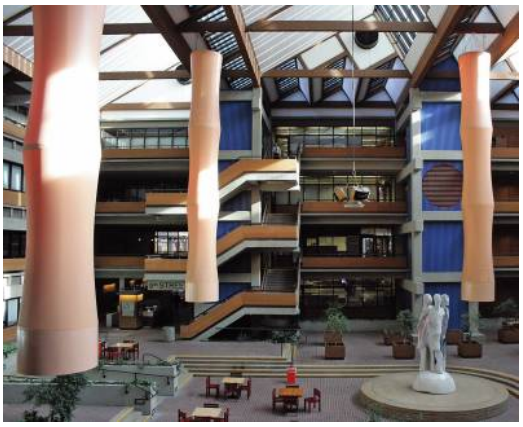

SIMON SADLER

A Culture of Connection

How Design Makes Us All Californian

When buyers of an Apple computer product unwrap their purchase, they are met by the legend "Designed by Apple in California".[1] Why, within the minimal packaging of the product, is this epithet so central? One tech blogger from New York admired the slogan in 2007 as a piece of marketing nostalgia: "Ah," he wrote, "the way these five words evoke a flurry of happy memories."

> You think of *California*, not the *actual* state, with its endless dismal boulevards full of muffler shops and donut stores, but the California of memory: the Beach Boys, the Summer of Love, and the beatniks, a utopian land of opportunity, an escape, where you go when you leave behind the cold winters and your conservative parents back in Cleveland.[2]

The California referred to in the expression "Designed by Apple in California," the blogger was suggesting, is an idea, an ideal even. And then he considered the alchemical resonance of the word "designed": "It's not *made*. It's *designed*. In *California*. Like a surfboard. Or a Lockheed XP-80."[3]

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Apple Corporation, MacBook packaging, 2008. PHOTOGRAPH BY SIMON SADLER.

"Designed in California." At its most vulgar, the epithet is nothing better than a sop to US and western consumers concerned about the restructuring of world manufacturing under globalization, offsetting Apple's legal obligation under US law to say where their devices are actually made (the full legend reads "Designed by Apple in California. Assembled in China"). But were we to leave it at that we would miss an opportunity to think through the intimate, underanalyzed relationship between California and the very idea of design. A close consideration of "Designed in California" alerts us to the fact that design is always a way of patterning ideas: the expression "Designed in California" acts in the first place to arrange our thoughts about the object in hand, then to arrange our sense of *California*. "Design" and "California" alike are words suggesting that we might all, Californians or not, affect our destiny and commonwealth, a possibility that dazzles consumers globally because it is not wholly implausible. Californians *do* sometimes "live the dream," and design *does* alter the relationship between mind and matter. Because "Designed in California" occupies that liminal space between reality and imagination, it has to be studied as both an historical reality—involving actual people, places, events and technologies—and as an aesthetic construct, at a remove from that historical reality.

It functions as a positivism that also feels virtual, indeed existential, projecting a new global culture "at the intersection" (as Apple founder Steve Jobs styled his vocation) "of humanities and sciences".[4]

In these regards it reminds me of the rise of pictorial perspective in the Italian Renaissance, which was at once an illusion, and a means of actually affecting the world; an art and a science, that offered a global public good and the extension of hegemony, the expansion of reason and of capital. As with the Renaissance and its products, then, any admiration for it is accompanied by scholarly, political, and critical reserve. Critically, the blurring of the boundaries between science and politics, between aesthetics and consumption, is deeply unsettling. In scholarly terms, we have to wonder at what point any culture becomes coherent: just as we might question when, where and whether the Italian Renaissance actually happens, it is reasonable to ask, en route to an identification of "Californian design," whether there is concomitantly any such a thing as "New York architecture" or an "American culture," formed as they all are by diverse actors, across time, without conscious manifesto. No culture is universal; the civilization of the Bay, if that is what it is, will be but the work of a coterie ("a hundred men," as Friedrich Nietzsche once remarked about the civilization of the Italian Renaissance),[5] and politically, then, the design that interests me here is more or less the project of a hegemonic (white, male) elite.

And so it must be stated for the record that design is always inequitable; it is always political; it is always about power. To recognize this is the obligation of the historian and theorist of design. But design—particularly Californian design—often wants to *do good*, it seems; it wants to *reform*, to *progress*, and paying attention to this is another obligation of the historian and theorist of design, even where it means—and this is what makes Bay Region design so fascinating—there are no easy critiques. To study Californian design, I find, is to study formations of liberalism, which puts it in the eye of the storm of contemporary globalization. It is a preeminent case study because it is confounding.

Something of the way in which the slogan "Designed in California" divines the depths of an ideological unconscious was recognized by a second blogger. He concurred with the first blogger that Apple's simple phrase invoked a mystique, then went on to underscore that the mystique of California

Design is always inequitable.

is *peculiarly* enduring, lamenting that California's mystique did not extend to the American nation as a whole. "Individual states," he explained as America's reputation overseas sagged during the George W. Bush's administration, "can still retain their individual appeal, as in this case of Apple's tagline, but the same cannot be said of the entire republic."[6] The same duality was present at the inception of the slogan "Designed by Apple in California" in the early 1980s, when German designer Hartmut Esslinger proposed that there should be a "born-in-America gene for Apple's DNA," but one that would produce what Esslinger called a "California global" look.[7] California, it might be claimed, cultivates a state of exceptionalism within a nation founded (as Alexis de Tocqueville observed) upon its sense of exceptionalism. As the first blogger, Joel Spolsky, pointed out,

> Microsoft's Apple Envy is so impossible to disguise that the back of the Zune [MP3 Player] says, "Hello from Seattle:" Um . . . excuse me? Hello from Seattle? That has, I'm afraid, none of the same resonance. It evokes nothing. Boeing and rain, maybe. Kurt Cobain's unhappiness.[8]

And as Blake Snow, the second blogger, noted, in what is either an intriguing pun or a telling slip as he typed: "In short, California stands out by being the hippiest of all United States."[9] Several potential cultural cachets of California are evoked by Apple's "Designed in California" (Esslinger, just arrived from Germany, initially suggested that Apple be inspired by "Hollywood and music, a bit of rebellion, and natural sex appeal"). But it was Californian technology and counterculture which particularly undergirded the Northern Californian design culture in which Apple's headquarters was domiciled. My "culture of connection" thesis therefore pivots, after the late 1960s, around the counterculture that made California "the hippiest of all United States." This drew on the culture that developed around the Bay Region of Northern California during the earlier part of the century, finding momentum first through the architecture and landscape architecture of the "Bay Region Style," then through the Bay's outdoor recreation industry. And the "culture of connection" thesis simultaneously pivots around Northern California's military, shipbuilding, aerospace, computing

and entrepreneurial traditions, strikingly juxtaposed as they are with the Bay Area's breezy liberalism. The juxtaposition furnishes a context for that "intersection of humanities and sciences" in Californian design, strung through the region's low-rise urban centers and low-density suburbs.

A culture of connection from Maybeck to Jobs

In his most recent book, the Bay Region ecologist Stewart Brand mentions his custom of "see[ing] everything in terms of solvable design problems."[10] Brand is here trying to summarize his vision as an ecologist, yet the phrase strikes me as peculiarly applicable to a certain holistic and pragmatist view of the world cultivated in the Bay Region. The prominent Silicon Valley design practice IDEO, for instance, vigorously promotes so-called "Design Thinking"—a widely-proliferating method in product design and business consultancy which, lacking a clear single formula, might be simply summed up as the habit of seeing everything in terms of solvable design problems.[11] In Design Thinking, no design problem is localized—every design is considered in terms of smaller and larger scales, as though part of a web of life and commerce. This is to see design in terms largely of whole systems—not only the terms set by ecology, which certainly figure, but in terms of the endless connection and relation between things, such that an improvement to one thing will have repercussions across things elsewhere in the system. To pursue design, according to these schema, is to follow chains of relation, to the point of revelation about the larger system of things.

This desire to see everything in terms of solvable design problems sets up a sort of delirium in which we one might see solutions everywhere and wish for more problems to solve. This presents a general political challenge to which I will return, but more immediately it presents the historian of Northern California design with the difficulty of describing an approach to design which seems persistently to abjure style, authorship and form in favor of anonymity and process. Note, for instance, the Bay Region's diffidence about monumentality. This is striking in the work of that consummate Bay Region architect, Bernard Maybeck:

Bernard Maybeck, First Church of Christ Scientist, Berkeley, California, 1910. IMAGE COURTESY OF THE BANCROFT LIBRARY.

the Maybeck who designed the grandiloquent Beaux-Arts Palace of Fine Arts for the 1915 Panama-Pacific Exposition is the same Maybeck who designed self-effacing Arts and Crafts cottages in the hills of Berkeley and Oakland. A fair division between public and private, perhaps, but what then to make of Maybeck's 1910 First Church of Christ Scientist in Berkeley, where he seemingly ends monumentality and the arrogance of a single architectural language when designing that most enduring typology of the western canon, the church? The building feels more like an apparatus than a monument, composed out of sets of relations—between inside and outside, between classicism, the arts and crafts and industrial technology, between east and west, Beaux-Arts, Romanesque and Byzantine, all captured in a momentary, unlikely, Zen-like fusion. (The puzzled Detroit-based supplier of the industrial steel windows for the church was reluctant to send them west to California, fearing that Maybeck had specified them in error.)

Across from the church, in 1969 activists turned an empty lot awaiting development by the University of California into the infamous experiment in anarchic social ecology known as the People's Park. Looking from the church to the park, one starts to see the story of Bay Region design as one of inexorable, anarchic, ecological dematerialization—from

We might see solutions everywhere and wish for more problems to solve.

"the magnificent mad hand of Bernard Maybeck, the local culture hero,"[12] as architect Charles Moore referred to him, to an "architecture" of ineffable social relations around Berkeley in the 1960s, and then forwards toward the spread of electronic networks from Silicon Valley at the end of the century. Alas, the story is not quite that neat; five minutes walk away from the First Church of Christ Scientist and the People's Park, John Galen Howard (following plans afoot since the turn of the century) laid out the main campus of the University of California, Berkeley in 1922, replete with campanile, in a grand international Beaux-Arts style localized only by ceramic-tile roofs evoking Mission architecture but which are nearly illegible from the ground. And four decades years later, it would be sometimes hard to differentiate between work supposedly representative of the Bay Region and the international concrete monumentality of Brutalism (most obviously in Berkeley's own School of Architecture).[13]

Still, these monumental gestures are a little anomalous in the area, and historians have mostly struggled to account for the architecture of the Bay Region, as though they faced something recognizable, and yet mutational, and astylar. "I was asked to ferret out some [monumental architecture] on the West Coast, especially in California," Charles Moore reported from Berkeley to the Yale journal *Perspecta* for his celebrated essay "You Have to Pay for the Public Life" in 1965. He goes on,

> *Perspecta*'s editors suspected, I presume, that I would discover that in California there is no contemporary monumental architecture . . . Their suspicions were well founded; any discussion from California . . . is bound to be less about what we have than about what we have instead

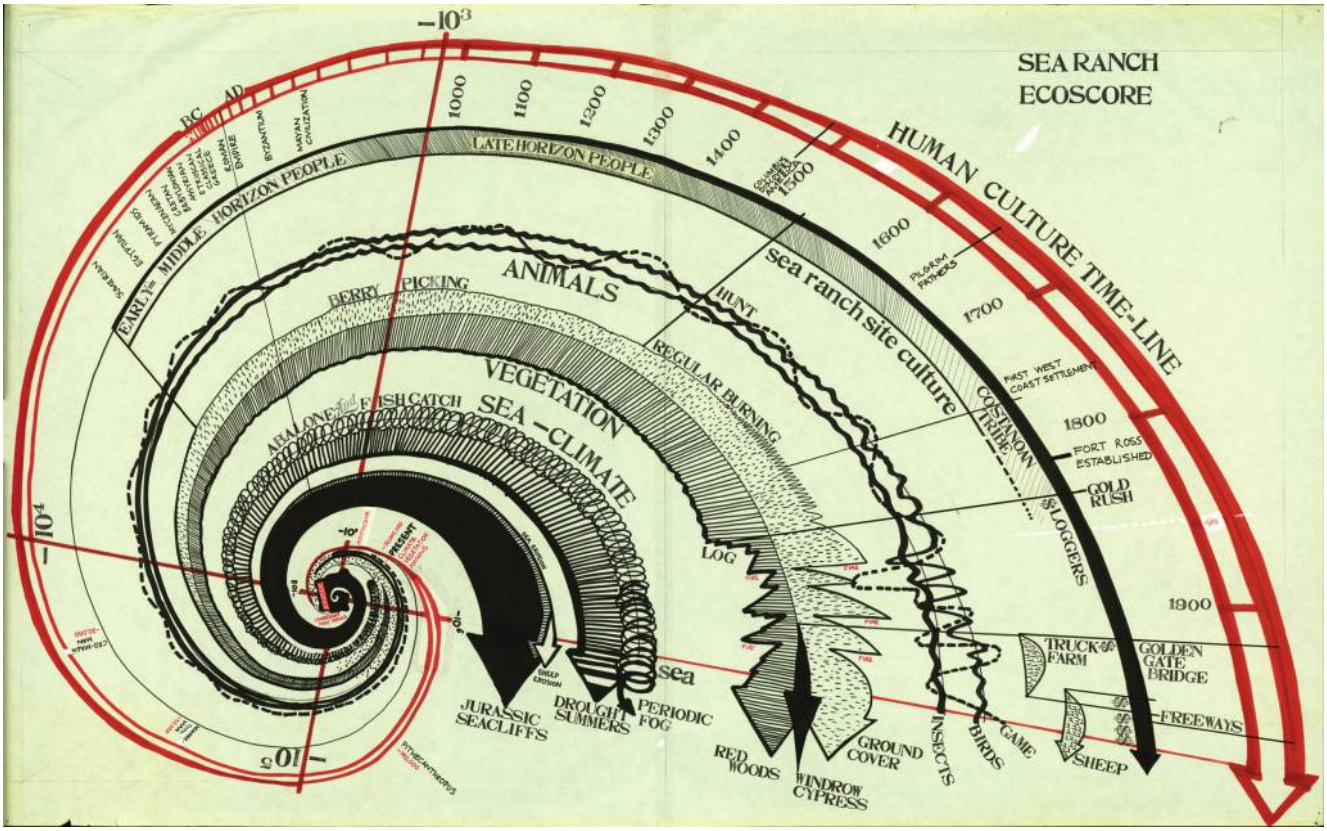
—which was the "small scale," "carefully understated, spare, almost anonymous efficiency of a well-understood carpenters' constructional system" known as the Bay Region Style. Moore was able to list some features of the Bay Region Style—above all its simplicity and domestic scale, the use of redwood, stucco walls, aluminum windows, wooden shakes, "and casual, if not cavalier, attitudes toward form."[14]

In his earlier and well-known bid to define a Bay Region style in the *New Yorker* magazine in 1947, the historian and philosopher Lewis Mumford defined the work of Maybeck, Howard, and William Wurster more as an ethic than aesthetic. The Bay Region was, Mumford claimed, the home to "that native and humane form of modernism"

Joseph Esherick, Hedgerow House, The Sea Ranch, CA., 1966.
PHOTOGRAPH BY SIMON SADLER.

which might be compared to other "anonymous" "empirical" styles of modern architecture at the time like those of England and Sweden.[15] The Bay Region Style was therefore broadly aligned with those post-War tendencies which saw in modern design the projection of a framework for progressive social policy (Mumford's lover Catherine Bauer, who later married Wurster, similarly insisted on the role of public policy in modern architecture). Landscape architects of the Bay Region Style like Garrett Eckbo, Thomas Church, and Lawrence Halprin were meanwhile all influenced by the public spiritedness of the New Deal in the 1930s.[16] Bay Region Style was, in the eyes of Mumford, "a free yet unobtrusive expression of the terrain, the climate, the way of life on the Coast,"[17] inferring a geographical foundation to the Style, a notion echoed a couple of decades later by Moore, who explained that it hailed from a time "When California was rural, a golden never-never land with plenty of room, with open fields for the public realm."[18]

This is not the same sort of geographical determinism that leads to an architecture that resembles fishing villages (say) on the basis that the Bay is a coastal region. It is more metaphorical, evocative, speaking of liberation, low-density construction, open space and temperate weather (and thus distinct from the East or Midwest). And so we find the Bay Region becoming associated with a wide-ranging ethos of openness that Moore described as "equalitarian."[19] This pleasantly indistinct ethos asserted a generally progressive, liberal image of a state which for much of its first century of statehood had manifested conservative, even reactionary dispositions. It also affirmed a trajectory for the modernization of California reacting against the interiority that characterized bourgeois cultures of Europe and the East Coast.



Lawrence Halprin, "Sea Ranch Ecoscore," c. 1969, illustrating the long-term relationship of humans and the land at The Sea Ranch, CA.

COURTESY OF THE ARCHITECTURAL ARCHIVES OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

This was especially apparent when the Bay Region Style became a staple of the area's 10,000 Eichler houses, built from 1949 on, and at the Sea Ranch development initiated in 1964 on the Sonoma Coast (some hundred miles north of the Bay, but really an extension of Bay Region Style by dint of its provision of second homes to Bay Region clients by key Berkeley practitioners—Moore, working in partnership with Donlyn Lyndon, William Turnbull, Richard Whitaker as the practice MLTW, plus Halprin and Joseph Esherick). The Sea Ranch was recognized as a pioneering effort at "ecological design," in which the buildings "learn" from the landscape and weather. For instance, homes were shaped to lean into the wind and the hedgerows, and the condominiums were agglomerated into a distinctive mass to lend a restrained, impermanent presence alongside trees, rocks, ridges. Meadows were left as commons or, as Halprin put it, "outdoor rooms."

According to this school of design—this imagining and projection of California—quality of life in the state, ideologically and architecturally, was to be pursued less through the enclosure of the commonwealth, more through its seeming distribution across space. And so Bay Design preferred to *present* than *represent* phenomena, be it a sightline, some data, a destination, another culture. It became ever-more restrained and cool—showing us the world as yet more patterns, systems, connections, adjustments. It suggested a revised sensibility toward, and renewal of, the public realm. It was not the explicitly political sense of the public realm propounded by late eighteenth-century Europe, where it was staged through great art, streets, parliaments and media. It was a sensibility more based around the state's connecting tissue of communications through infrastructure, water, landscape architecture, information and education. California was imagined as the apotheosis of middle-class American existence as a "smooth space" of opportunity and mobility.[20]

Like most grand modernizing projects in design history, it wasn't necessarily realized, unvarying, or indefinite. Other histories are necessary, for instance, to acknowledge the ongoing separation of Californians along the lines

established by race and class, accelerated recently by disorienting escalations in the region's real estate prices. Even in respect to Moore's equalitarian aesthetic sensibility, one senses his perturbation as a Northern Californian looking at Southern Californian alienation in the very title of his essay "You Have to Pay for the Public Life"—where he proposes, if needs be, the shoring up of spatial quality by landscaping freeways. "If California should neglect or trash its public landscapes," the historian of California Kevin Starr writes of the landscape architecture tradition that begins with Church, Eckbo, and Halprin, and which might still be felt today in the work of a designer like Walter Hood, "the private garden would become a flight from reality, a retreat into unearned privilege, a mode of self-deception." And so, Starr implies, Bay Region landscape architecture tried to project its spatial ideology across all scales and places: "Within each private California garden could be found California itself; hence the visual well-being of that larger California was crucial to the success of those arrangements of earth, rock, water, stone, trees, shrubbery, and flowers that mysteriously reordered the world for purposes of private recreation and renewal."[21]

The Bay Region as a reconciliation

A Zen-like transcendence seemed attainable amid the beauty of large swathes of the Bay Region—the Bay Region Style bore the clear imprint of Japanese Zen architecture, and Mumford described the Bay Region Style as "a product of the meeting of the Occidental and Oriental architectural traditions."[22] ("I have always found . . . Japanese Zen Buddhism . . . to be aesthetically sublime," Steve Jobs, concurred six decades later; "The most sublime thing I've ever seen are the gardens around Kyoto.")[23] But it was precisely that *relation between* diverse modes of design that made the Bay Region Style, Mumford said, "far more truly a universal style than the so-called international style".[24] In what I posit sets the keynote for Bay Region design at large, the Bay Region Style from Maybeck forward was a practice nested within an endless set of avowedly "equalitarian" relationships between regions, scales, systems, origins. Mumford moreover explained in an essay defending the Bay Region Style that "the main problem of architecture today is to reconcile the universal and regional, the mechanical and the human, the cosmopolitan and the indigenous",[25] so establishing the larger technocultural agenda for Bay design. The Bay tacitly emerged for Mumford as an instance of his theory of cultural syncretism found in his book *Technics and Civilization* of 1934. Civilizations, the syncretist theory held, are composites of elements and achievements taken from preceding and accompanying cultures. Drawing upon his admiration for Patrick Geddes' theory of biotechnics—which held that technology was evolving into a benign force in culture—Mumford further contended that nature, culture and technology would increasingly be recognized as related parts of an organic whole. In the same way that scientists were relinquishing a compartmentalized, linear, mechanical view of the world in favor of a more relativistic view of a world "described as systems of energy in more or less stable, more or less complex, states of equilibrium," Mumford argued, then humanists and scientists alike would soon have to accept that "the world has conceptually become a single system." "Form, pattern, configuration, organism, historical filiation, ecological relationship are concepts that work up and down the ladder of the sciences," Mumford stated.[26]

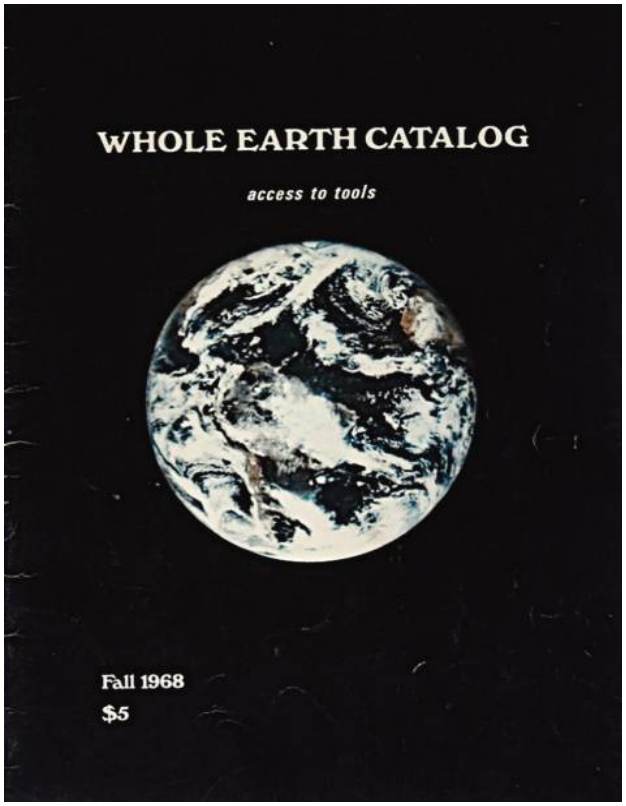
Mumford's optimism would be tempered by the horror of the Second World War, so it is ironic that the more systematic and organic technologies deemed necessary for the war effort accelerated California's economic development and initiated the development of cybernetics, the general science of control and communication which found an enthusiastic and diverse reception in the post-war Bay Region.[27] Cybernetic theory underwrote both the industrial development of computing in Silicon Valley and the countercultural ideology which developed around the Bay Region's *Whole Earth Catalog*. The *Whole Earth Catalog*, a sort of storefront for the counterculture, was published by Stewart Brand from 1968 on. As its reader gamely imagined filling a shopping cart with the bits and pieces featured inside the *Whole Earth Catalog*—pickaxes, books, early electronic computers, sex guides and gardening manuals—the *Catalog* promoted design as an ethic, as an ecology, as a mind, as a patterning of the universal economy symbolized in the famous images of planet earth featured on its covers. The *Catalog*'s editors encouraged interest in Bay Region architects and in their champions like Lewis Mumford. It argued that technology, nature, and culture are partners, not adversaries, a sentiment echoed in the state at large: Kevin Starr argues that from the Gold Rush to the comprehensive State Water

The *Catalog* promoted design as an ethic, as an ecology, as a mind.

Projects, "Virtually the entire cultural history of American California revolved around this nature-technology dialectic: this tension of opposites, so tenuously reconciled."[28]

The Bay Region as a thinking assembly

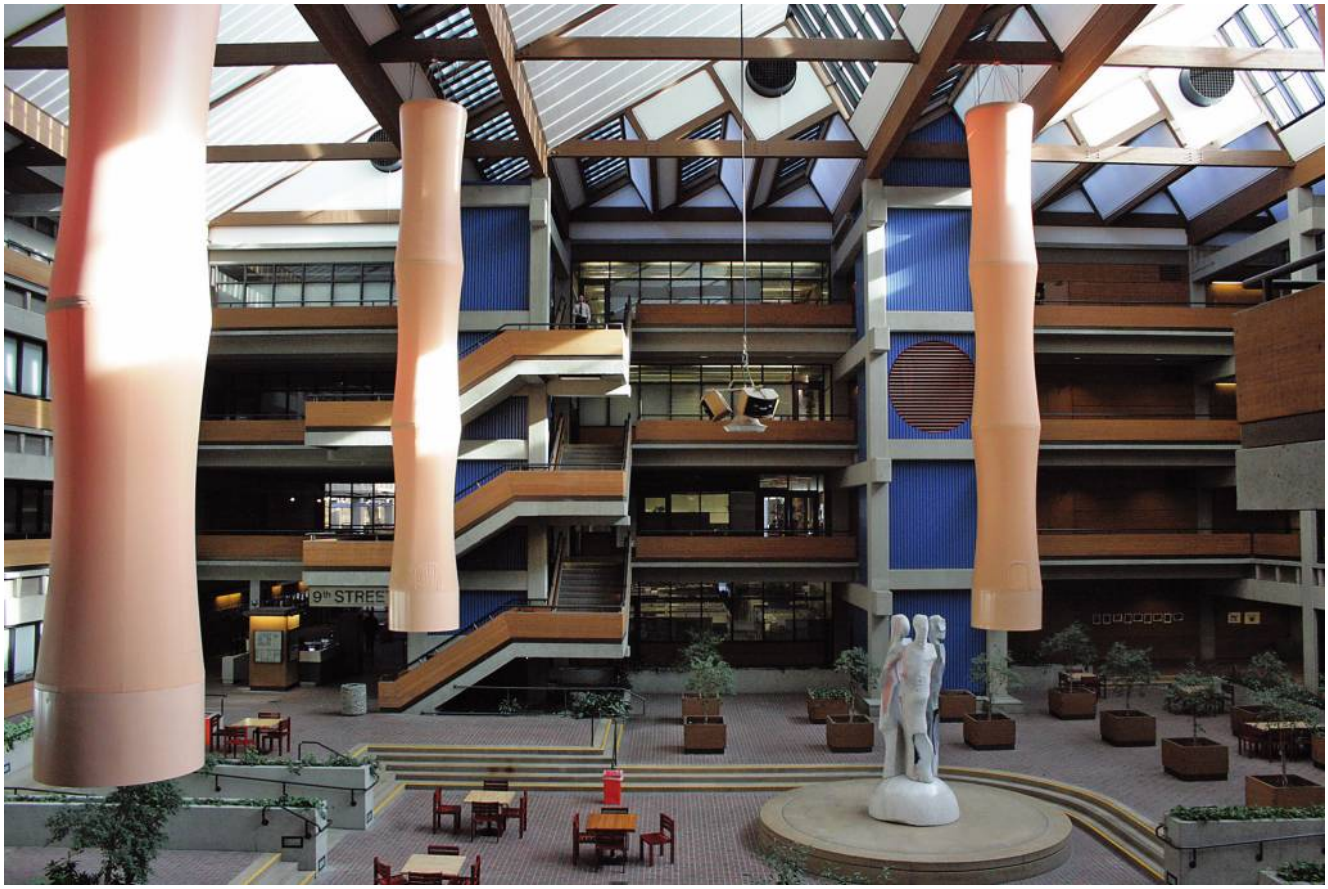
But we could go further, to say that one oddity of the Californian project was that it short-circuited the dialectic between nature and technology, such that technology was not even mediating *between* nature and culture, but merged *with* them into a single, designed assembly. This vision of California was briefly *de facto* governmental policy when Brand became an advisor to the state governor Jerry Brown during his first period in office from 1975–83, and when another of the *Catalog*'s editors, Sim van der Ryn, became State Architect. Van der Ryn named the principal state building constructed during his tenure—Sacramento's Bateson Building (1977–81), a stand-out early ecological design—for Brand's mentor, the anthropologist Gregory Bateson.[29]



Stewart Brand, ed., *Whole Earth Catalog*, 1968

A Californian of British extraction, Bateson advocated the possibility that human and non-human assemblies (like whole regions) could think as singular cybernetic minds. By the 1970s Brown, Brand, and Van der Ryn seem to have thought of California itself as a whole system, with State Government helping coordinate and engineer flows of energy, material and information between the different elements composing the system. Take as an example the state's remarkable 1979 *California Water Atlas*, the dramatic diagrams of which represented California as a coherent, natural, technological and cultural assembly.[30] Conceived under Governor Brown with Brand as an advisor, the *California Water Atlas* was not presenting a traditional, top-down image of government responsibility, but a distributed model which hailed the public-private image of New Deal public works and tacitly looked forward to the somewhat libertarian image of California as the entrepreneurial mêlée adored by Brand and his circle.[31] In the *Atlas*, that is to say, human agency, natural resources and technological intervention are as one, evolving over long periods of time. "What thinks," Bateson said—in a comment about cybernetics that seems germane when viewing the *California Water Atlas*—"is the total system which engages in trial and error, which is man plus environment," such that "wisdom" is not arcane, but "a knowledge of the larger interactive system."[32]

Evidence of the existence of a system, according to Bateson, is found in its generation of patterns. Whether or not one subscribes to the Batesonian cybernetic model, the Batesonian observation of patterning might prompt us to notice the way that the groups of Californian designers under scrutiny here, from the Bay Region Style architects, through the *Whole Earth Catalog* editors to the interfaces of Apple, greatly valued self-effacing patterns, and backgrounds, and relays. California is a state of pergolas, atria, terraces, outdoor rooms, transit systems, grilles, signs, views, that constantly defer attention and connect points across space. As William Wurster wrote about Bay Region Style in 1956, "Architecture is not a goal. Architecture is for life and pleasure and work and for people. The picture frame, not the picture."[33] Or as Jobs enthused about Eichler houses, one of which he lived in as a child: "His houses were smart and cheap and good. . . .



Sim van der Ryn and the Office of Alternative Technology, Bateson Building, Sacramento, CA., 1977. PHOTOGRAPH BY SIMON SADLER.

I love it when you can bring really great design and simple capability to something that doesn't cost too much. . . . It was the original vision for Apple."[34] Perhaps Californian design, then, is something like Bateson's cybernetic schema writ large: conceivably the slogan "Designed in California" exists as a Batesonian metapattern, a pattern through time drawing attention not so much to particular objects and events, more to the *relations* between objects and events, to their future potential.

Ultimately the Bay Region's "mind"—or ideology, or hegemony, if we prefer—became virtual, as the *Whole Earth Catalog*'s Bay Region community formed the world's first civilian on-line community, the Whole Earth 'Lectronic Link (the Well) of 1985, and as a generation of Bay Region Californians who had grown up immersed in the culture of connection became denizens of Silicon Valley. Steve Jobs concluded his much-reported commencement speech of 2005 at Stanford University by advising the Bay Region's newly-minted graduates to "Stay Hungry. Stay Foolish"—advice which, he explained, he had taken from the back cover of a 1974 *Whole Earth Catalog*. The *Catalog* was one of the principle inspirations of his life, he now admitted. It was sold alongside the goods it offered out of Menlo Park's Whole Earth Truck Store, a twenty-minute drive from Jobs' high school.

Apple products were of course more than simply indigenous to California and Californian good intentions. By the early twenty-first century, in their most iconic, oblong, metal-and-glass period, they became nothing less than summary forms of international modernism, explicitly recalling the German industrial design of the Dessau Bauhaus of the 1920s and of Braun's Dieter Rams in the 1960s, admiration for which Jobs developed when attending the Aspen Institute's conferences in the early 1980s.[35] To an art historian, the 2009 Manhattan Apple store's minimalism is immediately evocative of European Rationalism

Apple Corporation & Norman Foster Associates, Proposed Headquarters, slide prepared for Steve Jobs' presentation to Cupertino City Council, CA., June 2011

and neo-Platonism; to the cultural critic, it is a temple to the commodity fetish, a building composed of nothing but shop windows. This is not the Bay Region Style as Maybeck or Wurster would recognize it. And yet Apple distinctively recombines all these influences as Californian. The floor-to-ceiling windows (of computers and stores alike), their seeming friendliness and democratization, their attention to creature comforts, their promise of fresh, mind-expanding views on the world, their Zen aura—these are all, in some admittedly abstract sense, of a Californian genus. And this begins to recompile them at a remove from Jobs' personal predilections. Apple is a Californian "machine" reproducing tastes even through immigrants to the state, like Apple's British designer Jonathan Ive, or the German designer Hartmut Esslinger, who along with his practice, frogdesign, was required, like all Apple's designers, to relocate to the region. Jobs' last great project before his death was his machinic, hive-like proposal for a new Cupertino headquarters for fifteen-thousand Apple employees, set in a native Bay Region landscape, defying the industry trend for the globalized dissipation of the design process across facilities, specialisms and timezones.[36]

Apple's stores, best-illustrated by the Apple Store in Manhattan, are Zen-like transparent grids relaying the observer's attention to small Zen-like transparent tablets relaying the observer's attention to more phenomena. Though they are routinely described as iconic, Apple products are if anything moving away from idiosyncratic forms like the trend-setting jellybean style of the 1990s iMac, and are increasingly experienced as frames and windows, as relays for patterns and relations and as promises of more communicative patterns and mediated relations to come. Without much difficulty today's Apple consumer can imagine a future in which information will float in the environment, dematerialized, as one more connecting tissue of the "cybernetic meadow" forecast in the celebrated (if ridiculed) 1967 poetry collection by San Franciscan Richard Brautigan (at a time when he was Poet-in-Residence at Caltech).[37] So in some sense Silicon Valley is now the powerhouse for a modernist project that a century or less ago was dominated by France and Germany. And if Apple is at the time of writing the world's most valuable company, it has managed to become so (like its near-neighbor Google) by seemingly eschewing naked consumerism, *as though* it was indeed an ethos or project.

This is an art historical explanation which simultaneously places Apple within a tradition of West Coast progressivism, or more specifically a genus of liberalism in the Bay Area for which design is not so much the promotion of form as the promotion of life, ultimately evolving beyond New Deal progressivism to host the bellicose liberalism of counterculture, the ecumenical outlook of environmentalism, and then the informational infrastructure of neoliberalism. At each stage we find an increasing delirium of connection, which despite (and probably because of) its modest footprint within the actual geography of California, became more global, more cultural, more virtual—recognizable but practically impossible to locate or isolate.

Californian design as attunement to the whole

To engage with Bay Region design truly critically requires more than its critique. It requires consideration of how and why a slogan like "Designed in California" seemingly moves people to believe in it, inspiring much the same sense of faith that works of art and religion once inspired. This sense of faith is apparent among visitors to the Manhattan Apple Store (who have made it into one of the most-visited sites in New York) and among industry insiders, starting with Jobs himself. "We believe that people with passion can change the world for the better," Jobs told employees on his return to Apple in 1997[38]—a preposterous motivational speech as the company teetered on bankruptcy, and *so* Californian, suggesting some sort of para-market calling. Stories about Jobs' belief in the connection between good design and the good lived life are as old as his company.[39] Such certainty that design serves a higher calling raises questions of

taste—on the one hand, we might say that Northern California's sense of restraint, from the dark prisms of Sea Ranch houses to the dark prisms of Apple products, is the most exquisite form of bourgeois taste, while on the other hand the implication that their owners are made into better people, and that their consumption promotes a better world, is a sort of moral kitsch, all-too-easily lampooned.[40] But it is a faith that is central to design practice, design history, and design theory, and it is essential to California's projection of a future good life. It is founded upon the belief that people, technology and nature are parts of a living whole which can be improved still more, and made more whole.

Specifically, the zealotry of a figure like Jobs belongs to a Bay tradition of attunement to the whole by attending to its patterns, systems, engineering and overlooked details. A recent book compiled at IDEO (which had an early collaborative relationship with Apple) by engineer Andrew Burroughs presents the reader with close-ups of loose wires and corrosion and flanges.[41] It is cryptic: the techno-environmental complex in which we live, the book implies, is evolutionary—or rather, it is an evolutionary branch open to human, and usually collective, *intervention*. What made D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson's classic and curious 1917 volume of natural history *On Growth and Form* relevant to "artists, inventors, engineers, computer systems designers, [and] biologists" (so asserted the *Whole Earth Catalog*)[42] was its emphasis on the roles of physical laws and mechanics in the formation of species: rather than allow the brutal principle of survival of the fittest operate alone, nature was a great *engineer*. So it becomes the great instructor, showing us that the forward movement of history is less a race than a splendid attunement to environment. The analogy between nature and engineering was encouraged by Richard Buckminster Fuller, whose ideas (and, initially, his geodesic concept) were aggressively promoted by the *Catalog* before it prioritized the more complex view of the world's "ecosystems" modeled in Bateson's cybernetics.

The special appeal of Bateson's model was its insistence that nothing develops *sui generis*, and that instead all entities co-evolve. In this, Californian design is "co-evolutionary" with Californian ideology—diversity in nature is homologous to diversity in culture, as advocated by Californian liberalism and counterculture. But it has more depth than that. Bateson's work suggested the possibility of *intervening*

Californian design is "co-evolutionary" with Californian ideology.

in the patterns of the world around us so as to reduce the occurrence of pathologies and dysfunctions—a proactive role immediately recognizable to the designer, the engineer, or the social activist seeking the betterment of the world without aspiring to change it root and branch. It also emphasized that change takes place "three-dimensionally," so to speak, across time and space: a change here has to be understood with a change there, and there and there; a change now has to be understood in relation to change in the past and in the future (a metapattern, according to Bateson, is ultimately a pattern through time).

Herein is a view of a world without end, modifiable, somewhat learnable and subject to speculation, the more minds compounded into a bigger mind, the more systems compiled into a bigger system, the better—but with the world never wholly knowable or predictable. The whole instead becomes something around which we convene: Brand's Seminars About Long-Term Thinking have met since 2003 in front of a general public in San Francisco (as I write, I see that the week's lecture, by theoretical physicist Geoffrey B. West, is called "Why Cities Keep on Growing, Corporations Always Die, and Life Gets Faster"). One of the few architects about which Brand finds much to admire is Christopher Alexander. Alexander sought, principally at UC Berkeley, a rudimentary (some would say autocratic) pattern language presenting *The Timeless Way of Building* (1979), a mission which reputedly migrated from architecture to software engineering. Alexander and Brand propound a taste for economical, adaptable spaces in which to co-evolve social systems: Brand's 1994 book *How Buildings Learn* implies that lay intelligence and low-tech structures are part of a single, learning, engineered assembly.

These examples suggest why Bay Area design earned a reputation for a sort of rationalist mysticism, the designer intuiting connections through an empathetic relationship to nature and technology. As we turn Lawrence Halprin's pages, we witness his empathy with nature; Andrew Burroughs shows us his unusual sensitivity to technology. Empathy with nature and technology converge in outdoor

Bay Area design earned a reputation for a sort of rationalist mysticism.

recreation—the *Whole Earth Catalog* was memorable for its features on outdoor equipment, initially included for their pertinence to the creation of off-the-grid communes (the aspect of the counterculture which has been unkindly likened to an extended summer camp) but ultimately embodying a lifestyle choice, and even an ontology, supportive of a way of being in the world. An embrace of the outdoors, on land and on sea, was promoted by figures like Halprin and Brand, and forged in part by their military training. Halprin for instance diagrammed the site for the Sea Ranch in a range of "scores" that placed the location within the deep time of geology and civilization, and he encouraged his students to explore the place haptically and libidinally.[43] More prosaically the relationship between nature, technology and agency was developed by the North Face brand of outdoor equipment, established around Bay Region locations in the mid-1960s, which invited Buckminster Fuller to lecture to its employees. The mountain bike, developed if not exclusively then most famously in Marin, offers a further instance of a seemingly drop-out, hedonistic outdoor lifestyle fashioned into an engineering enterprise, in which the Ur-form of the upright safety bicycle is shaped by gravity in a way curiously homologous to the processes documented by D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson (in the 1990s, incidentally, Marin mountain bike pioneer Gary Fisher also applied the legend "Designed in California" to his brand's products.)

The revelation and furtherance of life

With sufficient investigation we would likely find the Bay Region design tradition—to reiterate, a love for patterns, systems, engineering and overlooked details, working incrementally toward the revelation and furtherance of life—re-emerging in Silicon Valley computing and biotech endeavors. My wager is based on what I take to be a sort of animism peculiar to Bay Region design, one that has proven at once mesmerizing and uncanny to modern onlookers for whom life has otherwise been threatened constantly at a global scale by World War, then by Cold War, and by famine, and now by climate change (the latter a challenge met with gusto by Brand and his circle as just one more design problem). Jobs' invocation of the betterment of life itself as an appropriate metaphysics for consumer electronics begins to make sense the moment we concede that computers like his are, indisputably, instruments for information relay without peer in world history. The teleological significance of information transfer in Silicon Valley has exceeded even the euphoria of the global village theorized by Marshall McLuhan in the 1960s (alluded to in the *Whole Earth Catalog*'s covers), or the elated claims made for bottom-up self-organization in nature, culture and economics forwarded in the 1990s by Kevin Kelly, an editor of the *Whole Earth Catalog* and *Wired*. The transmission of information, critical to the capacity of a system to evolve toward increasing complexity, is part of the current scientific definition of life itself.[44] Given stakes like this, the culture of connection becomes still more motivated in the era of Jobs than in the era of Mumford.

And it has cut against the dominant history of modernist and postmodernist aesthetics formed on the East Coast. We shouldn't overstate this tension, because the cultures of the two coasts are also conjoined. (Two quick cases in point: though Charles Moore "started out thinking of myself as a 'Bay Region architect'," his move from Berkeley to Yale, where he became Dean in 1969, made him a pivotal figure back on the East Coast.[45] And the architect of record for the New York Apple Store, the Bohlin Cywinski Jackson practice, was founded on the East Coast (in Pennsylvania in 1965) and has a nationwide presence—though the opening of an office in the Bay in 1999, initially to handle the Pixar campus for Steve Jobs, is not without significance.) Still, the long tradition of East Coast culture looking toward the western frontier of the US with skepticism surfaces in the antagonism with which Mumford and the Bay Region Style were received at the New York Museum of Modern Art in the 1930s,[46] and resurfaces in the 1960s and 1970s when Peter Eisenman, a high-profile and consummately East Coast architect, insisted that architecture is an *autonomous* practice, one disconnected from larger systems and dependent on its *own* artful internal permutations, not the contingencies of a ecological totality at large—a critique that began when Eisenman wrote his Ph.D. thesis in Cambridge, England, specifically to rival

the thesis written there by Christopher Alexander, prior to his departure for Berkeley.[47]

Much as the so-called Chicago School challenged the East Coast at the end of the nineteenth-century, California—the most ambitious ascendant American region toward the end of the 20th century—offered regional inflections to modern American design. Critics and historians in fields other than design have seen something unusual in the development of Californian culture—some British and French commentators go so far as to note (somewhat antipathetically) a libertarian "California Ideology" or "California Optimism."[48] After all, the size, geography, history, and economy of the state of California lend it the quality of a nation within a nation—or if not a nationalism, at least a "higher provincialism."[49] It is as though the "delirium" of American modernization passed, after the Jazz Age, to California. Much of what architect Rem Koolhaas said of the delirium of "Manhattanism" in his classic 1978 book *Delirious New York* can be inverted to aptly describe the "delirium" of California. Like "Manhattanism," the design culture of California is "so outrageous that in order for it to be realized it could never be openly declared."[50] If New York's contribution to modernity was its "culture of congestion," one collected (Koolhaas observed) by grids and plotted with monuments like the Empire State Building, California's contribution to modernity (I contend) was its "culture of connection," collected by matrices, and plotted with remarkable communications structures like the Golden Gate Bridge and computer networks. With each East Coast expression of ennui in the capacity of design to change life, it seems the West Coast responds by becoming more cheerful about its capacity to build a better day. The hierarchical, compartmentalized corporatism of the East was met by the loudly entrepreneurial culture of California.

To offer another well-worn stereotype, the loafer-shod market speculators of Wall Street were met by the flip-flop wearing venture capitalists of Silicon Valley. And so the unstated contest goes on, back and forth across the 20th century: New York's importation from Europe of an International Style in the 1930s was met by the Bay's importation of style from Japan; the International Style was authoritative, disciplined, non-regional, Cartesian, rationalist; Bay Region Style was anti-authoritarian, pragmatic, regional, ecological, intuitive.

Ultimately, though, the dialectic of East Coast/West Coast is symptomatic of a larger altercation between opposing notions of what design is and—because design is a type of praxis—between divergent political models. In short, California tended to embrace design as an "evolutionary" practice, positing incremental reform, usually through reference to vernacular forms (as in the case of Alexander). The leading architectural schools of the East Coast, by contrast, embrace design as a "revolutionary" practice, usually through reference to avant-garde forms (stemming, for instance, from Constructivism, as in the case of Eisenman), even though avant-garde styles were largely separated from revolutionary politics upon their adaption to the US: by propounding architecture's relative *autonomy* from larger political and technocultural assemblies, architecture would be afforded a certain critical distance from the world of which it is a part, authoritatively "speaking" about the world through the language of form. Californian design, as I present it here, has happily transmitted information and facilitated social interaction; it was not too squeamish about instrumentalism; it preferred mechanism to art. Or rather, it promised pleasure not simply through aesthetic response to form, but through technics, invention, association, nature—this can be found in Mumford, in the *Whole Earth Catalog*, on the communes the *Catalog* supported, and now in the Apple Store.

Needless to say, the quest through design for a holistic totality of relations and links and insertion points is ideologically a mixed bag. The Bay Region's reverence for feedback loops, incremental adjustments, and long-term patterns is at once politically conservative in its aversion to sudden change, but also rather radical in the way that it implies that steady change is inevitable, natural, and necessary—at once a hegemony and a vitiation of hegemony. The ambition it seems to have harbored since the counterculture for a libertarian abolition of political society, along with any other

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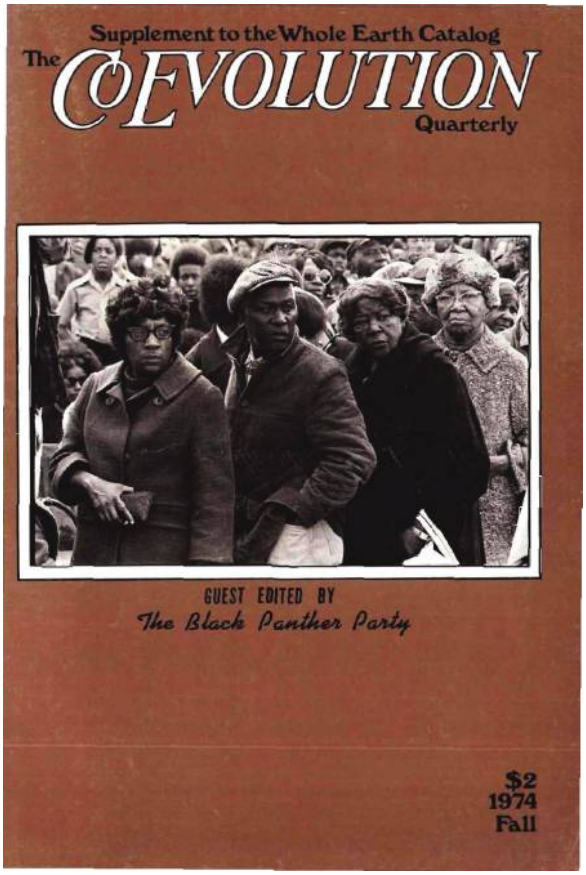
A creeping culture of contraction seems to be replacing a culture of connection as California's official dictum.

separation of cultural spheres, is again intensely conservative and radical simultaneously (Stewart Brand actually forbad the discussion of politics in the *Whole Earth Catalog*, as though praxis, organization, is the only politics. "The Panthers are the most effective community service-and-organization group I know," Brand wrote as his rationale for inviting Oakland's Black Panther Party to guest-edit the *Catalog*'s forum *CoEvolution Quarterly* in Fall of 1974, finally admitting agonistic politics by doing so according to his own agenda.)[51] And somewhat paradoxically, the quasi-whole systems ideology of neoliberalism (lent intellectual credence by figures like Kevin Kelly and various Silicon Valley mavens) has promoted disinvestment in the state ideal which once undergirded California: a creeping culture of contraction seems to be replacing a culture of connection as California's official dictum.



The CoEvolution Quarterly, Fall, 1974, guest edited by the Black Panther Party

The fate of California *as* a design seemingly hangs in the balance. And so it is that "Designed in California"—an epithet that is founded, I have tried to show, in the vision of a liberal commonwealth fusing the public and private—is rather too decisively privatized by the insertion of the words "by Apple" ("Designed *by Apple* in California"). Apple's apparently seamless, effortless and adored systems designs compares uncomfortably to the governmental and public infrastructures that noticeably ailed in Jobs' beloved state at the end of the 20th century. Delaminated in this way, the public from the private, the culture of connection is ever more virtual. Which oddly and lamentably begins to explain, one wonders, the zealotry inspired by "Designed in California" in a world where the atrophy of the public realm seen in California is repeated over and over again, and into which California has exported its latest "patches," its designs for making people, technology, and nature more whole (fine houses, landscape architecture, drugs, media, recreational equipment, sentiments, computers). Because even when Californian design offers little more than an ersatz commonwealth through consumption, it arrives in the market accompanied by the hope of something more than another consumer fetish. California design promises to *do* something, to enable its subjects to attain a better and more replete future.[52] Over-wrought though that might seem, the beautiful boxes shipping from California contain this covenant, illusory and real. **B**

Notes

1 This paper began as a keynote talk "Delirious California: a retroactive manifesto for design humanities" for the "Economy" conference of the Architectural Humanities Research Association, held at the Welsh School of Architecture, Cardiff, July 2011; my thanks to the conference organizers Stephen Kite, Mhairi

McVicar, and Juliet Odgers. It benefitted from the comments provided by *Boom*'s editors and anonymous reviewers.

It is dedicated to the memory of my teacher and colleague George Noszlopy, who died in June 2011; something of his observations about the "embourgeoisement" of modern art ("The Embourgeoisement of Avant-Garde Art," *Diogenes*, 17, September 1969, 83–109) remain, I suspect, a preoccupation for me. It would be remiss, too, to make no acknowledgement of the passing of Steve Jobs in October 2011, while my article was in review. His work very surely remains a preoccupation for me and for many others.

2 The place to leave after World War II "was always Cleveland, poor Cleveland" according to Kevin Starr in *Golden Dreams: California in an Age of Abundance, 1950–1963* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 88.

3 Joel Spolsky, "Joel on Software: California," Friday, October 05, 2007, http://www.joelonsoftware.com/items/2007/10/05.html (accessed July 29, 2011).

4 Walter Isaacson, *Steve Jobs* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2011), xix.

5 Friedrich Nietzsche, *On the Use and Abuse of History for Life* (Sioux Falls: NuVision Publications, 2007), 19. Nietzsche was drawing upon Jacob Burckhardt's 1860 analysis of *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*.

6 Blake Snow, "Smooth Harold: Designed by Apple in California?," Friday, February 22, 2008, http://www.smoothharold.com/designed-by-apple-in-california/ (accessed July 29, 2011).

7 Walter Isaacson, *Steve Jobs*, p. 133.

8 Joel Spolsky, "Joel on Software: California."

9 Blake Snow, "Smooth Harold: Designed by Apple in California?"

10 Stewart Brand, *Whole Earth Discipline: Why Dense Cities, Nuclear Power, Transgenic Crops, Restored Wildlands, and Geoengineering Are Necessary* (New York: Penguin, 2010), 21.

11 See for instance Tim Brown, *Change by Design: How Design Thinking Transforms Organizations and Inspires Innovation* (New York: HarperBusiness, 2009).

12 Charles Moore, "You Have to Pay for the Public Life," *Perspecta*, 9/10 (1965), 57–106, 85.

13 Housed in a 1964 building somewhat incongruously named after Bay Region Style leader William Wurster.

14 Charles Moore, "You Have to Pay for the Public Life," *Perspecta*, 9/10 (1965), 57–106, 83–84.

15 See too Stanford Anderson, "The New Empiricism-Bay Region Axis", *Journal of Architectural Education*, 50 (1997), 197–207.

16 Eckbo was especially concerned that design should meet the mandates of the New Deal, but we might argue that even Church, as something of a paternalist, wanted his clients' taste to set a public example.

17 Lewis Mumford, "The Skyline: Bay Region Style," *The New Yorker*, 11 October 1947, pp. 106–9, reprinted in Joan Ockman and Edward Eigen, eds., *Architecture Culture 1943–1968: A Documentary Anthology* (New York: Rizzoli, 1993), 107–9, 108.

18 Charles Moore, "You Have to Pay for the Public Life," 86.

19 Ibid, 62 *passim*.

20 See Gilles Deleuze & Félix Guattari, *Mille Plateaux*, 1980, trans. Brian Massumi, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (London: Continuum, 2002).

21 Kevin Starr, *Golden Dreams*, 38.

22 Lewis Mumford, "The Skyline: Bay Region Style," p. 109. By the 1920s in San Francisco, Kevin Starr argues (*Golden Dreams*, 38), the juxtaposition of eastern and western furniture was suggesting an Eastern-Western fusion "at the aesthetic core of the Bay Area."

23 Walter Isaacson, *Steve Jobs*, 128.

24 Lewis Mumford, "The Skyline: Bay Region Style," 109.

25 Lewis Mumford writing in the catalog of the exhibition "Domestic Architecture of the San Francisco Bay Region," San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, 1949, quoted in Joan Ockman and Edward Eigen's introduction to Lewis Mumford, "The Skyline: Bay Region Style," 107.

26 Lewis Mumford, *Technics and Civilization* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1934), 369–371.

27 See for instance Norbert Wiener, *The Human Use of Human Beings*, 1954 and Norbert Wiener, *Cybernetics; or Control and Communication in the Animal and the Machines*, 1961.

28 Kevin Starr, *Golden Dreams*, 31.

29 See for instance Stewart Brand, *II cybernetic frontiers*, 1974.

30 See Governor Edmund G. (Jerry) Brown, Jr., William L. Kahrl, Project Director and Editor; William A. Bowen, Cartography Team Director; Stewart Brand, Advisory Group Chairman; Marlyn L. Shelton, Research Team Director; David L. Fuller and Donald A. Ryan, Principal Cartographers; et. al., *The California Water Atlas* (Sacramento: State of California, 1979).

31 The best sources on this trajectory of the counterculture are Andrew G. Kirk, *Counterculture Green: The* Whole Earth Catalog *and American Environmentalism* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2007), and Fred Turner, *From Counterculture to Cyberculture: Stewart Brand, the Whole Earth Network, and the Rise of Digital Utopianism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).

32 Gregory Bateson, *Steps to an Ecology of Mind* (New York: Ballantine, 1972), 483, quoted in Jay Mechling, *Mind, Messages, and Madness*, 19–20.

33 William Wurster, "Competition for U.S. Chancery Building, London," *Architectural Record*, 119 (April 1956, 222), quoted in Marc Treib, ed., *An Everyday Modernism: The Houses of William Wurster* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 74.

[34] Walter Isaacson, *Steve Jobs*, p. 7. It not has yet been ascertained whether the Jobs' house was built by Eichler, however.

[35] Walter Isaacson, *Steve Jobs*, pp. 126–7.

[36] The scheme was presented at a meeting of the Cupertino city council in June 2011 and was designed, initially in secret, by Norman Foster's studio. It must be acknowledged that Norman Foster is neither Californian nor based in California, though as a young designer he was profoundly affected by similar influences to Jobs, including the work of Californians Charles and Ray Eames, the Californian Case Study Houses, and Richard Buckminster Fuller. Regardless, the main point is that the headquarters itself enforces Jobs' long-standing preference to group his designers: "Many executives believe that outsourcing design allows them to lower the salaries they must pay, and lets them have engineers working on the products across all time zones. Jobs thinks that's short-sighted. He argues that the cost-savings aren't worth what you give up in terms of teamwork, communication, and the ability to get groups of people working together to bring a new idea to life. Indeed, with top-notch mechanical, electrical, software, and industrial designers all housed at Apple's Infinite Loop campus in Cupertino, Calif., the company's design capability is more vertically integrated than almost any other tech outfit." Peter Burrows, "Commentary: Apple's Blueprint for Genius, *Bloomberg Businessweek*., March 21 2005, http://www.businessweek.com/magazine/content/05_12/b3925608.htm (accessed 29 July 2011). A source at Pixar Studios confirms that the same decision was taken to keep Pixar operations centered at Emeryville wherever possible, according to Jobs' express wishes (author interview, anonymous source).

[37] See Richard Brautigan, *All Watched Over by Machines of Loving Grace* (San Francisco: The Communication Company, 1967).

[38] Steve Jobs, speech to Apple employees, Cupertino, 1997, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Jvwf-VOW8dg&feature=related (accessed 29 July 2011).

[39] On Jobs' calculation that decreased start-up times for computers would save lives, for instance, see http://www.folklore.org/StoryView.py?project=Macintosh&story=Saving_Lives.txt

[40] For a long-running lampoon of Steve Jobs, see http://www.fakesteve.net/

[41] Andrew Burroughs, *Everyday Engineering: How Engineers See* (San Francisco: Chronicle, 2007).

[42] Stewart Brand, "On Growth and Form," *The Last Whole Earth Catalog* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971), 14.

[43] See Lawrence Halprin, *The RSVP Cycles: Creative Processes in the Human Environment*, 1969.

[44] See Gerald Joyce, quoted in D. W. Deamer and G. R. Fleischaker, eds., *Origins of Life: The Central Concepts* (Boston: Jones & Bartlett; 1994), xi–xii, and Nita Sahai, "How Life First Began," *To The Best of Our Knowdege*, 07.01.2011, at http://ttbook.org/book/science-and-search-meaning-what-life

[45] Charles Moore, quoted in David Littlejohn, *Architect: The Life and Work of Charles W. Moore* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1984), 125, cited in Jorge Otero-Pailos, *Archtecture's Historical Turn: Phenomenology and the Rise of the Postmodern* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), 123.

[46] Lewis Mumford, "The Skyline: Bay Region Style," *The New Yorker*, 11 October 1947, pp. 106–9, reprinted in Joan Ockman and Edward Eigen, eds., *Architecture Culture 1943–1968: A Documentary Anthology* (New York: Rizzoli, 1993), 107–9, 108.

[47] See R.E. Somol, "Dummy Text, or The Diagrammatic Basis of Contemporary Architecture," in Peter Eisenman, *Diagram Diaries* (New York: Universe, 1999), 7–25, 7.

[48] See, for instance, Steve Best & Douglas Kellner, "Kevin Kelly's Complexity Theory: The Politics and Ideology of Self-Organising Systems," *Democracy & Nature*, 6:3 (2000), 375–399; Richard Barbrook and Andy Cameron, "The California Ideology," *Mute*, 3 (1995) (available at http://www.hrc.wmin.ac.uk/theory-californianideology-main.html); Adam Curtis, dir., *All Watched Over By Machines of Loving Grace*, screened on BBC2 television May–June 2011.

[49] I borrow the phrase from Kevin Starr's chapter on the emergence of a distinctively American Californian civilization at the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century in *California: A History*, Modern Library, 2007.

[50] Original publisher's text for the cover of Rem Koolhaas, *Delirious New York: A Retroactive Manifesto for Manhattan* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 1978), reproduced at the OMA website, http://www.oma.eu/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=26&Itemid=2 (accessed July 29 2011). It continues: "This book exposes the consistency and coherence of the seemingly unrelated episodes of Manhattan's urbanism: it is an interpretation that establishes New York as the product of an unformulated movement, Manhattanism . . . it untangles theories, tactics and dissimulations to establish the desires of Manhattan's collective unconscious".

[51] Stewart Brand, "Gratitude to Our Guest Editors," *CoEvolution Quarterly*, Fall 1974, np.

[52] See too Frank Rich's claim that the seeming paradox of the left's mourning for Steve Jobs is attributable to his production of empirically-verifiable products in an age of Wall Street's dissimulated capital (Frank Rich, "The Class War Has Begun, *New York Magazine*, October 23 2011 (also available at http://nymag.com/print/?/news/frank-rich/class-war-2011-10/) (accessed October 23 2011).