Zeitschrift: Trans : Publikationsreihe des Fachvereins der Studierenden am Departement Architektur der ETH Zürich

Herausgeber: Departement Architektur der ETH Zürich

Band: - (2000)

Heft: 7

Artikel: The real real : capitalism and schizophrenia in the production of the urban landscape

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DOI: https://doi.org/10.5169/seals-919142

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Anna Klingmann

The real real:

Capitalism and schizophrenia in the production of the urban landscape

Today the dominant paradigm for the study of urbanism covers a theoretical terrain triangulated by *economy, semiotics, and psychology.*

The article aims to show how the built environment reflects and upholds the power structure of capitalism and how it physically substantiates its contradictions. Secondly, the question is explored in how far the urban fabric acts as a code - as a system of signs substantiating the social order of capitalism and its internal classifications. Finally, the psychological relationship between image and city is addressed as it concerns the identification of the subject with consumer capitalism. Even though semiotics, psychoanalysis and historical materialism stem from radically different epistemologies, one could argue that that the contemporary capitalist city needs to be understood in its full complexity, including literal and symbolic meanings, reflection of power structures and ideologies as well as fantasies, requiring the use of psychoanalysis to uncover its symbolic meanings.[1]

(I) Capitalism as the primary force in the production of the city

The capitalist condition

According to the French philosopher Henri Levebvre urban space is a construct of economic conditions. He argues that capitalism has not only survived through the production of space, but moreover through a superior control over space.[2] Following Levebvre's theory David Harvey in his book *The Urbanization of Capital*, argues that the *"geography of capitalism has shaped physical and social landscapes in profound ways."*[3] Based on the fundamental logic of money economy Harvey demonstrates how capitalism shapes spatial organization, and how it produces and continuously revolutionizes the urban fabric of production, exchange, and consumption. In this regard he frames the capitalist as a complex spatial configuration composed of different building programs pertaining to the aggregative processes of production, exchange and consumption organized for the purpose of producing profit.[4] Accordingly architecture and urban form play a central role in the production of capitalist space as a physical framework which simultaneously represents and supports its ideology - serving both as an *image* as well as an *organization* of the capitalist system.

Capitalism according to Marxian theory is driven by a continuous expansion of profit. This growth in real values in turn rests on the principle of competition and the domination of labor by capital. Consequently capitalism according to Marx is defined by two essential components: accumulation and class struggle. If profit arises out of the domination of labor by capital the capitalists, as a class must, if they are to retain their position of power continuously seek out processes of innovation that will enhance their own profitability. Yielding to a principle of maximum profit with minimum investment they are invariably subjected to an accelerating competition. In this sense capitalism is by necessity technologically dynamic because the coercive laws of competition push capitalists continuously into new models of innovation in their search of profit.[5] As a consequence the capitalist system poses several inherent contradictions most importantly those which rest on the contingent relationship of *production* and *consumption*. While production in capitalism is overtly governed by an intense coercion of both classes - labor as well as capitalist class - to facilitate the expansion of profit consumption as the flip side of capitalism pertains to an imaginary realm of personal expression where both classes can freely express their individuality in the realm of exchange. Hence while capitalism rests on the one hand on an overt social and economic reglementation played out in the realm of production in order to secure its basis for expansion of profit it depends at the same time on the semiotic exchange of signs pertaining to the realm of consumption. While both structures are construed as different aspects of the same reality they also express an integral unity formulating the base principle of capitalism.

fig 1: ***decorated shed: generic container that applies symbols***
- systems of space and structure are directly at the service of program, and ornament is applied independently of them

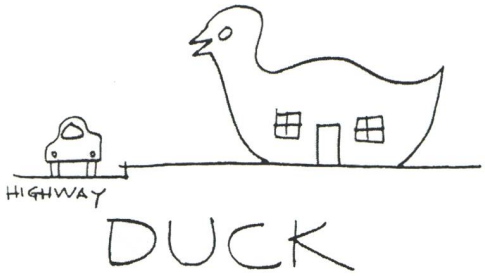


fig 2: ***duck: building as symbol***
- architectural systems of space, structure and program are submerged and distorted by an overall symbolic form

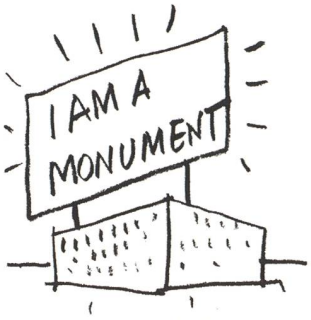
Creative destruction

Exhibiting its inherent contradictions Marx was able to show that the dynamic of capitalism is crisis prone, causing periodic phases of overaccumulation such as the production of excess capital and labor. Since overaccumulation as an inherent force of capitalism cannot be eliminated the question arises how to absorb it. In this regard the continuous restructuring of the urban territory comes into play as a viable absorbant of excess capital and labor through the production of new spaces within which economic activity can proceed. Urbanization according to David Harvey *"has always been about the mobilization, production, appropriation, and absorption of economic surpluses and deficiencies."*[6] As buildings are spatially immobile and generally absorbent of large investments there must first be a surplus of both capital and labor in relation to current production and consumption needs in order to facilitate any movement of capital into the formation of fixed capital. Marx's extensive analysis of fixed capital in relation to accumulation reveals however a central incongruity. While fixed capital enhances the productivity of labor and thereby contributes to the accumulation of capital as *exchange value* it also functions, as *usevalue* and as such requires conversion of exchange values into a physical asset. As usevalue however - the fixed capital cannot easily be altered and so it freezes productivity at a certain level. If new and more productive fixed capital is produced before the old is amortized, then the exchange value still tied up in the old is devalued. Resistance to this devaluation paralyses the rise in productivity and, thus, restricts accumulation.[7] In this sense the built environment not only supports but also inhibits the capitalist accumulation process due to its own set of physical constraints. This condition poses a discrepancy in that capitalist development must always negotiate a balance between the exchange values of past capital investments in the built environment and the destruction of these investments in order to free up additional space for accumulation. Harvey argues that the geographical landscape that results is always the manifestation of *past* capitalist development which needs to be destroyed or redefined in order to facilitate accumulation.[8] He concludes his argument by saying that capitalism rests on a perpetual struggle in which capital builds a physical landscape appropriate to its own conditions at a particular moment in time, only to have to destroy and renew it, at a subsequent point in time.

The effects of the internal contradictions of capitalism, when projected onto fixed investments in the built environment are manifest in the geography of the landscape that results. Los Angeles as the paradigmatic condition of a capitalist city unrestrained by rules other than those of the perpetual accumulation of capital is an example of continual rebuilding and destruction in its most exaggerated visibility. Governed by perpetual turnover of profit buildings rarely last more then three decades and even within that timeframe they are constantly altered to accommodate the latest trend. The Nietschian image of *creative destruction* and *destructive creation* comes to mind which for the economist Schumpeter, was the progressive leitmotif of capitalist development. In Las Vegas for example both forces are blatantly visible in the high turnover rate of buildings: For every new building structure going up at least one is demolished. Demolition in this context ironically is not viewed as a negative event but on the contrary celebrated as an urban spectacle in the anticipation for more innovative potential to come. In this way innovation in the building industry is inevitably tied to destruction exacerbating constant instability. In order to maintain profitability, new spaces are constantly created, destroyed and recreated as capitalists are forced to seek out new markets and new more profitable sites for capital accumulation. Destruction and demolition enforcing rapid expropriation and changes as a result of speculation, are in this regard perhaps the most recognizable signs of the capitalist landscape.[9]

Architecture as commodity

As architecture has always been closely linked to economics one could argue that architecture in the system of capitalism is a product, which like any other commodity



the decorated shed

fig 3: ***classical capitalism: shed***
- clear distinction between surface structure (sign) and deep structure (shed)

the inverted duck/shed

fig 4: ***late capitalism: duck/shed***
- merged condition between surface structure (sign) and deep structure (shed) - „the sign becomes the experience"

promotes the expansion of profit, simultaneously servicing the increase of production but more recently also consumption.

Basing this equation on the condition of early capitalism, modernism as an architectural movement was contingent on the economic principles of Fordism. Fordism as an economic construct facilitating mass production through means of scientific management depended conversely on architecture to substantiate accumulation of capital by streamlining production and labor processes. Architecture responded to this need twofold: firstly by efficient distribution of functions (*"form follows function"*) and secondly by standardizing the building process itself. In this way architecture provided simultaneously a physical framework for mass-production while also applying its principles to the building process itself ensuring time and cost efficiency. Standardization in this way became a key concept in the modern building process to substantiate the expansion of profit both on a programmatic and material level. If one argues that architecture both materializes and reflects economic concerns, modernism as a movement contingent on Fordist principles enabled scientific methods of production as a physical framework while also representing its ideology as a streamlined image.

Just as the modern movement in architecture was driven by an early stage of market capitalism emphasizing production, postmodern architecture became the stylistic hallmark of a late capitalism stressing consumption. As Fordism contingent on a firm balance between organized labor, large corporate capital, and national control was gradually dismantled by a heightened mobility of international capital increased demand was put on flexible responses in labor and consumer markets. Postfordism as an economic principle resting on flexible accumulation is therefore not only subject to on an acceleration in the pace of product innovation but also very much dependant on the exploration of highly diverse consumer markets characterized by a fast turnover of profit. Turnover time, always one of the keys to capitalist profitability stood to be reduced dramatically by the deployment of new technologies along with a flexible accumulation of capital. Accelerating turnover time in production however is only viable if the turnover time in consumption is also reduced. Postfordism therefore has been accompanied on the consumption's side by a great attention to quick changing styles accelerated by marketing.

Since the economy of late capitalism shifted from production to consumption, the economic expectations that were placed on architecture changed with it. As the emphasis on architecture as a means to increase production efficiency declined, even more pressure was placed on architecture to perform as a marketable commodity.[10] As competition in the building industry due to improved methods of mass production and dislocation of capital has accelerated architecture became more and more reliant on the production of stylistic differences. In order to succeed in a consumer market, it is mandatory to cater to the diverse demands of a post-modern society, which by necessity implies a more formal differentiation of products. Gradually the stable aesthetic of Modernism has given way to a postmodern aesthetic emphasizing difference, ephemerality, spectacle, and the commodification of cultural forms.[11] Hence whereas in the modern age *function* had stood in the foreground in the post-modern era *effect* came to be of decisive significance.

(II) System of signs in the formation of the city

Postmodernism

In this respect it is interesting to observe the link between late capitalism and postmodern culture. Following the economist Ernest Mandel we have moved into a new era since the early 1960s in which culture has been increasingly combined with commodity production.[12] Transferring the intrinsic contradictions of market economy into a cultural framework of coexisting realities, postmodern society was able to seamlessly integrate cultural and economic ambitions. According to Harvey, postmodernism

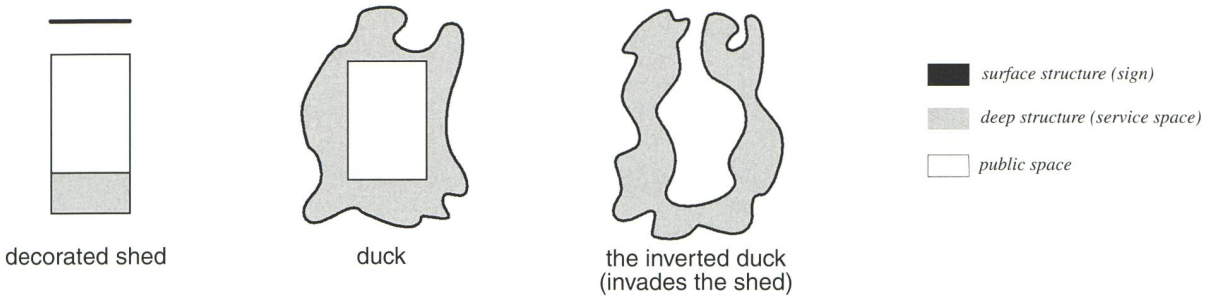


fig 5: ***Progression of casino typologies in Las Vegas***

signals nothing but a logical extension of the power of the market over the whole range of cultural production.[13] By blurring all distinctions between high and low culture the typical postmodernist artifact plays with this schism oscillating between the formerly separate realms of high and low culture. The literary critic Terry Eagleton (1987) describes the postmodern object as follows:

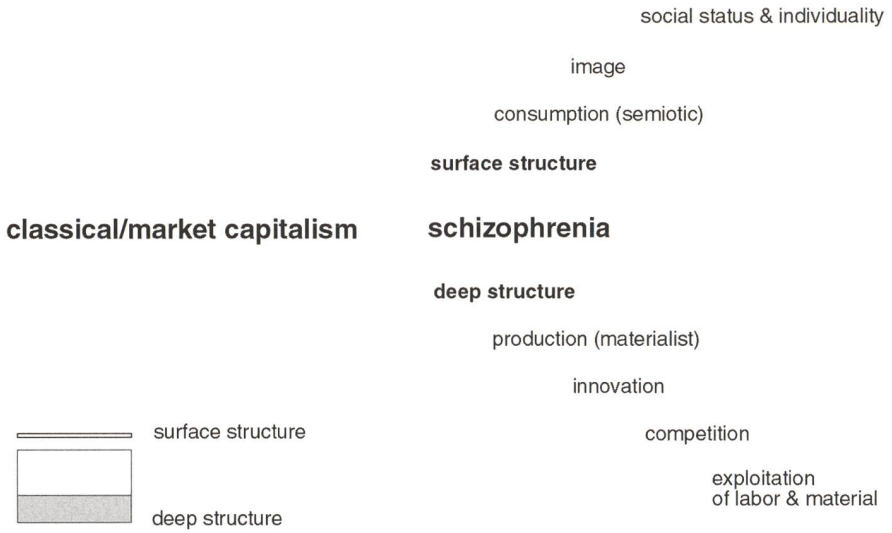
"There is, perhaps, a degree of consensus that the typical postmodernist artefact is playful, self-ironizing and even schizoid; and that it reacts to the austere autonomy of high modernism by impudently embracing the language of commerce and the commodity. Its stance towards cultural tradition is one of irreverent pastiche, and its contrived depthlessness undermines all metaphysical solemnities."[14]

Practically the same could be said about postmodern architecture where iconographies of different cultures seem to collapse upon each other in order to become reassembled as commodities. The multivalency of architecture which results generates a tension that renders it *"radically schizophrenic by necessity."* Charles Jencks, who extensively theorized the postmodern movement in architecture, articulates schizophrenia as a general characteristic of the postmodern movement. "According to Jencks architecture must embody a double coding, *"a popular traditional one which like spoken language is slow-changing, full of clichés and rooted in family life' and a modern one rooted in a fast-changing society, with its new functional tasks, new materials, new technologies and ideologies' as well as quick-changing art and fashion."*[15] Jencks comment recalls many of the statements in Robert Venturi's, Denise Scott-Brown's and Steven Izenour's book *Learning from Las Vegas* which written at the onset of postmodernism 1972 emphasizes the schizophrenic existence of language and structure as it is manifest in architecture and urbanism. Another enlightened reading of the postmodern city is provided by the book *Delirious New York* written by Rem Koolhaas a few years after, addressing the schizoid reality of hybrid programs in buildings. Investigating the ramifications of economic conditions on popular culture both works affirm the relevance of commercial architecture to high culture as a physical tribute to the many-layered and disjointed relations between economy, politics and culture. While Koolhaas reframes New York as a paradigmatic example of modernism through a postmodern lens, Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown conduct an extensive research of Las Vegas as a case study of postmodern urbanism. Consciously embracing an architecture of *the ugly and ordinary* while simultaneously uncovering its underlying potential for the *fantastic* both writings openly attack modernism's transcendental strive for unity affirming instead the schizophrenic impact of capitalism on architectural expression. Interestingly enough Koolhaas rereads Manhattan as a postmodern space revealing the same eclecticism and fragmentation in modern architecture that has later become associated with postmodernism:

"All components of the map are European; but kidnapped from their context and transplanted to a mythical island, they are reassembled into a unrecognizable -yet ultimately accurate- new whole: a utopian Europe, the product of compression and density. The city is a catalogue of models and precedents: all the desirable elements that exist scattered through the Old World finally assembled in a single place."[16]

Architecture as sign

Although both works are written with a postmodern concern for the city as a communicational system they apply it very differently to architecture. While Koolhaas highlights the *"radical command of the language of fantasy-pragmatism that lends Manhattanism ambition"* in the condensed superimposition of diverging programs leading to a hybridization of building typologies, Venturi and Scott Brown stress the significance of symbols as part of a spatial repertoire. In this regard both works have not only appplied Postmodernism's preoccupation with language to architecture but have also reinstated a very powerful aspect of capital accumulation: the production and



consumption of what Baudrillard calls *"sign exchange value."* According to Baudrillard *"consumption is instituted on the basis of the exchange of differences.* Consequently commodities are no longer defined by *usevalue* only but more importantly by their *sign exchange value.* In this sense commodities constitute no longer only a system of objects but more importantly of signs which in their entirety form a communicational structure. Therefore consumption generally, Baudrillard argues, rests on the conversion of *economic exchange value* (money) into *sign exchange value* (prestige).[17] Baudrillard in this sense supplemented and extended the Marxist critique of capitalism with a semiological construct. Only a linguistic model so Baudrillard can decipher the meaning structure of the modern commodity.[18] In the *System of Objects* (1968) Baudrillard explores the possibility that consumption has become the chief basis of the social order and of its internal classifications. As such, consumer objects must be analyzed by use of linguistic categories rather than those of Marxian or liberal economics. *"Consumption, in so far as it is meaningful"*, he argues, *"is a systematic act of the manipulation of signs. (..) In order to become object of consumption, the object must become sign; that is, in some way it must become external to a relation that it now only signifies, (...), yet obtaining its coherence, and consequently its meaning, from an abstract and systematic relation to all other object-signs."*[19] If one follows Baudrillard's linguistic construct also architecture must be at least partially read as a *sign* as it pertains to the same logic of consumption. If however one reasons that architecture as an economic structure is also governed by its *usevalue* as Marx had suggested and only partly by its (sign) exchange value another model needs to be applied. In this regard the syntactic model by the American linguist Noam Chomsky may be of use to understand the relationship between (sign) *exchange value* and *use value* as it pertains to the language of architecture.

Chomsky conceived of a transformational grammar consisting of two levels of representation concerning the structure of sentences: an underlying, more abstract form, termed *deep structure* and the actual form of the sentence produced, called *surface structure*. While the *deep structure* as an inherent model of grammar never changes it may however through strategies of transformation take variegated forms in the realm of the *surface structure*.[20] Applied to economy one could argue that the capitalist system likewise consists of two structures: an underlying *deep structure* defining its basic principle and a *surface structure* pertaining to a more temporary realm of concrete manifestations and strategies. This model as is to be anticipated can be extended in many ways when applied to the economic ramifications, as they are manifest in the construction of the urban fabric.

Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown developed a simple model of building types which may provide a visualization of Chomsky's grammar as it might pertain to urbanism. In this regard they differentiate between two main typologies: *the duck* and the *decorated shed.* Both types clearly deal with the mediation of *exchange value* on the one hand as *surface structure* and *use value* on the other as *deep structure*. The first type is described as the duck *"where the architectural systems of space, structure, and program are submerged and distorted by an overall symbolic form"*.[21] In this case the surface structure is applied as a sculptural layer enveloping the deep structure i.e. the box, signifying its thematic use as a symbolic shape. The disadvantage of this type is that due to its highly defined shape it does not allow for much flexibility in changing use patterns hence limiting its capacity for raising long-term profit. Also the sign due to its highly defined shape does not allow for much flexibility hence posing the problem that the exchange value may ultimately decline while the usevalue remains. The second type which at the time seemed to be the more profitable option due to its flexibility of sign replacement and generic form is the *decorated shed* where systems of space and structure are directly at the service of program, and ornament is applied independently of them."[22]

The typology that is of interest here is the latter which is best exemplified in the sketch titled *I am a monument.*

consumption (sign)

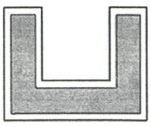
surface structure

late/multinational capitalism invading **bifurcated polarization**

blurred condition on the surface, but actually amplifying the split

deep structure

production



surface structure

deep structure

While the deep structure here is clearly instituted as a generic shed governed solely by economic pragmatism, the sign in this case becomes the surface structure transforming the shed into something other than itself. Signifying a specific desire beyond the existence of the generic the shed in this case becomes a monument. This type of course has not been realized in actuality and it is only through the sign that one is able to identify the intention. In this way the sign resembles an object of desire which is always elusive and thus simultaneously defines an absence. Conversely the shed is defined by that which it is not. Thus one could argue that the sign by signifying a desire beyond the shed also compensates for an inherent deficiency of the shed. The shed however as the deep structure signifies the inherent reality principle of capitalist architecture and as such is not likely to change. In this sense the decorated shed unifies two principles: the reality principle of the shed and the desiring principle of the sign. By visualizing these two contingent principles of the commodity in architecture - one pertaining to the materialist, the other to the semiotic realm, Venturi and Scott Brown expose the schizophrenic nature of the consumer object as it is manifest in the building industry. While the usevalue of architecture generally relies on a strategy of minimal investment in order to facilitate mostly short-term amortization of invested capital; the sign becomes its added value differentiating one building type from the next. However the sign as the surface structure will never be able to exist without the box, as it is only one of many expressions of the deep structure which will always remain unchanged. On the other hand the box in its utilitarian reality is also rendered worthless without the sign. Understanding the codependency of one structure on the other Venturi and Scott Brown assert that these two will never be able to form a coherent entity as for example modernism had anticipated. *"The purest decorated shed would be some form of conventional systems building shelter that corresponds closely to the space, structures, and program requirement of architecture, and upon which is laid a contrasting and in, if the nature of the circumstances, contradictory - decoration."*[23] Surface structure and deep structure are perceived as entirely separate if codependent entities, echoing in many ways the contradictions of capitalism itself. Koolhaas elaborates this model later with an examination of program and form in architecture, which like symbol and structure in architecture are bound by dissension. He takes the New York skyscraper as a paradigmatic type of commercial architecture, which like the decorated shed can only survive as a schizophrenic hybrid incorporating the most disparate conditions. Regarding the skyscraper as a monument to capitalism itself he writes:

"To make the Automonument skyscraper inhabitable, a series of subsidiary tactics is developed to satisfy the two conflicting demands to which it is constantly exposed: that of being a monument - a condition that suggests permanence, solidity and serenity - and at the same time, that of accommodating, with maximum efficiency, the " the change which is life", which is by definition antimonumental."[24] As a solution to this "problem" two strategies are applied - one addressing the permanent separation between facade treatment and interior programming (lobotomy), the other allowing the separation of diverging uses between floors (schism) without any concern for their symbolic compatibility. *"In fact the schizoid arrangement of thematic planes implies an architectural strategy for planning the interior of the skyscraper, which has become autonomous through the lobotomy: the vertical schism, a systematic exploitation of the deliberate disconnection between stories."*[25]

At the turn of the millennium one could argue that another building type has emerged which is that of the *inverted duck* posing a condition where the duck type and the decorated shed have blended into one another, extending the inherent split of surface and deep structure into a state of multiple bifurcations. The direct concern with surface appearances is here deployed deliberately to conceal, through the realm of the imaginary, the real basis of economic distinctions. While producing a blurred condition on the surface by inverting exterior and interior into an ambivalent condition the surface structure actu-

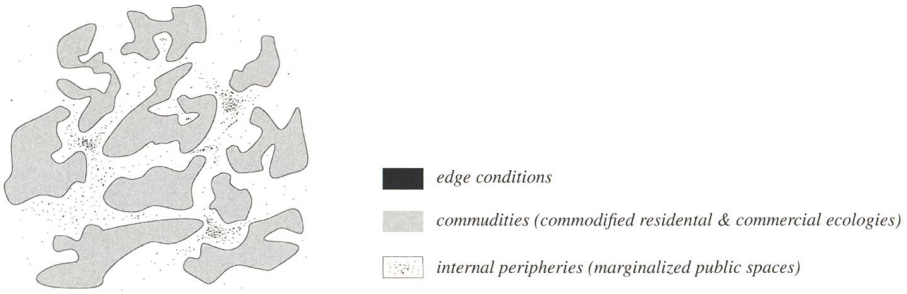


fig 6: ***bifurcated urbanism: the urban structure of late capitalism***

ally amplifies the split in the deep structure. The surface structure has been folded into the deep structure as a kind of *"inverted duck"* leaving the deep structure reduced to a poché condition encircled by one continuous surface. The sign, which used to be a two-dimensional image, has been extended into a three-dimensional event space, flowing seamlessly from the exterior into the interior around a poché of service spaces. In this way buildings become increasingly the physical expressions of a growing experience economy, where symbols are multiplied to form synthetic "stage sets". An architecture of the spectacle has emanated where the shift away from the consumption of goods into the consumption of experiences, entertainment and spectacles becomes evident. The production of images has been transformed into *"material simulacra in the form of built environments which become indistinguishable from the originals."*[26] As the form of postmodern city is increasingly determined by the demands of spectacle and consumption boundaries between reality and fantasy become ever more obscure, This tendency becomes most obvious in the construction of various "city states" in Las Vegas for example, which serve as commodified replicas of European *"cities as buildings"*. As physical extensions of an all-encompassing media industry they form their own commodified realities detached from the economic reality that sustains it.

(III) Capitalism and Schizophrenia: the relation of image and city in psychological terms

Frederic Jameson in his essay *Postmodernism and Consumer Society* links consumer capitalism to postmodernism and postmodernism to a social condition of schizophrenia. The general contention is that late capitalism not only accelerates the flow of capital, but also accelerates the rate at which subjects assume identities through processes of consumption. Identity formation in the postmodern era according to Jameson is inextricably linked to commodities, as consumer objects increasingly offer new means of identification as a social code.[27] Consumption, according to Baudrillard, entails the systematic differentiation of signs which have no signified. An object of consumption needs to be therefore first liberated as a sign to be recaptured by the logic of differentiation allowing for a process of identification to take place. Baudrillard talks about a network of floating signifiers that are *"inexhaustible in their ability to incite desire."*[28] Hence also desire becomes a powerful force of social production exploited by a cogent media and marketing industry. Because advertisements effectively link desire with the need to purchase products, the acceleration of visual culture promotes the hyper-consumption associated with late capitalism. According to Jameson the media culture of the late twentieth century itself constitutes a resemblance of the fragmentation and instability of language of postmodernism which carries over directly, into a certain conception of personality focusing on the psychoanalytic category of schizophrenia. Schizophrenia here is not to be understood in its narrow clinical sense but rather as a linguistic disturbance.[29] In this regard Jameson refers to Lacan's description of schizophrenia as a linguistic disorder, as a breakdown in the signifying chain of meaning echoing on a more subjective level postmodernism's preoccupation with the signifier rather than the signified, with surface appearances that bear no continuity. Correspondingly Jameson describes the schizophrenic experience as *"an experience of isolated, disconnected, discontinuous material signifiers which fail to link up into a coherent sequence."* The effect of such a breakdown in the signifying chain reduces experience to *"a series of pure and unrelated presents in time resulting in a loss of self which can only be developed through continuity over time."*[30] This loss of self then translates back into a social phenomenon whereby both postmodernism and schizophrenia as cultural forces deny the possibility of a critical perspective based on the continuity of language and tradition.

In addition, the conception of Lacan's mirror stage has been used extensively by media critics to explain the schizophrenic effect images enforce on the subject in the regime of consumer capitalism.[31] According to Lacan

identification is the transformation that takes place in the subject when he assumes an image or imago.[32] First of all, it details how the schizoid infant comes to identify with an image that is outside of itself and through which he develops an ego. This exterior image (for example when the child recognizes his or herself in the mirror) is always presented as a coherent depiction of the self, posing a contradiction to the inherently schizoid nature of the subject. Consequently, the identification process through external images not only add to a coherent ego formation but moreover lead to an alienation with idealized (mis)representations, fostering a gap between a coherent perception of an *"idealized I"* and the complex constitution of the subconscious. In this way, ego formation is essentially based on a (mis)representation of unity inducing in the subject a state of perpetual lack and alienation. As a consequence, this estrangement of the subject from his or her self provokes a condition of perpetual desire for the *other* in order to compensate for what is perceived as lack.

As Baudrillard states in his essay *La Systeme des Objets* *"At the heart of the project from which emerges the systematic and indefinite process of consumption is a frustrated desire for totality. (...) It is ultimately because consumption is founded on a lack that it is irrepressible."*[33] In this sense the process of ego formation reinforces the logic of late capitalism as *"consumer capitalism needs subjects who oscillate quickly between schizophrenic consciousness and idealized ego formations."*[34] Put more abstractly one could argue that the inherent dynamic of capitalism is always driven by a desire for alterity, forcefully induced by the inherent schizophrenia of that which constitutes its actual reality.

Returning to the model of the decorated shed one could argue that the shed signifies a subconscious condition of lack. Based on a condition of reality which by Venturi and Scott Brown is termed *the ugly and the ordinary* it always desires to be *other* - that which it can not be - due to its economic constrictions. Hence the sign becomes its exterior alter ego signalizing an imago of completeness. The sign just like the image for the subject is of course always outside of the shed - since the two as stated by Venturi and Scott Brown will never be reconciled.

Like Jameson, also the French philosophers Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari see correspondences between capitalism and schizophrenia, although they conceptualize the relationship from an entirely different perspective. Whereas Jameson is a marxist with modernist sympathies, Deleuze and Guattari could be classified as postmodernist or poststructuralist."[35] In their work Anti-Oedipus, they hypothesize a relationship between schizophrenia and capitalism that prevails *"at the deepest level of one and the same economy, one and the same production process,"* concluding that *"our society produces schizos the same way it produces. Prell shampoo or Ford cars, the only difference being that the schizos are not saleable.*[36]*"* In a critique against Freud according to whom the schizophrenic has not been capable to form a coherent ego and therefore is prone to a highly disjointed behavior Deleuze and Guattari maintain that the schizophrenic is characterized by a highly productive unconscious which enables him or her to project his or her own desires into immediate reality. Thus whereas Freud and Lacan view the unconscious as symbolic for desires that are repressed, hence associating desire with lack, Deleuze and Guattari argue that the schizoid does not experience lack because of his or her capacity to transfigure signifiers into the real.[37] Schizophrenia in this sense is perceived as a constructive catalyst which by force of desire can actually produce the real and *"create new worlds."*[38]

Refusing to be categorized schizophrenics also *"escape (social) coding."* It is this capacity of the schizoid to *"scramble and decode"* that Deleuze and Guattari associate with the money economy which can likewise insert itself freely into any culture or place. Accordingly, Deleuze and Guattari identify capitalism as a schizophrenic decoding device continuously *"breaking down the cultural, symbolic, and linguistic barriers that create territories and limit exchange."*[39] They conclude how-

ever that schizophrenia has to remain a hidden dimension. Although intrinsic to capitalism it is a condition that can never be openly stated:

"Schizophrenia is the exterior limit of capitalism itself or the conclusion of its deepest tendency, but that capitalism only functions on the condition that it inhibits this tendency, or that it push back and displace this limit."[40] This argument is reverberated by Koolhaas in his description of the capitalist city *"Manhattanism, whose program -to exist in a world totally fabricated by man, i.e. to live inside fantasy-was so ambitious that to be realized it could never be openly stated."* Nevertheless he alleges that schizophrenia is not only capitalism's hidden dimension but also an imperative prerequisite for the capitalist city to survive. It is this *"Disconnection between actual and stated intentions, the formula that creates the critical no-mans-land where Manhattanism can exercise its ambitions."*[41]

Revealing a subconsious dimension of the irrational and fantastic Koolhaas argues that schizophrenia is the alter ego of capitalist building logic *"They (the developers) have developed a schizophrenia that allows them simultaneously to derive energy and inspiration from Manhattan as irrational fantasy and to establish its unprecedented theorems in a series of strictly rational steps."*[42]

The real real

According to Baudrillard we have moved into a phase of market economy where the dialectic between reality principle and desiring principle, object and sign has since become invalidated and absorbed by an encompassing system of simulation. As mobile capital feeds itself on the destruction of every referential in its practice of deterritorialization, it simultaneously also disintegrates any kind of contradiction by means of equivalent signs production. Progressively less anchored by any reference Baudrillard debates that signs have become increasingly interchangeable. As a consequence dialectic as a deterministic strategy based on equivalencies can no longer be applied to the current money economy. While usevalue according to Marx qualifies the concrete operation of the commodity in consumption, exchange value refers to the interchangeability of all commodities under the law of equivalence. This relationship according to Baudrillard has since disintegrated giving rise to a *"structural play of values"* operating exclusively in a realm of simulation at the gradual expense of the real as a referential dimension.[43]

Baudrillard's argument is paralleled in many ways by Michael Dear who describes a new emergence of urbanism arising from a global interchangeability of signs along with a rapid dislocation of capital. Referring to recent urban developments in Southern California Dear argues signs have been increasingly transformed into material simulacra reflecting the demands of a late capitalism. The current phase of capitalism, resulting from cheaper and faster systems of transportation and telecommunications, globalization of capital markets, and short production cycles permit capital to evade long-term commitments to place-based socio-economies, giving rise instead to an accelerated dynamic of capital and commodity flows. Urbanistically this heightened flexibility engenders an apparently random development of monocultural spaces where *"capital touches down as if by chance on a parcel of land."* Acute fragmentation and specialization characterize the resultant urban aggregate - where places for consumption and places for production form a highly bifurcated system of developed and undeveloped spaces. *"Conventional city form"*, so Dear, *"is sacrificed in favor of a non-contiguous collage of parcelized, consumption-oriented landscapes engendering a (global) system of monocultures that form no connections."*[44] These consumer scapes or *"commudities (commodified cybergoise residential and commercial ecologies)"* constitute prepackaged environments that, characterized by an acute aspatiality, cater to the demands of specified target groups. Citing Orange County as an example of privatized urban development Ed Soja classifies these *commudities* as massive simulations of *"what city should be"*. He describes Orange county as a *"structural fake, and enormous advertisement, yet functionally the finest multipurpose facility of its kind in the country."* Calling this assemblage *exopolis* or the city from without Soja defines *exopolis* as a simulacrum or exact copy of an original that never existed within which reality and image are spectacularly confused.[45] In this sense cities are progressively demarcated as commodities catering to a system of supply and demand of a postmodern consumer society. As materialized simulacra these consumer scapes not only ground Debord's *Society of the Spectacle* in space but also verify Adorno's and Horkheimer's thesis that the *"culturally conservative distinction between genuine and artificial style"* has finally ceased to exist.[46] Yet even dreamscapes contain a backstage which in this case is formed by a series internal peripheries or leftover spaces which are insinuatingly alienated from the global systems of production though not of global consumption. Hence in its effort to subordinate space and its contradictions late capitalism has paradoxically produced even more contentions resulting not only in an uneven geographical development of dominated spaces and residual spaces but in a socio-economic birfucation. While the dialectic of the desiring principle and the reality principle has seemingly disintegrated (Baudrillard) one could agree that both have been absorbed a system of simulation under the condition that they exist in perfectly separated realms, keeping capital as a mode of domination very much in place.

"In this way the capitalist trinity is once again (re) established in space - that trinity of land- capital -labor which cannot remain abstract and which is assembled only within an equally tri-faceted institutional space: a space that is first of all global, and maintained as such - the space of sovereignty, where constraints are implemented,

and hence a fetishized space, reductive of differences; a space, secondly, that is fragmented, separating, disjunctive, a space that located specificities, places or localities, both in order to control them and in order to make them negotiable; and a space, finally, that is hierarchical, ranging from the lowliest places to the noblest, from the tattooed to the sovereign. "[47]

Notes

The author wants to thank Marc Angèlil for his valuable critiques and generous support during the preparation of this article.

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fig.1 - fig.3 from Venturi Robert, Scott Brown Denise, Izenour Steven, 1972: *Learning from Las Vegas: The Forgotten Symbolism of Architectural Form*, Cambridge, Mass, The MIT Press

1 Compare to Anthony Easthope's postmodern fimtheory in Dear Michael, 2000: *The Postmodern Urban Condition*, Mass, Blackwell Publishers , p. 188
2 Lefebvre, Henri, 1991: *The Production of Space*, translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith, Oxford (UK), Cambridge, Mass: Blackwell p. 14
3 David Harvey, 1985,*The Urbanization of Capital*, United Kingdom, The John Hopkins University Press, p. 220
4 ibid, p. 16
5 Harvey, David, 1990: *The Condition of Postmodernity*, Mass, Blackwell Publishers , p. 180
6 David Harvey, 1985,*The Urbanization of Capital*, United Kingdom, The John Hopkins University Press, pg 16
7 ibid p..24
8 ibid p. 25
9 Harvey, David, 1990: *The Condition of Postmodernity*, Mass, Blackwell Publishers , p. 106
10 Anna Klingmann, 2000: "Strategies of the Real", *Werk, Bauen und Wohnen*, 3/200
11 Harvey, David, 1990: *The Condition of Postmodernity*, Mass, Blackwell Publishers , p. 156
12 Mandel Ernest, *Late Capitalism,* translated from German by Joris de Bres, London/New York, Verso
13 Harvey, David, 1990: *The Condition of Postmodernity*, Mass, Blackwell Publishers , p. 6
14 ibid.p.7
15 ibid.p. 83
16 Koolhaas Rem, 1992: *Delirious New York*, Rotterdam 010 Publishers, p. 17
17 Baudrillard Jean, 1981: *For a Critique of the Political Economy of the Sign*, translated from French by Charles Levin, New York Telos Press Ltd., p.112
18 Poster Mark, 1988: "Introduction", *Jean Baudrillard Selected Writings*, Stanford University Press, p..2
19 Baudrillard Jean (Paris: Gallimard, 1968), Le Systeme des Objets in Jean Baudrillard Selected Writings, Poster Mark, (ed.), Stanford university Press,1988, p.22
20 Chomsky, Noam, 1969: *Deep Structure, Surface Structure, and Semantic Interpretation*, Bloomington, Indiana University Linguistics Club
21 Venturi Robert, Scott Brown Denise, Izenour Steven, 1972: *Learning from Las Vegas: the Forgotten Symbolism of Architectural Form*, Cambridge, Mass, The MIT Press, p.72
22 ibid p.87
23 ibid p.100
24 Koolhaas Rem, 1992: *Delirious New York*, Rotterdam 010 Publishers, p. 100
25 ibid, p.105
26 Harvey, David, 1990: *The Condition of Postmodernity*, Mass, Blackwell Publishers , p. 287
27 Jameson Frederic, 1983: "Postmodernism and Consumer Society", *The Anti-Aesthetic: Essays on Postmodern Culture*, ed. Hal Foster, Washington Bay Press, p.111-125
28 Poster Mark, 1988: "Introduction", *Jean Baudrillard Selected Writings*, Stanford University Press, p.3
29 Harvey, David, 1990: *The Condition of Postmodernity*, Mass, Blackwell Publishers , p. 53
30 Peretti Jonah, 1996: "Capitalism and Schizophrenia: Contemporary Visual Culture and the Acceleration of Identity Formation / Dissolution", *Negations*
31 ibid
32 Lacan Jaques , 1977, "The Mirrorstage as Formative of the Function of the I as Revealed in Psychoanalytic Experience" in *Ecrits: a Selection*, New York, Norton, p. 54
33 Baudrillard Jean (Paris:Gallimard, 1968), "The System of Objects", *Jean Baudrillard Selected Writings*, Poster Mark, (ed.), Stanford University Press, 1988, p.25
34 Peretti Jonah, 1996: "Capitalism and Schizophrenia: Contemporary Visual Culture and the Acceleration of Identity Formation / Dissolution", *Negations*
35 ibid
36 Deleuze Gilles and Guattari Felix, 1983: *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press
37 ibid
38 Peretti Jonah, 1996: "Capitalism and Schizophrenia: Contemporary Visual Culture and the Acceleration of Identity Formation / Dissolution", *Negations*
39 ibid
40 Deleuze Gilles and Guattari Felix, 1983: *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, p. 246
41 Koolhaas Rem, 1992: *Delirious New York*, Rotterdam 010 Publishers, p. 10
42 Koolhaas Rem, 1992: *Delirious New York*, Rotterdam 010 Publishers, p. 173
43 Baudrillard Jean (Paris: Gallimard, 1976), "Symbolic Exchange and Death" in *Jean Baudrillard Selected Writings*, Poster Mark, (ed.), Stanford university Press,1988, p.125
"Gone are the referentials of production, signification, affect, substance, history, and the whole contents of the "real" contents that gave the sign weight by anchoring it with a kind of burden of utility - in short its form as representative equivalent. All this is surpassed by the other stage of value that of total relativity, generalized commutative, combinatory simulation. This means simulation in the sense that from now on signs will exchange among themselves exclusively, without interacting with the real."
44 Dear Michael, 2000: *The Postmodern Urban Condition*, Mass, Blackwell Publishers , p. 152-159
45 Soja Ed, 1992, Inside Exopolis: Scenes from Orange County in *Variations on a Themepark*, Michael Sorkin (ed.) New York Noonday Press, p. 111
46 Ardorno und Horkheimer Max, 1944, "The Culture Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception" in *The Dialectic of the Enlightenment*, translated from German by John Cumming New York, The Continuum Publishing Company, p. 126
47 Lefebvre, Henri, 1991: *The Production of Space*, translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith, Oxford (UK), Cambridge, Mass: Blackwell, p. 282