founded in 1907, exerted a major influence on the design field in Switzerland. The Werkbund aimed to foster a closer collaboration between the arts and industry to raise the standard of applied arts and thereby improve their access to the markets.[10] Its concerns were thus intricately connected with the economy. However, its attempts at defining the profession were often met with reservations by the representatives of industry, whose reluctance was a result of a perceived incongruence between the individual artist and the "economic and technological realities of manufacturing", as well as a general distrust between artists and manufacturers.[11] The territorial negotiations between art and industry, and later between culture and commerce, would characterise the dynamics of design promotion in the 20th century.

10 Campbell 2015 (1978); Schneider 2005, 45–54; Zumstein 2013, 63.
11 Woodham 1997, 165–166.

In Switzerland, two organisations promoting the interests of design were established in 1913. The Swiss Werkbund (*Schweizerischer Werkbund*, SWB) was founded in Zurich. Its name and ideals were directly inspired by its German precursor. The SWB's aim was to improve the quality of the design field by fostering collaboration between artists, artisans and industry.[12] Six months after the SWB was set up, *L'Œuvre* (OEV)[13] was founded in Yverdon as its French-speaking counterpart.[14] Both associations lobbied for the introduction of state-funded design promotion and succeeded in this just four years later.

12 Bonnefoit 2013, 70.
13 The French name has four different meanings: the act of working, the result of work, an artwork and a charitable association. These are untranslatable and I therefore use the original term.
14 Bonnefoit 2013; Zumstein 2013, 63.

While patronage of the fine arts by the Swiss Confederation had been enshrined in law in 1887, there was nothing similar for the applied arts until 1917.[15] In 1887, the Federal Council had nominated a Federal Art Commission (FAC) that operated within the FDHA.

It was set up as an extra-parliamentary body with members appointed directly by the Federal Council and started awarding annual grants in 1899. The FDHA had initially intended to promote the applied arts through the FAC, relying on the wording of the law which in German was vague enough to allow the inclusion of so-called "decorative" or "industrial" arts.[16] The French version of the text made a clearer distinction between "arts" and "*beaux-arts*", so the FAC was not unanimous in this inclusive interpretation. Officially, this reluctance was due to limited financial means, but it also represented another territorial disagreement, this time between design and fine arts.

15 Federal Chancellery of Switzerland 1887; 1917.
16 Münch 1997, 88–89.

From 1911 onwards, the FAC argued that its budget was too small to support both applied and fine arts. Moreover, the commission often rejected practitioners from the applied arts who wanted fine arts grants,[17] which suggested that the FAC did not wish to support what they may have seen as a claim over their jurisdiction. In 1913, reacting to pressure exerted by the newly founded professional organisations, the Federal Council named three members of the SWB and OEV to sit on the FAC.[18] The presence of these professional organisations on the commission signalled state recognition of these associations, and more symbolically of the design profession in general. It was also emblematic of the successful conquest by the applied arts of a small portion of the territory of fine arts promotion.

17 Münch 1997, 89–91.
18 Münch 1997, 88; Staub 1988, 187–188.

However, the First World War soon led to a reduction in the FAC's budget.[19] As its focus was still on fine arts, the loss of financial means had a dampening effect on the promotion of design.[20] In 1917, for instance, only two of the twelve recipients of the FAC grant were graphic artists.[21] This disparity encouraged the creation of a separate entity: a commission dedicated to the applied arts. The idea was supported by the FAC, the SWB and the OEV.[22] At the end of 1917, their lobbying finally succeeded. Parliament tasked the FDHA with specifically

encouraging "applied (decorative and industrial) arts" on a federal level.[23] A new commission, the Federal Commission of the Applied Arts (FCAA), was formed within the department. The FCAA, which was renamed the Federal Design Commission (FDC) in 2002,[24] was organised on the same model as the FAC, with members appointed by the Federal Council. A separate budget was dedicated to various tools of design promotion, including the organisation of exhibitions, grants and prizes, subsidies for organisations and general financial backing to any effort supporting the applied arts.[25]

19 Jost 1988, 24.
20 Münch 1997, 89.
21 *Schweizer Kunst* 1917, 123.
22 Münch 1997, 89.
23 Federal Chancellery of Switzerland 1917. In German, "angewandte (industrielle und gewerbliche) Kunst"; in French, "art appliqués (arts décoratifs et industriels)"; and in Italian, "arte applicata (arte decorativa e industriale)".
24 Crivelli 2000d.
25 *Illustrierte Schweizerische Handwerker-Zeitung* 1917.

Both associations thus received official endorsement, and in 1918 they started receiving the federal subsidies that they had applied for in 1914.[26] Since the OEV and the SWB had played a key part in the introduction of the FCAA, they were represented on its five-member Commission. It included two members of the SWB and one from the OEV, thus securing them a majority on the Commission. Thanks to the seats they held on the FCAA until the 1960s, both associations had the upper hand in outlining and carrying out design promotion over the first half of the century.[27] As they were highly dependent on federal subsidies, they unsurprisingly argued that the Commission should prioritise the support of trade organisations before giving grants or organising competitions and exhibitions.[28] Furthermore, these two associations were already running or supervising design competitions that aimed to amplify the economic role of the applied arts.[29] These competitions were organised independently from the FCAA, which left the associations free to define their own means of promotion. This prominence that they enjoyed helped to reinforce their overall influence. Consequently, until the 1960s the SWB and the OEV played the biggest role in defining and organising the design professions and the promotion of them, both through the official channels of state promotion and through their own, private initiatives.

26 Bonnefoit 2013, 70; Zumstein 2013, 63.
27 Münch 1997, 92.
28 Münch 1997, 88–92.
29 Baudin 1997, 116–118.

2.1.2 Commerce first

Both the SWB and the OEV envisioned the applied arts as belonging to commerce rather than the cultural field. Promoting design consequently took place primarily under the banner of promoting commercial quality. While the social and cultural functions of design were also considered, they were not the principal goal of promotion.[30] The government shared the same vision for decades. In fact, the argument of economic growth had been crucial in persuading the authorities to support the applied arts in the first place. The premise was that a competitive design field would benefit the entire economy.[31] In this spirit, the FCAA organised competitions in the 1920s and 1930s with the aim of providing designers with work.[32] This philosophy persisted until the 1950s. For instance, in 1948 the SWB organised a conference on the theme of the relationship between design and the economy, and the OEV's programme between 1917 and the 1950s was intended to reinforce the economic and social role of the applied arts, with "beauty" defined primarily as "quality".[33] The associations' penchant for commercial viability was exemplified in their pre-eminent use of competitions as tools of promotion. These were organised on behalf of private and public bodies and aimed primarily at providing the winning designers with contracts and clients, as opposed to advancing the design discourse.[34] Likewise, the success of regional exhibitions and of Swiss participation in national and international exhibitions was evaluated primarily based on the number of sales and contracts concluded.[35]

30 Münch 1997, 88–90; Schilling 1997, 184.
31 Jost 1988, 19; Münch 1997, 89–91; Schilling 1997, 184.
32 Münch 1997, 92.
33 Baudin 1997, 116; Lichtenstein 2015, 21.
34 Baudin 1997, 118; Münch 1997, 100.
35 Münch 1997, 99–102.

The government shared the interest in economic promotion. In 1949, the Swiss Arts Council Pro Helvetia began promoting Swiss posters in exhibitions abroad,

in collaboration with the Swiss Office of the Development of Trade[36] and with professional associations.[37] Pro Helvetia used cultural promotion to provide Switzerland with an image in which its inhabitants would recognise themselves. It used culture as a means of national cohesion and to secure the status of the country abroad through international representation.[38] But the goal of economic promotion was also explicit. In a 1957 brochure by the FDHA presenting the best Swiss posters, the graphic arts were presented from a utilitarian perspective as "the most valid poetic expression of commerce and industry".[39] The posters displayed were commercial and touristic: they were intended to promote Swiss industry as much as graphic design itself.[40] Even in the exhibitions organised by arms of the government, economic promotion was never far from anyone's mind.

36 Known as Office Suisse d'Expansion Commerciale (OSEC), today renamed as Switzerland Global Enterprise (S-GE).
37 Kadelbach 2013, 230; Zeller 2017; 2018; 2021d.
38 For an extensive discussion of Pro Helvetia, see Hauser *et al.* 2010.
39 Kadelbach 2013, 229.
40 Kadelbach 2013, 231.

While both the SWB and the OEV were interested primarily in commercial promotion, they did not share a common definition of "good" design. In fact, they held radically different views. This was reflected in their different approaches when organising exhibitions and salons. They did so both separately and in collaboration with each other, both in Switzerland and abroad, and these were a regular source of conflict between them.[41] The influence of the German Werkbund on the SWB meant that the latter was mainly focused on industrial production and useful and durable objects, rather than on crafts.[42] While the OEV had originally been founded as a French-speaking counterpoint to the SWB, its programme nevertheless began to diverge from its model at an early date. It turned its attention towards France's model of the *artiste décorateur* and towards British Arts and Crafts, which both promoted artisanal and decorative arts.[43] These respective tendencies did not exclude localised interests – there was some interest in arts and crafts within the SWB, for example – but the overarching vision of the SWB and the OEV were in clear opposition to each other. In 1914, an attempt to create a single

national professional association failed spectacularly. It was explained by differences in the perception of the discipline in the French and German-speaking regions of Switzerland.[44] But politics also played a role, with each side accusing the other of aligning with nations on the other side of the Swiss borders.[45] Art and industry in Switzerland thus tended to follow geopolitical demarcations.

41 For further discussion concerning these exhibitions, see Münch 1997 and Baudin 1997, 120.
42 Imboden & Raschle 2013, 96; Lichtenstein 1997, 177.
43 Baudin 1997, 120–127; Bonnefoit 2013, 74–75.
44 Nicolai 2013, 53.
45 Bonnefoit 2013, 74.

The associations did not benefit from equal influence when promoting their respective views. The SWB kept the upper hand within the FCAA, notably in the role it played in organising national and international exhibitions.[46] The SWB's definition of successful design was therefore dominant and had a much greater impact on design promotion. One exhibition in particular had long-lasting repercussions for the SWB's definition. *Die gute Form,* developed by Max Bill for the SWB in 1949,[47] was unequivocal in its praise of the utilitarian – or in Bill's words, "beauty from function and as function".[48] Its success led to a series of exhibitions and prizes in the 1950s and 1960s which cemented the SWB's influence, but also gave it the role of a normative institution.[49] "Good form" had the support of the FCAA and was progressively elevated to the rank of official doctrine, which in turn led to criticism and debate.[50]

46 Münch 1997, 102.
47 *Die gute Form* has been discussed extensively in the literature. See for instance Bill 1949; 1957; Bill *et al.* 2015; Hünerwadel 2013, 286; Lichtenstein 2015, 19–20.
48 Bill 1949.
49 Hünerwadel 2013, 286–287; Lichtenstein 2015, 20.
50 Kadelbach 2013, 234.

At this point, the SWB was unequivocally the leading voice in the promotion of applied arts in Switzerland and played a critical role in defining design ideals in terms derived from industry. However, the OEV refused to adopt its counterpart's perspective, and their views on craft versus industry only became more divergent over the years.[51] This was a contributing factor to their overall loss of influence on the design scene and, by extension, on design promotion.[52]

51 Baudin 1997, 122.
52 Bonnefoit 2013, 74.

In the 1960s, the "good form" philosophy gradually lost relevance as it became regarded as too normative.[53] Emerging subcultures rejected any imposition of "ideal" taste, and the general public began to lose interest in attending *Die gute Form* exhibitions.[54] In 1968, the SWB decided to stop holding these exhibitions and began to focus instead on improving the designed environment.[55] This year may thus be considered as marking the beginning of a new orientation for the SWB in design promotion, which was henceforth focused on the social and cultural qualities of design.

53 Lichtenstein 2015, 26.
54 Hünerwadel 2013, 290.
55 "Geschäftsbericht" 1968, 2; Fünfschilling 1976b, 3; Imboden & Raschle 2013, 97.

2.1.3 Losing control of design promotion

1968 may also be considered as the year in which the primacy ended of the SWB and the OEV in federal design promotion. The Swiss Confederation now began to take an increasingly proactive stance towards the promotion of culture. In the mid-1960s, Pro Helvetia was tasked by Parliament with turning its attention abroad: only one-third of its budget was in future to be allocated to cultural promotion within Switzerland.[56] This freed up the political space necessary for embarking on a federal approach to design promotion. The FCAA began to assert its responsibility for design promotion and took over the organisation of exhibitions and competitions.[57] The last important show that was still organised by the SWB and the OEV, the Milan Triennale, was assigned to the FCAA in 1968. A national policy on culture was beginning to take shape that was independent of professional associations, though it was not yet properly articulated.

56 Milani 2010, 47.
57 Münch 1997, 106.

The SWB was dissatisfied with these developments and attempted to regain control of design policy. In 1968, it organised its annual conference under the interrogative title "*Kulturpolitik?*" (which can variously mean "cultural

policy?" or "cultural politics?"), which posed the question as to whether any such policy actually existed at a federal level.[58] The SWB invited the head of the cultural section of the Federal Political Department[59] to give the opening address as a representative of the establishment. Although he represented a "foreign affairs" approach to cultural promotion, he recognised that the situation within the country needed improvement, and explained Pro Helvetia's recent shift of focus abroad.[60] Since he was speaking as an official representative of the government, his words were welcomed as being unusually self-critical, signalling that he was willing to take into account the criticism that was being levelled at the government.[61] The public discussion that followed outlined two possible models for cultural policy, which it was felt could focus either on quantity or quality – either offering rather indiscriminate support for a large number of design practices (the so-called "watering can" approach) or engaging in a more selective series of initiatives that would reflect those instances of cultural expression that were deemed more worthy of support.[62] However, the debate failed to offer any concrete solutions or to propose the next steps that the SWB might take.[63]

58 *Glarner Nachrichten* 1968; *Schaffhauser Nachrichten* 1968.
59 Renamed the Federal Department of Foreign Affairs in 1979.
60 *Glarner Nachrichten* 1968.
61 *Die Ostschweiz* 1968; Staber 1969, 127.
62 Billeter 1968.
63 *Die Ostschweiz* 1968.

This was not lost on a self-appointed chronicler of the SWB, Margit Staber, who published a polemical article about the conference in the SWB's own journal.[64] Staber argued that the SWB was missing out on an opportunity for reform because it expected the state to define cultural promotion instead of seizing the initiative itself. In other words, the SWB was asking the Confederation to adopt a position that the association was itself unable to define. The conference, she argued, had represented a missed opportunity to take back control of design promotion. In contrast to circumstances at the beginning of the century, she claimed that the SWB had now become a passive actor of design promotion, one that simply followed the lead given by the Confederation. The arguments that she laid out in her article would be proved

correct over the ensuing decades, when professional associations lost their influence, and the Confederation took over design promotion.

64 Staber 1969.

2.2 Federal control

2.2.1 A distant patron

Due to Switzerland's decentralised political system, the involvement of the Confederation in cultural policy has historically been limited.[65] Even today, federalism leaves a major part of that responsibility to the cities and cantons, and the same applies to funding.[66] For example, there is no national museum of fine arts and no national theatre. After the creation of the Swiss federal state in 1848, the Confederation intermittently supported projects of national importance,[67] but stopped short of formulating any overarching strategy. The first office linked with cultural promotion – the Federal Office for the Conservation of Historic Monuments – was founded in 1886. It was followed shortly afterwards by laws for the promotion of fine arts in 1887 and for the promotion of applied arts in 1917.[68] But the first national stance on cultural promotion was formulated in the 1930s, when the threat of neighbouring authoritarian regimes led to the birth of "spiritual national defence", an "official" definition of Swiss culture in 1938,[69] and the foundation of Pro Helvetia (as a working group) in 1939.[70] Even so, the Confederation was reluctant to get too involved, fearing that it might thereby define a "state culture" that would go against the principle of federalism. This arm's-length approach was apparent when Pro Helvetia was set up as a public law foundation that was independent from the government, and in the expectation that it should not take the initiative in terms of cultural promotion but limit itself to responding to subsidy requests.[71]

65 For a historical overview of Swiss cultural policy, see Keller 2010; 2017.
66 Swiss Federal Office of Statistic n.d.
67 Such as the Swiss Federal Archives (1848), the National Museum (1890) and the Swiss National Library (1894).
68 Weckerle & Theler 2018, 3.
69 Delivered in the form of a message to parliament by the head of the FDHA, Philipp Etter. Milani 2010, 39–40.
70 Pro Helvetia was transformed into a public-law foundation in 1949. Milani 2010. On spiritual national defence, see Mohler 2018; Mooser 1997.
71 Milani 2010, 41–43.

It was only from the late 1960s onwards that culture became an object of public discussion, thanks notably to a new generation of artists and intellectuals who called for forms of culture that were more participatory, who wanted more freedom in what they created, and who also argued for support from the state.[72] This culture debate was one of several contributory factors in the students' revolt of May 1968. In 1969, the government responded to the growing conversation about federal cultural policy by appointing a group of experts to what became known as the Clottu Commission.[73] It was instructed by the FDHA to review the cultural status quo, map out the needs of the arts, give an opinion on current cultural policy, and suggest measures to be taken by the three levels of government (the municipal authorities, the cantons and the Confederation). The voluminous report that the Commission published in 1975 was the first-ever official document to engage in large-scale reflection on the role of government in the field of culture, which had so far been the responsibility of the cities and cantons.[74]

72 Milani 2010, 48; Weckerle & Theler 2018, 3.
73 Milani 2010, 49.
74 Clottu 1975.

The Clottu Report advised making a series of changes to cultural policy. Some recommendations for design promotion were modest, such as new rules for selecting the members of the FCAA and the publication of an annual report to achieve greater transparency about its activities.[75] Others were more radical and displayed a shift in attitudes towards art and design. The Commission argued that the border between the two disciplines was irrelevant, and so the FAC and the FCAA should either be merged into a single organ for the promotion of "all forms of expression in the field of plastic arts", or at least made to collaborate more closely.[76] Instead of being part of the FDHA, they should come under the umbrella of Pro Helvetia, who would have a say in nominating the members of the commissions.[77] More importantly, the report argued that Pro Helvetia – which was to be renamed the "Swiss Foundation for Culture" – should become the overarching framework for all forms of federal cultural promotion.[78]

75 Clottu 1975, 131–132.
76 Clottu 1975, 403.
77 Clottu 1975, 403–404.
78 Clottu 1975, 382, 394, 398–399.

Most of these recommendations remained at the proposal stage. But this Report nevertheless succeeded in launching a national debate about the role of culture.[79] A journalist noted that this relatively "dry topic" had now become a "burning issue".[80] Some representatives of the press welcomed the report,[81] while others argued that everything overly critical had been edited out.[82] There was even a heated debate in the daily newspaper *Tages-Anzeiger* over the course of several months.[83] The SWB also followed the report closely. In December 1976, it organised a conference to discuss the issues raised in the report, entitled: *Kultur – Kulturförderung – Kulturpolitik* ("Culture – cultural promotion – cultural policy"), with speakers from the SWB and nine representatives from a wide range of fields including sociology, architecture, politics and art history. The SWB disputed the definition of "culture" outlined in the Clottu report, arguing that it was narrow, elitist and excluded the applied arts.[84] Instead, it proposed a much more comprehensive definition.[85] The position of the SWB in the debate showed how radically its position had shifted from earlier years. Cultural policies and design promotion were presented by the SWB as socio-cultural priorities.[86] The links to the economy that had once been paramount had now all but disappeared. However, this shift in attitude would prove insufficient for the SWB to retain control of design promotion.

79 Keller 2010; Milani 2010, 52.
80 Burri 1976.
81 Galland 1976; Perrin 1976.
82 Billeter 1976; Lienhard 1976.
83 Altorfer 1976; Billeter 1976; Lienhard 1976; Vogt 1976.
84 Fünfschilling 1976b, 1; 1976c, 1; Huber 1976; *Schweizerischer Werkbund* 1977, 3.
85 "Als Kultur bezeichnen wir die gesamte auf den Menschen wirkende Umwelt, die eine Gesellschaft in allen Bereichen ihrer Aktivität produziert und produzierte". *Schweizerischer Werkbund* 1977, 3.
86 Fünfschilling 1976a, 3.

2.2.2 The emergence of a federal strategy

Before the Clottu Commission had even published its report, the FDHA increased its influence in the field of design promotion. It became the patron of the Most Beautiful Swiss Books competition (MBSB) in 1972.

This competition had been organised since 1943 by trade organisations – first by the Swiss Union of Booksellers, then by its successor the Swiss Association of Booksellers and Publishers – and had gained a following in the industry even though it neither awarded money nor had any concrete commercial impact.[87] In 1972, the MBSB competition was reorganised according to new regulations set up by the FDHA. The government appointed the jury, conferred the award, and assumed responsibility for publishing and distributing the catalogue.[88] While this restructuring did not completely annul the power of the professional associations who still sat on the jury, the FDHA increased its control by setting the rules and funding the competition. Design promotion was slowly moving out of private and commercial hands to become instead a matter for the federal government.

87 Früh 2004, 122; Guggenheimer 2004, 82; Münch 1997, 92–106.
88 Früh 2004; Tschudi 1972.

The public sector's growing involvement in cultural promotion led to greater involvement on the part of the FCAA and the federal administration.[89] This increased workload was a contributing factor in the creation of a dedicated body for culture in 1973, the Federal Office of Cultural Affairs.[90] The government ignored the Clottu report's recommendation to use Pro Helvetia as the overarching organ for cultural promotion. The opposite now actually occurred: the Office soon took over some of Pro Helvetia's responsibilities.[91] I can only speculate as to whether the creation of an Office within the Department of Home Affairs was due to a penchant for pragmatic political continuity or to a desire to maintain control over cultural affairs. From this moment onwards, however, Pro Helvetia's involvement in design promotion was practically non-existent until the first law on the promotion of culture was passed in 2009.[92]

89 Münch 1997, 107.
90 Dodis n.d.
91 Rüegg 2010, 176–177.
92 Federal Chancellery of Switzerland 2009; 2011.

In 1978, the Federal Office of Cultural Affairs was renamed the Federal Office of Culture (FOC). It remains the Swiss Confederation's primary organ of support for the applied arts today. The foundation of the Federal

Office of Cultural Affairs in 1975 can thus be considered as the symbolic beginning of a coordinated strategy for cultural policy on the part of the Swiss government. Design promotion was included in cultural affairs, and although the role of cultural promotion in the economy was not completely ignored, it would no longer be the government's main preoccupation.[93]

93 Dreifuss 1997.

At the end of the 1980s, the SWB still saw itself as at the centre of design promotion, though the reality was quite different.[94] The FOC had become the leading voice in the promotion of design, and it was too late for the SWB to regain control. The influence of professional associations diminished as the FDHA's involvement intensified. Furthermore, their relevance as professional bodies was beginning to fade. 1989 marked the peak in the growth of the general body of the SWB, which had grown uninterruptedly since 1913.[95] The association underwent an uninterrupted decline thereafter. Moreover, graphic designers had already begun leaving the SWB by 1989. They had numbered 369 in 1964, but only 232 in 1989. This decline continued, and in 2012 only 141 graphic designers were members of the SWB – which constitutes more than a 60% drop in membership compared to 1964. The SWB had already lost relevance to graphic designers. The increased role that the FOC played in design promotion also led to the creation of two distinct services within the Office in 1992, one dedicated to fine arts and the other to design.[96] Nevertheless, the strengthened federal voice did not convince everyone, nor did it reduce the ongoing territorial conflicts in design promotion. Design competitions in particular were sites of conflict whose borders were hotly disputed. Professional associations had come to understand design as a cultural asset, though the industry continued to uphold its commercial aims. Design competitions were thus being pulled in these two different directions. These conflicts became so intense that they became impossible to resolve: the situation had reached a dead end that would only lead to a further fragmentation of the field.

94 U. Graf 1991.
95 Gnägi, Nicolai & Wohlwend Piai 2013, 445.
96 Crivelli & Imboden 1997, 86.

2.2.3 Questioning promotion

In the 1990s, the SWB's response to the FOC's tight grip on design promotion was to fight back via an issue of its journal *SWB-Dokument* that was entitled "The design competition: cultural instrument, trendsetter or alibi?" and pointed out what it saw as the problems with design competitions:

Incomprehensible award decisions, woolly worded jury reports, no clear distinction between moral and aesthetic value judgments, and a general, habitual refusal on the part of the assessing bodies to disclose their own standpoint [...].[97]

97 "Der Gestaltungswettbewerb: Kulturinstrument, Modemacher Oder Alibi?" Fünfschilling 1991; "Unverständliche Auszeichnungen, schwammig formulierte Juryberichte, keine klare Unterscheidung moralischer und ästhetischer Werturteile und überhaupt der weitherum übliche Verzicht der beurteilenden Gremien auf Offenlegung ihrer Werthaltungen [...]." Fünfschilling & Heller 1991a, 5.

The SWB argued that the various promotional tools of the FOC – such as the MBSB, the SDA and the Swiss Poster competition – were in dire need of reform. They argued that design promotion was still using the problematic model of "good form" – "*gute Form*" – and as a result, arbitrary judgements were being made, with the reasoning behind them being based on normative ideas that failed to recognise the value of each case on its own, independent merits.[98] Competitions were incompatible with the SWB's vision of the discipline, and those in charge of the SWB were convinced that it was their vision alone that should determine design promotion.

98 Fünfschilling & Heller 1991b.

Another criticism made of competitions was that the manufacturing industry was given too much leeway in them. Castigating the MBSB competition especially, the SWB reproached it for its focus on the market and on industry. Instead of being design-oriented, claimed the SWB, it was too focused on promoting the profession, on providing business opportunities or supporting sectors of the industry. This was supposedly because the majority

of the jury of the MBSB was composed of representatives from the book industry, such as publishers, bookbinders, paper manufacturers, printers and booksellers.[99] In the 1980s, the jury comprised between 13 and 15 people, but only four of them were not linked to the industry: these were one delegate each from the SWB, the OEV, the FDHA and the *Schweizerische Bibliophilen-Gesellschaft* (the Swiss association of bibliophiles). This imbalance on the jury inevitably led delegates to promote books that their own industries had produced, published or were selling, instead of awarding more daring publications that might have promoted design innovation.[100] This not only favoured those entrants that adhered more to tradition, but also served to ensure that innovative approaches and less experienced designers had less of a chance of success.[101]

99 The following trade associations were present on the jury of the MBSB between 1949 and 1996: the Association of Swiss publishers (VSV), its successor the Swiss association of booksellers and publishers (SBVV), the Association of booksellers and publishers of French-speaking Switzerland (SLESR), the Association of publishers of Italian-speaking Switzerland (SESI), the SWB, the Swiss Graphic Arts Union (SGG), the Union of Bookbindery Owners (VBS), the Book and Paper Union (GDP, former STB), and the Association of the Swiss Printing Industry (SBV). Guggenheimer 2004, 81–82.

100 Tschopp 1991, 23.

101 R. Graf 1991.

It is hardly surprising that representatives of the book trade took a contrary view of things. They felt that the FOC's awards were too close to "culture" and were not doing enough to promote commercial practices. This sense of dissatisfaction resulted in the creation of an independent biennial prize with a strong focus on the industry, the *Design Preis Schweiz* (Design Prize Switzerland), which was founded in 1991 and only awards artefacts which are available on the market.[102] Another competition, the Swiss Posters of the Year, became a tug-of-war between the worlds of industry and culture. The 1991 issue of *SWB-Dokument* pointed out the lack of enthusiasm for the competition on the part of the SWB's members. The Swiss Posters of the Year competition was organised under the patronage of the FOC by Switzerland's main advertising company, the *Allgemeine Plakatgesellschaft|Société Générale d'Affichage* (General Poster Company APG|SGA). Again, representatives of the industry made up a large portion of the jury,[103] and their definition of a good poster was very different from the ideas of the SWB, which proceeded to question the

integrity of the jury members, claiming that they seemed to be promoting their own interests at the expense of good design.[104] The SWB identified several issues here: the absence of women on the jury, which contributed to sexist imagery; the exclusion of political posters; the omission of any discussion on ecological matters; a lack of transparency in jury decisions; and, finally, they identified a divergence in the treatment of advertising posters and cultural posters, whose purpose and language were completely different.[105] The SWB therefore suggested dividing the competition into two distinct categories, cultural and advertising.[106] While this call remained unanswered, it represented another example of the divergence between the commercial and cultural definitions of what constituted "good design". It also reinforced the idea that cultural design was a special case that should be supported on its own terms.

102 Design Preis Schweiz n.d. It was founded by the Design Center Langenthal AG. Over the years, it was supported by private and public sponsors including the FOC, Swisslos, Swiss Textiles, SECO and the cantons Bern, Solothurn and Zurich.

103 The nine-person jury was composed as follows: a member of the FDHA; four members of professional associations – the SWB, the OEV, the Association of Swiss Graphic Designers (ASG) and the *Alliance Graphique Internationale* (AGI); three delegates of the advertising branch – the Swiss advertising association (SRV), the French-speaking Switzerland Advertising Federation (FRP), the Swiss Advertisement Federation (BSR); and one delegate from the APG|SGA. U. Graf 1991, 29.

104 U. Graf 1991, 29–31.

105 Fanger 1991, 31.

106 U. Graf 1991, 32.

These criticisms of the design competitions did not stop the FOC, which continued its takeover of them. In 1997, it gained control of the MBSB. Until now, these awards had considered all aspects of book production, but the FOC declared that the design of books should henceforth take precedence over the technical aspects of their manufacture.[107] The success of their takeover may have been helped by the fact that the awards did not have much of an impact on book sales, but mainly benefitted printers, typesetters, bookbinders and design studios.[108] The composition of the jury was also changed, with the members of trade organisations now losing their seats. This transition to a new order was completed in 1999 when the role of secretary – held since the early days of the competition by a member of the *Schweizerischer Buchhändler- und Verleger-Verband* (Swiss association of booksellers and publishers, SBVV) – was taken over by the FOC.[109] Over two years, the FOC had completely side-lined the professional associations, whose role was

now downgraded to being patrons of the competition.[110] As a further blow, subsidies from the FOC for the SWB were reduced in 1997, and ceased altogether in 2010.[111] The OEV's influence diminishing, it was finally dissolved in 2003.[112] Far from trying to bridge the gap between organisations and state promotion, the FOC had distanced itself from the influence of professional associations and become the undisputed leader in design promotion.

107 Früh 2004; Guggenheimer 2004, 83. Since the MBSB competition awards books in the year after their publication, this affected the jury of the 1996 edition.
108 Guggenheimer 2004, 82.
109 Früh 2004.
110 Fischer 2000, 42.
111 Imboden 2016.
112 Bonnefoit 2013, 82.

There was one exception to this takeover: the Swiss Poster of the Year. In the early 2000s, the tensions between the cultural and commercial sectors became so strong that the APG|SGA rescinded its 61-year-old collaboration with the FOC on the competition. It argued that cultural posters were being privileged over the advertising sector, while the FOC insisted that posters had to be judged primarily from a design perspective.[113] Naturally, privileging the advertising sector was in the APG|SGA's interests. Due to a lack of resources and a lack of consensus on the FCAA, the FOC was unable to take over the competition as it had done with the MBSB. Instead, it let go of its share of control over the competition.[114] The APG|SGA took ownership of it, and still organises it today. The competition shifted its focus to advertising, which brought about a change in the type of work that was submitted, and in the awards' target audience. The split between cultural and commercial designers was never bridged. Today, this poster award is primarily a matter of interest to those in the advertising sector. Designers who work more in the cultural sector either focused their interest on other poster competitions, such as the *100 Beste Plakate* (100 Best Posters), which from 2001 onwards accepted all German-language posters,[115] or even organised their own, such as the Weltformat Festival that has taken place since 2009 and organises a poster competition.[116]

113 Coen 2005; Crivelli 2004a; Gerdil-Margueron 2002.
114 Crivelli 2004a; 2017.

115 In 1966, the competition was founded in Germany as *Die besten Plakate des Jahres*. In 2001, it changed its name and began including all German-language posters, effectively integrating Austria and German-speaking Switzerland.

116 This poster festival was founded in Lucerne in 2009 by the Posters Lucerne association. Since 2018, it has expanded to include a graphic design festival (Richter 2017).

2.3 A path to reform

2.3.1 The reappraisal of competitions[117]

By the early 2000s, the FDHA had completed its takeover of design promotion, the only exception – as stated above – being the poster competition. Professional organisations were left entirely out of the equation. In less than a century, their relevance had faded so much that they were no longer deemed significant enough to sit around the table of design promotion. Unsurprisingly, the FOC's takeover did not proceed without creating dissent. However, the scale of the criticism of the competitions in the 1990s was such that we can assume other factors were involved. It is thus essential for us to examine the broader context of design promotion in the 1980s and 1990s. The debate about cultural policy that had begun in the late 1960s and early 1970s was still having an impact. The validity of existing cultural hierarchies continued to be questioned, and design competitions were part of that debate.

117 A selection of findings from this section were published in Berthod 2018a.

A series of exhibitions curated by Martin Heller at the MfGZ were an indicator of that trend and rejected any dogmatic understanding of "good design". Instead, they proposed a definition of design that encompassed a broader interpretation of visual culture and put an emphasis on design as a socio-cultural phenomenon.[118] For example, Heller organised exhibitions on everyday graphic design and popular design,[119] and in other exhibitions also revisited previous design competitions. One moved its focus away from the award-winning posters to include those that had been rejected by the jury, while another took the form of an inverted award where the worst posters were exhibited.[120] In these exhibitions, the "stylistic authority" previously attributed to design competitions was questioned, as was the notion of good taste. The exhibition of the worst posters created a scandal. It was rejected by designers, and their

criticisms reached the mainstream press, where the exhibition was widely condemned.[121] All the same, this exhibition and the others organised by Heller reflected a general tendency to subject design competitions to a critical reappraisal.

118 Lzicar 2021.

119 *Herzblut: Populäre Gestaltung aus der Schweiz* (Lifeblood: Popular design from Switzerland), Museum für Gestaltung Zürich, 2.9.1987–8.11.1987); *Anschläge: Plakatsprache Zürich 1978–1988* ([Anschläge]: Poster language [in] Zurich 1978–1988), Museum für Gestaltung Zurich, 31.8.1988–23.10.1988. Lzicar 2021. "Anschlag" is a play on words; it can mean various things, including a poster and an attack.

120 *50 Jahre Schweizerische Winterhilfe* (50 Years of Swiss Winter Aid), Museum für Gestaltung Zürich, 25.10.1986–7.12.1986; *Die 99 schlechtesten Plakate – prämiert weil jenseits* (The 99 worst posters – awarded because beyond [discussion]), Museum für Gestaltung Zürich, 23.11.1994–15.1.1995.

121 Lzicar 2021; Zeller 2021a.

The waning number of designers applying to participate in the SDA suggests that interest in competitions was itself dwindling. It is difficult to determine any clear tendencies, because the number of applications in any case varied vastly from one year to the next. But there was undoubtedly a downward trend from 1983 onwards (Fig. 2.1). That year marked a peak, which was followed by a reduction in submissions until the early 1990s. Even if we take into consideration the natural fluctuations in submission numbers, the situation in 1991 was clearly extreme, for this year marked the lowest number of applicants since 1969. Already in 1989, the FOC had attempted to address this decline by introducing a new exhibition system to promote the awards among designers and to increase the visibility of the discipline among the public.

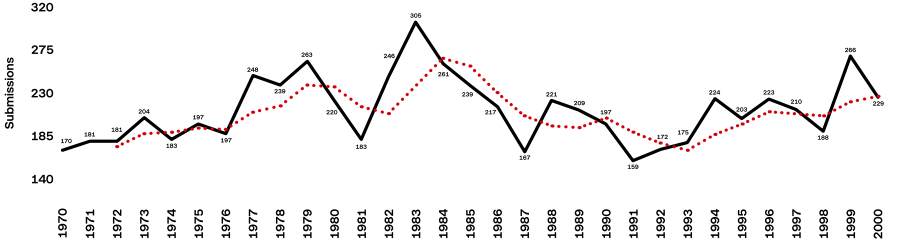


Fig. 2.1 Number of submissions to the SDA across all categories, between 1970 and 2000. The black line plots the total number of submissions. The dotted line is a three-year average. See table 7.1.

Prior to 1989, the FOC had organised simple exhibitions at the Kornhaus in Bern for all the designers who reached the second round of the competition. Before this exhibition opened, the jury would assess the designers'

submissions and hand out the final awards. This exhibition of both winners and nominees would then be opened to the public, though its reach remained limited. In 1989, the FOC introduced a new strategy. For the first time, the exhibition travelled outside Bern after the jury had made its decisions. It was hosted by the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in Lausanne (now mudac). The exhibition thereafter travelled to a different location every year until 2000, covering all the linguistic regions of Switzerland. It was shown in the design institutions one would expect (namely the applied art museums in Lausanne, Zurich and Basel),[122] but was also shown at applied art schools (Geneva and Lucerne), exhibition halls and museums (in Lugano, Geneva, Bienne and Locarno) and cultural centres (Bern). The FOC was now reaching out to a design audience that was as broad as possible.

122 The Museum für Gestaltung Basel was closed shortly afterwards, in 1996.

In another first, the 1989 exhibition was accompanied by a catalogue (see Fig. 2.2 and Fig. 3.16). This publication became an annual tradition that lasted until 2011.[123] As the texts of the catalogue made clear, this new initiative was an attempt to increase the public's awareness of design, foster a dialogue between designers and manufacturers, report on the latest trends and – last but not least – encourage more designers to submit work to the competition. The president of the FCAA, Andreas Christen, attributed the downward trend in applications to the insufficient visibility of the SDA in the professional world, and to an ambiguity about what type of design would be awarded prizes.[124] He suggested that designers associated the SDA with "decorative arts" and crafts, although the competition also welcomed serially produced projects. The name of the competition also needed to be updated in line with recent changes in the names of the design schools. These had dropped *angewandte Künste* and *arts décoratifs*, which suggested a link with crafts, and instead began using *Gestaltung* and *arts appliqués*. Christen suggested changing the official description of the competition (*Stipendium* and *bourse*) to replace "bursary" with "prize", which was more accurate. To further persuade designers to submit their work, the catalogues in the years 1989 to 1992 all included a list

of famous previous winners of the SDA. As scholars have argued, awards garner respect by showing how successful previous winners have become.[125] By signalling that the awards really had gone to the absolute best designers, the SDA were also attempting to place the competition in a more positive light.

123 Except for 2001, when the FOC was too busy preparing the 2002 relaunch to publish a catalogue.
124 Lippuner & Buxcel 1989, n.p.
125 Frey 2006, 380–385.

Judging by the trend in applications, this strategy had no clear effect in the five years after its implementation (Fig. 2.1). Perhaps designers were still in two minds about the awards. They may also have displayed what Bourdieu called "strategies of condescension".[126] People rarely want to appear to compete for the opinion of others and thus they pretend to remain indifferent to awards, regardless of how involved these designers may actually have been as nominees, winners or even jury members.[127] For example, Cornel Windlin made a dismissive response to his win in 1995; I shall discuss this in greater detail in chapter four (see Fig. 4.1). This apparent condescension showed that designers no longer wanted to be associated with awards that did not represent their version of the profession. Windlin further distanced himself from the SDA in 1997–1999 with a series of posters commissioned by the FOC that read like a thinly veiled criticism of the competition (Fig. 2.3).

126 Bourdieu 1991a, 68–69; 2016 (1992), n. p., part 1, ch. 3.
127 English 2005, 212; 2014, 121–124 and 133–134.

Fig. 2.2 The first SDA catalogue. Design: Atelier Jeker (Sandra Binder), 1989.

These posters featured a series of unpolished snapshots by Isabel Truniger showing display cases in Zurich that were a common sight outside businesses in the city at the time, ranging from traditional cuckoo-clock shops to strip bars. Windlin's choice of typefaces and colours also riffed on the kitsch and the vernacular. The implied analogy between the SDA and these rough-and-ready display cases was obvious.[128] Windlin's posters echoed the second round of the competition, in which designers displayed their wares to the jury in the hope of winning an award; they not only exposed these modes of presentation but could also imply that the actual exhibition was out of touch with the latest trends. The use of disused vitrines implied a provincial competition, quaint but inevitably out of fashion. Windlin explained it was a critical comment on the move towards "a more show-oriented presentation mode": "I had proposed this after the [FOC] changed their mode of how contenders were asked to present their work, in a shift away from sober, factual presentation to more elaborate ways, focussing on the aspect of 'show' and 'entertainment'."[129]

128 Settele 1997.
129 Cornel Windlin, email correspondence with the present writer, 4 July 2023.

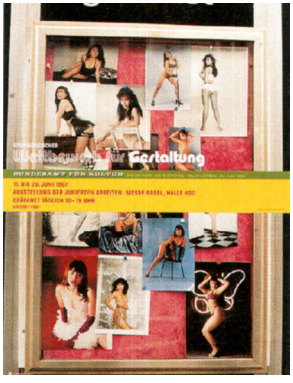


Fig. 2.3 Poster for the 1998 SDA exhibition in Basel (1998). Design: Cornel Windlin.
Fig. 2.4 Rejected poster for the 1997 SDA exhibition in Basel (1997). Design: Cornel Windlin.

In one rejected version of the poster reaching new heights in its strategy of condescension, Windlin used a photograph of a display case advertising strippers (Fig. 2.4). Here, surely even a passer-by would have seen the satirical analogy between design awards and prostitution. As the poster was being sent to print, the Federal Councillor Ruth Dreyfuss intervened, fearing a scandal in the press.

Windlin recalled, "there were discussions whether the motif was sexist, and possibly racist, which offended me. I felt it was making use of certain mechanisms, visible to anyone every day, by transposing them to another field, placing entirely out of context, hence inviting debate and discussion."[130] While it may at first sight seem surprising that the FOC's Design Service would have commissioned and agreed to posters implying a critique of the institution, these also offer us insights into the way the institution wanted to be perceived. To become more attractive to up-and-coming designers, it was willing to use self-derision and humour. This knowing type of design language became a defining feature of the 2002 reorganisation of the SDA.

130 *Ibid.*

2.3.2 Critiques, reflection and redefinition

According to the specialised press, the SDA could not go on as they had. In the 1990s, *Hochparterre*, the leading architecture and design magazine in Switzerland, featured several censorious articles on the awards. The criticisms were multifaceted and questioned every aspect of the awards. Echoing earlier reproaches made by the SWB, *Hochparterre* deemed the judging process to be overly opaque. It asked for transparency on the jury's criteria, or at least for access to the reasoning behind its verdict.[131] The magazine pointed out that the jury did not support enough experimental or critical practices.[132] It also called for the creation of new categories[133] to include recently developed domains such as interface design or service design.[134] *Hochparterre* also deplored the scarce number of prizes going to experimental projects.[135] Instead, it argued, the jury was unadventurous and only awarded "safe" projects by established designers, many of whom had previously already won.[136] In other words, *Hochparterre* believed that the SDA were simply too conservative.

131 Gantenbein 1992; 1994; Müller 1992.
132 Müller 1992.
133 The categories in the 1990s were industrial and interior design, graphic design, photography, theatre design, textile design and fashion, jewellery and instruments, and ceramics.
134 Gantenbein 1995.
135 Müller 1992.
136 Gantenbein 1992; 1994.

The criticism peaked in 1996. *Hochparterre* claimed that the SDA's relevance was over and called for a reset. Arguing that the "right" type of applicants were no longer presenting their work, it claimed that the SDA were nothing more than a random selection of projects.[137] It suggested dissolving the SDA into a series of independent competitions split by discipline, which would allow a more diverse range of practices to be represented including media design and projects blurring the line between design and art.[138] The designers interviewed by *Hochparterre* still welcomed the SDA's cash prize, but they also pointed out that the competition suffered from a low public profile that was detrimental to establishing the professional connections that they really needed.[139] They also asked for a catalogue that was more representative of their work, and floated the idea of introducing an alternative to the cash prize in the form of further training abroad.

137 Locher 1996.
138 *Ibid.*
139 Michel 2000a, 27.

The FOC was aware of the issues raised by *Hochparterre*. It initially did not rebut the criticism, but instead blamed the random nature of its open calls for submissions and the lack of challenges in Switzerland that led designers to rely on well-known tropes (such as "Swiss quality") instead of daring to engage in the kind of experimental practices that were current in other countries.[140] As the criticism intensified, the FOC no longer took position officially, but it ended up following some of *Hochparterre*'s recommendations in the 2002 reorganisation of the SDA. In the late 1990s, however, the FOC was focusing on the upcoming jubilee of federal design promotion. This commemoration offered the perfect opportunity to display design promotion under a more positive light.

140 FOC 1993.

In 1997, the FOC celebrated 80 years of design promotion in Switzerland by organising *Made in Switzerland*, which took the form of an exhibition in Lausanne accompanied by an extensive publication.[141] This anniversary provided the opportunity for the FOC's design department not only to celebrate, but also to rethink the awards.[142]

According to Patrizia Crivelli, the secretary of the design department between 1994 and 2017, it "was time to open up new areas of reflection in order to find other paths in the domain of the promotion of creation".[143] In 1997, the FCAA emphasised the importance of the SDA for design promotion, thereby signalling its disagreement with the radical proposals that had been published in the press.[144] Nevertheless, the criticism had been noted. The FCAA recognised certain weaknesses in the competition and the FOC, arguing that both needed a new image if they were to regain their former position on the scene and a greater presence in the vocational training schools (*Schulen für Gestaltung*).

141 The exhibition was split across two locations: ECAL (29.11.1997–23.12.1997) and the Musée des arts décoratifs (now mudac, 29.11.1997–4.1.1998).
142 Crivelli *et al.* 1997; Crivelli & Imboden 1997, 86; FOC 1999a.
143 "Il était temps d'ouvrir de nouveaux champs de réflexion pour trouver d'autres voies dans le domaine de l'encouragement de la création." Crivelli 1999a.
144 Crivelli 1998b; 1998c.

The anniversary triggered a five-year-long discussion on a rehaul of the competition to make it relevant for a new generation of designers. The FCAA also heard the specialised press. The commission invited Köbi Gantenbein and Adalbert Locher, who had penned most of the critical *Hochparterre* articles, to contribute to the 1997 catalogue. The duo played a significant part in the restructuring process.[145] Nevertheless, in the early 2000s, the specialist press continued to put pressure on the SDA. It revisited the old arguments that the awards' categories were out of touch with a profession in which disciplinary boundaries were increasingly blurred and claimed that the awards lacked public recognition.[146] The SDA's critics were adamant that the current setup could not continue.[147]

145 Berthod 2018a.
146 Michel 2000a.
147 *Kult* 2002.

At the end of the 1990s, as part of her continuing education, Patrizia Crivelli was also undertaking a Master in the management of non-profit organisations at the University of Fribourg. She took the opportunity offered by her thesis to analyse the Swiss design scene, and set out to correct the SDA's problems.[148] She sent out a survey and held discussions with numerous Swiss designers, teachers at art and design colleges, museum

curators and former prize-winners who had succesfully entered the industrial production sector.[149] Crivelli opened up every aspect of the competition to possible critique, and her questions left no stone unturned:

What is the purpose of the competition? What are the needs of designers today? Does this promotional measure still make sense today? What reputation does the competition enjoy among designers and among institutions and museums concerned with design? What benefits do the prize-winners derive from the competition? Does the division into individual categories still make sense? Do cash prizes make sense? Does this amount of money help designers to realise their projects? Does the prize have an advertising effect for the winners? Is it essential for their future career?[150]

148 Crivelli 2017.
149 Crivelli n.d. [2002?].
150 "Was soll der Wettbewerb bewirken? Welches sind die Bedürfnisse der Designerinnen und Designern heute? Macht diese Fördermassnahme heute noch Sinn? Welches Ansehen geniesst der Wettbewerb bei den Designerinnen und Designer und bei den Institutionen und Museen, die sich mit Design befassen? Welchen Nutzen ziehen die Preisträgerinnen und Preisträger aus dem Wettbewerb? Macht die Einteilung in einzelne Bereiche noch Sinn? Machen Geldpreise Sinn? Hilft dieser Geldbetrag den Designerinnen und Designern bei der Verwirklichung ihrer Projekte? Hat der Preis eine Werbewirkung für die Gewinnerinnen und die Gewinner? Ist er wesentlich für ihre weitere Karriere?" Crivelli n.d. [2002?].

By working in close collaboration with the FCAA and its experts, she identified a series of opportunities for developing a new model of design promotion. Although most texts on the subject were penned by Crivelli, this was a collective effort involving many actors. While her views aligned with those of the FCAA without whose support she would have been powerless, her role as secretary of the Design Service meant that she became the *de facto* public voice advocating for change.

Crivelli expressed concerns publicly in the competition's catalogue of 1999. She advocated for the monetary prize

to remain while calling it to be assorted with other forms of support.[151] Her research had demonstrated the difficulties encountered by young designers in establishing contacts with the economic sector, manufacturers and investors.[152] To address this, she recommended a new responsibility for the FOC, which ought to become an "intermediary between [designers] and industry, museums or any institution ready to realise a project with them".[153] The proposed emphasis on the FOC as a mediator became a defining feature of the reorganisation of the SDA in 2002.

151 Crivelli 1999a.
152 Berthod 2018a.
153 Crivelli 1999a.

After finishing her thesis, Crivelli turned it into a report to convince the head of the FOC that a reorganisation of the awards was necessary.[154] The FCAA then commissioned Ralf Michel and Ruedi Alexander Müller to come up with a new concept.[155] Michel was a member of the Swiss Design Association and had worked as a design editor at *Hochparterre*, while Müller was the CEO of the Zurich-based agency Nose Design. Their new concept was approved in a revamped form after a one-day workshop with the Commission in May 2000.[156] As the minutes of the meeting concluded, "the party [could] begin".[157] By December 2000, the final details were ready.[158] It was also that year that the FCAA decided to change its name to reflect the term commonly used by practitioners. From 2002, it would be known as the Federal Design Commission (FDC).[159] The FOC's ideas were accepted by Parliament, which granted an increase in funding for design promotion in 2001, going from CHF 1.2 to CHF 2 million.[160] Everything was now ready for the relaunch: a clear strategy, a broad consensus, the political will, and an increased budget.

154 Crivelli 2017.
155 Crivelli 2000a.
156 Crivelli 2000b.
157 *Ibid.*
158 Crivelli 2000f.
159 Crivelli 2000d.
160 Locher 2002, 19.

In 2000, perhaps hinting at the process of reflection that had begun behind the scenes, the poster and invitation to the awards showed a freshly ploughed field with signs

of new growth (Fig. 2.5). If I may be allowed to extend the farming metaphor, 2001 was a fallow year. The FOC did award 16 projects that year (along with their 24 designers), but design promotion was reduced to a bare minimum. The scope of the 2002 reorganisation and the pressure accompanying the relaunch were so great that the 2001 edition of the SDA was kept to a minimum. Though the awards did take place, for the first time since 1989 the SDA exhibition remained confined to the second round and was organised in Basel primarily for the jury. It did not travel to any institution and was not accompanied by a catalogue. While participants felt neglected, the Design Service's means were too limited for them to be able to organise the regular publication and travelling exhibition while at the same time preparing the competition's new format.[161]

161 Benedetto 2019; Crivelli 2001; 2017.

Fig. 2.5 Invitation to the 2000 SDA ceremony (2000). Design and photograph: Gilles and Vincent Turin.

As a result, the 2001 edition was almost erased from the memory.[162] Little visual material remains of it. For instance, the MfGZ has no artefacts for that year, not even a poster.[163] The absence of published material for 2001 can be felt down to the present day. The discontinued website "swissdesignawards.ch", which was used as the main platform and archive for design promotion from 2010 until early 2019, had no information for 2001. The new website – "schweizerkulturpreise.ch" – also skips 2001 at the time of writing.[164] This gap underlines the role played by the SDA's visual communication as a record of a year's work and discourse. Whenever visual material was produced for the awards, it had an immediate effect on promotion, the archive and memory. Its absence thus induced long-term amnesia.

162 Crivelli 2017.
163 I was not even able to locate a single photograph of the exhibition in the FOC's internal archives.
164 Accessed 20 March 2021.

2.3.3 The arc of design promotion

When the SWB and the OEV successfully lobbied the government to promote design in 1917, they simultaneously began playing a defining role in that same process of promotion. They secured funding for their activities and acquired recognition for their discipline. Both the professional organisations and the government shared a vision for design promotion whose goal was to support the economy rather than society or culture. Over the course of the next century, this perception evolved. The debate on cultural policy led to a new definition of the role of design. The state and the SWB began promoting the discipline in the understanding that it also contributed to society and culture. By the end of the 20th century, the FOC had moved away from supporting commerce. The arc of design promotion had brought it to a point where it was primarily linked to cultural promotion.

This arc was a result of the power struggles that defined design promotion. Retracing these territorial disputes can highlight how professional associations, the industry and the FOC each pulled design promotion in different directions because they upheld mutually incompatible definitions of the profession and of "good" design. Design promotion was initially determined and conducted by the SWB and the OEV, who had their own interests in mind. However, the state increasingly took over. The creation of the FOC in 1975 was a symbolic moment in this takeover which was conducive to the separation between the professional organisations and the state. The associations receded into the background while the FOC took centre-stage on the design scene. The industry remained a protagonist in design competitions throughout the rest of the century, but by the late 1990s its interests were so different from those of the FOC that it distanced itself from federal competitions and created its own. By the end of the 20th century, federal design promotion was defined solely by the FOC, and it had become synonymous with cultural

promotion. In the 1990s, professional organisations and the specialist press had become extremely critical of the FOC's approach to design promotion. The FCAA was aware of a need to revisit the competition. Taking the 80-year anniversary of the SDA in 1997 as an opportunity to redefine design promotion, the FOC began the reorganisation process that culminated in the relaunch of 2002. It introduced a series of new rules in the SDA competition, but also had to convince designers that the SDA were the place to be. To regain a position that was centre stage, the SDA used its exhibition and publication as rhetorical devices.

PROMO-TIONAL SHIFT: THE SWISS DESIGN AWARDS' 2002 RELAUNCH

3.1 Exhibiting to convince

3.1.1 Please come to the show

Exhibitions are instruments of power and representations of institutional identity; they are narrative devices that present a certain story to the audience.[1] This was particularly obvious in the 2002 SDA, which aimed both to introduce the FOC's new approach to design promotion and to convince the audience – designers and the press – that the awards were still relevant. In this chapter, I focus on the FOC's manoeuvre to reposition the SDA at the centre of the design scene. The FOC used a variety of channels and artefacts to convince its audience of the awards' pertinence. The first was visual: it consisted of the ephemera announcing the show, namely the invitation and poster. The second was the oral and written discourse surrounding the exhibition opening, that is speeches and press releases. The third was the exhibition itself, its curation, set design and events programme. The fourth, finally, was the publication. These four channels used a variety of visual and textual languages that together conveyed a complex message.

1 Bennett 2005, 59; Ferguson 1996, 126–128; Hepworth 2014.

To map out these four sites of discourse, I needed an analytical framework that would encompass different modes of communication and representation – images, writing, typography and layouts – and the relationships between them. I therefore relied on a multimodal approach to critical discourse analysis that was grounded in a social semiotic theory of communication.[2] As the scholars of multimodal analysis David Machin and Andrew Mayr have proposed, this framework is useful to "draw out ideologies [and show] where they might be buried".[3] The semiotician Van Leeuwen has explained that social semiotics puts an emphasis on "the way people use semiotic 'resources' both to produce communicative artefacts and events and to interpret them".[4] Social semioticians use the term "resource" as an alternative to "sign" to avoid giving the impression that its meaning is pre-given. Instead, this method focuses on the potential of these resources to create meaning.[5] As I will discuss in due course, the designers behind the

SDA's exhibition and catalogue used this potential extensively. Focusing on how resources were used rather than attempting to discover pre-defined meaning has helped me to uncover power relationships. As the social semiotician Gunther Kress has explained,

A *social semiotic* approach asks: "*Whose interest* and *agency* is at work here in the making of meaning?", "*What meaning* is being made here?", "*How* is meaning being made?", "With what *resources*, in what *social environment*?" and "What are the *meaning potentials* of the *resources* that have been used?" [6]

2 Kress 2010; Kress 2011; Machin & Mayr 2012, 1.
3 Machin & Mayr 2012, 25.
4 Van Leeuwen 2005, XI.
5 Van Leeuwen 2005, 3–4.
6 Kress 2010, 57.

The four sites of discourse used in 2002 made use of different modes of communication and semiotic re sources, and I had to consider the intertextuality of the material used. In the words of Gillian Rose, a scholar of visual cultures, intertextuality refers to how "the meanings of any one discursive image or text depend not only on that one text or image, but also on the meanings carried by other images and texts".[7] A multimodal approach enabled me to analyse these interrelationships, because it allows the different modes of communication to be analysed jointly. It explicitly encompasses such diverse modes as gesture, speech, image, writing and so on.[8] Taken together, these materially diverse sources accordingly provide varied entry points to an investigation of the 2002 relaunch.[9] They form a discourse that represents the SDA's creation of meaning.[10] It was not neutral: the FOC, its authors and designers drew from a repertoire of signs "to *create* society", that is, to help "realise their interests".[11] To conclude, multimodal discourse analysis grounded in social semiotics enabled me uncover how the FOC's semiotic choices allowed the construction of a discourse, with its hidden ideologies, politics and meaning, to achieve its aims.[12]

7 Rose 2016, 187–188.
8 Kress 2011, 36–38.
9 Phillips & Hardy 2002, 83–85; Rose 2016, 216.
10 Kress 2011, 38. Emphasis in the original.
11 Machin & Mayr 2012, 17–19. Emphasis in the original.
12 Machin & Mayr 2012, 17–19; Van Leeuwen 2005, 5.

Before the public even reached the exhibition, the graphic language and the complexity of the invitation communicated that a new era of the SDA was about to begin. The first visual artefacts to be seen by the public were the poster (Fig. 3.1) and, for those who received it, the invitation to the opening (Fig. 3.2).[13] Both announced the relaunch via discursive means including choice of words, text, image and layout. The title of the competition already signalled a redirection and an attempt to change the public's perception of the award. In the past, the exhibition was advertised in national languages – a mix of German, French and Italian – and always made use of the word "federal" to underline the competition as a national endeavour under the patronage of the Confederation. In 2002, the official languages were replaced by an overarching title in English: *Swiss Design 2002*. A short historical overview of the vocabulary surrounding the SDA – the denomination of the award, the title of competition and the catalogue titles – gives a compelling insight into the way their role was perceived and presented by the FOC.

13 Unfortunately, the 2002 address list could not be located in the FOC archives. It is unlikely that it was kept.

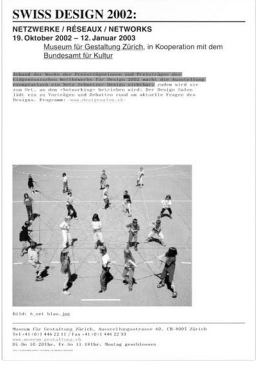


Fig. 3.1 Poster for the 2002 SDA exhibition (2002). Design: Elektrosmog featuring a photograph by Uta Eisenreich.
Fig. 3.2 Invitation to the 2002 SDA ceremony (2002). Design: Elektrosmog.

In use since the inception of the competition in 1917, the denominations *Stipendium/bourses/borse* suggested a benevolent form of state support to those in need of help

to study. From 1995, the word "bursary" was replaced by "prize". This reflected the true nature of the SDA as a competition that awarded finished projects rather than prospective funding applications. The name of the competition on the catalogues from 1993 to 1997, *Wettbewerb/concours/concorso*, implied that designers had to compete against one another to merit the state's support. The title changed again in 1998 to *Preise/prix/premi*, which was the official title until 2000. This softened the competitive tone and replaced it instead with the idea that the state was recognising the "best of the best" amongst practitioners. By contrast, the English title *Swiss Design 2002* was vaguer about the competition. It made no reference to a federal award but suggested a curated exhibition about the national design scene rather than a simple presentation of winners. It also made the title international. The single English word "design" replaced the different multilingual denominations which had been in use since the beginning of the competition, *Angewandte Kunst* (*Gestaltung* from 1993), *arts appliqués* and *arti applicate*. The adoption of the term "design" was perhaps overdue, since it had appeared in Switzerland towards the end of the 1960s.[14] While replacing the federal languages with English could seem like a simple change reflecting the adoption of the term "design", it was also a strategy to heighten the awards' visibility on the international scene.[15]

14 Lichtenstein 1997.
15 Crivelli & Michel n.d. [2002], 18.

The subtitle of the exhibition, *Netzwerke / Réseaux / Networks* – dropping Italian for English in its aspiration to address an international audience – introduced another novelty: a theme for the exhibition. In line with its subtitle, *Swiss Design 2002* aimed to make design networks visible. These included connections that took place via jobs, schools, institutions or personal connections. The exhibition also announced its aim to reclaim networks that were usually perceived as negative, such as *Filz*, a term that can be translated as "old boys' club" and that refers to exclusive, elitist networks. Ironically, these networks would rule over design promotion for the next two decades, as I argue below in my fifth chapter. Unusually for the SDA posters, whose textual content in

previous years had been limited to announcing the name of the awards and the location of the exhibition, the 2002 poster introduced the curatorial concept of the exhibition in a whole paragraph:

Using the works of the prize-winners of the Swiss Design Awards 2002 as examples, the exhibition makes a network of Swiss design visible; in addition, it becomes a place where networking takes place: the Design Salon invites visitors to lectures and debates on current design issues.[16]

16 **"Anhand der Werke der Preisträgerinnen und Preisträger des Eidgenössischen Wettbewerbs für Design 2002 macht die Ausstellung exemplarisch ein Netz Schweizer Design sichtbar; zudem wird sie zum Ort, an dem 'networking' betrieben wird: Der Design Salon lädt ein zu Vorträgen und Debatten rund um aktuelle Fragen des Designs." Poster for the 2002 SDA exhibition, Plakatsammlung, Museum für Gestaltung, Zurich, M-0685.**

In line with the new title, this theme illustrated the FOC's desire to establish the SDA as an institution producing a discourse – something it had not embraced in its history to date.

The visual communication for the exhibition was designed by the young Zurich-based studio Elektrosmog, which was formed by Valentin Hindermann and Marco Walser in 1995 while they were still students. They graduated in 1998. Walser was selected in the first round of the SDA in 1999 but did not win; in 2001, both designers won the awards.[17] Their previous clients included institutions such as the MfGZ, the Migros Kulturprozent and the Migros Museum, clients for whom they had developed critically recognised work.[18] They had also secured a previous commission for the FOC that had been well-received (see Fig. 3.7).[19] They were thus ideal candidates to communicate the new direction adopted by the SDA. They were a relatively young studio whose presence in the acclaimed publication *Benzin*, to which I shall return in the next section, attested to their degree of recognition amongst peers and critics; they had previously won the SDA, which meant that their practice was in line with the FOC's idea of "good design"; their

commissions for large institutions gave them the professional credentials that the FOC needed for the delivery of an ambitious catalogue; and last but not least, they were part of Lineto, an influential community of designers that would come to define design promotion in the ensuing years, as I discuss extensively in the fourth and fifth chapters below.

17 In 2001, they were awarded as a group together with Franziska Born and Andrea Roca (Crivelli 2001).
18 Ernst 2000b.
19 Locher 2002, 18.

The design language adopted by Elektrosmog in their poster alluded to an email print-out. It made references to "default" design choices which contrasted with previous layouts, including the polemical series of images used by Cornel Windlin between 1997 and 1999, or the custom typeface developed for the 2000 poster and invitation (see Fig. 2.3, Fig. 2.4, and Fig. 2.5). In 2002, the title was set in so-called default typefaces which were prevalent in most email software, namely Times New Roman and Helvetica. The underlined text echoed hyperlinked email addresses, the body was typeset in a monospace typeface, and the text at the bottom looked like an automatic signature. Further references to default digital communication included the layout of the text, ranged on the left like in the body of an email, and the photograph, which was placed at the bottom of the poster like an attachment, its width not quite aligned to the main text. The image showed children holding pieces of string between each other. These evidently referred to networks, but the caption gave no further explanation: it consisted only of the image's cryptic file name – "6_net blau.jpg" – which reiterated the allusion to email attachments.

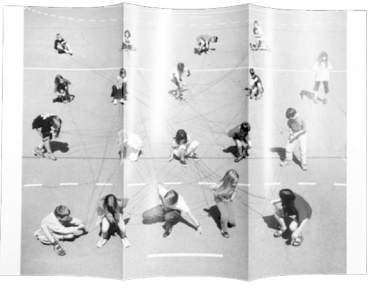
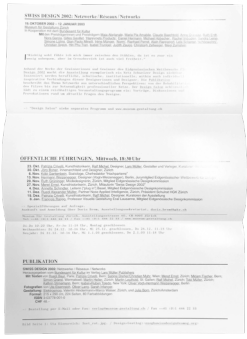


Fig. 3.3 Small format poster in the invitation to the 2002 SDA ceremony (2002). Design: Elektrosmog featuring a photograph by Uta Eisenreich.



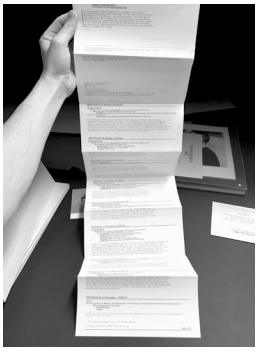


Fig. 3.4 The reverse of Fig. 3.3
Fig. 3.5 The programme of the 2002 exhibition (2002). Design: Elektrosmog.

The 2002 invitation (Fig. 3.2) quoted a similar visual universe. Rather than the simple postcard format mostly associated with invitations, it was a complex object made of two folded leaflets bound together by a bellyband.[20] This complexity was fitting for a show designed to trigger expectations, and to position the FOC and heighten its desirability, but it also created a contrast with the "default" typefaces. Once opened, the blue bellyband revealed two folded documents. The first, a letter-folded poster with a photograph of children creating a web of connections with pieces of string (Fig. 3.3), which was similar to that of Fig. 3.1, provided a playful take on the topic of networks. The reverse of the invite's poster contained general information on the exhibition, tours and the book of the exhibition (Fig. 3.4). In stark contrast with the playfulness of the photograph on the recto, the verso was a clear reference to the professional world. Like the poster, it was typeset to look like a printed email chain with headers, addressees and monospaced text. It also used Times New Roman and Helvetica. The second document included in the invitation, the full programme of events, went a step further in its format: it was designed as an unusually long, stern, double-sided 8-page concertina fold (Fig. 3.5). Unfolding the document reinforced references to endless email chains or the computer listing paper used for faxes. Details such as captions alluding to the "conversion" of "attachments" (JPEG images and Microsoft Word documents) – in fact, their re-moval by the designers, who instead wrote their filenames as placeholders (Fig. 3.6) – contributed to creating the appearance of a mundane professional communication.

A bellyband (also called obi) is a type of dust jacket, often made of paper, that covers only a portion of a book or booklet.

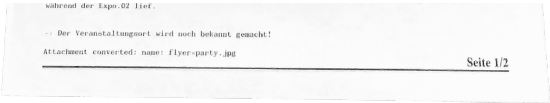


Fig. 3.6 Detail of the programme of the 2002 exhibition (2002). In a playful reference to email chains, the caption reads "Attachment converted: name: flyer-party.jpg". Design: Elektrosmog.

How did this visual universe, which was at first sight mundane and unrelated to design awards, communicate the new direction taken by the SDA? Rose stressed the importance of analysing the sites of the "audiencing" of visual material, a term which describes how visual images have their meaning renegotiated by specific audiences.[21] In this case, the artefacts promoting the 2002 exhibition would have been received very differently by different viewers. To the public, some aspects of the invitation and poster – for instance the use of default typefaces or the reference to "converted attachments" – might have appeared unprepossessing. They seemingly displayed an absence of design, or even showed mistakes. In fact, the awards were intended for a knowing audience, one well versed in design who would have possessed the cultural capital to understand the visual communication.[22] The posters were knowingly unfashionable. By ironically appropriating the visual language of mundane office communications, Elektrosmog demonstrated how strategies of condescension could be used to gain recognition in the design world. They consciously rejected a "try-hard" attitude and successfully conveyed that the SDA were not a dusty institution: on the contrary, they were aware of the latest trends. The self-deprecatory tone was addressed to a younger, more experimentally versed section of the design scene. The SDA were communicating their relaunch textually as well as visually.

21 Rose 2016, 38. The term "audiencing" was coined in Fiske 1994, 189–98.
22 Bourdieu 2016 (1979); Crivelli n.d. [2002?], 3.

3.1.2 Announcements, discourses and strategies

In the two addresses Crivelli gave to introduce the exhibition, at a press conference and on opening night, she

expressed a desire to position the FOC as a discourse-producing institution with a proactive attitude to promotion and networking.[23] She outlined a series of administrative changes that would help the SDA to achieve that goal. For instance, the awards would collaborate with two design museums, the mudac in Lausanne and the MfGZ in Zurich, which would take turns to host a yearly exhibition. This would replace the ad-hoc travelling exhibition that had been hosted by various museums, applied art schools and galleries in the past decade. The former approach offered a broader geographical reach but failed to offer a specific discourse. The new strategy not only enlisted the patronage of two recognised institutions, but also introduced a thematic, curatorial approach. By institutionalising the exhibition, the FOC secured its place on the cultural agenda and increased the relevance of the SDA on the Swiss design scene.[24]

23 Crivelli 2002b; Crivelli & Michel n.d. [2002].
24 Berthod 2021e, 104.

Another change contributed to the creation of a more complex discourse in the selection process. The categories hitherto in use by the applicants – such as fashion, jewellery, industrial design and so on – were replaced by two broad groups. Group A comprised objects produced in a single edition or in small series, while group B encompassed industrially or serially produced objects. Although this may seem like a simple administrative reorganisation, it had a series of repercussions for the competition. First, it created a category specifically for self-authored design projects, which gave unprecedented room for these often-experimental works. Then, it forced the jury to assess submissions from across the spectrum of disciplines rather than compare like-for-like. The new criterion led to increased jury debates, but was deemed necessary to assess the interdisciplinary practices which the FDC felt were increasingly becoming the norm (this did not last – in 2005, the FDC realised the tendency had already reversed).[25] It also required designers to take a specific stance, and this encouraged more professional submissions compared to those of the past, which had been perceived as too vague.[26] From here on, the jury would assess dossiers as a whole rather than focus solely on the

artefact submitted to the awards.[27] This holistic approach contributed to creating a more complete picture of the design scene rather than a disparate display of objects. In the past, the assessment of projects within the same discipline emphasised "know-how" such as technical skills, craft and the limitations of the field. The mixed categories rendered such criteria obsolete and focus instead on relevance, quality and originality of concepts, and research.[28] For graphic design, this approach favoured commissions for the cultural sector, whose clients were often more open to original, experimental and even critical projects.

25 Coen 2005; Crivelli *et al.* 2002, 209; *Kult* 2002; Michel 2001.
26 Crivelli 1998b; Locher 2002, 19.
27 Coen & Crivelli 2003, 9; Crivelli 2000f; Locher 2002.
28 Cerf 2002b.

The FOC's desire to play a more extensive role on the scene was supported by two further changes. Firstly, the SDA began offering internships as an alternative to the prize money. The Design Service contacted recognised international studios to arrange those for designers. In 2002, it offered placements in Germany, Switzerland, the United Kingdom and the United States. In the field of graphic design, they were at Graphic Thought Facility in London and at *Visionaire* magazine in New York. The FOC hoped it would help designers to create a professional network, which it perceived was as pressing as financial support.[29] It was also a bid to position the FOC within the design scene. More active than a distant grant-giving institution, it connected people to promote designers.[30]

29 Münch & Staub 2005.
30 Crivelli 2002a, 170–71.

Secondly, the FOC started giving an increasing number of commissions to up-and-coming designers to help them launch their career. This strategy began in 1999 when the FOC commissioned Windlin and Gilles Gavillet for a series of catalogues for the MBSB competition. Other commissions included the yearly SDA catalogue, their exhibition design and ephemera that were published by the FOC. Instead of an open call, the Design Service contacted specific designers to ask for proposals. The criterion for selecting these designers was not made explicit – Crivelli indicated that the FOC had "noticed their work" – but most had won one of the competitions organised by the FOC in

the past and were thus part of the institution's network.[31] The designers selected revealed the FOC's choice to use a specific kind of design to communicate their new position, one that privileged an experimental language and visual research over design as a "problem-solving" approach.

31 Crivelli & Michel n.d. [2002?].

This type of design language was notably adopted for material published by the FOC at the beginning of 2002 which advertised the six areas of design promotion[32] (Fig. 3.7).[33] Based on a concept developed by Elektrosmog, this series consisted of transparent plastic envelopes containing material composed by other designers. This visually reflected the variety of design promotion. The designers invited by Elektrosmog to contribute were Julia Born, Aus dem Hause Rüegger und Albisetti, Happypets Products, Laurent Benner and NORM. Many of these would become household names not just on the design scene, but also within the networks of design promotion.

Fig. 3.7 Promotional material published by the FOC announcing the different venues of design promotion. Transparent pockets designed by Elektrosmog; contents designed by various designers. Photograph by FOC/Tobias Madörin.

Though not recent graduates, they were all in the early stages of their careers. Almost all had either already won an SDA or would soon win one.[34] The FOC planned to set an example by commissioning less-established designers and supporting a generation at the beginning of its professional life; the critics welcomed the move for sustaining design practice.[35]

32 These six areas were: the SDA, ateliers (in Berlin, Cracow, New York and Rome), purchases by the state, exhibitions, financial support on a project basis, and the MBSB competition/Jan Tschichold Prize.
33 Locher 2002, 19.
34 The only exception was Judith Rüegger. Moreover, Born also collaborated with Elektrosmog on the design of the 2002 SDA catalogue.
35 Locher 2002, 19.

3.1.3 Curated meanings and interpretations

In the past, the SDA exhibitions had offered little context and their exhibition design was minimal.[36] Basic furniture was provided, such as shelves and pedestals, but it did not play a fundamental story-telling role; instead, the designers all installed their work independently (Fig. 3.8). Curation was negligible and there was no explanation for the works. This type of exhibition implied that the work was supposed to speak for itself.[37] The lack of context had led critics to ask for more material accompanying the pieces that were exhibited.[38] By contrast, the 2002 exhibition provided a complex, layered setup that made full use of semiotic resources to communicate a discourse to the audience.

36 Jaunin 2001. Some earlier findings of this subsection were partially published in Berthod 2021e.
37 O'Doherty 1986, 9.
38 Jaunin 2001.

Fig. 3.8 View of the 2000 SDA exhibition, here showing the work of the graphic designer Mathias Schweizer. Photographer unknown.

For the SDA, the idea of providing a discourse through curation was new. The Design Service appointed three curators for the show: Crivelli, Michel and Lars Müller. Crivelli represented the FOC and took the lead in the project. Michel had worked on the 2002 relaunch and was in the process of launching the Swiss Design Network. He had worked as design editor at *Hochparterre* and therefore provided a link to the media. The FOC also appointed him to support an up-and-coming design curator.[39] Finally, the nomination of the graphic designer and publisher Lars Müller was a strategic move by the FOC on many levels. After founding his first publishing house in 1983, he had gradually become a key actor on the scene.[40] He won a "Design Preis Schweiz" in 1999 and had just been awarded a Jan Tschichold

Prize at the beginning of 2002. Müller specialised in architecture, design, photography, contemporary art and society, and had been chosen to produce that year's publication. More importantly, he was also hired because he had contacts with the staff at the MfGZ. His network proved invaluable after the surprise resignation in October 2001 of both the MfGZ's director, Erika Keil, and all the curators, on account of disagreements with the rector of the HGKZ.[41] Crivelli had originally planned to co-curate the exhibition with Keil, but the block resignation meant that the FOC lost their direct contact with the MfGZ. Since Müller was known and appreciated by both the FOC and the MfGZ, he was able to be a connecting point between the two institutions.[42]

39 Crivelli 2002c.
40 Locher 2001.
41 Crivelli 2002c; Steiner 2001.
42 Crivelli 2002c.

From the beginning, the intention of using the exhibition as a device to explore a theme had been clear. During one of the first preparatory meetings in 2001, Crivelli, Michel and Müller had created the exhibition's concept around the hypothesis that informal creative centres existed in Switzerland.[43] They set out to research these networks and render them visible, explicitly understanding them in the Bourdieusian sense as not just professional but also extending into personal life.[44] By making these networks visible, they were simultaneously aiming to position themselves as an important node within them. This symbolised a change of mindset at the FOC, which would from now on take a proactive approach to design promotion by sharing its networks with designers to support their careers.[45] Unwittingly, the curators' desire to merge professional and institutional networks would become the defining feature of design promotion for most of the next couple of decades, as I will argue later in this book.

43 Müller, Michel, & Crivelli 2001.
44 Bourdieu 1980.
45 Crivelli & Michel n.d. [2002]; Meier 2002.

The curators' concept was successfully conveyed by the exhibition design. On approaching the show, the visitors were greeted by a large title inscribed on glass (Fig. 3.9).

Unexpectedly, the typeface used for the title, the exhibition signage and the ephemera was not the same as on the invitation. In contrast to the "default" typefaces Times or Helvetica, Elektrosmog used Simple. This "deceptively simple" font developed by NORM in 1999–2000 displayed an idiosyncratic personality that was in line with the new approach of the FOC.[46] In a series of connections that would increasingly define design promotion over the next decades, NORM were among the 2002 awardees and had published Simple on Lineto, the foundry and informal network in which Elektrosmog also took part.[47] These many layers were already a demonstration of the networks of design and promotion.

46 Farrelly 2008.
47 Berthod 2019a.

Fig. 3.9 The entrance of the 2002 exhibition, with the back of the terraces (in green) and the staircase just visible in the background. Exhibition design: Gabrielle Schmid and Cornelia Staffelbach. Photographer unknown.

Once inside the show, a series of themes was visually explored through the exhibition design, which had been developed by Gabrielle Schmid and Cornelia Staffelbach and mixed references from the world of sports and that of networks. Upon entry, the visitors were prevented from seeing the exhibition by a green wall (Fig. 3.9) and had to climb a few steps leading to a bird's eye view (Fig. 3.10). Once there, it became clear to the visitors that the platform on which they were standing was in fact the back of a row of seats that would have not looked out of place in a gym hall (Fig. 3.11). By hiding the exhibition before giving it a full reveal, the exhibition design had a double effect. On the one hand, it created a dramatic reveal of the new SDA. On the other hand, by leading the public up to the top of seating terraces, they were inviting the audience to assume both a physical and a metaphorical position while attending the competition taking place in front of

them. The display mixed further references to sports and to networks. The floor was covered in a blue material which recalled a sports hall. A set of lines created diagrams: one was a basketball court, another the strategy board game Nine men's morris, complete with black-and-white pieces ready to be played by the audience (Fig. 3.11). Other lines joined the nominees' displays to demonstrate the networks linking them: education, awards, museums, foundations, professional associations, internships, the FOC and "who knows who" amongst the winners. On the back of the exhibition ephemera, a plan of the space visualised all these connections and provided a clear interpretation of the topic through a series of symbols (Fig. 3.12). The nodes of the networks were listed with their contact details. The exhibition material went further than simply giving every visitor the opportunity to analyse the networks: it also provided a valuable resource list for designers.

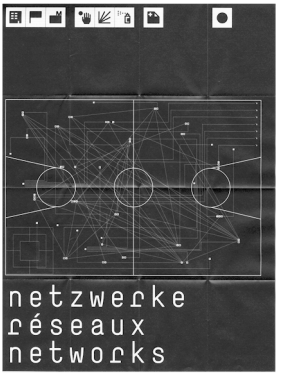


Fig. 3.12 **Exhibition map. The plan shows the "basketball court" shape in bolder lines and the "nine men's morris" game at the bottom left. The diagonal lines represent the networks. The small white squares are symbols signifying the relationships between awardees.**

The exhibition display was in line with the theme of sports. A series of colourful structures evoking gym-hall furniture, with wheels and handles, resembled coffers and gym espaliers. High and low tables accommodated the variety of artefacts awarded, and large captions on the floor provided additional information about the pieces. In a corner, a series of screens showed short documentaries about the internships offered that year (Fig. 3.13 and Fig. 3.14), linked by floor lines to the designers who had chosen these placements.

Fig. 3.10 The view from the top of the terraces. Photographer unknown.

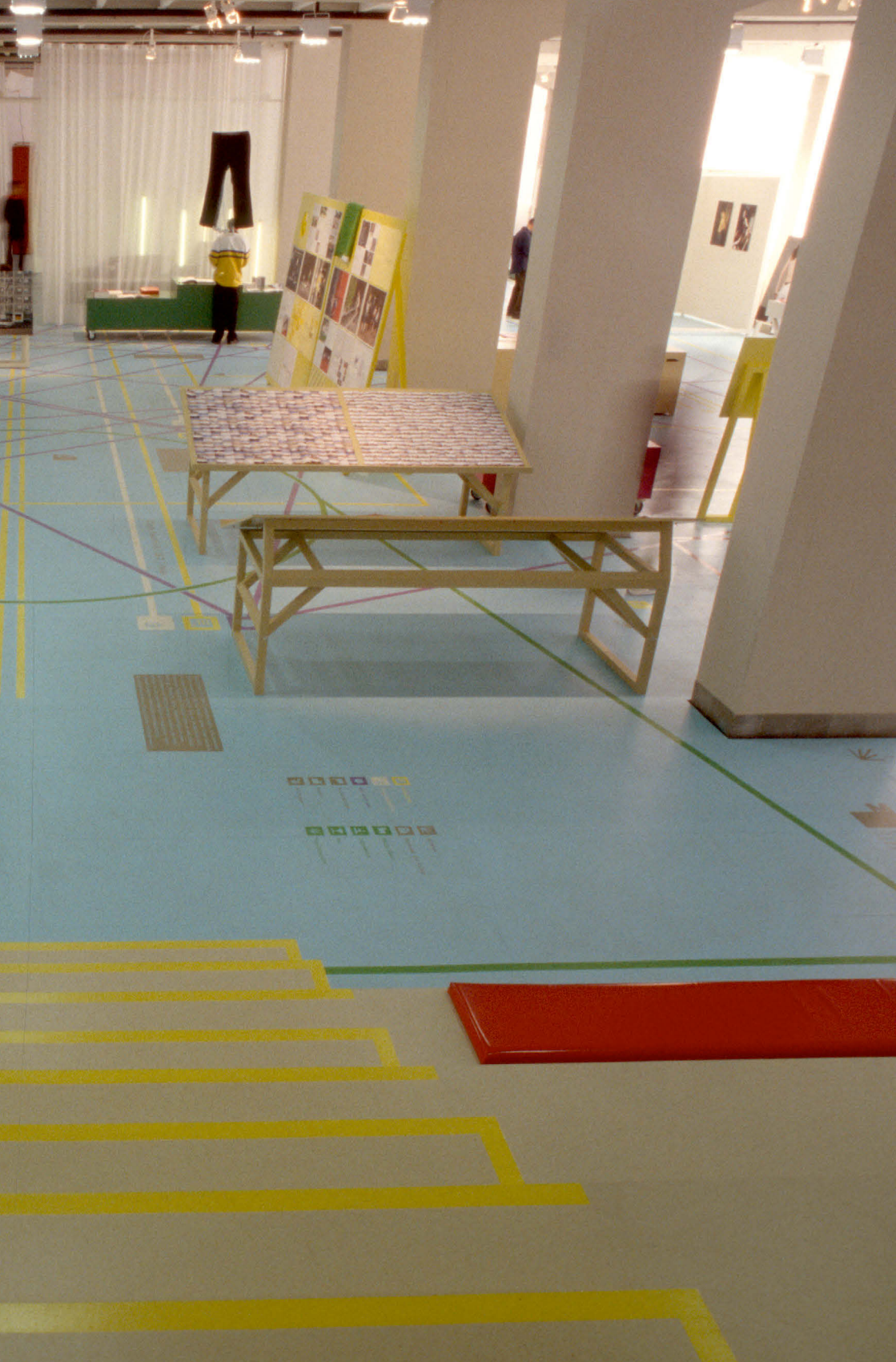


Fig. 3.11 The terraces of the 2002 exhibition. Photographer unknown.

Fig. 3.13 Screens showing short documentaries about the internships offered to the awardees. Photographer unknown.


SONY
SONY
SONY

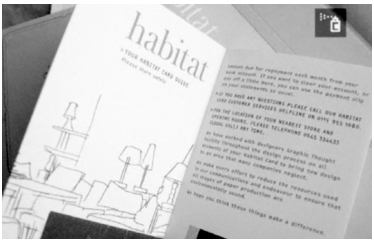


Fig. 3.14 Still image from the documentary on Graphic Thought Facility (GTF), here showing an artefact from their portfolio. Filmmaker unknown.

At the centre of the space, a room furnished with comfortable seating and separated by floor-to-ceiling curtains offered a different typology: the sitting room (Fig. 3.15). This was the Design Salon, a space used to host a series of events throughout the exhibition. The name, which was also used to promote the exhibition online, not only evoked the living room but also larger international design exhibitions such as the Salone del Mobile in Milan.

Fig. 3.15 The seating space offered in the Design Salon, at the centre of the exhibition. At the forefront, a laptop displays the plan of the space. Photographer unknown.

An extensive events programme was organised by the curators in close collaboration with the HGKZ, and involved the Department of Cultural Studies in Art, Media and Design, the Institute for Design and Art Theory, the study area Design and Art Theory and the Design Department.[48] The important role played by the HGKZ in defining the discourse and the high number of events (reflected in the length of the invitation on Fig. 3.5) indicated how design was seen equally as an academic and a professional discipline. The programme assembled a broad selection of participants from the scene: not only designers, but also representatives of the FOC, academics, teachers, museum and gallery directors. Collectors, curators, journalists and even a psychoanalyst were also invited. They came not only from all over Switzerland but also from Germany, France and the

United States. The events covered topics as varied as gender issues, marketing and design as development aid. The Design Salon contributed extensively to the production of a discourse while also offering an opportunity to extend social networks.

48 Museum für Gestaltung, Zurich, M-2002-1/1-015 1 and GBA-2002-D09-004.

The exhibition and its allied series of events successfully created and mediated a rich discourse around the awardees and, by extension, the Swiss design scene. By providing a playful, transparent context, it gave the audience an opportunity to make up its own mind and judge the influence of networks on the works displayed. It also succeeded in creating a renewed sense of excitement about the awards. Even in the mainstream press, the reaction was overwhelmingly positive on a national level. The press welcomed the theme and the intentions of the reorganisation, the exhibition and the programme of events, and noted the awardees' interest in the internship.[49] One review prophesied that the "revolution" represented by the reorganisation of the SDA would have long-term consequences.[50] This journalist would turn out to be correct, though perhaps not in the sense that he had expected. The positive reviews were certainly helped in no small part by the creation of a discourse around the exhibition, rather than simply having the winners' work displayed without context as had previously been the norm. The accompanying catalogue went even further.

49 Beck 2002; Bergflödt 2002; Eschbach 2002; Gasser 2002; Schneider 2002; Zürcher 2002.
50 Cerf 2002b.

3.2 A publication as a court case

3.2.1 A new discussion platform

Catalogues are peculiar publications.[51] They are "'orthopaedic' devices for memory" that are routinely used as sources of knowledge on exhibitions.[52] They are archival devices, though they participate in the production of an event while recording it.[53] Furthermore, most exhibition catalogues are made before the show has opened that they are documenting, and therefore cannot tell us much about what really took place.[54] They are thus "multi-layered documents" in which facts are "embroidered with

ideological or situated views".[55] In 2002, those views were especially strong. The eponymous publication accompanying *Swiss Design 2002* aimed to create a layer of reflection on the theme of networks. If an exhibition catalogue can be an orthopaedic device for memory, *Swiss Design 2002* was closer to a prosthetic attachment. It was an additional, multi-layered form of design promotion that had never been conceived as a record or a documentation of the exhibition. In fact, not a single photograph of the show was reproduced in the book, which was imagined instead as an independent space to disseminate the winners' work and develop a critical discourse on contemporary Swiss design.

51 A summary of selected findings from this section was published in Berthod 2021a.
52 Falguières 1996, 5; Joyeux-Prunel & Marcel 2015, 81–84.
53 Derrida 1995, 17.
54 Barok 2018, 48.
55 Joyeux-Prunel & Marcel 2015, 84.

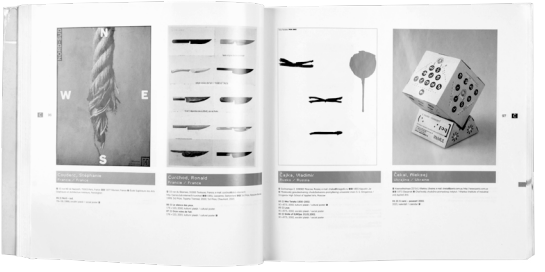


Fig. 3.16 Maria Arnold's spread in the 1989 SDA catalogue (1989). Design: Atelier Jeker (Sandra Binder). Photograph: Swiss National Library, Bern.
Fig. 3.17 The catalogue of the 2002 International Biennale of Graphic Design Brno. Photograph: ECAL/ Jimmy Rachez.

Swiss Design 2002 was the SDA's first publication which attempted to control the discourse around the competition: not only through texts, but also through graphic design and art direction. It was nuanced and playful, creating a visual meta-narrative that benefitted both the awardees and the SDA. Previous years had adopted a much simpler approach. The very first SDA catalogue in 1989 had been a straightforward publication listing the winners, with one or two photographs of their work, a tabular curriculum vitae, and occasionally a brief description written by the winners themselves (Fig. 3.16). This publication and the SDA's subsequent annuals over the next decade did not project any specific editorial direction, nor were they designed or produced in an overly elaborate manner. Their somewhat lackadaisical approach might

seem to have been counterintuitive for what was after all a design competition, but it was in line with many other catalogues for international design competitions in the 1990s and early 2000s (Fig. 3.17).

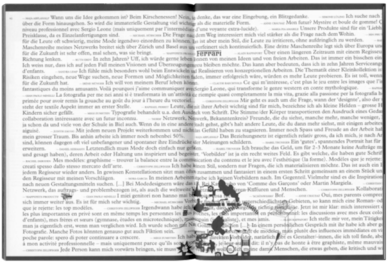


Fig. 3.18 **A selection of SDA catalogues. Their relative scale is approximate. Left to right: 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995 and 2000. The catalogues had the same design between 1995 and 2000. Composite: Jonas Berthod.**

Fig. 3.19 **A spread of the 2002 SDA catalogue reproducing excerpts of interviews with designers. Design: Elektrosmog and Julia Born.**

Apart from some playful elements on the covers (Fig. 3.18), the SDA's catalogue layout was relatively restrained. Between 1989 and 1994, the inner pages were printed in black and white, and the series between 1995 and 2000 featured the same layout on the cover and in the inside. A single image of each winning project was shown, flanked by a succinct caption and biographical notes. There were no accompanying essays or interviews. The only other written material comprised between one and three short, introductory texts that were usually written by the secretary of the FCAA, a representative of the FOC and the director of the institution hosting the exhibition. The texts were factual – describing that year's budget, how many awards were given out, or the stance of the Confederation towards promoting design – with some sections even reproduced verbatim two years in a row. The catalogues' role was to offer a simple, commemorative record of the exhibition and the winners, rather than to foster any kind of discourse or critical dialogue.

The publication *Swiss Design 2002: Netzwerke / Réseaux / Networks* could not have been more different (Fig. 3.19).[56] From the outset, the FOC had a much more ambitious scope than in previous years. Besides recording the winners, it aimed to comment, debate and participate in the discourse surrounding the awards.[57] In fact, for the FOC this was not an exhibition catalogue at all, but rather an independent publication, sometimes described as a yearbook, that both presented the designers' work and made a comment on the current state of the design scene.[58] The difference from previous editions was not just editorial; it was immediately perceptible through its design. Between 1995 and 2000, the catalogue was a slim hardcover volume, but *Swiss Design 2002* was a softcover publication of 226 pages. This was more than double the length of previous catalogues. The new editorial direction had been carefully orchestrated by the FOC, starting in the early days of the reorganisation. In her briefing to Elektrosmog, Crivelli was determined to conceive it as an object that would play a new, more significant role than it had done so far:

Up to now, there has been no yearly publication that gives a full overview and allows a critical discussion of the questions, focus points and specific themes of design in Switzerland. The FOC wants to fill that gap [...].[59]

56 Crivelli *et al.* 2002.
57 Crivelli n.d. [2002?], 2; G. A. 2001; Müller, Michel, & Crivelli, 2001.
58 Crivelli 2000e; Fischer 2002; G. A. 2001.
59 "Es gibt in der Schweiz bisher keine Publikation, die jährlich umfassend zu Fragen, Schwerpunkten und spezifischen Themenbereichen des Designs informiert und auch eine kritische Diskussion ermöglicht. Diese Lücke will das BAK (...) schliessen". Crivelli n.d. [2002], 2.

By not limiting itself to listing the winners and showing the works of the awardees, *Swiss Design 2002* aimed to create a further layer of reflexion on the theme of networks. The FOC's intention to create an overarching publication discussing the entire design scene was a shrewd move. Since the SDA were based on an open call and only winners were featured in the publication, the latter could not give a "full overview" of the design scene.

However, by presenting it as such – going as far as giving it the title *Swiss Design 2002* – the FOC positioned the SDA as the place to be.

3.2.2 Meta-narratives of visual formality

The editorial concept of *Swiss Design 2002* was developed by the exhibition curators Crivelli, Michel and Müller, along with the graphic designers Elektrosmog and Julia Born.[60] For the curators, this was not an exhibition catalogue but a book in its own right,[61] though their ambitious product remained a catalogue in all but name. The structures employed to organise content in publications, especially in catalogues, have an impact on their meaning. This "order of order" was particularly telling in *Swiss Design 2002*.[62] Rather than documenting the exhibition, the catalogue focused on the competition itself.[63] It offered a complex, multi-layered approach that provided a meta-narrative of the judging process. The book was divided into eight, formally varied sections that offered different entry points into the theme of networks, while reflecting the stages of the jury process from the submission of portfolios to awarding the prizes.

60 Born was brought in by Elektrosmog to help specifically on that project.
61 Fischer 2002.
62 Falguières 1996, 17.
63 Fischer & Stirnemann 2002.

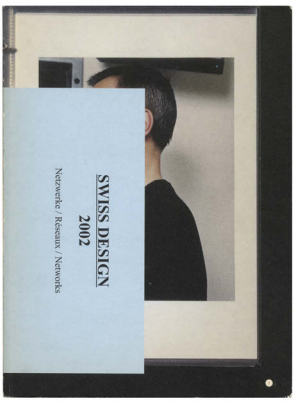


Fig. 3.20 The cover of the 2002 SDA catalogue showing an excerpt of awardee Isabel Truniger's portfolio on the cover. Design: Elektrosmog and Julia Born.

Fig. 3.21 Pages 28–29 of the catalogue showing an excerpt of the portfolios of Gilles Gavillet on the left and Isabel Truniger on the right. The projects are reproduced like pieces of evidence, and the layout reflects the judging process. Design: Elektrosmog and Julia Born.

The first part, which began with the cover, was a long series of full-page photographs showing the winners' portfolios (Fig. 3.20). Taking up a quarter of the book, this series provided no information besides the names of the awardees, typeset like a label. The images were neither sourced from the designers' original digital files, nor were they flat reproductions of the projects. Instead, they reflected the materiality of the dossiers: paper wrinkles, piles of documents and binding methods were revealed. The photos played on the notion of the documentary by reproducing the dossiers just as they had been submitted, albeit placed on a black background like pieces of evidence (Fig. 3.21). The meta-narrative play on the photographs, which as social semantics explain are often thought of as "images of the real", was recurrent throughout *Swiss Design 2002*. It conveyed a sense of closeness to the material and gave an impression of transparency.[64]

64 Jewitt & Oyama 2004, 151.

The opening pages were reminiscent of pieces of evidence being presented to a tribunal. In both formal and conceptual terms, this reflected the selection process during which the portfolios were placed on tables to be assessed by the jury (Fig. 3.22 and Fig. 3.23). This impression was reinforced by the last image of the series, a "behind-the-scenes" photograph of the final judging round that took place in Bern (Fig. 3.24). By opening with these images, the catalogue echoed the judging process, but also invited readers to "become" jury members themselves. It provided a meta-narrative of the judging process. On the one hand, the images re-enacted the proceedings of the jury; on the other, it allowed the audience to be part of a metaphorical "court-like" procedure by presenting various pieces of evidence. As scholars of critical discourse analysis have argued, metaphors simultaneously reveal and conceal meaning. They are thus one way of "hiding underlying power relations".[65] While the reader was invited to the tribunal's public gallery, they were simultaneously reminded that the SDA were confident in their decisions.

65 Machin & Mayr 2012, 164.

Fig. 3.22 Documentation photographs of the judging process in Bern showing Gilles Gavillet's portfolio. The portfolios were laid out on tables to be assessed by the jury. The three books reproduced in Fig. 3.21 are visible at the bottom left. Photographer unknown.

Fig. 3.23 Isabel Truniger's portfolio. The binder on the table (top right of the photograph above) was reproduced in Fig 3.21. Photographer unknown.

Fig. 3.24 A photograph from behind the scenes of the final round of the judging process in Bern, reproduced in the 2002 SDA catalogue. Design: Elektrosmog and Julia Born.

Only after its long opening section did the book reveal its structure, thus hiding its own classification system until page 65. The contents page listed the seven other sections of the book: "questions and answers," "CVs," "diagrams and statistics", "visual essay", "texts", "practical placements/studio" and "jury report". "Questions and answers" were a collage of texts composed based on interviews conducted with the interviewees by Meret Ernst. To extend the judicial metaphor, these texts were like witnesses' accounts. This section is over 30 pages long and graphically diverse: a few pages were laid out like a classic essay, while others were presented like an index or a list of names (Fig. 3.25). A sub-table of contents mapped a series of themes and provided a key to these collages: "thanks", "models", "tools" and so on. Since it was organised by themes instead of by interviewees, the layout allowed readers to compare answers and offers space for interpretation. But the design also took precedence over legibility. Some texts were obscured or hard to follow. For example, "statements" consisted of sentences running

in the gutter and across the following spread, creating line lengths of more than 80cm with the words partially obscured by the binding or cut in half by the trim (Fig. 3.26).

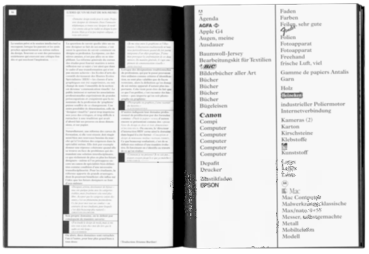


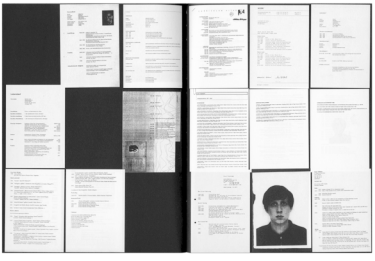
Fig. 3.25 **The varied text layouts. Left: "self-perception". Right: "tools". Design: Elektrosmog and Julia Born.**

Fig. 3.26 **"Statements" running across two consecutive spreads in the 2002 catalogue. Design: Elektrosmog and Julia Born. Composite: Jonas Berthod.**

The third section was a composite of the awardees' CVs, reproduced on a small scale but still fully legible (Fig. 3.27). Just like in the first section, this one played with notions of reproduction, neutrality and transparency. The CVs had obviously been scanned directly from the dossiers. They included handwritten notes, staples or black margins left by the printer or copy machine. The material reflected the evidence received by the jury during the competition. Furthermore, by publishing the awardees' accounts of their professional experience, the FOC invited the reader to decide for themselves if the winners were deserving.

The following section offered a completely different graphic language. Its "diagrams and statistics", drawn by Bastien Aubry, provided a light-hearted take on data visualisation to show the awardees' networks or their places of life and work. For instance, the "Flashback" diagram, which provided an overview of prize distribution between 1923 and 2002, was made of wobbly columns in a comic take on the classic bar chart (Fig. 3.28). The deadpan delivery of the data provided a moment of humorous relief in the catalogue. More than a critical comment on the part of the designers, it was a way to "play it cool" by taking distance with information which they may have perceived as dull or earnest. Rather like "questions and answers", this design set up a distance to the content, while the offhand tone allowed the reader to focus on the graphic language rather than on administrative facts.

The fifth section was a visual essay by the photographer and artist Uta Eisenreich. It represented a diagonal approach to the theme of networks by providing "sociograms" – images exploring notions of network and teamwork amongst children of a primary school. This approach provided yet another take on the theme. By using field research, it echoed the process of reorganisation of the SDA, which relied on the same approach to gather data on the needs of designers. The sixth section, simply called "texts", presented essays by various contributors: Crivelli, Martin Heller, Sabine Dreher and Christian Muhr, Ruedi Baur, Simon Grand, Tobi Müller and Ralf Michel. Every contributor offered a completely different approach to the topic of networks. This section was where the "barristers" were making their case. Their texts were interspersed with a series of photographs by Sarah Infanger. These were another humorous interjection in the self-deprecatory tone found in previous sections, showing homemade trophies made of a broken cup, a coffee pot and a pile of apples.



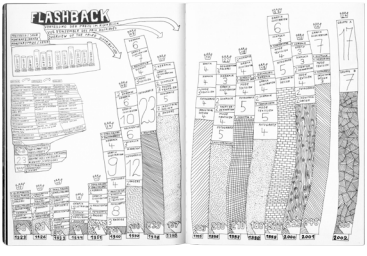


Fig. 3.27 The awardees' CVs, reproduced "as is", with handwritten notes, staples and so on. Design: Elektrosmog and Julia Born.

Fig. 3.28 "Flashback" in the 2002 catalogue showing the prize distribution from 1923 to 2002. Diagram by Bastien Aubry. Design: Elektrosmog and Julia Born.

A tribunal would not be complete, of course, without a grand jury (Fig. 3.29). Towards the end of the book, there was a stern photograph of the people who decided who won the Swiss Federal Design Commission and experts. The reader was invited to examine the examiners in a manner that provided a fitting conclusion to the chronology of the judging process. In the pages following the photograph, the jury gave its verdict. An image of each winning dossier was accompanied by their comments. While these texts remained short and mostly descriptive, an attempt at justifying the choice of winners was here provided to the reader for the first-ever time in the history of the prize.

Fig. 3.29 A spread showing the Swiss Federal Design Commission, the "grand jury" of the SDA. Design: Elektrosmog and Julia Born.

3.2.3 Playing up the "hype"

In its briefing to its designers, the FOC had set an ambitious point of reference for the catalogue, their benchmark being the design books published on the international scene.[66] To achieve this aim, the FOC chose a new concept and design direction. It adopted a three-year format for the catalogue. Three successive volumes would be produced by the same design team to enable a complex graphic and editorial discourse to emerge. This serial format had been introduced for the MBSB catalogues in 1999 in a bid to turn them into a serious contribution to the field.[67] The catalogues were upgraded into "beautiful books" that would be desirable on their own terms. The public had hitherto remained unimpressed with the competition and its catalogues, and the daily press mostly published short notices on the MBSB competition, if anything at all. The little public commentary that was generated was rarely positive.[68] However, as of 1999, these publications became collectible items and an annual topic of debate for designers. This demonstrated both the real target audience of these competitions – the book designers – and their aim to be recognised as the leading awards on the scene.

66 Crivelli n.d. [2002?], 3.
67 Rappo & Coen 1999; Streiff 2000.
68 Fabre 2003.

Similarly, the target audience for *Swiss Design 2002* was not the public or the academic world. As the poster and invitation intimated, the catalogue itself was aimed at the design scene. This meant designers themselves (including the SDA participants, their networks and design schools),

followed by museums and design institutions on an international level, and finally laypeople with an interest in the topic.[69] There was no mention of promoting economic growth or convincing the public that good design was necessary.[70] Because the reorganisation aimed to renew the appeal of the SDA and attract stronger submissions, it strove to convince designers that the SDA were recognised amongst their peers. To achieve that, the FOC aimed to become "hip".[71] A parallel can be traced with certain businesses' desire to attain a "cool" image in order to create value, which has been explored in the literature.[72] In its briefing to Elektrosmog, the FOC mentioned a sense of "hype" as one criterion for the publication; the book had to be perceived as an excellent design object if it was to convince the scene of its appeal. Crivelli set the following aims for the 2002 catalogue:

The book should establish itself as a "must" on the Swiss design scene and beyond. It can also have a "hype" character. The "scene" must want to buy it. See "Benzin" as example.[73]

69 Crivelli n.d. [2002?].
70 Berthod 2018a.
71 Crivelli n.d. [2002?], 3.
72 Frank 1997; Nancarrow & Nancarrow 2007; Pountain & Robins 2000.
73 "Das Buch etabliert sich als ein 'Must' in der Designszene Schweiz und darüber hinaus. Es kann auch einen 'Hype'-Charakter haben. Die 'Szene' muss es haben. Siehe 'Benzin' als Beispiel". Crivelli n.d. [2002], 3.

The reference to *Benzin*, a book that had been supported financially by the FOC, was telling (Fig. 3.30).[74] It was edited and designed by the graphic designers Thomas Bruggisser and Michel Fries and published in 2000 by Lars Müller.[75] This book, whose audience was mainly other designers, showed the "state of the art of young Swiss Graphic Design" by featuring a selection of portfolios, essays and interviews.[76] It presented a cohort of graphic designers who rejected the tradition that came with the Swiss style.[77] For the publisher Lars Müller, the selection represented "new Swiss Graphic Design".[78] *Benzin* was thus a showcase for a new generation of designers who desired a rupture with their predecessors.

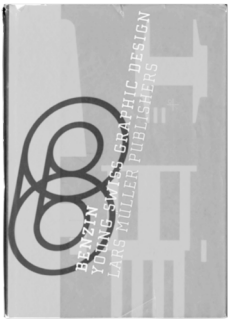


Fig. 3.30 *Benzin Young Swiss Graphic Design* (2000). Design: Thomas Bruggisser and Michel Fries.

This reflected the growing dichotomy between an "old school" and a "new school" of designers, according to observers of the design scene including the graphic designer François Rappo and Christina Reble, the person responsible for publications at the MfGZ.[79] *Benzin* was well-received nationally and internationally and was successful enough to be reprinted. This book outlines a whole scene, thereby simplifying it and making it more accessible to the public.[80] It had a big impact in Switzerland,[81] provided a mark of public recognition for those designers whose work was published in it, and became an influential reference work for the design scene overall.[82]

74 Crivelli 2000c.
75 Bruggisser & Fries 2000.
76 Kaneko 2000.
77 Locher 2001; Michel 2000b.
78 Locher 2001.
79 Rappo 2021.
80 Kaufmann, Schneemann & Zeller 2021.
81 Kaneko 2000; Michel 2000b.
82 Kaneko 2000; *Published Art* 2001; NORM 2017; Zumstein & Barandun 2017b.

As I mentioned above, it was no coincidence that the FOC chose Elektrosmog, which was featured extensively in *Benzin*, to design *Swiss Design 2002*. Coolness was something that they could offer, notably thanks to a casual studio model that blurred the boundaries between professional and personal lives. Thanks to the digital revolution in the early 1990s, designers worldwide were increasingly able to set up smaller businesses, and Switzerland followed suit in the late 1990s.[83] The FOC wanted to support these young, small studios, and Elektrosmog was exactly the type of practitioner that they were trying to attract through the relaunch of the SDA in 2002.

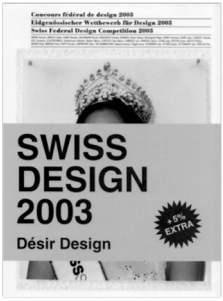
83 Berthod 2019a; Janser & Reble 2004, 47; Macháček 2004; Meggs & Purvis 2006, 488–489.

In the 2002 catalogue, Crivelli argued that the FOC needed to innovate and take risks.[84] This book itself exemplified this strategy. Its design was at least as important as the effective delivery of its content. The former was used to create metaphors through layout, illustrations and photographs. The FOC relied on design to create a "hip" image and thereby make the SDA more attractive to designers. By using a layered design and editorial concept, the catalogue provided a meta-narrative of the judging process that demonstrated an attempt at transparency. This partially addressed the criticism that had previously been expressed by the specialist press.[85] On the one hand, the layout reported on and re-enacted the proceedings of the jury; on the other, it allowed the audience to take part in a metaphorical, court-like procedure. At the same time, the metaphors used in the book served to assert the power of the FOC and to reposition it as the leading motor of discourse on the design scene.

84 Crivelli 2002a.
85 Gantenbein 1992; 1994.

The design fee of CHF 35'000 for the catalogue was generous at the time.[86] The same amount was allocated for its printing, which ensured that the result would be a well-produced object and provided leeway for technical exploration. The design brief itself left space for the designers to come up with a strong concept. The initial budget even earmarked funds for "experiments" by the designers and curators. It was thus a well-funded enterprise representing a specimen rarely seen in the wild: a design commission endowed with a healthy budget for both design and production, coupled with unparalleled artistic freedom for the designers. As often with these laboratory conditions, the outcome was design for designers. One could justifiably describe it as a vanity project providing what Karel Martens has called a "meta-language, deployed to amaze colleagues and please the parvenu".[87] However, such an outcome was not unexpected. In fact, it was desired to some extent. The catalogue aimed to further the design discourse on both a written and a visual level, and to prove to the scene that the SDA were the place to be.

86 Crivelli n.d. [2002?], 7.
87 Martens 2010 (1996), 186.



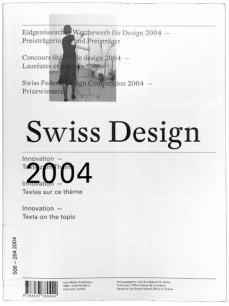


Fig. 3.31 The catalogue for the 2003 SDA. Design: Elektrosmog.
Fig. 3.32 The catalogue for the 2004 SDA. Design: Elektrosmog.

The SDA published yearly catalogues until 2011, when these were replaced by a website. In 2003, the publication questioned the relationship between desire and design, while in 2004 it focused on innovation. The catalogues in each case were well received – in fact, both were given awards in the MBSB competition (Fig. 3.31 and Fig. 3.32). In 2004, Elektrosmog won the Jan Tschichold prize for outstanding achievements in book design. This showed another example of the awards system as guarantors of success functioning as self-fulfilling prophecies. These prizes awarded designers, then commissioned them before awarding them again for that same commission.

From 2005, the SDA no longer adopted a yearly theme. Lorette Coen, the chair of the FDC, argued that the Commission's 2002 prediction – that design would become ever more interdisciplinary – was wrong.[88] Instead, disciplines fragmented further, which contributed to their unequal representation in the SDA. For instance, the number of graphic designers applying was much higher than that of product designers. Furthermore, Coen noted the increasing role played by higher education institutions. She notably singled out ECAL, who she argued had developed a teaching model that was disconnected from professional life and that privileged cultural design over any other type. Yet the SDA themselves contributed to the overrepresentation of cultural design; all the works presented in 2002, for example, belonged to that category.

88 Coen 2005.

3.3 Promoting niche design

3.3.1 Cultural work only

In a brief review of *Swiss Design 2002*, *Hochparterre* asked pointedly: "Why must the niche economy carry such weight?"[89] This question reflected the journalist's irritation at the fact that most winning projects were either from the cultural sector or highly experimental. There was not a single example of commercial design in the graphic design category. Anne Crausaz won with a self-initiated illustration piece; Gavillet's dossier comprised books and posters made for cultural clients; Happypets Products (Cédric Henny, Patrick Monnier and Violène Pont) submitted booklets and stickers reusing found logos; Rachel Imboden presented a newspaper reproducing a series of experimental objects exploring the notion of public and private (Fig. 3.33); NORM presented complex visual research; Schönwehrs (Gregor Schönborn and Niels Wehrspann) were awarded for an experimental interactive flyer generator; Judith Zaugg for an unusual children's book showing unconventional illustrations; and Megi Zumstein for a proposal for typefaces reflecting speech patterns. The paradigm shift in promotion was thus not limited to the SDA's exhibition and publication design, but also applied to the works that received awards.

89 "Weshalb muss die Ökonomie der Nische ein derartiges Gewicht haben?" *Hochparterre* 2002, 10.

Fig. 3.33 Rachel Imboden's newspaper *Public Privacy* showing experimental objects exploring privacy in public settings.

Commercial work had not always been absent. In the 1990s, it was not unusual for the SDA to award both commercial and cultural projects. For graphic design, this could be the corporate identity of a shoe shop or a TV station (Pascal Knoepfel in 1990 and 1997), an ad for a watch (Philippe Loup in 1995, Fig 3.34) or a commercial typeface for the foundry Berthold (Marco Ganz in 1996).

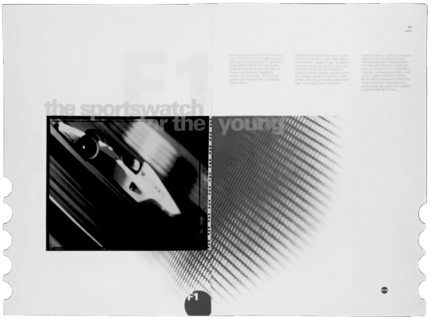
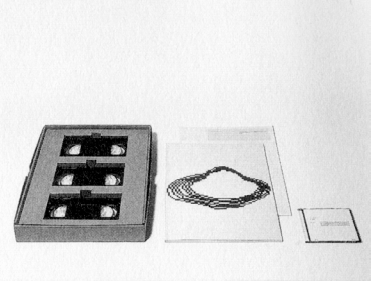


Fig. 3.34 Philippe Loup's ad for a sports watch as published in the 1995 SDA catalogue.

After 1997, commercial projects no longer appeared among the winning works in the graphic design category. 1997 was also the year that the MBSB competition changed its criteria. As already mentioned above, the jury henceforth focused not on the technical qualities of books, but on their conceptual merit.[90] While the FCAA did not express a similar position in public, the works it awarded showed that it had adopted a similar stance. It was thus not surprising that the 2002 catalogue, exhibition and the winning works all addressed the "niche economy", which really meant design from the so-called cultural sector.[91]

90 Guggenheimer 2004, 83.
91 As discussed above, this term includes authorial, self-initiated and/or experimental graphic design.



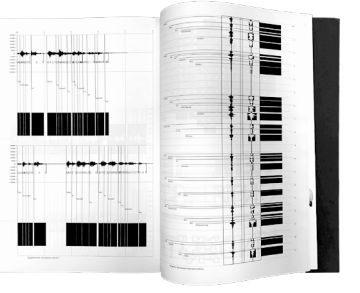


Fig. 3.35 The dossier submitted by Megi Zumstein to the 2002 SDA, published in Crivelli *et al.* 2002.
Fig. 3.36 The publication *Visualisierung der Sprache* (2001) showing an analysis of sound in relation to type. Design: Megi Zumstein.

Zumstein, NORM and Gavillet's submissions represented three distinct examples of this niche design. Zumstein had just graduated in 2001 from the HGKZ and was working for Format53, a small studio in Zurich. It was her first submission to the SDA. She went on to launch the studio Hi (2007–2019) with Claudio Barandun in Lucerne. Their work would regularly win awards in the MBSB competition. In 2002, she submitted her diploma project entitled *Visualisierung der Sprache* to the SDA (Fig. 3.35). It comprised a publication, three VHS tapes with short videos, and a compact disc containing Flash animations (Fig. 3.36 and Fig. 3.37). Her project was a highly conceptual deconstruction of language. It analysed phonetics and translated them into letterforms using criteria such as rhythm, tone, timbre and melody. Zumstein developed a series of experimental typefaces which she combined in animations. Her project bordered on illegibility, did not respond to any specific need, and could hardly have been imagined to be the result of a commission. It was an example of pure visual research that allowed the designer to come up with innovative forms. The SDA jury welcomed this "markedly experimental" approach, which pushed "the boundaries of typography and open[ed] up numerous visual possibilities".[92]

92 Crivelli *et al.* 2002, 219.

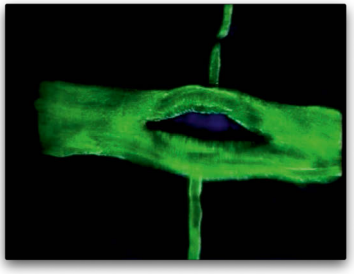
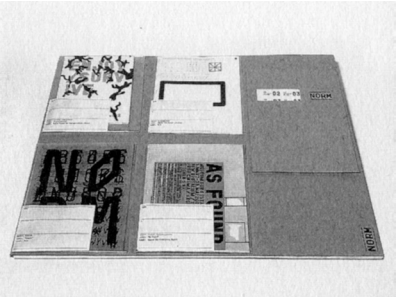


Fig. 3.37 One of the videos presented as part of *Visualisierung der Sprache* (2001), which analysed lip movements. Design: Megi Zumstein.

Fig. 3.38 Detail of one of the interactive animations presented as part of *Visualisierung der Sprache* (2001), showing the superimposition of the experimental typefaces. Design: Megi Zumstein.

NORM's Dimitri Bruni and Manuel Krebs had graduated in 1996 from the *Schule für Gestaltung* Biel/Bienne. They had worked in traditional, so-called commercial corporate identity and advertising agencies – Krebs in Geneva and Bruni in Zurich – before founding their studio in Zurich in 1999. 2002 saw them win their third SDA, after

1999 and 2000. NORM subsequently went on to win all the major Swiss awards and became one of the key players on the Swiss scene. In 2002, as in 1999 and 2000, they presented a self-initiated project to the SDA. The dossier they submitted was carefully organised and branded with their logo (Fig. 3.39). While the submission appeared exceedingly professional, its content was another example of niche design. It was entitled *The Things*, and they presented it as a book and a series of posters (Fig. 3.40).



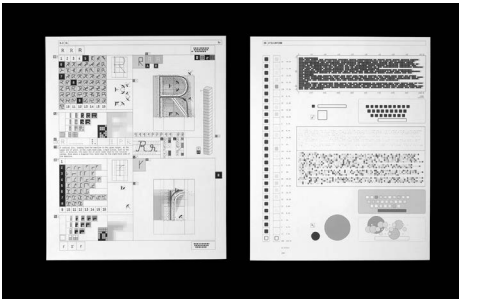


Fig. 3.39 The dossier submitted by NORM to the 2002 SDA, published in Crivelli *et al.* 2002.
Fig. 3.40 Posters from *The Things* (2002). Design: NORM.

This project was a follow-up to NORM's first book *Introduction* (1999, Fig. 4.18). As in their first volume, the designers composed, edited and published *The Things* themselves.[93] Another parallel with *Introduction* was the type of content created by the designers. It came across as exacting visual research into symbols, letterforms and language, displaying page after page of complex taxonomies, graphs and plates of mathematical combinations. The jury welcomed how NORM showed their font development principles with both meticulous precision and irony.[94] The designers readily admitted that the content was primarily visual and defied explanation.[95] Rather than promoting themselves as researchers, their publication primarily presented a consistent, rational and highly personal visual approach to the world. The book was a visual tour de force as much as an exercise in self-promotion.

93 *The Things* was distributed by Die Gestalten Verlag, unlike *Introduction*, which NORM self-distributed.
94 Crivelli *et al.* 2002, 216.
95 Farrelly 2008.

Fig. 3.41 **A spread from *The Things* (2002) showing two symbolic taxonomies. On the left, icons representing a sheet of paper organised from the least to the most abstract. On the right, the same process applied to doner kebab signs. Design: NORM.**

Finally, Gavillet won the SDA for the second time in 2002. He had graduated from ECAL in 1998 and worked at Windlin's studio in Zurich (1998–2001) before launching Gavillet & Rust in Geneva (2001–2014) with David Rust, with whom he went on to win all the federal design prizes. Gavillet submitted books and posters that he had made both while working for Windlin and as an independent designer (Fig. 3.42: The dossier submitted by Gilles Gavillet to the 2002 SDA, published in Crivelli *et al.* 2002.). These were all commissions for the cultural field, which illustrated the importance played by these clients and the unparalleled creative leeway that they afforded. For instance, Gavillet developed typefaces specifically for some of these publications, such as Index Bold for *Across/Art/Suisse/1975–2000* (2001, Fig. 3.43) and Politics for *Timewave Zero* (2001, Fig. 3.4). In a self-congratulatory twist, a couple of the most conceptual books that were given awards, such as *The Most Beautiful Swiss Books 2000* catalogue (2001) and *Gygi: Common Grounds* (2002, Fig. 3.45), had in fact been commissioned by the FOC.

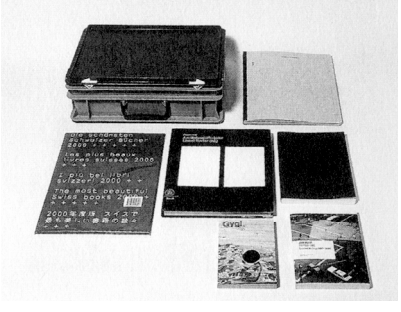
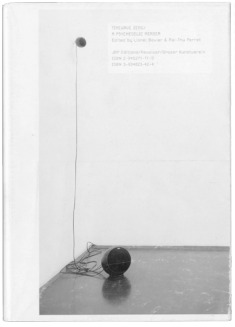


Table des matières

Fig. 3.42 **The dossier submitted by Gilles Gavillet to the 2002 SDA, published in Crivelli *et al.* 2002.**
Fig. 3.43 **The table of contents of *Across Art Suisse 1975-2000* (2001) featuring the typeface Index Bold, which was designed specifically for the book. Design: Gilles Gavillet.**



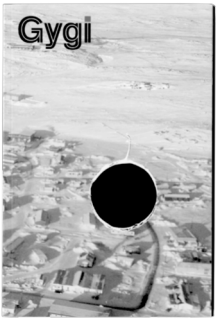


Fig. 3.44 The cover of *Timewave Zero* (2001) featuring the typeface Politics, which was designed specifically for the book. Design: Gilles Gavillet and David Rust.

Fig. 3.45 The cover of *Gygi: Common Grounds* (2002). Design: Gilles Gavillet, Optimo.

These projects allowed Gavillet to push the boundaries of the client-designer relationship to develop design concepts. *Gygi* had been commissioned by the FOC as a catalogue of the artist Fabrice Gygi's participation in the São Paulo Biennale. This book was supposed to show installation views and the making of the piece. However, and much to the FOC's dismay, the publication did not include any images of the installation in Brazil.[96] The only references to the Biennale were a paragraph in the colophon and a couple of preparatory digital sketches reprinted on the inside covers. This publication was really an artist's book created as a collaboration between Gavillet and Gygi. Most of the book was dedicated to a series of artworks created by Gygi in 1990–1991 and published for the first time here. It was a series of photographs taken in the northern circumpolar region that the artist subsequently pierced with a drill. The cover featured a typeface by Gavillet based on the now-defunct Agip logo. The reference to a petroleum company, the subtitle *Common Grounds* and the literal drilling through polar landscape and its indigenous people created a publication that demonstrated a holistic approach both from an artistic and a design perspective, while having nothing to do with the original brief.

96 Gavillet 2017; 2018.

The MBSB catalogue offered another example of work that was developed outside the usual client-designer relationship. It was subtly self-referential: the paper varied to match the awarded books, which were themselves barely shown. Melanie Hofmann's photographs

featured actors involved in the production of the books, such as clients or publishers, whom she often portrayed humorously (Fig. 3.46). It was a loose-leaved publication in black and white, using a large raster (the printed dots composing the image were visible) and was thus far from the high-end printing and binding traditionally associated with the best of book design. This was Gavillet's playful take on the brief. The local press was horrified – "are they the most beautiful books or the ugliest?" – and suggested binning the catalogue.[97] Gavillet explained that he often met similar difficulties with local clients. These were not interested in what his studio "had to offer", namely an authorial, subcultural attitude (described in greater detail in the next chapter here).[98] While these cultural commissions were not representative of usual client-designer relationships, they allowed Gavillet to develop work which was critically recognised by the SDA. The jury praised the publication's overall concepts, its skilful use of innovative typography and careful choice of materials.[99] Ironically, these were also the areas that Gavillet's clients and the general press had criticised. This demonstrated how cultural commissions were an arena for developing design languages that went beyond the expectations and wishes of the client – commissions that would then be recognised by the SDA.

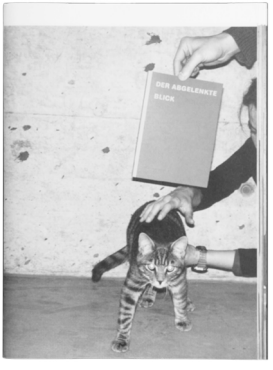


Fig. 3.46 The MBSB 2000 catalogue (2001) featuring Melanie Hofmann's photographs. Design: Gilles Gavillet and Cornel Windlin.

It also hinted at the double role played by the FOC, which supported the niche economy as both awarder and as client. By commissioning designers and then giving them awards, it contributed to the success of those

designers and created a closed circuit of promotion (whose implications I shall discuss in the fifth chapter below). By recognising niche design, design promotion had also aligned with its values. This contributed to making the SDA appealing to designers.

97 "Sont-ce les plus beaux livres ou les plus laids?" D. E. 2001.
98 Gavillet 2017; 2018.
99 Crivelli *et al.* 2002, 213.

3.3.2 Promoting the awards: a smooth manoeuvre

In 2002, the SDA exhibition and publication aimed to promote not just the designers, but also the awards themselves. The curation, scenography and catalogue of the SDA were used to secure a favourable reception on the niche design scene, both through their content as well as through the visual languages they used. This manoeuvre was given a different reception by the specialist press and the general press. The design press's response was measured. *Hochparterre* had voiced its critical opinions of the SDA several times.[100] The 2002 reorganisation was discussed extensively in the January/February issue of that year and welcomed as an overdue adaptation to new topics and forms of work.[101] A regular reader might thus have expected *Hochparterre* to offer an extensive review after the exhibition opened – or at least to show some images of it. However, it offered no feature on *Swiss Design 2002*. This might in fact have signalled its approval, since the specialist discourse surrounding cultural prizes is usually either negative or non-existent.[102] The only mention of the show in *Hochparterre* was a small, anonymous piece that appeared in the opening section of miscellaneous notices in the December 2002 issue.[103] Interrogatively titled "Networks?", this snippet recognised the high quality of the winning works and a positive opinion on the exhibition and events programme. However, *Hochparterre* did not respond as positively to the catalogue, exhibition design and thematic approach. Instead, it argued that the attempt to stimulate a discourse around the winning projects had been more of a shot in the dark.

100 Gantenbein 1992; 1993; 1994; 1995; Locher 1996; Michel 2000.
101 Locher 2002.
102 English 2005, 187.
103 *Hochparterre* 2002, 10.

By contrast, the general press gave a warm reception to the relaunch. In the past, journalists had not spared their disapproval of the FOC's expenditure or its choices in design promotion.[104] It had also argued that design promotion lacked visibility – that it "[did] good but [did] not talk about it".[105] However, in 2002, the comments were overwhelmingly positive.[106] This offers us with a means of measuring just how successful the manoeuvre had been. Many articles welcomed the curation and design of the exhibition and noted the quality of the works presented. They often gave detailed explanations of the reorganisation of the SDA and relayed the messages that the SDA had communicated in its exhibition, catalogue and press releases. The articles in the press agreed that this reorganisation was necessary to adapt to the contemporary needs of designers and communicated a "change of mentality" at the FOC, which would from this point onwards support designers not only with money but also with its own networks. Finally, the press agreed that the new approach taken by the SDA – both with its exhibition and its catalogue – were a good way to promote, communicate and reflect on design. The FOC had thus succeeded in addressing the criticism of the 1990s. Internally, it also saw the relaunch as a great success.[107] The reorganisation had succeeded in putting the SDA back in the spotlight and ushered in a new role for the FOC to be a leading voice on the design field. This also cemented the place of niche design in design promotion.

104 Crivelli 2017; D, E. 2001; Tobler 2017.
105 "Man tut Gutes und spricht nicht darüber." G. A. 2001.
106 Beck 2002; Bergflödt 2002; Cerf 2002a; Cerf 2002b; Eschbach 2002; F. B. 2002; Gasser 2002; *Kult* 2002; Meier 2002; Schneider 2002; *Schöner Wohnen* 2002; Z. Z. 2002; Zürcher 2002.
107 Crivelli 2002c.

The type of design promoted by the SDA positioned the awards in line with the experimental practices adopted by a new generation. Designers welcomed this new direction.[108] The modernisation of the SDA helped to legitimise them with a generation of designers that had hitherto preferred to distance themselves from what they perceived to be the design establishment. The SDA's

new manoeuvre had been a success in this regard, too. The place afforded to experimental works in the exhibition reflected the SDA's take on a "new" profession. By the mid-1990s, a "new school" of designers had emerged, whose practices were radically different from those of their predecessors. The overrepresentation of niche work in the SDA thus represented a shift that had already taken place in professional practice.

PROFESSIONAL SHIFT: THE ARRIVAL OF THE "NEW SCHOOL"

4.1 Beyond the profession

4.1.1 Young unprofessionals

When Cornel Windlin won the SDA in 1995, he chose a surprising artefact to illustrate his mention in the publication commemorating the winners. It was a business card claiming, "I'M YOUNG NAUGHTY AND NEED TO BE PUNISHED" (Fig. 4.1).[1] Those who already knew about Windlin's past projects would not have been much surprised by this risqué calling card that reads like it was made for a sex worker. From early on in his career, Windlin had been finessing a reputation as the enfant terrible of Swiss design: someone who rejected the "establishment".[2] He was no stranger to the use of shock, humour and sarcasm, and often made references to vernacular culture in his work. It would be tempting to dismiss the card as a joke; however, it symbolised a wider professional shift that was taking place in the 1990s. This was a time of rupture.[3] Graphic designers were moving away from hitherto definitions of their discipline and embracing supposedly "unprofessional" attitudes that would henceforth influence their image, work and networks, and eventually also the SDA.

1 FOC 1996, n.p.
2 Clavadetscher 2003; Poynor 1996.
3 Hepworth 2014, 4.

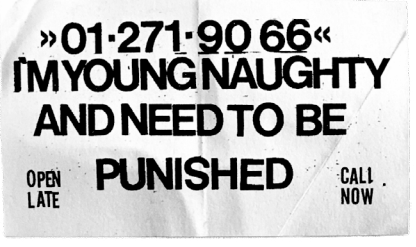


Fig. 4.1 Windlin's illustration in the 1995 SDA catalogue. Design: Cornel Windlin.

Though he had applied to participate in the awards, had won and cashed in his prize (somewhere between CHF 16'000 and CHF 25'000), Windlin was simultaneously positioning himself in opposition to the SDA. By emphasising his youth, he was placing himself in the age-old, ongoing struggle that newcomers wage against established generations.[4] The creative sector especially experiences these dynamic cycles in which new ideas are

subsequently transformed into hegemony.[5] In this context, the provocative calling card was a textbook example of the subversive strategies used by new entrants in the cultural field in an attempt to overthrow existing values and to devalue those who are more established.[6] Windlin might well have modelled his attitude on that of Neville Brody, for whom he had worked in London and who led the way for a new generation using graphic design as a creative tool to communicate to those "in the know" while excluding others, including mainstream designers.[7]

4 Bourdieu 1993, 40–42; 2016 (1992), n.p., part 1, chapter 1, section 2–4.
5 Steinmetz 2018, 612.
6 Bourdieu 2002 (1974), 198.
7 Poynor 1996, 60; 2003, 33.

Whether or not he was emulating Brody, Windlin rejected the opportunity offered by the SDA to attract new clients and used it to reinforce his subcultural capital instead. His position was thus in line with those actors in the cultural field who invert the common-or-garden principles of economics and reject the power associated with honours.[8] His call to be punished jokingly signalled that he was not averse to the controversies that had surrounded his previous commissions.[9] He delighted in stating he was naughty, thumbing his nose at his clients' adversity to risk-taking[10] and simultaneously proving his unruliness by managing to include the illustration in the catalogue. In any case, the discrepancy between receiving the highest design distinction of the country and commemorating it with a saucy visiting card was a clear strategy of condescension dismissing the gravitas that winning may have conferred on him.[11]

8 Bourdieu 1993, 39.
9 Poynor 1996; Settele 1997.
10 Curiger, Hug & Windlin 2002.
11 Bourdieu 1991a, 68–69.

Windlin's calling card was unprofessional in both the everyday and sociological senses. Professionals usually conduct themselves "in an appropriate manner", but his behaviour showed disregard for the autonomy, power, status and prestige associated with a profession.[12] The sociologist of professions Magali Sarfatti Larson has provided a possible explanation for Windlin's stance. While professionalisation is a standardisation process required by the market, Larson writes that individuals

counteract it with principles of "destandardisation" stemming from their desire for social ascension and a special status.[13] With his outrageous attitude, Windlin made the other winners look conventional, and cast doubt over their status. By extension, he questioned the type of work promoted by the SDA and rejected any reputation potentially bestowed by the awards. The sociologist Valérie Fournier offers us another reason for his behaviour: professionalism "inscribes 'autonomous' professional practice within a network of accountability and governs professional conduct at a distance",[14] and with his card Windlin rejected these controlling mechanisms. The awards' audience was mostly composed of other designers; thus his gesture was also a provocation aimed at the discipline.

12 Fournier 1999, 287; Larson 1977, X–XI.
13 Larson 1979, 610.
14 Fournier 1999, 280.

For Windlin, graphic design no longer existed as it had been defined thus far.[15] Nor was he alone in questioning the profession. The 1990s and 2000s were a period of historic transformation for graphic design in terms of practices and technology.[16] In the 1990s, some went so far as to assert that they were witnessing a "death of the designer" in a crisis inherited from the Italian Radical Movement of the 1960s, in which designers had lost control over their design process.[17] For Margolin, this crisis was still not over in the 2010s.[18] Designers were moving beyond the hegemonic definition of their discipline, which may explain the feeling of anarchy that was in the air and was encapsulated in the foundation of a studio called Destruct Agentur (1992) in Bern. This studio became well known under its second name, from 1995 onwards: büro destruct. Both names epitomised its iconoclastic programme, namely the demolition of Swiss design.[19]

15 Curiger, Hug & Windlin 2002.
16 Friedman 1994; Jubert 2005, 403.
17 Richardson 1993.
18 Margolin 2013, 404–405.
19 Ernst 1999.

Windlin's card was thus not just a joke or an irreverent gesture, nor was it simply a stab at the previous generation. It was indicative of a wider professional shift in the

1990s. This remodelling influenced not only what graphic designers produced, but also how they organised, represented and sustained themselves financially. They replaced previous professional structures with their own, put their personalities at the centre of their practices and embraced a financially unstable career model that would allow them to develop a personal language.

4.1.2 A profession undone

As design historians have argued, the status of design has never been clear-cut or secure: the discipline is undergoing continuous modifications and has long adapted to changes in the market and in technology.[20] It would therefore be tempting to classify the professional shift as another of these developments. However, there were pointers suggesting that a wider reconfiguration was under way. After the progressive professionalisation of graphic design during the 20th century, this process had taken a different direction.[21] According to the design historian Penny Sparke, from 2000 onwards designers were forced to "jettison the past and to create new roles and identities for themselves" because of a crisis of consumption and the rise of digital culture.[22] I argue that this turn began already in the 1990s. In Switzerland, a new generation of designers – the newcomers – rejected traditional models and their modes of organisation. This went against what generations had done before them to professionalise graphic design and indicated an undoing of professionalisation.

20 Armstrong 2014, 289; Julier 2014; 2017, 6.

21 The literature on the professionalisation of design is fragmented across disciplines, time periods and locations. For graphic design, see Barbieri 2017 (early 20th-century Italy); Kennedy 2010 (21st-century web design); Souza Dias 2019 (mid to late-20th-century Latin America); Thomson 1997 (late 19th to early 20th-century United States); Yagou 2005 (early 20th-century Greece). For industrial design, see Armstrong 2014; 2016; 2019; Messell 2018; 2019; Sparke 1983; Thompson 2011; Valtonen & Ainamo 2008; Woodham 1983. For interior design, see Guerin & Martin 2004; Lees-Maffei 2008; Taylor & Haskell 2019; Whitney 2008. For the role of gender on professionalisation, see Clegg & Mayfield 1999; Seddon 2000.

22 Sparke 2020, n.p. (introduction).

The dissolution of profession – we could also say it was a dissolution of "discipline" in both senses of the term – was symptomatic of a much broader shift described by Gilles Deleuze and Michel Foucault. According to Deleuze, the 1990s were showing indications of a move away from a disciplinary society towards a control society. The former was conceptualised by Foucault to describe societies in

the 18th, 19th and early 20th century in which discipline is a form of power subjugating bodies, organising them in space and controlling their activities.[23] This power is exerted in heterotopic structures, that is closed spaces which are partially open to the outside world but submitted to their own sets of conditions, as are the school, the barracks, the factory and the prison.[24] With the notion of control societies, Deleuze predicted that the disciplinary society had been replaced by a much less defined social constitution of power.[25] The enclosures of disciplinary societies where disciplinary control was exerted had now been replaced: instead of the perpetual beginnings of the school, barracks and prison, ruled a constant, dynamic flux of control.[26] Unlike the disciplinary "mould", control is a "modulation" which changes continuously.[27] In the case of our newcomers, this was literally exemplified in their once clearly delimited professional identities, which now abandoned to replace with a modular (that is, flexible) identity that was no less subjected to power; one where self-determination and self-improvement were, in fact, part and parcel with and recuperated by the logic of capitalist production, as described by the sociologists Luc Boltanski and Eve Chiapello.[28]

23 Foucault 1975, 137–158.
24 Foucault 1984 (1967).
25 Deleuze 2018 (1990).
26 Ottaviani 2014.
27 Deleuze 2018 (1990), 7.
28 Boltanski and Chiapello 2011 (1999), 460–462.

The specialists of professions initially referred to this process as de-professionalisation, and then as post-professionalisation.[29] For scholars of de-professionalisation, professions in general were losing control over a monopoly of knowledge due to new technologies, greater specialisation in labour and an increasingly educated public refusing to submit to the "expert knowledge" of professionals.[30] The proponents of post-professionalisation opened up the notion to a more complex interpretation.[31] For some, the term also reflected how professions have evolved in the era of post-modernity which is characterised by major developments in economics and communication, and whose consequences included "a set of assaults on professionalism".[32] Forces which weakened

the professions included the alignment of nations and their policies with market principles, the globalisation of corporate and commercial power, increasing uncertainty, unstable workplaces and the revolution in digital communications,[33] and aligned with the shift evoked by Deleuze towards societies of control.

29 Demailly & de la Broise 2009; Haug 1975; Kritzer 1999; Randall & Kindiak 2008; Toren 1975; Weeks 1988.
30 Haug 1975, 198–211.
31 Kritzer 1999, 720–721.
32 Hargreaves 2000, 167–168.
33 *Ibid.*

The characteristics of de- and post-professionalisation were prevalent in graphic design, beginning with the fragmentation of control afforded by new technologies. This profession was one of the first to be disrupted by the introduction of the personal computer in the 1980s.[34] Practitioners were not unanimous in welcoming these technologies, which stoked both ambition and fear.[35] The democratisation of technology led to an increasing popularity of the field. Anyone equipped with a computer became able to make design choices that were previously exclusive to professionals.[36] This eroded the monopolisation of knowledge that produced the autonomy characteristic of a profession[37] and made redundant many of the roles previously performed by the graphic designer.[38] The profession's exclusivity was eroded[39] and designers accordingly lost any pretence to an elite status.[40]

34 Blauvelt 2011, 23.
35 Licko & VanderLans 1989.
36 Jubert 2005, 406–407.
37 Haug 1975, 198.
38 Sparke 2020, n.p. (chapter 7).
39 Atkinson 2010; Beegan & Atkinson 2008; Blauvelt 2011.
40 Lupton & Heller 2006.

The second factor in post-professionalisation was the specialisation of labour.[41] Until the middle of the of the 20th century, design activities had been fragmented across several occupations broadly defined as "commercial artists", such as typographers, illustrators, layout artists, touching-up artists and so on. From there, they converged to become the profession of graphic designer.[42] However, at the end of the century, the process reversed. The field's disciplines were blurring and their boundaries rupturing.[43] Activities such as type design were redefined,[44]

while others proliferated, including "service design, interaction design, human-computer interface, universal design, participatory design, ecological design, social design, feminist design, medical design, organisation design and numerous others".[45] These all contributed to specialising and dividing the field.[46]

41 Haug 1975; Kritzer 1999.
42 Hollis 2005 (2001), 11, 112; 2006, 11.
43 Bremner & Rodgers 2013, 6.
44 Kinross 1992; Rappo 2014a.
45 Julier 2017, 5; Margolin 2013, 403.
46 Kennedy 2010; Sparke 2020, n.p. (chapter 7).

The third factor, and – in the case of the newcomers – the most influential, was the loss of creative independence experienced by designers. Autonomy is one of the defining markers of a profession.[47] Conversely, its loss leads to post-professionalisation.[48] The weakening of creative independence was caused by the increased power of the market over professionals.[49] From the 1980s onwards, corporations focused primarily on producing brands rather than objects, and marketing accordingly took precedence over production.[50] In the 1980s, being an art director was the most desirable career,[51] notably because the product being sold in this new market was no longer an object but an image.[52] This was a consequence of a merger between marketing and culture, due to the implementation of neoliberal policies that had a direct impact on graphic design.[53] Starting in the 1960s and culminating in the 1980s and 1990s, many sections of the discipline were progressively reduced from independent creative activities to components of branding.[54] Large agencies took over, and graphic designers lost their autonomy as their creative leeway shrank in the face of the importance taken by commerce.[55] By the 2000s, this struggle was shared with most other creative industries.[56] Designers were reduced to image-makers subordinated to the marketing department, a position which many rejected.[57]

47 Larson 1977, 30.
48 Demailly & de la Broise 2009, n.p.
49 Haug 1975, 198–199; Kritzer 1999, 749.
50 Klein 2002 (1999), 3–26.
51 Rappo 2021.
52 Foster 2002, 3–5; Klein 2002 (1999), 4; McRobbie 2005 (1998), 4; Sparke 2020, n.p. (part 2, chapter 6, section 2).
53 Foster 2002, 4; Wilson 2018.
54 Bruinsma & Keulemans 2000, n.p.; Sparke 2020, n.p. (part 2, chapter 6).
55 Berthod 2015; Foster 2002, 23; van der Velden 2011 (2006).
56 Eikhof & Haunschild 2006.
57 Barnes 2012, n.p.; Curiger, Hug & Windlin 2002.

From the 1990s onwards, designers increasingly resented being "called in at the end of the process to make things look good".[58] A section of the profession thus set out to define their discipline differently, by embracing experimentation and rejecting commerce. This did not go unnoticed. In a book celebrating young European graphic designers in the early 2000s, the Dutch curator Rein Wolfs remarked that

The young members of the guild don't want to be servants anymore; they don't want to bow exclusively to the wishes of their clients. Commissioned work can also be a field of exploration, of charting the potential of the graphic arts and interrogating its "philosophical" underpinnings.[59]

58 Lupton 2011, 59.
59 Wolfs 2003, 28.

Adding to Wolf's remark, Rappo similarly explained that the young designers in the 1990s left a "permanent mark" on the landscape which paved the way for "digital culture, experimentation and innovation".[60] He was conscious of a clash between what he and others dubbed the "old school" and a disruptive "new school" composed of young designers embracing new aesthetic paradigms.[61] The latter rejected the profession as it had been practised so far.

60 Rappo 2014a, n.p.
61 Rappo 2021.

As members of the new school began their professional careers, they experienced first-hand the gap between what they wanted to do and what the job market had to offer. Shortly after graduating in 1996, Krebs and Bruni began working in advertising agencies in Geneva and Zurich but were disappointed by the work they did there.[62] They resented being "always last in line, after the art director, creative director, head of the studio, and the client had had their say".[63] Similarly, when Gavillet began working after graduating in 1998, he rejected

commercial work as it constrained his creativity. Conversely, commercial clients were not interested in what he had to offer.[64] This was true for Megi Zumstein as well. While she did not reject commercial clients – one of her studio's first commissions was for a gas pipe company – commercial clients were not interested in the type of design that she offered.[65] After graduating, she was not happy with her first job either, which she found so dull that she almost changed careers.[66] She explained that the position was limited to making formal choices and left no room for a conceptual approach:

I was a bit bored. I thought — OK, is this really what I studied for? Coming back to the [job] market, and discussing with people about [colourway options] red and green?[67]

62 NORM 2017.
63 Farrelly 2008.
64 Gavillet 2017; 2018.
65 Zumstein & Barandun 2017a; 2017b.
66 Zumstein & Barandun 2017b.
67 Berthod 2021c, 43.

The increasing importance of marketing and commercial requirements took away creative power from designers. The newcomers yearned to regain their creative independence, which they could only secure if their voices were recognised and valued. The more dissatisfied they grew with the "job description" of graphic designer, the more they rejected previous definitions of designers as service providers. They reacted to the situation by adopting "unprofessional" models. If this was taken literally in the case of Windlin's business card, for most designers it meant moving beyond the definition of their profession to try and carve out their own. To determine their new practices, designers adopted models and embraced behaviours, modes of representation and organisation systems that set them apart from the previous generation. One of the indicators of this turn was the replacement of traditional modes of professional organisation by informal networks.

4.2 The self-determined practitioner

4.2.1 Rewired networks and design communities

From the 1990s onwards, the newcomers reinvented themselves. This exercise in self-determination also transformed their profession. They adopted new modes of organisation, embraced a new lifestyle, and placed attitudes drawn from subculture at the centre of their identity. While notions of profession and professionalisation are useful in describing the process undergone by the discipline in the early and mid-20th century, the activities of these newcomers are better framed with the notion of practice. The sociologist Andreas Reckwitz used practice theory to try and solve a "blind spot" in social theory; it explains people's actions either from the perspective of the individual purpose or collective norms, but dismisses implicit, tacit or unconscious knowledge.[68] Reckwitz proposed doing away with purpose-oriented models and focusing instead on practice, which he defined as a routinised behaviour consisting of bodily and mental activities, objects and knowledge.[69] This broader concept offers a more accurate description of the newcomers' activities, which encompassed patterns of behaviour, understanding, "knowing how" and desiring.[70] The first change in practice that they brought about was related to their professional organisation. In the early 2000s, the Czech designer and curator Adam Macháček organised an exhibition on Swiss graphic design as part of the 21st Biennial of Graphic Design in Brno. As part of his preliminary research, he met with a series of practitioners and was surprised enough by his encounters to remark that:

To meet multiple designers at once in Switzerland is not very difficult. Their studios are often found under a single roof […]. Designers, photographers and architects […] work right behind the corner. They play foosball [table football]

together, organize exhibitions and parties with their own video presentations, publish their own books and magazines, compose music, teach lessons, and open shops where they sell their own fashion and toys.[71]

68 Reckwitz 2002, 245–246.
69 Reckwitz 2002, 246–254.
70 Reckwitz 2002, 250.
71 Macháček 2004.

Had he been curating an exhibition a few decades earlier, Macháček would have relied on associations to connect with local designers. Such professional associations organise, structure and define their professions.[72] As normative institutions, they contribute to creating a consensus about conventions and the social organisation of work.[73] In Switzerland, these organisations existed under different categories.[74] Some, like the Swiss Graphic Designers (SGD), were concerned with the day-to-day problems of the profession, while others, like the AGI, were exclusive members' clubs that aimed to set their members apart from the general population of designers. Yet others, like the SWB, defined themselves as umbrella groups for the design professions in general. The new generation rejected them all, regardless.

72 Millerson 1998 (1964), 13–15.
73 Hodson & Sullivan 2008, 265; Halliday, Powell & Granfors 1993, 515.
74 For Switzerland, see Barbieri 2021a; Delamadeleine 2016; Gnägi, Nicolai & Wohlwend Piai 2013. For other national and international organisations, see Armstrong 2014; 2016; 2019; Barbieri 2017; Hasdoğan 2009; Lees-Maffei 2008; Messell 2019; Souza Dias 2019; Sparke 1983; Thompson 2011; Thomson 1997; Yagou 2005.

The number of graphic designers in the SWB declined steadily from the 1990s onwards.[75] The SWB attributed that decline to the increased number of trade-specific associations such as the SGD. Accordingly, in 2003, it attempted to reposition itself as a cultural rather than a trade association.[76] In fact, the new generation was not interested in the SGD either. Newcomers did not identify with what Windlin called "bread-and-butter" designers but preferred a stronger authorial position that set them apart from the mainstream.[77] Conversely, at the other end of the spectrum of professional associations, the elite members' club of the AGI "repelled" members of the new school.[78] Windlin explained:

When they invited me to join, I told them I could only join if they expelled Roger Pfund, because his work was so vile. I said: "It would depress me to realise that in the end, I'm just a member of the same tribe. I just can't."[79]

75 Gnägi, Nicolai & Wohlwend Piai 2013, 445.
76 Imboden & Raschle 2013, 98–100.
77 Barbieri 2021a; Heller 1993, 29; Wolfs 2003, 28.
78 Barbieri 2021a, 18.
79 *Ibid.*

Windlin's strong reaction and specific naming of Pfund could be dismissed as a conscious attempt at framing himself as anti-establishment. However, the rejection of the AGI was not limited to Windlin: NORM echoed his sentiment. For the newcomers, the AGI was synonymous with the old school. They argued that the association's members were unwilling to update their worldview and embrace the new school. Krebs expressed that they "were all old people [for whom nothing exists] next to them."[80] Bruni agreed:

The problem is […] this relationship of past generations […] with respect to the younger generation […]. With a few exceptions, they reject it completely. [They say] "it's over, the chapter is closed. Swiss design is complete". […] And there is a contempt that we feel, a *contempt* – an ignorance! – they don't know anyone else except first, their own work – it's always self-referential – and second, maybe, the few friends they've had, or with whom they've collaborated.[81]

80 NORM 2017.
81 "Le problème c'est […] cette relation des générations passées […] par rapport aux jeunes […]. A quelques exceptions près ils font un refus complet. [Ils disent] c'est clos, le chapitre est clos. Le design suisse est clos. […] Et il y a un mépris qu'on sent, un mépris – une ignorance! – ils ne connaissent personne d'autre que un, déjà, leurs travaux à eux – c'est toujours autoréférentiel – et deux, à la limite, le peu de potes qu'ils ont eu, ou avec qui ils ont collaboré". NORM 2017.

The generational divide and the associations' inability to adapt contributed to their demise. The newcomers felt constrained by the old guard who refused to acknowledge new practices.[82] As Margolin underlined, this conservative attitude was not limited to Switzerland, but was also prevalent in international associations such as ICOGRADA and ICSID,[83] most of whose membership understood design "in terms of what it [had] been rather than what it might be".[84] By rejecting professional organisations, the newcomers also dismissed their definition of the discipline. Nevertheless, as the sociologists Harrison and Cynthia White have argued, "no institutional system, however beset with contradictions, expires until successors emerge".[85] This disjunction between what the new generation wanted to do, and what the existing organisations expected, thus led the newcomers to rely on different modes of organisation. They replaced them with informal communities.

82 Barbieri 2021a.
83 ICOGRADA: International Council of Design, founded in 1963, renamed ico-D in 2014 and ICoD in 2020. ICSID: International Council of Societies of Industrial Design, founded in 1957 and renamed WDO (World Design Organization) in 2015.
84 Margolin 2013, 403.
85 White & White 1993 (1965), 2.

In the mid-1990s, design communities superseded professional associations in Swiss cities. Amongst others, Lucerne, Bern, Biel/Benne and Zurich had distinct scenes, each with their own design language and acting like small centres of gravity.[86] Within the scenes themselves, there were also specific areas or buildings which were particularly significant, as Macháček discovered when he was organising his exhibition. The designers' new networks were highly informal and grounded in their daily lives, social activities and work. The notion of communities of practice, which was coined by the social anthropologist Jean Lave and the educational theorist Etienne Wenger in 1991, provides a useful framework to understand this mode of organisation.[87] Though it was primarily concerned with learning theory, the notion was later expanded and has come to define "groups of people who share a concern or a passion for something they do and learn how to do it better as they interact regularly".[88] The term "practice" does not refer solely to the opposite of "theory", but includes acting and

knowing.[89] While communities exist everywhere, not all are communities of practice. The latter are characterised by a shared domain of interest, social interaction and a form of practice, three criteria which the design communities met.[90] They were organised around explicit aspects (language, tools, documents, images and so on) and tacit elements (relations, subtle cues, untold rules, shared world views).[91] "Practice" is thus helpful in addressing not only what designers did, and with whom, but also how they behaved, the image they projected, and the way they learned or networked.

86 NORM 2017; Macháček 2004; Zumstein & Barandun 2017a.
87 Lave & Wenger 1991, 29.
88 Wenger 1998; Wenger-Trayner & Wenger-Trayner 2015, 1.
89 Wenger 1998, 47–48.
90 Wenger-Trayner & Wenger-Trayner 2015, 2.
91 Wenger 1998, 47.

Although design communities were often related to the networks developed during their studies, the newcomers did not rely solely on such connections when forming or joining a community.[92] Even as students, they readily identified existing scenes in Switzerland which led them to move to places to which they had little connection, but where they could join close-knit communities.[93] A passion for design brought them together and led them to merge personal and professional networks.[94] Isabel Truniger, the Zurich-based photographer who was part of an informal community built around the type foundry Lineto, highlighted how important the scene was for NORM's Bruni. She recalled: "Dimitri's friends were all designers, and they talked about design all the time".[95] This proximity encouraged a sense of challenge between designers. As Krebs explained:

It was very motivating [in Zurich]. You'd exchange [ideas with other designers], then you'd think: "Ah fuck, he did this job, but hey… we'll do another one even [better]". It's […] constructive.[96]

92 Zumstein & Barandun 2017b.
93 Lehni 2018; NORM 2017; Zumstein & Barandun 2017a.
94 NORM 2017; Zumstein & Barandun 2017a.
95 Truniger 2018.
96 "C'était hyper motivant [à Zurich]. Tu échangeais, c'est clair après tu te disais 'ah putain il a fait ce job, mais bon… on va faire un autre encore plus…' C'est […] constructif". NORM 2017.

Design was not the only impulse behind joining a particular scene. Many newcomers connected with specific cities because of techno nights, underground parties or concerts.[97] This was especially the case in Zurich, which offered a wider cultural spectrum than any other city in Switzerland. Such events were advertised by means of flyers or posters on a national, sometimes even international basis, and attracted newcomers from different areas of the country as much through their design as through the events they advertised.

97 Gavillet 2017; 2018: NORM 2017; 2018.

As a graphic design student at ECAL in Lausanne, Gilles Gavillet was dissatisfied with the design and music scenes in Western Switzerland.[98] Upon encountering posters in record shops for concerts at the Rote Fabrik in Zurich, he discovered the city's music scene before connecting with its designers. Already as students in Biel/Bienne, NORM's Manuel Krebs and Dimitri Bruni were also attracted to Zurich because of both its techno and its design scene.[99] Conversely, they had no interest in Bern, Geneva or Basel. For them, Geneva offered no interesting clients, while Bern and Basel were dominated by formal trends rather than a concept-led approach. They disliked the post-modernist heritage of Weingart in Basel and the aesthetic in Bern, where büro destruct prevailed. They preferred Zurich, where a new generation of designers was setting up studios near the Pfingstweidstrasse, in an industrial district that offered ateliers at affordable prices. In 1999, NORM decided to set up their office in the area. The job market allegedly played no role in their rationale for choosing Zurich. Instead, the main reason was the presence of a design community with whom they felt a kinship:

Dimitri had met all the people who were at the Pfingstweidstrasse, everyone was more or less there. Cornel [Windlin], Elektrosmog, there was almost everyone who was in their 30s. And it was really this thing about coming here.[100]

98 Gavillet 2017.
99 NORM 2017.
100 "Dimitri avait rencontré tous les gens qui étaient à la Pfingstweidstrasse, tout le monde était un peu là. Cornel, Elektrosmog, il y avait un peu tous les gens qui avaient autour de 30 ans. et c'était vraiment ce truc de venir ici." NORM 2017.

Obviously, not *everyone* was established in Zurich: other cities also had thriving scenes. Lucerne, for example, had a distinct design discourse and did not feel a need to look up to Zurich.[101] Yet for NORM, the designers who mattered were on the Pfingstweidstrasse, and their explanation is revealing of the specificity of each design community with its own, distinct visual discourse.

101 Zumstein & Barandun 2017a; Rappo 2021.

In Zurich, as NORM explained, the design discourse was dominated by designers from the Lineto network such as Windlin or Elektrosmog. Windlin had designed much of the visual material for the events attracting the new generation to Zurich, including a series of posters for the Rote Fabrik which experimented with vernacular references or varied artefacts for the underground party "Reefer Madness" which he co-organised.[102] According to Gavillet, who was then studying in Lausanne, Windlin's designs presented a ground-breaking language not only in terms of what they looked like, but also how they were conceptualised as objects that allowed self-referentiality or a strong commentary.[103] Amongst the most iconic examples was a poster advertising a concert by the Wu-Tang Clan rapper Method Man which had an Uzi as its main feature (Fig. 4.2). Such artefacts contributed to creating an aura around the design community in Zurich, especially around Windlin, who became particularly influential with his "unprofessional" attitude.

102 Grand 2015, 368–395.
103 Gavillet 2018.

Fig. 4.2 Windlin's poster for Die Rote Fabrik (ca 1995), which featured an Uzi as the sole illustration for a series of concerts including Method Man, PJ Harvey, NTM and Les Reines Prochaines.

Windlin's visual language and the new professional attitude he had honed since the 1990s resonated with other designers, who now formed a community of practice with him as its centre of gravity. He became a tutelary figure to whom many newcomers looked up and whose professional model they followed. The recurring presence of Windlin in my interviews with NORM, but also among other newcomers of the 1990s and 2000s such as Gavillet or Jürg Lehni, shows how central a figure he was in Zurich and beyond. Many designers rallied around the type foundry and community of practice Lineto, which Windlin co-founded with Stephan "Pronto" Müller and to which I shall return again below. These networks and communities of practice brought an additional dimension to the newcomers' professional shift. Unlike their predecessors, they were not interested in design as a service, neither did they try to cater to the needs of specific clients. More than anything else, they wanted to be near like-minded people who were passionate about their practice. They had little consideration for the commercial job market, privileging instead a flexible organisation in design communities that shared an understanding of what design should be. Their organisation in communities of practice led to the embodiment of design as a way of life which designers used to redefine their profession.

4.2.2 Self-actualisation through the design lifestyle

In addition to changing their modes of organisation, the newcomers used their lifestyles to actualise their practices. They communicated them through a new type of image. A series of designer portraits published in Benzin (2000), the influential book which the FOC used as reference point for the 2002 reorganisation, demonstrated how the newcomers consciously played with their representation to imply that their practice was a way of life.

According to the sociologist of professions Geoffrey Millerson, the image of a profession is composed of three layers. First, there is the representation that an occupation offers of itself (the self-image). Then there is

Fig. 4.3 Elektrosmog portrayed in their studio. The photograph was commissioned for Benzin (2000) Photograph: Peter Tillessen.

the image seen by other professionals. Finally, there is the image that the public has of the profession.[104] This image is not just visual, but includes "perceptions, attitudes and beliefs" about every aspect of a professional's identity, such as education, background, income and lifestyle.[105] The self-image of professionals (or their group-image) predetermines and reinforces expectations of conduct and thus offers a particularly rich source for understanding the professional shift.[106] Moreover, as an "image industry", design is particularly concerned with the "aesthetics of professionalism".[107]

104 Millerson 1998 (1964), 158.
105 Millerson 1998 (1964), 159.
106 *Ibid.*
107 Armstrong 2019, 108.

Designers have accordingly long paid attention to their professional image. Young ambitious designers in the 1920s, such as Jan Tschichold, chose to be photographed wearing a draughtsman's coat and carrying tools in their hands in order to convey an impression of craft and precision.[108] By contrast, in 1950s Britain, they favoured jacket and tie.[109] Their performed gentlemanliness was a bid to distance themselves from artists and to enhance their status by imitating more established professions such as law and architecture.[110] In 1960s Switzerland, the modes of representation varied.[111] Some designers still referenced cleanliness and precision, while others presented themselves like artists or well-travelled cosmopolitans.[112] By the 1990s and 2000s, the newcomers had adopted the "no-collar" uniform of the creative class: jeans, sneakers and the occasional caps.[113] Elektrosmog's portrait in *Benzin* went further. Not only were the designers portrayed in the standard uniform of the creative class, but they also crafted their representation to imply that design was a way of life (Fig. 4.3).

108 Früh 2021.
109 Nixon 2016, 377–378.
110 Armstrong 2019, 108; Nixon 2000, 68–69.
111 Verband Schweizerischer Grafiker 1960.
112 Kaufmann, Schneemann & Zeller 2021.
113 Florida 2012, 100–121.

There are four interlinking sites at which an image's meaning are made, namely production (where the image is made), the image itself (its content), the site of its circulation (where it travels) and that of its audiencing

(where it meets its spectators), which I shall map successively here.[114] On Fig. 4.3, two people are watching football on a small TV screen. They are visibly relaxed: feet are up, flip-flops thrown to the side, beer is flowing. There must have been pivotal action on the field, for the man on the left angrily clutches his head, while the person on the right is blurry – they have stood up jubilantly to celebrate, arms above head. Reduced to these elements, the situation describes a perfectly banal moment of leisure, with two friends watching a match and supporting opposite teams. However, the photograph represents an entirely different story.

114 Rose 2016, 24–25.

The duo is not sitting in a sports bar or a living room. The concrete floor with yellow painted lines suggests they could be in a former garage or factory, though it is obvious that manual work is no longer taking place in this room, whose shelves are laden with books, binders, archival boxes and so on. This is no artist's studio either: on the desk, computers, phones, a fax and rubber stamps suggest some kind of clerical activity. At the same time, the furnishings are not completely office-like and imply creative endeavours. Besides the TV, a decent sound system indicates that the duo enjoys playing music. The impression of creative work is compounded by the posters on the wall, a carefully curated collection of typographic posters, vernacular artefacts, abstract shapes and test print sheets. In the corner, a drinks crate and a bag of coal show that the pair enjoy hosting barbecues with their friends and colleagues, who are often the same thing in design communities. To summarise, the image shows elements of the universes of leisure and work, but also of industry and creativity, all blending seamlessly. If we now consider the context of its circulation and audiencing, this image takes on yet another dimension. The photograph was commissioned for *Benzin*, which showed work by up-and-coming young Swiss graphic designers and was aimed at a knowing audience. In the book, it was clear that this image portrayed Elektrosmog's Marco Walser and Valentin Hindermann in their workspace. According to *Benzin*, the designers were part of a new generation of Swiss designers who were "fighting

for recognition".[115] Evidently, one of the weapons they had chosen in this fight for actualisation was the design lifestyle. Although the image appears like a candid behind-the-scenes snapshot, it was carefully constructed. The photographer Peter Tillessen used a cumbersome large format camera for the shoot, which did not lend itself to quick-fire photography. He carefully framed the scene by standing on a ladder behind the designers, who were aware of the image they were composing.[116] Though the photograph created the impression of a carefree profession in which the personal and professional, leisure and work, creativity and industry were blending naturally, this design lifestyle was in fact carefully staged.

115 Heller 2000.
116 The photographer confirmed that Elektrosmog were indeed cheering for two opposing football teams. Peter Tillessen, email correspondence with the present writer, 2 July 2020 and 3 July 2023.

Naturally, the newcomers were not the first creatives to experience the struggle between art and commerce. When they adopted design as a "way of life", they were repeating a pattern that up-and-coming artists in 19th-century France had adopted – the bohemian lifestyle. For Boltanski and Chiapello, artists embraced that lifestyle after becoming disillusioned with bourgeois values and the oppression exerted by capitalism through market domination, which had led to a reduction in freedom, autonomy and authenticity.[117] This created a tension between economic viability and their desire to make art for art's sake. These artists reacted to the loss of meaning resulting from a merchandising of culture by adjusting their lifestyles, which is defined as "collectively shared patterns of perception, taste and behaviour".[118] They adopted a bohemian lifestyle which not only became central to their identity, but also made their occupation attractive to others.[119] Their lifestyle was characterised by

spontaneity, sporadic employment, lack of income, continuous improvisation, by living from hand to mouth and by trying to enjoy life from day to day instead of subordinating to fixed (work) schedules.[120]

Fig. 4.4 A portrait of Remo Stoller published in Benzin (2000). The setting suggested both independence and impermanence. It gave the impression that Stoller had just sat down to do a short burst of work before moving onto other activities. Photograph: Peter Tillessen.

Fig. 4.5 A portrait of François Chalet in his studio published in Benzin (2000). The studio was filled with Japanese toys, a stuffed caterpillar, a pool floating device in the shape of a cell phone and DJ vinyl turntables. Photograph: Peter Tillessen.

117 Boltanski & Chiapello 2011 (1999), 86–88.
118 Eikhof & Haunschild 2006, 236.
119 Bourdieu 2016 (1992), n.p. (part 1, chapter 1, section 2); 1993, 66; Seigel 1999 (1986), 5.
120 Eikhof & Haunschild 2006, 236.

Although the design newcomers belonged to a creative industry rather than to "pure art" – in other words, their artistic integrity overlapped with business demands – they adapted their lifestyle just as 19th-century artists French artists had done.[121] They were not alone to do so in the late 1990s and 2000s. For the journalist David Brooks, even the bourgeoisie was adopting codes that had thus far been reserved for bohemian counterculture.[122] The sociologist Andrew Ross has argued that companies "industrialised" bohemia, in other words capitalism absorbed counterculture and profited from it.[123] However, in Switzerland, none of the newcomers worked in the Silicon Valley-style companies featured in Ross's study. On the contrary: most of them were self-employed. The urban studies theorist Richard Florida has offered a more compelling explanation for the development of the design lifestyle. For him, a wider structural change was taking place. This led to the emergence of a new socio-economic class: the "creative class".[124] The newcomers were part of this class, and it influenced their social identities, preferences, values and lifestyles.

121 Eikhof & Haunschild 2007, 526.
122 Brooks 2004 (2000), 10.
123 Ross 2004, 123–160.
124 Florida 2012, 36–37.

In many of Tillessen's studio portraits published in *Benzin*, the newcomers staged strong indicators of the design lifestyle that often recalled improvised, unstructured bohemianism. On these images, they emphasised a post-professional attitude which put forward their personalities as central to their practice. Remo Stoller, who had graduated in 1998, was photographed working on his laptop by a river (Fig. 4.4), personifying the flexible work conditions described by the sociologist Richard Sennett.[125] Perhaps he could not afford a studio, or maybe he did not even need one – all he required was a laptop. Conversely, François Chalet, who had launched his studio in 1997, emphasised a very personal visual universe. His workspace recalled a teenager's bedroom (Fig. 4.5). These younger designers' studios contrasted strongly

with more established ones, such as Müller+Hess, who had begun working in 1993. Their office was closer to that of an architect, though the two designers still eschewed professional conventions: they were photographed barefoot in their studio (Fig. 4.6).

125 Sennett 2011 (1998), n.p. (chapter 3).

Conversely, designers knowingly played with the conventional aesthetics of professionalism and industry. The photograph supposedly showing Lineto's office depicted a lonely worker sat under a large-scale Lineto logo in a drab room filled with data servers (Fig. 4.7). This corporate, ultra-technical universe was staged. It was far from the human-centred, collaborative setup of the foundry described in the interview accompanying the photograph.[126] Just like with his business card (Fig. 4.11), Windlin was playing with expectations of professional behaviour. No matter how left-field *Benzin* was, the designer refused to be pigeonholed.[127] He was playing to the gallery too. Both the portrait and his reaction a year later – when he theatrically set fire to his copy of *Benzin*[128] – illustrated his desire to be portrayed as an outsider even within the community, an attitude which remained when he became part of the design establishment that I discuss in the next chapter.

126 Ernst 2000a. For a discussion of the informal, collaborative setup of Lineto, see Berthod 2019a.
127 Kaufmann, Schneemann & Zeller 2021.
128 Früh 2021a.

By contrast, NORM carefully set up their studio to look professional, albeit on their own terms: they privileged a highly technological, futuristic environment (Fig. 4.8) over the more personable ateliers that Elektrosmog or Chalet had created. They explained:

[For] us, it was [a] gesture to come to Zurich. [*Pointing at the studio*] This was the space we rented with a wall that was there, on the ground there. But it was big, and it was expensive [...] We also wanted to be in Zurich to "represent". You had the computers, you could have

maximum "representation". You wanted the office to look like a thing, a control centre in a spaceship. With as many drives as possible. Then we painted [the floor] sky blue, we put a mobile phone in, so it was a little bit to [say] – OK, you had a space. People would come, and they'd say "ah, they're serious".[129]

129 "[Pour] nous c'était [un] geste de venir à Zurich. Ça c'était le local qu'on a loué avec le mur qui était là, par terre là. Mais c'était grand, et c'était cher [...] Nous on voulait aussi être à Zurich pour représenter. T'avais les ordinateurs, tu pouvais avoir un max de 'represent'. Tu voulais que le bureau ait l'air comme d'un truc, une centrale de commande dans un spaceship. Avec un maximum de lecteurs. Après on a peint en bleu ciel, on a mis un téléphone portable, comme ça, c'était un peu pour – OK, tu as un espace. Les gens ils viennent, ils disent 'ah, c'est sérieux.'" Berthod 2021d, 121–122.

Their use of the word "represent", which NORM borrowed from hip-hop culture, was telling for the role played by their studio image in bringing up to date their definition of their profession. "Representing" means using communication and cultural practices to articulate identities and to situate oneself.[130] Put plainly, the term is a rallying cry to speak up and show who you are.[131] This was indeed what NORM were doing. In their work, they played with what the art and design historian Catherine de Smet has described as an "aesthetic of organisation" which was translated here into an aesthetic of professionalism rather than a desire to behave as professionals.[132] Their sleek image implied that they were at the forefront of design.

130 Forman 2000, 89.
131 Kline 2007, 171.
132 de Smet 2012, 99–100.

By carefully staging how they were represented and how they self-promoted, the newcomers were adopting a non-conformist attitude that rejected previous professional models. Becker provided an extensive analysis of the social category of outsiders, and many of his remarks on jazz musicians can be applied to the new generation of designers.[133] They refused to "bow to the wishes of clients", which they described as "dictates" interfering with their work.[134] They argued that what they had to say through their design was at least as valuable as fulfilling the client's brief.[135] They saw their work as an "art" that merged the client's needs with their own interests to

create something "uniquely vibrant".[136] They perceived a clear hierarchy between themselves, who were upholding artistic standards, and those who chose a commercial route.[137] But whether they put forward their outsider attitudes through aesthetics of anti-professionalism, nonchalance or sleek technology, the newcomers were not only showing they were different from "bread-and-butter" designers, but were also turning their identities into a selling point. The work of the sociologists Sarah Thornton and Angela McRobbie can provide us with a series of concepts to analyse how these designers proceeded. In her research into club cultures, Thornton built on the notions of cultural capital and subculture to develop the concept of "subcultural capital", which operates like the former but within the latter.[138] In a nutshell,

just as cultural capital is personified in "good" manners and urbane conversation, so subcultural capital is embodied in the form of being "in the know".[139]

133 Becker 1963, 79–83.
134 Curiger, Hug & Windlin 2002; Wolfs 2003, 28.
135 Curiger, Hug & Windlin 2002.
136 Ibid.
137 Barbieri 2021a.
138 Cultural capital has its roots in Bourdieu & Passeron 1970. For an overview of the concept, see Champagne & Christin 2012, 93–146. For overviews of the notion of subculture, see Gelder 2007 and Jenks 2005.
139 Thornton 2003 (1995), n.p. (chapter 1, section 1).

Thornton used the term to describe how younger generations used their "hipness" to their advantage, and this applied directly to these newcomers on the design scene. Such a strategy was analysed further in McRobbie's work on the British creative industries. She argued that consumers of a subculture often become its producers, and so clubbing and rave cultures provided a template for their participants' work identities.[140] In the creative sector specifically, it meant that elements of youth culture were not passive indicators of "hipness" but were actively used by protagonists to create and attract work. The newcomers cultivated their subcultural capital and put their personalities forward to attract commissions and promote their definition of the profession.

140 McRobbie 2005 (1998), 9; 2016, n.p. (chapter 1, section 1).

Fig. 4.6 A portrait of Müller+Hess's in their studio published in Bauwelt (2000). Their light-filled, spacious studio recalled an architect's office. Photograph: Peter Tillessen.

Fig. 4.7 The photograph published in Benzin (2000) which implied it was showing Lineto's workspace – in fact, it was a mise en scène. Photograph: Peter Tillessen.

Fig. 4.8 NORM's workspace as published in Benzin (2000). The blue floor, futuristic looking hard plastic sofa and technical setup suggested cutting-edge design services. Photograph: Peter Tillessen.

Fig. 4.9 Urs Lehni's portrait which was published in the 2005 SDA catalogue. From the uniform of canvas trainers, nice jeans (possibly from French ready-to-wear brand A.P.C.), crisp double-layered t-shirts and red caps to the bicycles – in the style of beach cruisers from the 1980s – the image conveyed coolness, self-assurance and membership of a series of communities including graphic design, but also BMX or skateboarding. Photograph: Körner Union.

In this respect, the newcomers differed from the previous generations of designers and from practitioners in other countries who extensively used public events, articles and books to debate their profession.[141] Instead, their new model was promoted almost exclusively through their image and their commissions. The importance of crafting an image has been addressed in the sociologist Elizabeth Wissinger's work on fashion. She coined the term "glamour labour" to describe how models toil to "create and maintain one's 'cool' quotient", which "involves all aspects of one's image, from physical presentation, to personal connections, to friendships and fun."[142] While the newcomers were certainly not operating within the universe of glamour, they nevertheless carefully crafted an image encompassing cultu ral attributes of "cool" which supported their positive self-image and conferred on them a special status within the industry.[143] They controlled the representation of their appearance to improve their hipness, thereby ensuring commissions and renewing definitions of their profession.

141 See for instance Bill 2008 (1945–1988); Bosshard 2012; De Bondt & Muggeridge 2020 (2009); Crouwel et al 2015; Pater 2016; Rock 2013; Tschichold 1928; 1949; van der Velden 2011 (2006). For overviews and literature on the topic, see Armstrong 2009; Lupton 2011; McCarthy 2011; 2013; Triggs 2009.

142 Wissinger 2015, 3.

143 Neff, Wissinger & Zukin 2005, 314 and 328.

As I explained in the third chapter above, the SDA relied on the newcomers' "hip" image to reposition the awards at the centre of the scene. Unsurprisingly, the design lifestyle soon made its way into the SDA catalogues, thereby amplifying and promoting it. For instance, the 2005 catalogue featured a series of portraits by the photography trio Körner Union which were sometimes literal representations of the design lifestyle. The designer Urs Lehni's portrait communicated spontaneity, enjoyment and irony (Fig. 4.9). His image shows two people dressed identically in his studio. Lehni himself is on the right of the image while a doppelgänger – visibly performed by Körner Union's Tarik Hayward – executes a figure on a bicycle. The image exudes the era's effortless cool. McRobbie outlined how elements of youth culture were directly imported into the creative sector, and here they were. [144] Apart from these appurtenances, even the

photograph's harsh flash lighting style, then in vogue in fashion photography, conveyed coolness.[145]

144 McRobbie 2016, n.p. (chapter 1, section 1).
145 See for instance Terry Richardson's 2004 book *Terryworld* (Cologne: Taschen).

Although the newcomers' image seemed informal, offhand even, it was just as calculated as that of the previous generations. The new school's behaviour reflected the desire of the creative class to free themselves from professional hierarchies and their valorisation of personality over strict codes.[146] The newcomers' self-image not only reflected the design lifestyle, but also promoted it and, by extension, their profession itself, by producing and broadcasting material which featured experimental design languages.

146 Florida 2012, 36, 69–78.

4.2.3 Going public: promoting the new profession

Besides their new modes of organisation and careful staging of their image, the new generation relied on self-promotional material to "go public" and introduce their new practices to the world.[147] When the newcomers launched their studios in the 1990s and 2000s, they had plenty of self-confidence but much fewer commissions. This gave them time to work for themselves.[148] They published self-promotional materials including business cards, postcards and compliment slips, often produced at no cost by using any space left on their clients' print sheets.[149] In itself, this strategy was not new. Designers have long relied on ephemera and advertisements in trade journals to market their services to clients and expand their business.[150] However, the new generation treated this material with an ironic distance. They also adopted a wider range of promotional media such as posters, self-published books and collaborative platforms. Furthermore, the newcomers took full advantage of digital formats and published typefaces, developed websites and produced animations. All of these contributed to promoting and normalising the new profession.

147 Mareis 2006, 9.
148 NORM 2017; Zumstein & Barandun 2017a.
149 Hares 2018; NORM 2018.
150 Aynsley 1995, 61. See overviews in Lambert 2001; Thun-Hohenstein & Pokorny-Nagel 2017.

When they worked on self-initiated projects, designers were their own clients. The control they maintained over form, content and distribution allowed them to regain the autonomy they had lost to commercial logic. Rather than relying on these objects to advertise their businesses or attract new clients, the newcomers used them as space to develop their language. Their audience included other practitioners as much as, if not more than potential customers, and these artefacts became a site for experimentation contributing to what the design scholar Teal Triggs has described as an "alternative view of history" bringing together form and content.[151] The self-promotional material retraced the development of their language, documents how they positioned their studio within the scene, and gives insight into their definition of the profession.

151 Triggs 2009, 326.

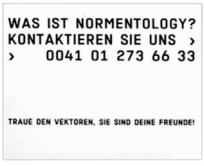


Fig. 4.10 NORM's humorous business card introducing "Normentology" (2000).
Fig. 4.11 Dimitri Bruni's business card in 2000.

When Bruni and Krebs launched NORM in 1999, they not only wanted to announce that they were open for business, but also that they had taken a new creative direction. They were previously known as members of the well-known illustration collective Silex, which published eponymous underground zines featuring a hand-made aesthetic (see Fig. 5.1).[152] After founding their studio, however, NORM never used hand-drawn elements again.

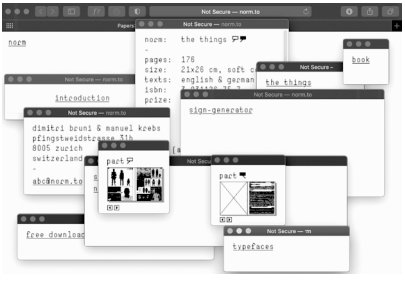


Fig. 4.12 NORM's website as it appeared in the early 2000s. Design: NORM.

Their self-promotional material echoed a digital universe using a language grounded in technology, which they sometimes referred to directly. In 2000, a card announced: "trust the vectors, they are your friends" (Fig. 4.10). It portrayed the two designers as illuminati who practiced "Normentology", a humorous spin on their design philosophy presented as a cult. Another example was Bruni's 2000 business card featured tool icons from a design software's interface (Fig. 4.11). His email address was typeset in a barely legible custom pixel font, showing that the business cards were more graphic playgrounds than communication supports. This cryptic digital language privileging form over function extended to much of their self-promotional material. Their statement-like website embraced the possibilities offered by the medium and played with legibility and accessibility. It was a "playful anarchy" in which "all hell [broke] loose" when you clicked a link (Fig. 4.12).[153] A compliment slip from the same year showed complex drawings (Fig. 4.13). Its aesthetic referred to the punched cards used by early computers, printed circuit boards and technical diagrams. Yet there is no real meaning to these drawings. These compliment slips could not be used in traditional office correspondence either since they left no space to add a note. The artefact was purely self-referential: for NORM, form was the message.

152 Berthod 2018b; Macháček 2004; Silex 2001.
153 Farrelly 2008.

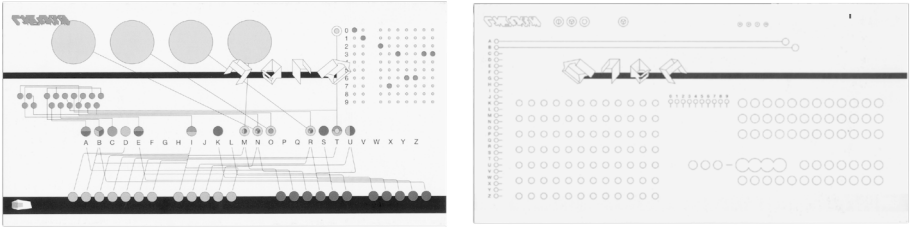
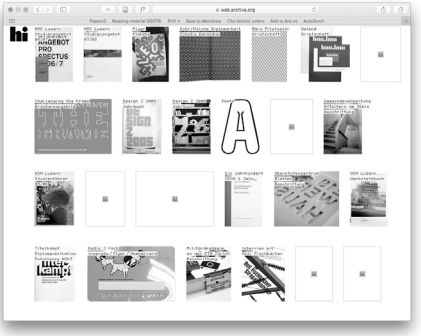


Fig. 4.13 The front and back of NORM's compliment slips (2000). Design: NORM.

Megi Zumstein won the SDA in 2002, but it was not until 2007 that she founded Hi, her studio with Claudio Barandun. As with NORM, Hi's self-promotional material straddled digital and analogue outputs. Unlike theirs, however, it did not place form completely above function.

For instance, Hi's website functioned like the digital equivalent of a traditional portfolio (Fig. 4.14). It featured easily accessible images and information on their projects. The printed material they produced was more unexpected. Hi printed a series of mailing cards, which they sent to about 100 potential clients. While these strategies were conventional, their content was not. The cards featured historical type specimens rather than Hi's work (Fig. 4.15). Although the campaign failed to bring in a single job,[154] it did not stop the designers from producing more material whose content was similarly untraditional.



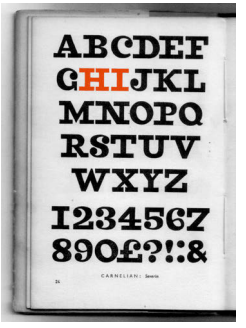


Fig. 4.14 Hi's website as it appeared on 8 April 2007. Design: Hi.
Fig. 4.15 Greeting card (2007). Design: Hi.

As Zumstein explained, Hi were also just "happy to print something for [them]selves".[155] Self-promotional material was thus more of an opportunity for professional actualisation than an attempt to lure potential clients.

154 Zumstein & Barandun 2017b.
155 Megi Zumstein, email conversation with the present writer, 2 May 2018.

In 2008, Hi made a series of postcards which put forward their personalities rather than their portfolio. One of them showed the designers in their studio wearing crudely constructed letter-shaped costumes made of cardboard. The three-dimensional letters form a sentence that playfully states: "typography is your friend" (Fig. 4.16). This was not a professional image; it showed humour, experimentation and fun. Adopting a self-indulgent tone, the designers promoted their personalities, tone of voice and attitudes rather than their work. Like NORM, Hi knowingly staged themselves to "represent" – to embody and project their identity. Zumstein reused this strategy much later. After she and Barandun dissolved their studio in

December 2019, the designer updated her website with a portrait that showed her sat in a field with her laptop, in front of her initials constructed with planks (Fig. 4.17). Almost two decades after entering professional life, Zumstein still used her personality as a means for self-determination.

Fig. 4.16 "Typo ist dein Freund", greeting card (2008). Design: Hi.
Fig. 4.17 Megi Zumstein's website (2020). The landing page shows the designer sat with a laptop in a field. Behind her, planks form her initials. Design: Megi Zumstein.

Through their design lifestyle, their modes of representation and the self-promotional material that they created, the designers enacted their new profession. They portrayed themselves as untraditional and free of commercial constraints. They valued humour and irony over earlier professional codes such as cleanliness and precision. This helped them to create a distance from the previous generation of designers and promote their new profession to regain a creative autonomy which they felt was impossible with commercial commissions. The lack of interest in the latter may explain why the newcomers' self-promotional material rarely – if ever – led to commissions.[156] Furthermore, the designers embraced a lifestyle that was flexible and non-institutionalised. While it functioned similarly to the archetypal lifestyle of an "artist", the designers' was not an "elegant life" that valued idleness as a form of work.[157] In fact, it was quite the opposite: producing work was central to the newcomers, since they needed commissions to finance their careers. They had to carefully balance their vanguard image and the need to secure clients. For most of them, this meant taking an increasingly authorial position and focusing their work in the cultural sector.

156 Barbieri 2021b; Gavillet 2017; 2018; Zumstein & Barandun 2017b.
157 Bourdieu 2016 (1992), n.p. (part 1, chapter 1, section 2).

4.3 Practices, attitudes and forms
4.3.1 Subcultural capital for cultural clients

In the deep shift that took place in the 1990s and early 2000s, the newcomers went beyond the profession defined by their predecessors. Instead, they adopted practices that came with their own networks, a new image for the profession and innovative design languages which they broadcast through self-promotional material. This shift can be replaced within a wider societal transformation in the second half of the 20th century which saw the relationship to economic activities evolve deeply.[158] As Boltanski and Chiapello explained, capitalism was criticised as the source of disenchantment and inauthenticity, oppression, misery and inequality, and opportunism and selfishness.[159] Artistic critique, which was notably adopted by the protests of May 1968, contested capitalism by demanding autonomy, creativity, authenticity and freedom.[160] However, it did not manage to escape capitalism, because the latter successfully reconciled these criticisms with the market. The radical nature of artistic critique was soon incorporated within a "new spirit of capitalism" and thereby silenced.[161]

158 Boltanski and Chiapello 2011 (1999), 33.
159 Ibid., 86–87.
160 Ibid., 460–462.
161 Ibid.

This shift was illustrated in the newcomers' new identity, which presented an appearance of autonomy, creativity, authenticity and freedom, but was simultaneously embedded in the market; in fact, these characteristics made them attractive on the market. The professional identity was objectified in the newcomers' work as much as in their studio environments and embodied in their design lifestyle. As radical as they may have appeared, they still relied on clients' "dependence and trust" to survive.[162] This was noted by Thornton and McRobbie, who departed from earlier literature for which a subculture's authenticity was antithetic to commerce and argued instead that the outsiders' attitude was "in reality less distant from the workings of commercial culture than their underground image suggested".[163] Put bluntly, subcultures could be absorbed directly by the market – for the newcomers, this meant clients in the cultural sector.[164]

162 Fournier 1999, 285–286.
163 McRobbie 2016, n.p. (chapter 2, section 4); Thornton 2003 (1995) (chapter 4, section 2).
164 McRobbie 2016, n.p. (introduction).

This sector relied on external funding and thus did not need to sell products or appeal to the masses. It was also the first to approach the newcomers. Gavillet explained:

The cultural field allows us to combine our interests in print and typography and offers us a real space for experimentation and development – since the role of an art catalogue is not going to contribute to the financing of an institution through its sales, it does indeed free the graphic designer from certain prerequisites.[165]

165 "Le domaine culturel nous permet de faire converger nos intérêts pour l'imprimé, la typographie et nous offre un véritable espace d'expérimentation et de développement – le role d'un catalogue d'art n'étant pas de contribuer au financement d'une institution à travers ses ventes, cela libère en effet le graphiste de certains prérequis." Berthod 2021c, 44–46.

The experimentation allowed by these clients enabled the newcomers to develop visual languages that went counter to the dominant approach to the discipline. They allowed the newcomers to convert their subcultural capital into economic capital to a certain extent. On the downside, these commissions often came with reduced fees. But for newcomers, the freedom to take risks and develop unconventional work outweighed the low pay.[166] Such commissions also allowed the new generation to change their relationships with clients.[167] Instead of working as service providers, they were able to adopt an authorial voice which presented their interpretation of the content as much as the content itself. Of course, this relationship was mutually beneficial. On the one hand, the smallest cultural clients could not necessarily afford well-known or commercial agencies. On the other hand, they also knew that the newcomers brought an added value that established designers did not necessarily offer.

166 Ernst 1999, 24.
167 Triggs 2009, 325.

Martin Heller, who worked as curator then director of the MfGZ between 1986 and 1998, explained that he

found most established designers "boring, and sometimes [...] old fashioned, or linked to the boring kind of Swiss school".[168] One notable exception was Hans-Rudolf Lutz, whom Heller chose to design the poster of his first exhibition at the MfGZ. When Windlin returned from London, Lutz introduced him to Heller, who asked him to design the poster for the exhibition *Zeitreise* in 1993.[169] They developed a regular working relationship which lasted until Heller left the MfGZ. The curator explained that working with Windlin was different from collaborating with other designers:

I worked with a lot of designers, among them Hanna Koller who often works with Scalo, Käti Durrer and Jean Robert, Trix Wetter, Hans-Rudolf Lutz [...] but within this circle, Cornel [Windlin] was a very constant relationship, and I [chose] him especially for the complex and therefore difficult subjects.[170]

168 Heller 2018.
169 *Zeitreise* (Time travel), MfGZ, 3 March 1993–2 May 1993.
170 Barbieri 2021b, 61–62.

Expanding on the reason why he chose Windlin for difficult subjects, Heller clarified:

[These were subjects] where it wasn't obvious how the graphic works for the poster and sometimes for the publication – where it wasn't clear from the beginning where it would end up. [...] At the beginning of every of these jobs, there was a getting into an exchange about the subject, about the motivation, what could be interesting, what could be surprising. It was not at all formal, it was always a question of content at the beginning. [...] But compared with

others, the exchange, the discussions with Cornel were much more interesting.[171]

171 Heller 2018.

Lutz (1939–1998), Robert (1945–2016), Wetter (*1947) and Durrer (*1948) were all from the same generation of well-established designers. The exception on Heller's list was Williamson-Koller (née Koller, *1966), who was younger than Windlin. However, she had spent her formative years at Robert & Durrer's and worked with Wetter from the 1990s onwards.[172] She shared their definition of design as a service. Heller's rationale for choosing Windlin for complex jobs shed light on the added value which the newcomers were able to bring. Not being merely subordinated to the content, they had something to say. Judging by Windlin's success, his clients, his peers and critics were interested in his statements.[173] Many newcomers similarly embraced the position of design authors, which allowed them to develop work in which they could express their subculture and allowed them to exert a degree of influence on the content that they designed and sometimes created.

172 Lichtenstein 2014, 209.
173 Heller 2018; Hollis 2012; Lehni & Owens 2013, 12; Poynor 1996.

4.3.2 Authorial strategies

In 1993 Heller was already able to remark that "the designers of the new generation [...] define themselves less as service providers or educators than as graphic authors."[174] Their work was unhindered by commercial concerns and focused on developing unconventional discourses instead. Windlin expressed this through his design, but also through his work ethic, which was different from that of other designers. Like artists, the designer paid little attention to economic viability. From the client's perspective, this was beneficial. Heller knew that he was trading efficiency for quality, a superiority which resided primarily in Windlin's authorial approach to his work:

In the graphic studio, he wasn't very efficient. And that was a quality. […] He wasn't organising himself and his studio upon economic criteria. He was always acting like […] the mastermind and the author, and if he liked something or if he wasn't pleased with the result, he could work five times more than the money was worth. […]. The organisation of the collaboration was not the one you would expect from an efficiently working studio. It was more like an artist's studio, and an artist's behaviour. There was a certain unreliability in parts of the cooperation, but I took it into account, because for me it was worth – it was one of the prices I had to pay for the whole thing. […] he didn't have to only fulfil the graphic role, but he was part of the nucleus of content, talking about the content and the background of the project.[175]

174 "Die Gestalter der neuen Generation definieren sich deshalb weniger als Dienstleister oder Erzieher denn als grafische Autoren." Heller 1993, 29.

175 Heller 2018.

The notion of "designer as author" can be retraced to a 1991 article by design critic Rick Poynor, describing the work of graphic designers Neville Brody and Jonathan Barnbrook.[176] Windlin worked for Brody before his return to Zurich, and his attitude proved influential. Poynor argued that Brody and Barnbrook were delivering a message in their design that was at least as important as the client's content.[177] This allowed them to upgrade their status to "stars" that clients would approach for their specific voice and perceived added value.[178] In 1996, an article by designer and writer Michael Rock brought a notable contribution to the topic. In his text, which rippled through the design

community, Rock argued that designers should consider their work on the same level of importance as the material provided by the client.[179]

176 Barnes 2012, n.p.
177 Barnes 2012 n.p.; Lupton 2011 (1998).
178 Baldwin & Roberts 2019, n.p.; Julier 2014, 99.
179 FitzGerald 2015, n.p.; Rock 2009 (1996).

However, many misinterpreted this as a call to arms for designers to start creating their own content in order to regain agency over their work.[180] As the designer Kenneth FitzGerald remarked, this strong response revealed their "hunger for meaning—and self-determination".[181] These designers resented their role, deemed as subservient, and attempted to secure their independence by creating a discourse.[182] This misinterpretation of the article indicated the designers' perceived lack of autonomy. Though forms of authorship offered a means to regain independence, they were – and still are – hotly debated.[183] Critics and designers have since invented various other positions, including the designer as producer, as reader, investigator, editor, publisher or researcher, which reflected increasingly broad professional models that moved away from design as a service.[184] Although authorial design was initially linked with the idea of a visible signature, over time it became closer to a position in which the designer is able to add "more intangible, almost invisible elements" in a project, which reflect "particular functional and conceptual inputs which all work to support the given content".[185] Authorial attitudes and self-initiated work became constitutive of the newcomers' professional identities.

180 Rock 2013 (2009).
181 FitzGerald 2015, n.p.
182 Barnes 2012.
183 Barnes 2012; Gavillet 2020; Lupton 2011 (1998); 2011; McCarthy 2011; Rock 2009 (1996); 2013 (2009); van der Velden 2011 (2006).
184 Barnes 2012; Gavillet 2020; Lupton 2011 (1998); 2011; van der Velden 2011 (2006).
185 Goggin 2009, 35.

Previous generations of designers had already used outputs traditionally associated with authorship, such as writing and publishing. The majority of the proponents of the Swiss Style issued articles or books and gave conferences as means of anchoring themselves in a historiography of design.[186] Over time, new generations moved away from such discourse and increasingly

published artefacts that focused on design as its sole content. The design historian Richard Hollis linked this trend with a post-modernist attitude rooted in self-expression.[187] In Switzerland, Lutz notably set up his publishing company, Hans-Rudolf Lutz Verlag, in 1966. Its catalogue included what may best be described as artists' books such as *1979* (1980), *Menschen* and *Gesichter* (both in 1986), whose common theme was an exploration of the means of image reproduction. In the 1990s and 2000s, the newcomers followed the same strategies. Instead of publishing articles or books reflecting on their practices, they published primarily visual material which was often self-referential. Furthermore, rather than producing these outputs in mid-career, the newcomers did so much earlier, sometimes even using them to launch their studios. As the design scholar Monika Parrinder pointed out in 2000, these designers were "[racing] to establish a persona within the industry by publishing their own projects".[188]

186 Kaufmann 2021.
187 Hollis 2006, 257.
188 Parrinder 2000, n.p.

A case in point was one of NORM's earliest projects. After they launched their studio, the designers barely had any work. They thus spent their time developing a manifesto-like monograph, *Introduction* (1999), which they accompanied with a website and promotional material. In this self-published book, the designers did not include essays describing their position: design was the content. The publication was self-referential, and NORM played with their readership's expectations. Though presented as a research project and using a pseudo-analytic language, it was in fact only scholarly in appearance and remained cryptic (Fig. 4.18). While the publication's thickness initially gave the impression of a substantial monograph, *Introduction* was only 34 pages long. The designers created this illusion by using a French fold binding and thick paper that made it resemble a more substantial book (Fig. 4.19). Rather than delivering the formal analysis it promised, *Introduction* was an experimental playground where the designers could be "totally self-centred and self-focused".[189] This publication was also used as a specimen for Normetica (1999), their first commercially available

typeface which was similarly experimental, not particularly legible and intentionally strange.[190]

189 Farrelly 2008, n.p.
190 Stender 2000, 48.

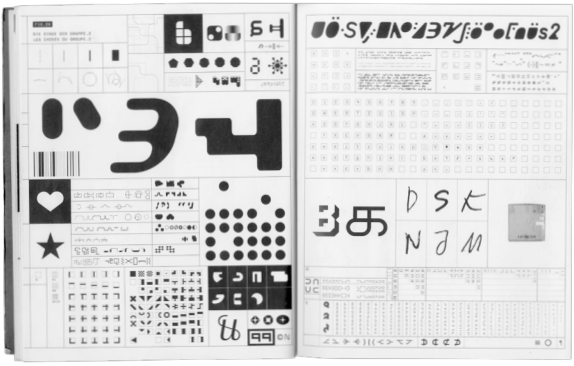


Fig. 4.18 A spread of NORM's *Introduction* (1999). Design: NORM.
Fig. 4.19 The French fold binding technique used by NORM in *Introduction* (1999), which enabled them to increase the thickness of the book.

With *Introduction*, NORM were evidently not attempting to attract traditional clients but asserting their authorial position instead. The audience was convinced, and the publication rapidly sold out. In 2000, it was awarded in the SDA. This was not by chance: the book had been designed with the awards in mind. The designers assumed that they were going to win, and arranged with the printer to delay payment until they had secured the money prize.[191] *Introduction* and its subsequent win at the SDA gave NORM visibility. Amongst the jury members, Rappo, who was the head of the graphic design department at ECAL, was impressed by the duo's presentation and invited them to teach in Lausanne.[192] This expanding network played a fundamental role in their career, as I will argue in my next chapter. Moreover, NORM secured book commissions from the FOC, such as the trilogy of the Most Beautiful Swiss Books catalogues 2001–2003 (published 2002–2004) and *Physiological Architecture*.[193] The scenario was repeated in 2002. NORM self-published a second tome, *The Things*, which they also submitted successfully to the SDA. As their notoriety grew, they secured further commissions in the cultural sector, notably for ECAL and the Migros Museum in Zurich.

191 Berthod 2021b.
192 Rappo 2021.
193 Décosterd & Rahm 2002.

NORM achieved critical acclaim and became one of the most famous design studios of their generation. The last tome of their self-published trilogy, *Dimension of Two* (2020), was symbolic of how far they had come over almost two decades. This time, they did not need to bulk up their publication artificially. Over 512 pages, the designers once again provided a quasi-scholarly exploration that had been years in the making.[194] This book was published at the same time as their first monographic exhibition at the MfGZ.[195] While NORM used *Introduction* to establish their status, *Dimension of Two* presented them at their peak. The different roles played by these successive publications highlighted the continued importance of self-published authorial strategies for NORM, who used them to assert their cultural relevance even as they had evolved from outsiders to insiders.

194 NORM 2017.
195 *Norm – It's Not Complicated*, MfGZ, 12.5.2020–27.9.2020.

4.3.3 Typefaces and foundries: from experimentation to commerce

NORM's *Introduction*, *The Things* and *Dimension of Two* were each typeset in one of their typefaces.[196] This pointed to an area of practice in which subcultural capital eventually translated into significant economic capital. From the late 1980s onwards, a large number of graphic designers – both newcomers and more established practitioners – were drawing typefaces.[197] The democratisation of type-design software now made it possible to create custom typefaces on a project basis.[198] Designers benefitted from digital technologies that had transformed type design and production from an industrial process requiring several people and just as many steps in the process to a single step that a single designer could undertake.[199] Initially, these typefaces were largely experimental and designers rarely expected financial gains from them.[200] Type design was a place to experiment outside what traditional clients might have expected. Because NORM had a growing number of commissions, they no longer produced a new typeface per project, but kept using a selection of their fonts. These became synonymous with their studio and turned every project into a vector of self-promotion.[201]

In the words of the designer Marc Kappeler, who had bought a license for Simple, "everything I design look[ed] like [NORM's] work".[202] The duo recognised that their typefaces had become "like a brand, a statement".[203] Though they may have been experimental, they cemented NORM's design language on the scene.

196 Normetica (1999), Simple (2000) and Riforma (2018) respectively.
197 Balland *et al.* 2004, 36; Gavillet 2017; Hares 2018; NORM 2017.
198 Middendorp 2012, n.p.
199 Kinross 1992, n.p.; Perondi 2020, n.p.; Rappo 2014b, 282.
For a thorough analysis of the development of digital type in the 1990s, see King 1999.
200 Janser & Reble 2004, 3.
201 Rappo 2014b, 282.
202 "Tout ce que je fais, ça a l'air de votre travail". NORM 2017.
203 "Comme une marque, comme un statement". NORM 2017.

NORM sold their typefaces on Lineto from 1999 onwards. The foundry offered a prime example of the shift from experimental work to commercial success. It was founded by Windlin and Müller in 1993 as a label under which the duo released typefaces on the digital foundry FontFont.[204] It evolved into a digital type foundry whose first website went online in early 1999.[205] Like many of their peers, Windlin and Müller were initially not interested in making a profit.[206] Lineto was primarily "an exciting platform [...] functioning as a trading place for ideas and attitudes" and was also described as an informal, behind-the-scenes network of like-minded designers.[207] It was a site of exchange and learning as much as a foundry.[208] It supported collaborative projects, offered technical classes, and organised gatherings which were social occasions as much as opportunities to share recent work and new ideas.[209] Lineto was therefore a community of practice for those who shared the design lifestyle. In this aspect, it replaced the role previously held by professional organisations. NORM notably likened the foundry to their version of the prestigious design association AGI, which many members of their generation rejected.[210] Over time, however, and like many of the newcomers, Lineto managed to convert its subcultural capital into something attractive for clients.

204 FontFont 1997; Windlin 2018.
205 The launch date of Lineto as a website is the subject of a somewhat parochial controversy. Windlin and most of the literature maintained that the first Lineto website was established in 1998. This is – perhaps not coincidentally – the same year Optimo was launched, which was the only other online Swiss type foundry at the time. While Lineto's website may have been in the works for a while, I argue that it actually launched in 1999. This is confirmed by a series of sources. On a digitally archived version of the original website dated from 2000, the "beginning of 1999" is given as the date of the launch (Windlin and Müller 2000). In 2004, Lineto asked the FOC for financial support and the minutes of the meeting also mention 1999 as the date of the website's launch (Crivelli 2004b). The decision to promote 1998 as a founding date may stem from a desire by Windlin to historicise Lineto on a par with Optimo rather than risk it playing second fiddle, especially since Lineto had been in existence long before their rival.
206 Ernst 2000a, 244.

207 Bruggisser & Fries 2000; Windlin & Müller 2000.
208 Berthod 2019a.
209 Hares 2018; Windlin 2018.
210 NORM 2017; Barbieri 2021a; Windlin 2018.

The platform initially published highly idiosyncratic typefaces often based on vernacular references. For instance, Jonas Williamsson's Biff (1995) was partly based on early New York graffiti, Stephan Müller's Numberplate (1998) on car registration plates, Windlin's Thermo (1999) on luggage tags, Laurent Benner's PEZ (1999) on the eponymous candy logo (Fig. 4.20) and Windlin and Gavillet's Vectrex (1999) on the game consoles of the same name. The graphic designer Jonathan Hares explained that "putting out fonts in those days was a bit more relaxed" than it is today, which allowed Lineto to become "a repository of people's other fonts that they used for their projects".[211] Lineto's symbolic turning point from subcultural venture to commercial success was Laurenz Brunner's Akkurat (2004), which became a best-selling font (Fig. 4.21).[212] Part of Akkurat's success can be attributed to its controlled release. Brunner and Lineto granted early access to a select handful of designers, notably Julia Born, who used a beta version for a book commissioned by the FOC, *Beauty and the Book* (2004).[213] Akkurat's initial exclusivity and its subsequent adoption by a select circle of designers led to its ongoing commercial success and, ultimately, to a place in the canon.[214] A symbolic measure of its success was the ensuing development of its character set. Today, it covers 143 languages across seven scripts including Arabic, Hebrew and Devanagari.

211 Hares 2018.
212 Lebrun 2020; Lzicar 2015; Phaidon 2012; Hares 2018; NORM 2017; Windlin 2018.
213 Fischer *et al.* 2004.
214 Purcell 2012.

Fig. 4.20 Specimen for Pez (2000) printed on a Letraset transfer sheet. Pez was later renamed Tablettenschrift after a complaint from the candy company. Design: Laurent Benner.
Fig. 4.21 Type specimen for Akkurat (2004). Design: Laurenz Brunner.

When compared to Lineto's 2004 catalogue, which was largely based on the ironic in-jokes or referential forms I evoked above, Akkurat offered a stark contrast. It featured a neo-Modernist construction recalling the archetypes of grotesque typefaces (constant stroke width, stability) crossed with geometrical principles (curves made of arcs of a circle with little optical correction). At odds with the foundry's subcultural attitude, the "phenomenal success" of the typeface was later attributed by Lineto to its technical approach and nod to the "classic sans-serif" popular with designers of the Swiss Style.[215] Rather than humour, it had a certain coldness and a rigidity and nodded at "qualities such as technical precision, down-to-earth robustness, reliability and neutrality".[216] Windlin maintained that this change of direction was not a conscious strategy and that he simply chose to publish typefaces that he was interested in.[217] Nevertheless, for Lineto, Akkurat certainly symbolised a move away from experimental fonts and a step towards more functional, if not mainstream, typefaces, whose licences are bought today by multinational corporations including Spotify, Dell and Mitsubishi.[218] Akkurat offered an occasion for Windlin to merge his anti-establishment attitude with an instinct for business that turned the small Swiss foundry into a heavyweight player on the international type design scene.

215 *Lineto* 2020.
216 *Ibid.*
217 Windlin 2018.
218 Lebrun 2020.

After Akkurat, Lineto published a series of other commercially successful neo-Modernist typefaces, such as NORM's Replica (2008), Aurèle Sack's Brown (2011) and Brunner's Circular (2013). As I will discuss in the following chapter, many of these would be awarded prizes in the SDA. Prior to their releases, beta versions of these typefaces were used by their respective designers, sometimes for several years, which echoed Akkurat's initial exclusivity followed by commercial success. These releases also demonstrated how digital type design was being "disciplined", that is, how it was evolving from experimental practice to an autonomous field.[219] As the newcomers moved from experimental typefaces to increasingly considered ones, they fixed their discipline's quality

criteria. Lineto published fewer experimental typefaces over the years. Its production became technically refined, and the foundry soon exported its specialised knowledge. In 2014, Müller founded Alphabet, a separate company with font engineer Andreas Eigendorf, which specialises in the back-end of type design, namely testing, engineering, mastering and metrics, services which it provides not only to Lineto but also to a wide range of clients. Despite the evident "disciplinarisation" of the field, Windlin has argued that Lineto had not changed its attitude from its early days and experimental fonts. Commenting on one of NORM's latest releases, Riforma (2018), he has explained that the designers had drawn it with their own use in mind and ignored any potential client market.[220] Whether or not this is true, or an attempt by Windlin to pre-empt any accusation of selling out, Lineto's progression from subculture to commerce followed the newcomers' move from outsiders to insiders. This process, to which I shall return in the next chapter, became a reality for most actors in the professional shift.

219 Schultheis 2005, 67.
220 Windlin 2018.

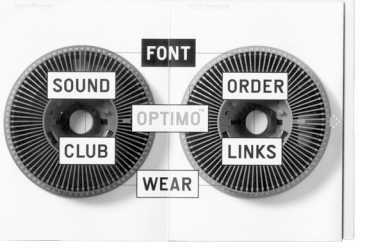


Fig. 4.22 Optimo's 1998 specimen showing the structure of its website. Design: Stéphane Delgado, Gilles Gavillet and David Rust.

Lineto was not the only digital foundry to launch a website in Switzerland in the late 1990s. As mentioned above, Optimo was established in 1998. It began as a graduation project of ECAL students Gilles Gavillet and Stéphane Delgado with the collaboration of teaching assistant David Rust. Like Lineto, it was initially imagined as a platform retailing not only typefaces, but also music, clothes and image licensing. Its structure was illustrated in the only printed specimen produced for the platform (Fig. 4.22). A diagram reflected the transdisciplinary organisation of the venture, with categories such

as “sound”, “club”, “wear” and “font”. This structure, which was identical to the menu of the website, suggested the topicality of subcultural entrepreneurship for the newcomers, or at the very least a strong interest in alternative professional models. Although Optimo quickly reduced its offerings to typefaces only, its model of a digital agency reflected a desire to build new models that reflected the newcomers’ interests, rather than following existing ones Optimo’s website had a dual role. On the one hand, it had the traditional function of providing self-promotional material, albeit in a digital form, thereby establishing the newcomers’ arrival. Its designers hoped to reach an international audience, because they wanted to work for “anyone but the local scene”, which they rejected.[221] On the other hand, the website also attempted to carve out a professional model that had no equivalent on the scene. As Gavillet explained,

In Switzerland it’s impossible to get decent clients who are up for doing interesting things. We thought therefore that the best approach was to first; do and then to find an application for it.[222]

221 Gavillet 2017; Roope & Gavillet 1998.
222 Roope & Gavillet 1998.

Optimo’s attitude towards type design was radical. Its designers rejected established promotional models. As Gavillet explained, they “wanted to show [...] that the specimen was dead”.[223] They also refused to bow to the “worldwide reputation” of Swiss typography, which according to Gavillet was a misconception:

Everyone in Switzerland is still influenced by the modernist approach that is still considered correct. The reputation tends to make typographers very boring as they’re under the illusion that Swiss design is still GREAT, which it’s not.[224]

223 Gavillet 2018.
224 Roope & Gavillet 1998.

Gavillet's statement illustrated the complex relationship with the label Swiss Style whose legacy was both historical and contemporary. For him, it constrained the practice of his peers. Optimo reacted with an ironic rebuff which was evident on the cover of their specimen (Fig. 4.23). It featured a photograph of an extended hand that was a re-enactment of one of Josef Müller-Brockmann's most famous poster campaigns. The designers superimposed the pixelated icon of a hand on the photograph, but this was not a respectful handshake. The digital world was poking fun at a design icon from a past world. The designers declined to take themselves too seriously, as the sentences used in the specimen showed. They were knowingly mundane, such as "life can be incredibly better" or "center of selection". Nevertheless, their approach was not offhand either.

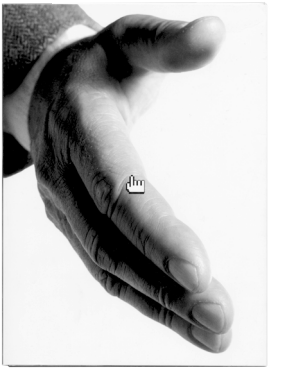


Fig. 4.23 **The cover of Optimo's 1998 specimen, which nods to Josef Müller-Brockmann's famous poster "das freundliche Handzeichen" (1954). Design: Stéphane Delgado, Gilles Gavillet and David Rust.**

Optimo was described by Nicolas Roope, the co-founder of the British interactive design agency Antirom, as "more ambitious than many high budget design jobs".[225] The new designers were thus not dilettantes. Optimo was a skilful display of their definition of the profession, which merged a subcultural attitude and a flair for commerce.

225 **Roope & Gavillet 1998.**

One of the main reasons for the 2002 relaunch of the SDA was a change in the profession. As we have seen in this chapter, a new school had arrived with practices that redefined their discipline. The professional shift of the

1990s and 2000s resulted from the alignment of a series of conditions. A new generation of designers felt disenfranchised by a loss of control over their activities. They reacted by embracing ostensibly "unprofessional" models which privileged their practices instead. Rather than joining professional organisations, they preferred flexible communities of practice. They embraced subcultural identities and fields of practice that promoted their own personalities, which they staged carefully in portraits as well as self-promotional material. Their new professional models had a direct influence on the type of work they produced. They expanded their activities, notably launching digital platforms that enabled them to publish typefaces but also books or music. Their self-initiated activities and their renegotiated relationship with clients pushed the boundaries of the traditional model of service providers. Indeed, these newcomers embraced the position of cultural agents who were not simply packaging content for clients, but adding a layer of meaning through their design. The newcomers successfully used their attitude to attract clients who valued their practices. These were mostly located in the cultural sector. Thanks to the field's high degree of independence from commercial viability, it was freed from a need to appeal to the masses. The work produced by the newcomers for these clients could thus be experimental and featured a strong authorial voice. In other words, these conditions allowed the newcomers to translate their design attitudes into forms. From the late 1990s, the SDA became synonymous with authorial design.[226] The awards reflected these new practices not only in the type of design that was awarded, but also in the people who defined design promotion, namely the FDC and the experts. Over time, members of the new school took over design promotion. As I argue in the next chapter, they appropriated the SDA and redefined them in their own image.

226 Stirnemann 2005.

THE TAKEOVER: THE NEWCOMERS' APPROPRIATION OF DESIGN PROMOTION 1999–2020

5.1 From outsiders to insiders

5.1.1 A mutual recuperation

The newcomers' professional shift led them to reject their predecessors' models. They positioned themselves as outsiders and invested their subcultural capital to gain commissions in the cultural sector. However, outsiders do not keep their peripheral positions forever. In fact, as Bourdieu argued, those fighting the established order in a given field often end up becoming its very nomothetes (i.e. its legislators).[1] This was also true of the designers of the new school, who subsequently became the insiders of the design promotion scene. This happened through a process of mutual recuperation: the SDA associated themselves with the new generation, while the latter increasingly gained control over the Awards. Such processes have been well explored in subcultural theory, which first described incorporation as a process of "assimilation" in which outsiders become part of the structure of mainstream life.[2] Though the first wave of subcultural theory was initially concerned with deviance and delinquency, the second wave applied this notion to culture. One of the most well-known examples can be found in Dick Hebdige's work, in which he describes how punk culture was recuperated by the mainstream.[3] Second-wave subcultural theory often depicted this evolution as a "rise-and-fall" narrative whereby a subculture went from resistance against the mainstream to inevitable incorporation (and commodification) by the dominant culture, which would essentially render it inauthentic.[4] However, the third wave of subcultural theory that emerged in the 2000s – dubbed post-subcultural theory – warned against a linear interpretation of this "cycle of incorporation", which it argued was only a schematic narrative.[5] Moreover, as I noted previously, Thornton and McRobbie demonstrated that subcultures were not as distant from the market as earlier scholarship had argued.[6] My use of the term recuperation is informed by these notions. I suggest that the new school of graphic designers was not simply incorporated by the existing culture, neither did their subcultural capital dwindle when they associated themselves with the SDA. Instead, a mutual recuperation

took place in which both the awards system and the newcomers achieved a kind of symbiosis.

1 Bourdieu 2016 (1992), n p. (part 1, section 1, chapter 4).
2 Gelder 2007, 40–43; Jensen 2018, 406.
3 Hebdige 2002 (1979).
4 Gelder 2007, 45–46; Hall & Jefferson 2006 (1993), XXXII.
5 Marchart 2003, 87. For an overview of post-subcultural theory, see Bennett 2011; Muggleton & Weinzierl 2003. 3–23.
6 McRobbie 2016, n.p. (chapter 2, section 4); Thornton 2003 (1995) (chapter 4, section 2).

From the late 1990s onwards, the established design culture represented by the FCAA signalled that it was responding favourably to the new school. Gavillet (*1973) won the SDA for the first time in 1999. He argued that this year was a moment of "generational shift" whereby design promotion began focusing on the newcomers.[7] In the first round of the competition, the shortlist included designers who were between five and ten years older than him, such as André Baldinger (*1963) and Müller+Hess (Beat Müller *1965 and Wendelin Hess *1968), who had established practices. However, those who made it to the final stage of the competition were all less established; several of the winners had actually just graduated. While it was not the first time that designers were awarded early in their professional career, Gavillet argued that in 1999 the FCAA took a conscious decision to promote the newcomers over accomplished practitioners.

7 Berthod 2018a; Gavillet 2018.

One hypothesis could be that the FCAA was reacting to the criticism voiced by *Hochparterre* and was giving precedence to younger designers rather than to those who were established and were presenting mid-career projects. However, the minutes of the commission's meetings do not suggest a change of direction, but rather continuity in its intentions. In 1998, it had already reiterated that its role was primarily to support young designers.[8] Nevertheless, it is telling that 20 years later, Gavillet still pinpointed 1999 as a distinct moment of change.[9] Since memory is a process of creation of meaning, his reminiscences could perhaps be explained as a construction as much a recollection.[10] After all, he had only graduated in 1998, and so it would be tempting to dismiss his story as another example of a new generation attempting to

establish itself in competition with the previous one. However, two facts support the idea that the SDA were indeed recuperating the newcomers.

8 Crivelli 1998a.
9 Gavillet 2018.
10 Sandino 2006, 275; Thomson 2011, n.p.

First, the type of work awarded changed. As I discussed in my third chapter here, the SDA recognised commercial graphic design until 1997. This included examples such as a shoe shop's corporate identity, branding material for a watch or a television ident. This type of work was no longer awarded thereafter. Instead of going to accomplished practitioners with a commercial portfolio, the prizes went exclusively to "niche design" – projects that were either experimental, self-initiated or located in the cultural sector. For example, the group Silex submitted a series of independent, underground zines featuring their angsty illustrations (Fig. 5.1), while Rust presented a "typeface" made of vector drawings representing keyboard keys (Fig. 5.2). Both examples stemmed from the new professional attitudes developed by the younger generation whom I addressed in the previous chapter. The jury welcomed these and turned away from commercial projects, despite a desire on the part of certain members of the FCAA, including Rappo, to award both cultural and commercial design.[11] This trend affected all federal design promotion. As I discussed in chapter three, the other competitions co-organised by the FOC underwent similar changes at around the same time. A prime example was the Jan Tschichold Prize, which the MBSB competition began conferring in 1997 in order to recognise outstanding achievements in book design. The first award did not go to a commercial studio, but to the new school designer *par excellence*, Cornel Windlin (*1964).

11 Crivelli 2000a; 2000e; Rappo 2021.

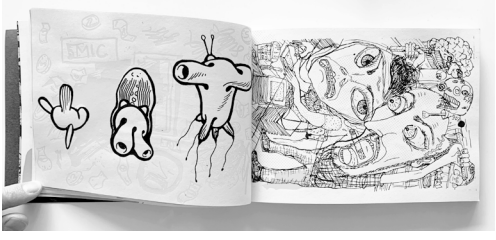


Fig. 5.1 A page from *Silex* 14 (1999), a collaborative issue between Silex and French illustrators Caroline Sury and Pakito Bolino.

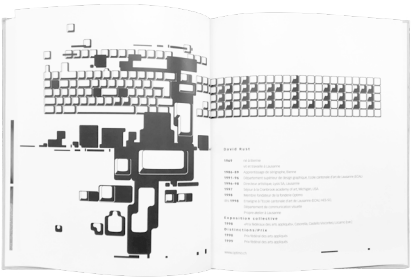


Fig. 5.2 David Rust's illustration in the 1999 SDA catalogue.

The average age of the graphic design winners also dropped, which corroborated the idea that the SDA were recuperating the newcomers. Although a yearly variation was normal, their age had constantly remained above 30 in the decade leading up to 1999. That year, the average dropped to 28.6 years; in 2001, it even went down to 27. This reflected how many more young designers were being awarded, such as the Silex member Aude Lehmann (*1976) who was just 23 in 1999 (Fig. 5.3). The evolution in the type of work awarded and the average age of the winners demonstrated how the SDA recuperated the new school by featuring younger designers. The increased presence of experimental work showed that the jury had taken a new approach in its definition of "good design", one that aligned with the approach of the newcomers. In fact, many of the designers who won prizes in 1999 would be featured in *Benzin* in 2000, a book which was unanimously well-received by the new school.[12] By associating themselves with the newcomers, the SDA secured their place on the left-field scene of graphic design.

12 Bruggisser & Fries 2000; NORM 2017; Zumstein & Barandun 2017.

Fig. 5.3 Average age of winners in the graphic design category between 190 and 2020. Groups of winners are averaged as one entry. The black line shows the year's age average, the red dotted line a three-year average. See Table 7.2.

5.1.2 "Recuperating" design promotion

If the SDA successfully recuperated the newcomers, the latter also "recuperated" design promotion from the early 2000s onwards. I put the term in quotation marks, because I am not referring to the sociological definition of the term this time, but rather to its everyday meaning. The newcomers – and those from a different generation who shared similar ideas – gained increasing power in design promotion, up to the point at which they were able to take over. Many secured a seat on the jury, which may have been a strategy by the SDA to consolidate their position on the scene. As English has reminded us, an award's prestige is reciprocally dependent on how well-perceived its judges are.[13] By inviting the newcomers onto the jury, the SDA were co-opting the esteem in which they were held. This process of mutual recuperation is evident in a compilation of the key actors of graphic design promotion from 1990 to 2020, which collates the most influential winners and jury members (Table 5.1). These people were the true insiders of design promotion. I determined their degree of influence by adding the number of awards they won (including the SDA, the Jan Tschichold Prize and the Grand Prix Design) and the years they served on a jury (as member or expert for the FCAA and the MBSB) between 1990 and 2020. I did not include the number of times designers won the MBSB for two reasons: they do not award a money prize, and designers can win with multiple books each year, which would have created an unbalanced representation.[14] The table below displays the 38 insiders who obtained a minimum score of three points for these years. Furthermore, it indicates when designers were commissioned by the FOC to design their catalogues.

13 English 2005, 122.

14 The MBSB competition deserves further analysis, which could cover the links between members of the MBSB jury and the designers whose books were awarded that year.

Table 5.1 **The most influential insiders of the SDA for graphic design between 1990–2020. These insiders had a minimum score of 3, meaning that they either won prizes and/or were jury members at least three times in that period.**

Group	Name	Birth	Swiss Design Awards	Jan Tschichold Prize	Grand Prix Design	Federal Design Commission	MBSB Jury	SDA Catalogue	MBSB Catalogue
Flag	Aubry Bastien	1974	1999, 2003, 2007						
The Remingtons[1]	Balland Ludovic	1973	2003, 2011, 2012	2016					
	Benner Laurent	1975	2001, 2004, 2010			2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019			2004, 2005, 2006
Bonbon	Bonin Valeria	1978	2003, 2010	2017				2007, 2008, 2009	
	Bontognali Diego	1977	2003, 2010	2017				2003[4], 2007, 2008, 2009	
	Born Julia	1975	2003, 2007, 2018	2011	2021		2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007	20024	
	Bovier Lionel	1970				2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016 (P), 2017 (P)			
	Eugster Marietta	1985	2014, 2018			2020			
	Frey Patrick	1949		2014			2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007		
Gavillet & Rust[1]; Gavillet & Cie	Gavillet Gilles	1973	1999, 2002, 2007	2006	2012		2004 (S), 2005 (S), 2016 (P), 2017 (P), 2018 (P), 2019 (P), 2020 (P)		1998, 1999, 2000
	Rust David	1969	1998, 1999, 2007	2006	2012	2000 (E), 2001 (E), 2014 (E)	2000, 2001, 2002		
Elektrosmog[1]	Hindermann Valentin	1966	2001, 2003, 2007	2005				2002, 2003, 2004	
	Jeker Werner	1944	1968[3]			1989 (E), 1990 (E), 1991 (E), 1992 (E), 1993 (E), 1994 (E), 1995 (E), 1996 (E), 1997 (E)			
	Keller Pierre	1945	1968[3]			1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999			
	Knoepfel Pascal	1961	1990, 1994, 1997						

	Koch Rafael	1976	2001, 2005, 2011						
	Lehmann Aude	1976	1999, 2001, 2008	2008		2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020			2010, 2011, 2012
	Lehni Jürg	1978	2001, 2003, 2006						
	Lehni Urs	1974	2001, 2005, 2010	2015					
	Lusa Marie	1976	2009, 2013				2018, 2019, 2020	2005, 2006	
Maximage	Keshavjee David	1985	2009, 2011, 2014	2020					2013
	Tavelli Julien	1984	2009, 2011, 2013	2020					2013
Maximage[2]	Meldem Guy	1980	2006, 2007, 2009						
	Müller Lars	1955		2002			2009, 2010, 2011		
	Müller Stephan	1965	1997, 2005, 2013	1999					
NORM	Bruni Dimitri	1970	1999, 2000, 2002	2003	2011				2001, 2002, 2003
	Krebs Manuel	1970	1999, 2000, 2002	2003	2011		2012 (P), 2013 (P), 2014 (P), 2015 (P)		2001, 2002, 2003
Prill Vieceli	Prill Tania	1969	2007, 2008, 2014	2007			2016, 2017		
	Vieceli Alberto	1965	2007, 2008, 2014	2007					
	Rappo François	1955		2013		2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007	1997, 1998, 1999, 2002 (P), 2003 (P), 2004 (P), 2005 (P), 2006 (P), 2007 (P)		
	Sack Aurèle	1977	2006, 2010, 2014						
	Scasascia Radovan	1975				2018 (E), 2019 (E), 2020 (E)			
	Schraivogel Ralph	1960	1995, 1997, 2000		2016	1998 (E), 1999 (E)		1990	
	Trüb Lex	1971	2004, 2008				2012, 2013	2004[4]	
The Remingtons[1]	Voegeli Jonas	1979	2003, 2009	2019					
Elektrosmog[1]	Walser Marco	1973	2001, 2003, 2007	2005				2002, 2003, 2004	
	Windlin Cornel	1964	1993, 1995, 1998	1997	2007	2008, 2009, 2010, 2011	2008 (P), 2009 (P), 2010 (P), 2011 (P)		1998, 1999, 2000
Hi[1]	Zumstein Megi	1973	2002				2004 (S), 2005 (S)		

[1] no longer collaborating
[2] irregular collaboration
[3] partially missing data

E: Expert
P: President of the commission

P: president of the jury
S: special jury.

Years refer to sitting sessions rather than series awarded (2001 means the jury awarded the MBSB 2000).

[4] with Elektrosmog

The years during which these designers and publishers won prizes or served on the jury give a clear indication of whether they were part of the old school or the new. Those who played a role after 1999 were all part of the latter. The symbolic moment when the new school began its process of reconciliation with design promotion was when Gavillet's collaborator and friend David Rust (1969–2014) replaced Ralph Schraivogel (*1960) as an expert in graphic design on the FCAA in 2000. Rust was also appointed as a jury member for the MBSB 1999 competition, a position he held for three years.[15] Schraivogel had been the expert in 1998 and 1999 and was well established, as his long CV in the 2000 SDA catalogue attested.[16] He withdrew from his role in 1999 order to be able to submit his work to the SDA one last time, which he did successfully in 2000.[17] Schraivogel's years of activity clearly placed him in the generation of designers that was recognised pre-1999. Before him, an even more established graphic designer, Werner Jeker (*1944), had held the position between 1989 and 1997. Not only did Jeker represent the previous generation, but he also held a considerably more powerful position on the design scene. In Gavillet's words, "Jeker [had] a monopoly on local institutions" in Lausanne where his studio was based. As a consequence, French-speaking Switzerland was "completely locked", which prevented the newcomers from getting any commissions from cultural institutions.[18] The contrast between Jeker and Rust's ideas, interests and goals could not have been greater. Rust aligned himself with a younger generation of designers whose practice resembled his. His appointment not only indicated the FCAA's desire to make space for the newcomers, but also signalled the beginning of their takeover of design promotion.

15 In order to include all the books published in any given year, the MBSB jury always meets early in the following year. This means that although Rust was a member of the jury for the 1999 vintage, the judging session took place in early 2000.
16 FOC 2000.
17 Crivelli 1999c.
18 Gavillet 2018.

Shortly thereafter, the new generation gained an ally on the FCAA. In 2000, Rappo (*1955) became a member of the Commission, a position he held for two four-year terms. His influence extended to the MBSB as well, where

he had been a jury member for the years 1996 to 1998 (thus including the year Windlin had been awarded the Jan Tschichold Prize) before becoming its chair in 2001–2006. While Rappo was not one of the newcomers, his network closely overlapped with theirs, as I demonstrate below. Between 2000 and 2010, many newcomers secured seats on the jury, including Born, Gavillet, Rust and Windlin. Windlin's nomination in 2008 was a culminating point of the new generation's recuperation of design promotion. Replacing Rappo in both positions, Windlin was appointed to the FDC and was made the chair of the MBSB jury. He held these two positions for four years. While his awards mostly predated 1999, his role on the juries all took place after 2007. Windlin had thus progressed from *enfant terrible* to a full member of the design establishment, and in the process converted from being an ostensible outsider to a real insider. His early awards supported the idea that the SDA were increasingly recognising new practices, while his later role on the jury demonstrates the long-term influence exerted by the newcomers on design promotion. Their leverage continued in the following decade, thanks to the seats held by Gavillet, Benner and Lehmann on the MBSB jury and the FDC between 2010 and 2020. Besides securing seats on the jury, the newcomers also began to acquire the commissions surrounding the awards. The catalogues for both the MBSB and the SDA, which were often commissioned in three-year cycles, were all designed by insiders featured in Table 5.1.[19] These commissions allowed the insiders to determine the visual discourse of design promotion, and also created a new category of work that could described as subsidised design. Indeed, these projects often allowed experimental or conceptual approaches yet came with significant budgets – a situation that almost never occurred with classical commissions.

19 The MBSB catalogues were designed by Gavillet and Windlin (1998–2000), NORM (2001–2003), Benner and Jonathan Hares (MBSB 2004–2006), Laurenz Brunner (2007–2009) and Lehmann (2010–2012), while the SDA catalogues were designed by Elektrosmog (SDA 2002–2004), Claudia Roethlisberger and Marie Lusa (2005–2006), Bonbon/Diego Bontognali and Valeria Bonin (2007–2009) and again Hares (2010–2012), who collaborated with Radovan Scasascia on the SDA website which was launched in 2010 and replaced the catalogues from 2012.

The mutual recuperation benefitted both the awards and the newcomers. On the one hand, the awards attracted members of the new school who lent some of their

cultural capital to them. With the relaunch of 2002, the FOC had finished internalising the professional shift, and the newcomers' practices had become part of the institution. This ensured the SDA's relevance on the design scene and thus their continuation. It also meant that the newcomers became nomothetes of design promotion. Their evolution from anti-establishment to normative figures played a further role in defining the profession. Thanks to their representation on the juries, design promotion aligned with the interests of this new generation. Since it was increasingly controlled by tight communities of practices, a further consequence of the newcomers' recuperation was thus the transformation of design promotion into a closed circuit.

5.2 Closed circuits of promotion

5.2.1 Design promotion as a network

Thanks to the mutual recuperation between the awards and the newcomers, a series of influential designers evolved from outsiders to insiders of design promotion. The awards and the FOC's commissions, which allowed for experiments, were fundamental in helping them launch their careers as independent and critically recognised designers in the cultural sector. By winning repeatedly, serving on juries and getting commissioned by the FOC, they progressively became the face of design promotion and took control of it. Those who were part of the network of promotion were in a position to define the parameters of "good" design. I believe that the insiders created closed circuits of promotion which led the SDA to become an echo chamber of specific practitioners and their design languages. This did not mean that the jury was biased or that the winning projects were unworthy. More pragmatically, the SDA awarded practitioners whose work aligned with the jury's ideals. As English explained, this neither made the jury cynical, nor did it mean they were free of self-interest, both of these being "merely obverse and inverse" of the relationship between the jury's habitus and the field.[20] However, these closed circuits were so powerful that they excluded entire scenes and types of practice and created an imbalanced representation of

contemporary Swiss graphic design. In other words, design promotion suffered from a series of blind spots.

20 English 2005, 122.

The role of networks in the production of contemporary art, cinema, dance and theatre has been explored recently in sociology.[21] Although their role in design has not been analysed to the same extent, the theoretical and methodological frameworks used in the former can be applied to the latter. The two key concepts underlying network analysis in the arts are Bourdieu's artistic fields and Becker's art worlds, which social network theory attempts to bridge.[22] Bourdieu emphasised structural relations (being permanent and deriving from positions in the social space) over empirical relations (actualised by a particular exchange).[23] Conversely, Becker focused primarily on concrete ties but failed to address the structures governing these networks.[24] In their analysis of the role of networks in the careers of young artists, the cultural economists Nathalie Moureau and Benoît Zenou relied on both Bourdieusian and Beckerian notions. They concluded that the artists' social capital was directly related to the size of their networks, but that they could not rely on that capital alone and had to learn the norms and conventions of the institutions ruling the art market to launch their careers.[25] The notion of convention, which is prevalent in Becker's art worlds, was particularly relevant in the networks of promotion that I analyse. Similarly to Moureau and Zenou, I propose that the designers who won the SDA repeatedly from the early 2000s onwards had access to social capital and shared the same conventions that were anchored in their new definition of their profession.

21 Alexandre & Lamberbourg 2016; Moureau & Zenou 2016. For a historical overview of social network analysis in the arts, see Azam & de Federico 2016.
22 Bottero & Crossley 2011.
23 Crossley 2011, 24.
24 Bottero & Crossley 2011, 100.
25 Moureau & Zenou 2016, 123, 128.

Although compiling the insiders' reappearances in Table 5.1 was useful for identifying the most influential actors in design promotion, it gives no indication as to whether they were connected amongst themselves, nor, if so, how these networks influenced design promotion.

I have therefore traced these insiders' relations with each other and mapped them as an interactive visualisation.[26] To uncover their networks, I relied on oral history and artefact analysis. Oral history allowed me to find connections that had so far been unclear, and to describe the networks in both their broader and their smaller details.[27] I focused specifically on "weak ties" – in my case professional connections based on awards, commissions, collaborations, schools and group memberships – because these played a more important role in professional settings than strong ties (friends, family etc.).[28] Furthermore, seeing that Switzerland's relatively small scenes and a degree of mobility across them meant that most designers knew each other anyway, these would have provided little analytical value.[29] Once mapped as a network visualisation, the connections between the insiders of design promotion all appear tightly interwoven. In the following pages, I shall analyse the social clusters that ruled design promotion and illustrate them with representations. I use these visualisations primarily as research tools, and they should not be considered as an end in themselves.[30] The intricacy of the networks is such that they defy interpretation if depicted in full (Fig. 7.1). However, once schematised, two main clusters emerged (Fig. 5.4).[31]

26 Available at http://bit.ly/swissdesignnetworks (accessed 18 April 2021). This interactive visualisation offers the most intuitive means of entry into these complex social networks.
27 Berthod 2018b; Sandino 2006.
28 Moureau & Zenou 2016, 113. The notion of weak ties was developed by the sociologist Mark Granovetter (1973).
29 Macháček 2004; Heller 2002, 172.
30 Grandjean 2015, 111.
31 The term refers to groups of nodes that are well-connected between each other, but less connected to other nodes in the network.

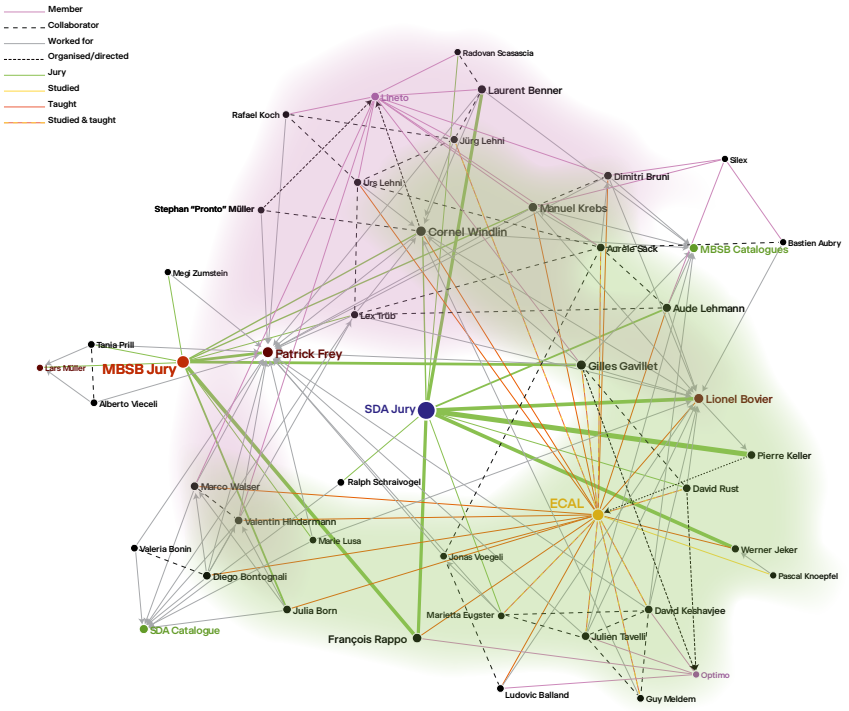


Fig. 5.4 **The networks of promotion's two clusters: Lineto/Windlin in pink, and ECAL in green. To a certain extent, these also reflect two geographical regions.**

5.2.2 Intricate connections

The two most important clusters of design promotion, which partially overlapped, were organised around Windlin/Lineto and ECAL. I consider Lineto and Windlin's networks as one, because although the foundry was a community of practice of its own, it was steered by Windlin, its members all belonged to his personal contacts, and he retained the oversight of its activities.[32] Windlin's influence was due to his roles of designer, co-founder of Lineto, winner of all the FOC's design awards and member of all its juries. These roles allowed him to become one of the most influential actors in the networks of design promotion (Fig. 7.2 shows a detail of these connections). Lineto brought together numerous designers of the new school. Its members – most of whom were based in Zurich – included Benner, Elektrosmog, the Lehni brothers, NORM, Aurèle Sack and Scasascia. Many served on the FDC (which awards both the SDA and the Grand Prix Design) and on the MBSB juries

(which also awards the Jan Tschichold Prize). Non-Lineto designers alleged that the role of the foundry members as both jury members and awards candidates created conflicts of interest.[33] They notably argued that Lineto typefaces went on to be given prizes in the SDA more often than those from outside the cluster – a claim to which I shall return to in the next section. There were sometimes connections between the type designers and the jury, which may have been coincidences but happened regularly enough to be intriguing. In 2010, Sack presented Brown, which was awarded when Windlin sat on the FDC. In 2014, Sack's Grey "easily [won] the award" – in Windlin's words – when fellow Lineto member Benner was on the jury.[34] The same year, soon-to-be Lineto member Robert Huber won with several typefaces. In 2015, Mauro Paolozzi's Prismaset was awarded (with Benner on the jury); in 2017, Huber's Moderne won, still under Benner.[35]

32 Berthod 2019a. Windlin's oversight was such that the Lineto designers I approached for interviews pertaining to the platform all asked for his permission before replying to me.

33 Party 2021. The SDA do not require jury members to recuse themselves if they know the project or its designers. The jury is independent and free to award the projects which are in its view the most commendable.

34 *Lineto* n.d.

35 Moderne was an updated version of RH Inter, one of the typefaces with which Huber had already won in 2014.

Lineto members were often commissioned by the FOC to design the catalogues or the visual identity of its competitions. Between 1998 and 2009, all the MBSB catalogues were designed by designers who were linked to the network. They mostly chose to use Lineto typefaces, often the designers' own (Fig. 5.5).[36] Picking a typeface may sound like a strict design decision. However, an outsider to the Lineto network argued that designers working in the cultural sector had become extremely attentive to the framework of reference created by the repeated use of typefaces:

[The scene] is extremely attentive to […] the idea of using only certain fonts. Maybe even the one you produce yourself. In fact, your whole way of referencing yourself, even in relation to the ingredients you put into your work, gives you

credibility and anchors you even more in that scene. [There were] people for whom it was clear that you had to claim to be from a foundry or a certain axis and not to deviate from that.[37]

37 "[La scène] est extrêmement attentive à [...] cette idée d'utiliser uniquement certaines polices de caractères. Peut-être même celle que tu produis toi-même et qu'en fait, toute ta manière de te référencer, même par rapport aux ingrédients que tu mets dans ton travail, te crédibilise, t'ancre encore plus dans cette scène-là. [Il y avait] des gens pour qui c'était clair que tu devais revendiquer d'une fonderie ou d'un certain axe et ne pas faire d'écarts par rapport à ça." Designer C 2021.

36 Windlin used his Gravur in the design of the 1998 and 1999 catalogues, Gavillet his Hermes (2000), NORM their Simple (2001, 2002) and SimpleKoelnBonn (2003), Jonathan Hares his Superstudio (2005), Benner and Hares used Müller's Unica (2006), and finally – concluding more than a decade of Lineto designers – Brunner used his Circular (2007–2009).

According to the same designer, using specific design codes afforded credibility on the scene and a sense of "belonging" visually. It was something designers had to adhere to if they wanted to win the SDA. In other words, Lineto created conventions in the design world.

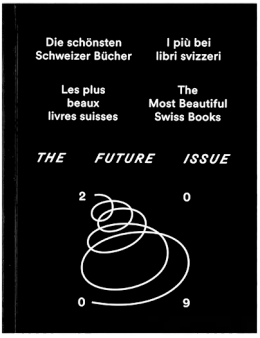


Fig. 5.5 The cover of the MBSB 2009 catalogue featuring Brunner's typeface Circular. This issue concluded a decade of catalogues designed by Lineto members, often using their typefaces. Design: Laurenz Brunner.

Lineto's presence was not limited to the visual realm. Its members also repeatedly benefitted from the financial support of the FDC. 2004 was a particularly fruitful year during which Rafael Koch, Benner, Jürg and Urs Lehni all successfully applied for funding on distinct projects.[38] Benner's proposal was a catalogue featuring, amongst others, Lineto members Reala (Jonas Williamson and Samuel Nyholm), Scasascia and Windlin. That same year, Windlin also secured funding for a project called "Select & Arrange" that was described as a type specimen, featuring NORM, Reala, The Remingtons,[39] Elektrosmog, Jürg Lehni and Paul Elliman. Arguing that Lineto had only been financed by Windlin and Müller's own funds so

far, they requested federal support and received CHF 20,000 to develop their project.[40] Just a year later, the 2005 MBSB competition's "book of the jury" – unanimously awarded – had a suspiciously similar title. Windlin's *Vitra: Select, Arrange* (2005) was a sales and product catalogue commissioned by the furniture company Vitra AG, which doubled as a picture book (Fig. 5.6). While it did feature many of the designers mentioned in Lineto's application for funding, the book was a far cry from an experimental type specimen. This raised questions such as whether the FDC had been misled and who really benefitted from public funds.

38 Crivelli 2004b.
39 The Remingtons was Ludovic Balland and Jonas Voegeli's studio between 2002 and 2006.
40 Crivelli 2004b.

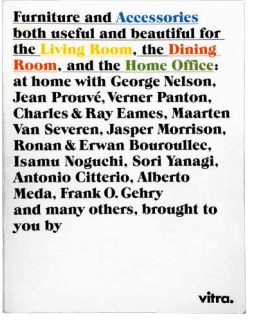


Fig. 5.6 The Vitra catalogue *Select/Arrange* (2005). Design: Cornel Windlin.

Many of Lineto's connections overlapped with the ECAL network in Lausanne, which provided mutual benefits for each of them (Fig. 5.7). A central actor in this network was Pierre Keller, who served as ECAL director from 1995 to 2011 and as a member of the FCAA from 1988 to 1999. Rappo was also influential within this network. He was a professor at ECAL between 1994 and 2019 and was put forward by Keller to succeed him on the soon-to-be-renamed FCAA/FDC, on which he served from 2000 to 2007.[41] Some outsiders alleged that ECAL used its influence within the SDA to promote its students.[42] While I could not confirm this allegation, Keller and Rappo certainly hired SDA winners to teach at the school. In a bid to transform ECAL from a peripheral art school into an internationally recognised institution, Keller introduced a system of visiting lecturers shortly after his arrival. Amongst the new visiting lecturers,

he hired Windlin in 1996. Keller had become acquainted with the designer's work thanks to the SDA.[43] As a member of the FCAA, he had been party to giving awards to Windlin three times (1993, 1995 and 1998). Windlin taught at ECAL for two semesters.[44] One of his students was Gavillet, who began working for him shortly after he graduated.[45] Windlin and Gavillet worked on many projects that were subsequently given prizes. These included the design of the 2000 programme of the Schauspielhaus Zurich, which was successful in the MBSB competition. That same year, Gavillet and Windlin were in charge of the MBSB catalogue, which Gavillet subsequently submitted to the 2002 SDA. The photograph illustrating Gavillet and Windlin's win in the 2000 MBSB thus provided an appropriate *mise en abîme* of the designers' entanglement in design promotion (Fig. 5.8).

41 Crivelli 1999b.
42 Conrad 2021.
43 Rappo 2021.
44 *Lineto* n.d.
45 Gavillet 2017.

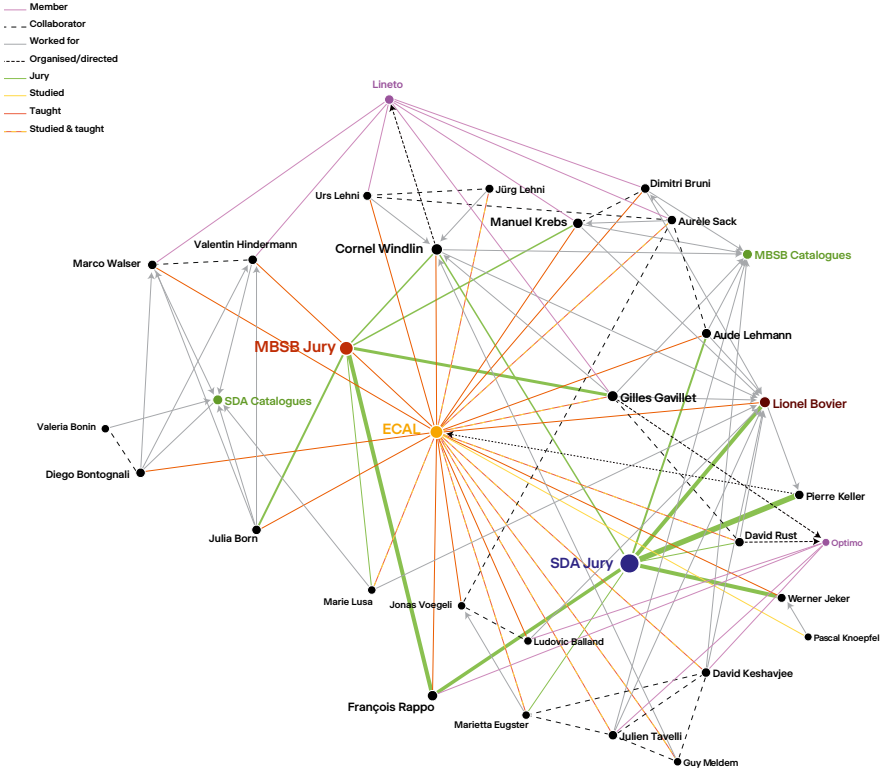


Fig. 5.7 ECAL's place within the networks of promotion.

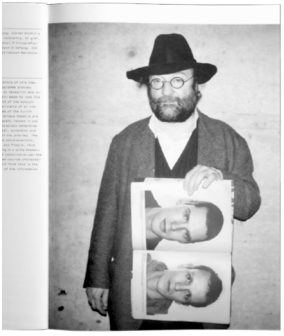


Fig. 5.8 **A page from the MBSB catalogue 2000 (design: Gilles Gavillet and Cornel Windlin) showing the Schauspielhaus director Christopher Marthaler photographed by Melanie Hofmann. Marthaler is holding the Schauspielhaus programme (2000, designed by Gavillet and Windlin) open on a spread showing portraits of Gavillet and Windlin photographed by Isabel Truniger. This was a tongue-in-cheek mise en scène: Gavillet and Windlin's portraits do not appear sequentially in the original.**

Rappo also played a significant role in this network. He was a longstanding member of the FCAA/FDC and the MBSB juries, whose winners often entered the ECAL network.[46] For example, Born, Lehmann and NORM were invited as visiting lecturers in the early 2000s on Rappo's suggestion. The latter would go on to invite many lecturers who became insiders in later years, such as Bonbon (Valeria Bonin and Diego Bontognali) and The Remingtons.[47] Though Rappo was not a newcomer, he taught many of its members and helped them to formulate their new languages. Gavillet and NORM both credited Rappo as a major influence on their type design practices.[48] He introduced Gavillet and Rust to the new possibilities of type design at ECAL and would go on to publish many of his typefaces on Gavillet and Rust's type foundry Optimo.[49] The designers taught by Rappo and the lecturers he hired helped to disseminate the new vision of the profession. Several went on to serve as jury members, thus entangling the networks of design promotion even further.

46 **He was on the jury when Windlin was awarded the Jan Tschichold Prize (1997) and the Grand Prix Design (2007). He was a member of the FDC for two of Born's SDAs (2003, 2007), one of Lehmann's (2001) and two of NORM's (2000, 2002). He was also a member of the MBSB jury when NORM were awarded the Jan Tschichold Prize in 2003.**

47 **Rappo 2021.**

48 **NORM 2017.**

49 **Gavillet 2017; Rappo 2021.**

Even before Keller and Rappo's time, the ECAL network was already important to members of the "old school", albeit to a lesser extent. Jeker taught at ECAL, where he was head of the graphic design department from 1974

to 1986. One of his students was Pascal Knoepfel, who went on to work for Jeker in 1986. Knoepfel won the SDA three times (1990, 1994, 1997). Jeker was an expert for the FCAA for these three awards. However, neither Jeker nor Knoepfel played a role in promotion after the "takeover" by the new school.[50] Knoepfel's reduced role in the network may have been due to his relocation to Réunion in 1990. Moreover, the projects for which he was awarded were also often for commercial rather than cultural clients (Fig. 5.9). Jeker and Knoepfel's disappearance was just one of the many absences within the networks of promotion.

50 Jeker went on teach at *Hochschule der Künste Bern* (HKB, Bern University of the Arts), but this institution does not appear in the networks of promotion. This supports the idea that members of the old school were unable to sustain their presence in the networks once the new school took over.

Fig. 5.9 Pascal Knoepfel's prize-winning work in the 1990 SDA catalogue. He presented the corporate identity he developed for the Lausanne shoe shop Walpurgis. Top: three-colour poster; bottom from left to right: matchbox, paper bag and shoe boxes. Catalogue design: Ralph Schraivogel.

5.2.3 Secondary networks

The two largest clusters of promotion overlapped with many smaller subnetworks focused on designers and publishers. For example, Gavillet and Rust's roles became increasingly important. Not only were they members of the FCAA/FDC and the MBSB juries for many years, but their foundry Optimo also created its own subnetwork (Fig. 7.3).[51] Another example was the sustained influence of Silex members, most of whom went on to play defining roles long after the group had stopped collaborating. While this was not unexpected, one of the missing narratives uncovered by network visualisation is the role of the publishers Lionel Bovier and Patrick Frey (Fig. 5.10). Their commissions, which often gave the newcomers plenty of creative leeway, contributed to the designers' careers and

their success at awards. Bovier was hired by Keller to read art history at ECAL, where he introduced Gavillet to a network of contemporary artists.[52] After co-founding JRP Editions in Geneva in 1997, a publishing house focusing on artists' books, Bovier went on to give regular commissions to Gavillet, who subsequently won the SDA in 2002 with a series of books designed for JRP (Fig. 3.43 and Fig. 3.44). Bovier developed a particularly close working relationship with Gavillet and Rust. He hired them as the art directors of JRP|Ringier, his joint venture with the media group Ringier in 2004. In 2007, the designers won the SDA with many of the publications they had created for JRP|Ringier. They were also awarded the Grand Prix Design in 2012, when Bovier was on the FDC. But Bovier was also connected with many other insiders including Ludovic Balland, NORM, Marie Lusa and Maximage, whose work was recognised several times in the MBSB competition.

51 See Chapter 4.3 for a discussion of Optimo.
52 Berthod 2021c; Gavillet 2017.

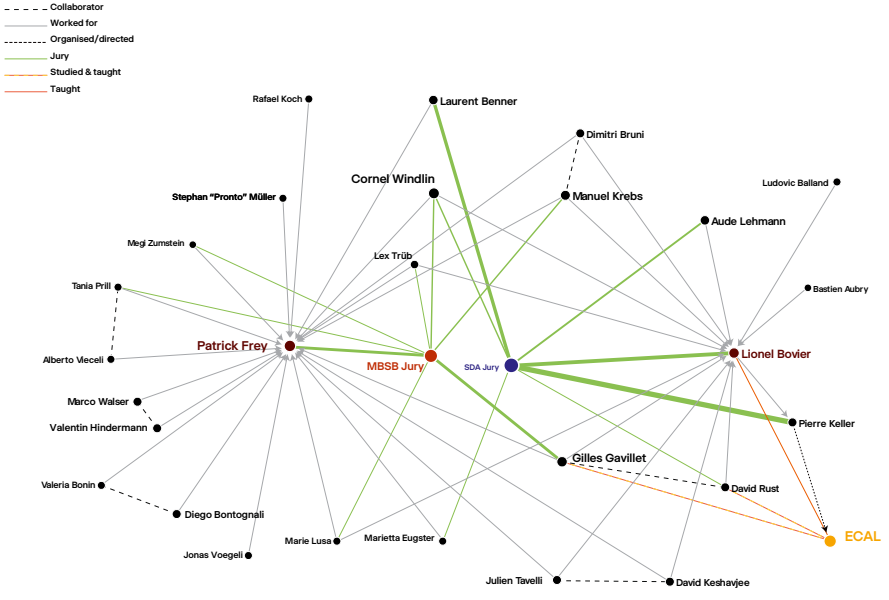


Fig. 5.10 Lionel Bovier and Patrick Frey were closely connected with the newcomers.

Frey also specialised in artists' books, often collaborated with newcomers, and was a design promotion insider. Countless books he commissioned were awarded prizes in the MBSB competition, which in turn helped to promote the newcomers. For instance, when Elektrosmog

won the Jan Tschichold Prize in 2005, the jury praised Frey's *Argovian Sun* (2002) as one of the key books in the designers' career.[53] From 2011 onwards, Maximage and Marietta Eugster designed Frey's visual identity and catalogues. These often-experimental publications were awarded a prize in the SDA in 2014 (Fig. 5.11). In turn, Frey's openness and the creative leeway he afforded the newcomers was a key criterion in his winning the Jan Tschichold Prize in 2014, a year in which NORM's Krebs was chair of the MBSB jury.[54]

53 Guggenheimer 2005. Other examples included NORM's *That Would Have Been Wonderful* (2005), Prill & Vieceli's *Hot Love* (2006) and Zumstein and Barandun's *The Great Unreal* (2009) and *Continental Drift* (2017), which were awarded prizes in the MBSB competition.

54 *FOC* 2014.

Fig. 5.11 Some of the Patrick Frey catalogues that won in the SDA 2014. On top, the 2012 catalogue. Design: Marietta Eugster and Maximage. Photograph: Maximage.

In the 2002 SDA catalogue, which aimed to position the Awards as a node in the design network, Heller wrote an essay attempting to "[find] the part of the network that works".[55] If we revisit his article in light of our knowledge of the circuit of design promotion, it acquires another meaning. In his text, Heller argued that "designers [were] not highly networked beyond themselves".[56] While he was referring to their lack of contact with clients or industrial partners, his statement also applied to the clusters that governed design promotion. They "live[d] alongside each other" and "regulate[d] any staking-out of claims more or less in mutual agreement".[57] His statements perfectly described the intricate networks created by the symbiosis between the insiders and the awards. The insiders were often at both ends of design promotion, which thus functioned as a closed circuit.

55 Heller 2002.

56 Heller 2002, 172.

57 *Ibid.*

Yet an insider could have argued that the progression from up-and-coming designer to multiple awardee and then jury member was not only well-deserved, but also perfectly reasonable. After all, these designers were recognised by their peers as the best of their field; this was why they were hired at institutions such as ECAL and shared a group of progressive clients. Furthermore, Switzerland had a small enough pool of designers to justify multiple wins. However, these arguments do not hold up when placed under closer investigation. There is no doubt that the winners produced high-quality design, were talented and deserving of their success, but the degree of entanglement shown by the networks of promotion demonstrated that the insiders tended to give awards repeatedly to those who were closely connected to them. These closed circuits of promotion reflected an alignment of clients, practices, schools of thought and design scenes that was largely restricted to design promotion insiders. Their networks meant that design promotion became restricted to a narrow selection of actors on the Swiss design scene. In other words, some designers paid the price for the success of a select few. This had two immediate consequences for design promotion. It created a self-fulfilling prophecy and resulted in blind spots.

5.3 Blind Spots

5.3.1 Exclusions

In the 2002 SDA catalogue, Martin Heller had warned that "self-reference and self-limitation constitute[d] Switzerland's design scene."[58] His comments could not have been more appropriate. The insiders now became normative figures who defined design promotion according to their own image. Their networks were self-referential. Most of these insiders were male, active in higher education, and working in the cultural sphere. The type of design that was given awards by those who sat on juries matched these same identities. But this inevitably created blind spots, helping to ensure that some designers remained outsiders to design promotion, operating in zones that were excluded from mainstream promotion. For instance, the gender imbalance

in Table 5.1 not only reflected an industry-wide bias, but also helped to sustain it.[59] Design promotion was a gendered affair: there were only seven women among 38 insiders.[60] The jury of the SDA (the experts and the FCAA/FDC) was also predominantly male (Fig. 5.12). The 2002 relaunch marked the first time that gender parity was attained, though a male majority soon re-established itself. This trend only changed for good as of 2016. The gender ratio of jury members specialising in graphic design was even more imbalanced. Between 1990 and 2020, 48 graphic design jury positions were filled by men, whereas only 8 were filled by women (Table 5.2).

58 Heller 2002, 172.
59 Barbieri 2021c; Fornari *et al.* 2021b.
60 To my knowledge, there was no jury member outside of the gender binary.

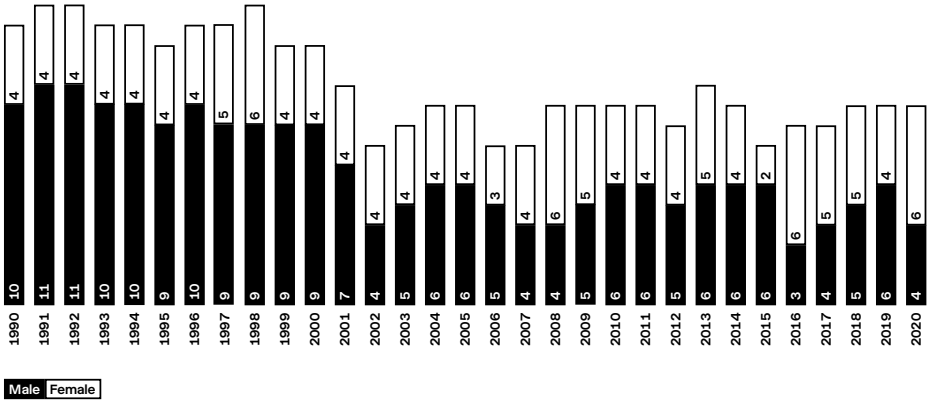


Fig. 5.12 The number of male and female SDA jury members between 1990 and 2020. See Table 7.3.

	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
M	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	1	1	2	2	1
F																	1			1							1	1	1	1	2

Table 5.2 The number of male (M) and female (F) SDA jury members specialising in graphic design between 1990 and 2020. See Table 7.3.

Whether by causality or correlation, the jury's gender disparity also reflected the selection of awardees.[61] Between 1990 and 2020, 25 editions of the SDA selected an often significantly greater ratio of male winners in the graphic design category, including four years without any female winners (Fig. 5.13). This was despite the gender ratio of applicants, which was often split equally.[62] The Jan Tschichold Prize and the Swiss Grand Award provide similar statistics.[63] This imbalance did not go

unnoticed by nominees and awardees, whose discontent grew in recent years.[64] Their grievances were aggravated by the fact that gender and diversity imbalances in graphic design had been problematised regularly since the 1980s.[65] The SDA reiterated a wider structural gender inequality for which they were not responsible. They nevertheless failed to recognise their role within these mechanisms until they began to address the issue from 2019 onwards, notably by featuring critical events within the exhibition programme in that year.[66] The FDC has not taken position on the issue.

61 For the list of awardees and nominees, see Table 7.2.
62 Crivelli 2017.
63 common-interest & depatriarchise design 2019b.
64 common-interest & depatriarchise design 2019b; Futuress 2020; Futuress & depatriarchise design 2020.
65 Baum, Scheer & Sievertsen 2019; Breuer & Meer 2012; Buckley 1986; Clegg & Mayfield 1999; Gorman 2001; Mareis & Paim 2021; Scotford 1991; 2008; Thomson 1994.
66 common-interest & depatriarchise design 2019a; Crivelli 2017.

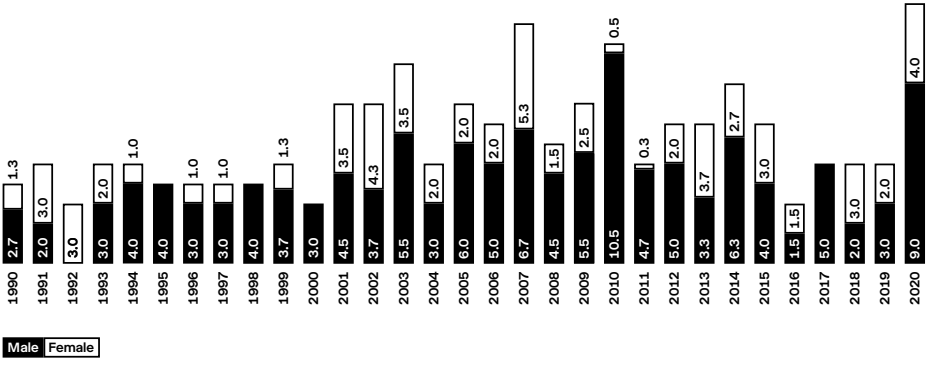


Fig. 5.13 The number of male and female winners of the SDA in the category graphic design between 1990 and 2020. Designers in a group were counted pro rata (if a group was composed of one male and one female designer, each was counted 0.5 times). See Table 7.4 for a percentage ratio of male to female winners.

Besides gender, there were also professional blind spots. The insiders' tight networks and exclusive definitions of design omitted designers who were not part of their circle. These omissions did not just affect those of the "old school", but also designers belonging to the newcomers' generation who were organised in separate networks and scenes with little or no connection to the insiders. These "outsiders" were rarely recognised by federal awards such as the SDA, the Jan Tschichold Prize or the Grand Prix Design, nor did they serve on their juries. Nevertheless, they repeatedly won other awards nationally or internationally and were often members of the more exclusive professional organisations.

This suggests that there was little qualitative difference between their work and that of the insiders.

The graphic designer and AGI member Erich Brechbühl (*1977), who is based in Lucerne, is one of the "outsiders" who enjoyed a successful career. He often worked for clients in the cultural sector, such as the Museum für Gestaltung Zurich, the cultural centre Neubad in Lucerne, the concert venue Salzhaus in Winterthur, and the theatre in Sempach (Fig. 5.14). His work was regularly given awards in numerous respected competitions, including the *100 Beste Plakate*, the Swiss Poster Awards, the Red Dot Award, the Tokyo Type Directors Club Annual Awards and the Art Directors Club New York awards. It was shown in biennales such as *Chaumont Design Graphique*, the Biennial of Graphic Design Brno and the Korea International Poster Biennale. Brechbühl also played an important role on the scene and was recognised amongst his peers as one of the most important contemporary Swiss designers.[67] He co-founded the association Posters Lucerne, which has been organising the yearly Weltformat graphic design festival in the same city since 2009, and he co-instigated the book and travelling exhibition Poster Town (2017).[68] In other words, his network and his career bear all the usual markers of success and influence. The large amount of work he produced for the cultural sector also made him a perfect candidate for the awards. And yet not one of his eight submissions to the SDA between 2004 and 2010 – the maximum number of submissions allowed – was given an award. In fact, only on one occasion did a submission of his make it to the first round of the competition.[69] Was the design language practised in Lucerne too far removed from what was respected in Zurich and Lausanne? Was it because he openly worked for corporate clients along with those from the cultural sector? Or was he simply not part of the networks that dominated the SDA?

67 Conrad 2021; Party 2021; Studio X 2021.
68 Brechbühl *et al.* 2017.
69 Erich Brechbühl, e-mail correspondence with the present writer, February 2021.

Fig. 5.14 **Between Me and Tomorrow, Jugendtheater Sempach (2012). The poster was given four awards, including in the *100 Beste Plakate*, the Tokyo TDC Annual Awards and the Golden Bee award in Moscow. It also appears on the cover of the second volume of Müller's history of graphic design (Müller 2021). Design: Erich Brechbühl.**

5.3.2 The true outsiders of promotion

The lack of transparency around the SDA jury's discussions makes it difficult to answer these questions not only in Brechbühl's case, but also in the case of many other such omissions. While it was not difficult to determine who were the insiders of design promotion, identifying these blind spots required a different approach: I interviewed designers who I knew had submitted work to the SDA but had not won. These outsiders often pointed me to other colleagues whom they suspected had also been unsuccessful applicants, though they could not be certain of it: this highlights how taboo the subject is.[70] In other words, the outsiders also suffered from a self-inflicted lack of transparency around their absence from the SDA. Some interviewees requested anonymity, others were careful in their statements, or even asked to be kept off the record; but all had strong opinions on the topic. Over time, I began hearing from designers who contacted me without prompting:

I know you interviewed [this designer], that's why I'm [contacting] you. […] I think everyone is thinking "should I come out of the closet or not?", "If I say something, I'll be banned from all these awards".[71]

70 Studio X 2021.
71 Designer B 2021.

These interactions are telling of the award system, which is perceived by some actors as shrouded in mystery and governed by arcane rules. According to designers, inveighing against the insiders might not be without unwanted professional consequences.[72] Whether imagined or real, these complex power balances not only contributed to keeping the blind spots invisible but also demonstrated the epistemological challenge at hand, leaving me to witness the nativity of narrativity and deal with the award-as-mythopoeia.[73] The conversations I held with these designers were often emotionally charged because many felt excluded from what seemed like an impenetrable circuit of promotion, describing it as a club to which they had no access.[74] Their anger, disappointment and disillusionment were due not only to missing out on the prize money, but even more to the lack of acknowledgement they had received from design promotion on a federal level. This highlighted the importance they placed on being recognised symbolically in a field that is rarely associated with financial success.

72 One of my interviewees joked that I should request witness protection against the "design mafia" before publishing the results of my analysis.
73 White 1980.
74 Erich Brechbühl, e-mail correspondence with the present writer, February 2021; Designer A 2021; Party 2021.

Unsurprisingly, the outsiders also came up with coping mechanisms – or strategies of condescension – to relativise not winning the SDA.[75] For example, a designer called the Awards a "circle jerk", another dismissed the importance of the Awards, and a third argued that they had effectively won many times through their students' work.[76] Other designers also explained that they simply did not consider the SDA as important at all, though some of them did submit work to many other awards.[77] Yet the more dismissive these designers appeared, the more their behaviour predicated the Awards' symbolic efficacy.[78] This was also true of their criticism of the SDA. The stronger their criticism and the higher the profile of those engaged in it, the more they confirmed the importance of the Awards. As fundamental components of the awards system, criticism and scandal confirmed their relevance.[79] The lack of open discussion around the SDA's absentees inevitably led to rumours. The outsiders all had explanations for their exclusion

from design promotion. More often than not, these attempts at rationalisation conflated facts or created teleological tales. As scholars of oral history have argued, such accounts tell us less about the facts than about their meaning.[80] Their value lies in providing entry points to lesser-known narratives.[81] Still, I was able to verify some of the outsiders' allegations.

75 Bourdieu 1991, 68.
76 Blancpain 2021; Designer A 2021; Party 2021.
77 Notter 2021; Supero 2021.
78 English 2005, 212; English 2014, 134.
79 English 2005, 187–196; Giampietro 2006.
80 Portelli 2016 (1979), 52.
81 Barbieri *et al.* 2021b; Sandino 2006, 275.

The outsiders' first explanation for not winning was linked to the networks of promotion. Many echoed the sentiment that having the right connections was fundamental to winning.[82] One of them argued that the reason why certain well-accomplished Swiss designers never won, despite entering multiple times, was that awards were

part of the […] "high end" Swiss design community. Juries and winners are often connected in a way where it's clear that if you're part of that clique, you have a much better chance at winning. If you're not on good terms with these people, the quality of your work doesn't matter much.[83]

82 Designer C 2021; Supero 2021; Studio X 2021.
83 Designer A 2021.

The graphic designer Demian Conrad (*1974), an AGI member who was unsuccessful in getting to the nomination stage with his two submissions to the SDA, elaborated on the ECAL network.[84] He argued that Keller had turned the SDA into a promotion system for the institution thanks to the long-lasting influence he exerted on the Awards, either personally, or by proxy thanks to Rappo's appointment to the FCAA/FDC. Conrad was so convinced that the system had been hijacked that he stopped submitting work to the Awards as a waste of time.

84 Conrad 2021.

The second most often-evoked explanation was the prominence given to the universities of applied arts[85] over institutions of vocational education and training (VET).[86] The importance of belonging to the right educational networks was mentioned by the type designer Yassin Baggar (*1985) of the foundry Fatype, who was nominated in 2015 but never submitted his work again. Baggar followed the VET route in La Chaux-de-Fonds before completing a Master's degree at KABK The Hague. While he recognised that there were plausible explanations for his not winning the Award, such as the quality of his presentation and a degree of subjectivity, he also wondered whether his position outside the "'influential' Swiss scene", by which he meant Swiss higher education institutions, had played a determining role.[87] Another designer argued that the *Zürcher Hochschule der Künste* (Zurich University of the Arts, ZHdK) and ECAL in particular were overrepresented, pointing notably to the relatively low number of winning graduates from the applied art universities of Lucerne, Basel, Bern and Ticino.[88] Nevertheless, some of the newcomers – such as NORM and Lehmann – had followed the VET route, which suggests that this type of training was indeed recognised by the SDA. The outsiders believed that higher education institutions had taken over design promotion in the mid-2000s, when the Bologna process reinforced their position.[89] This led to the subsequent absence of designers from VET courses amongst the winners. This prompted one outsider to jokingly rebrand the SDA the "Swiss Diploma Awards" as they felt it only awarded designers who held a Bachelor.[90] They argued that the submission form itself contributed to discrimination against VET graduates, because it required candidates to name the institution where they had studied. However, the majority of the designers I interviewed who had followed the VET route also remarked that they had not submitted any work to the Awards more than once or twice, if at all.[91] They attributed this either to a lack of awareness concerning the Awards at VET level, or to a feeling that they had no chance of winning anyway. Needless to say, as the popular idiom goes, "you've got to be in it to win it". While these factors can help to explain the absence of VET graduates in the SDA, that

absence remains proof nevertheless of a blind spot in design promotion.

85 I am referring specifically to Switzerland's German-speaking *Fachhochschulen* and the French-speaking *Hautes Ecoles Spécialisées*. The Italian-speaking *Scuola Universitaria Professionale*'s recent graduates were rarely awarded.
86 Designer C 2021; Notter 2021; Studio X 2021.
87 Yassin Baggar, e-mail correspondence with the present writer, February 2021.
88 Designer C 2021.
89 Yassin Baggar, e-mail correspondence with the present writer, February 2021; Studio X 2021.
90 Studio X 2021. Unlike in English, the word "diplôme" in French can be used to denote an undergraduate university degree.
91 Conrad 2021; Notter 2021; Studio X 2021; Supero 2021; Yassin Baggar, e-mail correspondence with the present writer, February 2021.

The third explanation for not winning was specific to type design, and pertained to competition between foundries. The type designer Ian Party (*1977) won the SDA in 2005 with his ECAL graduation project.[92] He then taught at ECAL until 2016. Corroborating the importance of belonging to the right networks, he attributed his win not only to the quality of his submission, but also to the fact that his lecturer Rappo was on the jury.[93] At first sight, Party was thus a member of an insider network. All the same, his submission to the SDA in 2010 was met with failure. That year, he entered an extensive selection of typefaces including Romain, Suisse, Sang Bleu and bespoke type made for Esquire, L'Officiel and Vogue. However, the type designer and Lineto member Sack won with his typeface Brown. For Party, a feud between type designers had resulted in nepotism.

92 Ian Party founded B+P Type Foundry with Maxime Buechi in 2005. In 2013, the foundry evolved into Swiss Typefaces, which Party ran with Emmanuel Rey. In 2020, Party left Swiss Typefaces and went on to set up the foundry Newglyph with Dennis Moya Razafimandimby and Daniela Retana.
93 Party 2021. Party was not alone in arguing that jury members often gave the prizes to their students' work (Studio X 2021).

Party alleged that his chances were damaged by a dispute initiated by his then business partner Maxime Buechi, who had complained after a series of unsuccessful submissions to the SDA. I was unable to find out more about these allegations beyond hearsay, but it is telling that Party perceived the networks of promotion as a highly personal affair.[94] For him, it was not by chance that his competitor Sack won in 2010. The latter's winning typeface was distributed by Lineto, and Windlin was on the jury that year. Naturally, this may be a coincidence, and the jury is free to choose whichever project seems to them the best of the selection. Their discussions were not recorded, thus preventing me from investigating Party's hypothesis any further.

Nevertheless, as I mentioned in the previous section, typefaces by Lineto members were often given prizes at the SDA. Furthermore, the list of graphic design winners in 2010 shows that Windlin's networks were prominent. Six of the eleven graphic design awardees had direct or indirect connections with him. Benner, Urs Lehni and Sack were part of Lineto; Bruno Margreth had worked with Windlin; finally, Lukas Zimmermann and Bontognali had collaborated with Elektrosmog, themselves part of Lineto.

94 Designer B 2021. I had off-the-record conversations with insiders from the promotion scene, who confirmed Party's side of the story.

This particular case of type design submissions supported Party's suspicions to some extent. Lineto and Optimo typefaces were often given prizes, especially when members of their networks were on the jury. Besides these two foundries' typefaces, the other type design submissions that won were predominantly the unreleased degree projects of recent graduates that did not offer any commercial competition to Optimo or Lineto.[95] By contrast, the type foundries that were competing on the same markets as Lineto or Optimo, such as Fatype, Grilli Type and Swiss Typefaces, were rarely nominated, despite the widespread recognition and international success enjoyed by some of these foundries.[96] The most significant exception was Dinamo, which won in 2017. However, it was hardly an outsider. Its two founders had close connections with the Lineto network: Johannes Breyer had interned for NORM, while Fabian Harb had worked for Brunner.

95 Besides Party (ECAL, 2005), the graduates who won included Remo Caminada and Ludovic Varone (HGKZ, 2007), David Keshavjee and Julien Tavelli (ECAL, 2009), Valentin Brustaux (University of Reading, 2010), Michael Kryenbühl and Ivan Weiss (HGKZ, 2010), Jan Abellan (ECAL, 2012), Ondřej Báchor (ECAL, 2018) and Sylvan Lanz (ECAL, 2018). There were some exceptions, such as Sibylle Hagmann, who won in 2006. However, she was based in the United States and thus did not compete in the same markets as Optimo and Lineto.

96 Blancpain 2021; Designer C 2021; Party 2021; Yassin Baggar, e-mail correspondence with the present writer, February 2021.

The newcomers' takeover of design promotion had a series of consequences. First, they evolved from professional outsiders to true insiders of the scene. Their practices were recognised, and their professional models were promoted. They increasingly won the SDA and were progressively appointed to its jury. This contributed to repositioning the SDA at the centre of the design scene,

but came with side effects. Women were effectively excluded from the networks of promotion. Commercial design disappeared from the SDA, which became synonymous with commissions for the cultural sector or self-initiated work. Designers who had followed the VET route were underrepresented, which in turn led them to stop submitting work to the Awards. The newcomers leveraged design promotion, and their social and ideological connections helped to create a closed circuit of promotion. Practitioners who evolved in networks located outside the two main clusters of promotion were underrepresented. This takeover tended to supplant other geographical and institutional scenes that preferred different design languages, and it also denied access to promotion to those who competed on the same market as the insiders. This act of manoeuvring into a new definition of design promotion thus came at a price.

THE PRIZE OF SUCCESS

6.1 Endings and beginnings

In the speech that Patrizia Crivelli gave at the opening of *Swiss Design 2002*, she explained that the evening represented both a closing point and a starting point in federal design promotion. She was correct in more ways than she meant. 2002 can be described as the end and the beginning of a new era of promotion. The SDA were at a crossroads, and their relaunch signified a watershed in the promotion of design in Switzerland. The evening also symbolised other endings and beginnings that went further than the introduction of a new model for design promotion. First, 2002 symbolised a new reign. It formalised the beginning of the new school's sovereignty over design promotion and the wider design scene. Secondly, it had a major impact on design tastes by updating the hitherto understanding of "good" design, which was now to be located in the cultural sector. Thirdly, it rewrote the rules of success, which no longer had any relationship with commercial viability but were grounded in critical acclaim, regardless of the precarity of it. And fourthly, it institutionalised a new definition of the graphic design profession, based on the practices of the new generation.

The relaunch introduced an ambitious new system for the SDA which aimed to update design promotion in line with changes in the discipline. The awards also reinvented themselves to convince those on the design scene that they were still relevant after a decade of being subjected to criticism in the specialist press, and during which designers had demonstrated less and less interest in them. The relaunch was accompanied by a "facelift" – an extensive overhaul of the Awards' visual communication – which the SDA used to enhance its design promotion activities. The 2002 exhibition employed extensive visual and curatorial devices whose metaphors on competitions and the judging process positioned the awards as a central node on the design scene. This, however, was not just a metaphor, because the SDA now became entangled within existing design networks. While the Design Service and the FDC were seemingly in charge of the shift in promotion, its impetus and its direction were equally shaped by a new generation of

designers who had their own agendas and soon became dominant in design promotion. It was not the first time that the SDA had been leveraged by actors on the scene. Quite the opposite: professional associations had endeavoured to steer them for their own benefit since their inauguration in 1917. During the course of the 20th century, the role of promotion and the definition of "good" design evolved according to who was in charge. Initially, the associations anchored design promotion in the commercial and industrial realms. Their progressive loss of control, from the late 1960s onwards, happened in parallel with an evolution of the discipline, whose social and cultural dimensions were increasingly recognised by designers. By the end of the 20th century, the state had taken over design promotion. Though the professional associations were removed from the juries of the SDA and the MBSB, their influence was replaced by another when a new school of graphic designers, most of whom were born in the 1970s, began to determine the design promotion landscape. As their own networks proceeded to exercise a tight grip on the profession, their influence proved no less controlling than that of the professional associations that had preceded them.

By 2002, design promotion was largely controlled by communities for whom design was a lifestyle. The takeover they achieved gave new meaning to the title of Crivelli's essay in the 2002 catalogue, "Design promotion as a network".[1] As Heller wrote in that same publication, networks function best when "a mixture of different minds takes over [...] rather than just one".[2] Yet there was little diversity in the self-referential communities that now gained control of design promotion: these practitioners held closely aligned views that were grounded in a new definition of their profession. They saw it no longer purely as a service but as a space for self-expression. These networks created a closed circuit of promotion in which their own members had a better chance of winning than outsiders did. Ironically, members of the older professional associations had been criticised for being similarly self-serving when they served on the juries of the SDA and the MBSB – something that had contributed to their removal at the time. But this was not simply a case

of *plus ça change*. Even when members of the associations had sat on the juries, the books to which they awarded prizes still offered a wide range of styles and work methods.[3] By contrast, the projects awarded in the SDA after 2002 were much less diverse and all stemmed from the niche economy. Although the Design Service never set out for the new Awards to become a "design police" like other competitions had in the past, the insider networks formed by members of the new school effectively took on that role (Fig. 6.1). Thanks to the power they exerted on juries and commissions, they leveraged the SDA, and design promotion now embraced a narrow definition of "good" design that was almost exclusively aligned with the tastes of the new school.

1 Crivelli 2002a.
2 Heller 2002, 174.
3 Guggenheimer 2004, 90.

Fig. 6.1 A humorous ad published by Lineto in *Dot Dot Dot* (2002). The slogan is a wordplay on the double meaning of "police", which can mean law enforcement or typeface.

The Design Service pointed to changes in the discipline as one of the reasons for the 2002 relaunch. Indeed, the newcomers had moved beyond their predecessors' definition of the profession. One of the main reasons for this professional shift was a loss in creative independence due to the rise of branding and marketing. The newcomers adopted the position of outsiders for whom economic viability was of little importance as long as they could develop innovative design languages. These designers worked predominantly on self-initiated and cultural projects because they were the ones offering the most creative autonomy and the potential to take an authorial position. Instead of joining professional associations, which they associated with the old school who had refused to

recognise their new practices, the newcomers preferred informal communities. In striving for recognition, they communicated their new professional identities through self-representation, self-promotional materials and the type of commissions they took. The SDA associated themselves with the new school in order to reposition themselves at the centre of the design scene. By extension, the Awards promoted its professional models and ideas. If in the early 1990s, critics had argued that the SDA needed to include more experimental design, by the end of the decade the balance had tipped in the other direction. "Commercial" or "industrial" work was no longer awarded in the prizes, which became instead a means for the newcomers to further the design discourse. They did so successfully: the design projects given prizes by the SDA remain well-received by designers across the scene, and the Awards are rarely criticised in the specialist press. However, both the SDA and the newcomers paid a price for their joint success.

6.2 A price to pay

6.2.1 Conserving culture

Over the past two decades, the SDA have given prizes to outstanding graphic designers. The quality of their work is not disputed, and many of them have rightly gone on to play an influential role on the scene. But with every award comes the question of causality.[4] Did the SDA recognise the best designers in the field, or were they merely conforming to criteria set up by the SDA? As I have explained, the answer is a combination of both. First, the SDA played a role in constructing taste. If a visitor had been asked to define "good" graphic design based solely on a visit to the 2002 SDA, they would have concluded that it had to result from a quasi-artistic, semi-autonomous practice existing outside the industrial realm. Had the SDA been steered by another group of designers, they could have equally placed their emphasis on any other type of design. For instance, the Design & Art Direction (D&AD) awards[5] in the United Kingdom and the German Red Dot award[6] recognise mainly commercial work including advertising, branding, packaging and digital marketing. Conversely, the New-York

based Arts Director Club (ADC) Annual Awards – which claim to be the oldest, continuously running design industry-organised awards – recognise both commercial projects for clients such as Apple and Spotify, and less commercial ones, such as a children's illustrated book series or a publication for the ZHdK.[7] However, in the eyes of the insiders of design promotion, corporate or industrial work was unacceptable, despite the fact that most of them engaged in this type of work.[8]

4 Frey & Gallus 2015, 9.
5 The D&AD organisation was founded in 1962. It is open to designers worldwide. Though it is unclear how many designers apply every year, its first edition already boasted 2,500 entries (D&AD n.d.).
6 The Red Dot award was founded in 1955. It receives more than 18,000 international submissions a year and has a strong focus on commercial graphic design. Its communication design category includes advertising, packaging, corporate design and brand identity (Red Dot Award 2021a; 2021b).
7 ADC n.d.
8 Rappo 2021.

In the MBSB 2008 catalogue, the graphic designer James Goggin – whose views were shared by many newcomers – explained the primacy of non-commercial work as being a result of a lack of interest in independent designers on the part of commercial clients:

A common criticism of contemporary progressive graphic design is its ostensibly narrow field of projects and clients: invariably within the cultural sector, a kind of ghetto […]. However, such criticisms often ignore the realities of graphic design practice and modes of commissioning. […] arts clients seemingly remain the only ones willing to entrust projects to independent designers and small studios. […] most of these studios would happily take on the challenges of mass-market publishing […] [but] the opportunity seems largely absent.[9]

9 Goggin 2009, 36.

Goggin was in part correct: much of the design stemming from the cultural sector was innovative, and commercial clients were not keen on taking risks. At the same time, his statement was an example of the "unconscious collusions" evoked by Bourdieu that feed the collective belief of the field.[10] The implications of this type of declaration, which are at their most powerful when they are least obvious to participants in the field, allowed the new school and its value systems to assert their position in the SDA. The newcomers had a two-pronged strategy. They declared cultural design to be the only acceptable type of work. In doing so, they themselves determined the tastes of the scene, which in turn helped to maintain their position. Promoting cultural design as the only legitimate field meant conserving their own power. This was the SDA's self-perpetuating cycle: they declared that good design was only possible in the niche economy and then awarded precisely this type of design, thereby closing the loop of promotion at the expense of other practices and designers who were not part of the insider networks. Indeed, the many blind spots of design promotion showed that the SDA did not just award the best design, but also functioned like a closed circuit, upholding the power structures they had established.[11]

10 Bourdieu 2002 (1974), 197–199, 205.

11 The SDA did not award the "worst" either. However, when presented with comparatively innovative projects, they systematically awarded members of the insider design networks, as I demonstrated in chapter five.

There is a possible, alternative perspective to this. Building on Moulin and Becker, Menger outlined the processes which legitimise certain artistic practices over others, offering a model to explain the gap between talent and success.[12] While recognising that individuals have different abilities which are not fully observable, he also highlighted two mechanisms which were at play in the SDA. First, someone's quality is inferred from the attention given to them by others (demand begets more demand).[13] In the case of the SDA, this was self-explanatory; those who won repeatedly were recognised as the most successful, and so the SDA were responsible for creating critical recognition. Secondly, selective pairings act as a lever in the mechanisms of cumulative advantage.[14] These pairings are a strategy for furthering one's

career in which creatives associate themselves (at least temporarily) with others who are either as talented as they are or more so, while cumulative advantage is a process in which a very small initial difference between two individuals can lead to a highly different degree of success between them.[15] The networks of promotion were a direct illustration of these selective pairings whereby like-minded, talented designers assembled in communities and benefitted from collaborations within them. Design communities produced a cumulative advantage: their designers made better work, and therefore they won. In that sense, the SDA actually – and fairly – recognised the best work in the field. Yet as the sociologist Marie Buscatto has argued, this perspective is incomplete. Several studies have demonstrated the persistence of inequalities based solely on gender, class or ethnicity, beyond differences in talent.[16] In the case of the SDA, there is no other explanation for their many blind spots: the awards partially legitimised networks, stereotypes, norms or gendered conventions by simultaneously making them appear "natural".[17]

12 Menger 2009, 527–533; 2014, 142–143.
13 *Ibid.*, 531.
14 *Ibid.*, 532.
15 *Ibid.*, 520, 527–529.
16 Buscatto 2010, n.p.
17 *Ibid.*

6.2.2 Precarious passion, subsidised success

Graphic design has long been described as a "long-hours, low-turnover profession".[18] Moreover, cultural clients have always welcomed young designers who do not mind being badly paid as long as they have "creative freedom and a real sense of identification with the work".[19] While such commissions were normally seen as a step between one's studies and the professional market, the SDA now presented cultural work as the only legitimate market – despite the fact that it only represented a fraction of design jobs.[20] As the graphic designer Ruedi Baur remarked in the 2005 SDA catalogue:

The generation of the thirty to forty years old [...] has difficulty in developing beyond the experimental stage, and in leaving one cultural dimension in favour of a wider context.[21]

18 Julier 2017, 50.
19 Ernst 2000b, 39.
20 Notter 2021; Party 2021.
21 Coen 2005, 58.

The accent put on freedom and creativity has to be replaced within a wider "cultural turn" in the 1990s, during which culture and the economy de-differentiated their business practices.[22] This convergence and its consequences have been well explored in the literature.[23] Workers typical of this turn were young, their positions permanently transitional, and they focused on creativity as the means to find "pleasure in work".[24] These attributes largely applied to the newcomers, who turned to inverted business models where everything came second to creativity – "especially money" – but where they could have full control of their practice.[25] This stance, which the design historian Thierry Chancogne referred to as *otium*, the opposite of *negotium* (business), became central to the newcomers' vision of their profession as a lifestyle,[26] a model supported by the SDA which increased the precarity of the field.[27] This generation happily undertook work that was badly paid, had long working hours and unpredictable patterns, because they were enthusiastic about it.[28] As the art historian Michelle Dedelley found out when she interviewed the winners of the 2003 SDA, their ambition was primarily "to enjoy their work", though they sometimes went against their client's wishes at the risk of losing the commission.[29] This positive narrative opened the door for exploitative, unstable and unregulated work and led to an increasingly precarious position for designers,[30] who justified their insecure position with the impetus gained from making good work, which in turn helped them to create a positive self-image despite their difficult conditions.[31] Ideals of self-improvement and self-determination were therefore a cover for increasing hierarchies and power relations such as those described by Boltanski and Chiapello.[32] *Otium* fundamentally contradicted the realities of *negotium* and the fragile economic model that came with it.

22 Du Gay & Pryke 2002, 1–7. In this context, culture refers to the "creative, expressive and symbolic activities in media, arts and communicative practices" (McRobbie 2002, 97).
23 Deuze 2007; 2012; Du Gay & Pryke 2002; Flew 2012; Hesmondhalgh 2012; McRobbie 2002, 97.
24 Donzelot 1991 (1980); McRobbie 2002, 98; Ross 2009, 1–5.
25 Eikhof & Haunschild 2006, 236; Shaughnessy 2009, 21.
26 Chancogne 2020, n.p.
27 McRobbie 2002, 109.
28 McRobbie 2005 (1998), 82; 2002, 109; 2016, 36; Ursell 2000.
29 Dedelley 2003, 107–109.
30 Holt & Lapenta 2010, 223. For an overview of the literature on precarity, see Serafini & Banks 2020. On this topic, see also Lorusso 2019; Lovink 2019.
31 Neff, Wissinger & Zukin 2005, 314.
32 Boltanski and Chiapello 2011 (1999), 460–462.

Aspiring designers wanted to create excellent projects and be acknowledged by the awards, but that often meant rejecting any development of their businesses.[33] Heller pointed out that "Swiss design works for the cultural market and does not seek to rise to a different level", which was a "noble attitude" that rejected the financial aspect of design.[34] The SDA promoted an unrealistic economic model. This was perverse because, as Hebdige explained, "the relative success of a few individuals" who acted as outsiders to the system created "an impression of energy, expansion and limitless upward mobility" which, for most designers, never materialised.[35] While the newcomers created excellent work which was rightly awarded by the SDA, their rejection of business led to the creation of what Party described as "a Swiss [...] scene known as subsidised graphic design" which only existed thanks to state funding.[36] In a somewhat perverse consequence, this made the financial contribution of the awards even more important for designers in the cultural sector, who had "plenty of work – just not work that pays".[37] While the reliance on cultural clients inevitably came with less desirable aspects including low pay, long hours and a limited pool of clients, the desirability of these practices was rarely questioned by the specialised press, and almost never by designers.[38] Many agreed with the practices promoted by the SDA and adopted them as professional models. In the 2005 SDA catalogue, Windlin even argued that "Swiss designers need recognition more than money".[39] This may have been true for the most successful designers of the new school, but less so for those who came after them, many of whom adopted highly precarious professional models.[40]

33 Dedelley 2003, 109; Ernst 2000b, 40.
34 Coen 2005, 59.
35 Hebdige 2002 (1979), 99.
36 Party 2021.

37 I was talking to two critically acclaimed independent designers at an opening in 2018. They had each won the SDA and the MBSB multiple times and gave the impression of having successful careers. Yet they asked me if I had any leads for work. I expressed my surprise, which is when they clarified that they had "plenty of work – just not work that pays".
38 *Hochparterre* 2002.
39 Coen 2005, 58.
40 Berthod *et al.* 2020b.

6.3 Designing the scene

The answer to my opening question – what was the effect of the relaunch of the SDA on the field of Swiss graphic design? – is multifarious. Thanks to their renewed relevance, the awards had an indisputably positive influence on the scene, which notably flourished thanks to means that were unrivalled internationally. They offered recognition, afforded financial support, gave access to professional networks and provided momentum in launching designers' careers. On the other hand, the reorganisation left some more ambivalent legacies. The SDA were leveraged by design promotion insiders who redesigned the profession and influenced its production by enabling pockets of the scene to thrive. By extension, those who oversaw the politics of the SDA ruled the Swiss design landscape. They shaped the field not only by supporting specific practices financially and critically, but also by erecting a monocultural professional paragon. The design field became ruled by a "singularity regime" which mirrored that of the art market – one in which success was inevitably tied up with the critical acknowledgement of the insiders and a rejection of mainstream definitions of design practice.[41] Winning the Awards was in itself not sufficient to predict a designer's success, which was largely defined by his connections with the networks of promotion (I write "his" because the winners were mostly men). The insiders' influence came at the expense of other designers and their professional models, which receded into the background. The loop of promotion inevitably led to a skewed historiography of Swiss design in which the insiders were canonised. In this sense, the awards functioned as both carrot and stick, by rewarding certain practices and erasing others.

41 Heinich 2016, n.p.

In this history, told from the perspective of design promotion, the Awards were therefore always more than just a

prize. As "tournaments of values", they influenced the taste of practitioners and influenced the kind of design that was created.[42] The SDA did not simply provide a measuring stick for "good" design but participated in defining it by mirroring the opinions of those in charge. While I have identified gender, education and geography as determining factors among those who became "insiders" in design promotion, many questions remain to be explored. For example, was this situation specific to the time frame of the SDA relaunch, or were the awards always controlled by generational groups self-fulfilling their own prophecies? Was this situation unique to graphic design professions in Switzerland, or were other countries experiencing a similar shift? And what about other creative professions, both in Switzerland and abroad, such as fashion, photography and industrial design? Another area for research would be the embedding of this shift in broader cultural sociology. What influences did these shifts have in terms of discourse in design education, but also on the wider historiography of contemporary graphic design?

42 Becker 1982, 100–103; English 2014, 137.

What is more, those who were absent inevitably make only a brief appearance in this book. Many other networks exist in Switzerland, each governed by its own set of values. They point to a number of areas where more research is needed. Some of them organise their own awards, which are equally concrete expressions of the scenes they represent. The *100 Beste Plakate*, the Swiss Poster Awards and the Weltformat poster competition offer as many opportunities for further research that might compensate for the blind spots of federal design promotion. A new award even appeared in 2021, the *Junge Grafik* competition (Fig. 6.2). It is a biennial prize aimed at young designers still in education. Many of its organisational characteristics reflect an attempt to bring a more balanced perspective to the scene. On its website and on social media, this award spares no effort to confirm that it is open to students from all educational backgrounds, from the VET route to higher education.[43] Its nine-person jury is composed of five women and four men from a range of scenes and generations, such as the

design promotion outsiders Demian Conrad and Felix Pfäffli, but also regular winners of the SDA and the MBSB, namely Bonbon's Valeria Bonin, Larissa Kasper and Jonas Voegeli. Furthermore, the award hints at the possible return of professional associations on the scene: its sponsors include the *Schweizer Grafiker Verband* (Swiss Graphic Design Association, SGV) and the Swiss Graphic Designers association (SGD). The role of awards on the design scene is thus far from over.

43 Junge Grafik 2021, n.p.

Fig. 6.2 The homepage of the *Junge Grafik* competition, which launched in 2021.

APPENDIX

7.1 Bibliography

A

Adams, Tony E, Carolyn Ellis, and Stacy Holman Jones. 2017. "Autoethnography." In *The International Encyclopedia of Communication Research Methods*. Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons.

ADC n.d. "The One Club / ADC 2020 Awards Showcase." Oneclub.org. https://www.oneclub.org/ad-cawards/showcase/. Accessed 11 March 2021.

Aicher, Otl. 2015 (1991). *The World as Design*. Berlin: Wilhelm Ernst & Sohn.

Alexandre, Olivier, and Adeline Lamberbourg. 2016. "Le singulier collectif. L'auteur à travers ses réseaux." *Sociologie de l'Art* 25 & 26 (1):63–82.

Altorfer, Max. 1976. "Die Kunstförderung benötigt Prestige und Vertrauen." *Tages-Anzeiger*, October 25.

Armstrong, Helen, ed. 2009. *Graphic Design Theory*. New York: Princeton Architectural Press.

Armstrong, Leah. 2014. "Designing a Profession: the Structure, Organisation and Identity of the Design Profession in Britain, 1930–2010." PhD diss., University of Brighton.

——— 2016. "Steering a Course Between Professionalism and Commercialism." *Journal of Design History* 29 (2): 161–79.

——— 2019. "A New Image for a New Profession: Self-Image and Representation in the Professionalization of Design in Britain, 1945–1960." *Journal of Consumer Culture* 19 (1):104–24.

Atkinson, Paul. 2010. "Boundaries? What boundaries? The Crisis of design in a post-professional era." *The Design Journal* 13 (2):137–55.

Aynsley, Jeremy. 1995. "'Modern Commercial Typography' 1936: an Archive of Jobbing Printing at the Victoria and Albert Museum." *The Journal of the Decorative Arts Society – the Present* 19:59–66.

Azam, Martine, and Ainhoa de Federico. 2016. "Sociologie de l'art et analyse des réseaux sociaux." *Sociologie de l'Art* 25 & 26 (1–2). L'Harmattan:13–36.

B

Baldwin, Jonathan, and Lucienne Roberts. 2019. *Visual Communication*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing.

Balland, Ludovic, Dimitri Bruni, Bruno Maag, and Andres Janser. 2004. "Black-and-White Worlds." In *Frische Schriften. Fresh Type*, edited by Andres Janser and Christina Reble, 36–51. Discussion with Ludovic Balland, Dimitri Bruni and Bruno Maag. Zurich: Museum für Gestaltung.

Barbieri, Chiara. 2017. "Graphic Design and Graphic Designers in Milan, 1930s-1960s: the Layout of a Profession." PhD diss., Royal College of Art.

——— 2021a. "Associations". In *Swiss Graphic Design Histories: Multiple Voices*, edited by Chiara Barbieri, Jonas Berthod, Constance Delamadeleine, Davide Fornari, and Sarah Owens, 2:12–18. Zurich: Scheidegger & Spiess.

——— 2021b. "Clients". In *Swiss Graphic Design Histories: Multiple Voices*, edited by Chiara Barbieri, Jonas Berthod, Constance Delamadeleine, Davide Fornari, and Sarah Owens, 2:49–62. Zurich: Scheidegger & Spiess.

——— 2021c. "Gender". In *Swiss Graphic Design Histories: Multiple Voices*, edited by Chiara Barbieri, Jonas Berthod, Constance Delamadeleine, Davide Fornari, and Sarah Owens, 2:83–95. Zurich: Scheidegger & Spiess.

Barbieri, Chiara, Jonas Berthod, Constance Delamadeleine, Davide Fornari, and Sarah Owens, eds. 2021a. *Swiss Graphic Design Histories: Multiple Voices*. Vol. 2. 3 vols. Zurich: Scheidegger & Spiess.

Barbieri, Chiara, Jonas Berthod, Constance Delamadeleine, Davide Fornari, and Sarah Owens. 2021c. "Figures of Speech". In *Swiss Graphic Design Histories: Multiple Voices*, edited by Chiara Barbieri, Jonas Berthod, Constance Delamadeleine, Davide Fornari, and Sarah Owens, 2:7–11. Zurich: Scheidegger & Spiess.

Barok, Dušan. 2018. *Monoskop Exhibition Library*. Second edition. Amsterdam: Monoskop.

Baudin, Antoine. 1997. "Quelques repères pour une histoire de l'association l'Œuvre (1913–1963)." In *Made in Switzerland*, edited by Patrizia Crivelli, Köbi Gantenbein, Barbara Imboden, and Andreas Münch, 116–27. Zurich: Hochparterre.

Baum, Silva, Claudia Scheer, and Lea Sievertsen, eds. 2019. *Notamuse*. Salenstein: Niggli.

Baur, Andrea, Mirjam Fischer, and Kathrin Stirnemann, eds. 2005. *Federal Design Grants 2005*. Basel: Birkhäuser.

Beck, Kurt. 2002. "Junges Schweizer Design ausgezeichnet." *Neue Obwaldner Zeitung*, October 23.

Becker, Howard S. 1963. *Outsiders*. London: Collier-Macmillan Limited.

——— 1982. *Art Worlds*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Beegan, Gerry, and Paul Atkinson. 2008. "Professionalism, Amateurism and the Boundaries of Design." *Journal of Design History* 21 (4):305–13.

Benedetto, Angelo. 2019. Interview by the author. March 4.

Bennett, Andy. 2011. "The Post-Subcultural Turn: Some Reflections 10 Years on." *Journal of Youth Studies* 14 (5):493–506.

Bennett, Tony. 2005. "The Exhibitionary Complex." In *Thinking About Exhibitions*, 58–80. London: Routledge.

Bergflödt, Torbjörn. 2002. "Klangmassage Auf Dem Futon." *Linth Zeitung*, October 29.

Berthod, Jonas. 2015. "Next Design Models." *Progetto Grafico* 28:146–53.

——— 2018a. "The 2002 Relaunch of the Swiss Design Awards: Key Changes and Their Influence on Designers' Careers and Networks." *Beiträge Der Graduate School of the Arts* 2: 9–20.

——— 2018b. "Casting the Net: Early Career Projects and Network Creation." *Back to the Future, the Future in the Past : ICDHS 10th+1 Barcelona 29–31 October 2018: Conference Proceedings Book*, 773–77. Barcelona: Edicions de la Universitat de Barcelona.

——— 2019a. "Command Lineto: Functions and Paths of an Emerging Digital Foundry." *Raddar* 1:169–84.

——— 2019b. "Geometries of Collaboration." In *Swiss Design Awards 2019*, edited by Anna Niederhäuser, Mirjam Fischer, and Yves Mettler, 8–9. Bern: Federal Office of Culture.

——— 2019c. "Mapping Design Territories." In *Swiss Design Awards 2019*, edited by Anna Niederhäuser, Mirjam Fischer, and Yves Mettler, 10–11. Bern: Federal Office of Culture.

——— 2021a. "Award Catalogs". In *Swiss Graphic Design Histories: Visual Arguments*, edited by Sandra Bischler, Sarah Klein, Jonas Niedermann, and Michael Renner, 1:74–89. Zurich: Scheidegger & Spiess.

——— 2021b. "Awards". In *Swiss Graphic Design Histories: Multiple Voices*, edited by Chiara Barbieri, Jonas Berthod, Constance Delamadeleine, and Davide Fornari, 2:19–31. Zurich: Scheidegger & Spiess.

——— 2021c. "Careers". In *Swiss Graphic Design Histories: Multiple Voices*, edited by Chiara Barbieri, Jonas Berthod, Constance Delamadeleine, Davide Fornari, and Sarah Owens, 2:32–48. Zurich: Scheidegger & Spiess.

——— 2021d. "Studio". In *Swiss Graphic Design Histories: Multiple Voices*, edited by Chiara Barbieri, Jonas Berthod, Constance Delamadeleine, Davide Fornari, and Sarah Owens, 2:112–26. Zurich: Scheidegger & Spiess.

——— 2021e. "Netzwerke/Réseaux/Networks: A Relaunch to Reposition Federal Design Promotion." In *Swiss Graphic Design Histories: Tempting Terms*, edited by Ueli Kaufmann, Peter J. Schneemann, and Sara Zeller, 3:101–10. Zurich: Scheidegger & Spiess.
Berthod, Jonas, Luigi Olivadoti, Jonathan Hares, Clément Lambelet, and Roger Conscience. 2020a. "The information age." In *Swiss Design Awards 2020: Failure is not an option?*, edited by Anna Niederhäuser, Lucas Uhlmann, Marie-France Lombardo, and Mirjam Fischer, 128–132. Bern: Federal Office of Culture.
Berthod, Jonas, Marie Schumann, Julien Mercier, Andrea Anner, and Thibault Brevet. 2020b. "Art, Culture and Commerce." In *Swiss Design Awards 2020: Failure Is Not an Option?*, edited by Anna Niederhäuser, Lucas Uhlmann, Marie-France Lombardo, and Mirjam Fischer, 161–67. Bern: Federal Office of Culture.
Bill, Max. 2008 (1945–1988). *Funktion Und Funktionalismus*. Edited by Jakob Bill. Bern: Benteli.
Bill, Jakob, Max Bill, Claude Lichtenstein, Renate Menzi, and Deyan Sudjic. 2015. *Max Bill's View of Things*. Edited by Lars Müller. Zurich: Lars Müller Publishers.
Bill, Max. 1949. "Schönheit aus Funktion und als Funktion." *Das Werk* 36 (8): 272–259.
——— 1957. "Die gute Form." *Das Werk* 44 (4):138–40.
Billeter, Fritz. 1968. "Kulturpolitik mit Fragezeichen." *Tages-Anzeiger*, November 23.
——— 1976. "Reformbedurftige Kunstkommission des Bundes." *Tages-Anzeiger*, October 7.
Bischler, Sandra, Sarah Klein, Jonas Niedermann, and Michael Renner, eds. 2021. *Swiss Graphic Design Histories: Visual Arguments*. Vol. 1. Zurich: Scheidegger & Spiess.
Blancpain, Thierry. 2021. Email correspondence with the author, February.
Blauvelt, Andrew. 2011. "Tool (or, Post-Production for the Graphic Designer)." In *Graphic Design: Now in Production*, edited by Andrew Blauvelt and Ellen Lupton, 22–31. Minneapolis: Walker Art Centre.
Boltanski, Luc, and Eve Chiapello. 2011 (1999). *Le Nouvel Esprit du Capitalisme*. Paris: Gallimard.
Bonnefoit, Régine. 2013. "L'Œuvre: ein Kontrapunkt zum schweizerischen Werkbund." In *Gestaltung Werk Gesellschaft*, edited by Thomas Gnägi, Bernd Nicolai, and Jasmine Wohlwend Piai, 67–84. Zurich: Scheidegger & Spiess.
Bosshard, Hans Rudolf. 2012. *Max Bill kontra Jan Tschichold*. Sulgen: Niggli.
Bottero, Wendy, and Nick Crossley. 2011. "Worlds, Fields and Networks: Becker, Bourdieu and the Structures of Social Relations." *Cultural Sociology* 5 (1):99–119.
Bourdieu, Pierre. 1977. "Sur le pouvoir symbolique." *Annales* 32 (3):405–11.
——— 1980. "Le capital social." *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales* 31 (January): 2–3.
——— 1991a. *Language and Symbolic Power*. Cambridge: Polity.
——— 1991b. "Le champ littéraire." *Actes De La Recherche en Sciences Sociales* 89:3–46.
——— 1993. *The Field of Cultural Production*. New York: Columbia University Press.
——— 2002 (1974). "Haute Couture et haute culture." In *Questions de Sociologie*, 196–206. Paris: Les Editions de Minuit.
——— 2002 (1984). *Questions de Sociologie*. Paris: Les Editions de Minuit.
——— 2016 (1979). *La distinction*. Paris: Les Editions de Minuit.
——— 2016 (1992). *Les règles de l'art*. Paris: Seuil.
Bourdieu, Pierre, and Jean-Claude Passeron. 1970. *La Reproduction*. Paris: Les Editions de Minuit.
Brechbühl, Erich, Klaus Fromherz, Martin Geel, Michael Kryenbühl, Simon Rüegg, Raphael Schoen, Ivan Weiss, and Megi Zumstein, eds. 2017. *Poster Town*. Leipzig: Spector Books.
Bremner, Craig, and Paul Rodgers. 2013. "Design Without Discipline." *Design Issues* 29 (3):4–13.
Brennan, Geoffrey, and Philip Pettit. 2004. *The Economy of Esteem*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Breuer, Gerda, and Julia Meer, eds. 2012. *Women in Graphic Design 1890–2012*. Berlin: JOVIS.
Bridges, Lauren E. 2018. "Flexible as Freedom? the Dynamics of Creative Industry Work and the Case Study of the Editor in Publishing." *New Media & Society* 20 (4):1303–19.
Brook, Tony, Adrian Shaughnessy, and Sarah Schrauwen, eds. 2014. *Manuals 1*. London: Unit Editions.
Brooks, David. 2004 (2000). *Bobos in Paradise*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
Bruggisser, Thomas, and Michel Fries, eds. 2000. *Benzin*. Baden: Lars Müller.
Bruinsma, Max, and Chris Keulemans. 2000. "The New Culture? The New Economy!" *De Groene Amsterdammer* 124 (32), August 12.
Buckley, Cheryl. 1986. "Made in Patriarchy: Toward a Feminist Analysis of Women and Design." *Design Issues* 3 (2):3–14.
Burri, Peter. 1976. "Der Clottu-Bericht in der Diskussion." *NZ*, December 1976. Swiss Werkbund archives, Zurich.
Buscatto, Marie. 2010. "Le travail créateur, s'accomplir dans l'incertain, P.M. Menger." *Sociologie du Travail* 52 (3):418–21. http://journals.openedition.org/sdt/pdf/15014. Accessed 29 April 2021.
——— 2013. "Quoi de neuf chez les artistes?." In *Les mondes pluriels de Howard S. Becker*, edited by Marc Perrenoud, 99–116. Paris: La Découverte.
C Calvera, Anna. 2005. "Local, Regional, National, Global and Feedback." *Journal of Design History* 18 (4): 371–83.
Campbell, Joan. 2015 (1978). *The German Werkbund*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
Cerf, Tristan. 2002a. "Dans les 'réseaux' du design suisse à Zurich." *Le Temps*, October 19.
——— 2002b. "Le design suisse fait sa mue en douceur." *Le Temps*, October 26.
Champagne, Patrick, and Olivier Christin. 2012. *Pierre Bourdieu*. Lyon: Presses universitaires de Lyon.
Chancogne, Thierry. 2020. "Graphic Designers-Publishers." *Revue Faire*, no. 19:1–20.
Clavadetscher, David. 2003. "Interview mit Cornel Windlin." February. https://web.archive.org/web/20160513183338/http://www.clavadetscher.org/CONTENT/interview_windlin.html. Accessed 23 April 2020.
Clegg, Sue, and Wendy Mayfield. 1999. "Gendered by Design: How Women's Place in Design is Still Defined by Gender." *Design Issues* 15 (3):3–16.
Clottu, Gaston, ed. 1975. "Eléments pour une politique culturelle en Suisse," August. Bern.
Coen, Lorette. 2005. "What does Swiss Design need?." In *Federal Design Grants 2005*, edited by Andrea Baur, Mirjam Fischer, and Kathrin Stirnemann, 54–61. Basel: Birkhäuser.
Coen, Lorette, and Patrizia Crivelli. 2003. "A or B – Take your pick." In *Swiss Design 2003: Désir Design*, edited by Stéphanie Bédat, Patrizia Crivelli, Mirjam Fischer, Martina Kuoni, and Karin Schneuwly, 9–11. Baden: Lars Müller.
Cohen, Nicole S. 2016. "Cultural Work as a Site of Struggle: Freelancers and Exploitation." In *Marx and the Political Economy of the Media*, edited by Christian Fuchs and Vincent Mosco. Boston: BRILL.
common-interest and depatriarchise design. 2019a. "Pizzas of Inequality." Swiss Design Awards Blog. 2019. https://2019.swissdesignawardsblog.ch/when/13-06. Accessed 19 February 2021.
——— 2019b. "Pizzas of Inequality." Presentation, Swiss Design Awards 2019, June 14, Bern.
Conrad, Demian. 2021. Interview by the author, February 2.

Cras, Sophie. 2015. "Prix et récompenses dans la création contemporaine: évaluation et valorisation en régime concurrentiel." *Critique d'art* 45.
Crivelli, Patrizia. 1997. "Protokoll der 224. Sitzung der Eidgenössischen Kommission für angewandte Kunst vom 29. April 1997 um 10:15 Uhr, im Bundesamt für Kultur an der Hallwylstrasse 15 in Bern." Federal Office of Culture archives, Bern.
——— 1998a. "Protokoll der 228. Sitzung der Eidgenössischen Kommission für angewandte Kunst vom Dienstag, 3. Februar 1998 um 11:15 Uhr im Museum für Gestaltung Zürich." Federal Office of Culture Archives, Bern.
——— 1998b. "Protokoll der 231. Sitzung der Eidgenössischen Kommission für angewandte Kunst vom Dienstag, 3. November 1998 im Bundesamt für Kultur in Bern." Federal Office of Culture archives, Bern.
——— 1998c. "Protokoll der 232. Sitzung der Eidgenössischen Kommission für angewandte Kunst vom Dienstag, 16. Dezember 1998 im Bundesamt für Kultur in Bern." Federal Office of Culture archives, Bern.
——— 1999a. "Prix Fédéraux des arts appliqués 1999." In Eidgenössische Preise für Gestaltung 1999 = Prix fédéraux des arts appliqués 1999 = Premi federali delle arti applicate 1999, n.p. Bern: Federal Office of Culture.
——— 1999b. "Protokoll der 235. Sitzung der Eidgenössischen Kommission für angewandte Kunst vom Montag, 3. Mai 1999 an der Schwarztorstrasse 53 in Bern." Federal Office of Culture archives, Bern.
——— 1999c. "Protokoll der 237. Sitzung der Eidgenössischen Kommission für angewandte Kunst vom Dienstag, 31. August 1999 im Bundesamt für Kultur in Bern." Federal Office of Culture archives, Bern.
——— 2000a. "Protokoll der 240. Sitzung der Eidgenössischen Kommission für angewandte Kunst vom Donnerstag und Freitag, 16. und 17. März 2000 an der Schwarzenburgstrasse 32 in Bern." Federal Office of Culture archives, Bern.
——— 2000b. "Protokoll der Journée de réflexion der Eidgenössischen Kommission für angewandte Kunst vom Dienstag, 2. Mai 2000, im Parlamentsgebäude in Bern." Federal Office of Culture archives, Bern.
——— 2000c. "Protokoll der 241. Sitzung der Eidgenössischen Kommission für angewandte Kunst vom Dienstag und Mittwoch, 6. und 7. Juni 2000, Halle 4U, Mustermesse Basel." Federal Office of Culture archives, Bern.
——— 2000d. "Protokoll der 242. Sitzung der Eidgenössischen Kommission für angewandte Kunst vom Freitag, 7. Juli 2000, im Bundesamt für Kultur in Bern." Federal Office of Culture archives, Bern.
——— 2000e. "Protokoll der 243. Sitzung der Eidgenössischen Kommission für angewandte Kunst vom Montag, 18. September 2000, im Bundesamt für Kultur in Bern." Federal Office of Culture archives, Bern.
——— 2000f. "Protokoll der 244. Sitzung der Eidgenössischen Kommission für angewandte Kunst vom Montag, 4. Dezember 2000, im Bundesamt für Kultur in Bern." Federal Office of Culture archives, Bern.
——— 2001. "Protokoll der 248. Sitzung der Eidgenössischen Kommission für angewandte Kunst vom Mittwoch, 30. Mai 2001, in der Halle 3 der Messe Basel." Federal Office of Culture archives, Bern.
——— 2002a. "Design Promotion as a Network." In *Swiss Design 2002: Netzwerke / Réseaux / Networks*, edited by Patrizia Crivelli, Mirjam Fischer, Karin Schneuwly, and Kathrin Stirnemann, translated by Michael Robinson, 170–71. Baden: Lars Müller.
——— 2002b. "'Swiss Design 2002: Netzwerke – Réseaux – Networks'. Vernissage vom 18. Oktober 2002, 19:30 Uhr." Opening speech. Zurich, October 18. Federal Office of Culture archives, Bern.
——— 2002c. "Vorbereitungspapier für die Feedbackrunde vom 2. Dezember 2002 im Wettingen." Memo. Federal Office of Culture archives, Bern.
——— n.d. [2002?]. "Briefing Elektrosmog: Sinn und Zweck der Publikation," 1–7. Federal Office of Culture archives, Bern.
——— 2004a. "Protokoll der 265. Sitzung der Eidgenössischen Designkommission vom Mittwoch, 2. Juni 2004 Bundesamt für Kultur in Bern." Federal Office of Culture archives, Bern.
——— 2004b. "Protokoll der 266. Sitzung der Eidgenössischen Designkommission vom Donnerstag und Freitag, 28. und 29. Oktober 2004 im Bundesamt für Kultur in Bern." Federal Office of Culture archives, Bern.
——— 2005. "Protokoll der 268. Sitzung der Eidgenössischen Designkommission vom Freitag, 18. Februar 2005 in der Bundeskunstammlung [sic] in Bern." Federal Office of Culture archives, Bern.
——— 2017. Interview by the author, Davide Fornari, Robert Lzicar, and Sara Zeller, September 12.
Crivelli, Patrizia, Mirjam Fischer, Karin Schneuwly, and Kathrin Stirnemann, eds. 2002. *Swiss Design 2002: Netzwerke / Réseaux / Networks*. Baden: Lars Müller.
Crivelli, Patrizia, Köbi Gantenbein, Barbara Imboden, and Andreas Münch, eds. 1997. *Made in Switzerland*. Zurich: Hochparterre.
Crivelli, Patrizia, and Barbara Imboden. 1997. "80 ans d'encouragement: Aperçu chronologique." In *Made in Switzerland*, edited by Patrizia Crivelli, Köbi Gantenbein, Barbara Imboden, and Andreas Münch, 59–87. Zurich: Hochparterre.
Crivelli, Patrizia, and Ralf Michel. n.d. [2002]. Press conference announcing the 2002 Swiss Design Awards exhibition. Federal Office of Culture archives, Bern.
Crouwel, Wim, Jan van Toorn, Rick Poynor, Frederike Huygen, and Dingenus van de Vrie. 2015. *The Debate*. New York: The Monacelli Press.
Crossley, Nick. 2011. *Towards Relational Sociology*. London: Routledge.
Curiger, Bice, Catherine Hug, and Cornel Windlin. 2002. "Cornel Windlin." In *Public Affairs*, edited by Bice Curiger, 104–5. Zurich: Kunsthaus Zürich.

D

D. E. [Dumont, Etienne]. 2001. "Sont-ce les plus beaux livres ou les plus laids?." *Tribune de Genève*, September 19.
D&AD n.d. "About D&AD." https://www.dandad.org/en/d-ad-global-creative-design-advertising-association/. Accessed 22 April 2021.
Dal Molin, Gioia. 2018. Von Der Schwierigen Kunst, Kunst Zu Fördern. Zurich: Chronos.
De Bondt, Sara, and Fraser Muggeridge, eds. 2020 (2009). *The Form of the Book Book*. London: Occasional Papers.
de Smet, Catherine. 2012. "Alternormalisme: L'esthétique organisationnelle de NORM." In *Pour une critique du design graphique: Dix-huit essais*, 97–109. Paris: B42.
Décosterd, Jean-Gilles, and Philippe Rahm. 2002. *Physiological Architecture*. Edited by Urs Staub. Bern: Federal Office of Culture.

Dedelley, Michelle. 2003. "Design Personified." In *Swiss Design 2003: Désir Design*, edited by Stéphanie Bédat, Patrizia Crivelli, Mirjam Fischer, Martina Kuoni, and Karin Schneuwly, 105–9. Baden: Lars Müller.
Delamadeleine, Constance. 2016. "The Last Fifty Years of Graphic Design in Western Switzerland (1964–2014): a Status Report." In *Mapping Graphic Design History in Switzerland*, edited by Robert Lzicar and Davide Fornari, 122–35. Zurich: Triest.
Deleuze, Gilles. 2018 (1990). "Les sociétés de contrôle". *EcoRev'* 46 (1):5.
Demailly, Lise, and Patrice de la Broise. 2009. "Les enjeux de la déprofessionnalisation. Études de cas et pistes de travail." *Socio-Logos*, no. 4 (May). http://journals.openedition.org/socio-logos/2305.
Dent, Mike, Ivy Lynn Bourgeault, Jean-Louis Denis, and Ellen Kuhlmann, eds. 2016. *The Routledge Companion to the Professions and Professionalism*. London: Routledge.
Derrida, Jacques. 1995. "Archive Fever: a Freudian Impression." *Diacritics* 25 (2): 9–63.
Designer A. 2021. (anonymous designer), interview by the author, February.
Designer B. 2021. (anonymous designer), interview by the author, February.
Designer C. 2021. (anonymous designer), interview by the author, March.
Deuze, Mark. 2007. *Media Work*. Cambridge: Polity.
——— 2012. *Media Life*. Cambridge: Polity.
Design Preis Schweiz. n.d. "Mission." Designpreis.ch. Accessed 28 February 2020. http://designpreis.ch/?pageID=621&lng=en.
Die Ostschweiz. 1968. "Kulturpolitik mit viele Fragezeichen." *Die Ostschweiz*, November 19.
Dodis. n.d. 'EDI/Bundesamt für Kultur'. Diplomatic Documents of Switzerland. Accessed 3 May 2023. https://dodis.ch/R18833.
Donnelly, Brian. 2006. "Locating Graphic Design History in Canada." *Journal of Design History* 19 (4):283–94.
Donzelot, Jacques. 1991 (1980). "Pleasure in Work." In *The Foucault Effect*, edited by Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon, and Peter Miller, 251–80. The University of Chicago Press.
Dreifuss, Ruth. 1997. "Avant-Propos." In *Made in Switzerland*, edited by Patrizia Crivelli, Köbi Gantenbein, Barbara Imboden, and Andreas Münch, 6–7. Zurich: Hochparterre.
Drucker, Johanna, and Emily McVarish. 2008. *Graphic Design History*. New Jersey: Pearson Prentice Hall.
Du Gay, Paul, and Michael Pryke, eds. 2002. *Cultural Economy*. London: SAGE.
E
Eikhof, Doris Ruth, and Axel Haunschild. 2006. "Lifestyle Meets Market: Bohemian Entrepreneurs in Creative Industries." *Creativity and Innovation Management* 15 (3):234–41.
——— 2007. "For art's sake! Artistic and economic logics in creative production." *Journal of Organizational Behavior* 28:523–38.
English, James F. 2005. *The Economy of Prestige*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.
——— 2014. "The Economics of Cultural Awards." In *Handbook of the Economics of Art and Culture*, edited by Victor Ginsburgh and David Throsby. Vol. 2:119–43. London: Elsevier.
Ernst, Meret. 1999. "Wir sind Zeichner." *Hochparterre* 12 (9):24–25.
——— 2000a. "Approved by." In *Benzin*, edited by Thomas Bruggisser and Michel Fries, 242–247. Baden: Lars Müller.
——— 2000b. "The Key Players." In *Benzin*, edited by Thomas Bruggisser and Michel Fries, 38–51. Baden: Lars Müller.
Eschbach, Andrea. 2002. "Geld, Praktika Und Ateliers Als Belohnung." *Solothurner Zeitung*, November 2.
F
F. B. 2002. "Swiss Design 2002: Netzwerke." *Die Wochenzeitung*, October 17.
Fabre, Joëlle. 2003. "Les plus beaux livres suisses au mu.dac." *24 Heures*, December 8.
Fallan, Kjetil. 2007. "How an Excavator Got Aesthetic Pretension." *Journal of Design History* 20 (1):43–59.
——— 2014. Design History: Understanding Theory and Method. London: Bloomsbury.
Fallan, Kjetil, and Grace Lees-Maffei, eds. 2016. *Designing Worlds*. Oxford: Berghahn Books.
Falguières, Patricia. 1996. "Les Raisons Du Catalogue." *Les Cahiers du Musée National d'Art Moderne* 56/57: 5–19.
Fanger, Urs. 1991. "Standpunkte." *SWB-Dokument* 1: 31–32.
Farrelly, Liz. 2008. "Buying Into the Norm Cosmos." *Eye* 18 (70). http://www.eyemagazine.com/feature/article/buying-into-the-norm-cosmos. Accessed 29 January 2020.
Faulkner, Robert R, and Howard S Becker. 2008. "Studying Something You Are Part of: the View From the Bandstand." *Ethnologie Française* 38 (1). Presses Universitaires de France:15–21.
Federal Chancellery of Switzerland. 1887. 442. 1 Arrêté fédéral du 22 décembre 1887 concernant l'avancement et l'encouragement des arts en Suisse. RS 4 208.
——— 1917. 422.2 Arrêté fédéral du 18 décembre 1917 concernant le développement des arts appliqués (arts décoratifs et industriels). RO 33 1111.
——— 1998. Ordonnance sur l'organisation du gouvernement et de l'administration. RO 1999 1258.
——— 2009. 442.1 Loi fédérale sur l'encouragement de la culture. RO 2011 6127.
——— 2011. Message concernant l'encouragement de la culture pour la période 2012 à 2015 (Message culture). 11.020.
——— 2016. 442.123 Ordonnance du DFI instituant un régime d'encouragement en matière de Prix suisses, de Grands Prix suisses et d'acquisitions. RO 2016 1511.
——— 2020. Ordonnance du DFI instituant un régime d'encouragement en matière de Prix suisses, de Grands Prix suisses et d'acquisitions pour les années 2017 à 2020 (Modification du 13 Novembre 2020). RO 2020 5225.
Federal Office of Statistic. n.d. "Financement de la culture." Admin.ch. Neuchâtel: Federal Office of Statistic. https://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/fr/home/statistiken/kultur-medien-informationsgesellschaft-sport/kultur/kulturfinanzierung.html. Accessed 28 February 2020.
Ferguson, Bruce W. 2005. "Exhibition Rhetorics." In *Thinking About Exhibitions*, 126–36. London: Routledge.
Fiore, Nicole. 2019. "L'Office fédéral de la culture: Rapport annuel 2018." Bern: Federal Office of Culture.
——— 2020. "L'Office fédéral de la culture: Rapport annuel 2019." Bern: Federal Office of Culture.
Fischer, Mirjam, ed. 2000. *The Most Beautiful Swiss Books 1999*. Bern: Federal Office of Culture.
——— 2002. "Protokoll Publikation zum eidgen. Wettbewerb für Design / 'Netzwerke'." Bern. Federal Office of Culture archives, Bern.
Fischer, Mirjam, and Kathrin Stirnemann. 2002. "Protokoll 'Netzwerk'-Sitzung." Zurich. Federal Office of Culture archives, Bern.
Fischer, Mirjam, Roland Früh, Michael Guggenheimer, Robin Kinross, and François Rappo. 2004. *Beauty and the Book*. Edited by Mirjam Fischer. Sulgen: Niggli.
Fiske, John. 1994. "Audiencing: Cultural Practice and Cultural Studies." In *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, edited by Norman K Denzin and Yvonna S Lincoln, 189–98. London: Sage.
FitzGerald, Kenneth. 2015. "Fuck All." Edited by Francisco Laranjo. *Modes of Criticism* 1. https://modesofcriticism.org/fuck-all/. Accessed 15 June 2020.
Flew, Terry. 2012. *The Creative Industries*. London: SAGE.

Florida, Richard. 2012. *The Rise of the Creative Class, Revisited*. New York: Basic Books.
FOC. 1993. *Borsa federale delle arte applicati 1992*. Bern: Federal Office of Culture; Lugano: Centro Scolastico Industrie Artistiche.
——— 1995. *Preisträgerinnen und Preisträger des Eidgenössischen Wettbewerbs für Gestaltung 1994 = Lauréates et lauréats du Concours fédéral des arts appliqués 1994 = Premiate e Premiati Del Concorso Federale Delle Arte Applicate 1994.* Bern: Federal Office of Culture; Basel: Schule für Gestaltung Basel.
——— 1996. *Lauréates et lauréats du Concours fédéral des arts appliqués 1995 = Preisträgerinnen und Preisträger des Eidgenössischen Wettbewerbs für Gestaltung 1995 = Premiate e premiati del Concorso federale delle arti applicati 1995.* Bern: Federal Office of Culture; Geneva: Musée Ariana.
——— 1997. *Lauréates et lauréats du Concours fédéral des arts appliqués 1996 = Preisträgerinnen und Preisträger des Eidgenössischen Wettbewerbs für Gestaltung 1996 = Premiate e premiati del Concorso federale delle arti applicati 1996.* Bern: Federal Office of Culture; Biel/Bienne: Musée Neuhaus.
——— 1998. *Lauréates et lauréats du Concours fédéral des arts appliqués 1997= Preisträgerinnen und Preisträger des Eidgenössischen Wettbewerbs für Gestaltung 1997= Premiate e premiati del Concorso federale delle arti applicati 1997.* Bern: Federal Office of Culture; Lausanne: Musée des arts décoratifs.
——— 1999a. *Eidgenössische Preise für Gestaltung 1999 = Prix fédéraux des arts appliqués 1999 = Premi federali delle arti applicate 1999*. Bern: Federal Office of Culture.
——— 1999b. *Premi federali delle arti applicate 1998 = Eidgenössische Preise für Gestaltung 1998 = Prix fédéraux des arts appliqués 1998*. Bern: Federal Office of Culture; Locarno: Casorella.
——— 2000. *Eidgenössische Preise für Gestaltung 2000 = Prix fédéraux des arts appliqués 2000 = Premi federali delle arti applicate 2000.* Bern: Federal Office of Culture; Zurich: Museum Bellerive.
——— 2014. "Jan Tschichold Award 2013." News release. https://www.newsd.admin.ch/newsd/message/attachments/29962.pdf. Accessed 4 March 2013.
——— 2019. "Rules of the Swiss Design Competition." https://www.bak.admin.ch/dam/bak/en/dokumente/kulturfoerderung-design/normen_und_regelwerke/Reglement-Schweizer-Designwettbewerb_2020.pdf.download.pdf/Rules-of-the-Swiss-Design-Competition_2020.pdf. Accessed 4 March 2021.
——— n.d. "Schweizer Kulturpreise." http://schweizerkulturpreise.ch. Accessed 1 March 2021.
FontFont 1997. "About Cornel Windlin." https://web.archive.org/web/19970126220914/http://www.fontfont.de:80/designers/windli490/windli490.html. Accessed 29 June 2020.
Forman, Murray. 2000. "'Represent': Race, Space and Place in Rap Music." *Popular Music* 19 (1):65–90.
Fornari, Davide, and Davide Turrini, eds. 2022. *Olivetti Identities: Spaces and Languages 1933-1983*. Zurich: Triest.
Fornari, Davide, Robert Lzicar, Sarah Owens, Michael Renner, Arne Scheuermann, and Peter J. Schneemann. 2021a. 'A Never-Ending Story: From the History of Swiss Graphic Design to Swiss Graphic Design Histories'. In *Swiss Graphic Design Histories*, edited by Davide Fornari, Robert Lzicar, Sarah Owens, Michael Renner, Arne Scheuermann, and Peter J. Schneemann, 0:4–7. Zurich: Scheidegger & Spiess.
——— 2021b. "Introduction: New Perspectives on Swiss Graphic Design." *Design Issues* 37 (1):4–9.
Foster, Hal. 2002. *Design and Crime* (*and other diatribes*). London: Verso.
Foucault, Michel. 1975. *Surveiller et Punir*. Paris: Gallimard.
——— 1984 (1967). "Des espaces autres: Hétérotopies." *Architecture, Mouvement, Continuité* 5 (October):46–49.
Fournier, Valérie. 1999. "The Appeal to 'Professionalism' as a Disciplinary Mechanism." *The Sociological Review* 47 (2):280–307.
Fowler, Bridget. 1997. *Pierre Bourdieu and Cultural Theory*. London: Sage.
Frank, Thomas. 1997. *The Conquest of Cool*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Frey, Bruno S. 2006. "Giving and Receiving Awards." *Perspectives on Psychological Science* 1 (4):377–88.
Frey, Bruno S., and Jana Gallus. 2014. "The Power of Awards." *The Economists' Voice* 11 (1):1–5.
——— 2015. "Towards an Economics of Awards." *Journal of Economic Surveys* 31 (1):190–200.
Frey, Bruno S., and Susanne Neckermann. 2008. "Awards: a View From Psychological Economics." *Zeitschrift für Psychologie / Journal of Psychology* 216 (4):198–208.
Friedman, Dan. 1994. *Radical Modernism*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
Früh, Roland. 2004. "Synopsis." In *Beauty and the Book*, edited by Mirjam Fischer, 122–42. Sulgen: Niggli.
——— 2021a. "Blogpost." In *Swiss Graphic Design Histories: Visual Arguments*, edited by Sandra Bischler, Sarah Klein, Jonas Niedermann, Rudolf Barmettler, and Michael Renner, 1:163–64. Zurich: Scheidegger & Spiess.
——— 2021b. "Designer Portraits." In *Swiss Graphic Design Histories: Visual Arguments*, edited by Sandra Bischler, Sarah Klein, Jonas Niedermann, Rudolf Barmettler, and Michael Renner, 1:133–40. Zurich: Scheidegger & Spiess.
Früh, Roland, Ueli Kaufmann, Peter J. Schneemann, and Sara Zeller. 2021. "Reading Between the Lines of Swiss Graphic Design History." In *Swiss Graphic Design Histories: Tempting Terms*, edited by Ueli Kaufmann, Peter J. Schneemann, and Sara Zeller, 3:7–12. Zurich: Scheidegger & Spiess.
Fünfschilling, Leonhard. 1976a. "Protokoll der 2. ZV-Ausschussitzung 'Kulturbericht Clottu' vom 25. August 1976, 14.15h, im Büro von Daniel Reist, Bern." Swiss Werkbund archive, Zurich.
——— 1976b. "Protokoll der 3. ZV-Ausschussitzung 'THEARENA-Tagung Kulturförderung'." Zurich. Swiss Werkbund archive, Zurich.
——— 1976c. "Thesen zur Kulturvermittlung (Bezugnahme auf den Clottu-Bericht)." Swiss Werkbund archive, Zurich.
———, ed. 1991. "Der Gestaltungswettbewerb: Kulturinstrument, Modemacher oder Alibi?." *SWB-Dokument* 1. Zurich: Schweizerischer Werkbund.
Fünfschilling, Leonhard, and Martin Heller. 1991a. "Vorwort." Edited by Leonhard Fünfschilling. *SWB-Dokument* 1: 5.
——— 1991b. "Anmerkungen zu Gestaltungswettbewerben." Edited by Leonhard Fünfschilling. *SWB-Dokument* 1: 7–11.
Futuress. 2020. "Diversity Issues." In *Failure Is Not an Option?*, edited by Anna Niederhäuser, 192–97. Bern: FOC.
Futuress and depatriarchise design. 2020. "Diversity Issues." Futuress. December 4. https://futuress.org/magazine/diversity-issues/. Accessed 19 February 2021.

G

G. A. 2001. "Spielraum des Amtes vermessen: mit Patrizia Crivelli in Jack's Brasserie in Bern." *Hochparterre* 14: 62.
Galland, Bertil. 1976. "Le rapport Clottu." *24 Heures*, March 2.

Galletta, Anne. 2013. *Mastering the Semi-Structured Interview and Beyond*. New York: New York University Press.
Gallus, Jana, and Bruno S. Frey. 2017. "Awards as Strategic Signals." *Journal of Management Inquiry* 26 (1):76–85.
Gantenbein, Köbi. 1992. "Keine Grenzen sprengen: das Stipendium für angewandte Kunst." *Hochparterre* 5 (11): 54.
——— 1993. "Die Grafik ist in Form." *Hochparterre* 6 (10): 18–19.
——— 1994. "Das Schaufenster der Soliden und Tüchtigen." *Hochparterre* 7 (11): 36–37.
——— 1995. "Für die Guten ein Töpfchen." *Hochparterre* 8 (10): 52–53.
Gasser, Benno. 2002. "Netzwerk für Designer kreiern." *Zürich Express*, October 18.
Gavillet, Gilles. 2017. Interview by the author, April 6.
——— 2018. Interview by the author, January 31.
——— 2020. "The Designer as Editor." In *The Most Beautiful Swiss Books 2019*, edited by Nicole Udry, 673–74. Bern: Federal Office of Culture.
Gelder, Ken. 2007. *Subcultures*. London: Routledge.
Gelder, Ken, and Sarah Thornton, eds. 1997. *The Subcultures Reader*. London: Routledge.
Gerdil-Margueron, Yann. 2002. "'L'affiche de l'année' et son concours réapparaîtront en 2003." *Le Temps*, May 15.
"Geschäftsbericht". 1968. "SWB – Geschäftsbericht November 1967 bis Oktober 1968." Swiss Werkbund archive, Zurich: *SWB Tagung 1968 in St. Gallen: "Kulturpolitik?"*.
Giampietro, Rob. 2006. "What Design Really Needs Is a Good Scandal." Design Observer. January 26, 2006. http://designobserver.com/feature/what-design-really-needs-is-a-good-scandal/4037. Accessed 6 March 2021.
Gill, Rosalind, and Andy Pratt. 2008. "In the Social Factory?." *Theory, Culture & Society* 25 (7–8):1–30.
Gimmi, Karin. 2014. "Introduction." In *100 Years of Swiss Graphic Design*, edited by Christian Brändle, Karin Gimmi, Barbara Junod, Christina Reble, and Bettina Richter, 8–9. Zurich: Lars Müller.
Glarner Nachrichten. 1968. "Gibt Es Eine Kulturpolitik?" *Glarner Nachrichten*, November 19.
Gnägi, Thomas. 2013. "Grafikdesign: Zwischen avantgardistischem Anspruch und Angemessenheit." In *Gestaltung Werk Gesellschaft*, edited by Thomas Gnägi, Bernd Nicolai, and Jasmine Wohlwend Piai, 251–70. Zurich: Scheidegger & Spiess.
Gnägi, Thomas, Bernd Nicolai, and Jasmine Wohlwend Piai, eds. 2013. *Gestaltung Werk Gesellschaft: 100 Jahre Schweizerischer Werkbund SWB*. Zurich: Scheidegger & Spiess.
Goggin, James. 2009. "Practice from Everyday Life." In *The most beautiful Swiss books 2008: The Present Issue*, edited by Laurenz Bunner, Tan Wälchli, and Anisha Imhasly, 32–37. Bern: Federal Office of Culture.
Gorman, Carma R. 2001. "Reshaping and Rethinking: Recent Feminist Scholarship on Design and Designers." *Design Issues* 17 (4):72–88.
Graf, Rös. 1991. "Standpunkte." Edited by Leonhard Fünfschilling. *SWB-Dokument* 1: 25–26.
Graf, Urs. 1991. "Schweizer Plakate des Jahres." Edited by Leonhard Fünfschilling. *SWB-Dokument* 1: 29–30.
Grand, Lurker, ed. 2015. *Die Not hat ein Ende = The Swiss Art of Rock*. Zurich: Patrick Frey.
Grandjean, Martin. 2015. "Introduction à la visualisation de données: l'analyse de réseau en histoire ." *Geschichte und Informatik = Histoire et Informatique* 18/19:109–28.
Granovetter, Mark S. 1973. "The Strength of Weak Ties." *American Journal of Sociology* 78 (6):1360–80.
Guerin, Denise A, and Caren S Martin. 2004. "The Career Cycle Approach to Defining the Interior Design Profession's Body of Knowledge." *Journal of Interior Design* 30 (1). Blackwell Publishing Ltd:1–22.
Guggenheimer, Michael. 2004. "Beautiful Swiss books: examples and trends over the past six decades." In *Beauty and the Book*, edited by Mirjam Fischer, 80–98. Sulgen: Niggli.
——— 2005. "Jan-Tschichold-Preis Für Elektrosmog." In *The Most Beautiful Swiss Books 2004*, edited by Andrea Baur and Mirjam Fischer, 13. Bern: Federal Office of Culture.

H

Hall, Stuart, ed. 1997. *Representation*. London: SAGE.
Hall, Stuart, and Tony Jefferson, eds. 2006 (1993). *Resistance Through Rituals*. Second edition. London: Routledge.
Halliday, Terence C, Michael J Powell, and Mark W Granfors. 1993. "After Minimalism: Transformations of State Bar Associations From Market Dependence to State Reliance, 1918 to 1950." *American Sociological Review* 58 (4):515–35.
Hares, Jonathan. 2018. Interview by the author, March 5.
Hargreaves, Andy. 2000. "Four Ages of Professionalism and Professional Learning." *Teachers and Teaching* 6 (2):151–82.
Hasdoğan, Gülay. 2015. "The Institutionalization of the Industrial Design Profession in Turkey: Case Study – the Industrial Designers Society of Turkey." *The Design Journal* 12 (3):311–37.
Haug, Marie R. 1975. "The Deprofessionalization of Everyone?." *Sociological Focus* 8 (3):197–213.
Hauser, Claude, Rahel Bühler, Matthieu Gillabert, Thomas Kadelbach, Pauline Milani, and Severin Rüegg. 2010. *Entre culture et politique: Pro Helvetia de 1939 à 2009*. Edited by Claude Hauser, Bruno Seger, and Jakob Tanner. Geneva: Slatkine.
Hayano, David. 1979. "Autho-Ethnography: Paradigms, Problems, and Prospects." *Human Organization* 38 (1):99–104.
Hebdige, Dick. 2002 (1979). *Subculture*. Routledge.
Heinich, Nathalie. 2004. *La sociologie de l'art*. Paris: La Découverte.
——— 2016. "L'art en Régime De Singularité." In *Art Et Société*, edited by Alain Quemin and Glaucia Villa Bôas. Marseille: OpenEdition Press. https://books.openedition.org/oep/530. Accessed 1 May 2021.
Heller, Martin. 1993. "Grafik in der Schweiz: ein zerstreuter Blick aufs Ganze : Pferdeschweiss, Ernstfälle und das Minderheitenprogramm." *Hochparterre* 6 (8):26–31.
——— 2000. "Introduction." In *Benzin*, edited by Thomas Bruggisser and Michel Fries, 6–7. Baden: Lars Müller.
——— 2002. "Finding the Part of the Network That Works." In *Swiss Design 2002: Netzwerke / Réseaux / Networks*, edited by Patrizia Crivelli, Mirjam Fischer, Karin Schneuwly, and Kathrin Stirnemann, 172–74. Baden: Lars Müller.
——— 2018. Interview by the author, March 22.
Hellmüller, Simone, and Simone Wildhaber, eds. 2018. "Museum Für Gestaltung Zürich Jahresbericht 2017." Zurich.
Hepworth, Katherine. 2014. "History, Power and Visual Communication Artefacts." *Rethinking History* 20 (2):280–302.
Hesmondhalgh, David. 2012. *The Cultural Industries*. Third. London: SAGE.

Hesmondhalgh, David, and Sarah Baker. 2010. "'A Very Complicated Version of Freedom': Conditions and Experiences of Creative Labour in Three Cultural Industries." *Poetics* 38 (1):4–20.
Hochparterre. 2002. "Funde." *Hochparterre* 15 (12): 6–15.
Hodson, Randy, and Teresa Sullivan. 2008. *The Social Organization of Work*. Fourth edition. Belmont: Thomson Wadsworth.
Hollis, Richard. 2005 (2001). *Graphic Design: A Concise History*. London: Thames & Hudson.
——— 2006. *Swiss Graphic Design*. London: Laurence King.
——— 2012. "Cornel Windlin: le designer en tant qu'artiste?." *Back Cover*, 2012.
Holt, Fabian, and Francesco Lapenta. 2010. "Introduction: Autonomy and Creative Labour." *Journal for Cultural Research* 14 (3):223–29.
Huber, Jörg. 1976. "Lernprozesse." *NZ*, December 11. Swiss Werkbund archives, Zurich.
Hünerwadel, Jürg. 2013. "*Die gute Form*: der schweizerische Werkbund und die Produktgestaltung nach dem zweiten Weltkrieg." In *Gestaltung Werk Gesellschaft*, edited by Thomas Gnägi, Bernd Nicolai, and Jasmine Wohlwend Piai, 277–92. Zurich: Scheidegger & Spiess.

I
Imboden, Monika. 2016. "La pionnière et l'homme au [*sic*] mille talents." *La Lettre*, September 8.
Imboden, Monika, and Iwan Raschle. 2013. "Jubiläen, Positionen, Selbstbefragung: der Werkbund in Bewegung." In *Gestaltung Werk Gesellschaft*, edited by Thomas Gnägi, Bernd Nicolai, and Jasmine Wohlwend Piai, 93–102. Zurich: Scheidegger & Spiess.
Ishino, Catherine Jo. 2006. "Seeing Is Believing: Reflections on Video Oral Histories with Chinese Graphic Designers ." *Journal of Design History* 19 (4):319–31.
Illustrierte Schweizerische Handwerker-Zeitung. 1917. "Bundesratsbeschluss betreffend die Förderung und Hebung der angewandten (industriellen und gewerblichen) Kunst." *Illustrierte Schweizerische Handwerker-Zeitung* 33 (43): 558–59.

J
Janser, Andres, and Christina Reble, eds. 2004. *Frische Schriften = Fresh Type*. Zurich: Museum für Gestaltung.
Jaunin, Françoise. 2001. "Des Bribes De Monde." *24 Heures*, June 14.
Jenks, Chris. 2005. *Subculture*. London: Sage.
Jensen, Sune Qvotrup. 2018. "Towards a Neo-Birminghamian Conception of Subculture? History, Challenges, and Future Potentials." *Journal of Youth Studies*, February. Taylor & Francis, 405–21.
Jewitt, Carey, and Rumiko Oyama. 2004. "Visual Meaning: a Social Semantic Approach." In *The Handbook of Visual Analysis*, edited by Theo Van Leeuwen and Carey Jewitt, 134–56. London: Sage.
Jobling, Paul, and David Crowley. 1996. *Graphic Design: Reproduction and Representation since 1800*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
Jost, Hans Ulrich. 1988. "Das "Nötige" und das 'Schöne'." In *Der Bund fördert: der Bund sammelt*, edited by Jörg Huber, 13–24. Baden: Lars Müller.
Joyeux-Prunel, Béatrice, and Olivier Marcel. 2015. "Exhibition Catalogues in the Globalization of Art: a Source for Social and Spatial Art History." *Artl@S Bulletin* 4 (2): 80–104.
Jubert, Roxane. 2005. *Graphisme, Typographie, Histoire*. Paris: Flammarion.
Julier, Guy. 1997. "Re-Drawing the Geography of European Design: the Case of Transitional Countries." *Stockholm: 2nd European Academy of Design Conference, 'Contextual Design - Design in Context'*, April. http://www.designculture.info/reviews/ArticleStash/GJReDrawing1997.pdf. Accessed 30 January 2020.
——— 2014. *The Culture of Design*. Third edition. London: Sage.
——— 2017. *Economies of Design*. London: Sage.
Junge Grafik 2021. "Junge Grafik." 2021. https://jungegrafik.ch/. Accessed 1 May 2021.

K
Kadelbach, Thomas. 2013. *"Swiss Made": Pro Helvetia et l'image de la Suisse à l'étranger (1945–1990)*. Neuchâtel: Editions Alphil-Presses universitaires suisses.
Kaneko, Mayumi. 2000. "Benzin." *Shift*. December 4. http://www.shift.jp.org/en/archives/2000/12/benzin.html. Accessed 22 January 2020.
Kaufmann, Ueli. 2021. "Cave Paintings: Continuities and Progress in Graphic Designers' Histories." In *Swiss Graphic Design Histories: Tempting Terms*, edited by Ueli Kaufmann, Peter J. Schneemann, and Sara Zeller, 3:14–25. Zurich: Scheidegger & Spiess.
Kaufmann, Ueli, Peter J. Schneemann, and Sara Zeller, eds. 2021. *Swiss Graphic Design Histories: Tempting Terms*. Vol. 3. Zurich: Scheidegger & Spiess.
Keller, Rolf. 2010. "Politique culturelle." Translated by Monique Baud-Wartmann. *Dictionnaire historique de la Suisse*. July 14. https://hls-dhs-dss.ch/fr/articles/010993/2010-07-14/. Accessed 21 February 2020.
——— 2017. "Kulturpolitik Der Schweiz." In *Kompendium Kulturmanagement*, edited by Armin Klein, 117–38. Munich: Verlag Franz Vahlen.
Kennedy, Helen. 2010. "Net Work: The Professionalization of Web Design." *Media, Culture & Society* 32 (2):187–203.
King, Emily. 1999. "New Faces: Type Design in the First Decade of Device-Independent Digital Typesetting (1987–1997)." Kingston. PhD diss., Kingston University.
Kinross, Robin. 1992. "The Digital Wave." *Eye* 2 (7):26–39.
Klein, Naomi. 2002 (1999). *No Logo*. New York: Picador.
Klein, Sarah, and Sandra Bischler. 2021. "The Basel School: Deconstructing Labels of Swiss Graphic Design Education." In *Swiss Graphic Design Histories: Tempting Terms*, 3:161–68. Zurich: Scheidegger & Spiess.
Kline, Christopher. 2007. "Represent! Hip-Hop and the Self-Aesthetic Relation." PhD diss., Indiana University.
Kress, Gunther. 2010. Multimodality: a Social Semiotic Approach to Contemporary Communication. London: Routledge.
——— 2011. "Multimodal Discourse Analysis." In *The Routledge Handbook of Discourse Analysis*, edited by James Paul Gee and Michael Handford, 35–50. London: Routledge.
Kress, Gunther, and Theo Van Leeuwen. 2006. *Reading Images*. London: Routledge.
Kritzer, Herbert M. 1999. "The Professions Are Dead, Long Live the Professions: Legal Practice in a Postprofessional World." *Law & Society Review* 33 (3):713.
Kult. 2002. "Swiss Design 2002." *Kult*, October.

L
Lambert, Julie Anne. 2001. *A Nation of Shopkeepers*. Oxford: Bodleian Library.
Larson, Magali Sarfatti. 1977. *The Rise of Professionalism*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
——— 1979. "Professionalism: Rise and Fall." *International Journal of Health Services* 9 (4):607–27.
Lave, Jean, and Etienne Wenger. 1991. *Situated Learning*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Lebrun, Olivier. 2020. "Types of Types: the Typographic Specimen by Lineto." *Revue Faire*.
Lees-Maffei, Grace. 2008. "Introduction: Professionalization as a Focus in Interior Design History." *Journal of Design History* 21 (1):1–18.

Lees-Maffei, Grace, and Kjetil Fallan. 2016. "Introduction: National Design Histories in an Age of Globalization." In *Designing Worlds*, edited by Kjetil Fallan and Grace Lees-Maffei, 1–21. New York: Berghahn.
Lees-Maffei, Grace, and Rebecca Houze, eds. 2010. *The Design History Reader*. Oxford: Berg.
Lees-Maffei, Grace, and Linda Sandino. 2004. "Dangerous Liaisons: Relationships Between Design, Craft and Art." *Journal of Design History* 17 (3):207–19.
Lehni, Jürg. 2018. Interview by the author. March 8.
Lehni, Urs, and Sarah Owens. 2013. "The Exhibition as a Medium of Production". *OnCurating.org* 17:11–15.
Lichtenstein, Claude. 1997. "L'austérité de la *gute Form*." In *Made in Switzerland*, edited by Patrizia Crivelli, Köbi Gantenbein, Barbara Imboden, and Andreas Münch, 174–83. Zurich: Hochparterre.
——— 2014. "Fotomuseum Winterthur." In *100 Years of Swiss Graphic Design*, edited by Christian Brändle, Karin Gimmi, Barbara Junod, Christina Reble, and Bettina Richter, 208–9. Zurich: Lars Müller.
——— 2015. "The Appealing Design of the Good Object." In *Max Bill's View of Things*, edited by Lars Müller, 19–29. Zurich: Lars Müller Publishers.
Lichtenstein, Claude, and Doris Brem, eds. 1991. *Die StipendiatInnen des Eidgenössischen Stipendiums für angewandte Kunst 1990 = Lauréats de la Bourse fédérale des arts appliqués 1990*. Bern: Federal Office of Culture; Zurich: Museum für Gestaltung.
Licko, Zuzana, and Rudy VanderLans. 1989. "Ambition/Fear." *Emigre* 11:1.
Lienhard, Toni. 1976. "Die Kulturexperten entwarfen eine eidgenossische Kulturpolitik." *Tages-Anzeiger*, February 25, 1976.
Lineto. n.d. "Timeline." Lineto. https://lineto.com/timeline. Accessed 29 January 2021.
——— 2020. "LL Akkurat Family Overview: Technical Documentation & Specimen." Lineto. https://lineto.com/api/front/font-families/294/document?index=0. Accessed 10 December 2020.
Lippuner, Rosmarie, and Monique Buxcel, eds. 1989. *Lauréats de la bourse fédérale des arts appliqués 1989 = Die Stipendiaten des Eidgenössischen Stipendiums für angewandte Kunst 1989*. Bern: Federal Office of Culture; Lausanne: Musée des arts décoratifs.
Locher, Adalbert. 1996. "Gestaltungs-Tuttifrutti: die Preisträger des eidgenössischen Wettbewerbs für Gestaltung." *Hochparterre* 9 (10): 28.
——— 2001. "„Der Lusthaushalt muss stimmen": mit Lars Müller, verleger und Grafiker, im Limmathaus." *Hochparterre* 14 (1–2): 54.
——— 2002. "Wie der Bund das Design fördern will: Neuerungen beim Förderpreis." *Hochparterre* 15 (1–2): 18–19.
Lorusso, Silvio. 2019. *Entreprecariat*. Eindhoven: Onomatopee.
Lovink, Geert. 2019. "Precarious by Design." In *Entreprecariat*, 9–13. Eindhoven: Onomatopee.
Lupton, Ellen. 2011 (1998). "The Designer as Producer." In *Graphic Design: Now in Production*, edited by Andrew Blauvelt and Ellen Lupton, 12–13. Minneapolis: Walker Art Centre.
——— 2011. "Reading and Writing." In *Graphic Design: Now in Production*, edited by Andrew Blauvelt and Ellen Lupton, 58–75. Minneapolis: Walker Art Centre.
Lupton, Ellen, and Steven Heller. 2006. "The D.I.Y. Debate." AIGA. January 24. https://www.aiga.org/the-diy-debate. Accessed 11 June 2020.
Lzicar, Robert. 2015. "Swiss Types: the Invention and Success of a National Typography." Paper presented to *Face Forward*, Dublin, December 11–12.
——— 2021. "Popular Culture". In *Swiss Graphic Design Histories: Tempting Terms*, edited by Ueli Kaufmann, Peter J. Schneemann, and Sara Zeller, 3:126–39. Zurich: Scheidegger & Spiess.
Lzicar, Robert, and Davide Fornari. 2016. "Writing Graphic Design History in Switzerland." In *Mapping Graphic Design History in Switzerland*, edited by Robert Lzicar and Davide Fornari, 8–17. Zurich: Triest.
Lzicar, Robert, and Amanda Unger. 2016. "Designed Histories: Visual Historiography and Canonization in Swiss Graphic Design History." In *Mapping Graphic Design History in Switzerland*, edited by Robert Lzicar and Davide Fornari, 249–76. Zurich: Triest.

M

Macháček, Adam. 2004. *Work From Switzerland*. Edited by Adam Macháček. Brno.
Machin, David, and Andrea Mayr. 2012. *How to Do Critical Discourse Analysis*. London: Sage.
Marchart, Oliver. 2003. "Bridging the Micro-Macro Gap." In *The Post-Subcultures Reader*, edited by David Muggleton and Rupert Weinzierl, 83–100. Oxford: Berg.
Mareis, Claudia. 2006. *Altitude: Contemporary Swiss Graphic Design*. Edited by Robert Klanten, Nicolas Bourquin, and Claudia Mareis. Berlin: Gestalten.
Mareis, Claudia, and Nina Paim, eds. 2021. *Design Struggles*. Amsterdam: Valiz.
Margolin, Victor. 1995. "Design History or Design Studies: Subject Matter and Methods." *Design Issues* 11 (1):4–15.
——— 2013. "Design Studies: Tasks and Challenges." *The Design Journal* 16 (4). Routledge:400–407.
——— 2014 (1994). "Narrative Problems of Graphic Design History." In *Graphic Design: History in the Writing* (*1983–2011*), edited by Sara De Bondt, 2nd ed., 95–102. London: Occasional Papers.
Marshall Orr, Emily. 2016. "Designing Display in the Department Store: Techniques, Technologies, and Professionalization, 1880–1920 ." PhD diss., Royal College of Art.
Martens, Karel. 2010 (1996). "What Design Means for Me." In *Printed Matter*, edited by Robin Kinross, Jaap van Triest, and Karel Martens, 185–86. London: Hyphen Press.
Maurer, Bruno. 2010. "'Apertura al mondo': Architektur und Diplomatie der Schweiz nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg." In *Expansion Der Moderne: Wirtschaftswunder – Kalter Krieg – Avantgarde – Populärkultur*, edited by Juerg Albrecht, Georg Kohler, and Bruno Maurer, 235–62. Zurich: SIK ISEA / gta Verlag.
McCarthy, Steven. 2011. "Designer-Authored Histories: Graphic Design at the Goldstein Museum of Design." *Design Issues* 27 (1):7–20.
——— 2013. *The Designer as…: Author, Producer, Activist, Entrepreneur, Curator, and Collaborator*. Amsterdam: BIS Publishers.
McRobbie, Angela. 2002. "From Holloway to Hollywood." In *Cultural Economy*, edited by Paul Du Gay and Michael Pryke, 97–114. Happiness at Work in the New Cultural Economy. London: SAGE.
——— 2005 (1998). British Fashion Design: Rag Trade or Image Industry? London: Routledge.
——— 2012. "A Good Job Well Done." In *Futures of Modernity*, edited by Michael Heinlein, Cordula Kropp, Judith Neumer, Angelika Poferl, and Regina Römhild, 155–57. Bielefeld: Transcript.
——— 2016. *Be Creative*. Cambridge: Polity.
Meggs, Philip B. 1983. *A History of Graphic Design*. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold.
——— 2014 (1985). "Graphic Design History: Discipline or Anarchy?" In *Graphic Design: History in the Writing* (*1983–2011*), edited by Sara De Bondt and Catherine de Smet. London: Occasional Papers.
Meggs, Philip B, and Alston W Purvis. 2006. *Meggs' History of Graphic Design*. 4 ed. Hoboken, New Jersey: Wiley.

——— 2006. "The Digital Revolution and Beyond." In *Meggs' History of Graphic Design*, 488–530. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Meier, Andreas, ed. 1994. *Preisträgerinnen und Preisträger des Eidgenössischen Wettbewerbs für Gestaltung 1993 = Lauréates et lauréats du Concours fédéral des arts appliqués 1993 = Premiate e premiati del Concorso federal delle arte applicate 1993*. Bern: Federal Office of Culture; Lucerne: Schule für Gestaltung Luzern.

Meier, Jurg. 2002. "Ohne Netzwerke geht nichts." *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, October 22.

Menger, Pierre-Michel. 2009. *Le Travail Créateur*. Paris: Seuil.

——— 2014. *The Economics of Creativity: Art and Achievement under Uncertainty*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Meroz, Joana. 2016. "Exhibiting Confrontations: Negotiating Dutch Design Between National and Global Imaginations." *Journal of Design History* 29 (3):273–86.

Meroz, Joana, and Javier Gimeno-Martínez. 2016. "Introduction: Beyond Dutch Design: Material Culture in the Netherlands in an Age of Globalization, Migration and Multiculturalism." *Journal of Design History* 29 (3):213–27.

Messell, Tania. 2018. "Constructing a 'United Nations of Industrial Design': ICSID and the Professionalisation of Design on the World Stage, 1957–1980." PhD diss., University of Brighton.

——— 2019. "Globalization and Design Institutionalization: ICSID's XIth Congress and the Formation of ALADI, 1979." *Journal of Design History* 32 (1):88–104.

Michel, Ralf. 2000a. "Design fördern ist mehr als Geld verteilen." *Hochparterre* 13 (8): 26–27.

——— 2000b. "Grafische Laborberichte: Bücher zum jungen Schweizer Grafik Design." *Hochparterre* 13 (12): 32–33.

——— 2001. "Swiss Design Association: Der SID Wird Zur Swiss Design Association." *Hochparterre* 14.

Middendorp, Jan. 2011. Type Navigator: The Independent Foundries Handbook. Berlin: Gestalten.

——— 2012. "Postmodern Jam Session" 21 (83). http://www.eyemagazine.com/feature/article/post-modern-jam-session. Accessed 26 November 2020.

Milani, Pauline. 2010. "Septante ans d'histoire institutionnelle." In *Entre culture et politique: Pro Helvetia de 1939 à 2009*, edited by Claude Hauser, Bruno Seger, and Jakob Tanner, 39–77. Geneva: Slatkine.

Millerson, Geoffrey. 1998 (1964). *The Qualifying Associations*. London: Routledge.

Mohler, Mathieu. 2018. "La défense spirituelle." *Bulletin de l'Institut Pierre Renouvin* 47 (1):109–19.

Mooser, Josef. 1997. "Die 'Geistige Landesverteidigung' in den 1930er Jahren." *Schweizerische Zeitschrift Fur Geschichte = Revue Suisse D'histoire = Rivista Storica Svizzera* 47 (4):685–708.

Moriarty, Catherine. 2016. "Monographs, Archives, and Networks: Representing Designer Relationships." *Design Issues* 32 (4):52–63.

Moulin, Raymonde. 1967. *Le Marché de la peinture en France*. Paris: Minuit.

——— 1992. *L'artiste, l'institution et le marché*. Paris: Flammarion.

Moureau, Nathalie, and Benoit Zenou. 2016. "Le capital social, l'art contemporain et les carrières." *Sociologie De l'Art* OPuS 25 & 26 (1). L'Harmattan:109–28.

Muggleton, David, and Rupert Weinzierl, eds. 2003. *The Post-Subcultures Reader*. Oxford: Berg.

Müller, Franziska. 1992. "Vernagelte Jury oder schlechte Gestalter?" *Hochparterre* 5 (5):62–64.

Müller, Jens. 2021. *The History of Graphic Design*. Vol. 2. Cologne: Taschen.

Müller, Lars, Ralf Michel, and Patrizia Crivelli. 2001. "Erste Gedanken zu Ausstellung und Buch." Federal Office of Culture archives, Bern.

Münch, Andreas. 1997. "Art ou design? La Confédération et les arts appliqués." In *Made in Switzerland*, edited by Patrizia Crivelli, Köbi Gantenbein, Barbara Imboden, and Andreas Münch, 88–110. Zurich: Hochparterre.

Münch, Andreas, and Urs Staub. 2005. "L'Office fédéral de la culture soutient l'art et le design." Edited by Anne Weibel. *OFC Art & Design* 15. Bern: 3–4.

N

Nancarrow, Clive, and Pamela Nancarrow. 2007. "Hunting for Cool Tribes." In *Consumer Tribes*, 129–43. Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann.

Neff, Gina, Elizabeth A. Wissinger, and Sharon Zukin. 2005. "Entrepreneurial Labor Among Cultural Producers: "Cool" Jobs in "Hot" Industries." *Social Semiotics* 15 (3):307–34.

Nicolai, Bernd. 2013. "Aufbruch und Reform." In *Gestaltung Werk Gesellschaft*, edited by Thomas Gnägi, Bernd Nicolai, and Jasmine Wohlwend Piai, 47–62. Zurich: Scheidegger & Spiess.

Nixon, Sean. 2000. "In Pursuit of the Professional Ideal: Advertising and the Construction of Commercial Expertise in Britain 1953–64." In *Commercial Cultures*, edited by Peter Jackson, Michelle Lowe, Daniel Miller, and Frank Mort, 55–74. Oxford: Berg.

——— 2003. *Advertising Cultures*. London: SAGE.

——— 2016. "Gentlemanly Professionals and Men-About-Town: Occupational Identities Amongst London Advertising Men, 1951–67." *Cultural and Social History* 13 (3). Routledge:377–401.

NORM. 2017. (Manuel Krebs, Dimitri Bruni and Ludovic Varone), interview by the author, 15 June.

——— 2018. (Manuel Krebs, Dimitri Bruni and Ludovic Varone), interview by the author, January 30.

O

O'Doherty, Brian. 1986. *Inside the White Cube: The Ideology of the Gallery Space*. Santa Monica: The Lapis Press.

Ottaviani, Didier. 2014. 'Foucault – Deleuze: de la discipline au contrôle'. In *Lectures de Michel Foucault. Volume 2: Foucault et la philosophie*, edited by Emmanuel Da Silva, 59–73. Theoria. Lyon: ENS Éditions. ok.

P

Parrinder, Monika. 2000. "The Myth of Genius." *Eye* 10 (38). http://www.eyemagazine.com/feature/article/the-myth-of-genius. Accessed 9 November 2020.

Party, Ian. 2021. Interview by the author, February 6.

Pater, Ruben. 2016. *The Politics of Design*. Laurence King.

Perks, Robert, and Alistair Thomson, eds. 2016. *The Oral History Reader*. Third edition. London: Routledge.

Perondi, Luciano. 2020. "'The Digital Wave' by Robin Kinross." *CAST*. March 17. https://articles.c-a-s-t.com/the-digital-wave-by-robin-kinross-e7d973c6806d. Accessed 16 March 2021.

Perrin, Michel. 1976. "Le rapport impressionnant de la Commission Clottu." *24 Heures*, February 25.

Pevsner, Nikolaus. 2005 (1936). *Pioneers of Modern Design*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Phaidon 2012. "Design of the Week: Akkurat." Phaidon.com. December 10. http://www.phaidon.com/agenda/design/articles/2012/december/10/design-of-the-week-akkurat/. Accessed 26 November 2020.

Phillips, Nelson, and Cynthia Hardy. 2002. *Discourse Analysis: Investigating Processes of Social Construction*. London: Sage.

Poiatti, Myriam, ed. 1992. *Bourse Fédérale des arts appliqués 1991*. Bern: Federal Office of Culture; Geneva: Ecole des arts décoratifs.

Portelli, Alessandro. 2016 (1979). "What Makes Oral History Different." In *The Oral History Reader*, edited by Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson, 48–58. London: Routledge.

Pountain, Dick, and David Robins. 2000. *Cool Rules*. London: Reaktion Books.
Poynor, Rick. 1996. "This Signifier is loaded." *Eye* 6 (22):58–65.
——— 2003. *No More Rules: Graphic Design and Postmodernism*. London: Laurence King.
Precarious Workers Brigade, ed. 2017. *Training for Exploitation?* London: Journal of Aesthetics & Protest Press.
Published Art. 2001. "Benzin Young Swiss Graphic Design." http://www.publishedart.com.au/bookshop.html?book_id=262. Accessed 6 May 2021.
Purcell, Kerry William, ed. 2012. *The Phaidon Archive of Graphic Design*. London: Phaidon.
R
Randall, Glen E, and Darlene H Kindiak. 2008. "Deprofessionalization or Postprofessionalization?" *Social Work in Health Care* 47 (4):341–54.
Rappo, François. 2014a. "David Rust 1969–2014." *Eye*, November 14. http://www.eyemagazine.com/blog/post/david-rust-1969-2014. Accessed 25 August 2020.
——— 2014b. "Twentieth-Century Type Design in Switzerland: a full rhythmical experience." In *100 Years of Swiss Graphic Design*, edited by Christian Brändle, Karin Gimmi, Barbara Junod, Christina Reble, and Bettina Richter, 274–83. Zurich: Lars Müller.
——— 2021. Interview by the author. January 22.
Rappo, François, and Lorette Coen. 1999. *The Most Beautiful Swiss Books 1998*. Bern: Federal Office of Culture.
Reckwitz, Andreas. 2002. "Toward a Theory of Social Practices: a Development in Culturalist Theorizing." *European Journal of Social Theory* 5 (2):243–63.
Red Dot Award 2021a. "Guide to Success: Communication Design." Red-dot.org. *https://www.red-dot.org/fileadmin/downloads/Downloadmaterial_BCD_2021/2021_Guide_to_Success_Communication_Design_EN.pdf*. Accessed 11 March 2021.
——— 2021b. "History." Red-Dot.org. https://www.red-dot.org/about-red-dot/history. Accessed 11 March 2021.
Rezende, Livia. 2016. "Of Coffee, Nature and Exclusion." In *Designing Worlds*, edited by Kjetil Fallan and Grace Lees-Maffei, 259–73. Oxford: Berghahn Books.
Richardson, Adam. 1993. "The Death of the Designer." *Design Issues* 9 (2):34–43.
Richter, Bettina. 2017. "'As long as it's not hospital design': a short history of the cultural poster in Lucerne." In *Poster Town*, edited by Erich Brechbül, Klaus Fromherz, Martin Geel, Michael Kryenbühl, Simon Rüegg, Raphael Schoen, Ivan Weiss, and Megi Zumstein, 7–18. Leipzig: Spector Books.
Ritchie, Donald A. 2015. *Doing Oral History*. Third edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Rock, Michael. 2009 (1996). "The Designer as Author." In *Graphic Design Theory*, edited by Helen Armstrong, 108–14. New York: Princeton Architectural Press.
——— 2013 (2009). "Fuck Content." In *Multiple Signatures: on Designers, Authors, Readers and Users*, 45–56. New York: Rizzoli International Publications.
——— 2013. *Multiple Signatures*. New York: Rizzoli.
Roope, Nicolas, and Gilles Gavillet. 1998. "Optimo." Shift. Japan. October 22. http://www.shift.jp.org/en/archives/1998/10/optimo.html. Accessed 3 November 2020.
Rose, Gillian. 2016. *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to Researching with Visual Materials*. Fourth edition. London: SAGE.
Ross, Andrew. 2004. *No-Collar*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
——— 2006. "Nice Work if You Can Get It: The Mercurial Career of Creative Industries Policy." *Work Organisation, Labour & Globalisation* 1 (1). NYU Press:13–30.
——— 2009. *Nice Work if You Can Get It*. New York: New York University Press.
Rüegg, Severin. 2010. "Une diversité sans conflits." In *Entre culture et politique: Pro Helvetia de 1939 à 2009*, edited by Claude Hauser, Bruno Seger, and Jakob Tanner, 153–83. Geneva: Slatkine.
S
Sandino, Linda. 2006. "Oral Histories and Design: Objects and Subjects." *Journal of Design History* 19 (4):275–82.
——— 2013. "Oral History *In* And *About* Art, Craft, and Design." In *Oral History in the Visual Arts*, edited by Linda Sandino and Matthew Partington, 1–14. London: Bloomsbury.
Sandino, Linda, and Matthew Partington, eds. 2013. *Oral History in the Visual Arts*. London: Bloomsbury.
Schaffhauser Nachrichten. 1968. "Der 'Werkbund' diskutiert die Kulturpolitik." *Schaffhauser Nachrichten*, November 22.
Schneider, Peter P. 2002. "Hören mit der Haut." *Züritipp*, October 18.
Schöner Wohnen. 2002. "Neue Preise: eidgenössischer Designwettbewerb und Austellung Netzwerk." *Schöner Wohnen*, November 1.
Schilling, Rudolf. 1997. "Promotion du design, promotion économique!" In *Made in Switzerland*, edited by Patrizia Crivelli, Köbi Gantenbein, Barbara Imboden, and Andreas Münch, 184–89. Zurich: Hochparterre.
Schneider, Beat. 2005. *Design – Eine Einführung*. Basel: Birkhäuser.
Schultheis, Franz. 2005. "Disziplinierung des Designs." In *Forschungslandschaften Im Umfeld Des Designs*, 65–83. Zurich.
Schweizer Kunst 1917. "Eidgenössische Kunstkommission." *Schweizer Kunst = Art Suisse* 168–169: 123.
Schweizerischer Werkbund. 1977. "Kultur – Kulturförderung – Kulturpolitik: kritische Thesen zum Bericht der eidgenössischen Expertenkommission für Fragen einer schweizerischen Kulturpolitik, 'Kommission Clottu'." *SWB-Dokument* 2. Zurich.
Scotford, Martha. 1991. "Is There a Canon of Graphic Design History?" *AIGA Journal* 9 (2):37–44.
——— 2008. "Googling the Design Canon." *Eye* 17 (68). http://www.eyemagazine.com/feature/article/googling-the-design-canon. Accessed 19 February 2021.
——— 2014. "Messy History vs. Neat History." In *Graphic Design: History in the Writing (1983–2011)*, edited by Sara De Bondt and Catherine de Smet, 138–51. London: Occasional Papers.
Scott, W Richard. 2014. *Institutions and Organizations*. Fourth edition. London: Sage.
Seddon, Jill. 2000. "Mentioned, but Denied Significance: Women Designers and the 'Professionalisation' of Design in Britain C. 1920–1951." *Gender & History* 12 (2). Blackwell Publishers Ltd:426–47.
Seigel, Jerrold. 1999 (1986). *Bohemian Paris*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.
Sennett, Richard. 2011 (1998). *The Corrosion of Character*. London: W. W. Norton & Company.
Serafini, Paula, and Mark Banks. 2020. "Living Precarious Lives? Time and Temporality in Visual Arts Careers." *Culture Unbound* 12 (2):351–72.
Serulus, Katarina. 2018. *Design & Politics: The Public Promotion of Industrial Design in Postwar Belgium (1950–1986)*. Leuven: Leuven University Press.
Settele, Christoph. 1997. "Politisch unkorrekt? Warum das BAK Cornel Windlins Plakat für den Wettbewerb für Gestaltung abgelehnt hat." *Hochparterre* 10 (9): 22.
Shaughnessy, Adrian. 2009. "The Graphic Design Studio: Real Estate, Psychology and Creativity." In *Studio Culture*, edited by Tony Brook and Adrian Shaughnessy, 12–23. London: Unit Editions.
Shaughnessy, Adrian, and Tony Brook, eds. 2014. *Manuals 2*. London: Unit Editions.

Silex. 2001. *Silex: My Way*. Edited by Robert Klanten. Berlin: Die Gestalten Verlag.
Souza Dias, Dora. 2019. "International Design Organizations and the Study of Transnational Interactions: The Case of Icogradalatinoamérica80." *Journal of Design History* 32 (2):188–206.
Sparke, Penny. 1983. *Consultant Design*. London: Pembridge Press.
——— 2013. *An Introduction to Design and Culture: 1900 to the Present*. Third edition. New York: Routledge.
——— 2020. "Theory and Practice in the New Century." In *An Introduction to Design and Culture*, fourth edition, 234–47. London: Routledge.
Staber, Margit. 1969. "Jahrestagung des schweizerischen Werkbundes am 16. November 1968 in St. Gallen." Edited by Antonio Hernandez. *SWB-Kommentare* 9 (February): 127–28.
Staub, Urs. 1988. "100 Jahre Kunstförderung des Bundes 1888–1988." In *Der Bund fördert: der Bund sammelt*, edited by Jörg Huber, 178–212. Baden: Lars Müller.
Steiner, Urs. 2001. "Eklat Am Museum Für Gestaltung." *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, October 2.
Steinmetz, George. 2018. "Bourdieusian Field Theory and the Reorientation of Historical Sociology." In *The Oxford Handbook of Pierre Bourdieu*, edited by Thomas Medvetz and Jeffrey J Sallaz, 601–28. Oxford University Press.
Stender, Ilka. 2000. "Ein Font ist kein Font ist ein Font." *Hochparterre* 13 (11):48–49.
Stirnemann, Kathrin. 2005. "Protokoll der 270. Sitzung der Eidgenössischen Designkommission vom Freitag, 8. April 2005 im Bundesamt für Kultur, Hallwylstrasse 15, Bern." Federal Office of Culture archives, Bern.
Streiff, David. 2000. "About the Awarded Year." *Schweizer Kulturpreise*. Federal Office of Culture. https://web.archive.org/web/20171227182040/http://www.swissdesignawards.ch/beautifbeautif/1999/index.html?lang=en. Accessed 22 January 2020.
Studio X. 2021. (anonymous design studio), interview by the author. February 15.
Sung, Whan Oh, Min Jeong Song, Jongmin Park, and Kyung-won Chung. 2007. "Changing Roles of Design Promotion Organizations in the Global Context and a New Theoretical Model for a Design Promotion System." In *IASDR07*, November 12–17. Hong Kong.
Supero. 2021. Interview by the author, March 1.

T
Taylor, Mark, and Natalie Haskell. 2019. "The Professionalization of Interior Design." In *A Companion to Contemporary Design Since 1945*, edited by Anne Massey, 393–411. Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons.
Teilmann-Lock, Stina. 2016. "The Myth of Danish Design and the Implicit Claims of Labels." In *Designing Worlds*, edited by Kjetil Fallan and Grace Lees-Maffei, 156–71. New York: Berghahn.
Thompson, Christopher. 2011. "Modernizing for Trade: Institutionalizing Design Promotion in New Zealand, 1958–1967." *Journal of Design History* 24 (3):223–39.
Thompson, Paul, and Joanna Bornat. 2017. *The Voice of the Past*. Fourth edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Thomson, Alistair. 2011. "Memory and Remembering in Oral History." In *The Oxford Handbook of Oral History*, 77–95. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Thomson, Ellen Mazur. 1994. "Alms for Oblivion: The History of Women in Early American Graphic Design." *Design Issues* 10 (2):27–48.
——— 1997. *The Origins of Graphic Design in America 1870–1920*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
Thornton, Sarah. 2003 (1995). *Club Cultures*. Cambridge: Polity.
Thun-Hohenstein, Christoph, and Kathrin Pokorny-Nagel, eds. 2017. *Ephemera*. Vienna: Verlag für Moderne Kunst.
Tobler, Andreas. 2017. "Sie verwaltet mehr, als sie gestaltet." *Der Bund*, August 22.
Toren, Nina. 1975. "Deprofessionalization and its Sources." *Sociology of Work and Occupations* 2 (4):323–37.
Triggs, Teal. 2009. "Designing Graphic Design History." *Journal of Design History* 22 (4):325–40.
Truniger, Isabel. 2018. Interview by the author. January 30.
Tschichold, Jan. 1928. *Die Neue Typographie*. Berlin: Verlag des Bildungsverbandes der Deutschen Buchdrucker.
——— 1949. *Was Jedermann Vom Buchdruck Wissen Sollte*. Basel: Birkhäuser.
Tschopp, Marlies. 1991. "Die schönsten Schweizer Bücher des Jahres." Edited by Leonhard Fünfschilling. *SWB-Dokument* 1: 23–25.
Tschudi, Hans Peter. 1972. "Foreword." In *Beautiful Swiss Books 1971*, edited by Dietrich Schwarz. Bern: Federal Office of Culture.

V
Valtonen, Anna, and Antti Ainamo. 2008. "The Professionalization of Product Design: Reflections on the Finnish Case." In *International DMI Education Conference "Design Thinking: New Challenges for Designers, Managers and Organizations"*, April 14–15. Paris.
van der Velden, Daniel. 2011 (2006). "Research and Destroy." In *Graphic Design: Now in Production*, edited by Andrew Blauvelt and Ellen Lupton, 16–18. Minneapolis: Walker Art Centre.
Van Leeuwen, Theo. 2005. *Introducing Social Semiotics*. London: Routledge.
Verband Schweizerischer Grafiker, ed. 1960. *Schweizer Grafiker*. Zurich: Verlag Käser Presse.
Vogt, Max. 1976. "Wird der Clottu-Bericht zum blinden Fleck deklariert?" *Tages-Anzeiger*, November 11, 1976.

W
Weckerle, Christoph, and Huber Theler. 2018. "Country Profile Switzerland." 19th edition. *Compendium of Cultural Policies and Trends*. Association of the Compendium of Cultural Policies and Trends.
Weeks, Wendy. 1988. "De-Professionalisation or a New Approach to Professionalism?" *Australian Social Work* 41 (1):29–37.
Wenger, Etienne. 1998. *Communities of Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Wenger-Trayner, Etienne, and Beverly Wenger-Trayner. 2015. "Communities of Practice." https://wenger-trayner.com/introduction-to-communities-of-practice/. Accessed 23 June 2020.
White, Harrison C, and Cynthia A White. 1993 (1965). *Canvases and Careers*. University of Chicago Press.
White, Hayden. 1980. 'The Value of Narrativity in the Representation of Reality'. *Critical Inquiry* 7 (1):5–27.
Whitney, Marilyn Corson. 2008. "A History of the Professionalization of Interior Design Viewed Through Three Case Studies of the Process of Licensure." PhD diss., Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University.
Wilson, Julie A. 2018. *Neoliberalism*. London: Routledge.
Windlin, Cornel. 2018. Interview by the author, March 8.
Windlin, Cornel, and Stephan Müller. 2000. "About Lineto: Past, Present and Future." Last updated August 24. http://web.archive.org/web/20000824050150/http://www.lineto.com:80/about_lineto.html. Accessed 1 July 2020.
Wissinger, Elizabeth A. 2015. *This Year's Model*. New York: New York University Press.
Wlassikoff, Michel. 2005. *Histoire du Graphisme en France*. Paris: Les Arts Décoratifs.
Wolfs, Rein. 2003. "Networking Graphics." In *Super: Welcome to Graphic Wonderland*, edited by Thomas Bruggisser and Michel Fries, 28–29. Berlin: Gestalten.
Woodham, Jonathan M. 1983. *The Industrial Designer and the Public*. London: Pembridge Press.

——— 1997. *Twentieth Century Design*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
——— 2005. "Local, National and Global: Redrawing the Design Historical Map." *Journal of Design History* 18 (3):257–67.

Y

Yagou, Artemis. 2005. "Unwanted Innovation: the Athens Design Centre (1961–1963)." *Journal of Design History* 18 (3):269–83.
——— 2015. "Beyond National Design Histories: Some Reflections." Revised paper based on a paper presented to *ICDHS 2014 Conference – Tradition, transition, trajectories: Major or minor influences?* Aveiro, 8–11 July 2014.
Yasuko, Suga. 2003. "'Purgatory of Taste' or Projector of Industrial Britain? the British Institute of Industrial Art." *Journal of Design History* 16 (2):167–85.

Z

Z. Z. 2002. "Swiss Design 2002. Netzwerke." *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, October 17.
Zeller, Sara. 2017. "Travelling Image: Internationale Wanderausstellungen von Schweizer Plakaten in den 1950er und 1960er Jahren." Unpublished paper presented to *Forschungstag der Graduate School of the Arts*, Bern, December 14.
——— 2018. "The Best Posters of the Year: Creating Jobs, Promoting the Economy or Representing Switzerland?" Unpublished paper presented to *Swiss Graphic Design and Typography Revisited Experts' Panel Meeting*, Zurich, May 3–5.
——— 2021a. "Die Besten Plakate/Les Meilleures Affiches: The Early Years of the National Poster Award, between Federal Support and Stylistic Authority." In *Swiss Graphic Design Histories: Tempting Terms*, edited by Roland Früh, Ueli Kaufmann, Peter J. Schneemann, and Sara Zeller, 3:26–37. Zurich: Scheidegger & Spiess.
——— 2021b. "Centering the Periphery: Reassessing Swiss Graphic Design Through the Prism of Regional Characteristics." *Design Issues* 37 (1):64–75.
——— 2021c. "Installation View." In *Swiss Graphic Design Histories: Visual Arguments*, edited by Sandra Bischler, Sarah Klein, Jonas Niedermann, and Michael Renner, 1:51–52. Scheidegger & Spiess.
——— 2021d. "Rahmungen im Weltformat." PhD diss., University of Bern.
Zumstein, Adeline. 2013. "Gründung des schweizerischen Werkbundes." In *Gestaltung Werk Gesellschaft*, edited by Thomas Gnägi, Bernd Nicolai, and Jasmine Wohlwend Piai, 63–66. Zurich: Scheidegger & Spiess.
Zumstein, Megi and Claudio Barandun, 2017a. Interview by the author, April 6.
Zumstein, Megi and Claudio Barandun, 2017b. Interview by the author, November 13.
Zürcher, Barbara. 2002. "Neudesign Der Designförderung." *Tages-Anzeiger*, October 23.

7.2 Abbreviations

7.2.1 Awards

DPS	*Design Preis Schweiz* (Design Prize Switzerland)
MBSB	Most Beautiful Swiss Books
SDA	Swiss Design Awards

7.2.2 Federal institutions and commissions

FAC	Federal Art Commission
FCAA	Federal Commission of Applied Arts (renamed Federal Design Commission in 2002)
FDC	Federal Design Commission (previously known as FCAA)
FDHA	Federal Department of Home Affairs
FOC	Federal Office of Culture

7.2.3 Museums

MfGZ	*Museum für Gestaltung Zürich* (Design Museum Zurich)
mudac	*Musée de design et d'arts appliqués contemporains* in Lausanne (Museum of contemporary design and applied arts; sometimes spelt mu.dac, previously known as *Musée des arts décoratifs*)

7.2.4 Organisations

AGI	*Alliance Graphique Internationale*
APG|SGA	*Allgemeine Plakatgesellschaft/Société Générale d'Affichage* (General Poster Company)
ASG	*Arbeitsgemeinschaft Schweizer Grafiker* (Association of Swiss graphic designers, born from the fusion of the VSG and the BGG); today known as SGD
BGG	*Bund Grafischer Gestalter* (Association of Graphic Designers)
BSR	*Bund Schweizer Reklame* (Swiss Advertisement Federation)
FRP	*Fédération Romande de Publicité* (French-speaking Switzerland Advertising Federation)
GDP	*Gewerkschaft Druck und Papier* (Book and Paper Union, formerly known as STB)
ico–D	International Council of Design (formerly known as ICOGRADA and succeeded by ICoD).
ICoD	International Council of Design (formerly known as ICOGRADA and ico–D).
ICOGRADA	International Council of Design (succeeded by ico-D and ICoD).
ICSID	International Council of Societies of Industrial Design (succeeded by the WDO).
OEV	*L'Œuvre*
SBV	*Schweizerischer Buchdruckerverein* (Association of the Swiss Printing Industry)
SBVV	*Schweizerischer Buch händler- und Verleger-Verband* (Swiss association of booksellers and publishers)
SESI	*Società Editori della Svizzera Italiana* (Association of publishers of Italian-speaking Switzerland)
SGD	Swiss Graphic Designers (formerly known as ASG)
SGG	*Schweizerische Graphische Gewerkschaft* (Swiss Graphic Arts Union)
SGV	*Schweizer Grafiker Verband* (Swiss Graphic Design Association)
SLESR	*Société des Libraires et Editeurs de la Suisse Romande* (Association of booksellers and publishers of French speaking Switzerland)
SRV	*Schweizerischer Reklameverband* (Swiss advertising association)
SWB	*Schweizerischer Werkbund* (Swiss Werkbund)
VBS	*Verein der Buchbindereien der Schweiz* (Union of Swiss Bookbinders)
VSG	*Verband Schweizer Grafiker* (Swiss Graphic Designers Association)
VSV	*Verband Schweizerischer Verleger* (Association of Swiss publishers, succeeded by the SBVV)
WDO	World Design Organisation (formerly known as ICSID).

7.2.5 Schools

ECAL	*Ecole Cantonale d'Art de Lausanne* (University of Art and Design Lausanne)
HEAD	*Haute Ecole d'Art et de Design Genève* (University of Art and Design Geneva)
HGKZ	*Hochschule für Gestaltung und Kunst in Zürich* (Zurich College for Design and Art, known today as ZHdK)
HKB	*Hochschule der Künste Bern* (Bern University of the Arts)
ZHdK	*Zürcher Hochschule der Künste* (Zurich University of the Arts)

7.3 Ancillary illustrations
7.3.1 The networks of promotion

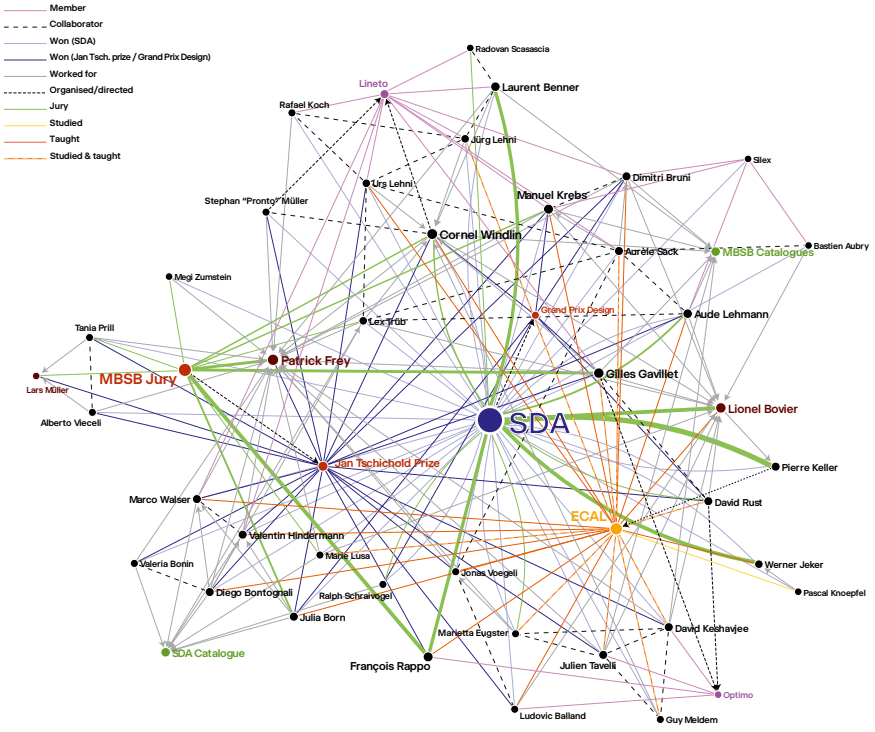


Fig. 7.1 The full networks of promotion. Line thickness reflects the number of awards or years on the jury.

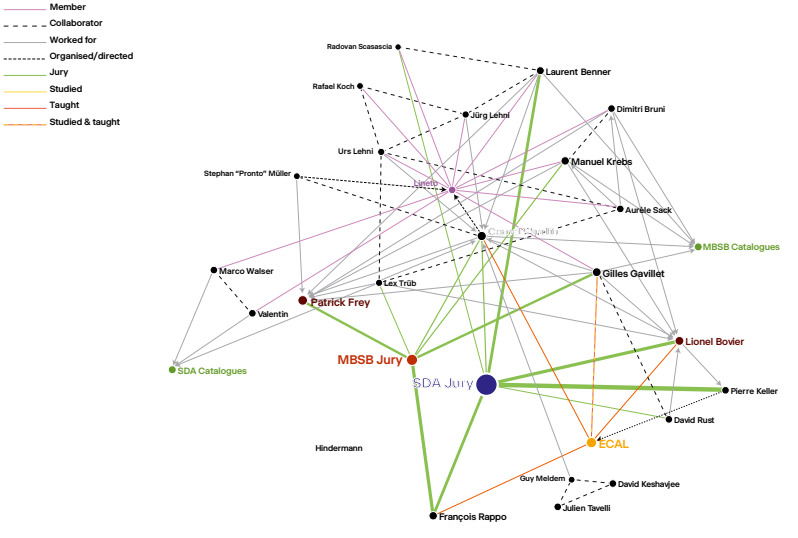


Fig. 7.2 The cluster of Windlin and Lineto's networks amongst the insiders of the SDA 1990–2020. Line thickness reflects the number of awards or years on the jury.

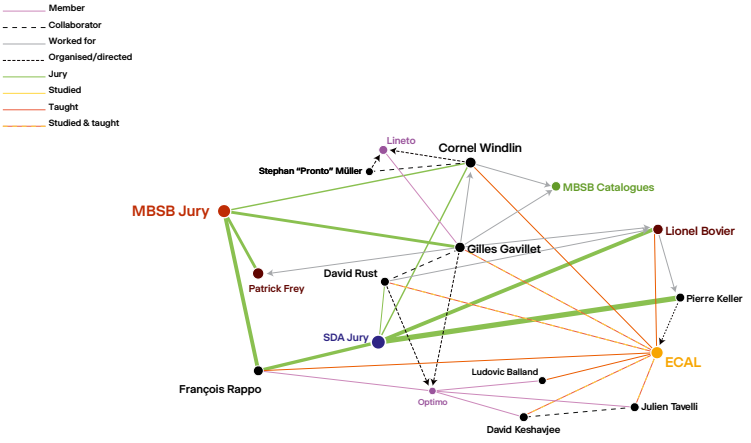


Fig. 7.3 Gavillet's network amongst the insiders of the SDA 1990–2020. From 2004, Optimo released Rappo's typefaces. In 2006, Gavillet and Rust won the Jan Tschichold Prize when Rappo was president of the jury. Optimo's typefaces regularly won the SDA, including Nicolas Eigenheer's Px Grotesk (2008) with Windlin as jury and Julien Tavelli and David Keshavjee's Programme (2013) when Lionel Bovier, the publisher and a long-time collaborator of Gavillet's, was on the jury.

7.4 Image sources and credits

Fig. 1.1 Elektrosmog and Julia Born, Swiss Design 2002, exhibition catalogue, 2002. Illustration: Bastien Aubry. Crivelli, Patrizia, Mirjam Fischer, Karin Schneuwly, and Kathrin Stirnemann, eds. 2002. *Swiss Design 2002: Netzwerke / Réseaux / Networks*. Baden: Lars Müller. © Photograph: Jonas Berthod.

Fig. 2.1 See table 7.1 for sources.

Fig. 2.2 Sandra Binder/Atelier Jeker, Bourse fédérale des arts appliqués 1989, exhibition catalogue, 1989. FOC. 1989. *Lauréats de la Bourse fédérale des arts appliqués 1989 = Die Stipendiaten des eidgenössischen Stipendiums für angewandte Kunst 1989*. Edited by Rosmarie Lippuner and Monique Buxcel. Bern: Federal Office of Culture; Lausanne: Musée des arts décoratifs. © Photograph: Jonas Berthod.

Fig. 2.3 Cornel Windlin, Wettbewerb für Gestaltung, poster, 1998. ZHdK / MfGZ / Plakatsammlung 46-0281. © Cornel Windlin. Photograph: Courtesy of the Museum für Gestaltung Zürich, Poster Collection, ZHdK.

Fig. 2.4 Cornel Windlin, Wettbewerb für Gestaltung, poster, 1997. Published in: Settele, Christoph. 1997. "Politisch unkorrekt? Warum das BAK Cornel Windlins Plakat für den Wettbewerb für Gestaltung abgelehnt hat." *Hochparterre* 10 (9): 22. © Cornel Windlin and Hochparterre.

Fig. 2.5 Gilles Turin and Vincent Turin, Eidgenössische Preise für Gestaltung 2000, invitation, 2000. ZHdK / MfGZ / Plakatsammlung GCA-2000-D03-001. © All Rights Reserved: Gilles Turin, Vincent Turin and Zürcher Hochschule der Künste / Archiv.

Fig. 3.1 Elektrosmog, Swiss Design 2002, poster, 2002. ZHdK / MfGZ / Plakatsammlung M-0685. © Elektrosmog. Photograph: Courtesy of the Museum für Gestaltung Zürich, Poster Collection, ZHdK.

Fig. 3.2 Elektrosmog, Swiss Design 2002, invitation, 2002. ZHdK / MfGZ / Plakatsammlung M-0685. © Photograph: Jonas Berthod.

Fig. 3.3 Elektrosmog, Swiss Design 2002, invitation, 2002. ZHdK / MfGZ M-2002-1/1-015 1. © Photograph: Jonas Berthod.

Fig. 3.4 Elektrosmog, Swiss Design 2002, invitation, 2002. ZHdK / MfGZ M-2002-1/1-015 1. © Photograph: Jonas Berthod.

Fig. 3.5 Elektrosmog, Swiss Design 2002, exhibition programme, 2002. ZHdK / MfGZ M-2002-1/1-015 1. © Photograph: Jonas Berthod.

Fig. 3.6 Elektrosmog, Swiss Design 2002, exhibition programme, 2002. ZHdK / MfGZ M-2002-1/1-015 1. © Photograph: Jonas Berthod.

Fig. 3.7 Tobias Madörin, promotional photograph, 2002. Published in: Locher, Adalbert. 2002. "Wie der Bund das Design fördern will: Neuerungen beim Förderpreis." *Hochparterre* 15 (1–2):18–19. © Tobias Madörin.

Fig. 3.8 Eidgenössische Preise für Gestaltung 2000, exhibition view, 2000. ZHdK / MfGZ GCA-2000-D03. © All Rights Reserved: Zürcher Hochschule der Künste / Archiv.

Fig. 3.9 Swiss Design 2002, exhibition view, 2002. ZHdK / MfGZ GBA-2002-D09-400. © All Rights Reserved: Zürcher Hochschule der Künste / Archiv.

Fig. 3.10 Swiss Design 2002, exhibition view, 2002. ZHdK / MfGZ GBA-2002-D09-400. © All Rights Reserved: Zürcher Hochschule der Künste / Archiv.

Fig. 3.11 Swiss Design 2002, exhibition view, 2002. ZHdK / MfGZ GBA-2002-D09-400. © All Rights Reserved: Zürcher Hochschule der Künste / Archiv.

Fig. 3.12 Elektrosmog [?], Swiss Design 2002, exhibition map, 2002. Personal archives, Zurich. © Photograph: Jonas Berthod.

Fig. 3.13 Swiss Design 2002, exhibition view, 2002. ZHdK / MfGZ GBA-2002-D09-400. © All Rights Reserved: Zürcher Hochschule der Künste / Archiv.

Fig. 3.14 Swiss Design 2002, video still, 2002. ZHdK / MfGZ GBA-2002-D09-112. © All Rights Reserved: Zürcher Hochschule der Künste / Archiv.

Fig. 3.15 Swiss Design 2002, exhibition view, 2002. ZHdK / MfGZ GBA-2002-D09-400. © All Rights Reserved: Zürcher Hochschule der Künste / Archiv.

Fig. 3.16 Sandra Binder/Atelier Jeker, Bourse fédérale des arts appliqués 1989, exhibition catalogue, 1989. FOC. 1989. *Lauréats de la Bourse fédérale des arts appliqués 1989 = Die Stipendiaten des eidgenössischen Stipendiums für angewandte Kunst 1989*. Edited by Rosmarie Lippuner and Monique Buxcel. Bern: Federal Office of Culture; Lausanne: Musée des arts décoratifs. © Photograph: Swiss National Library, Bern.

Fig. 3.17 Moravská galerie v Brně, 20th International Biennale of Graphic Design Brno 2002, exhibition catalogue, 2002. from: Sylvestrovà, Marta, ed. 2002. *Plakát, firemní, informační a reklamní grafika: 20. mezinárodní bienále grafického designu Brno 2002*. Brno: Moravská Galerie. © Photograph: ECAL/Jimmy Rachez.

Fig. 3.18 Top row from left to right : Sandra Binder/Atelier Jeker, Bourse fédérale des arts appliqués 1989, exhibition catalogue, 1989. FOC. 1989. *Lauréats de la Bourse fédérale des arts appliqués 1989 = Die Stipendiaten des eidgenössischen Stipendiums für angewandte Kunst 1989*. Edited by Rosmarie Lippuner and Monique Buxcel. Bern: Federal Office of Culture; Lausanne: Musée des arts décoratifs. / Ralph Schraivogel, Eidgenössisches Stipendium für angewandte Kunst 1990, exhibition catalogue, 1991. Lichtenstein, Claude, and Doris Brem, eds. 1991. *Die StipendiatInnen des eidgenössischen Stipendiums für angewandte Kunst 1990 = Lauréats de la Bourse fédérale des arts appliqués 1990*. Bern: Federal Office of Culture; Zurich: Museum für Gestaltung. / Louise Bonnet, Bourse fédérale des arts appliqués 1991, exhibition catalogue, 1992. Poiatti, Myriam, ed. 1992. *Bourse fédérale des arts appliqués 1991*. Bern: Federal Office of Culture; Geneva: Ecole des arts décoratifs. / Gentile Frera, Borsa federale delle arte applicati 1992, exhibition catalogue, 1993. FOC. 1993. *Borsa federale delle arte applicati 1992*. Bern: Federal Office of Culture. Bottom row from left to right: Ruth Blesi and Hans Peter Dubacher, Eidgenössisches Wettbewerb für Gestaltung 1993, exhibition catalogue, 1994. Meier, Andreas, ed. 1994. *Preisträgerinnen und Preisträger des eidgenössischen Wettbewerbs für Gestaltung 1993 = Lauréates et lauréats du concours fédéral des arts appliqués 1993 = Premiate e Premiati del concorso federale delle arte applicate 1993*. Bern: Federal Office of Culture; Lucerne: Schule für Gestaltung Luzern. / Heinrich Schaufelberger, Eidgenössisches Wettbewerb für Gestaltung 1994, exhibition catalogue, 1995. FOC. 1995. *Preisträgerinnen und Preisträger des Eidgenössischen Wettbewerbs für Gestaltung 1994 = Lauréates et lauréats du Concours fédéral des arts appliqués 1994 = Premiate e premiati del Concorso federale delle arte applicate 1994*. Bern: Federal Office of Culture; Basel: Schule für Gestaltung Basel.

/ Hanna Koller, Concours fédéral des arts appliqués 1995, exhibition catalogue, 1996. FOC. 1996. *Lauréates et lauréats du concours fédéral des arts appliqués 1995 = Preisträgerinnen und Preisträger des Eidgenössischen Wettbewerbs für Gestaltung 1995 = Premiate et premiati del Concorso federale delle arti applicati 1995*. Bern: Federal Office of Culture; Geneva: Musée Ariana. / Hanna Koller, Prix fédéraux des arts appliqués 2000, exhibition catalogue, 2000. FOC. 2000. *Eidgenössische Preise für Gestaltung 2000 = Prix fédéraux des arts appliqués 2000 = Premi federali delle arti applicate 2000*. Bern: Federal Office of Culture; Zurich: Museum Bellerive. © Composite and Photograph: Jonas Berthod.

Fig. 3.19 Elektrosmog and Julia Born, Swiss Design 2002, exhibition catalogue, 2002. Crivelli, Patrizia, Mirjam Fischer, Karin Schneuwly, and Kathrin Stirnemann, eds. 2002. *Swiss Design 2002: Netzwerke / Réseaux / Networks*. Baden: Lars Müller. © Photograph: Jonas Berthod.

Fig. 3.20 *ibid*.

Fig. 3.21 *ibid*.

Fig. 3.22 Swiss Design Awards 2002 jury, documentation photograph, 18 February 2002. FOC, digital archives. © Federal Office of Culture.

Fig. 3.23 Swiss Design Awards 2002 jury, documentation photograph, 18 February 2002. FOC, digital archives. © Federal Office of Culture.

Fig. 3.24 Elektrosmog and Julia Born, Swiss Design 2002, exhibition catalogue, 2002. Crivelli, Patrizia, Mirjam Fischer, Karin Schneuwly, and Kathrin Stirnemann, eds. 2002. *Swiss Design 2002: Netzwerke / Réseaux / Networks*. Baden: Lars Müller. © Photograph: Jonas Berthod.

Fig. 3.25 *ibid*.

Fig. 3.26 *ibid*.

Fig. 3.27 *ibid*.

Fig. 3.28 Illustration: Bastien Aubry. *ibid*.

Fig. 3.29 *ibid*.

Fig. 3.30 Thomas Bruggisser and Michel Fries, Benzin, publication, 2000. Bruggisser, Thomas, and Michel Fries, eds. 2000. *Benzin*. Baden: Lars Müller. © Photograph: Jonas Berthod.

Fig. 3.31 Elektrosmog, Swiss Design Awards 2003, exhibition catalogue, 2003. Bédat, Stéphanie, Patrizia Crivelli, Mirjam Fischer, Martina Kuoni, and Karin Schneuwly, eds. 2003. *Swiss Design 2003: Désir Design*. Baden: Lars Müller. © Photograph: Jonas Berthod.

Fig. 3.32 Elektrosmog, Swiss Design Awards 2004, exhibition catalogue, 2004. Elliman, Paul, Joachim Huber, Renate Menzi, Sybille Omline, and Kathrin Stirnemann. 2004. *Swiss Design 2004: Innovation*. Edited by Patrizia Crivelli and Kathrin Stirnemann. Baden: Lars Müller. © Photograph: Jonas Berthod.

Fig. 3.33 Rachel Imboden, *Public Privacy*, newspaper, 2002. ZHdK / MfGZ GBA-2002-D09-010. © All Rights Reserved: Zürcher Hochschule der Künste / Archiv.

Fig. 3.34 Hannah Koller, Concours fédéral des arts appliqués 1995, exhibition catalogue, 1996. FOC. 1996. *Lauréates et lauréats du concours fédéral des arts appliqués 1995 = Preisträgerinnen und Preisträger des Eidgenössischen Wettbewerbs für Gestaltung 1995 = Premiate et premiati del Concorso federale delle arti applicati 1995*. Bern: Federal Office of Culture; Geneva: Musée Ariana. © Photograph: Jonas Berthod.

Fig. 3.35 Elektrosmog, Swiss Design 2002, exhibition catalogue, 2002. Crivelli, Patrizia, Mirjam Fischer, Karin Schneuwly, and Kathrin Stirnemann, eds. 2002. *Swiss Design 2002: Netzwerke / Réseaux / Networks*. Baden: Lars Müller. © Photograph: Jonas Berthod.

Fig. 3.36 Megi Zumstein, Visualisierung der Sprache, publication, 2001. Megi Zumstein, personal archives, Zurich/Lucerne. © Photograph: Jonas Berthod.

Fig. 3.37 Megi Zumstein, Visualisierung der Sprache, video still, 2001. Megi Zumstein, personal archives, Zurich/Lucerne. © Megi Zumstein.

Fig. 3.38 Megi Zumstein, Visualisierung der Sprache, interactive animation still, 2001. Megi Zumstein, personal archives, Zurich/Lucerne. © Megi Zumstein.

Fig. 3.39 Elektrosmog, Swiss Design 2002, exhibition catalogue, 2002. Crivelli, Patrizia, Mirjam Fischer, Karin Schneuwly, and Kathrin Stirnemann, eds. 2002. *Swiss Design 2002: Netzwerke / Réseaux / Networks*. Baden: Lars Müller. © Photograph: Jonas Berthod.

Fig. 3.40 NORM, The Things, posters, 2002. © Federal Office of Culture.

Fig. 3.41 NORM, The Things, publication, 2002. NORM. 2002. *The Things*. Zurich: NORM. © Photograph: Jonas Berthod.

Fig. 3.42 Elektrosmog, Swiss Design 2002, exhibition catalogue, 2002. Crivelli, Patrizia, Mirjam Fischer, Karin Schneuwly, and Kathrin Stirnemann, eds. 2002. *Swiss Design 2002: Netzwerke / Réseaux / Networks*. Baden: Lars Müller. © Photograph: Jonas Berthod.

Fig. 3.43 Gilles Gavillet, Across/Art/Suisse/1975–2000, publication, 2001. Bovier, Lionel, ed. 2001. *Across/Art/Suisse/1975–2000*. Milan: Skira. © Photograph: Jonas Berthod.

Fig. 3.44 Gilles Gavillet, Timewave Zero, publication, 2001. Bovier, Lionel, and Mai-Thu Perret, eds. 2001. *Timewave Zero: a Psychedelic Reader*. Geneva: JRP Editions; Graz: Grazer Kunstverein. © Photograph: Jonas Berthod.

Fig. 3.45 Gilles Gavillet, Common Grounds, publication, 2002. Gygi, Fabrice. 2002. *Gygi: Common Grounds*. Geneva: JRP Editions; Bern: Federal Office of Culture. © Photograph: Jonas Berthod.

Fig. 3.46 Gilles Gavillet and Cornel Windlin, The Most Beautiful Swiss Books 2000, exhibition catalogue, 2001. Fischer, Mirjam, ed. 2001. *The Most Beautiful Swiss Books 2000*. Bern: Federal Office of Culture. © Federal Office of Culture.

Fig. 4.1 Cornel Windlin, I'm young naughty and need to be punished, business card, ca 1995. FOC. 1996. *Lauréates et lauréats du concours fédéral des arts appliqués 1995 = Preisträgerinnen und Preisträger des Eidgenössischen Wettbewerbs für Gestaltung 1995 = Premiate et premiati del Concorso federale delle arti applicati 1995*. Bern: Federal Office of Culture; Geneva: Musée Ariana. © Photograph: Jonas Berthod.

Fig. 4.2 Cornel Windlin, Rote Fabrik, poster, ca 1995. ZHdK / MfGZ / Plakatsammlung 69-0825. © Photograph: Courtesy of the Museum für Gestaltung Zürich, Poster Collection, ZHdK.

Fig. 4.3 Peter Tillessen, photograph, 2000. © Peter Tillessen.

Fig. 4.4 Peter Tillessen, photograph, 2000. © Peter Tillessen.

Fig. 4.5 Peter Tillessen, photograph, 2000. © Peter Tillessen.

Fig. 4.6 Peter Tillessen, photograph, 2000. © Peter Tillessen.

Fig. 4.7 Peter Tillessen, photograph, 2000. © Peter Tillessen.

Fig. 4.8 Peter Tillessen, photograph, 2000. © Peter Tillessen.

Fig. 4.9 Körner Union, Swiss Design Awards 2005, photograph, 2005. Originally published in Baur, Andrea, Mirjam Fischer, and Kathrin Stirnemann, eds. 2005. *Federal Design Grants 2005*. Basel: Birkhäuser. © Körner Union and Federal Office of Culture.

Fig. 4.10 NORM, business card, 2000. NORM, personal archives, Zurich. © Photograph: Jonas Berthod.
Fig. 4.11 NORM, business card, 2000. NORM, personal archives, Zurich. © Photograph: Jonas Berthod.
Fig. 4.12 NORM, website, ca 2000. http://web.archive.org/web/20030217232256/http://www.norm.to/. Accessed 24 March 2021. © Screen capture Jonas Berthod.
Fig. 4.13 NORM, compliment slip, 2000. NORM, personal archives, Zurich. © Photograph: Jonas Berthod.
Fig. 4.14 Hi/Megi Zumstein and Claudio Barandun, website, ca 2007. http://web.archive.org/web/20070408114654/http://www.hi-web.ch:80/. Accessed 24 March 2021. © Screen capture Jonas Berthod.
Fig. 4.15 Hi/Megi Zumstein and Claudio Barandun, alphabet postcard, 2007. Hi/Megi Zumstein and Claudio Barandun, personal archives, Zurich. © Photograph: Jonas Berthod.
Fig. 4.16 Hi/Megi Zumstein and Claudio Barandun, Typo ist dein Freund, postcard, 2008. Hi/Megi Zumstein and Claudio Barandun, personal archives, Zurich. © Photograph: Jonas Berthod.
Fig. 4.17 Megi Zumstein, website, ca 2020. https://megizumstein.ch. Accessed 24 March 2021. © Screen capture Jonas Berthod.
Fig. 4.18 NORM, Introduction, publication, 1999. NORM. 1999. *Introduction*. Zurich: NORM. © Photograph: Jonas Berthod.
Fig. 4.19 NORM, Introduction, publication, 1999. NORM. 1999. *Introduction*. Zurich: NORM. © Photograph: Jonas Berthod.
Fig. 4.20 Laurent Benner, Pez type specimen, Letraset sheet, 2000. Laurent Benner, personal archives, London. © Photograph: Jonas Berthod.
Fig. 4.21 Laurenz Brunner, Akkurat type specimen, series of publications and envelope, 2004. ZhDK / MfGZ A BRUN 6-1. © Laurenz Brunner. Photograph: Courtesy of the Museum für Gestaltung Zürich, Poster Collection, ZHdK.
Fig. 4.22 Optimo, Optimo type specimen, booklet, 1998. © Photograph: Jonas Berthod.
Fig. 4.23 Optimo, Optimo type specimen, booklet, 1998. © Photograph: Jonas Berthod.
Fig. 5.1 Silex, Caroline Sury and Pakito Bolino, Silex 14, publication, 1999. © Photograph: Jonas Berthod.
Fig. 5.2 Hanna Koller, Eidgenössische Preise Für Gestaltung 1999, exhibition catalogue, 1999. FOC. 1999. *Eidgenössische Preise Für Gestaltung 1999 = Prix Fédéraux Des Arts Appliqués 1999 = Premi Federali Delle Arti Applicate 1999*. Bern: Swiss Federal Office of Culture. © Photograph: Jonas Berthod.
Fig. 5.3 See table 7.2 for sources.
Fig. 5.4 Jonas Berthod, network visualisation, 2021. © Jonas Berthod.
Fig. 5.5 Laurenz Brunner, The Most Beautiful Swiss Books 2009, exhibition catalogue, 2010. Imhasly, Anisha, Laurenz Brunner, and Tan Wälchli, eds. 2010. *The Most Beautiful Swiss Books 2009: the Future Issue*. Bern: Swiss Federal Office of Culture. © Photograph: Jonas Berthod.
Fig. 5.6 Cornel Windlin, Select/Arrange, furniture catalogue, 2005. Vitra. 2005. *Select/Arrange*. Weil am Rhein: Vitra. © Photograph: Jonas Berthod.
Fig. 5.7 Jonas Berthod, network visualisation, 2021. © Jonas Berthod.
Fig. 5.8 Gilles Gavillet and Cornel Windlin, The Most Beautiful Swiss Books 2000, exhibition catalogue, 2001. Fischer, Mirjam, ed. 2001. *The Most Beautiful Swiss Books 2000*. Bern: Federal Office of Culture. © Photograph: Jonas Berthod.
Fig. 5.9 Ralph Schraivogel, Eidgenössisches Stipendium für angewandte Kunst 1990, exhibition catalogue, 1991. Lichtenstein, Claude, and Doris Brem, eds. 1991. *Die StipendiatInnen des eidgenössischen Stipendiums für angewandte Kunst 1990 = Lauréats de la Bourse fédérale des arts appliqués 1990*. Bern: Federal Office of Culture; Zurich: Museum für Gestaltung. © Photograph: Jonas Berthod.
Fig. 5.10 Jonas Berthod, network visualisation, 2021. © Jonas Berthod.
Fig. 5.11 Marietta Eugster and Maximage, series of catalogues, ca 2012. © Photograph: Maximage.
Fig. 5.12 See table 7.3 for sources.
Fig. 5.13 See table 7.2 for sources.
Fig. 5.14 Erich Brechbühl, Between Me and Tomorrow, poster, 2012. © Erich Brechbühl.
Fig. 6.1 Lineto, La police des polices, advertisement, 2002. Bailey, Stuart, and Peter Bil'ak, eds. 2002. *Dot Dot Dot* (5): n.p. © Photograph: Jonas Berthod.
Fig. 6.2 Junge Grafik competition, website, 2021. https://jungegrafik.ch. Accessed 4 May 2021. © Screen capture Jonas Berthod.
Fig. 7.1–Fig. 7.3 Jonas Berthod, network visualisation, 2021. © Jonas Berthod.

7.5 Tables

Table 7.1 Number of applicants to the SDA between 1970 and 2000. Sources: Crivelli 1997; 2004a; 2005; Crivelli et al 2002; FOC 1993; 1995; 1996; 1997; 1998; 1999a; 1999b; 2000; n.d.; Lichtenstein & Brem 1991; Lippuner & Buxcel 1989; Meier 1994; Polatti 1992; Stirnemann 2005; and data provided directly by the FOC's Design Service/Matilde Tettamanti.

Year	Applicants	SDA
1970	170	48
1971	181	53
1972	181	42
1973	204	42
1974	183	49
1975	197	47
1976	187	51
1977	248	39
1978	239	48
1979	263	41
1980	220	26
1981	183	30
1982	246	28
1983	305	29
1984	261	34
1985	239	31
1986	217	29
1987	167	25
1988	221	26
1989	209	21
1990	197	20
1991	159	23
1992	172	19
1993	175	21
1994	224	24
1995	203	17

Year	Applicants	SDA
1996	223	22
1997	210	18
1998	188	18
1999	266	22
2000	229	17
2001	246	16
2002	260	24
2003	277	29
2004	348	20
2005	221	24
2006	231	18
2007	206	25
2008	210	19
2009	239	17
2010	240	28
2011	266	24
2012	288	20
2013	276	20
2014	252	20
2015	272	18
2016	185	13
2017	240	17
2018	270	17
2019	220	17
2020	202	37

Year	SDA Win	SDA Nomination	Design Preis Schweiz	Jan Tschich. Prize	Grand Prix Design	Name (group)	Name	Born	Age at win	Gender	Pro rata age
1990	1						Cathérine Gauchat	1956	34	Female	34
1990	1						Marco Ganz	1961	29	Male	29
1990	1						Pascal Knoepfel	1961	29	Male	29
1990	0.33					Knobel / Oberholzer / Tagli	Ray Knobel	1956	34	Male	11.33333333
1990	0.33					Knobel / Oberholzer / Tagli	Renato Tagli	1956	34	Male	11.33333333
1990	0.33					Knobel / Oberholzer / Tagli	Sabina Oberholzer	1958	32	Female	10.66666667
1991	1						Claudius Gentinetta	1968	23	Male	23
1991	1						Hjordis Dreschel	1954	37	Female	37
1991	1						Pierre Lipschutz	1956	35	Male	35
1991	1						Ruth Schürmann	1953	38	Female	38
1991	1						Sandra Binder	1965	26	Female	26
1992	1						Cathérine Gauchat	1956	36	Female	36
1992	1						Mascha Müller	1960	32	Female	32
1992	1						Sasha Rhyner	1959	33	Female	33
1993	1						Anne Hogge	1964	29	Female	29
1993	1						Cornel Windlin	1964	29	Male	29
1993	1						Flavia Cocchi	1962	31	Female	31
1993	1						Roland Fischbacher	1956	37	Male	37
1993	1						Thomas Ott	1966	27	Male	27
1994	1						Claudius Gentinetta	1968	26	Male	26
1994	1						Karoline Schreiber	1969	25	Female	25
1994	1						Mayo Bucher	1963	31	Male	31
1994	1						Pascal Knoepfel	1961	33	Male	33
1994	0.5					Raphael Bachmann & Roland Limacher	Raphael Bachmann	1957	37	Male	18.5
1994	0.5					Raphael Bachmann & Roland Limacher	Roland Limacher	1958	36	Male	18

The winners and nominees of the SDA, Design Preis Schweiz, Jan Tschichold Prize and Grand Prix Design between 1990 and 2020. Sources: Crivelli 1997; 2004a; 2005; Crivelli et al 2002; FOC 1993; 1995; 1996; 1997; 1998; 1999a; 1999b; 2000; n.d.; Lichtenstein & Brem 1991; Lippuner & Buxcel 1989; Meier 1994; Polatti 1992; Stirnemann 2005; and data provided directly by the FOC's Design Service/Matilde Tettamanti.

1995	1						Cornel Windlin	1964	31	Male	31
1995	1						M.S. Bastian	1963	32	Male	32
1995	1						Philippe Loup	1967	28	Male	28
1995	1						Ralph Schraivogel	1960	35	Male	35
1996	1						André Baldinger	1963	33	Male	33
1996	1						Andreas Gefe	1966	30	Male	30
1996	1						Karoline Schreiber	1969	27	Female	27
1996	1						Marco Ganz	1961	35	Male	35
1997	1						Flavia Cocchi	1962	35	Female	35
1997	1						Pascal Knoepfel	1961	36	Male	36
1997	1						Ralph Schraivogel	1960	37	Male	37
1997	1						Stephan Müller	1965	32	Male	32
1998	1					Lineto	Cornel Windlin	1964	34	Male	34
1998	1						David Rust	1969	29	Male	29
1998	1						Helge Reumann	1966	32	Male	32
1998	1						M.S. Bastian	1963	35	Male	35
1999	0.17					SILEX	Anna Albisetti	1969	30	Female	5
1999	0.17					SILEX	Aude Lehmann	1976	23	Female	3.833333333
1999	0.17					SILEX	Bastien Aubry	1974	25	Male	4.166666667
1999	0.5						David Rust	1969	30	Male	15
1999	0.17					SILEX	Dimitri Broquard	1969	30	Male	5
1999	0.17					SILEX	Dimitri Bruni	1970	29	Male	4.833333333
1999	0.5						Gilles Gavillet	1973	26	Male	13
1999	1						Judith Zaugg	1970	29	Female	29
1999	0.17					SILEX	Manuel Krebs	1970	29	Male	4.833333333
1999	1						Martin Woodtli	1971	28	Male	28
1999	0.33					Stefan Feuz / Ueli Hinder / Niklaus Schlatter	Niklaus Schlatter	1972	27	Male	9
1999	0.33					Stefan Feuz / Ueli Hinder / Niklaus Schlatter	Stefan Feuz	1968	31	Male	10.33333333
1999	0.33					Stefan Feuz / Ueli Hinder / Niklaus Schlatter	Ueli Hinder	1966	33	Male	11
2000	0.5					NORM	Dimitri Bruni	1970	30	Male	15
2000	0.5					NORM	Manuel Krebs	1970	30	Male	15

2000	1						Mathias Schweizer	1974	26	Male	26
2000	1						Ralph Schraivogel	1960	40	Male	40
2001	1						Aïsha Enz	1976	25	Female	25
2001	1						Angelo Benedetto	1971	30	Male	30
2001	1					Lehmann and Wälchli	Aude Lehmann	1976	25	Female	25
2001	1						Claudia Röthlisberger	1973	28	Female	28
2001	0.33					Vectorama	Jürg Lehni	1978	23	Male	7.666666667
2001	1					Reala, Dreck Records	Laurent Benner	1975	26	Male	26
2001	0.5					[collaboration with non graphic designers]	Marco Walser	1973	28	Male	14
2001	0.5					Happypets Products[1]	Patrick Monnier	1974	27	Male	13.5
2001	0.33					Vectorama	Rafael Koch	1976	25	Male	8.333333333
2001	0.33					Vectorama	Urs Lehni	1974	27	Male	9
2001	0.5					[collaboration with non graphic designers]	Valentin Hindermann	1966	35	Male	17.5
2001	0.5					Happypets Products[2]	Violène Pont	1974	27	Female	13.5
2002	1						Anne Crausaz	1970	32	Female	32
2002	0.33					Happypets Products	Cédric Henny	1971	31	Male	10.33333333
2002	0.5					NORM	Dimitri Bruni	1970	32	Male	16
2002	1					Gavillet & Rust	Gilles Gavillet	1973	29	Male	29
2002	0.5					Schönwehrs	Gregor Schönborn	1977	25	Male	12.5
2002	1						Judith Zaugg	1970	32	Female	32
2002	0.5					NORM	Manuel Krebs	1970	32	Male	16
2002	1						Megi Zumstein	1973	29	Female	29
2002	0.5					Schönwehrs	Niels Wehrspann	1974	28	Male	14
2002	0.33					Happypets Products	Patrick Monnier	1974	28	Male	9.333333333
2002	1						Rachel Imboden	1977	25	Female	25
2002	0.33					Happypets Products	Violène Pont	1974	28	Female	9.333333333
2003	1					Flag	Bastien Aubry	1974	29	Male	29
2003	0.5					Bonbon	Diego Bontognali	1977	26	Male	13
2003	1						Gino Marco Esposto	1973	30	Male	30
2003	0.5					The Remingtons	Jonas Voegeli	1979	24	Male	12
2003	1						Julia Born	1975	28	Female	28

2003	1						Jürg Lehni	1978	25	Male	25
2003	0.5					The Remingtons	Ludovic Balland	1973	30	Male	15
2003	0.5					Elektrosmog	Marco Walser	1973	30	Male	15
2003	1						Rahel Arnold	1976	27	Female	27
2003	1						Susanne Egli	1973	30	Female	30
2003	1						Ulrich Francke	1978	25	Male	25
2003	0.5					Elektrosmog	Valentin Hindermann	1966	37	Male	18.5
2003	0.5					Bonbon	Valeria Bonin	1978	25	Female	12.5
2004	1						Franziska Burkhardt	1972	32	Female	32
2004	1					Silex	Gregory Gilbert-Lodge	1967	37	Male	37
2004	1					Reala, Dreck Records	Laurent Benner	1975	29	Male	29
2004	1						Lex Trüb	1971	33	Male	33
2004	1						Sandrine Pelletier	1976	28	Female	28
2005	1						Annik Troxler	1979	26	Female	26
2005	1						Caroline Vogel	1980	25	Female	25
2005	0.5					Erich Moser / Cybu Richli	Cybu Richli	1977	28	Male	14
2005	0.5					Erich Moser / Cybu Richli	Erich Moser	1977	28	Male	14
2005	1						Ian Party	1977	28	Male	28
2005				0.5		Elektrosmog	Marco Walser	1973	32	Male	
2005	1						Rafael Koch	1976	29	Male	29
2005	1						Roman Bleichenbacher	1975	30	Male	30
2005	1					Lineto	Stephan Müller	1965	40	Male	40
2005	1						Urs Lehni	1974	31	Male	31
2005				0.5		Elektrosmog	Valentin Hindermann	1966	39	Male	
2006	1						Aurèle Sack	1977	29	Male	29
2006				0.5		Gavillet & Rust	David Rust	1969	37	Male	
2006				0.5		Gavillet & Rust	Gilles Gavillet	1973	33	Male	
2006	1						Guy Meldem	1980	26	Male	26
2006	1						Jürg Lehni	1978	28	Male	28
2006	1						Laurenz Brunner	1980	26	Male	26
2006	1						Pascale Osterwalder	1979	27	Female	27

2006	1						Régis Tosetti	1982	24	Male	24
2006	1						Sibylle Hagmann	1965	41	Female	41
2007	0.5			0.5		Prill & Vieceli	Alberto Vieceli	1965	42	Male	21
2007	0.5					Flag	Bastien Aubry	1974	33	Male	16.5
2007	1						Camille Sauthier	1983	24	Male	24
2007	0.5					Noémie Arrigo / Corina Neuenschwander	Corina Neuenschwander	1980	27	Female	13.5
2007					1		Cornel Windlin	1964	43	Male	
2007	0.5					Gavillet & Rust	David Rust	1969	38	Male	19
2007	0.5					Flag	Dimitri Broquard	1969	38	Male	19
2007	0.33					Elena Rendina / Nazareno Crea / Joe Rohrer	Elena Rendina	1985	22	Female	7.333333333
2007	1					Novembre magazine	Florence Tétier	1983	24	Female	24
2007	0.5					Gavillet & Rust	Gilles Gavillet	1973	34	Male	17
2007	0.5					Tatiana Rihs / Guy Meldem	Guy Meldem	1980	27	Male	13.5
2007	0.33					Elena Rendina / Nazareno Crea / Joe Rohrer	Joe Rohrer	1979	28	Male	9.333333333
2007	1						Julia Born	1975	32	Female	32
2007	0.5					Remo Caminada / Ludovic Innocent Varone	Ludovic Varone	1977	30	Male	15
2007	1						Lyne Friederich	1983	24	Female	24
2007	0.5					Elektrosmog	Marco Walser	1973	34	Male	17
2007	0.33					Elena Rendina / Nazareno Crea / Joe Rohrer	Nazareno Crea	1983	24	Male	8
2007	0.5					Noémie Arrigo / Corina Neuenschwander	Noémie Arrigo	1981	26	Female	13
2007	0.5					Remo Caminada / Ludovic Innocent Varone	Remo Caminada	1974	33	Male	16.5
2007	0.5			0.5		Prill & Vieceli	Tania Prill	1969	38	Female	19
2007	0.5					Tatiana Rihs / Guy Meldem	Tatiana Rihs	1976	31	Female	15.5
2007	0.5					Elektrosmog	Valentin Hindermann	1966	41	Male	20.5
2008	0.5					Prill & Vieceli	Alberto Vieceli	1965	43	Male	21.5
2008				1			Aude Lehmann	1976	32	Female	
2008	1					Glashaus, Raphistory	Ivan Sterzinger	1977	31	Male	31
2008	1						Katja Naima Schalcher	1978	30	Female	30
2008	1						Lex Trüb	1971	37	Male	37
2008	1						Lukas Zimmer	1980	28	Male	28
2008	1						Nicolas Eigenheer	1983	25	Male	25

2008	0.5					Prill & Vieceli	Tania Prill	1969	39	Female	19.5
2009	1						Carolina Cerbaro	1976	33	Female	33
2009	0.5					David Keshavjee / Julien Tavelli	David Keshavjee	1985	24	Male	12
2009	1						Eric Andersen	1981	28	Male	28
2009	1					Glashaus	Gregor Huber	1978	31	Male	31
2009	0.5					Tatiana Rihs / Guy Meldem	Guy Meldem	1980	29	Male	14.5
2009	1						Jonas Voegeli	1979	30	Male	30
2009	0.5					David Keshavjee / Julien Tavelli	Julien Tavelli	1984	25	Male	12.5
2009	1						Marie Lusa	1976	33	Female	33
2009	1					Körner Union	Sami Benhadj	1977	32	Male	32
2009	0.5					Tatiana Rihs / Guy Meldem	Tatiana Rihs	1976	33	Female	16.5
2010	1						Aurèle Sack	1977	33	Male	33
2010	1						Bruno Margreth	1973	37	Male	37
2010	0.5					Bonbon	Diego Bontognali	1977	33	Male	16.5
2010	0.5					Erol Gemma / Nazareno Crea	Erol Gemma	1980	30	Male	15
2010	0.5					Johnson / Kingston	Ivan Weiss	1981	29	Male	14.5
2010	1						Jeremy Schorderet	1981	29	Male	29
2010	1					Reala, Dreck Records	Laurent Benner	1975	35	Male	35
2010	1						Lukas Zimmermann	1977	33	Male	33
2010	0.5					Johnson / Kingston	Michael Kryenbühl	1985	25	Male	12.5
2010	0.5					Erol Gemma / Nazareno Crea	Nazareno Crea	1983	27	Male	13.5
2010	1						Urs Lehni	1974	36	Male	36
2010	1						Valentin Brustaux	1978	32	Male	32
2010	0.5					Bonbon	Valeria Bonin	1978	32	Female	16
2010	1						Vincent Devaud	1984	26	Male	26
2011	0.5					Anthon Astrom / Lukas Zimmer	Anthon Astrom	1983	28	Male	14
2011	0.5					Maximage	David Keshavjee	1985	26	Male	13
2011					0.5	NORM	Dimitri Bruni	1970	41	Male	
2011	1						Eric Andersen	1981	30	Male	30
2011	0.33					ROKFOR	Gina Bucher	1978	33	Female	11
2011				1			Julia Born	1975	36	Female	

2011	0.5					Maximage	Julien Tavelli	1984	27	Male	13.5
2011	1						Ludovic Balland	1973	38	Male	38
2011	0.5					Anthon Astrom / Lukas Zimmer	Lukas Zimmer	1980	31	Male	15.5
2011					0.5	NORM	Manuel Krebs	1970	41	Male	
2011	0.33					ROKFOR	Rafael Koch	1976	35	Male	11.66666667
2011	0.33					ROKFOR	Urs Hofer	1976	35	Male	11.66666667
2012		1					Alexander Aeschbach	1977	35	Male	
2012		1					Corina Neuenschwander	1980	32	Female	
2012		1					Dan Solbach	1987	25	Male	
2012	0.5					Mamie / Todeschini	David Mamie	1975	37	Male	18.5
2012					0.5	Gavillet & Rust	David Rust	1969	43	Male	
2012	1						Esther Rieser	1977	35	Female	35
2012					0.5	Gavillet & Rust	Gilles Gavillet	1973	39	Male	
2012	0.5					Glashaus	Gregor Huber	1978	34	Male	17
2012	0.5					Glashaus	Ivan Sterzinger	1977	35	Male	17.5
2012		0.5				Johnson / Kingston	Ivan Weiss	1981	31	Male	
2012	1						Jan Abellan	1986	26	Male	26
2012		0.5				Matthias Michel / Jonas Voegeli	Jonas Voegeli	1979	33	Male	
2012					1		Karl Gerstner	1930	82	Male	
2012	0.5					BIV	Kristin Irion	1965	47	Female	23.5
2012	1						Laurenz Brunner	1980	32	Male	32
2012	1						Ludovic Balland	1973	39	Male	39
2012		0.5				Simon Egli / Marco Müller	Marco Müller	1979	33	Male	
2012		1				Atlas Studio	Martin Andereggen	1985	27	Male	
2012		0.5				Matthias Michel / Jonas Voegeli	Matthias Michel	1969	43	Male	
2012		1					Matthieu Cortat	1982	30	Male	
2012		0.5				Johnson / Kingston	Michael Kryenbühl	1985	27	Male	
2012	0.5					BIV	Natalie Bringolf	1964	48	Female	24
2012	0.5					Mamie / Todeschini	Nicola Todeschini	1978	34	Male	17
2012		1				Grilli	Reto Moser	1983	29	Male	
2012		0.5				Simon Egli / Marco Müller	Simon Egli	1976	36	Male	

2012		1					Vincent Devaud	1984	28	Male	
2013					1		Armin Hofmann	1920	93	Male	
2013		0.33				Raffinerie	Christian Haas	1974	39	Male	
2013		0.33				Atlas Studio	Claudio Gasser	1985	28	Male	
2013	1						Corina Neuenschwander	1980	33	Female	33
2013		0.5				Modern Office	Corinne Gisel	1987	26	Female	
2013		1					Dan Solbach	1987	26	Male	
2013		1				Flag	Dimitri Broquard	1969	44	Male	
2013	0.33					Novembre magazine	Florence Tétier	1983	30	Female	10
2013	0.33					Novembre magazine	Florian Joye	1979	34	Male	11.33333333
2013	0.5					Guillaume Chuard / Renato Zülli	Guillaume Chuard	1986	27	Male	13.5
2013		0.33				Raffinerie	Helen Pombo	1981	32	Female	
2013	0.33					Novembre magazine	Jeanne-Salomé Rochat	1986	27	Female	9
2013		0.33				Atlas Studio	Jonas Wandeler	1983	30	Male	
2013	1					Maximage	Julien Tavelli	1984	29	Male	29
2013		0.5				Kasper-Florio	Larissa Kasper	1986	27	Female	
2013		0.33				Raffinerie	Marcus Kraft	1980	33	Male	
2013	1						Marie Lusa	1976	37	Female	37
2013		0.33				Atlas Studio	Martin Andereggen	1985	28	Male	
2013	1						Nadja Zimmermann	1980	33	Female	33
2013		0.5				Modern Office	Nina Paim	1986	27	Female	
2013		0.25				Grilli	Noël Leu	1984	29	Male	
2013		0.5				VLMP	Onofrio Magro	1982	31	Male	
2013		0.25				Grilli	Patrick Savolainen	1988	25	Male	
2013	0.5					Guillaume Chuard / Renato Zülli	Renato Zülli	1985	28	Male	14
2013		0.25				Grilli	Reto Moser	1983	30	Male	
2013		0.5				Kasper-Florio	Rosario Florio	1980	33	Male	
2013	1					Lineto	Stephan Müller	1965	48	Male	48
2013		1					Teo Schifferli	1988	25	Male	
2013		1					Thibault Brevet	1988	25	Male	
2013		0.25				Grilli	Thierry Blancpain	1985	28	Male	

2013		0.5				VLMP	Valeria Panizza	1983	30	Female	
2013		1					Vela Arbutina	1978	35	Female	
2014	0.33					Prill Vieceli Cremers	Alberto Vieceli	1965	49	Male	16.33333333
2014		1					Alina Günter	1983	31	Female	
2014	0.33					Eugster / Keshavjee / Koller	Andreas Koller	1983	31	Male	10.33333333
2014	1						Aurèle Sack	1977	37	Male	37
2014		1					Benjamin Muzzin	1989	25	Male	
2014	0.33					Atlas Studio	Claudio Gasser	1985	29	Male	9.666666667
2014	0.33					Eugster / Keshavjee / Koller	David Keshavjee	1985	29	Male	9.666666667
2014		1					Eric Andersen	1981	33	Male	
2014		1					Guillaume Jean-Mairet	1991	23	Male	
2014		1					Jonas Marguet	1982	32	Male	
2014	0.33					Atlas Studio	Jonas Wandeler	1983	31	Male	10.33333333
2014		0.5				Kasper-Florio	Larissa Kasper	1986	28	Female	
2014	1						Louisa Gagliardi	1989	25	Female	25
2014		1					Louise Paradis	1980	34	Female	
2014		1					Manuel Trautmann	1986	28	Male	
2014	0.33					Eugster / Keshavjee / Koller	Marietta Eugster	1985	29	Female	9.666666667
2014	0.33					Atlas Studio	Martin Andereggen	1985	29	Male	9.666666667
2014		1					Pascal Staub	1975	39	Male	
2014		1					Pascal Storz	1980	34	Male	
2014	1						Robert Huber	1982	32	Male	32
2014	1						Ronny Hunger	1985	29	Male	29
2014		0.5				Kasper-Florio	Rosario Florio	1980	34	Male	
2014	0.33					Prill Vieceli Cremers	Sebastian Cremers	1976	38	Male	12.66666667
2014	1						Simone Koller	1980	34	Female	34
2014	0.33					Prill Vieceli Cremers	Tania Prill	1969	45	Female	15
2014		1					Tobias Gutmann	1987	27	Male	
2014	1						Vincent Devaud	1984	30	Male	30
2014					1		Wolfgang Weingart	1941	73	Male	
2015					0.33	Team'77	André Gürtler	1936	79	Male	

2015	1						Anna Haas	1982	33	Female	33
2015					0.33	Team'77	Christian Mengelt	1938	77		
2015		1					Dan Solbach	1987	28	Male	
2015		1					David Mamie	1975	40	Male	
2015		0.5				Hammer	David Schatz	1980	35	Male	
2015		1					Dirk Koy	1977	38	Male	
2015					0.33	Team'77	Erich Gschwind	1947	68		
2015		1					Franziska Burkhardt	1972	43	Female	
2015	1						Giliane Cachin	1990	25	Female	25
2015		1					Julien Mercier	1988	27	Male	
2015					1		Lora Lamm	1928	87	Female	
2015	1						Louis Lüthi	1980	35	Male	35
2015		1					Mateo Broillet	1990	25	Male	
2015	1						Mauro Paolozzi	1975	40	Male	40
2015	1						Nina Paim	1986	29	Female	29
2015	1						Pascal Storz	1980	35	Male	35
2015		1					Philipp Herrmann	1981	34	Male	
2015		1					Ramaya Tegegne	1985	30	Female	
2015		0.5				Hammer	Sereina Rothenberger	1981	34	Female	
2015		1					Tobias Gutmann	1987	28	Male	
2015				1			Urs Lehni	1984	31	Male	
2015	1					Kodoji Press	Winfried Heininger	1962	53	Male	53
2015		1				Fatype	Yassin Baggar	1985	30	Male	
2016	1						Alice Franchetti	1991	25	Female	25
2016		1					Alice Kolb	1988	28	Female	
2016		1					Christof Nüssli	1986	30	Male	
2016		1					Dan Solbach	1987	29	Male	
2016		1					Emmanuel Crivelli	1985	31	Male	
2016		0.5				Goran Galic / Marco Müller	Goran Galic	1977	39	Male	
2016		1					Izet Sheshivari	1981	35	Male	
2016				1			Ludovic Balland	1973	43	Male	

2016		0.5				Goran Galic / Marco Müller	Marco Müller	1979	37	Male	
2016		1					Marie Lusa	1976	40	Female	
2016	0.5					Pause ohne Ende	Matthias Hachen	1982	34	Male	17
2016	0.5					Pause ohne Ende	Mischa Hedinger	1984	32	Female	16
2016					1		Ralph Schraivogel	1960	56	Male	
2016		1					Sandra Carrera	1986	30	Female	
2016		1					Stephane Delgado	1973	43	Male	
2016	1						Teo Schifferli	1988	28	Male	28
2016		1					Vela Arbutina	1978	38	Female	
2016		1					Vincent Devaud	1984	32	Male	
2017		0.5				Adeline Mollard / Katharina Reidy	Adeline Mollard	1982	35	Female	
2017		1					Chi-Long Trieu	1988	29	Male	
2017		0.5				Offshore Studio	Christoph Miler	1988	29	Male	
2017		0.33				Atlas Studio	Claudio Gasser	1985	32	Male	
2017	0.33					Studio Feixen	Daniel Peter	1983	34	Male	11.33333333
2017				0.5		Bonbon	Diego Bontognali	1977	40	Male	
2017	0.5					Dinamo	Fabian Harb	1988	29	Male	14.5
2017	0.33					Studio Feixen	Felix Pfäffli	1986	31	Male	10.33333333
2017	0.25					Omnigroup	Frederik Mahler-Andersen	1989	28	Male	7
2017		1					Giliane Cachin	1990	27	Female	
2017		1					Hoang Nguyen	1992	25		
2017		0.5				Offshore Studio	Isabel Seiffert	1986	31	Female	
2017	0.5					Johnson / Kingston	Ivan Weiss	1981	36	Male	18
2017					1		Jean Widmer	1929	88	Male	
2017		0.5				Schaffter Sahli	Johanna Schaffter	1980	37	Female	
2017	0.5					Dinamo	Johannes Breyer	1987	30	Male	15
2017		0.33				Atlas Studio	Jonas Wandeler	1983	34	Male	
2017		1					Julien Fischer	1990	27	Male	
2017		0.5				Adeline Mollard / Katharina Reidy	Katharina Reidy	1982	35	Female	
2017		1					Krispin Heé	1979	38	Female	
2017	0.25					Omnigroup	Leonardo Azzolini	1990	27	Male	6.75

2017		1					Lina Müller	1981	36	Female	
2017	0.25					Omnigroup	Luke Archer	1988	29	Male	7.25
2017		0.33				Büro 146	Madeleine Stahel	1979	38	Female	
2017		0.33				Büro 146	Maike Hamacher	1982	35	Female	
2017		0.33				Atlas Studio	Martin Andereggen	1985	32	Male	
2017	0.5					Johnson / Kingston	Michael Kryenbühl	1985	32	Male	16
2017		1					Océane Bacher	1988	29	Female	
2017	0.33					Studio Feixen	Raphael Leutenegger	1989	28	Male	9.333333333
2017	1						Robert Huber	1982	35	Male	35
2017		1					Ronny Hunger	1985	32	Male	
2017	0.25					Omnigroup	Simon Mager	1986	31	Male	7.75
2017					1		Thomas Ott	1966	51	Male	
2017		0.33				Büro 146	Valentin Hindermann	1966	51	Male	
2017				0.5		Bonbon	Valeria Bonin	1978	39	Female	
2017		0.5				Schaffter Sahli	Vincent Sahli	1975	42	Male	
2018		1					Amaury Hamon	1992	26	Male	
2018		0.5				Luise Bartels / Aurelia Markwalder	Aurelia Markwalder	1980	38	Female	
2018	1						Céline Ducrot	1992	26	Female	26
2018		1					Christof Nüssli	1986	32	Male	
2018	1						Dan Solbach	1987	31	Male	31
2018		0.5				Mirko Leuenberger & David Lüthi	David Lüthi	1990	28	Male	
2018	0.5					Studio Harris Blondman	Harry Bloch	1978	40	Male	20
2018	0.5					Studio Harris Blondman	Joris Landman	1975	43	Male	21.5
2018	1						Julia Born	1975	43	Female	43
2018		1					Krispin Heé	1979	39	Female	
2018		1					Laura-Issé Tusevo	1993	25	Female	
2018		1					Luca Schenardi	1978	40	Male	
2018		0.5				Luise Bartels / Aurelia Markwalder	Luise Bartels	1981	37	Female	
2018	1						Marietta Eugster	1985	33	Female	33
2018		1					Martina Walther	1983	35	Female	
2018		0.5				Mirko Leuenberger & David Lüthi	Mirko Leuenberger	1989	29	Male	

2018					1		Rosemarie Tissi	1937	81	Female	
2018		1					Sabo Day	1990	28	Male	
2018		1					Simone Farner	1980	38	Female	
2018		1					Thomas Le Provost	1992	26	Male	
2018		1					Tobias Gutmann	1987	31	Male	
2019		1					Alina Günter	1983	36	Female	
2019	1						Ann Kern	1994	25	Female	25
2019		1					Ben Ganz	1991	28	Male	
2019		1					Christoffer Ellegaard	1988	31	Male	
2019		0.5				No Plans	Daniel Baer	1983	36	Male	
2019	0.5					Ard	Daniel Nørregaard	1986	33	Male	16.5
2019		0.5				No Plans	Daniel Pianetti	1985	34	Male	
2019		1					Eliott Grunewald	1992	27	Male	
2019	0.5					Pascal Storz / Fabian Bremer	Fabian Bremer	1986	33	Male	16.5
2019	0.5					Ard	Guillaume Chuard	1986	33	Male	16.5
2019				1			Jonas Voegeli	1979	40	Male	
2019		0.33				PIN	Larissa Kasper	1986	33	Female	
2019		1					Luca Schenardi	1978	41	Male	
2019		1					Mateo Broillet	1990	29	Male	
2019	1						Ondřej Báchor	1992	27	Male	27
2019	0.5					Pascal Storz / Fabian Bremer	Pascal Storz	1980	39	Male	19.5
2019		0.5				Régis Tosetti, Simon Palmieri	Régis Tosetti	1982	37	Male	
2019		0.33				PIN	Rosario Florio	1980	39	Male	
2019		0.33				PIN	Samuel Bänziger	1985	34	Male	
2019		0.5				Régis Tosetti, Simon Palmieri	Simon Palmieri	1985	34	Male	
2019	1						Sylvan Lanz	1993	26	Female	26
2019		0.5				Neo Neo	Thuy-An Hoang	1986	33	Female	
2019		0.5				Neo Neo	Xavier Erni	1983	36	Male	
2020	0.5					Adeline Mollard / Katharina Reidy	Adeline Mollard	1982	38	Female	19
2020	0.33					Eurostandard	Ali-Eddine Abdelkhalek	1989	31	Male	10.33333333
2020	0.33					Eurostandard	Clément Rouzaud	1988	32	Male	10.66666667

2020	1						Clio Hadjigeorgiou	1993	27	Female	27
2020				0.5		Maximage	David Keshavjee	1985	35	Male	
2020	1						David Massara	1994	26	Male	26
2020	1						Jonathan Hares	1975	45	Male	45
2020	1						Julien Mercier	1988	32	Male	32
2020				0.5		Maximage	Julien Tavelli	1984	36	Male	
2020	0.5					Adeline Mollard / Katharina Reidy	Katharina Reidy	1982	38	Female	19
2020	1						Lina Müller	1981	39	Female	39
2020	1						Luca Schenardi	1978	42	Male	42
2020	1						Luigi Olivadoti	1983	37	Male	37
2020	1						Nadine Spengler	1972	48	Female	48
2020	1						Nicolas Polli	1989	31	Male	31
2020	1						Philipp Herrmann	1981	39	Male	39
2020	0.33					Eurostandard	Pierrick Brégeon	1986	34	Male	11.33333333
2020	1						Roger Conscience	1974	46	Male	46

1 In 2001, Monnier and Pont won as a group whose name was not recorded on the protocol. I am assuming it was Happypets, the name they still use today.
2 See previous note.

Year	Name	Role	Role detail[3]	Born	Age	Gender	Position/ profession	City, Country	
1990	Rosmarie Lippuner	Member FCAA		1935	55	Female	Director mudac	Lausanne	CH
1990	Andreas Christen	President FCAA		1936	54	Male	Artist and designer	Zurich	CH
1990	Alberto Flammer	Member FCAA		1938	52	Male	Photographer	Verscio/TI	CH
1990	Benno Zehnder	Member FCAA		1941	49	Male	Director SfG Luzern	Geffingen/LU	CH
1990	Werner Jeker	Expert	Expert Graphic Design	1944	46	Male		Lausanne	CH
1990	Pierre Keller	Member FCAA		1945	45	Male	Artist	Grandvaux VD	CH
1990	Bernhard Schobinger	Expert	Expert Jewellery	1946	44	Male	Jewellery designer	Richterswil/ZH	CH
1990	Christian Vogt	Expert	Expert Photography	1946	44	Male	Photographer	Basel	CH
1990	Werner Hutterli	Expert	Expert Scenography	1946	44	Male		Bern	CH
1990	Johanna Dahm Hess	Expert	Expert Jewellery	1947	43	Female		Zürich	CH
1990	Petra Weiss	Expert	Expert Ceramic	1947	43	Female	Ceramicist	Termona/TI	CH
1990	Andreas Bürki	Expert	Expert Product and interior design	1952	38	Male		Bern	CH
1990	Ruth Grüninger	Expert	Expert Textiles and fashion	1954	36	Female	Fashion designer	Zurich	CH
1990	Gabriel Terzi	Expert	Expert Textiles and fashion	1956	34	Male	Fashion designer	Zürich	CH
1991	Rosmarie Lippuner	Member FCAA		1935	56	Female	Director mudac	Lausanne	CH
1991	Andreas Christen	President FCAA		1936	55	Male	Artist and designer	Zurich	CH
1991	Alberto Flammer	Member FCAA		1938	53	Male	Photographer	Verscio/TI	CH
1991	Benno Zehnder	Member FCAA		1941	50	Male	Director SfG Luzern	Geffingen/LU	CH
1991	Anne-Marie Grobet	Expert	Expert Photography	1943	48	Female		Russin/GE	CH
1991	Werner Jeker	Expert	Expert Graphic Design	1944	47	Male		Lausanne	CH
1991	Pierre Keller	Member FCAA		1945	46	Male	Artist	Grandvaux VD	CH
1991	Bernhard Schobinger	Expert	Expert Jewellery	1946	45	Male	Jewellery designer	Richterswil/ZH	CH
1991	Werner Hutterli	Expert	Expert Scenography	1946	45	Male		Bern	CH
1991	Ernst Häusermann	Expert	Expert Ceramic	1947	44	Male		Lenzburg/AG	CH
1991	Johanna Dahm Hess	Expert	Expert Jewellery	1947	44	Female		Zürich	CH
1991	Andreas Bürki	Expert	Expert Product and interior design	1952	39	Male		Bern	CH

The SDA jury members between 1990 and 2020. Sources: Crivelli 1997; 2004a; 2005; Crivelli et al 2002; FOC 1993; 1995; 1996; 1997; 1998; 1999a; 1999b; 2000; n.d.; Lichtenstein & Brem 1991; Lippuner & Buxcel 1989; Meier 1994; Polatti 1992; Stirnemann 2005; and data provided directly by the FOC's Design Service/Matilde Tettamanti.

1991	Ruth Grüninger	Expert	Expert Textiles and fashion	1954	37	Female		Zürich	CH
1991	Gabriel Terzi	Expert	Expert Textiles and fashion	1956	35	Male	Fashion designer	Zürich	CH
1991	Ulrich Zimmermann	Expert	Expert Products and objects	?	?	Male		Brienz/BE	
1992	Konrad Vetter	Expert	Expert Ceramic	1922	70	Male			
1992	Rosmarie Lippuner	Member FCAA		1935	57	Female	Director mudac	Lausanne	CH
1992	Andreas Christen	President FCAA		1936	56	Male	Artist and designer	Zurich	CH
1992	Alberto Flammer	Member FCAA		1938	54	Male	Photographer	Verscio/TI	CH
1992	Benno Zehnder	Member FCAA		1941	51	Male	Director SfG Luzern	Gelfingen/LU	CH
1992	Werner Jeker	Expert	Expert Graphic Design	1944	48	Male	Graphic designer	Lausanne	CH
1992	Pierre Keller	Member FCAA		1945	47	Male	Artist	Grandvaux VD	CH
1992	Bernhard Schobinger	Expert	Expert Jewellery	1946	46	Male	Jewellery designer	Richterswil/ZH	CH
1992	Christian Vogt	Expert	Expert Photography	1946	46	Male	Photographer	Basel	CH
1992	Uli Witzig	Expert	Expert Design und Scenography	1946	46	Male			
1992	Werner Hutterli	Expert	Expert Scenography	1946	46	Male			
1992	Johanna Dahm	Expert	Expert Jewellery	1947	45	Female	Jewellery designer	Zurich	CH
1992	Petra Weiss	Expert	Expert Ceramic	1947	45	Female	Ceramicist	Tremona/TI	CH
1992	Ruth Grüninger	Expert	Expert Textiles and fashion	1954	38	Female	Fashion designer	Zurich	CH
1992	Gabriel Terzi	Expert	Expert Textiles and fashion	1956	36	Male	Fashion designer	Zurich	CH
1993	Rosmarie Lippuner	Member FCAA		1935	58	Female	Director mudac	Lausanne	CH
1993	Andreas Christen	President FCAA		1936	57	Male	Artist and designer	Zurich	CH
1993	Alberto Flammer	Member FCAA		1938	55	Male	Photographer	Verscio/TI	CH
1993	Benno Zehnder	Member FCAA		1941	52	Male	Director SfG Luzern	Gelfingen/LU	CH
1993	Werner Jeker	Expert	Expert Graphic Design	1944	49	Male	Graphic designer	Lausanne	CH
1993	Pierre Keller	Member FCAA		1945	48	Male	Artist	Grandvaux VD	CH
1993	Bernhard Schobinger	Expert	Expert Jewellery	1946	47	Male	Jewellery designer	Richterswil/ZH	CH
1993	Christian Vogt	Expert	Expert Photography	1946	47	Male	Photographer	Basel	CH
1993	Uli Witzig	Expert	Expert Product and interior design	1946	47	Male	Designer	Wolfhausen/ZH	CH
1993	Werner Hutterli	Expert	Expert Scenography	1946	47	Male	Scenographer	Bern	CH
1993	Johanna Dahm	Expert	Expert Jewellery	1947	46	Female	Jewellery designer	Zurich	CH

1993	Petra Weiss	Expert	Expert Ceramic	1947	46	Female	Ceramicist	Termona/TI	CH
1993	Ruth Grüninger	Expert	Expert Textiles and fashion	1954	39	Female	Fashion designer	Zurich	CH
1993	Gabriel Terzi	Expert	Expert Textiles and fashion	1956	37	Male	Fashion designer	Zurich	CH
1994	Rosmarie Lippuner	Member FCAA		1935	59	Female	Director mudac	Lausanne	CH
1994	Andreas Christen	President FCAA		1936	58	Male	Artist and designer	Zurich	CH
1994	Alberto Flammer	Member FCAA		1938	56	Male	Photographer	Verscio/TI	CH
1994	Benno Zehnder	Member FCAA		1941	53	Male	Director SfG Luzern	Gelfingen/LU	CH
1994	Werner Jeker	Expert	Expert Graphic Design	1944	50	Male	Graphic designer	Lausanne	CH
1994	Pierre Keller	Member FCAA		1945	49	Male	Artist	Grandvaux VD	CH
1994	Bernhard Schobinger	Expert	Expert Jewellery	1946	48	Male	Jewellery designer	Richterswil/ZH	CH
1994	Christian Vogt	Expert	Expert Photography	1946	48	Male	Photographer	Basel	CH
1994	Uli Witzig	Expert	Expert Product and interior design	1946	48	Male	Designer	Wolfhausen/ZH	CH
1994	Werner Hutterli	Expert	Expert Scenography	1946	48	Male	Scenographer	Bern	CH
1994	Johanna Dahm	Expert	Expert Jewellery	1947	47	Female	Jewellery designer	Zurich	CH
1994	Petra Weiss	Expert	Expert Ceramic	1947	47	Female	Ceramicist	Termona/TI	CH
1994	Ruth Grüninger	Expert	Expert Textiles and fashion	1954	40	Female	Fashion designer	Zurich	CH
1994	Gabriel Terzi	Expert	Expert Textiles and fashion	1956	38	Male	Fashion designer	Zurich	CH
1995	Rosmarie Lippuner	Member FCAA		1935	60	Female	Director mudac	Lausanne	CH
1995	Andreas Christen	President FCAA		1936	59	Male	Artist and designer	Zurich	CH
1995	Alberto Flammer	Member FCAA		1938	57	Male	Photographer	Verscio/TI	CH
1995	Benno Zehnder	Member FCAA		1941	54	Male	Director SfG Luzern	Gelfingen/LU	CH
1995	Setsuko Nagasawa	Expert	Expert Ceramic	1941	54	Female	Ceramicist	Geneva	CH
1995	Werner Jeker	Expert	Expert Graphic Design	1944	51	Male	Graphic designer	Lausanne	CH
1995	Pierre Keller	Member FCAA		1945	50	Male	Artist	Grandvaux VD	CH
1995	Bernhard Schobinger	Expert	Expert Jewellery	1946	49	Male	Jewellery designer	Richterswil/ZH	CH
1995	Uli Witzig	Expert	Expert Design	1946	49	Male	Designer	Wolfhausen/ZH	CH
1995	Werner Hutterli	Expert	Expert Scenography	1946	49	Male	Scenographer	Bern	CH
1995	Esther Brinkmann	Expert	Expert Jewellery	1953	42	Female	Jewellery designer	Geneva	CH
1995	Ruth Grüninger	Expert	Expert Textiles and fashion	1954	41	Female	Fashion designer	Zurich	CH
1995	Koni Nordmann	Expert	Expert Photography	1962	33	Male	Photographer	Zurich	CH

1996	Rosmarie Lippuner	Member FCAA		1935	61	Female	Director mudac	Lausanne	CH
1996	Andreas Christen	President FCAA		1936	60	Male	Artist and designer	Zurich	CH
1996	Alberto Flammer	Member FCAA		1938	58	Male	Photographer	Verscio/TI	CH
1996	Benno Zehnder	Member FCAA		1941	55	Male	Director SfG Luzern	Gelfingen/LU	CH
1996	Setsuko Nagasawa	Expert	Expert Ceramic	1941	55	Female	Ceramicist	Geneva	CH
1996	Werner Jeker	Expert	Expert Graphic Design	1944	52	Male	Graphic designer	Lausanne	CH
1996	Pierre Keller	Member FCAA		1945	51	Male	Artist	Grandvaux VD	CH
1996	Bernhard Schobinger	Expert	Expert Jewellery	1946	50	Male	Jewellery designer	Richterswil/ZH	CH
1996	Christian Vogt	Expert	Expert Photography	1946	50	Male	Photographer	Basel	CH
1996	Uli Witzig	Expert	Expert Design	1946	50	Male	Designer	Wolfhausen/ZH	CH
1996	Werner Hutterli	Expert	Expert Scenography	1946	50	Male	Scenographer	Bern	CH
1996	Martin Leuthold	Expert	Expert Textiles and fashion	1952	44	Male	Textile designer	Winden/SG	CH
1996	Esther Brinkmann	Expert	Expert Jewellery	1953	43	Female	Jewellery designer	Geneva	CH
1996	Ruth Grüninger	Expert	Expert Textiles and fashion	1954	42	Female	Fashion designer	Zurich	CH
1997	Rosmarie Lippuner	President FCAA		1935	62	Female	Director mudac	Lausanne	CH
1997	Alberto Flammer	Member FCAA		1938	59	Male	Photographer	Verscio/TI	CH
1997	Setsuko Nagasawa	Expert	Expert Ceramic	1941	56	Female	Ceramicist	Geneva	CH
1997	Peter Fierz	Member FCAA		1943	54	Male	Architect	Bern	CH
1997	Werner Jeker	Expert	Expert Graphic Design	1944	53	Male	Graphic designer	Lausanne	CH
1997	Pierre Keller	Member FCAA		1945	52	Male	Artist	Grandvaux VD	CH
1997	Bernhard Schobinger	Expert	Expert Jewellery	1946	51	Male	Jewellery designer	Richterswil/ZH	CH
1997	Christian Vogt	Expert	Expert Photography	1946	51	Male	Photographer	Basel	CH
1997	Uli Witzig	Expert	Expert Design	1946	51	Male	Designer	Wolfhausen/ZH	CH
1997	Werner Hutterli	Expert	Expert Scenography	1946	51	Male	Scenographer	Bern	CH
1997	Martin Leuthold	Expert	Expert Textiles and fashion	1952	45	Male	Textile designer	Winden/SG	CH
1997	Esther Brinkmann	Expert	Expert Jewellery	1953	44	Female	Jewellery designer	Geneva	CH
1997	Ruth Grüninger	Member FCAA		1954	43	Female	Fashion designer	Zurich	CH
1997	Monica Guggisberg	Expert	Expert Glass	1955	42	Female	Glass designer	Nonfoux/VD	CH
1998	Alberto Flammer	Member FCAA		1938	60	Male	Photographer	Verscio/TI	CH
1998	Setsuko Nagasawa	Expert	Expert Ceramic	1941	57	Female	Ceramicist	Geneva	CH
1998	Lorette Coen	Member FCAA		1943	55	Female	Cultural projects director	Lausanne	CH

1998	Peter Fierz	President FCAA		1943	55	Male	Architect	Bern	CH
1998	William Ewing	Expert	Expert Photography	1944	54	Male	Director Musée de l'Elysée	Lausanne	CH
1998	Pierre Keller	Member FCAA		1945	53	Male	Artist	Grandvaux VD	CH
1998	Bernhard Schobinger	Expert	Expert Jewellery	1946	52	Male	Jewellery designer	Richterswil/ZH	CH
1998	Werner Hutterli	Expert	Expert Scenography	1946	52	Male	Scenographer	Bern	CH
1998	Dieter Thiel	Expert	Expert Design	1947	51	Male	Industrial designer	Basel	CH
1998	Martin Leuthold	Expert	Expert Textiles and fashion	1952	46	Male	Textile designer	Winden/SG	CH
1998	Esther Brinkmann	Expert	Expert Jewellery	1953	45	Female	Jewellery designer	Geneva	CH
1998	Ruth Grüninger	Member FCAA		1954	44	Female	Fashion designer	Zurich	CH
1998	Carole Guinard	Expert	Expert Jewellery	1955	43	Female	Jewellery designer	Lausanne	CH
1998	Monica Guggisberg	Expert	Expert Glass	1955	43	Female	Glass designer	Nonfoux/VD	CH
1998	Ralph Schraivogel	Expert	Expert Graphic Design	1960	38	Male	Graphic designer	Zurich	CH
1999	Alberto Flammer	Member FCAA		1938	61	Male	Photographer	Verscio/TI	CH
1999	Setsuko Nagasawa	Expert	Expert Ceramic	1941	58	Female	Ceramicist	Geneva	CH
1999	Lorette Coen	Member FCAA		1943	56	Female	Cultural projects director	Lausanne	CH
1999	Peter Fierz	President FCAA		1943	56	Male	Architect	Bern	CH
1999	Pierre Keller	Member FCAA		1945	54	Male	Artist	Grandvaux VD	CH
1999	Werner Hutterli	Expert	Expert Scenography	1946	53	Male	Scenographer	Bern	CH
1999	Dieter Thiel	Expert	Expert Design	1947	52	Male	Industrial designer	Basel	CH
1999	Martin Leuthold	Expert	Expert Textiles and fashion	1952	47	Male	Textile designer	Winden/SG	CH
1999	Ruth Grüninger	Member FCAA		1954	45	Female	Fashion designer	Zurich	CH
1999	Carole Guinard	Expert	Expert Jewellery	1955	44	Female	Jewellery designer	Lausanne	CH
1999	Ralph Schraivogel	Expert	Expert Graphic Design	1960	39	Male	Graphic designer	Zurich	CH
1999	Tobia Bezzola	Expert	Expert Photography	1961	38	Male	Art historian	Zurich	CH
1999	Ralf Michel	Expert	Expert Design	1964	35	Male	Designer and editor	Zurich	CH
2000	Alberto Flammer	Member FCAA		1938	62	Male	Photographer	Verscio/TI	CH
2000	Setsuko Nagasawa	Expert	Expert Ceramic	1941	59	Female	Ceramicist	Geneva	CH
2000	Lorette Coen	Member FCAA		1943	57	Female	Cultural projects director	Lausanne	CH
2000	Peter Fierz	President FCAA		1943	57	Male	Architect	Bern	CH
2000	Werner Hutterli	Expert	Expert Scenography	1946	54	Male	Scenographer	Bern	CH
2000	Dieter Thiel	Expert	Expert Design	1947	53	Male	Industrial designer	Basel	CH

2000	Martin Leuthold	Expert	Expert Textiles and fashion	1952	48	Male	Textile designer	Winden/SG	CH
2000	Ruth Grüninger	Member FCAA		1954	46	Female	Fashion designer	Zurich	CH
2000	Carole Guinard	Expert	Expert Jewellery	1955	45	Female	Jewellery designer	Lausanne	CH
2000	François Rappo	Member FCAA		1955	45	Male	Professor in graphic design	Lausanne	CH
2000	Tobia Bezzola	Expert	Expert Photography	1961	39	Male	Art historian	Zurich	CH
2000	Ralf Michel	Expert	Expert Design	1964	36	Male	Designer and editor	Zurich	CH
2000	David Rust	Expert	Expert Graphic Design	1969	31	Male	Graphic designer	Lausanne	CH
2001	Lorette Coen	President FCAA		1943	58	Female	Cultural projects director	Lausanne	CH
2001	Martin Leuthold	Expert	Expert Textiles and fashion	1952	49	Male	Textile designer	Winden/SG	CH
2001	Marc Deggeller	Expert	Expert Scenography	1954	47	Male	Scenographer	Berlin	DE
2001	Ruth Grüninger	Member FCAA		1954	47	Female	Fashion designer	Zurich	CH
2001	Carole Guinard	Expert	Expert Jewellery	1955	46	Female	Jewellery designer	Lausanne	CH
2001	François Rappo	Member FCAA		1955	46	Male	Professor in graphic design	Lausanne	CH
2001	Luca Patocchi	Member FCAA		1955	46	Male	Gallery owner	Lugano	CH
2001	Tobia Bezzola	Expert	Expert Photography	1961	40	Male	Art historian	Zurich	CH
2001	Annette Schindler	Member FCAA		1962	39	Female	Art historian	Basel	CH
2001	Ralf Michel	Expert	Expert Design	1964	37	Male	Designer and editor	Zurich	CH
2001	David Rust	Expert	Expert Graphic Design	1969	32	Male	Graphic designer	Lausanne	CH
2002	Lorette Coen	President FDC		1943	59	Female	Journalist, head of culture at Le Temps	Geneva	CH
2002	Marc Deggeller	Expert		1954	48	Male	Scenographer	Berlin	DE
2002	Ruth Grüninger	Member FDC		1954	48	Female	Fashion designer	Zurich	CH
2002	François Rappo	Member FDC		1955	47	Male	Professor in graphic design	Lausanne	CH
2002	Luca Patocchi	Member FDC		1955	47	Male	Gallery owner	Lugano	CH
2002	Annette Schindler	Member FDC		1962	40	Female	Art historian	Basel	CH
2002	Hermann Weizenegger	Expert		1963	39	Male	Vog+Weizenegger	Berlin	DE
2002	Sabine Dreher	Expert		1968	34	Female	Curator	Vienna	AT
2003	Lorette Coen	President FDC		1943	60	Female	Journalist, head of culture at Le Temps	Geneva	CH
2003	Marc Deggeller	Expert		1954	49	Male	Scenographer	Berlin	DE
2003	Ruth Grüninger	Member FDC		1954	49	Female	Fashion designer	Zurich	CH
2003	François Rappo	Member FDC		1955	48	Male	Professor in graphic design	Lausanne	CH
2003	Luca Patocchi	Member FDC		1955	48	Male	Gallery owner	Lugano	CH

2003	Annette Schindler	Member FDC		1962	41	Female	Art historian	Basel	CH
2003	Christian Muhr	Expert		1963	40	Male	Curator	Vienna	AT
2003	Fiona Raby	Expert		1963	40	Female	Architect & Prof. at the Royal College of Art	London	UK
2003	Hermann Weizenegger	Expert		1963	40	Male	Designer	Berlin	DE
2004	Lorette Coen	President FDC		1943	61	Female	Journalist, head of culture at Le Temps	Geneva	CH
2004	Marc Deggeller	Expert		1954	50	Male	Scenographer	Berlin	DE
2004	Ruth Grüninger	Member FDC		1954	50	Female	Fashion designer	Zurich	CH
2004	François Rappo	Member FDC		1955	49	Male	Professor in graphic design	Lausanne	CH
2004	Roland Iselin	Expert		1958	46	Male	Photographer	Zurich	CH
2004	Annette Schindler	Member FDC		1962	42	Female	Art historian	Basel	CH
2004	Christoph Zellweger	Expert		1962	42	Male	Jewellery designer	Zurich/Sheffield	CH/ UK
2004	Christian Muhr	Expert		1963	41	Male	Curator	Vienna	AT
2004	Christophe Marchand	Member FDC		1965	39	Male	Product designer	Zurich	CH
2004	Susan Yelavich	Expert		?		Female	Design curator	New York	USA
2005	Lorette Coen	President FDC		1943	62	Female	Journalist, head of culture at Le Temps	Geneva	CH
2005	Martin Leuthold	Member FDC		1952	53	Male	Textile designer, Jakob Schläpfer	Winden/SG	CH
2005	François Rappo	Member FDC		1955	50	Male	Professor in graphic design	Lausanne	CH
2005	Roland Iselin	Expert		1958	47	Male	Photographer	Zurich	CH
2005	Annette Schindler	Member FDC		1962	43	Female	Art historian, director [plug.in]	Basel	CH
2005	Christoph Zellweger	Expert		1962	43	Male	Jewellery designer	Zurich/Sheffield	CH/ UK
2005	Christophe Marchand	Member FDC		1965	40	Male	Product designer	Zurich	CH
2005	Sabine Dreher	Expert		1968	37	Female	Curator & producer of projects in the fields of design, media, fine arts, architecture & fashion	Vienna	AT
2005	Libby Sellers	Expert		?		Female	Curator design museum	London	UK
2005	Matthias Remmele	Expert		?		Male	Lecturer in design & architectural history at the Hochschule für Gestaltung und Kunst HGK, freelance curator and publicist	Basel	CH
2006	Lorette Coen	President FDC		1943	63	Female	Journalist, head of culture at Le Temps	Geneva	CH
2006	Martin Leuthold	Member FDC		1952	54	Male	Textile designer, Jakob Schläpfer	Winden/SG	CH
2006	François Rappo	Member FDC		1955	51	Male	Professor in graphic design	Lausanne	CH
2006	Annette Schindler	Member FDC		1962	44	Female	Art historian, director [plug.in]	Basel	CH

2006	Christian Muhr	Expert		1963	43	Male	Curator & producer of projects in the fields of design, media, fine arts, architecture & fashion	Vienna	AT
2006	Christophe Marchand	Member FDC		1965	41	Male	Product designer	Zurich	CH
2006	Maurice Scheltens	Expert		1972	34	Male	Photographer	Amsterdam	NL
2006	Emily King	Expert				Female	Graphic Design Editor at Frieze Magazine	London	UK
2007	Lorette Coen	President FDC		1943	64	Female	Journalist, head of culture at Le Temps	Geneva	CH
2007	Martin Leuthold	Member FDC		1952	55	Male	Textile designer, Jakob Schläpfer	Winden/SG	CH
2007	François Rappo	Member FDC		1955	52	Male	Professor in graphic design	Lausanne	CH
2007	Annette Schindler	Member FDC		1962	45	Female	Art historian, director [plug.in]	Basel	CH
2007	Christophe Marchand	Member FDC		1965	42	Male	Product designer	Zurich	CH
2007	Sabine Dreher	Expert		1968	39	Female	Curator & producer of projects in the fields of design, media, fine arts, architecture & fashion	Vienna	AT
2007	Maurice Scheltens	Expert		1972	35	Male	Photographer	Amsterdam	NL
2007	Libby Sellers	Expert		?		Female	Curator design museum	London	UK
2008	Lorette Coen	President FDC		1943	65	Female	Journalist, head of culture at Le Temps	Geneva	CH
2008	Claudia Cattaneo	Member FDC		1947	61	Female	Art historian, co-director of the Gewerbemuseum Winterthur	Winterthur	CH
2008	Annemarie Hürlimann	Member FDC		1949	59	Female	Curator & art historian, exhibition practice and theory	Berlin/Zurich	DE/ CH
2008	Lisbeth Den Besten	Expert		1956	52	Female	Art historian, jewellery specialist	Amsterdam	NL
2008	Patrick Reymond	Member FDC		1962	46	Male	Architect, Designer, Atelier Oï	La Neuveville	CH
2008	Christian Muhr	Expert		1963	45	Male	Curator & producer of projects in the fields of design, media, fine arts, architecture & fashion	Vienna	AT
2008	Cornel Windlin	Member FDC		1964	44	Male	Graphic and type designer	Zurich	CH
2008	Erika Zelic	Member FDC		?		Female	Textile designer, owner of the fashion shop Maud	Zurich	CH
2008	Hans-Ulrich Herrmann	Member FDC		?		Male	Lawyer and notary, firm Bildung Kultur Recht	Bern	CH
2008	Libby Sellers	Expert		?		Female	Curator design museum	London	UK
2009	Claudia Cattaneo	Member FDC		1947	62	Female	Art historian, co-director of the Gewerbemuseum Winterthur	Winterthur	CH
2009	Annemarie Hürlimann	Member FDC		1949	60	Female	Curator & art historian, exhibition practice and theory	Berlin/Zurich	DE/ CH
2009	Patrick Reymond	President FDC		1962	47	Male	Architect, Designer, Atelier Oï	La Neuveville	CH
2009	Christoph Zellweger	Expert		1962	47	Male	Jewellery designer		
2009	Cornel Windlin	Member FDC		1964	45	Male	Graphic and type designer	Zurich	CH

2009	Renate Menzi	Member FDC		1968	41	Female	Director of the design collection, MfGZ	Zurich	CH
2009	Lionel Bovier	Member FDC		1970	39	Male	Publisher, MAMCO director from 2016	Geneva	CH
2009	Maurice Scheltens	Expert		1972	37	Male	Photographer	Amsterdam	NL
2009	Emily King	Expert		?		Female	Design writer and curator		
2009	Erika Zelic	Member FDC		?		Female	Textile designer, owner of the fashion shop Maud	Zurich	CH
2010	Claudia Cattaneo	Member FDC		1947	63	Female	Art historian, co-director of the Gewerbemuseum Winterthur	Winterthur	CH
2010	Annemarie Hürlimann	Member FDC		1949	61	Female	Curator & art historian, exhibition practice and theory	Berlin/Zurich	DE/ CH
2010	Patrick Reymond	President FDC		1962	48	Male	Architect, Designer, Atelier Oï	La Neuveville	CH
2010	Christoph Zellweger	Expert		1962	48	Male	Jewellery designer	Zurich	CH
2010	Cornel Windlin	Member FDC		1964	46	Male	Graphic and type designer	Zurich	CH
2010	Nigel Shafran	Expert		1964	46	Male	Photographer	London	UK
2010	Christoph Hefti	Expert		1967	43	Male	Fashion designer	Antwerp/ Brussels	BE
2010	Renate Menzi	Member FDC		1968	42	Female	Director of the design collection, MfGZ	Zurich	CH
2010	Lionel Bovier	Member FDC		1970	40	Male	Publisher, MAMCO director from 2016	Geneva	CH
2010	Erika Zelic	Member FDC		?		Female	Textile designer, owner of the fashion shop Maud	Zurich	CH
2011	Claudia Cattaneo	Member FDC		1947	64	Female	Art Historian, Co-Director Gewerbemuseum Winterthur	Winterthur	CH
2011	Annemarie Hürlimann	Member FDC		1949	62	Female	Curator & art historian, exhibition practice and theory	Berlin/Zurich	DE/ CH
2011	Claudio Dionisio	Expert		1960	51	Male	PubliGroupe, President Swiss Web Award	Zurich	CH
2011	Patrick Reymond	President FDC		1962	49	Male	Architect, Designer, Atelier Oï	La Neuveville	CH
2011	Christoph Zellweger	Expert		1962	49	Male	Jewellery designer	Zurich	CH
2011	Cornel Windlin	Member FDC		1964	47	Male	Graphic and type designer	Zurich	CH
2011	Christoph Hefti	Expert		1967	44	Male	Fashion designer	Antwerp/ Brussels	BE
2011	Renate Menzi	Member FDC		1968	43	Female	Director of the design collection, MfGZ	Zurich	CH
2011	Lionel Bovier	Member FDC		1970	41	Male	Publisher, MAMCO director from 2016	Geneva	CH
2011	Erika Zelic	Member FDC		?		Female	Textile designer	Zurich	CH
2012	Heidi Wegener	Member FDC		1947	65	Female	Curator Prix Design Suisse, ex-administrative director ZHdK	Zurich	CH
2012	Annemarie Hürlimann	Member FDC		1949	63	Female	Curator & art historian, exhibition practice and theory	Berlin/Zurich	DE/ CH

2012	Patrick Reymond	President FDC		1962	50	Male	Architect, Designer, Atelier Oï	La Neuveville	CH
2012	Marianne Müller	Expert		1966	46	Female	Photographer, head of the Photography at the ZHdK	Zurich	CH
2012	Christoph Hefti	Member FDC		1967	45	Male	Fashion designer	Antwerp/ Brussels	BE
2012	Renate Menzi	Member FDC		1968	44	Female	Director of the design collection, MfGZ	Zurich	CH
2012	Lionel Bovier	Member FDC		1970	42	Male	Publisher, MAMCO director from 2016	Geneva	CH
2012	Andi Gut	Expert		1971	41	Male	Jewellery designer,	Pforzheim	DE
2012	Laurent Benner	Member FDC		1975	37	Male	Graphic designer	London	UK
2013	Heidi Wegener	Member FDC		1947	66	Female	Curator Prix Design Suisse, ex-administrative director ZHDK	Zurich	CH
2013	Annemarie Hürlimann	Member FDC		1949	64	Female	Curator & art historian, exhibition practice and theory	Berlin/Zurich	DE/ CH
2013	Felix Flury	Expert		1959	54	Male	Jewellery designer and gallerist	Solothurn/ London	CH/ UK
2013	Patrick Reymond	President FDC		1962	51	Male	Architect, Designer, Atelier Oï	La Neuveville	CH
2013	Christoph Hefti	Member FDC		1967	46	Male	Fashion designer	Antwerp/ Brussels	BE
2013	Renate Menzi	Member FDC		1968	45	Female	Director of the design collection, MfGZ	Zurich	CH
2013	Lionel Bovier	Member FDC		1970	43	Male	Publisher, MAMCO director from 2016	Geneva	CH
2013	Jonas Williamsson	Expert		1973	40	Male	Graphic designer	Stockholm	SE
2013	Catherine Ince	Expert		1975	38	Female	Curator	London	UK
2013	Laurent Benner	Member FDC		1975	38	Male	Graphic designer	London	UK
2013	Ulrike Meyer-Stump	Expert				Female	Lecturer Photography	Zurich	CH
2014	Heidi Wegener	Member FDC		1947	67	Female	Curator Prix Design Suisse, ex-administrative director ZHDK	Zurich	CH
2014	Annemarie Hürlimann	Member FDC		1949	65	Female	Curator & art historian, exhibition practice and theory	Berlin/Zurich	DE/ CH
2014	Patrick Reymond	President FDC		1962	52	Male	Architect, Designer, Atelier Oï	La Neuveville	CH
2014	Christoph Hefti	Member FDC		1967	47	Male	Fashion designer	Antwerp/ Brussels	BE
2014	Renate Menzi	Member FDC		1968	46	Female	Director of the design collection, MfGZ	Zurich	CH
2014	David Rust	Expert		1969	45	Male	Graphic designer	Lausanne	CH
2014	Lionel Bovier	Member FDC		1970	44	Male	Publisher, MAMCO director from 2016	Geneva	CH
2014	Maurice Scheltens	Expert		1972	42	Male	Photographer	Amsterdam	NL
2014	Catherine Ince	Expert		1975	39	Female	Curator	London	UK
2014	Laurent Benner	Member FDC		1975	39	Male	Graphic designer	London	UK

2015	Walter Pfeiffer	Expert		1946	69	Male	Photographer	Zurich	CH
2015	Patrick Reymond	President FDC		1962	53	Male	Architect, Designer, Atelier Oï	La Neuveville	CH
2015	Christoph Hefti	Member FDC		1967	48	Male	Fashion designer	Antwerp/ Brussels	BE
2015	Renate Menzi	Member FDC		1968	47	Female	Director of the design collection, MfGZ	Zurich	CH
2015	Lionel Bovier	Member FDC		1970	45	Male	Publisher, MAMCO director from 2016	Geneva	CH
2015	Laurent Benner	Member FDC		1975	40	Male	Graphic designer	London	UK
2015	Catherine Ince	Expert		1975	40	Female	Curator	London	UK
2015	Radim Peško	Expert		1976	39	Male	Graphic and type designer	London	UK
2016	Heidi Wegener	Member FDC		1947	69	Female	Curator Prix Design Suisse, ex-administrative director ZHDK	Zurich	CH
2016	Nicoletta Cavadini Ossanna	Member FDC		1962	54	Female	Director m.a.x.museo	Chiasso	CH
2016	Christoph Hefti	Member FDC		1967	49	Male	Fashion designer	Antwerp/ Brussels	BE
2016	Renate Menzi	Member FDC		1968	48	Female	Director of the design collection, MfGZ	Zurich	CH
2016	Lionel Bovier	President FDC		1970	46	Male	Publisher, MAMCO director from 2016	Geneva	CH
2016	Laurent Benner	Member FDC		1975	41	Male	Graphic designer	London	UK
2016	Catherine Ince	Expert		1975	41	Female	Curator	London	UK
2016	Aude Lehmann	Member FDC		1976	40	Female	Graphic designer	Zurich	CH
2016	Tatyana Franck	Expert		1984	32	Female	Director Musée de l'Elysée	Lausanne	CH
2017	Heidi Wegener	Member FDC		1947	70	Female	Curator Prix Design Suisse, ex-administrative director ZHDK	Zurich	CH
2017	Nicoletta Cavadini Ossanna	Member FDC		1962	55	Female	Director m.a.x.museo	Chiasso	CH
2017	Christoph Hefti	Member FDC		1967	50	Male	Fashion designer	Antwerp/ Brussels	BE
2017	Renate Menzi	Member FDC		1968	49	Female	Director of the design collection, MfGZ	Zurich	CH
2017	Jörg Boner	Expert		1968	49	Male	Product designer	Zurich	CH
2017	Lionel Bovier	President FDC		1970	47	Male	Publisher, MAMCO director from 2016	Geneva	CH
2017	Catherine Ince	Expert		1975	42	Female	Curator	London	UK
2017	Laurent Benner	Member FDC		1975	42	Male	Graphic designer	London	UK
2017	Aude Lehmann	Member FDC		1976	41	Female	Graphic designer	Zurich	CH
2018	Meret Ernst	Expert		1966	52	Female	Design journalist and historian	Zurich	CH
2018	Christoph Hefti	Member FDC		1967	51	Male	Fashion designer	Antwerp/ Brussels	BE
2018	Jörg Boner	President FDC		1968	50	Male	Product designer	Zurich	CH
2018	Laurent Benner	Member FDC		1975	43	Male	Graphic designer	London	UK

2018	Catherine Ince	Expert		1975	43	Female	Curator	London	UK
2018	Radovan Scasascia	Expert		1975	43	Male	Web designer	London	UK
2018	Aude Lehmann	Member FDC		1976	42	Female	Graphic designer	Zurich	CH
2018	Claudia Caviezel	Member FDC		1977	41	Female	Head of Textile design for AKRIS	St. Gallen	CH
2018	Davide Fornari	Member FDC		1979	39	Male	Professor Research and development ECAL	Lausanne	CH
2018	Tatyana Franck	Member FDC		1984	34	Female	Director Musée de l'Elysée	Lausanne	CH
2019	Pierre Charpin	Expert		1962	57	Male	Product designer	Paris	FR
2019	Christoph Hefti	Member FDC		1967	52	Male	Fashion designer	Antwerp/ Brussels	BE
2019	Jörg Boner	President FDC		1968	51	Male	Product designer	Zurich	CH
2019	Laurent Benner	Member FDC		1975	44	Male	Graphic designer	London	UK
2019	Radovan Scasascia	Expert		1975	44	Male	Web designer	London	UK
2019	Catherine Ince	Expert		1975	44	Female	Curator	London	UK
2019	Aude Lehmann	Member FDC		1976	43	Female	Graphic designer	Zurich	CH
2019	Claudia Caviezel	Member FDC		1977	42	Female	Head of Textile design for AKRIS	St Gallen	CH
2019	Davide Fornari	Member FDC		1979	40	Male	Professor Research and development ECAL	Lausanne	CH
2019	Tatyana Franck	Member FDC		1984	35	Female	Director Musée de l'Elysée	Lausanne	CH
2020	Pierre Charpin	Expert		1962	58	Male	Product designer	Paris	FR
2020	Jörg Boner	President FDC		1968	52	Male	Product designer	Zurich	CH
2020	Cécile Feilchenfeldt	Expert		1968	52	Female	Textile designer	Paris	FR
2020	Radovan Scasascia	Expert		1975	45	Male	Web designer	London	UK
2020	Aude Lehmann	Member FDC		1976	44	Female	Graphic designer	Zurich	CH
2020	Claudia Caviezel	Member FDC		1977	43	Female	Head of Textile design for AKRIS	St Gallen	CH
2020	Davide Fornari	Member FDC		1979	41	Male	Professor Research and development ECAL	Lausanne	CH
2020	Vera Sacchetti-Vilardebo	Member FDC		1983	37	Female	Design critic & curator	Basel	CH
2020	Tatyana Franck	Member FDC		1984	36	Female	Director Musée de l'Elysée	Lausanne	CH
2020	Marietta Eugster	Member FDC		1985	35	Female	Graphic designer	Zurich	CH

3 From 2002, work was no longer submitted to specific categories and experts were therefore not assigned to a discipline anymore.

Table 7.4 The ratio of male and female winners of the SDA in the category graphic design between 1990 and 2020 (percentages rounded up to the nearest one).

Year	Male %	Female %
1990	67	33
1991	40	60
1992		100
1993	60	40
1994	80	20
1995	100	
1996	75	25
1997	75	25
1998	100	
1999	73	27
2000	100	
2001	56	44
2002	46	54
2003	65	35
2004	60	40
2005	75	25
2006	71	29
2007	56	44
2008	75	25
2009	69	31
2010	95	5
2011	93	7
2012	71	29
2013	48	52
2014	70	30
2015	57	43
2016	50	50
2017	100	
2018	40	60
2019	60	40
2020	69	31

This publication is based on the dissertation submitted by Jonas Berthod at the Faculty of Humanities at the University of Bern to obtain the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. The dissertation was supervised by Prof. Dr Peter J. Schneemann, Institute of Art History at the University of Bern and Prof. Dr Arne Scheuermann, Institute of Design Research at the University of the Arts Bern. Promotion: 14 October 2021.

Dr Jonas Berthod is a researcher, lecturer and artistic deputy at ECAL/University of Art and Design Lausanne (HES-SO), where he has been teaching since 2013. He also serves as a lecturer at Kingston School of Art and co-organises the yearly exhibition *Behind the Books* in London. He previously worked as a graphic designer in London and Switzerland. He was a doctoral student at the Graduate School of the Arts and Humanities within the SNSF-funded project "Swiss Graphic Design and Typography Revisited" (2016–2021), and served as a visiting lecturer at various institutions in Switzerland and in the United Kingdom.

The Prize of Success: The Swiss Design Awards and the Closed Networks of Promotion

Jonas Berthod

Proofreading	Chris Walton
Design	Frederik Mahler-Andersen and Clio Hadjigeorgiou
Typefaces	Rhymes and Selecta, Maxitype
Printing	Majuskel Medienproduktion GmbH, Wetzlar

This publication was funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation and supported by the Swiss Design Network with the SDN Publishing Grant 2022.

Swiss National Science Foundation

SWISSDESIGNNETWORK

First published in 2024 by transcript Verlag, Bielefeld

transcript
Roswitha Gost & Dr. Karin Werner GbR
Hermannstraße 26
33602 Bielefeld

Print-ISBN 978-3-8376-7191-9
PDF-ISBN 978-3-8394-7191-3
https://doi.org/10.14361/9783839471913
ISSN of series: 2702-8801
eISSN of series: 2702-881X

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek.
The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available in the Internet at https:// dnb.dnb.de

Printed on permanent acid-free text paper.