Addiction, Modernity, and the City

A Users' Guide to Urban Space

Christopher B. R. Smith

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Examining the interdependent nature of substance, space, and subjectivity, this book constitutes an interdisciplinary analysis of the intoxication indigenous to what has been termed "our narcotic modernity". The first section—*Drug/Culture*—demonstrates how the body of the addict and the social body of the city are both inscribed by "controlled" substance. Positing addiction as a "pathology (out) of place" that is specific to the (late-)capitalist urban landscape, the second section—*Dope/Sick*—conducts a critique of the prevailing pathology paradigm of addiction, proposing in its place a theoretical reconceptualization of drug dependence in the terms of "*p/re/in-scription*". Remapping the successive stages or phases of our narcotic modernity, the third section—*Narco/State*—delineates three primary eras of narcotic modernity, including the contemporary city of "safe"/"supervised" consumption. Employing an experimental, "intra-textual" format, the fourth section—*Brain/Disease*—mimics the sense, state, or scape of intoxication accompanying each permutation of narcotic modernity in the interchangeable terms of drug, dream, and/or disease. Tracing the parallel evolution of "addiction", the (late-)capitalist cityscape, and the pathological project of modernity, the four parts of this book thus together constitute a *users' guide to urban space*.

Christopher B. R. Smith is an interdisciplinary scholar whose research concerning substance use has been published in numerous international journals. He has worked in Toronto, Melbourne, Philadelphia, and St. John's, Newfoundland, where he is a faculty member in Memorial University's School of Social Work.

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The only existing photograph of a distant relative, in a distant time and place, who died of complications from a drug overdose not long before I was brought into this world.

(Photo courtesy of the author.)

Contents

Preface

ON ACCIDENTS AND INTERSTICES

~~The dead~~
~~part a place~~
~~a feeling of having~~
~~come to pass~~
~~like so much~~
~~coming home~~
~~to sense~~

or how polite you were
surfacing from nod
to the face of emergency
personnel, with her passing
dreamt all alone

and 'it's lovely to see
you and I apologize for
my condition,' gesturing
at the all-encompassing
state of helplessness—

'like something I wasn't
supposed to see,'
she later said

idling in the flashing, shadow-
casting lights, she asks
the first responding
authority who, either confused
or intentionally evasive
said that 'a girl
was sick upstairs.'

She tells him that her friend
lives upstairs, and maybe
lingers a moment or
two too long until,
subtleties dissolving, the official asks

if her friend gets sick
often, and she shakes
her head ambiguously
but sort of like no, or

the EMS, firemen, doctors and nurses
and you're back from the dead
after 'your lips turned blue' and 'you
gotta stop that shit,' not
unlike the cop in the emergency
room following
the pavement-kissing
car crash gash
a few months after
that first horrific kick
so many years back

who said, as an aside, smirking:
'that looks like a pussy!' as if
he might just want to
fuck your gaping
wound or else
just didn't know what
to say
in that awkward interval
before the opening was closed.

Acknowledgments

Not unlike the central themes of the work itself, the composition, editing, and revision of this book has sprawled across several years and countless different spaces of inhabitation, encompassing at least three different countries and two continents. During the course of this solitary journey, however, any remaining semblance of 'home', for better or worse, has morphed from place to sense, constituting a series of socio-spatial-temporal coordinates etched and imprinted—or, rather, *p/re/in-scribed*—in affect.

From Toronto to Philadelphia to Melbourne to St. John's, Newfoundland, therefore, I am profoundly indebted to numerous individuals, many of whom are likely unaware of their inspiration, support, and assistance throughout the various states and stages of this project. Working backwards, I am particularly indebted to the staff and faculty at Memorial University's School of Social Work (St. John's, Newfoundland), who provided me with the invaluable support and resources to successfully complete the final revision of the manuscript, and to Martha Hickman Hild, a professional editor based in Flatrock, Newfoundland, whose keen attention to detail and immaculate editing skills were invaluable in reformatting the final draft of each chapter. In the Australian context, this work derived significant benefit from my friendship and intellectual engagement with David Moore, Suzanne Fraser, Carla Treloar, and particularly Helen Keane, who imparted many substantial insights in her review of the initial book proposal and sample chapters, as did Canadian addiction researcher Bruce K. Alexander.

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Ordinary affects are the varied, surging capacities to affect and to be affected that give everyday life the quality of a continual motion of relations, scenes, contingencies, and emergencies. They're things that happen. They happen in impulses, sensations, expectations, daydreams, encounters, and habits of relating, in strategies and their failures, in forms of persuasion, contagion and compulsion, in modes of attention, attachment, and agency, and in public and social worlds of all kinds that catch people up in something that feels like *some*thing.

(Stewart 2007, 1–2)

The concept of progress must be grounded in the idea of catastrophe. That things are 'status quo' *is* the catastrophe . . . Redemption depends on the tiny fissure in the continuous catastrophe.

(Benjamin 2003, 184–185)

Part I

Drug/Culture

At Home in the Addicted City

1 Drug/Culture
Addiction, Modernity, and the City

> The contagious spread of the entity described as drugs is discursively manifest. Drugs cannot be placed securely within the frontiers of traditional disciplines: anthropology, biology, chemistry, politics, medicine, or law, could not, solely on the strength of their respective epistemologies, claim to contain or counteract them. While everywhere dealt with, drugs act as a radically nomadic parasite let loose from the will of language.
>
> (Ronell 1992, 52)

INTRODUCTION: AT HOME IN THE 'ADDICTED CITY'

This book can in many ways—literally and figuratively, physically and metaphorically—be seen as a vehicle of passage; perhaps even a journey or form of transit in and of itself: a means of critically exploring the history of the addicted city and the various stages, phases, or socio-spatial permutations in the historical development of what Derrida (1993) termed 'our narcotic modernity'. As a means of passage, this work traverses the interrelated, mutually constituting phenomena of space and time (Fraser 2006; Fraser and valentine 2008), pausing to explore moments in the historical evolution of '(narco-)modernity', from the initial invention or social construction of the 'addict' as a typology of deviance at the turn of the twentieth century to the present day manifestation of (narco-)modernity in the form of the city as site of safe/supervised consumption (Fischer et al. 2004; Foucault 1978; Sedgwick 1992). This investigation, however, is primarily focused on the multiple points of intersection within and between the dimension of space, honing in on the fundamentally substance fuelled socio-spatial development and evolution of our narcotic modernity. Developments in the character of our narcotic modernity, as this work argues, correspond directly to radical changes in (1) patterns of (post-)industrialization and related forms of capitalist (mass) production and consumption, (2) urban design and redevelopment, with its increasing focus on efficiency and flow, order and control of people, as much as goods, information, and

ideas, and (3) the succession of reigning addiction paradigms—and the corresponding positioning of the notions of 'drug', 'user', and 'addiction' over the course of the last century. In the third case, the models that have been employed to study and understand, research and treat the phenomenon of addiction have shifted from moral to criminological to pathological, where today we witness the mass pandemic infection of the pathology paradigm having spread from its patient zero: the malignancy of (late/narco-)modern (narco/late-)capitalism.[1]

Sometimes experienced or expressed as a *sense*, *state*, '*scape*' of disorientation, as the book argues, over the course of the last century the experience of (narco-) modernity has been overwhelmingly characterized by intoxication—the intoxication of the subject's senses, affect, and cognitive faculties, as well as that of the physical body itself.[2] According to this radical reconceptualization, addiction cannot be located in either the subject or object of addiction (that is, the subject or substance), or the relations of force that govern this static relational interaction (Sedgwick 1992, 583; Weinberg 2002). In this re-reading, the locus of this shifting, spectral, phantom notion resides in the disruption and destabilization of the conventional representations, paradigms, and discourses that have characterized addiction research and treatment, by introducing new conceptual tools that work to illustrate and assert the mutual constitution and dynamic inter-/intra-activity between '*addiction*' (or the subjectivity of the 'addict'), *modernity* (where, as Brodie and Redfield [2002, 6] assert, addiction names "the predicament of the normative subject of late capitalism"), and the '*addicted city*' (Wild 2002), specifically those variously marginal or central urban spaces associated with drug use and the congregation of what we might term 'illicit consumers'. Complicating this theoretical re-articulation, such a radical socio-cultural reconceptualization of drug dependence is contingent upon considering how substances constitute the underlying elemental building blocks that serve to compose and animate both space and subjectivity.

Similarly, in the stimulus–and–response representation of the relations between (empirically derived) *sense* and (land/language)*scape*, the intermediary notion of *state* and its implied basis in the shifting, transitory, spontaneous nature of affect is introduced: states of excitement, anxiety, dread, and indifference, states of ('stone-cold') sobriety and (eu/dys-phoric) intoxication, or what are often simplistically described as life's little 'ups and downs', 'highs and lows' (K. Stewart 2007). Finally, the notion of disease stands in as a trope that works to problematize, destabilize, and disrupt simplistic readings of narcotic modernity from the binary perspective of drug and its longstanding association with the notions of dream or hallucination. Hence we arrive at both a reconceptualization of drug/addiction in the mutually constituting interrelationship between substance, space, and subjectivity, and a re-articulation or re-situating of the history of our (late-)capitalist narcotic modernity in the increasingly familiar form of *drug/dream/disease–sense/state/scape*.

TOWARDS AN INTERDISCIPLINARY ANALYSIS OF 'ADDICTION'

Throughout human history, this thing we call 'addiction' has been seen and understood, addressed and analysed, researched and treated through a multiplicity of different models and frameworks that have shifted and evolved according to dominant political–economic forces and socio-cultural ideologies, themselves rooted in the successive stages of (late-)capitalist, (post-) industrial narcotic modernity. Moving from moral to criminological to pathological paradigms, under the changing disciplinary jurisdiction of religious, legal, and bio-medical authorities, the object and subject of drug/addiction[3] have been variously perceived and positioned as 'possessed', or under the influence of demonic possession and enslavement that foreign, illicit, or controlled substance is believed to inherently produce (Valverde 1998); 'deviant', invoking criminal and social deviance (Becker 1963); and 'diseased', representing a threat via social, spatial, and moral forms of contagion and infection (see C. Smith 2010, 2011; Sommers and Blomely 2002; Takahashi 1997; Woolford 2001). Throughout the blurred and overlapping historical succession of such paradigms, the object and subject of drug/addiction have thus come to be articulated and controlled by vastly different disciplinary forces: theology, corresponding to moral paradigms and the religious orientation of the temperance movement; criminology, stemming from new discourse, paradigms, and emergent techniques for identifying and analyzing 'criminal' typologies (Sekula, 1986); and bio-medicine, analogous to what Sedgwick (1992, 585) termed the era of "epidemic addiction-attribution". Each of these disciplinary authorities or institutions has attempted to situate and stake out the boundaries of this thing we call addiction in relation to different rigidly defined and vigilantly policed traditional institutional borders. Since the later part of the twentieth century, however, addiction has come to primarily fall within the disciplinary domain of bio-medical authorities, interpreted in accordance with what has come to be known as the pathology paradigm or bio-medical 'brain disease' model.[4]

Under the bio-medical framework, addiction has been territorialized and staked out as the disciplinary terrain of bio-medical researchers, clinicians, epidemiologists, and public health scientists (Bourgois 2002; Keane 2003; Miller 2001; Roe 2005). Corresponding to the medicalization of drug/addiction that emerged and gained hold during the later part of the twentieth century, however, a small but vocal faction of politically engaged social science researchers and front line 'harm reduction'/treatment service providers simultaneously began to challenge and re-frame debates regarding the nature and etiology of addiction according to what we might broadly refer to as theories of structural violence, shifting emphasis to the role of structural, systemic, political–economic forces (Alexander 2000, 2008; Bourgois 1996; Bourgois and Shonberg 2009; Roe 2005). In a distinctly separate trajectory, however, the later 1990s and 2000s additionally witnessed the emergence of an explicitly cultural theorization of 'addiction' (Alexander and

Roberts 2003; Boothroyd 2006; Brodie and Redfield 2002, 1; Buck-Morss 1992; Lenson 1995; Plant 1999; Ronell 1992; Sedgwick 1992, 582–583; C. Smith 2011).

While acknowledging the relevance and import of theories of drug dependence based on the lenses of both public health and structural violence, this book is decidedly situated in the tradition of cultural theory, beginning and ending with the assertion that addiction is a fundamentally theoretical question firmly embedded in the cultural history of Western culture. Constituting an issue, 'problem', or phenomenon that is inherently rooted in the experiential form and function—and perhaps more importantly, socio-cultural characteristics—of narcotic modernity throughout its various historical manifestations, this approach takes as its point of departure the first socio-cultural construction of the addict as a typology of moral–criminological deviance at the turn of the twentieth century enabled by the development of new institutions and forms of discourse (Foucault 1978, 42; Sedgwick 1992, 582–83). Spanning the fields of literary criticism, cultural studies, sociology, anthropology, and philosophy, the inherently interdisciplinary, political/poetic interrogation of drug/addiction at the centre of this project rests on a critical/creative reconceptualization of the interplay between substance, space, and subject/ivity, as manifest in the historical relationship between addiction, modernity, and the (post-)industrial, (late-)capitalist urban landscape.

Reconceptualizing drug dependence as a product of the shifting interaction between (urban) space, (cyborg) subjectivity, and the mediating media/technology of ('controlled', 'foreign', or 'illicit') substance that constitutes the creative–destructive phases of narcotic modernity therefore entails following a splintering, non-linear series of entangled interdisciplinary theoretical trajectories. Such an analysis thus both implicates and forces a critical reconsideration of not only the relationships between nature and technology, human and machine, environment and affect, language and landscape, consumption and control, but also the underlying, mutually constituting role of substance as the media/technology of inscription. Spanning a diverse array of different bodies of thought and literature, the theoretical framework underlying this reconceptualization is thus dependent upon a series of exercises that emerge from the playful interrogation and experimental subversion and disruption of contemporary popular and professional discourse surrounding the 'illicit' object of drugs, and the correspondingly 'deviant' subject of drug consumption and dependence. Retracing drug/addiction through the dynamic interaction of people/place/prosthesis, self/space/substance, or bodies, built form, and cyborg synthesis, the theoretical force of this project therefore consciously works towards an interdisciplinary analysis of this thing we call addiction, wresting the question away from any one authoritarian expression of disciplinary control and rendering it in appropriately complex terms as a phenomenon that is inherently messy, resisting singular interpretations of origin and aetiology, and thus implicating

and pulling into its orbit every-one-thing (space/subject/substance) relating to the notions of consumption and (controlled) substance. Here, as Avital Ronell (1992, 52) reminds us, it is of utmost importance to bear in mind the fact that the slippery and elusive notion of 'drugs' "cannot be placed securely within the frontiers of traditional disciplines", but instead represents a "radically nomadic parasite let loose from the will of language".

Arguing for a generalizing re-definition of addiction that encompasses forms of human behaviour above and beyond the ingestion of drugs and/as 'mind altering substances' per se,[5] the conscious use of the term 'drug/addiction' throughout this interdisciplinary reconceptualization serves to articulate a new relationship between the experience of being/feeling 'drugged' and this thing we call 'addiction' (Alexander 2000, 502–504; Ronell 1992, 13; Sedgwick 1992, 582–85). In this conceptual reframing, the collapsed notion of *drug/addiction* renders both terms as mutually implicating, mutually constitutive, and interdependent, each notion simultaneously mapping on to, folding in to, implied, encoded, and *inscribed* in the other. Illustrating a clear-cut case of conceptual conflation, the concepts 'drug' and 'addiction' are therefore inherently interrelated, each signalling to, invoking, and collapsing into the other. Rendering addictive behaviours as they become manifest in the case of food, sleep, exercise, work, shopping, or sex—to name only the most oft cited examples of non-drug addictions—as drug-like, the *sense/state/scape* of narcotic intoxication inherent to the everyday nature and experience of (narco-)modernity thus comes to have resonance—in terms of the structure of its progression and the variability of its outcomes and success—with the notions of both dream and disease. Illuminating the range of inter-changeability and conceptual contortionism implied in this critical/creative re-reading, substance dependence and/as 'drug/addiction' is best articulated through recourse to the in-built interdisciplinary complexity and multiplicity underpinning the notion of *p/re/in-scription* that lies at the very heart of the radical theoretical reconceptualization of drug/addiction running throughout this work. In this sense, *p/re/in-scription* therefore comes to be refashioned as a symptomatic manifestation of the shifting *sense/scape/state(s)* of intoxication accompanying the successive manifestations of the addicted city throughout the socio-spatial permutations of our narcotic modernity, as manifest in the terms of *drug/dream/disease*.

Following from this radical interdisciplinary reconceptualization, the locus of addiction is therefore itself transitory and fleeting, only to be found in various forms of movement, transit, and passage between inside and outside, the organic and the synthetic, environmental stimuli and affective response, or in other words, the dynamic inter-play and inter-/intra-activity between substance, space, and subject/ivity. Representing an extended theoretical meditation on the real and imaginary, literal and metaphorical, physical and figurative bodies and landscapes that make up our narcotic modernity, this conceptual re-mapping is inspired by several key texts,[6] consisting of an extended dialogue between the recurrent invocation of these

works and what Goodeve (1999) has termed the "external interlocutor" of drugs. Here, by employing Ronell's (1992, 15) 'narco-analytical' tool of 'fractal interiorities', the various sense/state/scapes directly corresponding to the individual and collective impact of the various phases or stages of (narco-)modernity during the last century are illustrated in the final section of the book through an experimental *intra*-textual format that allows us to explore, trace, disentangle, and re-map the series of multiple and simultaneous, splintering, non-linear narratives that make up the intoxication inherent in the experiential language/landscape of our narcotic modernity.

DRUG/CULTURE: (LATE-)CAPITALISM AND THE SOCIO-SPATIAL PERMUTATIONS OF NARCOTIC MODERNITY

Approximately corresponding to the turn of the twentieth century, emerging as an unintended by-product or unholy bastard child of our narcotic modernity, the addict is a creature born with the dawn of the modern urban landscape. An examination of the factors and circumstances surrounding first invention or social construction of the addict as a typology of moral–criminological deviance therefore begins to demonstrate and substantiate the intimate historical relationship between the force/phenomenon of addiction, the spatio-temporal genesis of (late-)capitalist narcotic modernity, and the form and character of the 'addicted city' (Wild 2002). Analysed at length in the final section of the book, here the interplay between language and landscape proves instructive. Although the broader history of the term is more complex, it wasn't until 1906 that the word 'addiction' formally became associated with the use of drugs, and 1909 marked the first appearance of the word 'addict' as a noun in the Oxford English Dictionary (Brodie and Redfield 2002, 2). Prior to the turn of the twentieth century, therefore, the figure of the addict had not been concretized as a character type, with drug use existing as merely one form of behaviour among many others yet to be pathologized or diagnosed as phobias or forms of social deviance (Foucault 1978, 43; Sedgwick 1992, 582–583). Along with many other scholars whose research is largely informed by the work of Michel Foucault, as Brodie and Redfield (2002, 4) have argued, however, typologies of deviance played a central, defining role in the function and maintenance of power in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the period constituting the apogee of disciplinary society (Deleuze 1995b; Foucault 1977). As later chapters reveal, this era also corresponded to the first stage of narcotic modernity and the addicted city: *the city of phantasmagoria and shock*.

Closely following the appearance of the addict in popular language, Western culture witnessed a series of rapid and profound transformations taking place in the urban landscape. Along with the rise of new medical and

legal discourses and institutions, the identity of the addict was thus p/re/in-scribed by the built form of industrial infrastructure that accompanied new modes of production, constituting a reflection of the shifting technology at the heart of (late-)capitalism's urban built form. Anticipating the assembly line of the Fordist era, the addict was a creature whose uncontrolled consumption habits thus mimetically reflected the mindless repetition of early twentieth century commodity production (Brodie and Redfield 2002, 4; Buck-Morss 1992). Seen from this perspective, the addict was an automaton whose deviant consumption habits were pre-programmed or *p/re/in-scribed*—a subject conceived in the language of taxonomy and born in the early industrial landscape whose autonomy was called into question from its very inception.

Emerging contemporaneously with both the apex of disciplinary society, where ascriptions of deviance served to reinforce the identity of dominant groups, and the dawn of mass production and mass consumer culture, where desire became encoded in the consumption of material commodities, the genesis of drug/addiction was therefore situated at the interstices of the forces of consumption and control that characterize the shifting (late-)capitalist phases of (narco-)modernity and the modern urban landscape. The initial appearance of drug/addiction in popular and professional conceptions, in other words, marked the formal beginning of our 'narcotic modernity'. As a direct product of the typologizing, pathologizing discourse, as well as the urban, technology-infused landscape of the twentieth and early twenty-first century addicted city of (narco-)modernity, it is therefore not an exaggeration to suggest that the fundamentally modern phenomenon of addiction is the stuff of science fiction: first science, then fiction. Not only mirroring the form of emerging industrial and technological developments of production, the body of the addict was enabled, forged, and composed by inchoate scientific discoveries in medicine during the second half of the nineteenth century (Derrida 1993; Goodeve 1999; Keane 2002; Ronell 1992), forming a techno-prosthetic cyborg body who was simultaneously rendered machine-like and monstrous.[7]

Here, the synthesis and refinement of new substances, including *'hard' [-wired]* drugs such as heroin and cocaine, among others, coupled with the development of new medical technologies, including the hypodermic syringe, served to increasingly implicate the addict in the growing influence of bio-medicine and its various institutions and authorities (then termed 'addiction-ologists').[8] From this perspective, the syringe may perhaps represent one of the most enduring artefacts of drug/culture throughout narcotic modernity (Buck-Morss 1992; Hickman 2004; Porter 1992). Automaton-like and technology-infused, the addict was thereby conceived as a constructed subject, an unanticipated creature emerging from the synthesis between the natural, organic form of the human body, and the nascent technologies of medical science (Keane 2002). As an early antecedent to the cyborg, therefore, the addict became an outcast character inhabiting the

disfigured dream of civilization's progress, an unintended nightmare of capitalist modernity, who inadvertently fuelled (and was fuelled by) the literary imagination (Benjamin 2006; Ronell 1992).

In her meditation on drug/culture entitled *Crack Wars: Literature, Addiction, Mania*, Avital Ronell, like so many others working in this trajectory, points back to the question posed by Friedrich Nietzsche (1974) in *The Gay Science*: "Who will ever relate the whole history of narcotica?—It is almost the history of 'culture,' of our so-called high culture" (quoted in Ronell 1992, 3). While the intersecting historical narratives of 'intoxication' produced by the successive socio-spatial permutations of narcotic modernity are far too numerous and complex to be encompassed by the present investigation, it will suffice to say that the story of drugs provides the originary template for the story of addiction, hence *drug/addict(ion)*. The 'foreign' substance of drugs,[9] in other words, presupposes the intoxicating sense/state/scape of addiction that has been sutured up in—and thus confined to—the figure of the addict under the reigning pathology paradigm or bio-medical 'brain disease' model of addiction research and treatment. Here, the concepts of 'drug' and 'addiction' become mutually implicating, signalling, setting off, and collapsing in to one another. Extending this argument, the story of drugs might be seen as the story of (narco-)modern culture: hence *drug/culture*. Borrowing from Nietzsche, from this perspective drug/culture is almost synonymous and interchangeable with 'high' culture; hence the more recently coined synonym 'narcotic modernity' (Derrida 1993). According to this re-visioning, capitalism can be distilled down to a form of addiction in and of itself, while modernity becomes rendered as a 'disorder' of pathological proportions (Buck-Morss 1992; Hickman 2004; Porter 1992; Reith 2004).

Any investigation of contemporary culture is incomplete and indeed virtually incomprehensible without a critical consideration of the extensive contributions made by the cast of literary junkies of urban modernity, from nineteenth century writers such as Thomas De Quincey (2003) and Charles Baudelaire (1996), to twentieth century literary figures such as William Burroughs (1977, 1985, 1987) and Antonin Artaud (1976), to contemporary novelists such as Irving Welsh (1996) and Will Self (1998). And this is not even to begin to list the endless number of philosophers and other artistic or academic practitioners whose output bears an in/direct relationship to drug/addiction.[10] It is important to emphasize, however, that while these figures have all provided modern culture with unique, piercing insights into drugs, addiction, and the experience of intoxication, these figures have also often been among the most articulate and scathing critics of modern culture itself. However marginal/ized, therefore, the figure of the 'drug/[culture]/addict' is a central character (perhaps *the* central character) haunting the development and discourse of (late-)capitalist, (post-)industrial narcotic modernity. The drug/addict, however, is closely related to another character that figures chiefly in our irrevocably entangled, splintering, and non-linear narrative

of fractal interiorities: that of the shifting cityscape of narcotic modernity itself.

The close, co-determinant inter-relationship between addiction, modernity, and the capitalist cityscape can be seen in artistic and literary expressions that extend across a multiplicity of specific spatio-temporal modernities. From De Quincey's *Confessions of an English Opium Eater* to Baudelaire's *Artificial Paradise* to Burroughs's *Junky*, *Queer*, and *Naked Lunch*, to Will Self's short story "The Rock of Crack as Big as the Ritz" and Irving Welsh's contemporary classic *Trainspotting*, the modern literary canon is haunted by narratives of dependence to illicit substances situated in rapidly shifting urban landscapes. After all, as Burroughs (1977, 111) wrote, "[j]unk is often found adjacent to ambiguous or transitional districts . . . a point where dubious business enterprise touches Skid Row". Driven by the relentless cycle of creative–destruction, the (narco-)modern urban landscape is inherently characterized by transition and ambivalence towards older, 'out-dated' built forms, leading to a perpetual, relentless, reckless state of socio-spatial upheaval and reinvention: literal and metaphorical forms of rot and decay leading to destruction and demolition, resulting in re-development and/as 'regeneration' (Furbey 1999).

NAVIGATING THE USERS' GUIDE

A playful and oftentimes subversive and contentious examination of what we might begin to think of as the physical, discursive, and ideological '*bodies of drugs*' (C. Smith 2012a), it is important to emphasize that this investigation itself is at times given to bouts of getting 'carried away', 'falling apart', or 'going to pieces'.[11] In an effort to stem disorientation, it is therefore important to provide a few brief navigational notes from the outset. First, it is of critical importance to acknowledge that the story of narcotic modernity is a meandering, circuitous story—a story that doubles back on itself, whose murky beginnings lay in the birth of the technological infrastructure underpinning urban modernity, and whose conclusion or end point might reside in the long-dreamt-of final fusion or synthesis between machines and the (always already prosthetic, cyborg) human entities who ostensibly create and produce them; here, the inherent inter-/intra-activity of the drug/addict's 'prosthetic ontology' (Derrida 1993; Goodeve 1999; Ronell 1992) in many ways mirrors the subversive nature and experimental, intra-textual elements at work in this text. Hence we arrive at a directional signpost that reads: *You. Are. Here*.

Mimicking the intoxicating language and landscape of 'fractal interiorities' (Ronell 1992, 15) that constitute and compose its central neuro/chemical cyborg subject—that is, the 'drug/addict', here reconceptualized in terms of the dynamic exchange within and between inside/outside forces (Derrida 1993; Goodeve 1999; Haraway 1991; K. Stewart 1996, 2007; S.

Stewart 1993)—the (end)notes scattered throughout this text represent the author's initial efforts towards mapping out what might be termed a structure of intra-textuality. While inter-texuality represents the act of anchoring arguments by directly invoking and engaging the work of an Other 'exterior interlocutor' (Goodeve 1999, 234), intra-textuality renders transparent the simultaneous presence of an on-going internal dialogue: an affliction induced by trying to capture and convey the intense rush of multiple, simultaneous fractal interiorities that is otherwise popularly described or encapsulated as the act of 'talking to one's self'. Amounting to a frantic series of gestures that explicitly flag instances of semiotic gaps and slippage, affective absence and presence, and points of interconnectivity and convergence within and between other similarly unfixed and non-linear narratives of splintering 'fractal interiorities', in its inception, the concept of intra-textuality resonates with and is indebted to not only Ronell's (1992, 147–158) imagined dialogues in her book *Crack Wars: Literature, Addiction, Mania*, but also with both the concurrent sub-text literally written into Brian Fawcett's 1986 book *Cambodia: A Book for People Who Find Television Too Slow*, and the neurotically self-referential—and thus perhaps implicitly intra-textual—'fictional' footnoting tendencies of the late American novelist and essayist David Foster Wallace (1996, 1999). Such a structure also therefore bears some similarity to Bill Evans's (1963) experimental jazz composition, *Conversations With Myself*, constituting the very first technologically mediated jazz recording, completed by multi-track layering of Evans's own compositions.[12]

In his book *Psychedelic Experience: A Manual Based on the Tibetan Book of the Dead*, Timothy Leary asserted that because the physical, social, and cultural dimensions of one's *setting* or socio-spatial surroundings serve to strongly shape the nature of psychedelic drug experience, "manuals or guide-books are necessary" in order to enable individuals to "understand the new realities of the expanded consciousness" due to their role as "road maps for new interior territories", or, in the specific context of this book, *fractal interiorities* (Leary 1964, 11; Ronell 1992, 15). Taking the form of a users' guide to narcotic modernity, this project therefore (re-)presents a form of guidebook or instruction manual in four parts, each contributing to a radical theoretical re-framing of the phenomenon of 'addiction'.

The first section—*Drug/Culture: At Home in the Addicted City*—lays out the broad framework of the book and begins to playfully unpack the interdependent, mutually constituting relationship between substance, space, and subjectivity that underlies virtually every aspect of the conceptual, theoretical, and argumentative framework of the text. After unpacking the general themes, arguments, and structure of the book in this, the first chapter, the remainder of this section then turns to explicitly address the interdependent, mutually constituting relationship between substance, space, and subjectivity. Beginning with a critical interrogation of the 'bodies of drugs' (C. Smith 2012a), the second chapter—"Bodies of Substance: The (Abject)

Body of the Addict and the Social Body of the (Addicted) City"—initiates a critical theoretical examination of the interdependent, mutually constituting relationship between substance, space, and subjectivity by posing the question: *how is the urban landscape of (late-)capitalist narcotic modernity inscribed on (and by) the body of the addict through discourse, policy, and the lived experience of urban redevelopment?* Here, the (abject) body of the addict and the social body of the (addicted) city form the primary sites of analysis. Employing Foucault's notion of subjectivity to explicitly address the body of the addict by examining the notion of abjection in relation to the bio-political production of cyborg bodies and prosthetic subjectivity,[13] the work then turns to analytically unpack the notions of cyborg urbanism and the social body of the (addicted) city through an interrogation of exclusion, resistance, and the social production of urban space inspired by the work of Henri Lefebvre, concluding by reiterating the assertion that the media/technology of ('controlled') substance serves as a medium of (p/re)inscription in the case of both the abject body of the addict and the social body of the addicted city.

Building on the second chapter's extended examination of the abject body of the addict and the social body of the addicted city, chapter three— "Meditations on Controlled, Foreign, and Illicit Consumption"—entails an extended meditation on variously 'foreign', 'illicit', or 'controlled' *substance* as a medium of (p/re)inscription that serves to fundamentally mediate and inscribe the palimpsest-like nature of both (urban) space and (cyborg) subjectivity. Here, the third chapter conducts an in-depth analysis of the multiplicity of interrelationships and interconnections between pathology and place through an interrogation of (1) pathologies *of* place, (2) pathologies *out* of place, and (3) the im/migration and socio-spatial regulation of 'foreign'/'illicit'/'controlled' substance throughout the successive guises of the addicted city over the past century of our narcotic modernity.

Beginning with a playful, theoretical, deconstructive critique of the traditional paradigms that have been used to see and understand (read: *research* and *treat*, *study* and *cure*) the phenomenon of drug dependence over the last century, from moral to criminological to bio-medical/pathological models, the second section of the book—*Dope/Sick: Bootstraps, Brain Diseases, and the Depathologization of Drug Dependence*—takes on the specific task of tearing down the reigning bio-medical 'brain disease' model for addiction, positing in its place the irreducible conception of *p/re/in-scription*, positing both space and subjectivity as palimpsests indelibly inscribed by the medium of substance. Inscribed, de-inscribed, and re-inscribed by 'controlled' substance, both space and the body thus come to form surfaces whose scars, scratches, and marks can be read and re-read, yet will always contain faint traces of their original imprints. Re-positioning and re-articulating addiction as a symptomatic, adaptive response to the very nature and character of the (late-)capitalist cityscape—that is, the natural, indigenous home of our narcotic modernity—the notion of p/re/in-scription works to re-map

the historical interrelationship between modernity (as substance), the capitalist cityscape (as site/space), and addiction (always already implying the addicted subject) by conducting a critical reconceptualization of the substance/space/subjectivity dynamic that concludes with a brief look at the sense/state/scape(s) of intoxication produced by the experience of the shifting socio-spatial landscapes of (late-)capitalist narcotic modernity.

Building on the analysis of the dynamic exchange and inter-activity between substance, space, and subjectivity, this radical re-thinking or fractal, non-linear line of critique then shifts to conduct an extended critical interrogation into the similarly dynamic, interdependent, and mutually constituting relationship between perception, pathology, and place. Dependent on the playful, experimental exercise of 'swallowing' the pathology paradigm, the fourth chapter therefore suggests that if the phenomenon of drug dependence is in fact a bio-medical 'brain disease', then in professional and popular discourse it represents a *pathology (out) of place*—a disease that is simultaneously '*of place*', indigenous to the urban landscape of the addicted city, and also perceived to be '*out of place*' in relation to the normative order of (late-)capitalist urbanism. Positioned as a transgressive, infectious threat to the boundaries and borders of real and imagined, physical and figurative, literal and metaphorical socio-spatial bodies,[14] the abject body of the addict thus comes to represent an indigenous outcast or native pariah, where opposition is often premised on perceptions of the socio-spatial 'disorder of drugs' (Fraser and Moore 2008; Keane 2002; C. Smith 2010).

Following the experimental exercise of 'swallowing' the pathology paradigm, the work turns to examine the emergence and rapid institutional de-politicization of the notion of 'harm reduction' in contemporary drug policy interventions. Premised on the de-pathologization of drug dependence, the fifth chapter therefore argues for a new theoretical approach to this thing we call 'addiction' based on the relationship between addiction, consumption, and social control. Simultaneously scripted, prescribed, inscribed, de-inscribed, and re-inscribed, the notion of pre/in/scription positions 'addiction' as a generalized, normalized phenomenon that is a symptomatic product of (late-)capitalist (narco-)modernity, and concentrated most densely in the urban cityscape. In this conceptual re-mapping, 'addiction' as it becomes manifest specifically in the case of drugs signals the immediate need for social control and regulation by destabilizing normative conceptions of consumption and disrupting the socio-spatial 'order' of the increasingly sanitized, privatized, and commercialized urban landscape, itself undeniably implicated in the phenomenon of p/re/in-scription. Here, 'pre/in/inscription' forms a conceptual tool that encompasses and signals a multitude of simultaneous theoretical trajectories, pointing to the irreducibility of 'addiction' to moral, criminological, or bio-medical models.

Entailing a metaphorical archaeological investigation into the socio-spatial permutations, stages, or phases of narcotic modernity beginning at the turn

of the twentieth century, the third section—*Narco/State: Excavations of the Addicted City*—works to delineate and analytically excavate three successive eras, stages, or phases of narcotic modernity and the addicted city (Derrida 1993; Wild 2002), from (1) the city of phantasmagoria and shock, to (2) the city of spectacle and alienation, to (3) the contemporary late-capitalist city as site of 'safe'/'supervised' consumption and consequent psycho-social dislocation, each corresponding to a distinct spatio-temporal era of (late-)capitalist, (post-)industrial (narco-)modernity over the approximate course of the last century. This investigation is divided into two distinct chapters; here, chapter six analytically traces the initial two periods of narcotic modernity, while chapter seven is solely devoted to an analysis of the present era of our narcotic modernity, strategically borrowing from and subverting contemporary harm reduction and institutional public health discourse to re-frame the contemporary capitalist cityscape as a site of safe/supervised consumption in and of itself, not unlike the highly contested harm reduction intervention of safe/supervised consumption/injection sites or facilities. Tracking the shifting permutations of our narcotic modernity—variously invoked and experienced as drug, dream, or disease—this section locates its inception in the city of phantasmagoria, corresponding with the invention or social construction of the addict as a typology of deviance at the turn of the twentieth century. Turning to examine the city of spectacle correlating to the birth of mass production and mass consumer society,[15] this excavation concludes by investigating the contemporary manifestation of the addicted city that has taken place contemporaneous to the shift to late-capitalist control society (Deleuze 1995a, 1995b) and globalized consumer culture. With an underlying focus on the forces of consumption and control that serve to animate the (late-)capitalist addicted city—or in other words, the city as site of 'safe'/'supervised' consumption—the final chapter of the third section is driven by a playful interrogation of drugs discourse, suggesting that the locus of addiction exists in neither substance nor subject, but instead in the urban space of our narcotic modernity, itself resituated as an inherently intoxicating project of pathological proportions (Buck-Morss 1992; Hickman 2004; Porter 1992).

Tracing narcotic modernity through the city of phantasmagoria and the city of spectacle, chapter six examines the form and character of urban space in tandem with the social positioning of drug use and users in each era. Concluding this discussion of the socio-spatial permutations of narcotic modernity, the seventh chapter turns to explore the contemporary, present day city of 'safe'/'supervised' consumption. Subversively re-appropriating and re-claiming the discourse of harm reduction (albeit in the form of institutionalized—and thus depoliticized—policy/discourse), this chapter involves both an analysis of the critical role of gentrification and contemporary urban redevelopment and an explicitly oppositional political critique of institutionalized harm reduction policy and its almost exclusive alliance with the disciplinary/institutional machinery of 'public health science'.

Emerging directly from the broad argumentative framework set out throughout the preceding chapters of the book, the fourth and final section—*Brain/Disease: The Deafening Internal Dialogue of Fractal Interiorities*—synthesizes and draws a series of concluding remarks concerning the interdependent, mutually informing relationship between the (abject) body of the addict and the social body of the (addicted) city through an analysis of the (porous) borders and (permeable) boundaries of these real and imagined, literal and metaphorical, physical and figurative bodies, both similarly p/re/in-scribed by and (in)fused with substance. Critically tracing the historical progression of body/space metaphors in popular language as they have curiously come to correspond to each successive era of narcotic modernity, this analysis suggests that (urban) spatializations of the body and (anatomical) embodiments of urban space are rendered most acutely in the discourse of drugs, signalling how the shifting sense/state/scapes(s) of intoxication characteristic of—and indigenous to—the socio-spatial permutations of our narcotic modernity effectively serve to situate the body-as-city-as-machine.

Conducting a critical re-reading of popular, English language urban/spatial metaphors applied to the body, alongside a brief inverse examination of the anatomical/bodily metaphors as applied to the city, this analysis works to concretely illustrate the playful inversion of contemporary popular, professional, and street/user-based drug discourse contained throughout this work. Playfully problematizing, subverting, and destabilizing drug discourse plays a central role in the overall arguments and structure of the broader project, entailing political–poetic, critical–creative investigations of: (1) this thing we call drug/'addiction' in the terms of p/re/in-scription, scripted, inscribed, and p/re/in-scribed by the forces of consumption and control; (2) the various ways that popular and professional discourse re: 'addiction' works to constitute a '*pathology (out) of place*', where interventions designed to address the (visible, socio-spatial, contagious) *disorder of drugs* suggest that the city itself is being refashioned as site of 'safe'/'supervised' consumption, ruthlessly redeveloped, 'revitalized', and 'rejuvenated' in a relentless, frenetic blur of (quasi-)*creative*-(hyper-)*destruction* characteristic of the project of modernity; and (3) all of which comes to compose a series of gestures and glances towards a users' guide to urban space. As this investigation reveals, the body of the addict and the social body of the city constitute lived fictions peopling the (late-)capitalist cityscape, both of which are indelibly inscribed by the medium of substance in the interplay between prescribed spaces and social prescriptions, scripted performances of identity and the spatial scripting of consumerism, inscriptions of control in and through physical built form, and re-inscriptions of subjectivity in the variable forms of socio-spatial 'folds'[16] and 'assemblages' (Deleuze and Guattari 1987; Malins 2004; C. Smith 2011).

Constituting a users' guide to urban space—or more specifically, a users' guide to the *city as site of safe/supervised consumption*—the final

chapter takes up the theme of resistance, exploring how drug/service users (and/as people with lived experiences of substance use and dependence, public health harm reduction interventions and bio-medical addiction treatment regimes) negotiate shifting, fluid forms of control concentrated and p/re/in-scribed in the (physical/material, built) *form* and (disorder eradicating, consumption-fuelled, control-laden social) *function* of the late-capitalist cityscape in an effort to assert and articulate their 'right to the city' (Lefebvre 1996). Analysing the space of harm reduction as a contemporary example of what Foucault (1997) termed 'heterotopias', the book concludes with critical consideration of the explicitly radical, political origins of harm reduction theory and philosophy, positing the development of harm reduction in North America as a form of anarchist practice (C. Smith 2012b). Here, tracing the de-politicization of harm reduction resulting from its institutionalization as public health policy, the book closes with a concluding interrogation into the relationship between capitalism and addiction, culminating in a final meditation on a users' guide to the contemporary city of safe/supervised consumption.

Together, the related investigations into the socio-spatial genesis and evolution of our narcotic modernity that make up the chapters in this book yield a number of startling and original insights into the relationship between capitalism, addiction, and the fluid, continuous, and unbounded operation of power in what Deleuze (1995b) termed 'societies of control'. As this work argues, present day institutionalized public health harm reduction interventions such as safe/supervised consumption sites are ostensibly designed to mediate between the interests of the individual drug user and those of the larger community, yet effectively serve to privilege the agendas of 'public health' and 'public order' (City of Toronto 2005). Institutionalized public health-driven harm reduction policy and practice therefore represents an important site of intersection between physical and figurative, literal and metaphorical, individual and social bodies: the (abject) body of the addict and the social body of the (addicted) city. At the same time, however, regimes of representation increasingly serve to re-cast the city as a space of consumption, culture, and 'creativity' (Barnes et al. 2006; Florida 2002; Short 1999). In the contemporary global climate of heightened competition for capital investment, cities must be presented and perceived (read: constructed and sold) as 'safe': safe for gentrification and redevelopment, safe for tourism and investment, and in short, safe for consumption (Smith and Derkson 2002). In this sense, while Deleuze offers us a 'postscript' on control societies, this work therefore represents an analysis of the relationship between the body of the addict and the social body of the city in the terms of p/re/in-scription, coming together to form a users' guide to urban space throughout the successive phases, stages, and socio-spatial permutations of our narcotic modernity.

And so we begin our meandering, non-linear, circuitous journey, armed with only these brief navigational notes and guided by little more than the

appearance of periodic directional signposts. Wandering through the shifting historical constellations of substance, space, and subjectivity correlating to the plethora of permutations between addiction, modernity, and urban space, we trace these dynamic sites and moments of exchange and inter-/intra-activity that effectively serve to produce the indigenous *sense/state/scape(s)* of experiential intoxication at the very heart of the addicted city in the succession of phases or stages in the historical progression of our narcotic modernity, in the form of *drug/dream/disease*.

Prior to arriving at these sites of analytical excavation, however, we must first provide further detail and clarification regarding the dynamic inter-/intra-activity and interdependent, mutually constituting nature of the relationship between substance, space, and subjectivity, beginning with a critical analysis of the palimpsest-like character of both space and subjectivity, the abject body of the addict and the social body of the addicted city, both of which are inherently mediated by 'foreign', 'illicit', 'controlled' substance as the media/technology of (p/re)inscription.

NOTES

1. This dynamic might more accurately be rendered in the interchangeable terms of late-capitalism and/as high-(narco-)modernity. The term '(late-)capitalism' is employed throughout this project to denote the changing stages of capitalist development. Resisting the deceptively seductive allure of 'post-modernism', this work instead makes recourse to *(late-)capitalist narcotic modernity* to reflect the shifting socio-spatial permutations of (narco-)modernity, where 'late-(narco-)modernity' might describe the present era of 'high hyper-capitalism'.
2. In other words simultaneously constituting both '*head fuck*' and '*body buzz*'.
3. As the slippery and elusive concept of 'drug' is always already implicit in the notion of 'addiction', the intentional rendering of *drug/addiction* throughout this work—along with similar and/or related instances such as *drug/culture*, *dope/sick*, and *narco/state* points to instances of binary collapse or popular and professional conflation of various terms and concepts central to drug/culture discourse.
4. As detailed in subsequent chapters, however, Buck-Morss (1992, 12) argues that the physical environment is an inherent part of the human nervous system, acting as "the source for stimuli and the arena for motor response". In this sense, the brain can thus be seen as an assemblage: "not an isolable anatomical body, but part of a system that passes through the person and her or his (culturally specific, historically transient) environment" (1992, 12).
5. That is, in the form of literature, or the case of behaviour such as gambling, work, sex, eating, or exercise, all of which have either been clinically diagnosed or popularly perceived as potential addictive behaviours.
6. This project is particularly indebted to the inspiration derived from the following articles, essays, and books: Susan Buck-Morss's (1992) "Aesthetics and Anaesthetics", Avital Ronell's (1992) *Crack Wars: Literature, Addiction, Mania*, Thyrza Nichols Goodeve's (1999) "You Sober People", Helen Keane's (2002) *What's Wrong with Addiction?*, Eve Kosofky Sedgwick's (1992) "Epidemics of the Will", Gerta Reith's (2004) "Consumption and its Discontents: Addiction, Identity and the Problem of Freedom", Mariana Valverde's (1998)

Diseases of the Will: Alcohol and the Dilemma of Freedom, and Kathleen Stewart's (2007) *Ordinary Affects*, along with the work of Thomas Szasz (1985), *Ceremonial Chemistry: The Ritual Persecution of Drugs, Addicts and Pushers*.

7. *Freeze-frame, still-life, snap-shot #1* (K. Stewart 1996, 2007; S. Stewart, 1993): During the later nineteenth century, opiates, cocaine, and ether, among other newly developed drugs and therapeutic modalities, were for the first time able to render the diseased or damaged body, particularly in the theatre of surgery, as dissociated, detached, and perhaps most importantly free from pain. Anaesthetics and pharmaceutical narcotics (largely in the form of opiates) were not, however, confined to the surgical theatre, and the unregulated availability of patent medicines, the vast majority of which contained opiates, were widely recommended and mass marketed for a diverse range of both physical ailments and mental maladies (see Buck-Morss's [1992, 18] discussion of 'neurasthenia'; also see Plant [1999] and Courtwright [2001]). Relevant to later arguments, it is perhaps not surprising that opiate-containing tonics and tinctures became the first patented, 'brand name' commercially produced consumer products in Britain and the United States, hence the name '*patent*' medicines (Courtwright 2001; Cronin 2002). Given the mass marketed availability and widespread consumption of opiates and other anaesthetics prior to the invention of the identity of the addict at the beginning of the twentieth century, we might therefore suggest that this thing we call addiction is an iatrogenic condition that was first brought about by the physicians attending to our ailing narcotic modernity.

   While Foucault has laid the foundations for a critical historical analysis of how the institutions born by modern medicine are implicated in the construction of bio-medical subjects (through gaze and discourse, technologies of separation, confinement and restraint), here it is relevant to pause to consider the fact that what is now popularly known as the 'operating room' was in earlier eras referred to as the operating or surgical 'theatre'. Consisting of a tiered observation platform surrounding the surgical 'stage', at the centre of the early surgical theatre was a raised table or platform where the physicians would 'perform' operations on the patient. Attended by students and curious members of the general public, the surgical theatre was initially designed as a literal theatre of surgery, suggesting that the act of watching was an integral part (and perhaps centrally important fascination) in early surgical practice.

   Here, in the voyeuristic space of the theatre of surgery, onlookers watched wide-eyed as the body was literally opened up, its systems revealed and splayed out on the stage by the science of early medical technology. A direct and inherently invasive process of technologically intervening in the flesh (shockingly disrupting its singular bound, contained form, if only to save the body from the similarly invading presence of disease), surgery was accomplished through the application of highly specialized and refined tools/substances, in a spectacular act of technology fusing with—and thus 'fixing' or healing—the body. Anaesthetics rendered the surgical subject pain-less, dissociated from the body, and thus passive, complacent, and cooperative, a process necessary for the successful performance of the precise and calculated surgical theatre. Scalpels created seams in the surface of the body through which to access, assess, alter, adjust, introduce things to, or altogether remove the body's systems (organs, etc.), as deemed appropriate by accepted practice at a given time and place. Stitches allowed the surgeons (performers) to suture or re-seal the seams and (en)close the inspected body, hiding its insides from public view, ostensibly erasing all visible evidence of its invasive intervention (save for the traces of scar tissue), and suturing the subject's systems back up again into the

bounded, singular, contained shape of a body. What then can we make of the contemporary rise of (non-invasive) 'naturopathic' medicine?

If the act of watching was a fundamental aspect of early medical practice in the surgical theatre, what is to be understood from our recent pop cultural fascination with graphic reality TV representations of operating rooms and emergency surgery? Furthermore, how can we make sense of Western culture's current obsession with exploring the body's constituent elements (if only fictionally) through computerized medical technology? The popular crime show *CSI*, this line of analysis might suggest, carries the voyeuristic fascination of watching the fusion between technology and the body even further, as computers allow specialists to see and literally travel into the body's elemental fluids and tissues, rendering blood and DNA utterly transparent in microscopic, three-dimensional, computer-animated detail.

Scar tissue signals that we are only alive (or that our bodies have only retained the form that they do) due to the intervention of medical technology, leaving, like all incorporations of (or intimate identifications with) the substance of technology, an imprint (read: p/re/in-scription) on both the ontology of the individual (prosthetic) subject of the bio-medical (and hence bio-technological) intervention/gaze, and that of the collective social body, where through the process of watching and taking in the spectacle, the voyeurs of the spectacular surgical intervention themselves become altered, infused, and intrinsically bound: prosthetically inscribed.

8. As Hickman (2004, 1276–1277) and Buck-Morss (1992, 18) remind us, the hypodermic syringe was first developed in the late nineteenth century and used for subcutaneous injection starting in the 1860s; an enduring tool of medical practice and object of fetishistic fascination for intravenous drug users (IDU) throughout the last 150 years, this suggests that the syringe is a curious and perhaps centrally important artefact of urban modernity (Hickman 2004, 1277). Subcutaneous, hypodermic: a tool that facilitated the most direct, immediate, and efficient method for administering (or, rather, in[tro]jecting) 'controlled', 'il/licit' (synthesized) substances directly into the body's (circulatory) systems by bypassing the surface of the skin (that often overlooked and most delicate of human organs), thereby passing beneath the surface of the visible city.

9. i.e., in the form of literature as much as 'illicit' chemical compounds, though both are so positioned through their 'mind altering', 'consciousness expanding' properties and their ability to taint and infect the imagination (Goodeve 1999, 234).

10. Including Jean Paul Sartre (1984), Sigmund Freud (1974), and Walter Benjamin (2006), to name only the most infamous. For further information, see Sadie Plant's (1999) *Writing on Drugs* and Marcus Boon's *The Road of Excess: A History of Writers on Drugs* (2002).

11. Here see chapter eight concerning body/space metaphors and the intoxication indigenous to the experiential landscape of narcotic modernity.

12. As an experimental tool of what Ronell termed 'narco-analysis', the introduction of this intra-/inter-textual framework, it is hoped, represents a literal rendering of the multiple points of intersection within and between this text and the works that have influenced it, as opposed to a case of the author getting 'carried away with himself', constituting the incidental repository for the purging implicit in invocations of getting something 'out of one's system'. Here, see Ronell (1992, 5) re: Baudelaire, who "assimilates intoxication to a concept of work", where "intoxication names a method of mental labour that is responsible for making phantoms appear", constituting a method of treating the phantom "either by making it emerge—or vanish"; this logic, as Ronell

writes, "called for a resurrectionist memory, the supreme lucidity of intoxication, which arises when you have something in you that must be encrypted".

13. In addition to subjectivity, theoretical insights derived from Foucault (1973, 1978, 1991) have inspired an emergent body of literature that critically examines how power exercised over individual bodies and populations—or, in Foucault's words, bio-power—operates in contemporary drug policy and treatment interventions (Bergschmidt 2004; Bourgois 2000; Fraser and valentine 2008; Keane 2009; C. Smith 2008). Broadly describing "technologies of power that take life as their objective", Foucault (1978, 152) delineates two forms of bio-power: disciplinary and regulatory. While disciplinary bio-power consists of interventions aimed at disciplining, controlling, and conditioning individual bodies, regulatory bio-power has a broader application, effectively targeting larger specific populations and demographic groups (Foucault 1978). Here, like addiction, sex provides an example of both regulatory and disciplinary bio-power at work, mediating between "an entire micro-power concerned with the body", and "interventions aimed at the entire social body", (Foucault 1978, 145–146). In both disciplinary and regulatory incarnations, Foucault's notion of bio–power contains an explicit spatial subtext, as his analysis of this concept—what Deleuze (1988) referred to as a 'cartography of disciplinary society'—contains numerous references to the roles of spatial distribution, division, and confinement in the training and correction, discipline and punishment of bodies (Foucault 1977).

14. For subsequent commentary concerning the borders and boundaries of the 'addicted body', see Helen Keane's (2002) *What's Wrong with Addiction?* As Keane (2002, 52) remarks, the addicted body belongs to a gallery of abject bodies "that have internalised so much destructive foreign matter that their boundaries are breaking down", leading to a collapse in the borders and distinctions between the pure and the polluted, the natural and the chemical/artificial. In a flourish of metaphorical spatializations of the disordered (abject, deviant, transgressive) body of the addict, such discourse thus serves to "produce the addict's body as a toxic landscape" (Keane 2002, 52), or, rather, as a wasteland, a notion that is explored in more detail in chapter eight.

15. "Merchandise is the opiate of the people", read a piece of Situationist-inspired graffiti in Paris, May 1968 (Cronin 2002, 316).

16. Scholars have additionally applied Deleuze's notion of 'folding' to explore the socio-spatial production of (public) drug using bodies (see Dovey et al. 2001; Fitzgerald and Threadgold 2004; Malins 2004; Malins et al. 2006).

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2 Bodies of Substance

The (Abject) Body of the Addict and the Social Body of the (Addicted) City

> We are no longer, alas, a race of farmers and shepherds. The fact that we need another system of therapy to defend our overworked nervous system cannot be questioned. For that reason it is imperative to discover some means of rendering harmless those beneficial substances which the body eliminates so unsatisfactorily, or of shielding the nerve cells. . . . Tell this obvious truth to a doctor and he will shrug his shoulders. He talks of literature, Utopia, and the obsessions of the drug addict. Nevertheless, I contend that one day we shall use these soothing substances without danger.
>
> (Cocteau 2001, 34)

INTRODUCTION: SUBSTANCE, SPACE, AND SUBJECTIVITY

In place of the present models used to see and understand the phenomena of drug use and dependence, this project instead proposes a structurally driven, post-pathology explanatory model or framework that effectively posits addiction as a symptomatic, adaptive response to the political–economic and socio-cultural characteristics of (late-)capitalist narcotic modernity.[1] Resituating addiction as a product of structural forces implicitly involves redirecting attention towards the role of environmental stimuli, and thereby shifting focus to issues or questions relating to space. Understood as a response to structural conditions, critically engaging the aetiology of addiction necessarily implies analysing how forces of power are manifest, transmitted, and p/re/in-scribed at the level of urban built form—the physical space of the (late-/narco-)capitalist cityscape. Addiction, in other words, must be analysed from the perspective of the stimuli produced by the virtual and built environments that serve to structure everyday life throughout the shifting permutations of the addicted city (and their accompanying sense/state/scapes of intoxication), all of which serve to compose our narcotic modernity. According to this reconceptualization, addiction can therefore be understood as a quintessential 'disease of civilization' that is both produced

by and indigenous to the *shock*-inducing, *alienating*, and (psycho-socially) *dislocating* urban landscape of (post-)industrial (late-)capitalism.

Extending this framework, locating addiction as a phenomenon or force that is symptomatic of the environmental stimuli produced by the urban landscape additionally entails expanding the scope of analysis to include the body, or perhaps more specifically, the complex relations governing the dynamic interactions between the city and the body, space and subjectivity, stimuli and response, environment and affect, inside and outside, landscape and language, all of which, as this work subsequently argues, are fundamentally mediated by and dependent upon notions of 'substance'. Challenging traditional conceptions of disease as residing *in* bodies, here the work instead poses addiction as a form of dis-ease that must be located not merely *between* bodies (Keane 2002; O'Neill 1999; Sedgwick 1992), but instead in the intra-/inter-activity within and between substance, space and subjectivity, mirroring the intra-/inter-textual nature and structure of this book.

In conducting a radical theoretical reconceptualization of drug dependence by remapping the relationship between addiction, modernity, and the city, the first level of analysis in this project entails a close, critical reading of the interdependent and mutually constituting relationship existing between two real and imagined, literal and metaphorical, physical and figurative bodies: the (abject) body of the 'addict' and the social body of the (addicted) city. The relationship between these socio-spatial bodies cannot, however, be accurately rendered without a critical consideration of the central mediatory role played by ('foreign'/'controlled'/'illicit') *substance*. Underlying the analytical framework informing the broader analysis of the socio-spatial permutations of narcotic modernity, in other words, rests the dynamic, interdependent interrelationship between *substance*, *space*, and *subjectivity*.

In the early 1960s, countercultural icon and pioneering pubic proponent of LSD Timothy Leary (1964, 11) coined the expression "drug, set and setting" to describe and explain the various factors directly involved in informing the psychedelic drug experience. One's drug experience, Leary insisted, was not dictated solely by the nature of the drug, but through the interactions between the drug, one's psychological make-up and mood (i.e., *'set'*, including the subject's thoughts, emotions, and expectations), and the broader socio-spatial environment (i.e., *'setting'*, encompassing place, social context, etc.). Extending Leary's work, the arguments that serve to frame this book are fundamentally premised on the dynamic, interdependent interactivity between *substance*, *space*, and *subjectivity*. Unlike Leary's model, however, this reconceptualization repositions substance as an elemental base matter, playing a central mediatory role that serves not only to influence, but moreover *constitute* the (interrelated, cross-wired) manifestations of both space and subjectivity, or in other words, the (abject) body of the addict and the social body of the (addicted) city.

Followed by an extended meditation on the nature of what are variously termed 'foreign', 'illicit', or 'controlled' substances, this chapter is based on a theoretical investigation into the relationship between two different bodies: the (abject) body of the addict and the social body of the (addicted) city. Here both space (the city) and subjectivity (the body) can be seen as *palimpsests*: a term derived from ancient Greek writing tablets, a palimpsest can be written and rewritten upon over and over again, yet always maintains faint traces of its earlier marks and inscriptions. It is from this perspective that both of these real and imagined, literal and metaphorical, physical and figurative bodies share a close, interdependent, mutually constituting relationship with (foreign, controlled, illicit) substance as the very medium of p/re/in-scription itself. The mediating, p/re/in-scribing role or force of substance, as well as how the substance/space/subjectivity dynamic is informed by notions of pathology and place, dis/order, consumption, and control, are discussed in considerably more depth in later chapters. At this point it will suffice to say, however, that the notion of *substance*, in the sense of 'illicit', 'controlled', or 'foreign' material that is introduced into the body, ingested—or in what is often considered to be the most abject example, *injected*[2]—is the stuff that binds social and spatial bodies together—mediating between both the body of the addict and the social body of the city—each mapping on to and 'folding' in to one another trace inscriptions of presence and belonging, identity and control (Deleuze 1995a, 112–113; Malins 2004). Substance thus plays a central mediatory role between (urban) space and (urban) subjectivity as the common, elemental base matter constituting all socio-spatial bodies.

Throughout the analysis of the mutually constituting, interdependent—and inherently substance-mediated—relationship between the abject body of the addict and the social body of the addicted city, this chapter consistently works to argue how this force or phenomenon we call addiction—as well as attendant perceptions of what I discuss in later chapters as the socio-spatial *disorder of drugs*—signals the immediate need for social control and regulation by destabilizing normative conceptions of (illicit) consumption and disrupting the socio-spatial 'order' of the increasingly sanitized, privatized, commercialized, and commodified urban landscape. In this conceptual remapping, addiction is positioned as a generalized, normalized phenomenon that is symptomatic of capitalist modernity, simultaneously scripted, prescribed, inscribed, and p/re/in-scribed in both space (i.e., the social body of the city) and subjectivity (i.e., the identity and body of the addict) via the mediating nature of substance. During a period of renewed international debate regarding drug policy and addiction treatment, along with rampant forms of urban development where cities are forced to increasingly compete to recast themselves as sites of 'safe' or 'supervised' consumption for tourists and nomadic international investment capital, interrogating the mutually constituting, socio-spatial relationship between the body of the addict and the social body of the city therefore provides insights into both: (1) how

urban space itself has come to form the primary source of the phenomena variously referred to as shock, alienation, and psycho-social dislocation, and (2) of equal importance, how drug/service users assert and articulate what Henri Lefebvre (1996) termed their *right to the city*.

As opposed to the blatantly capitalist-inscribed notions of 'client' or 'consumer' so en vogue in contemporary public health discourse, this book consistently employs the term '*drug/service user*' to describe both active illicit drug users and addiction treatment service users. Not unlike the institution of contemporary bio-medical practice, in recognition of the various ways that public health policy and discourse have begun to blatantly adopt capitalist terminology, the term *drug/service user* is intended to convey a sense of fluid interchangability, encompassing a wide range of relationships to notions of 'substance', 'treatment', and 'recovery', including people who are actively using illicit, foreign, or controlled substance, to adherents of abstinence-based drug treatment programs, to those enrolled in addiction treatment programs who additionally continue to maintain various forms and degrees of relationship to the consumption of illicit substance.

EXCAVATING THE FUTURE OF OUR NARCOTIC MODERNITY

Articulating one central dimension of the relationship between the body of the addict and the body of the city, William Burroughs wrote that 'junk'— a curious, colloquial street name for heroin, itself a proprietary registered trademark coined by the German pharmaceutical company *Bayer*® who were the first to discover, produce, and brand heroin, which was ironically first marketed as a cure for morphine addiction (Plant 1999, 6–7)—"is often found adjacent to ambiguous or transitional districts . . . a point where dubious business enterprise touches skid row" (Burroughs 1977, 111). Evidence of the close, interdependent, mutually constituting relationship between addiction, modernity, and the city—and more specifically, that between *substance*, *space*, and *subjectivity*, can be seen not only in the modern literary canon with the life and work of writers such as William S. Burroughs, but can also importantly be seen and read through major media spectacles and their corresponding media-fuelled moral panics (Cohen 1973; Kellner 2003). Employing moral–criminological ideologies and discourse to cement the identity of the addict, early twentieth-century moral panics were in large part responsible for precipitating or catalysing the development of new social policies aimed at eliminating (read: displacing) the emergent 'problem' of addiction. Early twentieth-century drug policies in Europe and North America were therefore explicitly focused on the systematic control of illicit substances and their users, positing addiction as a fundamentally deviant form of behaviour requiring regulation (i.e., surveillance), containment (i.e., incarceration), discipline (i.e., inscriptions of bio-political

control), and punishment (i.e., over and above the stigma projected by both bio-medical professionals and the public at large). In its effort to control the rapid expansion of illicit substance use/users and dependence, the evolution of drug policy in the Western world—a subject that is taken up in considerably more detail in the chapters that follow—thus had important implications not only for the management of urban communities of people who use drugs, but also importantly for the physical built form of urban space.

Moreover, the emergence of addiction as a concept and the addict as a typology of moral–criminological deviance during the dawn of the twentieth century coincided with profound transformations taking place in the form and character of the capitalist cityscape. Some of the earliest theorists of the urban experience, such as Georg Simmell (1971) and Louis Wirth (1938), for example, explored the schizoid character of urban life and the rapidly expanding range of psychological mechanisms and external tools that were developed as a defence to the overabundance of stimuli in the urban realm. Here it is relevant to briefly point out the fact that the city has been likened to a body—and, conversely, the body compared to (urban) space—through metaphors extending back to the dawn of mass urbanization. Resisting the temptation of getting '*carried away*' with myself, however, I will leave the detailed critical examination of body/space metaphors for the final section of the book, where analytical focus is placed on a concluding examination of the evolution of body/space metaphors specific to intoxication throughout the various stages or stages or phases of our (always already, inherently intoxicating) narcotic modernity.

Indelibly p/re/in-scribed by the mutually constituting element(s) of 'foreign', 'controlled', or 'illicit' substance, both the (abject) body of the addict and the social body of the (addicted) city share an intimate, mutually constitutive relationship, each casting shadows on the other through movement, language, and negotiations of force. Collectively imagined and directly lived, these two separate yet intimate interrelated bodies overlap and intersect in the realms of policy, discourse, and lived experience. This chapter—and moreover the very first seeds of inspiration for this book as a whole—therefore begins with a deceptively simple underlying thesis question: *How is the body of the addict inscribed on (and by) the social body of the city through discourse, policy, and the lived experience of urban redevelopment?* In this respect, the first section of the chapter explores how the urban landscape of (late-)capitalist modernity is folded into the body of the addict through perceptions of addiction as a physical, social, and moral pathology, affliction, or form of infection and contagion leading to projections of the body-becoming-city-becoming-body, while the second section playfully subverts and recontextualizes contemporary harm reduction and drug policy discourse to suggest that if the city itself is indeed being transformed into a sprawling site of safe/supervised consumption, it is inadvertently complicit in facilitating a users' guide to urban space in the contemporary era of our narcotic modernity.

THE BIO-POLITICAL PRODUCTION OF CYBORG BODIES AND PROSTHETIC SUBJECTIVITY: THE ABJECT BODY OF THE ADDICT

The body of the addict is both a contested and socially constructed body that is animated and (re-)produced in the dynamic interplay between substance, space, and subjectivity. Critically exploring the different cultural modes through which individuals come to understand themselves, Michel Foucault's (1997b, 224–25) work was devoted to analysing various forms of disciplinary 'science' as intimate, complex relations between power and knowledge. Here, Foucault (1978) demonstrates how the identity of the homosexual was constructed or 'invented' according to various discourses, policies, and sanctions facilitated by the development of new legal and medical institutions (Sedgwick 1992). The advent of moral, criminal, and bio-medical discourses, as Gerda Reith (2004, 288) further suggests, enabled not only "new ways of conceiving the consumption of particular substances, and new ways of regarding certain types of behaviour", but also importantly "transformed the consumer into a new *type* of person—an addict".

Conducting an examination of the various cultural modes through which individuals come to understand themselves, Foucault's life-long project involved analysing various forms of disciplinary 'science' as power/knowledge relations (Foucault 1997b, 224–25). By exploring the relationships between technologies of power and technologies of the self, Foucault's work can be seen as constituting a historical examination of the organization of knowledge as it relates to and intersects with both domination and the self (224–225). Concerning the notion of subjectivity, for instance, Foucault's early work asked, "How was the subject established at different moments, and in different institutional contexts, as a possible, desirable or even indispensible object of knowledge?" (Foucault 1997a, 87). This interrogative trajectory offers a number of useful insights for addressing not only how the (abject) body/identity of the addict has been constructed through discourse, discipline, and institutional power/knowledge configurations, but also how the body of the addict has become an indispensible object of knowledge—a question with significant implications for the institution of addiction research.

Foucault's notion of '*techniques of the self*' can be understood as procedures that are "suggested or prescribed to individuals in order to determine their own identity, maintain it, or transform it in terms of a certain number of ends", leading to the question, "[h]ow should one 'govern oneself' by performing actions in which oneself is the object of those actions, the domain in which they are brought to bear, the instrument they employ, and the subject that acts?" (Foucault 1997a, 87). Here, identity is seen as something that is both prescribed by outside (institutional, discursive) forces, and (re-)inscribed through technologies of the self, where the individual is

"coded or recoded within a 'moral' knowledge" that is both imposed and internalized (Deleuze 1988, 103).

In the first volume of his *History of Sexuality*, Foucault demonstrated how—not unlike the figure of the addict that the homosexual is often so closely associated and conflated with—the identity of the homosexual was categorized according to various in/formal laws and sanctions, discourses and regulations enabled by the development of new medical and legal institutions. Adapting Foucault's conceptual framework to consider the typologization of the addict, Eve Sedgwick wrote that in the taxonomic frenzy of the late twentieth century—an era that might more appropriately be termed the period of pandemic pathologization—the practice of substance use became concretized as a character type, and "what had been a question of acts crystallized into a question of identities" (1992, 582). In other words, whereas drug use previously existed as one commonplace everyday phenomenon among countless others, during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, new medico-legal discourses strongly informed by moral–criminological ideologies effectively served to invent or construct the figure of the (implied *drug*) 'addict'. Playfully substituting the figure of the homosexual for the figure of the addict in Foucault's (1978, 43) oft-quoted account of the invention of homosexuality, Eve Sedgwick (1992, 582) writes, as defined by early nineteenth century norms, opium eating:

> was a category of . . . acts; their perpetrator was nothing more than the juridicial subject of them. The nineteenth century [addict] became a personage, a past, a case history, and a childhood. . . . [His addiction] was everywhere present in him: at the root of all his actions because it was their insidious and indefinitely active principle; written immodestly on his face and body because it was a secret that always gave itself away. . . . The [opium eater] had been a temporary aberration; the [addict] was now a species.

Summarizing Foucault's account of the constitution of subjects, Reith (2004, 288) explains: "[h]ow things are said, who says them, and what they say and do not say, create an order of knowledge, a taxonomy, a discourse, and so make a particular subject visible". Building on the work of Foucault, feminist theorists have explored the social construction of categories of gender and sexuality as a process of "bodily inscriptions" (Butler 1990, 163). Problematizing the stable, passive, naturalized construct of categories of sexuality and gender, Judith Butler argues that theorizations of the culturally constructed body "ought to question 'the body' as a construct of suspect generality when it is figured as passive and prior to discourse" (129). Pointing to the ways that Foucault's interpretation of subjectivity reduces the body to a passive site that is produced in subordination to power (Bergschmidt 2004), Butler (1990), following Mary Douglas (1966), turns to

question cultural assumptions concerning the boundaries and borders of the body.[3]

Foregrounding the material—and, importantly, *spatial*—dimensions of subjectivity, Deleuze (1988, 103–104) reinterpreted Foucault's concept of subjectification through the notion of the 'fold'. Deleuze suggests four different kinds of folding evident in Foucault's work, including: (1) the folding of the body, producing 'body-space folds' (Malins 2004), (2) the folding of force, involving forms of self-regulation and self-governance, (3) the folding of knowledge/discourse/truth, where discourse is enfolded within the body, and (4) the folding of the line outside, which enables the body to forge connections with forces of desire that exist outside of the power/knowledge nexus, constituting a kind of becoming or "becoming-other" (Deleuze 1988, 1995b; Deleuze and Guattari 1987). Scholars have productively applied Deleuze's notion of 'folding' to explore the socio-spatial production and perception of public drug using bodies in Australia (Dovey et al. 2001; Fitzgerald and Threadgold 2004; Malins 2004; Malins et al. 2006). In other cases, theoretical concepts attributed to Deleuze have been employed in the examination of socio-spatial stigmatization relating to the body in the terms of affect and the notion of abjection, positing popular perceptions of public drug use and drug users as constituting a fear of sense, or a "fear of the sensible world", where the borders or boundaries between bodies and the spaces that they haunt and inhabit become blurred (Fitzgerald and Threadgold 2004, 408).

While Foucault's discussion of subjectivity provides a useful starting point for analysing the body of the addict, it is important to understand the body not as a submissive site of inscription formed in passive deference to power, but as an entity possessed of agency and autonomy that has the potential to utilize the media/technology of substance to 'fold' into space, and various forms of socio-spatial control inscribed into the (late-) capitalist urban landscape (Butler 1990; Deleuze 1995b; Malins 2004). In this sense, the theoretical reconceptualization of addiction as a form of *p/re/in-scription* as proposed and described in chapter five extends understandings of substance, subjectivity, and space based on the simple, passive, one-directional notion of bodily 'inscription' (Butler 1990, 163–67) by situating *p/re/in-scription* as a multiplicity of trajectories whereby control is simultaneously *prescriptive* and *re-scripted*, *de-inscribed* and *re-inscribed*, reproduced and radically transformed.

In addition to subjectivity, theoretical insights derived from Foucault have inspired an emergent body of literature that critically examines how power—or, in Foucault's terms, '*bio-power*'—operates in contemporary drug policy, harm reduction, and drug treatment interventions. Broadly describing "technologies of power that take life as their objective", Foucault (1978, 152) delineated two general forms or applications of bio-power, namely *disciplinary* and *regulatory*. Whereas *disciplinary bio-power* consists of interventions aimed at disciplining, controlling, and conditioning individual

bodies, *regulatory bio-power* has a considerably wider focus, effectively targeting specific (sub-)populations and demographic groups (152). In both its disciplinary and regulatory incarnations, Foucault's notion of *bio-power* or *bio-politics* arguably contains a spatial subtext. For instance, throughout his theoretical mapping and analysis of the concept—what Deleuze referred to as a "cartography of disciplinary society"—Foucault's discussion of bio-power/bio-politics is embedded with recurrent references to the role of spatial distribution, division, and confinement in the training, correction, discipline, and punishment of individuals in the pursuit of creating 'docile bodies' (Foucault 1977). Again illustrating the similarly stigmatized nature of the homosexual and the 'addict' in popular perception and discourse—a relationship that became virtually cemented during the AIDS epidemic of the 1980s (Stoller 1998)—here, not unlike sex/uality, addiction provides a clear and telling example of both regulatory and disciplinary bio-power at work, mediating between "an entire micro-power concerned with the body" and "interventions aimed at the social body" (Foucault 1978, 145–46). As Helen Keane (2009, 450–54) has astutely noted, however, recent years have witnessed a significant over-reliance on the notion of bio-politics in what she terms the interdisciplinary area of 'critical drug studies'. While acknowledging the central contribution of bio-politically focused analysis in early theorizing within the burgeoning field of critical drug (read: culture/al) studies, this work therefore employs a plethora of complementary concepts from scholars such as Gilles Deleuze, whose theories in many ways represent an extended dialogue with Michel Foucault.

Following David Sibley (1995, 8–9) among others, this work argues that the notion of abjection is central to understanding processes of socio-spatial exclusion and stigmatization, particularly as they relate to marginalized urban populations, such as people who use drugs. Julia Kristeva (1982) and Jeff Sommers (1998) suggest that abjection designates a boundary between the pure and the polluted, serving to delineate and preserve the identity of those engaged in the practice of exclusion. In dialogue with Mary Douglas's (1966) work on the 'boundaries of the body' and 'matter out of place', Judith Butler (1990, 169–70) asserts that abjection—often arising as a palpable sense of anxiety and dread regarding bodies and behaviours 'out of place' (Cresswell 1996)—delineates a border, where divisions between the internal and external worlds of the subject directly correlate to questions of regulation and social control. As Butler (1990, 133) remarks, amounting to a "boundary-constituting taboo", abjection functions to construct "a discrete subject through exclusion", where identities that have been rendered as abject come to represent and designate "that which has been expelled from the body, discharged as excrement, [and] literally rendered 'Other'". As Jeff Sommers (1998, 289) asserts, in this sense, the abject thus provides "the constitutive outside, the outcast whose presence is indispensable for the construction of those categories of subjectivity from which its abjection is defined because it, in turn, marks the boundaries of their identities".

Sibley (1995, 7) suggests that the desire to expel or exclude the abject is invoked in the "boundary between the inner (pure) self and the outer (defiled) self"; this boundary first becomes manifest in relation to bodily fluids before taking on wider socio-spatial significance, suggesting that constructions of the abject body contain an explicit emphasis on bodily fluids (Bataille 1999; Butler 1990; Kristeva 1982; Sibley 1995). Described in terms that mutually transpose and project images of disorderly bodies and disordered landscapes, opposition to the perceived (socio-spatial) disorder of drugs is premised on the projection of 'social pathologies' on to physical places, posing spatial purification as an antidote to perceived social problems, with an explicit emphasis on the public realm (Fraser and Moore 2008; Keane 2002; C. Smith 2010). Here, both the physical presence of bodies and behaviours *out of place* (Creswell 1996) and also their residual traces reveal explicit attention to the abject, blurring the boundaries and borders of the body in discourses based on notions of purification that are simultaneously social and spatial (C. Smith 2010).

As Helen Keane (2002, 52) has remarked, the abject body of the addict belongs to a gallery of perceived abject bodies "that have internalised so much destructive foreign matter that their boundaries are breaking down", leading to a collapse in the borders and distinctions between the pure and the polluted, the natural and the chemical/artificial. In a flourish of metaphorical spatializations of the disordered (abject, deviant, transgressive) body of the addict, such discourse thus serves to "produce the addict's body as a toxic landscape" (2002, 52), or, rather, as a *wasteland*, a notion that features prominently—albeit in the form of a metaphor—in the fourth and final section of the book. Always already *abject*, the body of the addict is thus constituted through its dynamic interaction with other socio-spatial bodies, in a mutually informing, interdependent relationship between substance, space, and subjectivity.

EXCLUSION, RESISTANCE, AND THE PRODUCTION OF URBAN SPACE: CYBORG URBANISM AND THE SOCIAL BODY OF THE ADDICTED CITY

Drawing on Lefebvre's (1991) notion of the social production of space, in many ways mirroring and mimicking that of the abject body of the addict, the social body of the (addicted) city can be understood as an inherently contested entity, a real and metaphorical (addicted) body that is constantly produced and reproduced, *inscribed* and *p/re/in-scribed* in the encounters between discursive representations of city form, the lived experience of (late-)capitalist urban redevelopment and 'revitalization', and the power of capital to exercise socio-spatial control through spatial (re-)inscription and architectural engineering. Here, the prescribed space of technocratic urban planners clashes with anarchic appropriations of the physical public sphere

by marginalized social actors, such as people who use drugs (Lefebvre 1991, 1996; Mitchell 2003).

Not unlike the body of the addict, then, the social body of the 'addicted city' (Wild 2002) is a site of socio-spatial contestation, intersection, and inscription. Here, the social body politic comes to form a site of bio-political inscriptions and socio-spatial intersections, a point of contact between the narratives of consumption and control that have come to characterize the (late-) capitalist cityscape, representing the present, hyper-intoxicating (end-point?) era of our dizzyingly narcotic urban modernity: the city of safe/supervised consumption and its attendant sense/state/scape(s) of psycho-social dislocation. In this conceptualization, theoretically re-mapping the social body of the city therefore similarly rests on re-envisioning the urban as a site that is simultaneously *prescribed* by the forces of globalization, gentrification, and technocratic urban planning, *scripted* through the interplay between spectacle and surveillance (Debord 1994; Foucault 1977), and *re-inscribed* through the tactics of traditionally marginalized and excluded, overlooked and silenced urban populations that enable the 'reclaiming' of urban public space and the creation of what Hakim Bey termed *temporary autonomous zones*, loosely defined as "an uprising that does not engage directly with the state, a guerilla operation which liberates an area (of land, of time, of imagination) and then dissolves itself to re-form elsewhere/elsewhen, *before* the State can crush it" (Bey 1985, 101; also see Debord 1994; Foucault 1977; Lefebvre 1991). As subsequent arguments demonstrate, in this sense both subjectivity and space can be seen as *palimpsests*: surfaces that have been over-written yet still—and always will—bear faint trace evidence of previous imprints or etchings, existing in a state of perpetual (re-)inscription (Butler 1990; Harvey 1973; O'Neill 1999).

Lefebvre's notion of the social production of space consists of a 'conceptual triad' encompassing the dimensions of materiality, representation, and symbolism described by David Harvey (1993, 17) as "a way to think through how places are constructed and experienced as material artefacts; how they are represented in discourse; and how they are used in turn as representations, as 'symbolic places' in contemporary culture". Central to this discussion, Lefebvre (1991, 32–39) suggests *representations of space* are "tied to the relations of production and to the 'order' which those relations impose", while *representational spaces* are "directly lived through . . . associated images and symbols, and hence the space of 'inhabitants' and 'users'". In contrast to the representational spaces that dominate in capitalist society, representations of space constitute a "dominated—and hence passively experienced—space that the imagination seeks to change and appropriate" (39). In basic terms, representational spaces are characterized by planning, order, and control, while spaces of representation are appropriated by the lived use of social actors (Mitchell 2003). As David Harvey (1990, 219) further posits, spaces of representation "have the potential not

only to affect representations of space but also to act as a material productive force with respect to spatial practices".

Asserting that representation and reality cannot be conceived as separate and distinct entities, in an unpublished manuscript Ben Highmore (2014) similarly argues that the 'metaphorics of the city' play a crucial role in shaping urban materiality. In this manner we can speak of *'cyborg urbanism'*, where the urban cityscape represents the hybrid product of social imagination, 'natural' resources, and technocratic urban planning and design (Gandy 2005; Swyngedouw 1996). Here, space can be seen as contingent on the synthesis between not only human subjectivity but also controlled substance, a form of media/technology serving to mediate the interactions between environment and affect, inside and outside (Keane 2002, 52). As Eric Swyngedouw (1996, 66) explains,

> . . . the city and the urban are a network of interwoven processes that are both human and natural, real and fictional, mechanical and organic. . . . In the city, society and nature, representation and being, are inseparable, integral to each other, infinitely bound up. . . . Urbanity and urbanization capture those proliferating objects that Donna Haraway calls "Cyborgs". . . .

Lefebvre's work has provided the foundation for a body of interdisciplinary investigation devoted to examining the capitalist cityscape as a site of both exclusion and marginalization, *and* resistance and representation. In the first case, beginning in the 1990s, scholars began to draw attention to the inherently contested and exclusionary nature of urban public space (Davis 1990; Delaney 1999; Hermer and Mosher 2002; Low and Smith 2006; Mitchell 2003; Sibley 1995; Zukin 1995). Pointing to the 'end of public space', this literature has explored the intersections between gender, ethnicity, social class, and urban space, although the figure of the addict has been largely overlooked in these debates (Duncan 1996; Low and Smith 2006; Mitchell 2003; Sibley 1995). Emphasizing the power of capital to shape both urban social relations and the physical built form of the city, contemporary investigations have positioned the social body of the city as a product of the competing and interrelated strategies of *place promotion* and *spatial purification* (Barnes et al. 2006; Short 1999; Sibley 1995; C. Smith 2010; N. Smith 1996), exploring how marginalized groups such as people who use drugs are increasingly excluded from the (quasi-)public spaces of the contemporary capitalist cityscape through processes of privatization, militarization, commercialization, and social sanitization (Davis 1990; Hermer and Mosher 2002; Mitchell 2003; Mitchell and Staeheli 2006; Sennett 1970; Sibley 1995; Zukin 1995).

In the second case, drawing from Lefebvre (1991, 1996), scholars have explored the city as a site of critical/creative resistance and symbolic

representation. Lefebvre's writings on the 'right to the city' suggest that the primary considerations in urban planning are informed by mass consumer society, providing a narrow view of urban experience. Informed by his early collaboration with prominent members of the post-WWII pan-European avant-garde movement called the Situationist International (SI)—namely Guy Debord, author of the highly provocative 1967 text *Society of the Spectacle*—Lefebvre's (2002) work developed into a critique of everyday life, which attempted to render transparent the '*society of the spectacle*', a new form of social control that emerged following the end of the Second World War that Guy Debord identified with the dawn of mass consumer culture.[4] In tandem with the SI, Lefebvre established the beginnings of an intervention-based, political–poetic form of art/activist practice simultaneously based on a critique of the exclusionary nature of the capitalist cityscape and an assertion of the 'right to the city'.[5] Here, Lefebvrian scholars have drawn attention to both the dystopian realities of the urban condition (e.g., Beauregard 1993; Merrifield 2002) and the utopian potential of the city in forms of collective imagination and representation (e.g., Plant 1992; Sadler 1998).

As a synthesis that resonates with both Foucault's insights into subjectivity and the production of bodies and Lefebvre's insights into the social production of space, the work of Deleuze and Guattari (1987) provides a useful complement to the discussion of the (abject) body of the addict and the social body of the (addicted) city. Using Deleuze and Guattari's concepts to extend Lefebvre's analysis of the dialectical interrelationship between built form and spatial practices, critics have argued that space can be thought of as an 'assemblage' of built form and social order (Fitzgerald and Threadgold 2004, 409). Using the example of a book to describe the concept of 'assemblage', Deleuze and Guattari (1987, 3–4) argue that, not unlike space, the book is constituted out of a host of irreducibly complex, competing forces. Representing a series of frenetic movements between inside and outside, interiorities and exteriorities, the book, like space, the body, and human consciousness, is the product of physical/material factors, along with 'machinic' forces that are mobilized to form 'assemblages' of desire (Fitzgerald and Threadgold 2004, 408). As detailed in subsequent chapters, Susan Buck-Morss has argued that the physical environment is an inherent, fundamental part of the human nervous system, acting as "the source for stimuli and the arena for motor response" (Buck-Morss 1992, 12). In this sense, the human brain itself can thus be seen as a quintessential example of an *assemblage*, constituting "not an isolable anatomical body, but part of a system that passes through the person and her or his (culturally specific, historically transient) environment" (1992, 12). In this way we can speak of 'body–space assemblages' as an interdependent, mutually constituting relationship between bodies and space that is transitory and fleeting, involving various forms of movement and potentiality in spaces

shifting between fluid and fixed states (Deleuze and Guattari 1987; Malins 2004; Malins et al. 2006).

When coupled with the notion of body–space assemblages and folds, the distinction between smooth and striated spaces first theorized by Deleuze and Guattari offers further critical insight into the social body of the addicted city and how drug/service users negotiate socio-spatial stigmatization relating to the contested spaces of harm reduction and addiction treatment service delivery to articulate and assert their 'right to the city' (Deleuze and Guattari 1987; Lefebvre 1996; Mitchell 2003). In contrast to the strict and stringent associations of striated space, the notion of smooth space implies "slipperiness and movement, where one slides seamlessly from one site (place, meaning, image, identity) to another" (Dovey et al. 2001, 328). In this sense, smooth spaces are sites that are composed of continual variation, that invite and encourage transformations by opening the body up to creative moments of 'becoming' (Malins 2004, 486). As a space of resistance that "utilizes the potential of camouflage and guerilla action within the striations of authority which serve as its masks", the notion of smooth space has strong resonance with Lefebvre's discussion of *spaces of representation*, where the planned, ordered, and controlled nature of representational spaces is challenged, contested, and appropriated by the imaginative power of individual and collective social actors. Correspondingly, Deleuze and Guattari's notion of striated space shares a number of stark similarities with Lefebvre's discussion of representational spaces: "the space of scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic subdividers and social engineers", characterized by rigid inscriptions of control (Lefebvre 1991, 38).

Ordered, structured, gridded, and sedentary, striated spaces are sites where identity has become stabilized, fixed and frozen, involving the "dominance of the visual over other senses with a focus on optical perspectives and the gaze", largely taking the form of spectacle and surveillance in contemporary culture (Dovey et al. 2001, 328). Unlike the variation, movement, and fluidity that characterizes smooth space, striated space has a homogenizing tendency, where all movement is subordinated to "points and positionings; beginnings and ends; states of being" (Malins 2004, 486). In spite of the sharp surface distinction between smooth and striated spaces, it is important to recognize that all shapes and forms of space contain elements of both the smooth and the striated, as these two forces exist in a codetermining fashion, continually in motion and thus being constantly 'enfolded' back into one another (Deleuze and Guattari 1987; Dovey et al. 2001). Deleuze and Guattari's concepts of 'smooth' and 'striated' space thus share similarities and intersect with Lefebvre's 'conceptual triad' for understanding the social production of space. Here, public spaces that originated as planned, ordered, and controlled representational spaces are transformed into spaces of representation through tactical appropriation by marginalized urban social actors (Mitchell 2003).

CONCLUSION: BODIES OF SUBSTANCE AND
THE SUBSTANCE OF BODIES

As this analysis has suggested, both the abject body of the addict and the social body of the addicted city are inherently contested bodies, produced and reproduced, inscribed and re-inscribed through various forms of discourse, policy, and the (intoxicating) everyday lived experience of the urban landscape of (late-)capitalist narcotic modernity, the form and function of which is overwhelmingly informed by the forces of consumption and control. Here, drawing on the long and storied historical traditions of either bodily or anatomical metaphors applied to urban space, and conversely, the rich history of spatial or urban metaphors employed to describe the human body, a particular relationship between pathology and place is revealed in discursive invocations of the *disorder of drugs* in the 'addicted city' (C. Smith 2010; Wild 2002).

As the preceding analysis of the abject body of the addict and the social body of the addicted city have revealed, the examination of real and metaphorical, physical and figurative, literal and metaphorical bodies of substance that has formed the primary focus of this chapter has allowed us to *flesh out* two of the three primary axes of the substance/space/subjectivity dynamic. Coming full circle, therefore, this analysis of bodies and substance has provided us with sufficient background and context to complete the missing factor regarding the mutually constituting, interdependent relationship between substance, space, and subjectivity. Variously—and almost interchangeably—referred to as 'controlled', 'foreign', or 'illicit', the notion of *substance* as it is invoked and employed in reference to drugs is both highly slippery and incredibly elusive.

Refocusing the preceding arguments concerning the construction of the abject body of the addict and the social body of the addicted city in relation to the substance/space/subjectivity dynamic, it is thus important to emphasize that the urban environment functions as both product and an inherent part of the media/machinery of substance. As matter and materiality, substance thus forms the physical basis of the spatial, and yet the stimulus that is produced by the medium of space and the physical/material/spatial environment is also importantly in and of itself drug-like, representing a tool, technology, or prosthesis that is invested with the power to animate, excite, incite, and inscribe both space and subjectivity: a substance-becoming-city-becoming-body-becoming-city-becoming-substance (Fitzgerald and Threadgold 2004, 410).

NOTES

1. The term '(late-)capitalism' is employed throughout this project to denote the changing stages of capitalist development. Resisting the deceptively seductive

allure of 'post-modernism', this work instead makes recourse to (late-)capitalist narcotic modernity to reflect the shifting socio-spatial permutations of (narco-) modernity, where 'late-(narco-)modernity' might describe the present era of 'high hyper-capitalism'.

2. As Hickman (2004, 1276–1277) and Buck-Morss (1992, 18) remind us, the hypodermic syringe was first developed in the late nineteenth century and used for subcutaneous injection starting in the 1860s; an enduring tool of medical practice and object of fetishistic fascination for intravenous drug users (IDU) throughout the last 150 years, this suggests that the syringe is a curious and perhaps centrally important artefact of urban modernity (Hickman 2004, 1277). Subcutaneous, hypodermic: a tool that facilitated the most direct, immediate, and efficient method for administering (or, rather, in[tro]jecting) 'controlled', 'il/licit' (synthesized) substances directly into the body's (circulatory) systems by bypassing the surface of the skin (that often overlooked and most delicate of human organs), thereby passing beneath the surface of the visible city.

3. For subsequent commentary concerning the borders and boundaries of the 'addicted body', see Helen Keane's (2002) *What's Wrong with Addiction?*

4. "Merchandise is the opiate of the people", read a piece of Situationist-inspired graffiti in Paris, May 1968 (cited in Cronin 2002).

5. For historical examples of such intervention-based art and activist practice, see Manuel Castells (1983), Jeff Ferrell (2001), Sandy McCreery (2000), Sadie Plant (1992), Simon Sadler (1998), and Christopher B. R. Smith (2004).

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3 Medi(t)ations on/of Controlled, Foreign, and Illicit Substance

INTRODUCTION: ON TECHNO-MEDIATION, CYBORG ONTOLOGY, PROSTHETIC SUBJECTIVITY, AND CREATURES OF THE SIMULACRUM

> In our culture, externally induced interior makeovers are the work of the devil. . . . If you are a 'drug user', you are no longer a subject but have become a thing, a hyphenated being.
>
> (Goodeve 1999, 234)

In popular discourse surrounding drugs, the notion of substance is invoked as something that can be 'used', 'abused', and 'misused', rendering it tool-like: an instrument that can be employed to perform and achieve certain ends. Extending from its implicit discursive framing as a tool, substance is thus subtly positioned as a form of technology. Symbolically, drugs represent a "technological extension of supernatural structures", an '*implicit structure*' considered to be merely "one technological extension among others" (Ronell 1992, 13). As both tool and technology, the incorporation of substance into the body situates drugs as a kind of prosthesis (Derrida 1993; Goodeve 1999; Ronell 1992): a synthetic extension of human form and consciousness, not dissimilar to an artificial limb or '*pace-maker*'.[1] Posed as an "externally induced interior make-over", however, this 'monstrous union' (Cocteau 2001) between substance and subject ignites mass-scale moral panic, where it is popularly perceived that "to discover your interiority through an external agent (book, film, drug, TV) is to merge your god-given self with some corruptible 'nonhuman' substance, transforming you from spirit to chemistry" (Goodeve 1999, 234). In this conception, '*addictive*' substances come to represent goods that have been invested with magical or supernatural powers through a process described as the *deification* of the commodity (Reith 2004, 286).

Beyond such popular fears, discoveries in neurochemistry over the last half-century suggest that the technological structure of drugs has an eerie resonance with neuro/chemical ('hard'-)wiring indigenous to the human

brain. Here, Canadian physician Dr. Gabor Mate refers to the discovery of 'endorphins' in the 1970s—considered to be the body's naturally occurring pain-killer—so named because the chemicals were ***endogenous*** to the body and had a similar structure to ***morphine*** (2008, 150). Ronell (1992, 29–33) playfully extends this point by suggesting that drugs are "animated by an outside already inside", where endorphins "relate internal secretion to the external chemical", thus indicating that "a structure is already in place, prior to the production of that materiality we call drugs". Similarly, as Keane suggests (2002, 30), "[t]he chemical nature of the brain means that in neurological terms, the boundaries between the inside and the outside and the natural and the artificial are unstable and depend on careful conceptual distinctions". Moreover, textbook diagrams, as Sadie Plant (1999, 186) asserts, tend to implicitly, visually present the human brain as a "discrete and fixed entity located in the skull", in spite of the fact that it "extends far beyond the organ of the head", thus making it difficult to accurately determine "where it begins and ends".

As both an internal object that pre-exists the body and an external agent, tool, or technology that threatens to taint and negate human form, the notion of '*foreign*' substance is encoded with another set of anxieties surrounding the incorporation of the abject (technological/techno-cultural) 'Other' (Said 1978). The consumption of substance in this sense produces an acute set of concerns centering on abjection, a phenomenon described by Sibley (1995, 18) as "that unattainable desire to expel that which threatens the boundary" between clean and dirty, public and private, us and them, self and other. The desire to expel or exclude the abject, as Sibley suggests, most commonly manifests in the erection and enforcement of social and spatial boundaries: distinctions, both in built form and social practice, between "ordered and disordered" (8). Endemic to the history of Western culture, these borders create an acute sense of anxiety because "such separations can never be fully achieved" (18). Compelled by a simultaneous sense of attraction and repulsion, fascination and horror, desire and disgust, the abject synthesis between the subject and object of drugs is thus encrypted as an inherent threat to the borders and boundaries of the body itself (Butler 1990; Douglas 1966; Keane 2002). Here, as Derrida (1993, 8) suggests, embodied incorporations of 'the other' that is foreign/controlled/illicit substance has an untold number of strategies at its disposal, up to and including the creation of new bodily orifices through which to enter.

At a more general level, however, the elusive, virtual substance of drugs must also importantly be understood as constituting both raw material and product of technological synthesis: naturally occurring elements and the refined, altered, and purified stuff of 'organic' nature itself. Here it is relevant to note that the popular distinction between 'soft' and 'hard' drugs essentially denotes the level and extent of chemical/technological processing. Here, 'soft' drugs are positioned as unrefined, naturally occurring substances (i.e., cannabis, psilocybin, or 'magic mushrooms'), and 'hard' drugs describe substances that have been refined, processed, and purified,

as in the case of cocaine synthesized from the leaves of the coca plant, or heroin refined from the raw sap of the opium poppy. Extending from this distinction, 'hard' drugs are also typically seen as those that produce dependence and withdrawal (resulting in the subject becoming [hard-]'*wired*'), while 'soft' drugs do not (Weinberg 2002, 3). According to this conception, substance is positioned as a medium of construction, constituting both the essential building blocks and end-point of all socio-spatial bodies: an entity that is inanimate, yet at the same time possessed with the power to animate.

In this generalized conception, substance comes to stand for matter itself as the base, elemental materiality of all socio-spatial bodies. Positioned as taboo tool or prosthetic technological extension that can be used to alter the subject's consciousness, *and* as elemental matter that forms the base constituent materiality of all socio-spatial bodies, the *consumption* of *controlled* substance becomes coded as a transgressive threat (Fraser and Moore 2008, 741). Extending from its framing as matter/materiality, substance therefore becomes embodied as media: as Goodeve remarked in the passage cited earlier, the 'external interlocutor' of drugs can take the form of a book or film as much as a 'controlled'/'illicit' substance (Goodeve 1999, 234). Following this theoretical trajectory, it must be acknowledged that the contemporary capitalist cityscape is a space composed of media, and moreover, that this inherently mediated landscape comes to form an essential, everyday part of the semiotic, linguistic, and emotional infrastructure of the subject's fundamentally open and exposed neuro/chemical circuitry. In its virtual manifestations, therefore, as both landscape and language, the media of drugs is equally implicated in the forces of consumption and control (spectacle and surveillance), where substance—the environmental stimuli of the (late-)capitalist addicted city of narcotic modernity—is both mapped on to and folded in to the innate neuro/chemical circuitry of the subject (Debord 1994; Deleuze 1995a, 1995b; Deleuze and Guattari 1987; Foucault 1977; Malins 2004).

Pre-existing, as it were, *hard-wired*, substance must therefore be understood as being *p/re/in-scribed* in both subjectivity and space, not only animating the interplay between the body of the addict and the social body of the city, but also subsequently bleeding out into the materialization of all hybrid, cyborg socio-spatial entities. A technology to accomplish both the modulation of the affect/environment dynamic and the base materiality of media/tion, Ronell suggests that substance (in the form of drugs) may thus name "a special mode of addiction", representing "the structure that is philosophically and metaphysically at the basis of our culture" (1992, 13).

PATHOLOGIES OF PLACE AND THE PLACE OF PATHOLOGY

Much like the act of *falling in love*, *falling sick* and being *stricken by disease* are phenomena that transpire in space, where, in the popular tradition of war metaphors, pathology *attacks* or *strikes* the body in place (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 4). Succumbing to sickness, however, seldom takes place in

'public' space: we stay home from work or school at the first signs of illness.[2] The quasi-public space of the workplace (and particularly the industrial factory) has, however, by contrast, been seen as a site of disease since the very dawn of industrialization, constituting a primary source of the multiplicity of (physical and emotional) maladies that have generally come to be referred to as '*diseases of civilization*' (Sontag 1977).

Some inherently modern diseases, it must be noted, do strike in direct response to the space of the public, that amorphous, collective commercial–political–social body that emerged with the ancient Greek *agora* as an integral blueprint to modern urban form (Mitchell 2003). Forming as a reaction to the socio-spatial conditions of the city, panic or anxiety attacks, for instance, assault the subject unexpectedly, where urban public space becomes the source of sensory or emotional *overload* due to the bombardment of overabundant stimuli. Similarly described in the terms of a dramatic, spontaneous, and violent event, asthma *attacks* are frequently catalyzed by poor air quality and other environmental conditions associated with the urban environment.

Most often, however, the space where disease is made manifest is the private, interior domestic space of the home. If, as the popular expressions suggest, '*home is where the heart is*' and '*a house is a home with a heart in it*', then the bourgeois domestic interior is the space where the body was permitted and conditioned to retreat (and was relegated and confined to) in instances of illness. Functioning not only as the place where one *took ill*, during the earliest period of (narco-)modernity, the home moreover became the space of treatment, recovery, and respite. As modern medicine continued to develop and home visits by physicians became less and less frequent, however, the site for diagnosis, treatment, and cure shifted from the domestic interior to specialized institutions: the hospital, the clinic, the sanatorium, the surgical 'theatre' (Foucault 1973).

With growing urbanization and redevelopment following the Second World War, bio-medical authorities and institutions soon predominantly came to be located in metropolitan centres.[3] From the earliest era of medical intervention, the place of disease and its cure has therefore both literally and metaphorically migrated to the privileged, intoxicating space of the (late-)capitalist addicted city of (narco-)modernity, that complex nervous system composed of relentless syntheses between space, substance, and subjectivity (Derrida 1993, 26; Mumford 1986; Taussig 1992; Wild 2002). Both the manifestation of disease and its accompanying specialized technologies of treatment, in other words, were increasingly to be found in the (increasingly *cyborg* [Gandy 2005; Swyngedouw, 1996]) cityscape, where in both the popular and professional imagination urban-specific maladies began to be depicted as constituting pathologies '*of place*', spawning a rich history of diseases attributable to various aspects of the (post-)industrial (late-)capitalist cityscape (Vidler 2001).

Citing agoraphobia and claustrophobia as 'psycho-pathologies of urban space', Vidler (2001, 25) writes that the widespread emergence of a diverse spectrum of pathologies accompanied the dawn of urban modernity, whose origins were directly ascribed to—and whose etiology was located in no

uncertain terms within—the rapidly shifting, exponentially expanding space of the urban metropolis. With its individual, atomized living spaces and vehicles for transit,[4] along with its corresponding spaces for the congregation of crowds and the attendant *congestion* of human traffic, the built form of the early (narco-)modern cityscape led to the simultaneous emergence of seemingly polar opposite pathologies. Claustrophobia, a fear of confined space, coupled with agoraphobia, the fear of public or open spaces, came to form binary diagnoses in a continuum of phobias or pathologies directly relating to the form and function of the urban in its ever-shifting destructive (re-)creation: the city as site of quiet containment versus the city as site of unconstrained crowding and jostling for space.[5]

Beyond new diseases attributed to built form, the broader environmental conditions of the (narco-)modern urban cityscape were additionally responsible for precipitating a plethora of metropolitan-specific maladies.[6] Here, overcrowding, lack of sanitation, and inadequate industrial safety standards led to emergent forms of diseases, injuries, and accidents originating in what we might—after Nietzsche's infamous reference to drug/culture (*Nietzsche 1974*, quoted in *Ronell 1992*, 3)—term the 'high'-industrial urban environment. In this context, the 'high'-industrial era corresponds to the interval between what will later be examined as the first two phases, stages, or socio-spatial permutations of our narcotic modernity, namely the city of *phantasmagoria* and *shock*, and the city of *spectacle* and *alienation*. Setting aside the frequent occurrence of workplace accidents,[7] the chemical synthesis involved in industrial production gave rise to a range of previously unseen environmental pollutants.[8]

Chemicals permeated almost every aspect of the industrial urban environment and coming in to contact with harmful substances was virtually unavoidable: inhaled through the smog of air pollution, consumed by tainted drinking water or contaminated food, or transmitted merely by touch, such substances got inside bodies in one way or another, and in sufficient quantities or with sustained subjection, the body succumbed.[9] As the dangers of environmental pollutants slowly came to be better understood, industry itself became implicated in the attribution of urban ills.[10] In 2010, for instance, television commercials airing in Canada and the U.S. advertised class action lawsuits for victims of workplace asbestos poisoning. Various forms of cancer, it has come to be widely acknowledged, have their origins in the chemical alteration of the physical environment, implicating the (late-) capitalist, (narco-)modern, (post-)industrial landscape in a diverse range of new 'lifestyle diseases', or—given the increasingly apparent sense/state/scape of interchangeability between the notions of *drug*, *dream*, and *disease*—what we might more aptly refer to as 'diseases of civilization' (Sontag 1977).

Above and beyond the spatial and environmental conditions of the urban, the threat of contagion can itself be seen as a phobia or pathology particular to the (late-)capitalist addicted city. Perhaps the most significant threat posed by the form and character of the urban cityscape, in other words, was that of an epidemic or mass infection: the uncontrolled, unconstrained spread of

pathology. Posited as a '*breeding ground*' for disease, the urban habitat was situated as a site for the rampant reproduction of illnesses from the plague to tuberculosis to the common 'flu'. A function of social density and the intimate proximity between strangers,[11] fear of pandemic contagion often resulted in the avoidance of public space, where the potential for contamination and transmission was unrestrained. Self-quarantining, in such cases, might manifest in acute fear of public space or public transit (i.e., *agora*-phobia), where the avoidance of germs and bacteria could not be controlled.[12]

As the spatial, environmental, and contagious conditions of the modern cityscape came to be associated with disease, in an interdependent, cross-mapping fashion, the social character of the metropolis then came to be implicated in the production of explicitly *social* pathologies. Constituting a subtle shift in the mutual projection of bodies and spaces,[13] social diseases such as vandalism, theft, addiction, anti-social behaviour, prostitution, and public drunkenness began to plague the mid-century public imagination, in turn serving to (re-)inscribe notions of infection and disorder in the physical urban landscape (C. Smith 2010; Takahashi 1997). Crime, vice, prostitution, homosexuality, and homelessness have all at one point in time been posited as inherently urban social ills (Sibley 1995; Wacquant 2008). Together with the figure of the drug/addict, these typologies of urban deviance contain an in-built, *p/re/in-scribed* relationship between pathology and place. Always already an urban problem or question, addiction has therefore been popularly perceived and positioned as a symptom of the (late-)capitalist cityscape throughout the successive stages of our narcotic modernity over the approximate course of the last century.

If the urban itself was often considered as the source of various socio-spatial diseases, leaving the city was therefore often posed as the antidote or 'cure'. During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, respite in rural environs was often prescribed for nervous illnesses (Sontag 1977, 72), symptomatic of the nervous system that was Lewis Mumford's early projection of the capitalist cityscape as a 'geographic plexus' (Mumford 1986). Depending on the nature of the malady, in other words, the cure could not be found in the urban home, but instead through prescribed recovery in a non-urban—that is rural, pastoral—environment. Here, rest and respite in the context of the countryside, the seashore, the mountains, or other decidedly non-urban spaces were in fact often prescribed for maladies thought to originate in urban form and urban life, where, in stark contrast to the urban, the qualities of peace and quiet, fresh air and pastoral surroundings were posed as antidotes for a variety of physical and psychological disorders (Sontag 1977, 71–77). Exploring the relationship between pathology and place in the case of social metaphors regarding tuberculosis (TB) and cancer, Susan Sontag (1977, 14–15) explains:

> The TB patient was thought to be helped, even cured, by a change in environment. There was a notion that TB was a wet disease, a disease of

humid and dark cities. . . . Doctors advised travel to high, dry places—the mountains, the desert. But no change of surroundings is thought to help the cancer patient. The fight is all inside one's own body. It may be, is increasingly thought to be, something in the environment that has caused the cancer. But once cancer is present, it cannot be reversed or diminished by a move to a better (that is, less carcinogenic) environment.

Indigenous to the (late-)capitalist addicted city (Wild 2002), addiction is an emblematic 'disease' of our narcotic modernity whose 'cure' has also historically been seen in the terms of transit and departure (Buck-Morss 1992; Derrida 1993; Hickman 2004; Porter 1992; Reith 2004; Ronell 1992). Perhaps the most infamous literary junky of nineteenth century urban modernity, nineteenth century French poet and critic Charles Baudelaire (1947a, 6–7) attempted to rid his opium habit by taking a voyage to India, only to jump ship mid-voyage and return home. Later literary junkies of urban (narco-)modernity such as William S. Burroughs, Burroughs and Ginsberg (1963), and Antonin Artaud (1976) similarly attempted to escape addiction through travel, although in these cases each believed the cure to addiction lay not only in physical passage to a 'foreign', elsewhere space, but also in the spiritual transcendence of mind and body promised by psychotropic, mind-altering substances.[14]

Positing the cure for addiction in 'primitive' cultures, such efforts can be read as reinforcing the understanding that addiction is a disease particular to the (urban) space of the (late-)capitalist 'free'-market (Alexander 2000, 2008). In a letter to Ginsberg describing his first experiences with the psychotropic drug 'yage' (today most commonly known as ayahuasca), Burroughs curiously explains that the vivid hallucinatory visions the drug induced were believed to materialize in the image of urban space, noting "you are supposed to see a city when you take yage" (Burroughs and Ginsberg 1963, 16). More recently, the subculture surrounding the African psychotropic drug *ibogaine*, which is believed to have the potential to 'interrupt' or in some sense 'reset' the neuro/chemical wiring or circuitry of the addicted brain, provides evidence of the enduring conviction in a 'cure' for addiction driven by 'mind-altering' psychedelic substances (Alper et al. 2008; De Rienzo and Beal 1997).

In contrast to voluntary acts of travel prescribed for physical and psychological ailments, it is relevant to note that throughout narcotic modernity, confinement or (institutionalized) exile were common responses to specific forms of pathology, including in many contexts addiction. Noting that confinement was employed for both TB and insanity, Sontag (1977, 34–35) writes sufferers were relegated to a 'sanatorium' or asylum, constituting "a duplicate world with special rules". In other instances, such as leprosy, however, sufferers were quarantined and cast out to form their own 'colony', creating an explicit spatial demarcation between the healthy and the infected. In the case of the 'dis-ease' of addiction, the historical development

of spaces and institutions of exile and confinement is varied and complex: the detox centre (virtually indistinguishable from either the prison or the asylum), the 'liquid handcuffs' of the methadone clinic (Fraser 2006; C. Smith 2011; Vigilant 2001), and the 'therapeutic community' or recovery house (Fairbanks 2009).

Simultaneous to its positioning as a pathology *of place*,[15] addiction is also often simultaneously portrayed as a pathology *out of place*, where the consumption of controlled substance threatens to taint, disrupt, and destabilize the 'everything-in-its-place' order of (late-)capitalist urbanism. Stark against the constructed image of the 'healthy' body of the city, the body of the addict therefore represents both indigenous *and* outcast, native *and* pariah. Cast as a product of place,[16] in other words, addiction is always already situated in the space of the city, where it is then re-cast as 'out of place' by threatening to infect the rigid inscriptions of control (and/as consumption) underlying the increasingly privatized, commercialized, militarized urban environment (Davis 1990; Low and Smith 2006; Mitchell 2003; Sibley 1995; N. Smith 1996; Zukin 1995). Perceived as a deviant/disorderly form of (illicit) consumption—particularly in *public* space—drug/addiction thereby represents a transgressive threat to the normative borders of socio-spatial bodies (Fitzgerald and Threadgold 2004; Keane 2002).

Sometimes the mere public presence of out of place bodies and behaviours is enough to inspire alarm, while in other cases, transgression of the public/private distinction is deemed the source of abject threat. Beneath this, the residual abject traces of drug/addict (i.e., discarded syringes), tainted by the implication of contact with infected bodily fluids (Fitzgerald and Threadgold 2004; C. Smith 2010). The danger posed by the *(out) of place* pathology of addiction thus stems from both its perception as a danger to the fragile sense of order implicit in urban planning and design, and also importantly from beliefs in the fundamentally transgressive and infectious nature of addicted subjects, thus giving rise to a palpable anxiety concerning the potential for cross-contamination between pathology and place. Owing to fears of socio-spatial contagion, the (out) of place sense/state/scape of abjection signaled by addiction represents a 'social disease' that is in turn believed to give rise to urban blight and decay. Constituting a pathology simultaneously *p/re/in-scribed* by the forces of consumption and control characteristic of the (late-)capitalist cityscape, and one that is perceived as alien or out of place in 'transitional' urban spaces that are being re-imagined and re-created[17] as sites of safe/supervised consumption for tourists and international investment capital, addiction thus embodies a transgressive threat not only to the projection of urban order that sustains the image of the healthy city, but also to the normative boundaries of socio-spatial bodies through implicit and explicit invocations of 'dis/order' (Fraser and Moore 2008; C. Smith 2010).

'ARTIFICIAL PARADISE': THE MIGRATION AND SOCIO-SPATIAL REGULATION OF FOREIGN SUBSTANCE IN THE ADDICTED CITY

In order to concretely re-map the place of drug/addiction in the city, we must first situate 'controlled', '*foreign*' substance in its context of origination: an inherently Other, elsewhere space. The substances of control that mediate our narcotic experience of the (late-/narco-)capitalist urban cityscape, in other words, always already originate in the elsewhere space *of* the 'Other' (Lingis 1994; Said 1978). Although the discursive shift from *illicit* to *controlled* substance renders trans(ap)parent the inherent complexity of the substance/space/subjectivity inter-/intra-dynamic, the antecedent to these terms—in the form of *foreign* substance—serves to locate both the object and subject of drug/addiction as *that-which-is-not-domestic/endogenous*. Revealing the curious transitory roots/routes of transgressive Other-mediated incorporations (Clifford 1997), the notion of 'foreign substance' thus provokes new questions surrounding borders, boundaries, and socio-spatial bodies. Providing insights into the socio-spatial character of early-(narco-)modern 'consumer capitalism', analysis of the foreign-ness of controlled substances (drugs) reveals a rigidly stratifying, obsessively pathologizing culture that is caught up in the reductionist logic of binary opposition: 'medicine' and 'drug', 'clean' and 'dirty', 'straight' and 'crooked', legal and illicit, recovery and relapse, positioning creation and destruction as the forces underlying the socio-spatial permutations of narcotic modernity. Documented and diagnosed as an early case of neuro/chemical *graphomania*,[18] these shifts in the historical progression of the addicted city can therefore be seen through the prism of pandemic p/re/in-scription, constituting a series of socio-spatial palimpsests bearing the trace marks of the 'highs and lows', 'peaks and valleys', 'ups and downs', booms and busts, soarings and crashings, manias and depressions, stimulants and tranquilizers that fundamentally characterize each successive manifestation of the (late-)capitalist cityscape of our [plural] (narco-)modernities (Appadurai 1996; Berman 1982).

Growing out of the cleverly artificially constructed and instrumentally manipulative fiction of 'organicism',[19] in its most literal reading the consumption of *foreign* substance denotes an incorporation of the Other: the ingestion or in(tro)jection of an unnatural, external agent.[20] Demarcating lines between sacred and profane forms of human sustenance—or, in other words, that which nourishes the body versus that which destroys the spirit/soul/will—the associations attending the term *foreign* substance draws in a diverse range of debates surrounding the bio-politics of human consumption and the social, political, and economic dimensions of (late-)capitalist (post-)industrial (narco-)modernity.[21] Beyond denoting the incorporation of an inherently un-natural object (drugs), the foreign-ness of *foreign* substance is a part of the larger Other-izing machinery of (narco-)modernity, functioning

to locate and fix the etiology of drug/addiction in the socio-spatial body/ bodies of the *foreign(er)* or 'outsider'. Triggering ancillary anxiety attacks surrounding socio-spatial borders at every imaginable scale (from the city to the state, civil to global war), the implicit threat posed by foreign substance thus signals corresponding waves of *arresting* ideological and repressive, discursive, and physical force/fortification.[22]

In the most secret, shameful moments in (narco-)modernity's shadowy and shady history,[23] the foreign/er of substance is positioned as 'exotic': a subject/object of desire amounting to equal parts cultural curiosity and erotic fantasy. Setting aside such closeted incarnations of the Other, invoked in terms that eerily mirror bio-medical depictions of *aggressive* pathogens *invading* socio-spatial bodies,[24] in its more frequent deployments the menacing substance of foreign-ness is that of the (utterly *Other*) 'foreign aggressor' or 'foreign invader' (Derrida 1993, 7; Lingis 1994). Although its roots/ routes lie in the prototypically racist Western tradition of Orientalism,[25] the foreign Other embodying the threat of foreign substances has shifted and changed throughout (narco-)modernity with the waxing and waning of different (local, national, and global) moral panics surrounding the space, subject, and substance of drug/addiction.[26]

If the production of foreign substance is posited (and often quite literally *imagined*[27]) as an inherently elsewhere space, and its producer the shifting racialized Other so central to the self-definition of Western culture, constructions of the foreign 'invader'/'aggressor' are therefore integral to portrayals of (im)migration: the foreign/er as smuggler, 'mule', carrier, and thus agent of contamination. And thus we arrive at the first formal migration of drugs into the (late-/narco-)capitalist cityscape, signalling a domestic threat with strangely familiar *roots* and intimately foreign *routes*.[28] Following the arrival of foreign substance, via foreign subjects, on domestic shores, the second (internal) migration of drugs begins, effectively re-framing the question of 'foreign substance' in the terms of 'control'.[29] Its intimacy with the Other, as it were, *p/re/in-scribed*, the foreign-ness of the object/subject of drugs does not dissipate post-invasion, but is instead subsumed as yet another instrument of control. Extending from representations of the racialized Other as global/ized 'narco-trafficker', we find demonized depictions of the Other as *dealer*, *user*, and *victim*.[30] In what we might think of as a kind of pilgrimage home, however, this rural-to-urban migration is a feedback loop: if all routes to and from the question of foreign substance ultimately lead back to the urban landscape of our narcotic modernity, epidemic manifestations of drug/addiction are fundamentally rooted in representations of the addicted city; posited as an inherently urban affliction, therefore, instances of drug/ addiction that spontaneously appear in rural areas are always already posed as having im/migrated or been imported from the city.[31]

Prior to getting our hands dirty by initiating the formal analytical excavation of narcotic modernity and sifting through the strata of its intoxicating[32] (post-)industrial, (post-)globalized, (late-)capitalist permutations,

it is crucial to further contextualize what Charles Baudelaire termed the '*artificial paradise*' of drug/addiction at the level of the built form, policy, and socio-spatial regulation (Baudelaire 1996).[33] Although an exhaustive historical analysis of the urban governance of drug/addiction is outside the scope of this project, attention to several key examples yields enormous insight into the array of in/formal socio-spatial strategies designed to designate and regulate 'disordered/disorderly consumption' at various critical spatio-temporal coordinates in the developmental contortions of (narco-)modernity. Constituting a bit-piece critical/creative genealogy (Benjamin 1999a; Buck-Morss 1989; K. Stewart 2007; S. Stewart 1993) composed of freeze-frames, still-life snap-shots, and found objects (i.e., lost or discarded junk, the stuff of fetish and refuse), this archaeological examination is therefore fashioned through a series of moments: stolen glimpses and fleeting glances into the dream-state/drug-scape of urban intoxication across varying guises of the addicted city.

The liminal zone of 'red lights' provides the first and perhaps most obvious point of entry[34] into the socio-spatial regulation of vice and disorder throughout the (late-/narco-)capitalist addicted city.[35] Here it bears noting that both Walter Benjamin and Sigmund Freud wrote of their disorienting experiences becoming lost in the red light 'districts' of major European capitals[36] (Benjamin 1999b; Freud 2003). While Amsterdam's red light district is perhaps the only widely known and formally institutionalized space of its kind in the Western world that has survived into the twenty-first century,[37] the in/formal development of such areas was widespread across Europe during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Mediating the intoxicating, vice-fuelled realms of representation and lived reality,[38] the entrenched (read: socio-spatially inscribed) European tradition of red light districts therefore forms an historical template for more subtle manifestations of (late-)capitalist control, regulation, and designation—particularly surrounding the legalized (i.e., sanctioned and 'supervised', designated and regulated) consumption of socially acceptable—yet still carefully *controlled*—substances such as alcohol. The formally zoned *Entertainment District* in Toronto, Canada provides a telling case in point.

"The ale-house is the key to every town", wrote Walter Benjamin in his Surrealist-inspired essay "One Way Street": "to know where German beer can be drunk is geography and ethnology enough", as the cartography of bars "unrolls the nocturnal map of the city" (1996, 485). Licensed to accommodate almost 100,000 drinking patrons in less than one square kilometre, Toronto's *Entertainment District* is the most densely concentrated club/bar/entertainment district anywhere in North America. Consequentially, the *District* is governed by separate policies and regulations (i.e., specific municipal ordinances and zoning by-laws), increased police patrols, and closed circuit television (CCTV) surveillance (Balkissoon 2007, 46–47). The formal act of *designation* therefore sets off a diverse spectrum of multiple, simultaneous forms of *regulation*, the socio-spatial delineation of the

'district' triggering corresponding forces of containment, in both policy and the presence of 'law and order' authorities, discourse, and grassroots community policing (Fischer and Poland 1998). The act of naming such a space through the literal and metaphorical demarcation of socio-spatial borders, in other words, *encloses* 'vice' as a hyper-regulated space of (dis/ordered) consumption (pre-)inscribed by the enactment of control.

CONCLUSION: MEDI(T)ATION AND THE MIGRATION OF CONTROLLED SUBSTANCE

Although in/formal socio-spatial inscriptions of deviant consumption have increasingly moved towards more repressive forms of control and containment throughout urban (narcotic) modernity, the stuff of literature and science/fiction has often portrayed disordered, vice-littered landscapes in distinctly *utopian* terms.[39] Samuel R. Delaney's *Triton: An Ambiguous Heterotopia*, for instance, describes a speculative future where the cities of each satellite planet contain an 'unlicensed sector': "a city sector where no law officially held . . . [that] fulfilled a complex range of functions in the cities' psychological, political and economic ecology" (1976, 9). Such spaces were established, Delaney wrote, because "most cities develop, of necessity, such a neighbourhood anyway" (9). As the novel (science/)fictionally asserts, crime statistics in the unlicensed sector were lower than the surrounding city with its official system of 'law and order', thus suggesting the unlicensed sector was organically self-governed and self-regulating.[40] Inhabited by carnivalesque performers,[41] misshapen outcasts, and malformed criminal deviants[42] (who, the book implied, conducted much of their il/licit work in the hyper-regulated space of the formal city), the unlicensed sector was also home to a significant number of normative bodies who were dependent on the formal city for employment, yet curiously drawn to the unlicensed sector's landscape of disorder.

In spite of its distinct socio-spatial separation *as* a 'sector', the absence of formal, state-mediated machinery of control in Delaney's unlicensed sector embodied an almost utopian sense of self-regulating chaos closely conforming to Richard Sennett's (1970) '*uses of disorder*', a distinctly desirable sense/state/scape guided by an organic, collectively derived set of implicit common (autonomist, affinity based, non-hierarchical, and anti-authoritarian) principles. Without the formal machinery of ideological or repressive control (Althusser 1971), as Delaney's '*ambiguous heterotopia*' radically implies,[43] such communities simply function on their own, 'mutual aid' being a common tenet in almost all leftist—particularly anarchist-driven—theory, philosophy, and practice.[44]

In a similarly speculative yet even more theoretical realm, the radical political imagination represents an additional force responsible for animating and exciting the (socio-political) space of vice, disorder, and deviance across the amorphous, restless, relentlessly shifting urban landscape of

(late-)capitalist (narco-)modernity. Although this pre-excavation analytical exercise is not sufficient to encompass a nuanced interrogation, it is relevant to point out that the philosophical trajectory of anarchist thought is fundamentally premised on notions of self-governance, the abolition of hierarchy, anti-authoritarianism, and *direct action*, a notion that Graeber has defined as a "rejection of politics which appeals to governments to modify their behaviour, in favor of physical intervention against state power in a form that prefigures an alternative" (2002, 62). Contingent on the complete destruction of any and all (imposed, external) forms of rule or control, the anarchist political project instead promotes the voluntary formation of collectives and 'intentional communities' based on mutual support, collective action, and consensus decision-making.

Representing a crucially influential political–poetic expression of anarchist political philosophy, the creative–destructive reinventions that compose the history of the twentieth-century European avant-garde contain an equally vivid and central emphasis on the space of disorder in the capitalist cityscape, ruthlessly redeveloped and hyper-regulated with each new phase of our narcotic modernity. From *Futurism*, *Dada*, and *Surrealism* to *CoBrA*, the *Letterists*, and the *Situationist International*, therefore, the legacy of avant-garde movements provide a rich and productive site of archaeological exploration and subject of analysis. Roughly corresponding to (narco-)modernity's shifting socio-spatial guises, remapping the flourishing, implosion, and dissipation of these movements thus enables the act of *unearthing* that signals the necessarily clumsy and haphazard theoretical/analytical excavation of the successive phases of the addicted city (as drug/dream/disease) and their accompanying hallucinatory sense/state/scapes of intoxication. This analysis of successive avant-garde movements and their respective critiques of the (post-)industrial, (late-)capitalist cityscape of (narco-)modernity will form a key element in the textual exploration of the various phases and stages of our narcotic modernity in the following sections of this book.

NOTES

1. Relevant to later discussions, Goodeve (1999, 254) suggests that Prozac® represents "the synecdoche for a range of techno-self-actualizing transformations".
2. (and are, in fact, often advised—sometimes even mandated and quarantined—to stay home by bosses, co-workers, or teachers out of fear of contagion; after all, nothing makes capitalism more anxious [read: *sick with worry*] than that which threatens to disrupt the able-bodied-ness of its workforce, particularly at the scale of an *epidemic*)
3. (and more specifically the developing prosthetic technologies of medical science [***Intra-Text*: See Chapter 1, Note #7—*Freeze-frame, still-life, snap-shot #1*—re: surgical 'theatre'**])
4. (e.g., apartments, condominiums, row/town-houses, etc., all with their own physical and figurative 'closets', as well as literal closets, elevators, automobiles, etc.)

5. ***Freeze-frame, still-life, snap-shot #2:*** Etymologically, while agoraphobia stems from the ancient Greek term '*agora*'—the original template for urban 'public' space, constituting both a marketplace and a staging ground for politics, based on exclusionary definitions of who was and was not defined as constituting part of the public (Mitchell 2003)—claustrophobia is derived from the latin '*claustrum*', meaning lock or bolt. Phobias or clinical fears, therefore, of either being confined, locked, or incarcerated in the intimate (private, interior, en/closed) spatial manifestations of the cyborg city, or of becoming lost and disoriented, unmoored and set adrift in the unpredictable (public, exterior, open) spaces of the machine-like metropolis. Claustrophobia and agoraphobia can therefore be seen as co-existing or rather co-occurring, concurrent, dual diagnosis disorders (not necessarily in the same subject at the same time in the same space) inhabiting the furthest extremes of alienation: loneliness and overcrowding, losing one's mind by being 'cooped up', or confusing one's sense of self or control (and consequent sense of self-control, a notion intrinsically related to notions of 'containment') in the mass; in the first case, a pathological fear of being confined to the self, in the second, an acute anxiety of losing one's self/identity in the amorphous collective of the crowd.

6. In this context it is perhaps worth noting that the French term for addiction is '*toxicomanie*'.

7. (the often gory and gruesome incidence of bodies being mangled, amputated, or swallowed whole by the technological machinery of industrial production)

8. (i.e., extracting, processing, and manufacturing the technology/materiality/media of *substance*, transforming base elements into things, commodities to be bought and sold)

9. Here, exposure to industrial chemicals (including lead, asbestos, and radiation, among other hazardous products of industrial production and environmental alteration) might come about through a leak or accidental spill, as much as from cumulative everyday exposure to substances whose effects on the body (and more specifically the nervous system) were only just beginning to be understood.

10. ***Freeze-frame, still-life, snap-shot #3:*** The physiological and psychological effects of the machinery of the body being inserted or incorporated into the machinery of industrial production represents another instance of pathology directly attributable to the conditions of the industrial urban environment. In the assembly line of the factory, the body literally became a part or prosthetic extension of industrial technology, trained and inscribed through the repetition and seriality of mass production. In order to avoid accident or injury, one was thus required to 'fit in' to the machinery of the assembly line. Forcing the body to endure repetitive, unaccustomed movements for prolonged periods of time thus resulted in a host of diseases that have collectively come to be known as *repetitive strain injuries*. Becoming commonplace in the mid-twentieth century, one manifestation of repetitive strain injury—carpal tunnel syndrome—has reached epidemic proportions at the turn of the twenty-first century with the ubiquitous proliferation of the computer keyboard and hand-held electronic communication devices. The rapid emergence of repetitive strain injuries and other forms of workplace injury therefore led to the corresponding development of 'ergonomics', a science devoted to adjusting and adapting the interaction between the body and the machinery of production in an effort to increase and optimize both workplace health/well-being and productivity.

11. (situating the city as site of the transitory im/migration of foreign-ness)

12. ***Freeze-frame, still-life, snap-shot #4:*** In the contemporary cityscape, where the fear of germs (*mysophobia*) has led to the widespread dependence on hand

sanitizers (thus creating a whole legion of hand sanitizer junkies), the mere threat of contagion inherent in the social density and spatial proximity of the urban has therefore solidified or *concretized* as a disease/pathology in the form of *phobia*. Such fears of contagion inherent to the urban have therefore correspondingly given rise to various forms of social and cultural etiquette regarding illness, disease, and infection in the public realm, both in terms of being sick in public and respectfully acknowledging the larger public's fear of infection. Subway advertisements in the Toronto public transit system, for example, advocate prescribed protocols for safely coughing and sneezing (see: http://www.toronto.ca/health/sleeve_sneeze.htm, consulted Sept. 26, 2010), while throughout Southeast Asia the public use of medical facemasks among those suffering from a cold or flu is widespread. From the plague to SARS and the H1N1 virus, therefore, the inherent threat of contagion and mass epidemic infection has been historically associated with the urban, giving rise to a whole host of emergency preparedness measures inscribed in the social and spatial dimensions of the city, from the scale of the individual household to the city to the nation-state.

13. (i.e., permutations of the body-becoming-city-becoming-body [Fitzgerald and Threadgold 2004])

14. See Artaud's (1976) *The Peyote Dance*, Burroughs's (1985) *Queer*, and the published correspondence between Burroughs and Ginsberg (1963) entitled *The Yage Letters*.

15. (a disease spawned by the addicted city of urban modernity; see Buck-Morss 1992)

16. (bastard child of the phantasmagoric landscape of late-capitalist urban shock [Buck-Morss 1992])

17. (read: 'revitalized' and 'regenerated', both of which constitute perhaps the most common euphemistic organic/anatomical metaphors for gentrification and urban redevelopment)

18. A defined psychiatric diagnosis, *graphomania* refers to the obsessive impulse to write or record. Considering the etymology of *p/re/in-scription* addressed in the previous chapter, in tandem with the notion of the (narcotic, urban, socio-spatial) palimpsest, graphomania represents a specifically modern disorder or affliction that bears particular relevance to our excavation of the socio-spatial permutations of narcotic modernity.

19. (a logic that presupposes the inherent, pre-existing 'natural/organic-ness' of bodies [Derrida 1993; Keane 2002], and their fuel [i.e., food])

20. (and hence *in*organic, chemical, synthetic, and *prosthetic*; from this perspective, as Goodeve [1999, 234] asserts, drugs represent an "exterior interlocutor" that serves to facilitate "externally induced interior makeovers")

21. Foreign substance thus implicitly encompasses concerns regarding imported or domestic production and consumption (e.g., 'buy local', 'buy American', the '100 mile diet'), naturopathy, and the cult of the corporate pharmacopia ('I'm on a 5-day ____ fast/cleanse', 'I'm on __[*Wellbutrin*]____', 'I'm on both'), processed food, and the new organic-mania ('100% real beef', 'chemical-free, additive-free'), and various forms of 'raw food' diets.

22. (in other words, a redeployment of re-en*force*ment[s])

23. Stemming from the centrality of visual metaphors illuminating the en*light*enment-era, here the terms 'shady' or 'shadowy' implicitly equate a lack of light/illumination with suspicion (Jay 1993, 381–434).

24. (a [foreign] agent of infection literally attacking the embodied subject of disease)

25. (and more specifically in racist representations of the 'Orient/al' Other of later, 'far-Eastern' Western imagination [Said 1978])

26. Here, every imaginable scale of other-ness has been implicated, mobilizing all conceivable forms of socio-spatial bodies: from the targeting of national governments to specific racial/ethnic/tribal groups, and from renegade narco-factions, narco-states, and their narco-armies to the highly mobile, techno-logically 'wired' bodies inhabiting the lowest (i.e., *street-level*) strata of the post-globalization drug economy: corner boys, touts, look-outs, and other quasi-free-lance contract hustlers of the culture of narcotic modernity. Such discourse points to uncanny parallels between the U.S.-led '*war on drugs*' and '*war on terror*', which arguably constitute different manifestations of the same underlying long-term project of Other-izing; here, in order to reinforce and reaffirm its own sense of national self identity, America has simply reinvented the 'enemy' in a new guise (Craig 2004). The Other of the *war on drugs* and the Other of the *war on terror* have, however, also often been conflated throughout this shift, as the primary countries involved in the war on terror also represent some of the largest international narcotics producers, namely in the case of Afghanistan, where opium cultivation and heroin refinement have actually increased since the start of the U.S.-led war following the events of September 11, 2001.
27. Primarily affecting rural and small town communities, the domestic produc-tion of crystal methamphetamine (often referred to in street discourse as 'ice', 'crank', or 'jib') in the United States poses a challenge to the notion of drugs as originating in a foreign, elsewhere space (Reding 2009).
28. Resisting every attempt at containment, the Other of the smuggler (that is, the prosthetic entity of the secreted, smuggled Other) has always learned ways to overcome and transgress boundaries—in other words, to penetrate, transcend, circumnavigate, and otherwise fuck with borders.
29. (always already *racially* pre-inscribed and scripted)
30. (i.e., importer/exporter, producer, pusher, slave, and 'mule' or vehicle of the popularly understood 'disease' of drug/addiction following its arrival and sub-sequent incorporation into the domestic social body of the addicted city)
31. Given the traditional rural-to-urban migratory path of foreign(/controlled/ illicit) substance, it is relevant to briefly reference Charlie Smith's (2000, 13) poem "Heroin" as a relevant counter-example; here, the first lines of Smith's thinly disguised autobiographical narrative allude to being one of the only '*rural junkies*' across the U.S.
32. (read: *hallucination-inducing* [Brodie and Redfield 2002])
33. In an almost celebratory coming home ceremony, with its arrival in the urban, the (foreign = chemical) substance of drugs is explicitly transformed back into a question regarding the dynamic relationship between consumption and con-trol. In this sense, if the act of consuming illicit/controlled/*foreign* substance is always already mediated by (and situated in the intersecting socio-spatial bod-ies that constitute) urban space, it is then relevant to critically consider how the capitalist cityscape has engaged in an illustrative range of (discursive, architec-tural, ideological, and repressive) consumption/control interventions centring on the in/formal socio-spatial designation and regulation of zones of 'vice' and other typically 'out of place' forms of deviance/disorder (Cresswell, 1996).
34. (or perhaps more appropriately, orifice of Other-ingestion [Derrida 1993])
35. Emanating from (narco-)modernity's quintessential typologies of deviance (the prostitute, the pervert, the paedophile), perverse, illicit (i.e., paedophilic), adulterous, or otherwise 'abnormal' forms of sexual desire and expression pro-vide the incarnate definition of 'vice' as a sin-ful and un-holy loss of (sexual) self-control. Invoking a subject possessed by an all-consuming, will-destroying desire for the body to do or consume (i.e., act/perform or ingest/integrate) *evil*, in the same breath the term 'vice' equates substance as akin to consuming

and uniting with other abject bodies. Together with its corollary *controlled substance*, vice as it manifests in the form of sex/uality is thus reduced to an issue of deviant (i.e., immoral) or disorderly (i.e., transgressive) consumption, where the (often predatory, always pathologized) fulfilment of illicit sexual desire is equally stigmatized both in representation (e.g., as in the case of the consumption of pornography) and in lived reality (e.g., escort services, prostitution, working girls, 'street walkers', etc.)

36. Figures both central to the documentation and analysis of the hallucination at the heart of early narcotic modernity, Benjamin (2006) wrote extensively about his experiences with hashish and other drugs, and Freud (1974) established his early career with published accounts of his experiments administering the newly synthesized substance cocaine to his friends, patients, and himself.

37. The existence of Bangkok's *Pat Pong* district, a notorious global sex tourism destination since the Vietnam War era, provides evidence to suggest that in the contemporary phase of our narcotic modernity, red light districts have been essentially outsourced to cheaper (and more 'exotic') locales in the 'developing'/'under-developed' world.

38. (i.e., literature and the space of science/fiction versus dreamscapes of the drug-state)

39. See Delaney 1976; Gibson 1984, Leguin 1974; also see Phillip K. Dick's (1977) novel entitled *A Scanner Darkly* for speculative science/fiction commentary concerning drug/addiction, fractal interiorities of self-identity, and the hallucinatory border between 'reality' and 'representation'.

40. Here, Delaney's (1976) notion of the *unlicensed sector* can be seen as an earlier—and, importantly, institutionalized—incarnation of what later came to be termed a kind of *temporary autonomous zone*, however compromised by its fixity and containment (Bey 1985).

41. As Delaney (1976, 21) writes, in order to enhance the audience's experience and (implied active, engaged, and participatory) role in their intervention-based public performance, the carnivalesque theatre troop employed the use of a mild, sensory-heightening, psychedelic transdermally absorbed substance scattered over the assembled crowd, thus allowing the viewers "better access to the aesthetic parameters".

42. Positing the consumption of regulated disorder as a space of unrestrained liberation, freedom, and cyborg autonomy, speculative literary and science fiction representations therefore often depict landscapes of vice and disorder as sites the dejected and excluded, abject and anomalous, marginalized and excluded, exiled and cast out 'creatures of the simulacrum' (Ronell 1992, 57) can call 'home'.

43. An explicit reference to Foucault's (1970, 1997) notion of the *'heterotopia'*, the subtitle of Delaney's *Triton: An Ambiguous Heterotopia* also inter-textually conjures science fiction writer Ursula K. LeGuin's (1974) novel *The Dispossessed: An Ambiguous Utopia*.

44. Not unlike the history of Europe's red-light districts, the factors that led to the founding and (quasi-)institutionalization of Delaney's unlicensed sector remain murky and ambiguous: are such sites institutionally mediated and hence socio-spatially *inscribed*, designated, and regulated (contained and monitored)? As in the case of Amsterdam's infamous cannabis 'coffee shops', are they rather merely tolerated in an un/official gesture of 'looking the other way'? Or are such sites simply founded through neglect and abandonment by dominant society, representing the marginal/ized collection point for the cumulative cast of cast-out (i.e., *outcast*) socio-spatial bodies of narcotic modernity (Wacquant 2008)?

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Part II

Dope/Sick

Bootstraps, Brain Diseases, and the Depathologization of Drug Dependence

4 Pathology (out) of Place and the Disorder of Drugs

> Junk is the ideal product . . . a dopefiend is a man in total need of dope. . . . In the words of total need: *"Wouldn't you?"* Yes you would. . . . Dope fiends are sick people who cannot act other than they do. A rabid dog cannot chose but bite.
>
> (Burroughs 1987, xxxvi–xxxvii)

INTRODUCTION: DOPE/SICK, OR, SWALLOWING THE PATHOLOGY PARADIGM

In order to facilitate the playful and experimental theoretical analysis underpinning the arguments throughout this book, it is necessary to first temporarily accept, 'buy into', or in other words, '*swallow*' the pathology paradigm or bio-medical 'brain disease' model for researching and treating, studying and curing the multiplicity of forces that are popularly and professionally subsumed under the notion of 'addiction'. By allowing ourselves for a moment to think—if only somewhat sceptically and hesitantly—of addiction as disease, then perhaps it is not so far fetched to suggest that addiction names a pathology that is unique and particular to the (late-)capitalist urban landscape (Buck-Morss 1992; Hickman 2004). Through an investigation of consumer capitalism and control societies (Debord 1994; Deleuze 1995b), taking on the project of *depathologizing* drug dependence, this interrogation of pathology and place is therefore complemented in the following chapter, positing addiction as a form of *p/re/in-scription*.

Maybe it's your first time, and maybe the whole prospect of swallowing a substance simply for the sake of experimentation fills you with a sense of danger and nervous excitement: first nerves, then their excitation, synapse (Taussig 1992). Swallowing the pathology paradigm just to see what might happen, perhaps your experimentalist motives really are merely exploratory: to try it out for yourself. Hovering above this sense of nervous excitement lies a palpable type of primitive curiosity at the liberating possibilities of *expanding*, or altogether escaping from, the confines of conventional

consciousness; a hope that maybe the notion of pathology will help us see and understand things differently.[1]

Representing synthesis between subject (the reader) and substance (the brain disease model), it is the nature of experimentation to remain optimistic that this act of ingestion might result in transcendence, subtly implicating the dimension of space in the anticipated alteration of neuro/chemical circuitry, and thus perception itself. Rest assured, however, that the effects of swallowing, *dropping*, or *dosing* the pathology paradigm will be temporary. Regardless of whatever previous drug/culture experience(s) you may or may not have in conducting similar exercises in self-experimentation, and regardless of your present sense/state/scape of anxiety or excitement,[2] it is important to try to suspend scepticism and retain a sense of playfulness throughout. Like most descriptions of psychedelic experience, swallowing this passage/chapter might be likened to a voyage, or more popularly a 'trip': a vehicle of passage that promises to transport us elsewhere via the exploratory framework of pathology (Leary 1964; Sontag 1977).[3] Although this metaphorical act of consumption will inevitably be accompanied by a 'come down' or 'crash', it will not result in a sense of withdrawal per se: this single measured dose won't be enough for us to get *wired*,[4] and we won't be on it long enough to allow the brain to become *'scrambled'* or *'fried'* through crossed *neuro/chemical* wires or electrical fires.[5]

However experimental the act of ingestion and however intoxicating the ideological force of the pathology paradigm, it may seem counterintuitive to consider the consumption of disease *as* a drug.[6] As the following sections reveal, however, the substance of the bio-medical model is filled with curiously intoxicating yet irreconcilable conflicts and tensions. The sub-cultural tropes surrounding the dependence on opiates such as heroin provides a relevant point of departure towards unpacking the symbolic relationships between notions of *drug* and *disease*,[7] where '*dope sick*' describes the excruciating physiological symptoms accompanying withdrawal (Bourgois and Shonberg 2009). In the 'disease' of heroin addiction, therefore, notions of 'sickness' and 'health' are inverted in the process of becoming 'wired' (i.e., physiologically dependent), where 'dope sick' denotes the withdrawal state,[8] and 'getting off sick' means returning to the 'well' self by means of substance.[9]

Whereas *dope sick* suggests that the addicted subject's health is contingent upon the continual consumption of controlled substance, the pathology paradigm posits addiction as originating in the static interface between subject and substance. According to this reading, addiction can be 'cured' only through substitution[10] or ritual cleansing.[11] A decidedly different kind of *dope/sick*, the disease model thus situates addiction as a disease rooted in the subject's innate neuro/chemistry, simultaneously pre-existing and catalyzed by the consumption of substance (Mate 2008; Ronell 1992).

Almost like a latent disease laying dormant in the body, the pathology paradigm has been present since the very beginning, a spectre hovering at the

margins of our narcotic modernity, simultaneously taking the shape-shifting forms of *dream*, *drug*, and *disease*, haunting all earlier interpretations. In an effort to contextualize and re-map the emergence of the brain disease model, this chapter therefore begins by historically tracing the various addiction frameworks underlying the socio-spatial permutations of narcotic modernity. Shifting from moral to criminological to bio-medical models, this section starts from the initial diagnosis of addiction,[12] charting the evolution of popular and professional paradigms up to the present day 'addicted city' (Wild 2002). Illustrating the enduring ideological persistence of earlier models with each successive paradigm shift, this analysis interrogates each broad historical reconceptualization of addiction, concluding with a critical, deconstructive analysis of the brain disease model and the rise of neoliberal public health policy contemporaneous with the institutionalization—and attendant de-politicization—of harm reduction philosophy and practice.

After tracing the historical development of addiction frameworks, the chapter turns to critically probe the complex multiplicity of existing relationships between pathology and place. Starting with a consideration of the *place of pathology*, this section explores the myriad intersections between pathology, the body, and urban space, suggesting that the intoxication inherent to the (late-)capitalist, (narco-)modern cityscape represents both producer and product, cause and cure of disease (and/as *drug/dream*).

Following this analysis, the chapter locates addiction as a *pathology (out) of place*, a phenomenon that is both 'of place' (that is, the narcotic urban landscape of capitalist modernity), and simultaneously perceived as 'out of place' in relation to the normative socio-spatial order of the contemporary capitalist cityscape. As *pathology (out) of place*, addiction is thus situated as both endemic to the urban and inherently transgressive of the normative borders of all socio-spatial bodies. The notion of *pathology (out) of place*, in other words, recasts the abject body of the addict as an indigenous pariah or native outcast to the social body of the addicted city—the cyborg socio-spatial urban landscape of narcotic modernity (Derrida 1993; Lefebvre 1991; Soja 1989).

Opposition to drug/addiction, as the final section of this chapter argues, is fundamentally rooted in notions of 'dis/order', where projections of bodies and behaviours 'out of place' articulate the perceived socio-spatial 'disorder of drugs' (Cresswell 1996; Fraser and Moore 2008; C. Smith 2010). Examined in relation to the broader *Not-In-My-Back-Yard* or *NIMBY* response to controversial facility siting (Dear 1992; Takahashi 1997; Takahashi and Dear 1997), as well as more general processes of marginalization and exclusion in urban space (Davis 1990; Mitchell 2003; Sibley 1995), this section suggests that the perceived *disorder of drugs* is directly informed by the ideology and discourse of socio-spatial stigmatization (Takahashi 1997). Here, the social stigma surrounding drug/addict(ion) is mapped on to space at the same time as spatial stigma is mapped on to, inscribed, and folded in to bodies in discursive invocations of the city-becoming-body/body-becoming-city

(Deleuze and Guattari 1987; Fitzgerald and Threadgold 2004; Malins 2004; C. Smith 2011). Here, opposition premised on the socio-spatial *disorder of drugs* situates the subject of addiction—i.e., the body of the addict—as an abject agent of contagion who threatens to taint the social body of the city by not only transgressing the normative borders of socio-spatial bodies, but also blurring the traditional demarcations between *self* and *other*, *us* and *them*, *foreign* and *domestic*, *public* and *private* (Bataille 1999; Kristeva 1982; Sibley 1995).

Admittedly, 'dosing', 'dropping', or swallowing the pathology paradigm is undoubtedly a slow and inefficient method of administration. In hindsight, we should have simply assembled our works[13] the moment the substance was produced, cooked up the shot, and then simply *fixed, smashed, whacked, banged*, or otherwise injected said ideological substance.[14] And so the waiting game formally begins: *are we there yet?*[15] The first flutters of anticipation, then the rush suddenly comes on fast and strong, flooding the body, and rendering crystal clear the conceptual conflations that have been playfully proposed thus far: drug/culture, dope/sick, pathology/place. All at once the collapsed notion of drug/addiction comes into searing focus: a *pathology (out) of place*, rooted in socio-spatial perceptions of the *disorder of drugs* (Fraser and Moore 2008; C. Smith 2010).

DRUGS AND/AS DISEASE: MORAL, CRIMINOLOGICAL, AND BIO-MEDICAL MODELS OF ADDICTION

The development of new medico-legal discourses was fundamental to the construction of the 'addict' identity around the turn of the twentieth century, capable of re-defining human behaviour in the terms of disease or pathology (Brodie and Redfield 2002, 2; Foucault 1978; Sedgwick 1992). Since its initial diagnosis—and the corresponding social construction or invention of the addict identity—popular and professional understandings of the phenomenon of addiction have moved from *moral* to *criminological* to *bio-medical/pathological* paradigms, effectively (re)producing the (prosthetic, cyborg) addicted subject according to a succession of different institutional (religious, legal, and bio-medical) frameworks (Derrida 1993; Goodeve 1999; Ronell 1992).

First, from the addict as sinner or possessed person to the addict as criminal/deviant, a movement that represents the concretization of addiction as a threat or problem (Valverde 1998; Weinberg 2002). Correspondingly, moral–criminological responses to the consumption/consumer of controlled substance constitute attempts at spatialized forms of control: confinement, containment, and incarceration, encompassing (state and community) policing, enforcement, and the fortification of socio-spatial borders from the scale of the individual body to the nation/state.[16] Second, moving from the addict as emblematic sub-species of criminal deviance to the addict as

(de/medicalized) 'patient', the *problem* of addiction was subtly re-framed as a bio-medical *question* or *issue*. Containing in-built implications of treatment, the addict's re-encoding as patient effectively rendered addiction as the purview of bio-medical authorities, manifesting as a new configuration of complex socio-spatial control forces that served not to replace but extend the control of existing medico-legal institutions (Fischer et al. 2004; Roe 2005).[17]

Finally, the profound implications of the contemporary neoliberal shift from the addict as patient to the addict as (treatment or harm reduction service) 'client', 'consumer', or 'user',[18] producing a fluid, diffuse landscape of power composed of shape-shifting, amorphous forms of coercion and control. This paradigm displacement moreover locates the addicted cyborg cityscape of the most recent phase of the dream/drug/disease of narcotic modernity: *the city of safe/supervised consumption*. Here, the globalized, post-industrial, wired/wireless landscape of the (late-)capitalist addicted city is simultaneously p/re/in-scribed by splintered reflections of a *dreamscape*,[19] the sensory experience and expression of substance or *drug-sense* (constituting shifting permutations of substance, space, and subjectivity), and the *disease-state*[20] of outside and decidedly 'Other' nervous systems aggressively invading the body taking place at the level of neuro/chemical hardwiring: *dream/drug/disease; sense/state/scape*.

Setting up the theoretical reconceptualization of addiction as *p/re/in-scription* and the critical remapping of narcotic modernity at the centre of this project, the playful experimental exercise of swallowing the pathology paradigm enables a unique perspective of the bio-medical 'brain disease' model. Here it is important to reiterate that the three broad addiction paradigm shifts over the last century closely follow permutations in the intoxicating development of the sense/state/scape of narcotic modernity, as manifest in the form and character of the capitalist cityscape, from the city of phantasmagoria and shock, to the city of spectacle and alienation, to the addicted city of 'safe'/'supervised' consumption, 'hyper-reality', and psycho-social dislocation (Alexander 2000, 2008; Baudrillard 1994).[21] Refashioning addiction as a *pathology (out) of place*, this chapter therefore works to interrogate the intersecting relationships between the object of drugs and the subject of addiction, the notion of pathology and the place of the urban, tracing how this dynamic both intersects with literal and metaphorical forms of substance and perpetuates popular representations of the socio-spatial *disorder of drugs* (Fraser and Moore 2008; C. Smith 2010).

Influenced by the religious forces of the Temperance movement, during the earliest stages of the drug 'problem' at the turn of the twentieth century, addiction was conceived in explicitly moral terms (Reith 2004). In distilled form, the moralist paradigm asserted that addicts were addicted because they were 'bad' or 'evil' people, 'possessed' by the 'demon' drug or drink, meaning alcohol (Reith 2004; Valverde 1998). Such individuals were believed to suffer from '*diseases of the will*' (O'Malley and Valverde

2004; Reith 2004; Valverde 1998), a condition different from (although in many ways related to) the pathologization of addiction later perpetrated by bio-medical authorities (Reith 2004). Under the moral paradigm, addiction was located squarely in the object, namely the inherent ability of specific drugs to produce dependency and enslavement in their users (Weinberg 2002). Ensconced in the rhetoric of prohibition, the moral paradigm in other words proposed that 'addicts' were produced first and foremost by the act of consuming 'bad' drugs, resulting in a loss of will, agency, autonomy, and the consequent crumbling of the user's moral fibre (Goodeve 1999; Reith 2004; Weinberg 2002).

Emerging during the mid-twentieth century, the criminological paradigm, on the other hand, re-conceptualized addiction in the terms of criminal deviance (Becker 1963). As contemporary investigations have suggested, the criminalization of the 'deviant' bodies and behaviours of people who use drugs can not be conceived without a reconsideration of the machinery of social discipline and control accompanying (late-)capitalist (narco-)modernity and the development of the (late-/narco-)modern urban landscape (Brodie and Redfield 2002; Buck-Morss 1992; Foucault 1978). Providing the architecture for the emergence of new modes of control, the rise of new medico-legal discourses and institutions during this period witnessed inscriptions of social policy exercised through acts of containment, constraint, confinement, incarceration, and repressive force (Foucault 1977, 1978).

Under the criminological paradigm, the vast majority of drug policy interventions shifted emphasis from controlling the *object* of addiction (i.e., dangerous or 'demon' drugs), to the *subject* of addiction, or individual drug users (Fischer 1997; Weinberg 2002). According to the discourse of criminalization, then, popular fears concerning (the) drug/addict(ion) catalyzed the fortification of socio-spatial borders at every imaginable scale and magnitude, based on state and legal measures of *enforcement*. The rise of the criminological paradigm did not, however, come to supplant the previous models, but instead can be seen as growing out of earlier moral conceptions. Systematically stigmatized and demonized as deviant, in other words, the sudden, mid-twentieth century emergence of criminological models was based upon increased attempts by state and legal authorities to control both 'demon' drugs and their 'enslaved' or 'possessed' consumers. Articulating an *unholy* and *illicit* fusion between the object and subject of addiction,[22] the moral–criminological crusade simultaneously drew force and inspiration from religious ideology and the emergent genre of '*science fiction*',[23] serving to render the addict as monster-like, or, rather, monstrous (Goodeve 1999; Haraway 2004).[24] And the *space* of this *unnatural* synthesis[25] was always already the space of the (late-)capitalist cityscape of (narco-)modernity. Here, the addict formed a central figure in the growing cast of '*urban outcasts*' (Wacquant 2008): the wino, the pick-pocket, the prostitute, the homosexual, the indigent, the 'street walker' (a.k.a. 'lady of the night'), typologies of deviance all arguably central to the maintenance of symbolic

power throughout the evolution of the addicted city, symptomatic of corresponding shifts within narcotic modernity (Duncan 1996; Foucault 1978; Mitchell 2003; Mitchell and Staeheli 2006; Sibley 1995; Wilson 1991).

From moral–criminological frameworks then came the incremental emergence of the bio-medical model, a paradigm that has slowly grown to become the prevailing drug policy framework throughout the world today. Although the pathology paradigm did not begin to formally take hold in public policy until the later twentieth century, the notion of addiction-as-disease first emerged much earlier (Fox 1999; Kurtz 2002). While philosophical and theological authorities engaged with debates concerning addiction as disease from the very inception of the addict as a typology of moral–criminological deviance at the dawn of the twentieth century,[26] the founding of Alcoholics Anonymous (AA) in the U.S. during the 1930s was responsible for popularizing and propagating the notion of alcoholism as disease (Fox 1999; Hanninen and Koski-Jannes 1999; Kurtz 2002; Robinson 1983). Although the now global AA/ '12-step' movement has historically eschewed any relationship with the formal medical establishment, the group's underlying adherence to the discourse of alcoholism as a disease spurred medical and sociological researchers to investigate the 'scientific' validity of these claims (Jellinek 1960).[27]

Considering drug dependence as a physiological phenomenon that took place at the level of neuro/chemistry, the pathology paradigm effectively fixed addiction in the static intersection between substance and subject (Reith 2004; Sedgwick 1992). According to the brain disease model, the bio-mechanics of addiction can therefore be reduced to a question of neuro/chemical *(re-)wiring*: with the repeated administration of illicit, controlled, foreign, and 'mind-altering' psychoactive substances, the subject's brain chemistry and bio-chemical structure literally becomes altered.[28] Sustained consumption of controlled substances, in other words, resulted in the sometimes permanent alteration of the subject's neuro/chemical circuitry, where the nervous system—formerly imagined and represented in both popular and professional bio-medical discourse as a fundamentally closed and contained phenomenon (Buck-Morss 1992)—was effectively *re-wired* and thus henceforth dependent or '*strung out*'.[29]

Demonstrating the mainstream status of the bio-medical model, in 2007 the U.S. Senate proposed an act entitled *Recognizing Addiction as a Disease* (GovTrack n.d.). Despite the fact that it was never formerly passed, among other legislative changes, this act recommended that the *National Institute for Drug Abuse* (NIDA) change its title to the *National Institute on Diseases of Addiction* in acknowledgement of the stigma inherent in the term 'abuse' (Albert 2010). Increasing policy conflation between the formerly distinct sectors of addiction and mental health demonstrates increasing growing public support for the brain disease model.[30] The dramatic rise in research and treatment initiatives based on the notions of 'dual diagnosis' or 'concurrent disorders' (that is, the simultaneous, related, and often-times

mutually constituting manifestation of mental health and substance use issues) provides further substantiation of this growing trend (Ontario Ministry of Health 2010). The dramatic rise of the pathology paradigm has not, however, resulted in the complete displacement of moral–criminological perceptions, as traces of these earlier models still occupy a prominent position (albeit coded) in the contemporary discourse of addiction as disease (Hathaway and Erickson 2003; Keane 2003; Miller 2001).

THE DISORDER OF DRUGS: ADDICTION AND/AS DISEASE AND/AS DISORDER

From its very first diagnosis, the 'dis-ease' of addiction has been p/re/in-scribed with the threat of socio-spatial *disorder*. In this sense, the perceived *disorder of drugs* is informed by notions of chaos and dis/order manifesting in subjectivity as much as space, (addicted) bodies as much as the (cyborg) space of the city (Fraser and Moore 2008; C. Smith 2010). Here, the *disorder of drugs* can be understood as a symptomatic product of the mutually constituting, co-determinant relationship between the body of the addict and the social body of the addicted city, each perpetually mapped on to, folded in to, and p/re/in-scribed in the other through the intermediary force of substance (Deleuze and Guattari 1987; Malins 2004; C. Smith 2011; Wild 2002). Takahashi's discussion of the notion of socio-spatial stigmatization provides a useful point of departure for unpacking the notion of *drugs* and/as *disease* and/as *disorder* (Takahashi 1997).

Based on the foundational work of Goffman (1963), stigmatization can be defined as social processes that work to reproduce 'spoiled identities', and thus "label specific groups as being undesirable and dangerous" (Takahashi 1997, 904). Beyond social stigma, which creates "a definition of acceptable and non-acceptable individuals and groups", spatial stigma forms "a powerful cognitive map of acceptable and non-acceptable places" (904). Symptomatic of the broader *Not-In-My-Back-Yard* or *NIMBY* phenomenon, Takahashi suggests socio-spatial stigmatization represents "a mutually constitutive process, whereby places inherit the stigma of persons, but persons also become stigmatized through their association with places", thus suturing representations of 'spoiled identities' and 'tainted'/'outcast' spaces in discourses of socio-spatial infection and purification (910; also Goffman 1963; Purdy 2005; Sibley 1995; Sommers and Blomley 2002; C. Smith 2010; Woolford 2001).

Focusing on people who are homeless and/or living with HIV/AIDS (PWA), Takahashi argues that non-productivity, dangerousness, and personal culpability are three central dimensions driving socio-spatial stigmatization, equally applicable in the case of drug users and addiction treatment sites (Radcliffe and Stevens 2008; C. Smith 2010; Strike et al. 2004; Takahashi 1997). While perceived criminal deviance serves to cast certain clients

as 'dangerous', other social service populations are (de)valued based on their relative (in)abilities to 'contribute' to society, where lack of participation in the paid labour market among people who are homeless often equates to the assumption that survival is dependent on the informal, quasi-legal, or 'black market' economy (Dear 1992; Strike et al. 2004; Takahashi 1997; Takahashi and Dear 1997). In the case of PWA, by contrast, danger has been historically framed by the simultaneous threats of physical and moral infection (Sommers and Blomley 2002; Takahashi 1997; Woolford 2001); here, personal culpability absolves structural responsibility for social 'diseases' and shifts responsibility to the agency of those afflicted (Takahashi 1997). Positioned as criminally 'dangerous', morally 'deviant', and 'diseased' individuals responsible not merely for their own condition but also various forms of moral/physical contagion, drug users often elicit the highest degrees of *NIMBY* opposition (Dear 1992; C. Smith 2010; Sommers and Blomley 2002; Strike et al. 2004; Woolford 2001). The opprobrium attached to such 'disorderly people' results in perceptions of neighbourhood decline and devaluation, in tandem with efforts to fortify or re-enforce socio-spatial boundaries between the 'pure' and 'polluted' (Hermer and Mosher 2002; Sibley 1995).

The client characteristics commonly believed to influence the acceptance or rejection of a proposed social service facility—(non)productivity, dangerousness, and personal culpability—are all directly encompassed in popular discourse surrounding drug/addiction (Dear 1992; Takahashi 1997; Takahashi and Dear 1997). Casting the subject of addiction/treatment as dirty, diseased, deviant, dangerous, and disorderly, oppositional discourse commonly situates addiction treatment or harm reduction services as sites that foster and facilitate the 'disorder of drugs' (C. Smith 2010; Strike et al. 2004; Tempalski et al. 2007). Here, opponents to needle exchange programs (NEPs) in Canada argue that such interventions directly result in the 'loitering' of drug users, attracting drug dealing and 'public disorder' issues, encompassing concerns for not only moral and physical contagion, but also explicitly *spatial* forms of infection and pathology (Radcliffe and Stevens 2008; C. Smith 2010; Strike et al. 2004).[31]

The *disorder of drugs* signals a loss of control over the moral regulation of urban space, where drug/service users are perceived as 'out of place' in the relentlessly (re-)developing urban landscape of (narco-)modernity, thus embodying the complex interplay between addiction, consumption, and control by signifying a deviant form of consumptive desire always already situated in the ever-shifting space of the city (Cresswell 1996). Containing an explicit spatial subtext, discursive opposition to the disorder of drugs frames the 'social disease' of addiction as a *pathology (out) of place*, immediately situating the abject body of the addict in relation to the social body of the addicted city in the terms of contagion. Not unlike those of 'war', however, metaphors of pathology serve to simplify an issue or conflict—more often expressed as 'problem' or 'symptom'—that is deemed complex, irrational,

or outside the possibility of direct human engagement; a situation 'beyond our control' (Woolford 2001, 44–45). Yet in these disordered encounters, a constant underlying sense of *desire*: the desire for revenge, for intervention, for solution or 'cure'. As Kristeva writes, the attendant sense of abjection thus "beseeches, worries, and fascinates desire, which nevertheless, does not let itself be seduced. Apprehensive, desire turns aside; sickened, it rejects" (Kristeva 1982, 1).

In our recurrent encounters with the disorder of drugs, we are therefore forced to engage with not only the body of the addict, but also the social body of the city in the terms of abjection. Here in the bleeding heart of the city evidence of infection contains little distinction between social and spatial phenomena, tracing a direct relationship between individual bodies and the social body politic (Derrida 1993). Positioned as an abject, transgressive threat to the productive potential of transitional urban spaces, the *disorder of drugs* thus constitutes both 'symptom' and 'cause' of socio-spatial disease. Resonating closely with Takahashi, Derrida's discussion of the discourse of prohibitionism points back to processes of production and consumption, where 'irresponsibility', 'nonwork', and 'unproductivity' are posited as representing a loss of control and the destruction of 'natural' or 'normal' socio-spatial bodies (1993).[32] Measured in terms of the presence and trace imprints of abject bodies and behaviours, the disorder of drugs implicates 'deviant' consumptive behaviour, signalling a transgression of socio-spatial borders that triggers the enactment of spatial solutions to social problems (Butler 1990; Koskela and Pain 2000; Newman 1972; C. Smith 2010).

Precariously situated as a *pathology (out) of place*, drug/addiction thus automatically invokes the intermingling forces of consumption and control, implicating the 'prosthetic ontology' of the junky-cyborg subject in questions of agency and autonomy (Derrida 1993; Goodeve 1999; Ronell 1992). Ensconced by forces of containment extending from the addict's perceived loss of *self*-control, the disorder of drugs posits the body of the addict as an uncontained, abject agent of contagion threatening to taint the social body of the city, a discursive body composed through the language of health and wellness, illness and disease. As an embodiment of socio-spatial disorder, in other words, the *pathologized* subject of drug/addiction provokes a control response that manifests in a multiplicity of containment efforts aimed at preventing cross-contamination, where the consumption of controlled substance is inscribed by the notions of consumption and control so central to the neoliberal era of (late-)capitalist narcotic modernity (Reith 2004). Directly informed by the forces of consumption and control, drug/addiction is thus crucially related to questions of freedom and dependence, liberation and enslavement, issues that are taken up in the analysis of consumer capitalism, control societies, and the reconceptualization of addiction as p/re/in-scription contained in the following chapter (Deleuze 1995b; Reith 2004; Ronell 1992; Sedgwick 1992).

CONCLUSION: A LONG STRANGE TRIP

Coming down from the experimental exercise or 'trip' that was swallow-
ing the pathology paradigm might leave the reader with series of curious
yet ultimately unsatisfying impressions regarding the blur and collapse of
socio-spatial bodies and the plurality of underlying relations between pathol-
ogy and place, drugs and disorder. Here, the rhetoric of pathology simulta-
neously naturalizes addiction as a symptomatic product *of place*—the (late-)
capitalist cityscape of (narco-)modernity—and as an *out of place* threat that
must be cast out or contained in order to re-enforce symbolic constructions
of socio-spatial order through the re-enforcement of normative borders and
boundaries (Butler 1990; Fischer and Poland 1998; Sibley 1995). Working
to contain addiction in a simplistic, static rendering of the subject/substance
interface, the bio-medical model neglects any consideration of the dynamic
inter-/intra-activity of space, where the substance-formed environmental
stimuli of narcotic modernity's urban landscape form an integral part of
the open and inter-connected neuro/chemical system of the addicted subject
(Buck-Morss 1992).

Taking a subconscious cue from that most clichéd signifier of 60s drug/
culture—the *Grateful Dead*—as we arrive at the crash or come down of our
journey, the *lengthy* and fundamentally *strange* nature of this '*trip*' begins to
sink in. Nausea, nervousness, agitation, disorientation, anxiety, and restless-
ness are the most common side effects,[33] yet the benefits far outweigh the
'risks' or 'harms' of such an exercise, and the crash itself can in fact be seen
in productive terms, accompanied by a distinct and undeniable sense/state/
scape of 'relief'. Here, in spite of any lingering sense of *dis-ease*, temporarily
ingesting and accepting addiction as a *pathology (out) of place* enabled a
playful conceptual re-mapping of the bio-medical paradigm, which, unlike
diseases and phobias associated with the urban conditions of (narco-)moder-
nity,[34] neglects consideration of the inter-/intra-activity between inside and
outside, environment and affect in the substance/space/subjectivity dynamic,
locating addiction as a pathology contained by the closed neuro/chemical
'hard-wiring' of the subject (Buck-Morss 1992).

Deconstructing popular conceptions of addiction necessitates a funda-
mental rethinking of both human nourishment and consumption more
broadly defined (Reith 2004; Ronell 1992). Moving beyond conventional
understandings of drug/addiction and transcending the closed, dead-end
loop of the pathology paradigm thus requires the inclusion of environmen-
tal stimuli as literal *food for thought*, where the question of 'illicit'/'foreign'/
'controlled' substance forces us to confront "what it means to consume
anything, anything at all" (Ronell 1992, 63; also see Cronin 2002; Reith
2004; Sedgwick 1992). Situated at sites of interstitial exchange and inter-/
intra-activity[35] structured by the relational, interdependent forces of con-
sumption and control, the interactive relationship between stimuli and
response in the dizzying and intoxicating urban substance/space/subjectivity

dynamic is therefore fundamental to the project of depathologizing drug dependence (Alexander 2011; Davies 1992; Szasz 1971, 1992) and reconceptualizing addiction in the terms of *p/re/in-scription*.

NOTES

1. (which is to say, help make sense of our experience in and of the city, the natural home or habitat of [narco-]modernity)
2. (what we might in this context aptly term '*pre-trip jitters*', otherwise known as 'butterflies in the tummy', all aflutter)
3. In the end, however, this journey might be far more mundane than it is being described and made out to be here: an instrumental means to an end as simple as getting '*from a to b*'.
4. Here, anticipating the critical interrogation of metaphors contained in the fourth and final part of the book, we can see an interesting instance of semiotic slippage, from *hooked* to 'wired' to strung out to '*hung out to dry*'.
5. (After all, who knows, maybe the dose will be so pure that there won't be any come down at all, and the only thing remaining after the quasi-crash will be a vague memory—trace inscriptions of the experiment. Rest assured that whatever remains of your nervous energy will start to dissipate once the dose reaches the bloodstream and begins coursing through the nervous system.)
6. (That is, in spite of the fundamentally interchangeable nature of the notions of *drug*, *dream*, and *disease* posited throughout earlier chapters in our exploration of our narcotic modernity and its attendant sense/state/scapes of intoxication.)
7. (both, of course, mediated by the intersecting concept of *dream*)
8. (i.e., abstinence or the absence of drug use, where withdrawal represents the substance leaving the body)
9. *A little intoxicating dose of literature, just to help 'kick in' what's already been ingested:* tracing the relationship between substance, autonomy, and the prosthetic subject, this sentiment is strikingly rendered in Nelson Algren's (1976 [1949], 253) *Man With the Golden Arm*, when Solly complains to his friend that he just isn't himself since Frankie turned back to using morphine: "'That's the hardest thing of all for me to be', Frankie replies, 'I'm getting' farther away from myself all the time. It's why I have to charge [i.e., inject] so bad, so I can come back 'n be myself a little while again. But it's a longer way to go every time. It keeps getting' harder 'n harder. It's getting' so hard I can't hardly afford it . . . I can't hardly afford to be myself no more . . . I guess I got to economize 'n just be Mr. Nobody, I guess . . . Who *am* I anyhow, Solly?'"
10. i.e., the re/dis-placement of an 'illicit' *drug* such as heroin for a 'legal' *medication* such as methadone (Fraser and valentine 2008)
11. i.e., the abstinence-based moralist ideology of purging substance from the body, the act or process of withdrawal depicted by Sedgwick (1992, 582) as that of a shift from a "situation of relative homeostatic stability and control", to the subject being "propelled into a narrative of inexorable decline and fatality, from which she cannot disimplicate herself except by leaping into that other, even more pathos-ridden narrative called *kicking the habit*" (original emphasis).
12. (i.e., the typologizing social construction of the identity of the addict at the turn of the twentieth century)
13. (in this context 'works' represents a common street-based slang term for injection equipment)

14. (all regionally specific slang terms for injecting, here the term 'fixed' is both virtually and literally interchangeable with *smashed*, *banged*, *shot*, or *whacked*, terminology that is interrogated in more depth in Part Four: *Brain/Disease*)

15. (Whispered asides between the reader/user(s): '*Are you getting anything?*', '*I'm starting to feel a little strange*', '*I can't tell if I'm high*'. . . not dissimilar to the old childhood refrain that begins shortly after the journey gets underway, with a muffled, whining voice from the back seat: '*are we there yet?*')

16. And soon after, a borderless, globalized *war on drugs* that continues into present day, thinly disguised as a war on 'terror'. The relationship between the 'war on drugs' and the 'war on terror' is a critical area of investigation that remains under-theorized; for a cursory exploration see Craig (2004).

17. (Here, the prison and the 'drunk tank' stand alongside the detox ward and the methadone clinic, the syringe exchange program, and the 'supervised' injection facility. In the specific context of the methadone clinic, 'clients' or users of methadone maintenance treatment (MMT) services throughout North America demonstrate the disciplinary and punitive dimensions of treatment practice through recourse to the term '*liquid handcuffs*' (Fraser 2006; C. Smith 2008; Vigilant 2001), conjuring images of a fluid, shifting, decentralized landscape of disciplinary *control* (Deleuze 1995a, 1995b).

18. Here, as C. Smith (2012, 211) asserts, acknowledging "the deceptive 'medicine as business' rationality underlying the designations 'client' and 'consumer'", which effectively serve to resituate subjects in a "passive, one-way relationship to capitalist forces of production/consumption", we will instead employ the term "'user' in reference to both harm reduction and drug treatment subjects, positing the designation *drug/service user* as [having] a potentially productive, fluid interchangeability".

19. (i.e., the visions of planners, architects, revolutionaries, and other utopian 'imagineers' [Short 1999])

20. (in direct communication with the substance of space)

21. Here, see Part Three: *Narco/State* for a specific discussion of the socio-spatial permutations of (narco-)modernity, from the city of phantasmagoria and shock to the city of spectacle and alienation, to the city of supervised consumption and mass-produced psycho-social dislocation.

22. (i.e., drug or 'dope' '*fiends*'—a word which itself denotes possession by a beast, demon, or evil spirit)

23. (i.e., Mary Shelly's [1818] *Frankenstein*, representing one of the earliest literary examples of the genre, while Fritz Lang's [1927] *Metropolis* stands as the first cinematic depiction of a [female] *cyborg*, to name only the most common pop cultural examples)

24. (That is, as a product of the un-natural fusion between machine [or, rather, the media/technology of 'controlled' substance], and a deviant, diseased will [and thus cyborg, or prosthetic subjectivity.])

25. (as well as its abject traces and aftershocks—in other words, the space of bodies and behaviours *out of place* [Cresswell 1996])

26. (particularly the relationship between 'illicit' substance the notion of enslavement; for a detailed historical discussion of 'diseases of the will', see Valverde 1998)

27. Influenced by 12-step discourse, the publication of E. M. Jellinek's (1960) *The Disease Concept of Alcoholism* is widely seen as the first work to scientifically legitimate the claims of substance dependence as disease (Ning 1999).

28. (or, in street user colloquial, *wired;* hence the common representation of 'addictive', 'hard', or 'bad' drugs as those which produce *altered sense/scape/states of consciousness*)

29. ***Freeze-frame, still-life, snap-shot #5:*** The neuro/chemical inter-wiring implied in the pathology paradigm was solely confined to the simplistic relationship

between subject and substance, thus scientifically situating the disease of addiction in the altered neuro/chemical structure of the addicted subject's brain. As a replacement or 'substitution' therapy for opiate dependence, the origins of methadone maintenance treatment (MMT) served to concretize and lend scientific credibility to the addiction-as-bio-medical-brain-disease model. The first recorded study of methadone as a form of maintenance treatment for opiate addiction dates back to the work of Dr. Vincent Dole and Dr. Marie Nyswander in New York during the mid 1960s. In an attempt to demonstrate their theory that addicts would no longer be driven to crime if legally provided with sufficient quantities of opiates, the subjects of their study—long-term intravenous opiate addicts with extensive criminal records—were administered frequent doses of morphine in order to satiate their habits and prevent withdrawal. Although they did not engage in criminal behaviours or express desire for other drugs, the results of the experiment were unsuccessful, as the subjects did little more than lay around nodding off and sleeping while waiting for their next 'fix' (Centre for Addiction and Mental Health 2008). As Dole and Nyswander began to conclude their experiment in failure, they switched the subjects to methadone, which had been previously used only as a short-term tool for temporarily mitigating withdrawal symptoms and 'tapering' individuals off heroin. Once stabilized on methadone, however, the subjects became remarkably more animate and energetic, and began to express interest in the world beyond the experiment; one asked for art supplies so that he could renew his love of painting, while the other requested to return to school to complete his education (CAMH 2008, 36). With the discovery that at high enough doses methadone would both prevent withdrawal and satisfy cravings (thereby eliminating criminal behaviour), and produce more 'socially productive' subjects, Dole and Nyswander had arrived, albeit accidentally, at the 'maintenance' theory they were trying to prove (Dole and Nyswander 1967). Building on earlier research that identified alcoholism as a progressive and potentially fatal 'disease' (Jellinek 1960), Dole and Nyswander's ground-breaking findings re-defined heroin addiction as a metabolic condition constituting "a physiological imbalance at the level of the brain's synapses" which required "medical stabilization through pharmacological intervention" (Dole and Nyswander, cited in Bourgois 2000, 169).

30. Evidence of this growing alignment between addiction and mental health in public policy can be seen in the U.S. *Substance Abuse and Mental Health Service Administration* (SAMHSA: http://www.samhsa.gov/), the preeminent Canadian research *institute the Centre for Addiction and Mental Health* (CAMH: http://www.camh.net/), and the 2010 development of a *Comprehensive Mental Health and Addictions Action Plan* by the Ontario Ministry of Health (http://www.ontla.on.ca/committee-proceedings/committee-reports/files_pdf/Select%20Report%20ENG.pdf).

31. *Freeze-frame, still-life, snap-shot #6:* Permeated by metaphors of pathology, pollution, and purification, socio-spatial stigmatization regarding the 'disorder of drugs' has been extensively explored in the context of Vancouver's Downtown Eastside (DTES). In their analysis of media representation of the 'worst block in Vancouver', Sommers and Blomley (2002, 22–23) note how media discourse effectively conflated and subsumed the phenomena of poverty, HIV/AIDS, and intravenous drug use, producing a generalized 'pathologization of poverty' that "turned into the pathologization of the entire neighbourhood, as the Downtown Eastside itself became the wellspring of this social malaise". Suggesting that the 'contagion' associated with drug users in Vancouver's DTES was transposed on to—and subsequently seen as spreading outwards from—the physical space of the neighbourhood, Sommers and

Blomley (2002, 23) note that this 'rhetoric of pathology' "bridged the body of the urban outcast and the social body of the city" in three specific ways. First, the neighbourhood was perceived as "the site that actually caused the problems evident among the local population and in the built environment" (Sommers and Blomley 2002, 24). Second, the various pathologies associated with the local population of injection drug users (IDU) were perceived as a threat to the larger city of Vancouver, where "the poor and drug addicted were constituted not only as victims of disease, but also its carriers, agents of infection who literally caused urban decay" (Sommers and Blomley 2002, 24). Third, this discourse worked to produce a sense of 'moral isolation', situating the DTES as a 'ghetto/ized' space produced by poverty, drugs, and disease that somehow existed apart from (or outside of) the larger social body of the City of Vancouver (Sommers and Blomley 2002, 24). Here, the processes of stigmatization and purification can be seen as "codeterminant in the process whereby tainted individuals and the spaces they inhabit are removed from the field of local moral concern" (Woolford 2001, 29) through intermingling discourses of place promotion and spatial purification (Short 1999; C. Smith 2010). Traced back to Mary Douglas (1966), the social production of stigmatized space cannot be examined without considering how the notions of 'boundaries' and 'purification' are invoked in oppositional discourse. This phenomenon is succinctly explored in Woolford's (2001, 27) examination of representations of Vancouver Canada's Downtown Eastside (DTES) as a 'tainted space'.

32. As discussed in the following chapter, the disorder of drugs also curiously connotes a form of liberation (Derrida 1993).
33. i.e., sense/state/scapes of being and feeling *out of sorts* and/as *out of place*
34. (i.e., agoraphobia/claustrophobia, tuberculosis, cancer [Sontag 1977; Vidler 2001])
35. i.e., the inside/outside exchange and interplay between environment and affect, sense and expression, language and landscape

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5 Depathologizing Drug Dependence

P/re/in-scription, Consumer Capitalism, and Control Societies

> I therefore became an opium addict again because the doctors who cure—one should really say, quite simply, who purge—do not seek to cure the troubles which cause the addiction; I had found again my unbalanced state of mind; and I preferred an artificial equilibrium to no equilibrium at all.
>
> (Cocteau 2001, 20)

INTRODUCTION: CRASHING AND BURNING

Temporarily suspending scepticism, the experimental exercise of swallowing the pathology paradigm facilitated the playful theoretical space to suggest that addiction is a phenomenon intimately related to notions of place: a *sense*, *state*, or *scape* that is both 'of place', actively invoking the successive urban permutations of our narcotic modernity, and perceived as being *out of place* in relation to the normative structures of urban order throughout the successive stages or phases of the (post-)industrial, (late-)capitalist 'addicted city' (Derrida 1993; Ronell 1992; Wild 2002).[1] As promised, however, the 'trip' that was induced by the experimental exercise of swallowing the pathology paradigm must inevitably come to an end, and is invariably accompanied by a come down or crash—the moment when the euphoric pleasure, 'high', or use value of ingestion has run its course.[2] Arguing for the depathologization of drug dependence, this come down is in and of itself constructive: like that old central tenet of modernity, itself a kind of 'creative destruction' (Berman 1982). Arriving at the 'come down' or 'crash' thus provides something of a '*sense of relief*': we are *coming back to our senses*. The faint inscriptions left from the intoxicated state produced by 'dropping' the disease model are, however, still visible and close to the surface, fleeting traces of socio-spatial bodies imprinted in the flesh through the media of substance that are just barely legible, quickly fading beneath subsequent layers of p/re/in-scription in the palimpsest-like nature of both space and subjectivity, both p/re/in-scribed through the media of substance (Huyssen 2003).

Originated in the object of drugs—i.e., 'demon' substances, capable of 'possession' (Reith 2004; Valverde 1998)—in the blurring shift from moral

to criminological to pathological paradigms throughout the successive phases of (narco-)modernity, the aetiology of addiction soon came to be fixed in the subject of drugs,[3] otherwise known as the consumer of 'controlled' substances (Weinberg 2002). The pathologization of addiction, in other words, functioned to complete the work begun by the typologizing tendencies of the criminological paradigm, situating the cause, origin, or aetiology of addiction in no uncertain terms in the drug/addict(ed) subject's (faulty, mis-wired, and popularly perceived as *closed* or *self-contained*) nervous system or neuro/chemical circuitry (Buck-Morss 1992; Taussig 1992). Perceived as a 'closed' system, the bio-medical 'brain disease' model therefore stitches up the question of addiction inside the individual,[4] overlooking the essential (external) extension of sense perception, consciousness, and thus the nervous system—the intoxicating stimuli of the ever-increasingly mediated physical/spatial built form of the urban environment. Hence Buck-Morss's (1992, 12) assertion that the human nervous system is not 'closed', but in fact " 'open' in the extreme sense".

Having swallowed the pathology paradigm, it is understandable that you might be left with *a bad taste in your mouth*.[5] In an effort to wash out any unpleasant lingering aftertaste, this chapter redirects the theoretical momentum of the book through the (metaphorical) motions of *crashing and burning*. Propelled by the reckless momentum of our narcotic modernity, here the motions of *crashing and burning* reveal new critical sites of analytical creative destruction.[6]

Building on earlier arguments concerning (representations of) drug use and/as *dis/order*, this chapter begins by resituating notions of both agency and autonomy in relation to the (physical and figurative) *subject* of *drug/addiction*. Tracing the intersections between freedom, dependence, and illicit consumption, this analysis further destabilizes the shaky binary foundations of the bio-medical brain disease model or pathology paradigm, presaging arguments surrounding the open, inter-connected, cross-wired nature of 'addicted' nervous systems and socio-spatial bodies (Buck-Morss 1992; Fitgerald and Threadgold 2004; Fraser 2006; C. Smith 2011b). Problematizing the dynamic inter-/intra-activity within and between capitalism and the consumption of controlled substances, this reconsideration of addiction, 'control societies', and (late-)capitalist 'consumer culture' thus works to transport us to the final destination of the present section of the book—*Dope/Sick*—by theoretically reconceptualizing addiction in the terms of *p/re/in-scription* (Deleuze 1995a, 1995b).

ON 'BOOTSTRAPS' AND 'BRAIN DISEASES': AGENCY, AUTONOMY, AND THE ADDICTED SUBJECT

Drugs, as Ronell (1992, 59) remarks, "thematize the dissociation of autonomy and responsibility that has marked our epoch", and as such are crucially related to questions of freedom (also see Reith 2004). Before

the memory (imprint, inscription) of the intoxicated state produced by the brain disease model fades any further, and in anticipation of the final crash of the pathology paradigm,[7] however, it is therefore relevant to consider the relationship between agency, autonomy, and the force/phenomena we call 'addiction', implicating questions of the (free?) will, choice, freedom, liberation, dependency, and enslavement. Drugs represent 'controlled substances' precisely because of their perceived role in producing enslavement and dependency (Critical Art Ensemble 1996; Reith 2004). Calling back to the Temperance-era invocation of 'possession' by 'demon' drugs, controlling and restricting access to the object of drug/addiction has ostensibly been justified as an effort to protect subjects from the threat of enslavement that drugs are inevitably believed to produce, thus representing an attempt to prevent the object of drugs from eroding the willpower and autonomy of the subject (Reith 2004; Valverde 1998).[8] A formal act of social control, in other words, accomplished through policy, discourse, and repressive force (i.e., en*force*ment) intended to preserve and maintain the subject's *self*-control and hence prevent his or her *loss* of control (Reith 2004).

Always already set against the backdrop of the capitalist cityscape, stark against the normative forces of consumption and control upon which the order of the city is conceived, the abject body of the addict popularly signals the inherent threat of socio-spatial *disorder*.[9] Encoded with the in-built potential for infection and contagion, the disorder of drugs therefore triggers a control response that presupposes a kind of deviant consumption, manifesting as a multiplicity of literal and metaphorical forms of containment. First, via the act of pathologization, the disease of addiction is confined to the body of the subject. Second, literally *embodying* the disorder of drugs (and the various forms of socio-spatial contagion implied therein), the subject of drugs is then confined by outside forces: once identified, the *pathology out of place* is apprehended, quarantined, cast out, or incarcerated. Mapped in these terms, the interplay between the subject/object of drugs, the sense of disorder provoked by bodies and behaviours deemed out of place, and the deployment of strategies for socio-spatial control (containment and confinement) points to a broader problematic concerning 'addiction', consumption, and control, underlying which is the question of freedom.[10]

If, as Derrida (1993, 7) asserts, addiction represents a form of 'wandering' from which there is no way to return to one's point of origin, its routes are circuitous indeed. Addressing addiction first and foremost as a theoretical problem, fleshing out this question requires tracing the intersections between constructions of the 'diseased' will, altered (and hence 'adulterated') autonomy, and the automaton-like depiction of agency that together constitute the addicted (cyborg, prosthetic) subject under bio-medical constructs. As the pathology paradigm posits, 'controlled substances' transform the neuro/chemical composition of the subject, whose ontology is henceforth deemed

'cyborg': partly synthetic or artificial and thus impure, inauthentic, 'false' (Derrida 1993; Goodeve 1999; Ronell 1992). Product of the synthesis or fusion between the object and subject of drugs, the prosthetic subject thus becomes locked-in as the locus of addiction itself, embodying both origin and end point of pathology. As Eve Sedgwick (1992, 584) has suggested, in the current cultural climate of epidemic 'addiction attribution'—a phenomena that we might here rename *pandemic pathologization*—that has come to implicate a range of consumptive behaviours, addiction is thus believed to reside "only in the *structure* of a will that is always somehow insufficiently free, a choice whose volition is insufficiently pure." Extending this logic, addiction therefore works to effectively (re-)structure the diseased will: through the bio-chemical (cyborg) synthesis of subject and substance, addiction is located not only as an entity inhabiting the (always already?) diseased, enslaved, impure will, but, as an agent of contamination that infects the will, thus transforming it into something alien or *Other*. And once infected, the will is no longer deemed 'free' or autonomous, the consumption of controlled substance signalling the relinquishing of the subject's (self-)control.

Bleeding between moral and pathological invocations, William S. Burroughs's oft-cited account of heroin addiction in the introductory essay to his infamous novel *Naked Lunch*, entitled "Deposition: Testimony Concerning a Sickness", eerily illustrates how the introduction of an external agent ('dope') is perceived to induce an erosion of agency and 'free' will. A *dope fiend*, as Burroughs (1987, xxxvi–xxxvii) writes, is a man "in total need of dope": "Beyond a certain frequency need knows absolutely no limits or control. In the words of total need: *'Wouldn't you?'* Yes you would [. . .] Dope fiends are sick people who cannot act other than they do. A rabid dog cannot chose but bite."

If, according to the pathological framework, the introduction of drugs works to reduce agency to the 'fiendish' instinctual fulfillment of physiological/psychological states of need, then what becomes of 'desire' and the sense of personal responsibility, freedom, choice, and autonomy so central to contemporary neoliberalist discourse and political frameworks (Reith 2004)? Dissolving free will, the bio-medical model serves to both absolve the cyborg subject of responsibility and eclipse any possible reading of structural forces underpinning addiction, collapsing all forms of desire into pure primal need at the level of the (altered) brain's (semi-synthetic) synapses (Burroughs 1987, xxxvi–xxxvii). Here, as Ronell (1992, 135) so succinctly suggests, the distinction between 'need' and 'desire' may be "the luxury of the sober". How can the subject of drug/addiction '*just say no*', in other words, when, as prominent Canadian physician and addiction medicine specialist Gabor Mate (2008, 187) suggests, 'their brains never had a chance'? After all, the example of swallowing the pathology paradigm provides irrefutable evidence that we are all curious creatures of and in the simulacrum who are given to experimentation with the self from time to time (Ronell 1992, 57).

According to this conception, the post-drug-ingestion semblance of agency is apolitically positioned as a hybrid product dictated disproportionately by the substance as opposed to the subject. Curiously fixated on a simplistic, reductionist conception of agency as an "algebra of need" (Burroughs 1987, xxxvii), the brain disease construct not only frees the subject from personal responsibility, but also effectively ignores the essential (in/organic) part of the nervous system that exists independently from the body. The 'circuit' from stimuli ('sense-perception') to ('motor') response, as Buck-Morss (1992, 12) asserts, "begins and ends in the world", thus resituating the human brain in no uncertain terms as being "part of a system that passes through the person and her or his (culturally specific, historically transient) environment"; as such, Buck-Morss continues, the stimuli of the external world forms an integral aspect, effectively serving to "complete the sensory circuit" (12).

Confining the subject of addiction in an equally helpless and faultless diseased state originating in the introduction of *controlled* substances, the prevailing pathology paradigm participates in maintaining the moral-criminological construction of both demon drugs, capable of corrupting individual will power and eroding autonomy, and the abstract collective myth of an enclosed consciousness premised on the artificially constructed and perceived bounded-ness of social and spatial bodies. Here, as Derrida suggests, through an almost nostalgic invocation of the 'organic', 'natural' body, the ever more abstract war on drugs is explicitly premised on targeting and attacking synthetic pathologies that are so often posed as 'foreign aggressions' (1993, 3–7). Rendering conceptions of the 'natural' or 'organic' body as non-existent, constituting little more than a convenient, romantic narrative fiction, Derrida further qualifies that the present era is characterized by a *technological condition*, where technology is no longer merely an external supplement to organic human life, but has in fact been integrated into the very core of the increasingly cyborg, prosthetic human body (7–8).

In spite of the pathology paradigm's attempts to situate and fix (read: research and treat, study and cure) the cyborg subject of drug/addict(ion) as an enslaved self, absent of agency or autonomy, it is also important to acknowledge the enduring oppositional associations between drugs, freedom, and prosthetic ontology (Derrida 1993; Goodeve 1999; Ronell 1992). Here, as Derrida (1993, 2) argues, the rhetoric of drugs is in fact constituted in the interstices between the two extreme poles of prohibitionist and liberationist discourse. So often positioned as a vehicle of enslavement, from another vantage point drugs are often posed as a liberating technology (Leary 1964; Sontag 1977), promising to alter, 'expand', or release consciousness from the sometimes repressive confines of quotidian, everyday life structured by forces of consumption and control (read: con*form*ity). And in this re-reading (read: re-writing, re-wiring) of addiction, ontological a(du)lteration is accomplished by consciously and instrumentally *choosing*

to 'use'—and thereby selectively incorporate—the 'techno-prosthesis' of substance (Derrida 1993; Ronell 1992).

Metaphors of escaping from the 'artificial paradise' (Baudelaire 1996) of 'organic' ontology vividly convey (and perhaps even celebrate) the extreme 'open-ness' of the nervous system, potently demonstrating how the physical/spatial environment both reaches into and extends from what Buck-Morss renamed the 'synaesthetic system' (Buck-Morss 1992, 13). According to this conception, distinctions between substance, space, and subjectivity begin to blur and breakdown; here, the *stuff* of bodies and places begins to collapse and crash, and hence no longer can the body of the addict and the social body of the city be seen as distinct or independent entities (Fitzgerald and Threadgold, 2004). Mass-producer of the phenomena variously referred to as *shock*, *alienation*, or *psycho-social dislocation*, the urban landscape of (late-)capitalist urban modernity thus serves to complete the prosthetic subject's neuro/chemical circuitry.

An integral extension of the addicted subject's hard-wiring, the consumption/control dynamic that centrally characterizes the (late-)capitalist cityscape comes to be mirrored and made manifest in the mutual constitution of social and spatial bodies, where the introduction of controlled substance can be understood as a *control(led)* response to the coercive forces of urban capitalism. A literal means of rendering trans(ap)parent the complex interplay between substance, space, and subjectivity, illicit consumption can thereby represent a liberating act through which the individual is freed from control—a display that daringly shakes the teetering foundations of the pathology paradigm, demonstrating (and moreover in fact celebrating) the extreme open-ness of nervous socio-spatial systems (Buck-Morss 1992; Derrida 1993).

Tracing the pathologization of anorexia, bulimia, and over-eating, among other pathologized behaviours signalling disorderly responses to the consumption/control dynamic that animates the urban landscape of (late-/narco-)capitalist modernity, Sedgwick (1992, 583) asserts that the locus of addiction "cannot be the substance itself and can scarcely even be the body *it*self, but must be some overarching abstraction that governs the narrative relations between them". By shattering the perceived (self-)containment of socio-spatial nervous systems, however, the aetiology of addiction must not merely be resituated in forces governing the static subject/object interface, but furthermore in the manifestation of discursive and ideological, physical and material forces that function to mediate the broader inter*dependencies* between substance, subjectivity, and space. Prior to the final crash of the pathology paradigm and its dis-/re-placement by the irreducible reconceptualization of addiction in the terms of *p/re/in-scription*, the chapter now turns to a more detailed analysis of how the inter-/intra-activity between the media, technology, and materiality of substance, in tandem with the co-dependent forces of consumption and control, works to animate the always already cyborg entities of the addicted body and the addicted city.

CAPITALISM AND THE CONSUMPTION
OF CONTROLLED SUBSTANCE

Prior to substantiating the theoretical reconceptualization of addiction in the irreducible terms of *p/re/in-scription*, however, it is first necessary to extend the previous arguments regarding freedom and the subject of drugs by conducting a more detailed analysis of the relationship between addiction, capitalism, and the *consumption* of *controlled* substance. Examined in its multiplicity of generalized forms, the critical interplay between addiction and consumption begins to be revealed. The forces of surveillance and spectacle, control and consumption, centrally characterize the (late-) capitalist cityscape, the home of narcotic modernity throughout its successive socio-spatial permutations; as such, these co-dependent forces can be understood as *p/re/*in-scribed in the cyborg subject of drug/addiction. Here, fuelling the present era of the addicted city, the pandemic pathologization symptomatic of 'addiction attribution' of epidemic proportions implicates an ever-increasing range of human behaviours above and beyond the consumption of 'controlled' drugs.

   In this conception, addiction describes an obsessive-compulsive relationship to the act of consumption itself (Critical Art Ensemble 1996; Reith 2004), where the pathologization of certain forms and habits of consumption in contemporary Western culture corresponds, as Reith (2004, 284) argues, to the "proliferation of various 'addict' identities".[11] Central to the neoliberal culture of (late-)capitalist (narco-)modernity, as Reith writes, the act and ideology of consumption is "presented as a creative, symbolic force" (285), directly participating in the formation of identity. Encapsulated by the phrase '*free to choose*', freedom in this context becomes a form of self-governance, subjectivity being (re-)fashioned and creatively (re-)constructed through ostensibly autonomous acts of consumption. The subtly coercive cultural enforcement of regulated consumption, however, serves to position moderate capitalist consumption as a form of social control (Critical Art Ensemble 1996, 114–15). Furthermore, the tensions between unrestrained hedonist consumption or immediate gratification and self-discipline/control, as Reith asserts, characterize the central cultural contradiction of capitalism, leading to "the interaction and convergence of practices of consumption with discourses of 'addiction'" (2004, 286).

   Addiction therefore represents a discursive vehicle serving to designate and demarcate deviant or disorderly types of consumption, thereby articulating a loss of (self-)control, or in other words the "subordination of personal agency to some external or unwilled mechanism" (Reith 2004, 286). Uprooting and destabilizing the core neoliberal values of choice, autonomy, and freedom, addiction fundamentally disrupts the image of the sovereign, independent consumer in the alchemy-like (trans)mutation of "freedom into determinism and desire into need" (286). Inscribed as a loss of will power, personal control, and freedom, addiction is in turn situated as a threat to the

fragile socio-spatial order of the inherently hallucinatory and intoxicating (post-)industrial, (late-)capitalist landscape of (narco-)modernity, where the "call and response chant of *just say no*" represents "the totalizing slogan of life in late capital" (Critical Art Ensemble 1996, 115).[12]

Implicating a range of obsessive-compulsive disorders rooted in notions of self-control, production, and productivity, the pathologization of consumption then extends to various sorts of control exercised over the subject/body. Emblematizing addictions to behaviours of (self-)control based on perceptions of *un*healthy 'assertions of the will' (Sedgwick 1992, 584), in the case of the 'exercise addict' or 'workout junkie', as much as the figure of the 'workaholic', the subject's varying enactments of self-control come to be framed as a *loss* of personal control and agency (Reith 2004, 284). Shifting seamlessly from disorders of consumption to pathologies of control, the body remains the central focus of behavioural forms of addiction. Signalling a profound distrust of and discomfort with the prosthetic 'nature' of the drug/addict, the ever-expanding list of obsessive-compulsive relationships with things and selves, consumption and control, register as expressions of abjection and disgust: a palpable sense of being ill-at-ease or in a state of *dis-ease* with our collective cyborg ontology (Derrida 1993; Goodeve 1999; Haraway 1991; Ronell 1992; K. Stewart 2007).

"When the real is no longer what it was", remarked Baudrillard, "nostalgia assumes its full meaning" (1994, 6). Conflicted by the inherent 'technological condition' that has reduced any conception of the natural or 'organic' body to nostalgia-infused, anachronistic representations (Derrida 1993), consumption and control mark twin paths of instinctual recourse, constituting both fight *and* flight. Rooted in the logic of supplementarity, on the one hand, consumption assuages the anxiety of addicted bodies through recourse to the mirror world of things: exercises of self-control accomplished by forging direct relationships of incorporation with commodities: the stuff of capitalism, the substance of simulacra.[13] Clinging to antiquated conceptions of 'purity' and the 'natural' body, on the other hand, compulsive exercise and 'unhealthy' relationships to work similarly function as the production-driven assertions of addictive (self-)control that in some cases help dispel the fears brought about by (drug-induced) prosthetic subjectivity by subjecting the body to various exercises in (self-)discipline and (self-)control (Ronell 1992, 33). Deliberately entangling the body in the machinery of capitalist production, such behavioural patterns thus constitute the consuming of what Marcel Mauss (1973) termed techniques of the body, a body that is romantically imagined to be driven and controlled by the self.[14]

As with the case of other pathologized behaviours brought into the (elliptical?) orbit of *addiction-mania* specific to the shifting phases of (late-)capitalist, (post-)industrial (narco-)modernity (Critical Art Ensemble 1996), addiction—as it becomes manifest in the context of the illicit, deviant, disorderly consumption of controlled substances—shares a complex relationship to the volatile dynamic between consumption and control in each successive

permutation of the *addicted city* (Wild 2002). Here, it is important to emphasize that while the complementary, intimately inter-related notions of consumption and control have been variously implicated and evoked throughout the preceding chapters in producing and animating the body of the addict and the social body of the city, shaping and informing, *dictating* and *inscribing* the innately cyborg ontology of the subject of drug/addiction, as much as the prosthetic subjectivity of the addicted city, the consumption/control interplay is not representative of a simplistic set of oppositional, binary forces or energies.

Unlike the reductionism of binary opposition, in this analysis, consumption and control are not distinct or separate entities, but instead share a dynamic, interdependent, mutually constituting continuum (not unlike the relationship between the body of the addict and the social body of the city) composed of shifting socio-spatial configurations of force (Deleuze 1995b). Materializing as (physical, ideological, mediated, and ephemeral) constellations of *surveillance* and *spectacle* (Debord 1994, 12; Foucault 1977, 195–203; Jay 1993) the consumption/control interplay therefore functions to prevent and police the transgression, destabilization, or collapse of normative socio-spatial boundaries, both delineating and fortifying the traditional (albeit artificially constructed) borders between public and private, inside and outside, space and the body. Thoroughly disentangleable, the control/consumption dynamic touches down in mutually implicating expressions and gestures, discourses and representations, interventions and policies that permeate all dimensions of socio-spatial inhabitation in the cyborg landscape of (late-)capitalist (narco-)modernity, where the successive built forms of *phantasmagoria*, *spectacle*, and *hyper-reality* provide shelter for the 'creatures of the simulacrum' who people the addicted city (Ronell 1992, 57; Wild 2002).[15]

Positioning substance as a form of sustenance, Ronell (1992, 63) suggests that the question of drugs "makes us ask what it means to consume anything, anything at all",[16] setting off a multiplicity of corollary questions concerning control situated at the interstices of the space, subject, and substance of addiction.

First, embodying the persistent moral–criminological authority of prohibitionism, an en*force*ment-driven effort either to eradicate or exert complete control over access to 'controlled' substances. Manifesting in the re-en*force*ment of borders and the forcible confinement of bodies, such measures are ostensibly enacted to prevent the consumption of illicit substances from consuming the addicted subject's self-control (Reith 2004),[17] incarceration standing in as the authorities' generous response to the potential for enslavement.[18] Through attempts to realign deviant or disorderly consumptive habits with the central neoliberal notions of *self*-control through (moderate, material) consumption (Critical Art Ensemble 1996; Reith 2004), a diverse multiplicity of disciplinary regimes were born, where, as Reith (2004, 290) explains, "[i]f individuals were unable to control themselves then the techniques and institutions of the state would do it for them". Such

analysis works to highlight the increasingly blurred distinction between legal and bio-medical approaches to 'containing' the phenomena of addiction (variously posed as *problem*, *issue*, or *question*), where the detox centre and the prison begin to bear a startling resemblance.

Intimately aligned with the project of pathologization, institutional public health harm reduction policy espouses an ostensibly 'amoral' or 'value-neutral' agenda that merely seeks to restrict the setting and context of drug use, engaging the addicted subject's relationship to controlled substance in the terms of 'risk' and 'harm', translated as the control-laden notions of 'safe' and 'supervised' consumption (Hathaway and Erickson 2003; Keane 2003; Miller 2001; C. Smith 2012, 216). From the systematically silenced, radical libertarian perspective of the 'user', however, we witness a collective series of (consumptive) gestures might be read as a controlled response: an autonomously, consciously chosen adaptation to the always already a(du)ltered urban environment, glaringly exposed as an integral extension of the subject's neuro/chemical circuitry (Buck-Morss 1992, 12–13). Exposing substance as the essential intermediary structuring the inter-/intra-activity between affect and environment (inside and outside), however marginal/ized, such discourse reveals the co-constituting forces of consumption and control as the essential underlying structure of the sense/state/scape of addiction to the intoxicating drug/dream/disease of (late-)capitalist (narco-)modernity.

Attempting to account for the genesis of pandemic pathologization and mass 'addiction attribution' in the late twentieth century, Sedgwick (1992, 587) proposes that the answer lies in "the peculiarly resonant relations [. . .] between the problematics of addiction and the consumer phase of international capitalism". In order to further *ground* or *flesh out* this analysis, it is therefore imperative to theoretically resituate and investigate drug/[culture]/addiction in relation to (late-)capitalist 'consumer culture' and the shift from disciplinary to 'control societies' (Deleuze 1995b; Foucault 1977). According to Deleuze, Foucault's model of disciplinary society operated through "major sites of confinement . . . each with its own laws", characterized by "long-term, infinite, and discontinuous" forms of power (1995b, 177–81).

Reaching their height in the early twentieth century, Foucault himself glimpsed the end of disciplinary societies, asserting that the panoptical machinery of power had begun to bleed "from the penal institution to the entire social body" (1977, 298). Advancing Foucault's insights, Deleuze (1995a, 174) argued that capitalist societies "no longer operate[d] by confining people, but through continuous control and instant communication", rearticulating power as fluid, unbounded, and continuous, representing a ubiquitous, amorphous media of control permeating even the most banal aspects of everyday urban life. With the general breakdown of sites of institutional confinement (prisons, hospitals, schools, the family), Deleuze suggests a 'new monster' emerged in the shape of *control*: "ultra-rapid forms of apparently free-floating control that are taking over from the major disciplines at work within the time scales of closed systems" (1995b, 178).[19]

Stigmatized as deviant, disorderly, and diseased, from its very moment of diagnosis the cyborg subject of drug/addiction—that is, the abject body of the addict—stands with other pathologically typologized outcasts of urban modernity as a body *de-valued* by the dominant ideologies of neoliberal (late-)capitalism. In response to the fundamental question underlying popular drug discourse—that is, *what do we as society 'hold against' the consumer of illicit substances?*—Derrida (1993, 4) suggests that this collective devaluation is measured in the elementary capitalist concepts of production and consumption, where the drug/addict is popularly perceived to exist almost exclusively outside normative capitalist relations, and is thus legitimate (albeit secretly) only in the context of in/direct participation in traditional systems of production and consumption.[20]

As Reith argues, 'addiction' sharply contradicts the ideological core of sovereignty, freedom, and choice underlying the discourse of consumption central to (late-)capitalist modernity, where "rather than consuming to realize the self, in the state of addiction, the individual is consumed *by* consumption, the self destroyed" (2004, 286). While certain forms of consumption are valued and encouraged, in other words, others represent the loss of agency and autonomy, pathologized accordingly as 'epidemics of the will', thus immediately signaling the imposition of social control (Critical Art Ensemble 1996; Sedgwick 1992; Valverde 1998). Notions of 'addiction' or 'pathology', as Reith (2004, 284) further explains, "are actually ciphers for concerns about issues of social control . . . that are part of a dynamic process located within a matrix of socio-economic relations of power and governance, and within which particular configurations of identity and subjectivity are embedded".

Reiterating Burroughs's (1987, xxxvii) commentary in "Deposition: Testimony Concerning a Sickness", "[j]unk is the ideal product . . . the ultimate merchandise. No sales talk is necessary. The client will crawl through a sewer and beg to buy. . . . The junk merchant does not sell his product to the consumer, he sells the consumer to his product".[21] Positing Burroughs's junk/capitalism equation or '*algebra of need*' as an inversion of traditional consumer-commodity relations, Brodie and Redfield (2002, 8) argue that drug/addiction thus reveals "a hallucination that is in fact the truth of consumer capitalism".[22] In this conception, the notion of addiction might thus merely serve to pathologize "the predicament of the normative subject of late capitalism" (6).

Crack cocaine provides an illustrative example of the effective conflation between desire and fulfilment surrounding illicit consumption and controlled substances, revealing the intimate, techno-prosthetic substance of drugs in terms of 'commodity fetishism'. A 'pure' example of what she terms "Being-on-drugs", Ronell (1992, 25) writes that crack is "only about producing a need for itself", thereby "disappoint[ing] the pleasure a drug might be expected to arouse". (The crack 'high', in this description, is virtually inseparable from want, desire, or the sense/state/scape of 'jonesing',[23] producing a fundamentally insatiable super-capacity in the subject that can

only be fulfilled through repetitive, obsessive-compulsive consumption or administration of the substance.)[24]

In his analysis of the commodity, Karl Marx (1977) employed the term 'fetishism' to explain how the supposed value inherent in objects obscures their underlying social relations and forces of production. Described by Reith (2004, 287) as "the process whereby the social relations congealed within the commodity form appear as a relation between things", *commodity fetishism* is applicable to the case of drug/addiction as the surrounding 'rhetoric of drugs' functions to mask and mystify larger social/structural forces (Derrida 1993). In spite of their 'illicit', 'controlled' status, 'black market' drugs in many instances mimic the marketing of ordinary consumer commodities.[25] Extending from the commodity fetishism of drug/addiction, then, we find the (drug/consumer) cultural fetishization of the addict identity:

> The figure of 'the addict' was characterized as a deviant identity; one that was lacking in willpower, and whose consumption was characterized by frenzied craving, repetition and loss of control. These individuals had failed to manage the new relations required by consumer modernity—rather than enriching their lives with moderate consumption, they were being overwhelmed and even destroyed by immoderate impulses. The fear of loss of control returned to the original meaning of addiction as literal enslavement. . . . Addicts destabilized the hierarchy of mind and body, and transgressed the boundary that kept production and consumption in balance. They were unable to do anything *but* consume . . .
>
> (Reith 2004, 289)

Drug use, as Derrida argued, is not condemned on the basis of its synthetic euphoria or 'artificial paradise', but rather because it is both perceived as being 'desocializing' and at the same time posed as a source of inherently transgressive social contagion (1993, 10; also see Baudelaire 1996). Resonating with Derrida's assertions, Ronell (1992, 7) suggests that "[w]hen some bodies introduce drugs to the call of addiction, every body is on the line", thus simultaneously implicating not only the individual body of the addict, but also the social body of the addicted city in its successive socio-spatial permutations throughout 'our narcotic modernity' (Derrida 1993, 7). Extending this analysis, it becomes clear that the socio-spatial disorder of drug/addiction is inscribed with yet another inherently threatening dimension: the transgression of the private/public distinction fundamental to the fragile sense of order upon which the capitalist cityscape rests (7).

Returning to the voices and perspectives of individual *drug/service users*, we find ourselves confronting a spectre that has appeared in various ghostly guises throughout much of the discussion contained in previous chapters: autonomy. Here it is of fundamental importance to acknowledge that in some cases, the consumption of controlled substance might be understood and experienced as a conscious, premeditated, and *conrol/led* response (or, rather, formal hard-wired reply) to the sense of *control* inherent (and perhaps

p/re/in-scribed) in the urban landscape of (late-)capitalist (narco-)modernity. As opposed to being *consumed by* consumption, in other words, the autonomous ingestion of illicit drugs may thus constitute an adaptive, situationally symptomatic or environmentally informed 'practice of the self'—a technology acting to facilitate the interdependent folding between subjectivity and space as substance-becoming-body/city-becoming-substance (Deleuze and Guattari 1987; Dovey et al. 2001; Duff 2004; Fitzgerald and Threadgold 2004; Foucault 1997; Malins 2004; Malins et al. 2006; Reith 2004; C. Smith 2012). Understood as a self-actualizing media, the (techno-prosthetic/instrumental) *use* of drugs represents a vehicle for reclaiming subjectivity from the colonizing forces that compose the ideological machinery, urban techno-/infra-structure, and disorienting, intoxicating experience of (late-)capitalist (narco-)modernity itself.

From this vantage, popular anxieties surrounding drug/addiction may reside in the explicit and transparent assertion of the inherently cyborg nature of (late-)capitalist subjectivity (and, for that matter, all socio-spatial bodies) that the consumption of controlled substance represents—the site where the collapsed distinctions between space, subject/ivity, and substance are rendered stark, setting off a chain of projections in the social body of the addicted city. Building on this line of argumentation, perhaps the aetiology of all hybrid, cyborg, prosthetic socio-spatial forms lies in the ideological machinery of capitalism itself, implicating the prosthetic ontology of the cyborg subject of drug/addiction as an indirect by-product of the grand (narrative) processes of (late-)capitalist, (narco-)modern creative–destructive synthesis called production and consumption. Drawing together such analysis, Bruce K. Alexander's (2000, 2008) hypothesis concerning *the globalization of addiction* and *the roots of addiction in free-market capitalism* begins to become considerably more tangible and concrete.

From the liberationist perspective, as Derrida (1993, 6–7) remarks, the use of foreign, controlled, or illicit substance is often posited not only as a vehicle for liberation from the forces of oppression and repression that have come to characterize the inscriptions of control found throughout the (late-)capitalist, (post-)industrial, cityscape, but also as a means of critical–creative inspiration and expression uninhibited by forces of suppression or repression. Discussing illicit consumption prior to the formal concretization of the 'addict' typology at the turn of the twentieth century, Sedgwick (1992, 582) suggests that opiate use derived from the desire or demand for functionality in the rapidly changing political, economic, social, cultural, and, importantly, physical/material/spatial landscape of early capitalist modernity. Such use, as Sedgwick (582) argued, "brought into realistic conformity with the material exactions of their lives their levels of concentration, their temporality, or their alertness to stimuli such as pain".

If addiction is a phenomenon informed by the forces of consumption and control that have come to characterize the shifting urban landscapes of (late-/narco-)capitalist modernity, it is therefore equally important to

consider the *drug-like* experience of intoxication produced by the various permutations of the addicted city: the successive stages of the drug/dream/disease of our narcotic modernity. Prior to setting out on this most unconventional excavation, journey, project, or undertaking, however, we must topple the dangerously teetering pathology paradigm, giving substance to the theoretical reconceptualization of addiction as *p/re/in-scription*.

P/RE/IN-SCRIPTION: SUBSTANCE AND SOCIO-SPATIAL PALIMPSESTS

Posed in the terms of *p/re/in-scription*, through a bit piece (re-)assemblage of embodied theoretical fragments salvaged from the smouldering wreckage of crashing and burning the pathology paradigm, a critical reconceptualization of addiction begins to emerge. Signalling a multiplicity of in-built simultaneous trajectories—trajectories of origin, of evolution, and of implication—*p/re/in-scription* serves to *re-inscribe* the notion of addiction as a liminal phenomenon inhabiting the interstices of substance, space, and subjectivity throughout the creative–destructive (re-)development of the 'pipe dream'[26] of our narcotic modernity, existing in the critical interstices *between* language and landscape, stimuli and response, affect and environment, sense and expression, neuron and receptor. A close examination of addiction as *p/re/in-scription* thus affords us the ability to seamlessly transition into the third section of the book—*Narco/State: Excavating the Addicted City*—concerning the socio-spatial permutations of our narcotic modernity, beginning with the *city of shock and phantasmagoria* that emerged at the dawn of the twentieth century with the social construction or invention of the addict as a typology of moral–criminological deviance, and concluding with the present day *city as site of 'safe'/'supervised' consumption*.

Symptoms of disease, as Taussig (1992, 83) remarks, "are not *only* biological and physical, but *are also* signs of social relations disguised as natural things". Initiating the process of *crashing and burning*, this chapter thus turns to complete the task of tearing down what little remains of the prevailing 'disease' model for addiction research and treatment, arguing for the *depathologization* of drug dependence by suggesting that addiction is symptomatic of the dynamic intersections between substance, space, and subjectivity produced by the relentlessly regenerating (late-)capitalist urban landscape of our narcotic modernity. In spite of its widespread acceptance by bio-medical authorities, the pathology paradigm has been subject to increasing criticism by social scientists (Courtwright 2010; Keane 2003; Miller 2001; Reinarman 2005; Roe 2005). By focusing exclusively on the individual addict, critics fault the disease model for ignoring consideration of broader social determinants, thus constituting a kind of 'addiction fetishism', abstracting and alienating the phenomenon of addiction from the social forces underlying its production (Granfield 2004). Canadian addiction research pioneer Bruce

K. Alexander directly challenges the bio-medical paradigm by arguing that addiction is created by the acute sense of 'psycho-social dislocation' that is effectively mass-produced by free market societies, as individuals are systematically cut off from "traditional family, community, and religious ties . . . in order to maintain a free market in labour, land, currency and consumer goods . . . allow[ing] an unencumbered pursuit of individual and corporate wealth" (2000, 502). In the absence of meaningful forms of psycho-social *integration*, Alexander (504) further asserts, the acute sense of *dislocation* indigenous to capitalism leads to the construction of 'substitute lifestyles', most often taking the form of addictive practices:

> Because Western society is now based on free-market principles which mass-produce dislocation, and because dislocation is the precursor to addiction, addiction to drug use and other substitute lifestyles within Western society is not the pathological state of a few, but, to a greater or lesser degree, the general condition.[27]

Alexander's renowned '*rat park*' experiments offer perhaps the most tangible scientific evidence concerning the relationship between affect, environment and addiction. Attempting to demonstrate the role of environmental conditions in shaping and informing addictive behaviours, during the early 1980s Alexander and his collaborators created two different environments for two separate control groups of morphine-dependent lab rats. During the experiment researchers noted that the control group housed in traditional laboratory cages consistently remained dependent, consuming significantly more morphine than their counterparts contained in 'rat park'—an expansive environment approximately 200 times larger than the standard cages, where the rats were not isolated from one another and provided with an abundance of food, exercise toys and other stimuli. "[M]orphine may", Alexander et al. (1981, 574) concluded from these experiments, "reinforce isolated rats by relieving stress resulting from social and sensory isolation". Using the case study of Vancouver's Downtown Eastside,[28] Alexander (2000, 2008) subsequently chronicled the link between addiction and urban centres, home to large, competitive economic markets actively mass-producing psycho-social dislocation.

In her meditation on generalizing the notion of addiction, Ronell refers back to the poetic, aphoristic question posed by Nietzsche: "Who will ever relate the whole history of narcotica?—It is almost the history of 'culture,' of our so-called high culture" (Nietzsche [1974], quoted in Ronell 1992, 3). Marked by the dynamic, interdependent forces of surveillance and spectacle, consumption and control, (late-)capitalist (narco-)modernity exercises a plethora of multiple, simultaneous fluid forms of socio-spatial power by ensuring 'safe' forms of consumption, while contemporary 'consumer culture' has in and of itself come to constitute a medium of social control (Critical Art Ensemble 1996; Derrida 1993; Reith 2004). According to this trajectory, addiction therefore represents a generalized, conditioned response to the 'cultural logic of late-capitalism' (Jameson 1991; Sedgwick

1992), structured by the interdependent forces of consumption and control, strategically masked in the guises of surveillance and spectacle, 'safety' and 'supervision' (Smith 2012).

Tracing the relationship between notions of shock, phantasmagoria, and modern urban experience through the work of Walter Benjamin (1999)—who was in turn drawing from that most infamous literary junky of early narcotic modernity, Charles Baudelaire (1946, 1947a, 1947b, 1996)—Buck-Morss (1992, 21) similarly posits drug/addiction as an intrinsic part of (narco-)modernity as the "correlate and counterpart to shock" produced by the addicted city of (narco-)modernity and the attendant intoxication of (late-)capitalist urbanism. The stimuli produced by the socio-spatial conditions of the (late-)capitalist cityscape, Buck-Morss writes, constitute an indisputably inter-connected extension of the human nervous system, where the "technologically altered environment exposes the human sensorium to physical shocks that have their correspondence in psychic shock" (16–17). The experience of modern urban life as a form of shock, furthermore, directly corresponds to the development of phantasmagoria at the beginning of the nineteenth century, where Buck-Morss suggests "a narcotic was made out of reality itself" (22).

Describing "an appearance of reality that tricks the senses through technical manipulation", phantasmagoric forms began to people the urban landscape at the turn of the twentieth century, with the goal of manipulating individuals' sensory perception through "control of environmental stimuli", thereby effectively "anaesthetizing the organism, not through numbing, but through flooding the senses" (Buck-Morss 1992, 22). Similar to drugs, phantasmagoric forms function to alter consciousness, though they accomplish this through "sensory distraction rather than chemical alteration" (22–23). "[W]hereas drug addicts confront a society that challenges the reality of their altered perception", Buck-Morss writes, "the intoxication of phantasmagoria itself becomes the social norm . . . [and] sensory addiction to a compensatory reality" forms an instrument of social control (23).[29]

Relating Buck-Morss's (1992) discussion to Derrida's (1993) commentary concerning 'our narcotic modernity', the relationship between addiction and urban space comes sharply into focus. In popular perception, Derrida (1993, 4) asserts, the prosthetic ontology of the addict constitutes little more than "simulation and fiction", and thus exists outside or apart from traditional conceptions of 'community'. Adding that the consumption of controlled substance leads to the loss of distinction between fantasy and reality, the natural and the artificial, Derrida concludes that in common conceptions, the drug/addict is effectively incapable of meaningfully engaging in normative forms of capitalist production. Rendering stark the interdependent nature of capitalism, consumption, control, and city space, Derrida characterizes prohibitionist contempt for illicit consumers in the terms of 'nonwork' and 'unproductivity', situating the addict as an 'exile' from 'objective reality' and corresponding conceptions of community found in the 'real life of the city' (4).

Reflecting on Buck-Morss's (1992, 22–23) analysis of shock and phantasmagoria drawn from her reading of both Walter Benjamin (1999, 2003) and Charles Baudelaire (1995, 1996), we might ask: what is the *'real life of the city'* from which the addict seeks to escape, when 'sensory addiction to a compensatory reality'—that is, 'the intoxication of phantasmagoria itself'—has become an essential media of social control? In light of urban redevelopment campaigns that increasingly seek to re-brand the inner city as a privileged space of hyper-mediated consumption, in other words, what is the contemporary urban cityscape itself if not a 'world of simulacrum and fiction'[30] (Derrida 1993, 4; also see Barnes et al. 2006; Short 1999; N. Smith 1996; Zukin 1995)? Following from these arguments, addiction must therefore be understood as a generalized sense, state, or scape symptomatic of the techno-mediated built form of (late-)capitalist (narco-)modernity, fundamentally constituting a kind of *p/re/in-scription*—a phenomenon simultaneously prescribed and scripted, inscribed, (p)re-inscribed and de-inscribed. Describing a slate or writing surface where the original imprints have been overwritten yet remain as fading traces, the notion of *palimpsest* encapsulates both effacement and re-inscription (Harvey 1973; Huyssen 2003; C. Smith 2011a). Not unlike space, subjectivity can also be seen as palimpsest-like: a template or surface that can be repeatedly re-inscribed, yet always retains traces of its originary imprints, however faint.

P/re/in-scription: we are *pre-inscribed* to want, conditioned from birth to nurture material, emotional, and physical forms of desire; bio-medical authorities diagnose and *prescribe* solutions to internal emotional ills drawn from the endless panacea of the corporate pharmacopia; our movements, identities, and desires are *scripted*, predetermined by social conditionings of class, gender, and ethnicity; not unlike urban built form, our subjectivity is (*de-/re-)inscribed* by the interdependency of both substance and space, and the dynamic inter-/intra-activity between notions of consumption and control. Under this framework, addiction is simultaneously written into the body through (pre-)inscriptions of neuro/chemical circuitry (Mate 2008), written on the body in metaphors of socio-spatial contagion (Sommers 1998; Sommers and Blomely 2002; Woolford 2001), and an inherently *prescriptive* state that conjures both the individual drug/addict and the social body politic through invocations of the 'moral geography' of the addicted city (Derrida 1993; Ruddick 2002; Sibley 1995). Here it is worth reiterating Ronell's (1992, 7) assertion that "when some bodies introduce drugs as a response to the call of addiction", every imaginable social and spatial body is 'on the line', subjected to "tampering and engineering, rebuilding and demolition", and that "sometimes the state has a hand in it".

And herein lies the inherent complexity signalled by—and *written into*—the conception of p/re/in-scription. Derrida characterizes prohibitionist discourse as an attempt to protect the 'natural', 'organic' nature of all socio-spatial bodies, described as a 'desire to reconstitute', rescue, or reclaim the 'ideal' or 'perfect' body (1993, 7). In Derrida's view, therefore, the 'war on drugs' is a war waged against synthetic, pathological, and explicitly

'foreign' forms of aggression that pose a fundamentally transgressive threat to normative perceptions of the 'organic' and 'natural' body (7), a body that is simultaneously individual and collective, physical and ideological, social and spatial, always already described in the substance-infused shape/space of a city: simultaneously constituting substance-becoming-body-becoming-city/city-becoming-body-becoming-substance (Fitzgerald and Threadgold, 2004).

Just as (socio-cultural) *excavation* might be seen as the most appropriate methodological metaphor for our impending investigation of the successive socio-spatial permutations of our narcotic modernity, social etymology proves particularly salient in further re-articulating drug/addiction in the terms of *p/re/in-scription*. Originated in ancient Roman law, the word 'addict' denoted a form of enslavement, indebtedness, and surrender to a master (Reith 2004, 286). Traced back to the Greek words meaning cut, carve, scratch, or imprint, 'script', on the other hand, emerged from the Latin *scriptum*, meaning a book, law, line, or mark. From the Latin form *scriptum* then evolved the term *præscriptionem*, implying orders expressed in written form. Shifting attention away from notions of enslavement, reconceptualizing addiction as *p/re/in-scription* therefore necessarily entails a consideration of substance-inscribed socio-spatial marks and imprints. More specifically, this theoretical re-inscription hinges on revealing how p/re/in-scription both conjures and repositions the media/technology of substance (i.e., the *object* of drugs) as an intermediary conduit or instrument of mediation between the abject body of the addict (i.e., the *subject* of drugs) and the social body of the addicted city (i.e., as represented in relation to the '*disorder of drugs*') through the processes of socio-spatial inscription, body-space 'folding', and 'assemblage' (Deleuze 1988, 1995b; Deleuze and Guattari 1987; Dovey et al. 2001; Fitzgerald and Threadgold, 2004; Malins 2004; C. Smith 2011b).

In this re-reading, p/re/in-scription poses drug dependence as a phenomenon dictated by the inter-dynamic, relational configurations of consumption and control particular to the ever-shifting (late-)capitalist urban landscape. Simultaneously symptom and cause of the perpetually re-formulating consumption/control equation, the consumption of 'controlled' substance becomes cartographically encoded in discursive projections of the 'disorder of drugs', articulating a series of literal and metaphorical dynamic, interdependent relations between substance, space, and subjectivity. P/re/in-scription thus constitutes a conceptual remapping of dynamic inter-/intra-activity at the interstices between the *subject* of addiction/treatment, the *place* of drug/addiction in the (late-)capitalist addicted city, and the underlying, always already animating, techno-mediating, *p/re/in-scribing* force of substance, signalling the multiplicity, complexity, and ambiguity surrounding the question of addiction. Demonstrating the irreducibility of addiction to moral, criminological, *or* bio-medical models, p/re/in-scription therefore denotes multiple simultaneous trajectories, explicitly re-emphasizing the inherently political stakes of addiction research and treatment. Seen through this lens or framework, p/re/in-scription thus represents a fluid conceptual tool that not only reveals the inadequacies of earlier paradigms, but perhaps more

importantly resituates drug/addiction as a generalized, normative, symptomatic adaptive phenomenon intimately co-responding to the rapidly shifting forms of intoxication attending each successive (late-)capitalist, (post-)industrial stage of our narcotic modernity (Alexander 2000, 2008; Derrida 1993; Sedgwick 1992; Ronell 1992).

Discussing the neuro-biology of addiction, prominent Canadian physician and author Gabor Maté (2008) hones in on the relationship between addiction and the neuro/chemical inscription central to formative childhood development. Unlike any other mammal on the planet, Maté explains, the human brain develops at a faster rate during the initial post-birth period than it did in the womb (182). During this crucial developmental stage, negative stimuli or the absence of caring and creative stimulation therefore literally become inscribed or hard-wired in the subject's neuro/chemical circuitry. Providing compelling bio-medical and physiological evidence supporting *p/re/in-scription*, Maté asserts that the overwhelming majority of chronically substance-dependent individuals endured conditions of 'severe adversity'—in many cases including trauma and abuse—during their early formative developmental years, thus leaving an 'indelible stamp' on the palimpsest-like nature of their subjectivity, responsible for leading to an inherent 'predisposition' to addictive behaviour pre-programmed in most cases even prior to the acquisition of language (187).

Through a series of playful theoretical exercises that works to defamiliarize, destabilize, deconstruct, problematize, and reconceptualize popular, professional, and street/user-based drug discourse, in other words, p/re/in-scription thus effectively functions to fundamentally re-script or *re-inscribe* the inherently scripted popular and professional discourse concerning the inter-relationship between consumption and controlled substance. Illustrating the mutually constituting nature of capitalism, consumption, control, and urban space, theoretically interrogating the discourse surrounding drugs as 'illicit', 'controlled', or 'foreign' substances therefore provides a crucial starting point towards unpacking the shifting socio-spatial permutations of the addicted city throughout (narco-)modernity (Derrida 1993; Wild 2002). As this line of theoretical inquiry posits, the phenomena of phantasmagoria and shock, spectacle and alienation that have characterized earlier eras of our narcotic modernity have radically evolved in the most recent (*late-/narco-*)capitalist manifestation of the pipe dream otherwise known as the creative–destructive project of modernity, rematerializing as the *city of 'safe'/'supervised' consumption*, fundamentally fuelled by the complementary, mutually constituting forces of *hyper-reality* and *psycho-social dislocation*. Fundamentally premised on *depathologizing* the notion of addiction, p/re/in-scription thus works to overtly *re-politicize* the subject of drug/addiction, underscoring the political imperative of the global drug user mantra "nothing about us, without us" (Canadian HIV/AIDS Legal Network 2008; also see Keane 2003; Miller 2001; C. Smith 2012), and gesturing to new ways of understanding the socio-spatial bodies of the addict/city outside

the tension between moral and bio-medical metaphors that characterizes discursive invocations of socio-spatial contamination by the 'disorder of drugs' (Fraser and Moore 2008; C. Smith 2010). Representing a re-*reading*, re-*writing*, and re-*wiring* of the dynamic inter-/intra-activity between substance, space, and subjectivity that together culminates in *a users' guide to the addicted city*, this analysis thus functions to counter regimes of urban redevelopment and representation that re-cast the contemporary (late-)capitalist cityscape itself as site of '*safe*'/'*supervised*' *consumption*.

CONCLUSION: THE HARD-WIRING
OF NARCOTIC MODERNITY

At the interstices between drug policy and urban planning policy, discursive opposition to the 'disorder of drugs' stakes strategic power in the blurring of boundaries between socio-spatial bodies. Mutually constituted in the language of health and illness, wellness and disease, in such instances social pathologies are projected on to specific urban spaces at the same time as environmental interventions intended to address the 'disorder of drugs' are aimed at bodies and behaviours deemed to be 'out of place', thus locating addiction itself as a *pathology (out) of place* (Cresswell 1996; C. Smith 2010; Takahashi 1997).

Resituating the 'nature' and aetiology of addiction in the fluid and simultaneous multiplicity of forces encoded in the notion of *p/re/in-scription*, post-*crashing and burning* finds the imprint left from the blunt force impact trauma of our intimate encounter with the pathology paradigm faded beyond recognition, rendered illegible by the subsequent substance-mediated inscriptions added to the ever-changing configurations of socio-spatial bodies.[31]

Through an iterative analysis of the critical interplay between illicit consumption and controlled substances, consumer culture and (late-)capitalist 'control' societies (Deleuze 1995a, 1995b), in place of the pathology paradigm this chapter presented evidence towards the creative–destructive *(re-) inscription* of addiction as a shape-shifting sense/state/scape dictated by successive socio-spatial permutations of the drug/dream/disease of our *narcotic* modernity (Alexander 2000, 2008; Buck-Morss 1992; Derrida 1993; Granfield 2004; Hickman 2004; Porter 1992; Reith 2004; Ronell 1992, 1993; Sedgwick 1992).

From the outset it is obvious that the complex and somewhat clumsy conceptual apparatus of *p/re/in-scription* will have little immediate tangible, *concrete* effect on the suffering of drug/service users[32]—who, borrowing from the discourse of the psychiatric survivor movement, are increasingly re-framing their experience and identity in the terms of 'drug war survivors' (Vancouver Area Network of Drug Users 2010)—in the immediate short-term. In the face of continuing enslavement by the pathological project,[33] instead the potential of p/re/in-scription lies in radically reclaiming addiction as a

sense/state/scape that informs—and is, in turn, informed by—the unceasing creative–destructive synthesis between substance, space, and subjectivity in the relentlessly redeveloping addicted city of (late-/narco-)capitalist modernity, experienced simultaneously as that of a *drug*, *dream*, and *disease*.

Revealing the central mediatory role of the media/technology of substance amidst the varied, multi-directional trajectories signalled by the notion of *p/re/in-scription*, this analysis has critically traced the elusive subject of drug/addiction through the interstices of language and landscape, sense and expression, affect and environment, inside and outside (Malins 2004; Massumi 1992; K. Stewart 2007). Throughout this leg of our exploratory investigation, journey, or 'trip', the analysis not only paused to illuminate the *prescribed*, *scripted* 'nature' of illicit consumption, and the *p/re/in-scription* of inter-connected neuro/chemical circuitry and attendant socio-spatial nervous systems (Buck-Morss 1992; Mumford 1986; Taussig 1992), but also slowed to point out an array of substance-informed (narco-) modern palimpsests.[34] Locating the plurality of sites where subjectivity and space are creative–destructively *p/re/in-scribed*,[35] together, this analysis has provided irrefutable evidence that the terms and locations for our discussion of pathology and place, disease and disorder have subtly but irrevocably shifted.

Reconceived as a blueprint, p/re/in-scription thus repositions modernity as a pathological project (Hickman 2004; Porter 1992; Reith 2004) and capitalism as the incarnate creative–destructive expression of the 'disease of addiction' (Alexander 2008; Critical Art Ensemble 1996; Sedgwick 1992). The critical–creative conceptual re-mapping of p/re/in-scription is therefore most concretely, coherently rendered in the physical and figurative, literal and metaphorical *excavation* and analysis of the shifting historical stages, phases, or socio-spatial permutations of the addicted city throughout (late-/narco-) capitalist modernity, in both representation and 'reality', blueprint and built form. Equating the machinery of modernity to the manifestation of pathology and capitalism as the social, political, and economic heart or engine of addiction (Alexander 2008; Critical Art Ensemble 1996; Porter 1992; Reith 2004), we therefore now proceed to the third section of the book, *Narco/ State: Excavating the Addicted City* in order to more concretely *anchor*, *ground*, *flesh out*, and *give body* to the inherently intoxicating language-and/ as-landscape of (late-)capitalist (narco-)modernity. Prior to archaeologically interrogating our present experiential embodiment of narcotic modernity, however, we must first historically trace and chart, explore and map out the drug/dream/disease of capitalist modernity, first following the migration and regulation of illicit/controlled/foreign substance throughout the *city of phantasmagoria and shock*, as well as the *city of spectacle and alienation*.

NOTES

1. Set against the urban landscape of (late-)capitalist (narco-)modernity, in other words, the subject of addiction is simultaneously a native species, indigenous to the socio-spatial architecture of the city, structured as it is by the forces of

consumption and control, and at the same time cast as a pariah, an abject entity that poses an inherent threat to the (healthy) social body of the city as a carrier and agent of contagion who threatens to taint and infect the urban through the intoxicating (socio-spatial) '*disorder of drugs*' (C. Smith 2010, 2014).

2. Employing a slightly more vivid and invocative body/space metaphor, because the bio-medical brain disease model houses addiction in an ill-fitting structure, maybe the entire exercise felt a whole lot like *banging your head against a wall*.

3. (first located, then lodged, or first found and then fused)

4. Borrowing from Heidegger, what Ronell (1992, 59) 'symptomatologizes' as '*being-on-drugs*' marks the "intersecting cut between freedom, drugs and the addicted condition", a disorienting and largely unmapped theoretical and philosophical terrain deserving of "interminable analysis whose heavily barred doors can be no more than cracked open with solitary research." Here it is perhaps worth noting that the research, writing, and successive bouts of revision that have gone into this ambitious yet meandering and circuitous tour through the mutually constituting, interdependent relationships between substance, space, and subjectivity, addiction, modernity, and the city as they have evolved throughout the successive phases or stages of our narcotic modernity, has been nothing but solitary, disappearing into this work constituting a means of '*keeping myself company*'.

5. Drugs are, after all, essentially poisons or toxins, hence the French term for addiction, *toxicomanie*.

6. *Freeze-frame, still-life, snap-shot #7:* **The accident in slow motion:** Growing out of the *crash* that follows from having swallowed or 'bought into' the bio-medical brain disease model, sparks from the blunt force impact begin to ignite nearby flammable materials (combustion collapsing into illicit consumption) until the entire structure is engulfed and consumed by fire, the distorted forms amidst twisted metal, mangled flesh, and shattered glass revealing the irreparably shaken, shattered foundation. First crashing, then burning; first impact, then explosion. Cautiously poking about in the smouldering remains after the last flames licked clean the post-accident wreckage, a new, amorphous assemblage begins to emerge from the ashes. *Crashing and burning*, in this sense, stands in as a lurid and almost literal metaphor for the collapse and eventual conflation of socio-spatial bodies, or the erosion and erasure of the borders and boundaries separating substance, space, and subjectivity: violently smashed or squashed together, the forms and contents of bodies become rearranged and (trans-/in-)fused with one another, producing new, hybrid—and thus, inherently transgressive—configurations upon impact, the resultant explosion and combustion leaving only faint traces (imprints, trans-/in-scriptions) of their pre-existing sense/state/scapes.

7. (or, rather, intentional, premeditated *smashing* and tearing down)

8. Here, in popular discourse surrounding illicit substance, subjects may or may not be *predisposed* to the 'dis-ease'/disease of addiction. The hereditary nature of the addiction, or the notion of genetic 'hard-wiring', in other words, is presently still being fiercely debated. Regardless of their significance, however, it is relevant to note that from a purely scientific perspective, genes are themselves environmentally influenced. Here, similar to Buck-Morss's (1992) discussion of the interdependent nature of the human brain and environmental stimuli, Maté (2008, 203) suggests that while genetics do play some role in the development of addictive behaviours, similar to the nervous system, genes are themselves highly influenced, shaped, and informed by environmental factors, unable to function without signals and cues derived from interacting with our everyday environmental surroundings.

9. (in which, according to pathological constructs, the fundamental structure and source of addiction is believed to reside, its *hard-wiring* as it were, pre-existing)

10. *Freeze-frame, still-life, snap-shot* #8: **American postindustrial decline, urban decay, and the parallel (shattered, broken) dreamscapes of 'black market' capitalism:** The ideological undercurrents of American popular culture provide a rich site through which to critically examine the intersections between freedom, addiction, and the structure/agency debate so fundamental to almost all sociologically informed inter-/trans-disciplinary fields of scholarly inquiry. Representing both the birthplace of the 'war on drugs' and the largest consumer market for illicit substances in the world, drugs undoubtedly occupy a central place in American popular culture and public imagination. Sharply contrasting the bio-medical brain disease model of addiction, the notion of *pulling one's self up by one's bootstraps* characterizes the sense of '*rugged individualism*' fundamental to the (inherently, ideologically, libertarian) 'American dream', where individuals are believed to be able to dramatically improve their socio-economic positioning through agency, will power, and individual effort. Contemporary American discourse on addiction is therefore characterized by an enduring conflict or tension between invocations of 'brain diseases' and 'bootstraps'. As Ronell (1992, 161) writes, "I blame America for the word 'intoxication.' It has corrupted the history of unprobed intensities and incredible rushes". From a slightly different perspective, the 'Cold War', therefore, morphed so seamlessly and almost naturally into the second formally declared era of U.S.-led conflict, a 'war' that has undeniably had profound global reach and repercussions: the 'War on Drugs'. In present day, however, at least ostensibly, at least on the surface, this 'War on Drugs' has been displaced or eclipsed by a different socially constructed form of (ideologically founded, capitalism-critiquing) threat: that of Islam and the so-called 'War on Terror'. Building on Ronell's assertion, perhaps the enduring central American fixation on intoxication suggests that the U.S. has played a defining role in shaping the global historical development/trajectory of narcotic modernity. As several U.S. states have legislated and effectively 'legalized' the recreational sale and use of marijuana at the time of this publication, it is somewhat ironic to recall that old U.S. red/blue political one-liner: '*a libertarian is a republican who smokes pot*'.

    Featured on state license plates, the expression "live free or die" is the official motto of New Hampshire, potently illustrating the libertarian political ethos of popular American culture. As an emblematic slogan of American popular ideology, *live free or die* offers critical insight into the addiction/freedom/consumption problematic. On one hand, *live free or die* can be read as an adamant assertion of one's right to chose one's own destiny, suggesting that death is preferable to control imposed by outside (institutional, authoritarian, hierarchical) forces. Extending this interpretation, the slogan can be seen as representing users' rights to self-determination, mobilized as in the case of tobacco smokers' rights to *choose* to consume a product that is widely known to cause cancer. On the other hand, however, *live free or die* might be read in a more literal manner, suggesting that individuals must live according to normative, imposed conceptions of 'freedom' or potentially face the ultimate consequence—loss of life—via the lethal use of repressive force or the deployment of the repressive state apparatus (Althusser 1971). Here, 'free' can be understood in the sense of *un-enslaved* by illicit substance, where succumbing to drug dependence means to forfeit one's right to 'life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness'.

11. In this context, the compulsive consumption of commodities and commercial goods has given rise to the pathologized identity of the 'shopaholic', which also has an established support system modeled after the 12-step structure of Alcoholics Anonymous (AA) and Narcotics Anonymous (NA) (http://www.shopaholicsanonymous.org/, consulted Sept. 28, 2010), while the pathologization

of over-eating and obesity has given rise to 12-step splinter groups such as 'Overeaters Anonymous' (http://www.oa.org/, consulted Sept. 28, 2010). The example of food provides insight into how pathologized disorders of consumption relate directly to anxieties surrounding the (always already cyborg) body, where along with over-eating, the refusal of food (anorexia) and the controlled, intermittent binging and purging of food (bulimia) are similarly diagnosed as 'addictive' behaviours (Sedgwick 1992, 583).

12. *Freeze-frame, still-life, snap-shot #9:* **The recurrent dream of the perfect commodity: reflections from your adolescent meditations along the newspaper delivery route:** Your first adolescent inklings (a searing inscription in memory) of the beginnings of an awkward relationship to commodities, the value supposedly inherent in the things of the world: the money you'd saved from your after school job delivering newspapers, and all the time you spent while tracing the tired delivery route, pondering what you would buy with all the money you had saved. All along your route, absent-mindedly musing about the abstractions of capital and accumulation, your parents' persistent working class insistence on the value and importance of 'being productive' and 'staying busy'. Even then the first seeds of addiction, its origins obscured by the dream of a perfect commodity. Not a toy, per se—your imagination already feeding on the substance of literature by that point, the narcotic-like intoxication of fictional narrative showing the first signs of possessing or consuming your mind—but something more akin to a machine or technology: a tool or prosthetic extension that could promise to do and fix everything. When the special-ordered Swiss Army Knife arrives and you immediately realize that it is last year's model (the 'ex-champion'), your anticipation dissipates, expectations crumble, and for the next two weeks you cry yourself to sleep in anguish at the mistake: almost—but not quite—perfect, the object seemed next to useless.

13. (*processed* food is, after all, often the most pointed target of anti-obesity campaigns)

14. *Freeze-frame, still-life, snap-shot #10:* **Blank space, endorphin junkies, and the cumulative weight of the capitalist work day:** Your ritualistic hour at the gym each day after work engaging with the exercise machines. The treadmill, the elliptical machine, the nautilus equipment: adjusting, fitting, and settling the body into each set of prescribed movements, the body is lulled, correspondingly slowing the mind into an almost elsewhere state, as stress, anxiety, and the worries of the surrounding socio-spatial world all recede with the rushing flood of endorphins, the motions of the body inducing this almost narcotic [**endo**genous + mo**rphin**e-like] neuro/chemical reaction in the brain, all brought on by your ritual devotion to exercise, your intimate exercise of discipline in the body's relationship to both internal and external machinery. The elliptical machine reads and monitors your heart rate, which is in turn modulated by your manipulation of the settings and programming of the machine's controls; faster and slower, forwards and back, inclining and declining, climbing and descending in prescribed patterns of inter-/intra-activity.

15. Indicative or symptomatic of the notion of prosthetic ontology and the figure of the cyborg, at the heart of this home there is a *pacemaker*.

16. One startling illustration of how drugs urge a conceptual rethinking of the notion of consumption can be seen in the case of crack cocaine, which is often referred to by street-level users and dealers in east-end downtown Toronto as 'food'; here, the slippage between metaphorical invocations of money migrating from 'dough' to 'bread' to 'cheddar' serve to add another layer of semiotic complexity to this theoretical reconceptualization of *substance* as a form of *sustenance*.

17. Read: eroding and breaking down, colonizing and possessing (Reith 2004; Valverde 1998)

18. Here, the threat of 'possession' by 'demon' drugs—deemed as a form of 'self-destruction'—is met with repressive force (control).

19. Given his status as one of the most infamous, influential, and unrepentant literary junkies of twentieth century urban modernity, it is relevant to note that Deleuze (1995a, 174) attributed the concept of 'control societies' to the writings of William S. Burroughs.

20. As Takahashi (1997) has noted, the notion of 'non-productivity' is a prominent theme in socio-spatial stigmatization relating to marginalized urban populations such as people living with HIV/AIDS and people who are homeless, identities that share close similarities with people who use drugs; here, in oppositional strategies employed in instances of *NIMBY* conflict surrounding the establishment or relocation of social services designed for such groups, the notion of 'non-productivity' is projected on to physical sites that service these populations and, by extension, the urban spaces where treatment and support facilities are located (C. Smith 2008, 2010, 2011b, 2014). Incisively revealing the roots of popular fears regarding users/consumers of controlled substance in capitalist ideology, such sentiment perhaps goes some distance towards explaining the research and treatment industries' attempts to humanize the subjects of drugs—who are also simultaneously research and treatment subjects, and therefore constructed under neoliberalism as 'clients' or 'consumers'—as hapless victims of diseased brains, or faultless sufferers of faulty neuro/chemical wiring, subjects born in the malfunctioning of capitalism's artificially isolated and contained nervous systems.

21. A longstanding street/user slang term for heroin, 'junk' connotes an object akin to trash, broken, or useless things (products or commodities) that have been discarded as their use value is exhausted and expended. As Martin Booth (1996, 199) suggests in the chapter entitled 'Junkies and the Living Dead' in his book *Opium: A History*, the social etymology of the term 'junky' dates to 1920s New York City, connoting "a junk-man, a rag-and-bone man or totter who travelled the streets buying scrap metal, wood and cloth", where New York based heroin users during this period "earned money by picking through the bumps for discarded metal to sell".

22. *Freeze-frame, still-life, snap-shot #11*: **On addiction and consumer capitalism:** The ability of controlled substances to invert and destabilize the conventional logic of contemporary consumer capitalism is reflected in the world of advertising where the images and discourse of marketing work to create desire by suggesting that a given product has the power to transform, change, and cement identity, in the form of (constructed) consumer 'lifestyles'. Here, as Robert Granfield (2004, 32) writes, "[i]s it really any wonder that there are addictions to all sorts of things when people are sold a bill of goods that promises that they will experience greater satisfaction in life if they use product A or product B?".

23. Street slang for a strong urge, desire, or craving, the term 'jones'/'jonesing' has entered the popular English lexicon, often in reference to the socially acceptable addictive substances of caffeine and tobacco (for example, 'jonesing for a cigarette'). Whether or not (and to what extent) this term is related to the popular (if by now only somewhat antiquated) expression 'keeping up with the Joneses' is a matter of social etymological speculation.

24. *Freeze-frame, still-life, snap-shot #12:* **Crack and/as fissures in the surface of the visible city: A story of love and implosion:** Will Self's (1998) short story "The Rock of Crack as Big as the Ritz", similarly describes the dizzying desire/fulfillment collapse integral to the experiential 'hit' of crack. "This is the hit" Self (1998, 21) writes, "[t]he whole hit of rock is to want *more rock*. The buzz of rock is itself the wanting of *more rock* . . . " (original emphasis). In this

sense, the ever-fleeting quality of crack leads to the blurring—and eventual erasure—of the distinctions between want and satisfaction, desire and fulfilment. With the blurring of these distinctions, the crack 'high' can be seen as being intimately related to (and in fact inseparable from) the desire for crack itself: *it is only about producing a need for itself*. This particular aspect of crack is perhaps best encapsulated by user descriptions, where in the act of smoking crack, the user's thoughts turn to the second 'hit' even before exhaling the first. In his book *My Cocaine Museum*, Surrealist anthropologist Michael Taussig (2004, 252) makes reference to cocaine as "crystallized shock". Seen from this perspective, we might begin to think of drugs, specifically in the case of crack cocaine, as the emblematic consumer product of (narco-)modernity, the (late-) capitalist fetishistic commodity par excellence.

25. ***Freeze-frame, still-life, snap-shot #13:* 'Black marketing' and the contemporary ethos of the American dream/hustler:** This phenomenon is most clearly illustrated in the case of '*designer*' drugs, such as *ecstasy*, typically associated with techno music and rave culture. Produced and sold in tablet form, ecstasy has traditionally been marketed based on the stamp impressed on each tablet, commonly consisting of images and logos that have been appropriated from consumer culture, including Calvin Klein, Armani, Nike, Adidas, Chanel, Lexus, Ferrari, etc. In a similar manner, in east coast American urban centres such as New York and Philadelphia, heroin and cocaine are typically sold in individual ten-dollar bags, each emblazoned with the stamp or logo of competing distributors. Commercially differentiating each different 'brand' of heroin or cocaine allows street-based users to choose between different products based upon the reputation of each brand's strength, purity, and effects (Moynihan 2010). While many of the stamps represent metaphorical allusions to the presumed quality and potency of their contents, similar to the case of ecstasy, the branding and (black) marketing of heroin and cocaine also often borrows from commercial elements of consumer commodities in the formal capitalist system, bearing the logos of Ralph Lauren *Polo* and *Life* magazine, among countless others (Moynihan 2010). The ubiquitous branding of heroin in New York City became the subject of a 2010 art show in New York's Lower East Side entitled the *Heroin Stamp Project*, which explored the intersections between advertising and addiction (Moynihan 2010).

26. The term 'pipe dream', as Jonnes (1996) points out, originally derived from largely unactualized, narcotic-induced dreams and visions of early twentieth century North American opium smokers.

27. In a very similar theoretical trajectory, Brodie and Redfield (2002, 6) assert that "addiction pathologizes the predicament of the normative subject of late capitalism".

28. For a more detailed history of socio-spatial stigmatization and representations of socio-spatial pathology regarding injection drug use, HIV/AIDS, poverty and Vancouver's *Downtown Eastside* (DTES), see Sommers 1998; Sommers and Blomley 2002; Woolford 2001.

29. In the contemporary (late-)capitalist cityscape, evidence of phantasmagoria can be seen in the development of major architectural spectacles, the 'disneyfication' of formerly run-down downtown urban cores, and the increasingly *mediated* nature of urban (public?) space (Debord 1994; Delaney 1999; Kellner 2003; Zukin 1995). Corresponding to the first formal stage or phase in the development and evolution of our narcotic modernity accompanying the social construction of the addict as a typology of moral–criminological deviance at the turn of the twentieth century, the birth of phantasmagoria is explored in detail in the following chapter.

30. Extending from these arguments, it becomes clear that recent changes in the nature of drug use and addiction directly correspond to shifting changes in contemporary patterns and trends in urban redevelopment, which have resulted in increasingly acute expressions of socio-spatial polarization through the rampant commercialization, privatization, militarization, and social sanitization of the city.

31. **Freeze-frame, still-life, snap-shot #14: On the 'nod' with my Great Auntie:** Intact among the smouldering wreckage of the bio-medical brain disease model, we find this note, almost as if an experientially informed, explanatory confessional accompaniment to the blueprint of the addicted city: ***Note from self to substance, suspended in the placelessness of passage:*** *This being in the world will be furious, conflicted, and full of lust and pain or not at all. Now, more than ever, nothing is more clear and simultaneously conflicting than the desire to be 'free'—either from the shackles of conventional consciousness and the trappings of the body's born ability (to be released, through substance, into the calmness and devotion of work), or the parallel raging desire to be free from dependency on any one thing save for sunshine, the random intersection of bodies, and the crossing paths of meaning tied up in the lies of lives—informed by movement, as much as stasis, belonging in place as much as absence. In this tangled, knotted space, 'up' requires searching to become intelligible, and we'll either rush to the other end of the city to find respite from (dope)sick's (always already last) goodbye, or lock our selves away, inside, in a gesture of safety. We love and are loved for our unendurable complexities: face contorted in tears unbecoming when accidentally caught in mirror and immediately vanished, returned back to the motions of getting one through this day or night or lifetime. Of despair, little spoken, taking solace in the fleeting comfort of our estranged closeness. A kind of manic catching up.*

32. Following Smith in his effort to problematize and critique contemporary addiction treatment and harm reduction discourse, because the "deceptive 'medicine as business' rationality underlying the designations 'client' and 'consumer'" effectively works to resituate PUD in a "passive, one-way relationship to capitalist forces of production/consumption", this work employs the term *'user'* "in reference to both harm reduction and drug treatment subjects, positing the designation *drug/service user* as a potentially productive, fluid interchangeability" (Smith 2012, 211).

33. (i.e., that of modernity [Buck-Morss 1992; Hickman 2004; Porter 1992; Ronell 1992, 1993], *and* that of the addiction-as-pathology paradigm itself [Alexander 2000, 2008; Buck-Mors, 1992; Reinarman, 2005])

34. Critics such as Marxist geographer David Harvey (1973) and Andreas Huyssen (2003) have employed the notion of the palimpsest to describe urban form and design. Reframing the 'urban palimpsest' for the purpose of this investigation, '*narcotic* palimpsest' instead clearly situates the centrality of ('controlled', 'foreign', 'illicit') substance as the media/technology that serves to inscribe (and p/*re/in-scribe*) both space and subjectivity in an interdependent, mutually constituting fashion.

35. According to this line of theorization, positing space and subjectivity as (narcotic) palimpsests precludes the possibility for *de*-inscription, as the very notion of the palimpsest implies the enduring presence (however faded) of originary imprints or marks of inscription.

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Part III

Narco/State

Excavating the Socio-Spatial Permutations of Narcotic Modernity

6 Socio-Spatial Permutations of Narcotic Modernity

The Cities of Phantasmagoria and Shock, Spectacle and Alienation

> Junk is often found adjacent to ambiguous or transitional districts. . . .
> A point where dubious business enterprise touches Skid Row.
>
> (Burroughs 1977, 111)

INTRODUCTION: UTOPIAN AND DYSTOPIAN URBANISMS: THE CITY AS DREAM/DRUG/DISEASE

Mimetically extending from the always already exposed, interconnected neuro/chemical circuitry of the human body as both site and source of *p/re/in-scription*, the social body of the addicted city has come to represent and embody the 'home' of our narcotic modernity. As the '*flesh and blood*' or '*meat and bones*' of urban experience in the addicted city (Wild 2002), the techno-mediating prosthesis of the city therefore stands in for the body,[1] s(tr)u(c)turing and extending the sensory circuitry.[2] The substance-infused, mutually constituted cross-wiring of socio-spatial nervous systems is thus hard-wired (Mumford 1986), composing the literal neuro/chemical pathways of (late-)capitalist (narco-)modern experience.[3] Thoroughly disentanglable p/re/in-scriptions of conscious and unconscious *sense(s)*,[4] present and absent *states*,[5] as well as *scapes* both physical and virtual (K. Stewart 2007),[6] such experiential/synaptic pathways can be traced and charted through the enduring embodied symbolism of the simplistic and instrumental narrative fiction of dialectical or binary forms of critique and analysis.[7] Spanning from the city as paradise/wasteland to the city as utopia/dystopia, to the city as (wet) dreamscape/nightmare, through the relentlessly regenerating force of creative–destruction indigenous to our narcotic modernity (Derrida 1993), here the successive phases or permutations of (late-)capitalist modernity are simultaneously marked as *drug*, *dream*, and *disease*.

Corresponding to the formal inception or p/re/in-scription of the addict as an identity or typology of deviance during the early twentieth century, the three broad, overlapping, and intersecting periods of narcotic modernity—each corresponding to specific eras, stages, or phases of the addicted city, representing the monstrous hallucination at the heart of urban

(narco-)modernity—have been analysed through the history of commodities (Benjamin 1999a), literature (Ronell 1992), architecture (Vidler 2001), political economy (Alexander 2008; Courtwright 2001), cybernetics and the (non/fictional) pop cultural tradition of 'capitalist monsters' (Haraway 1991; Lauro and Embry 2008; Newitz 2006), among other threads in the discursive, ideological, and material narrative tapestry of (late-/narco-)capitalist modernity.[8]

These *assemblages* of p/re/in-scription, moreover, most commonly manifest as a seamless series of socio-spatial palimpsests (Deleuze and Guattari 1987; Fitzgerald and Threadgold 2004; Harvey 1973; Huyssen 2003). Excavated and followed back to the trace ruins of originary inscription,[9] any one line of investigation into the socio-spatial genesis of our narcotic modernity[10] comes to an inevitable end point in the shared, interconnected neuro/chemical circuitry that mutually composes space and subject through the inter-dynamic synthesis of substance.[11] The easily excitable, co-dependent socio-spatial nervous systems that make up the inherently intoxicating experience of each successive era of (late-)capitalist urban modernity are therefore re-written (read: *re-wired*[12]) as a set of common—and thus inherently interdependent—organs that together constitute the essential systems of the body: metabolic and circulatory processes forming the incessant and unrelenting white noise of the processing, refinement, or in(tro)jection/incorporation of substance, and the insidiously ubiquitous act of creative–destructive synthesis.[13]

Simultaneously site and source (i.e., product and producer) of intoxicating experiential p/re/in-scription, the amorphous, shape-shifting (late-)capitalist addicted city of our narcotic modernity, perpetually evolving with each new incorporation of substance,[14] is cast and recast through a montage of *drug states*, (narco-)*dreamscapes*, or *senses* of (impending, epidemic) *disease* projected onto the collective experience and socio-spatial bodies of our narcotic modernity (Benjamin 1999c; Buck-Morss 1989, 1992; Hickman 2004; Porter 1992; Ronell 1992, 1993; Vidler 2001). The *city as dreamscape/city as nightmare*, in other words, literally comes to embody[15] the intoxication indigenous to the (late-/narco-)modern urban landscape, where the techno-mediating powers of 'controlled', 'foreign', or 'illicit' substance are simultaneously posed in the intractable terms of liberation *and* enslavement, escape *and* confinement, desire *and* fulfilment, utopian dreamscape *and* dystopian nightmare (Beauregard 1993; Merrifield 2002; Plant 1992; Sadler 1998; Wigley 1998).

As Marshall Berman (1982, 15) has remarked, modernity represents both an experiential sense/state/scape that "promises us adventure, power, joy, growth, [and] transformation of ourselves and the world", *and* promises the destruction of "everything that we have, everything we know, everything we are". Interrogating its form, function, and character, (narco-)modernity is therefore not a single, isolatable phenomenon, but rather a force of multiplicities that manifests in dramatically different forms at

varying spatio-temporal coordinates, constituting an experience that takes "specific and novel forms according to the times and places of its appearance" (Hickman 2004, 1272). Common throughout its diverse historical and geographical manifestations,[16] however, is the inherently pathological nature of the *drug/dream/disease* of capitalist modernity itself (Hickman 2004; Porter 1992).

Through the socially constructed, artificially animated, reductive binary analysis of nature and culture, human and machine, the 'untamed', 'undeveloped' wilderness and the dis/orderly 'cyborg city' (Gandy 2005; Sennett 1970; Swyngedouw 1996), individuals in different historical periods "transformed external reality", and were "in turn moulded by it", representing a "utopian vision of man's redemption through wholesale environmental manipulation" (Porter 1992, 181). Throughout the characteristically reckless and restless, relentless and unceasing momentum of (narco-)modernity's central creative–destructive force, civilization has therefore advanced in this inter-/intra-active, dynamic interplay between human beings and their surroundings. Here, with the rapid growth of both (early-/narco-)modern urbanization and industrialization that closely accompanied the rise of mass consumer society contemporaneous to the birth of the addict as a typology of moral–criminological–bio-medical deviance, modernity itself came to be regarded as pathological (Reith 2004, 288). "[M]orbidly self-destructive and self-enslaving", as Porter asserts, "the acquisitive society was the addictive society" (1992, 180). Directly corresponding to the innumerable products resulting from advancements in medical technology, addiction was thereby cast as a "symptom of modernity itself", a "specifically modern affliction . . . produced by and . . . symptomatic of its historical moment[s]" (Hickman 2004, 1280–81).

Just as the everyday lived reality of (late-)capitalist (narco-)modernity served to shape and s(tr)u(c)ture the phenomenon of addiction, however, the experience of the addicted city in turn directly informed the drug-like sense/state/scape of intoxication associated with the consumption of controlled substances. With the exponential growth of new afflictions accompanying radical shifts in the socio-spatial (cyborg, techno-prosthetic) nature and conditions of (late-/narco-)modernity,[17] therefore, came new developments in not only surgical technology and medical practice,[18] but also pharmaceutical products, the (over-)consumption of which brought about new conceptions of disease. "The civilizing process", as Porter (1992, 185) demonstrates, "created insatiable needs, both for 'inordinate stimulation' and for narcotics", the harmful and 'addictive' properties of which led to "yet further spirals of medication to counteract iatrogenic maladies".

The term *iatrogenic*, it is relevant to note, denotes an illness or medical condition induced by the (in)actions of bio-medical authorities. Given the mass marketed availability and widespread consumption of opiates and other drugs prior to the invention or social construction of the drug/addict as a distinct identity and typology of deviance at the beginning of the twentieth

century, addiction may therefore signal an *iatrogenic* condition first in(tro)duced or inflicted by the physicians—or, rather, '*croakers*'[19]—attending to the *grand narrative*: the relentlessly pathologizing, dialectically diagnosing script-writer that is (late-)capitalist narcotic modernity.[20]

Delineated according to a linear series of stages or phases, tracing the permutations of narcotic modernity over the last century is not unlike tracking the progression of a drug, dream, or disease. Following these socio-spatial permutations therefore necessitates the exercise of (socio-spatial) mapping: what we might refer to as a type of *narco-cartography* of the addicted city. Navigating the inter-wiring of addicted socio-spatial bodies therefore forces us to chart and trace the disorienting migratory path of drug/addiction through a dizzying succession of experiential sense/state/scapes of intoxication,[21] directly corresponding to permutations of the drug/dream/disease of (late-)capitalist modernity throughout this excavation of *narco/state(s)*. Although their elusive, hallucinatory, and creative–destructive nature is virtually impossible to locate, fix, or pin down, three pivotal eras in the historical, developmental trajectory of our narcotic modernity will be included in this tour, each representing an active site of excavation.

After having recontextualized and resituated the place of drugs in the city in previous chapters, this exercise in archaeological/metaphorical excavation begins by investigating the first two general periods in the historical development or evolution of the addicted city. Characterized by the emergence of phantasmagoric forms, the dawn of modern urban redevelopment, and the experience/interface of urban '*shock*', the first formal phase of (narco-) modernity—the *city of phantasmagoria*—is situated between the turn of the twentieth century and the beginning of the Second World War.

This hallucinatory era of the addicted city directly corresponded to not only the techno-pharmacological synthesis of 'hard'(-wired) drugs and the proliferation of the hypodermic syringe, but also the typologization of the 'addict' as a deviant identity enabled by the development of new medico-legal discourses and institutions. Transpiring in the interval between the Second World War and the later twentieth century, the second stage—the *city of spectacle*—contained the seeds of pandemic pathologization. Taking shape simultaneous to the emergence of mass consumer culture (the development of forms of mass production, mass consumption, *and* mass media), the second stage centres around the genesis of the omnipotent, ubiquitous spectre of the submission-inducing *spectacle* (Debord 1994). Witnessing the proliferation of addiction and addictive forms, the city of spectacle was additionally accompanied by the first mass-scale moral panics concerning the ('illicit') consumption of controlled substances. Each of these eras, phases, stages, or 'moments' in the historical evolution of narcotic modernity therefore represents different manifestations of experiential intoxication, functioning to produce a succession of wildly varying sense/state/scapes of *narcosis* in the shifting drug/dream/disease of (late-/narco-) capitalist urban modernity.

THE SOCIO-SPATIAL PERMUTATIONS OF NARCOTIC MODERNITY

Tracing the succession of shape-shifting, *creative–destruction*-formed urban landscapes that constitute our narcotic modernity requires charting a pattern of radical changes in the socio-spatial form and function, condition and character of (post-)industrial, (post-)globalized culture of (late-/narco-) capitalist modernity itself.

Uncovering the amorphous form and function of the addicted city and exposing its transgressive permutations therefore entails delineating three broad overlapping periods or eras of (narco-)modernity, digging through the accumulated strata of art and literature and/as expressions of socio-political opposition and resistance at key historical moments throughout the course of the last century. Retracing and drawing parallels between popular and professional perceptions regarding the phenomenon of drug/addiction, new medical and technological developments, paradigm shifts in urban planning and redevelopment, accompanying expressions of intoxication mediated by the in-built media-/techno-prosthesis or substance of urban built form, and cultural undercurrents of resistance to the forces of socio-spatial transformation at work during each cumulative stage of (late-)capitalist urban narcosis, this analysis first works to excavate the origins of our narcotic modernity in the *city of phantasmagoria* and the *city of spectacle*, before turning to conclude with a tentative, surface-level, semiotic or sign- s(h)ifting reading of the present day *city of safe/supervised consumption*.[22] Framed by a critical reframing of capitalist modernity in the fluid terms of *dream/drug/disease* and the *sense/state/scape* of drug/addiction as an adaptive, symptomatic response hard-wired or *p/re/in-scribed* in the interstices between inside and outside, affect and environment, sense and expression, the strata-strewn archaeological analysis that completes this section—*Narco/State*—itself at times feel like a hallucination-inducing, drug-like experience itself, resembling an exercise in chasing ghosts, spectres, phantoms, zombies, cyborgs, and other monsters symptomatic of the narcotic-like nature of (late-)capitalist modernity (Newitz 2006).

THE CITY OF *PHANTASMAGORIA* AND *SHOCK*

No mere coincidence, the concretization of addiction as a typology of moral–criminological deviance during the early 1900s transpired alongside profound creative–destructive changes in the form and function, space and character of the industrial capitalist cityscape (Brodie and Redfield 2002, 2–6). To begin with the medical and technological developments specific to this spatio-temporal period, cocaine and heroin both originated in the second half of the nineteenth century: cocaine was refined from the coca plant in the late 1850s, and by 1898 heroin was synthesized from the opium poppy and

patented as a cough suppressant—and, ironically, as a cure for morphine dependence—by the German pharmaceutical company *Bayer* (Buck-Morss 1992, 19; Courtwright 2001; Hickman 2004; Plant 1999). The hypodermic syringe was similarly developed in the mid-nineteenth century, becoming a common instrument of medical practice starting in the 1860s (Buck-Morss 1992, 19; Hickman 2004, 1276). Together, these significantly more refined and potent substances, in tandem with the establishment of subcutaneous injection as a standard tool of medical practice, worked to "delimit the boundaries of the modern" (Hickman 2004, 1277).[23] An iatrogenic product of the rapid proliferation of new medico-technological developments, the drug/addict was therefore a technologically mediated subject, its appearance ushering in the first formal stage of modernity rendered in explicitly narcotic terms: *the city of phantasmagoria*.[24]

As the natural habitat or home of the addict, the modern genesis of the industrial capitalist cityscape can also curiously be traced back to the second half of the nineteenth century. Characterized by a central focus on 'clean sweep' urban renewal—a practice premised on the complete demolition (*destruction*) and replacement (reconstruction or re-*creation*) of former structures without regard for historical or cultural value—the origins of modern/ist urban planning are irrefutably rooted in what has come to be termed the '*Haussmannization of Paris*' (Benjamin 1999b; Buck-Morss 1989; Relph 1987). Here, starting in the early 1850s under the reign of Napoleon III, the city of Paris initiated a full-scale, clean sweep redevelopment campaign led by Baron Georges-Eugène Haussmann. Razing the knotted, labyrinthine, non-linear structure of Paris's urban core, and replacing it with a 'rational' system of long, broad streets, Haussmann's transformation of the city is seen as being implicitly informed by an attempt to (re-)inscribe order and a sense of separation between social classes in the built form of Paris, described by Walter Benjamin (1999b; see also Buck-Morss 1989; Harvey 2003) as the *capital of the nineteenth century*.

An early form of what came to be known as 'slum clearance' during the formal dawn of urban planning following the Second World War, Haussmann's redevelopment program "broke up working-class neighbourhoods and moved the eyesores and public health hazards of poverty out of central Paris and into the suburbs" (Buck-Morss 1989, 89). Such efforts, in other words, were explicitly intended to negate or diminish the threat of working class insurrection by instilling separate and distinct spatial enclaves based upon socio-economic status, relegating the working class to the outer peripheries of the urban core. "The true goal of Haussmann's projects", Benjamin (1999b, 12) asserted, was to "secure the city against civil war" by rendering "the erection of barricades in the streets of Paris impossible for all time". By strategically widening the streets, Benjamin further suggested, Haussmann's ruthless redevelopment agenda prevented the revolutionary class from reclaiming the streets, thus allowing military forces to more easily penetrate the working class districts, perceived to be the source

of insurrectionist forces (12). Although early modernist urban planning theory and practice has been critiqued and largely discredited, resonances with Haussmann's urban redevelopment program can be seen throughout the (late-)capitalist cityscape, from 'bumproof benches' and other architectures of exclusion (Davis 1990, 233; Sibley 1995; Smith and Derkson 2002) to the strategic proximity between Vancouver's *Insite*—the first and only government sanctioned 'supervised consumption site' in North America—and the local Vancouver police department headquarters.

Haussmannization, however, merely provided the necessary pre-conditions for the central inter-related, co-dependent forces underpinning the dawn of narcotic modernity, namely *phantasmagoria* and the corresponding impact of *shock*, a notion that formed a central recurrent theme in the early work of both Sigmund Freud—particularly regarding the trauma endured by front-line soldiers during World War I—and the preeminent literary junky of early (narco-)modernity Charles Baudelaire, in relation to the inherently intoxicating everyday experience of the early (narco-)modern industrial capitalist cityscape (Baudelaire 1955, 29). Enabled by the rapid proliferation of phantasmagoric forms during the early twentieth century, the radical redevelopment of urban built form had a number of immediate social impacts, perhaps the most significant of which being the sudden appearance and rapid proliferation of what Walter Benjamin (2003b)—taking his cue from a critical reading of Baudelaire—described as '*shock*'. Building on Sigmund Freud's investigation of soldiers' experiences of 'shell shock' during the First World War, Benjamin investigated the "daily shocks of the modern world", positing urban experience itself as a source of trauma and 'shock' (Buck-Morss 1992, 16). Writing on both the profound socio-spatial transformations wrought by the Haussmannization of Paris and the appearance of phantasmagoric forms that quickly began to people the shifting (narco-)capitalist cityscape, following Baudelaire, Benjamin (Benjamin, quoted in Buck-Morss 1992, 16) believed that "this battlefield experience of shock '[had] become the norm' in modern life", where "perceptions that once occasioned conscious reflection [became] the source of shock impulses that consciousness must parry" in the urban realm.

As articulated by both Baudelaire and Benjamin, the experience of the anonymous urban crowd was posed as being central to the notion of shock: "the amorphous crowds of passers-by, the people in the street" (Benjamin 2003b, 321).[25] Far from being isolated to crowds, however, during this first era of (narco-)modernity, shock could be derived (in varying forms and modes of intensity) from almost every intoxicating facet of urban experience, from industrial production and the first modern manifestations of advertising and marketing to the circulation and congestion of human and vehicular traffic, as much as 'never-before-seen' architectural and commodity forms (Benjamin 1999a; Buck-Morss 1992; Highmore 2002; Porter 1992; Reith, 2004). Characterized by modernity's central characteristics of rupture and transfiguration, in the dawning city of phantasmagoria

"[e]verything was transformed: the tempo of everyday life and the land-scape the body exists in" (Highmore 2002, 66, also see Appadurai 1996; Baudelaire 1972; Berman 1982). Shaped by the (inter-?) "penetration of technological and industrial forms into everyday life", the (intoxicating, narcotic-like) shock of urban experience in the city of phantasmagoria was thus positioned as "both 'poison and cure'" (Highmore 2002, 69). Through the development and deployment of what are popularly referred to as 'defense mechanisms', consciousness—the exceptionally fragile filter or screen that serves to protect individuals from the overwhelming shock of environmental stimuli concentrated in the urban realm—was itself cor-respondingly transformed in a radical fashion (Buck-Morss 1992; Porter 1992). Here, as Benjamin asserted, the "reception of shocks is facilitated by training in coping with stimuli", where, "if needs be, dreams as well as rec-ollection may be enlisted", and 'shock defence' is metaphorically "rendered in the image of combat" (2003b, 318–19).

Benjamin moreover situates the genesis of shock in "the experience of giant cities, from the intersecting of their myriad relations" (2003b, 320). Extending this work to suggest that shock—"in industrial production no less than modern warfare, in street crowds and erotic encounters, in amuse-ment parks and gambling casinos"—constituted "the very essence of mod-ern experience", Buck-Morss (1992, 16) asserts that drug addiction is best conceived as a particular kind of adaptive response produced by shock. Detailing the progression of anaesthetics and pharmaceutical narcotics in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Buck-Morss argues that "[d]rug addiction is characteristic of modernity", constituting the "cor-relate and counterpart of shock" produced by the phantasmagoric (late-) capitalist cityscape (21). A direct symptom of (early-/narco-)modernity's intoxicating experiential inscriptions, the phenomenon of shock can there-fore be understood as being intimately related to the rapid proliferation of *phantasmagoria*—the defining characteristic feature of early (narco-)mod-ern urban experience. Described as a form of 'technoaesthetics' that ren-dered 'reality' in explicitly narcotic terms, Buck-Morss succinctly described the function of phantasmagoria as a physical-spatial means of manipulat-ing the subject's open and exposed neuro/chemical circuitry "by control of environmental stimuli", thus "anaesthetizing the organism, not through numbing, but through flooding the senses", effectively altering human con-sciousness in a drug-like fashion through collectively experienced forms of "sensory distraction" (22).

As perhaps the most scathing critic of early (narco-)modernity and the city of phantasmagoria and shock, Walter Benjamin's (1999c, 2003a) work was in many ways influenced by his almost obsessive fascination with the spirit of critical–creative opposition embodied in the artistic, literary, and political expressions of the emergent Surrealist movement (Buck-Morss 1989; Highmore 2002). Posing an overt threat to bourgeoisie cultural and artistic values, Surrealism taunted the mainstream status quo by inhabiting

the marginal interstices of art and industrial design, political critique and literary experimentation, situating the experience of the (early-/narco-)modern city of phantasmagoria in the simultaneous terms of *dreamscape* and *drug-state*.

While chance and the unconscious formed the recurrent literary and artistic tropes of the movement, Surrealism for the most part explicitly shunned controlled substance as a vehicle for unleashing creative potential or facilitating unconscious expression. "One must protest against the expression *artificial paradise*", wrote Louis Aragon (1991, 47), a central member of the early Surrealism movement: "[t]here are no *natural* paradises". In Aragon's perception, the addict was "the dupe of a pathetic assumption": "He wants to escape his thoughts of his pain. And he thinks he can. This is what I hold against him . . . life, with or without opium, is unbearable . . . there is nothing to fix" (56–57).

As a mode of "social research into everyday life", Surrealism was rooted in *defamiliarization*—making mundane, ordinary, everyday events, objects, and experiences appear foreign or strange (Highmore 2002, 46).[26] Echoing Aragon's (1991) attitudes towards the use value of drug/addiction, Benjamin (1999c, 209) termed Surrealism's underlying force '*profane illumination*', suggesting that Surrealist writing and literary output was fundamentally premised on urban experience. The experiences to which Benjamin referred, however, were, in his words, "by no means limited to dreams, hours of hashish eating, or opium smoking" (208). "It is a cardinal error", Benjamin insisted, "to believe that, of 'Surrealist experiences', we know only the religious ecstasies or the ecstasies of drugs", suggesting that '*profane illumination*' was the true source of the Surrealists' subversive, critical practice (208–209).[27]

Framing drug/addiction as an inherently inauthentic form of creative inspiration, the movement's central practitioners instead developed a range of methods and tools for harnessing urban experience as the source or stimuli for creative intoxication, from collage and photo-montage to automatic writing and experimental urban strolls (Coverly, 2006; Highmore 2002). Establishing a series of experimental forms, techniques, and practices in art and literature, installation and intervention, Surrealism engaged in an often oblique critique of industrial capitalism through a series of subversive and experimental artistic, literary, and political gestures constituting what might be seen and understood as a form of (*narco-)urbanism*. Here, following the post-WWI dissipation of their Dada predecessors[28] and building on the ashes of Dadaism's inherent nihilism and seemingly in-built sense of self-destruction, Surrealists such as Andre Breton (1960) and Louis Aragon (1971) employed literature to locate the capitalist cityscape itself as an intoxicating source of dream/drug-like inspiration. Positioned as a narcosis-inducing creative–destructive force, Surrealists therefore explicitly enlisted urban experience as a vehicle for critical/creative intoxication, as demonstrated by Benjamin's (1999c, 211) reference to the city of Paris as

the Surrealists' "little universe" (211). Exploring the ruins of early twentieth century industrial capitalism through things and social phenomena, consumer goods and cultural experience, Surrealists often fetishized outdated commodities and disappearing architectural forms, particularly the trace ruins of the (post-Haussmannization) Paris 'arcades' (Aragon 1971; Benjamin 1999c; Breton 1960; Buck-Morss 1989; Highmore 2002). Nostalgically mourning the loss and displacement of older (and hence more 'enchanted') urban forms, the vast literary and artistic legacy of Surrealism might thus be read as reflections of the intoxicating drug-scape/dream-state of (early-/narco-)modern urban experience, haunting the *city of phantasmagoria and shock*.

Illustrating the centrality of urban space to Surrealism's critical–creative, political–poetic practice, Merlin Coverly (2006, 73) wrote that "Surrealism's domain was the street and the stroll was a crucial practice in its attempts to subvert and challenge our perceptions". Reiterating the centrality of urban space in the Surrealist imagination, Benjamin asserted that "the city of Paris itself" stood at the centre of the Surrealists' critique, constituting "the most dreamed-about of their objects" (1999c, 211). Although Surrealism mined the experience of the early industrial capitalist cityscape as a source of critical–creative inspiration, however, the movement arguably became consumed and carried away by the dreamscape induced by the first era of (narco-)modernity.[29] In other words, "possessed of the tools to puncture the dream of modernity", Surrealism ultimately failed to escape the grip of the urban dream-state, which soon came to more closely resemble a drug-scape (Highmore 2002, 62), as the movement and its practitioners fell under the spell of the city of phantasmagoria. As Highmore suggests, the Surrealists could therefore "never achieve a critical distance from phantasmagoric representation" (73) sufficient to critically implicate the role of the city of phantasmagoria, thereby becoming seduced by its sense/state/scapes of hallucinatory intoxication. With the arrival of the Second World War, however, the corresponding forces of phantasmagoria and shock that served to animate the first incarnation of the (industrial, inter-war) addicted city slowly came to be displaced by new manifestations of control, and the *city of phantasmagoria and shock* slowly began to give way to the *city of spectacle and alienation*.

THE CITY OF *SPECTACLE* AND *ALIENATION*

Taking shape simultaneous to the emergence of mass consumer culture—entailing the development of new forms of mass production, mass consumption, *and* mass media—the second stage of our (late-)capitalist narcotic modernity centres around the genesis of the omnipotent and ubiquitous *spectacle*—a force or phenomenon that actively induces submission, passivity, and *alienation* (Debord 1994, 23). Witnessing the proliferation of

addiction and addictive forms, the city of spectacle was additionally accompanied by the first mass-scale moral panics concerning the consumption of controlled substances, with the force/phenomenon of '*shock*' soon coming to be dis-/re-placed by that of '*alienation*'.

In the wake of massive destruction wrought by aerial bombing throughout the Second World War, the immediate post-WWII period witnessed widespread reconstruction efforts that gave rise to new trends in urban planning and design, producing a series of profound changes in the physical built form, social character, and infra/structure of the addicted city that effectively led to the emergence of the second formal era of (narco-) modernity: the *city of spectacle*. The struggle to rebuild post-WWII European capitals such as London and Paris was, in other words, accompanied by radical economic shifts and changes in the culture, organization, and speed of industrial capitalism, along with the nature of intoxication produced by (narco-)modern urban experience. Accompanying the displacement of *phantasmagoria* by the force of *spectacle*, the notion of *shock* produced by everyday urban experience came to subsume the phenomenon of *alienation*. Perhaps the most important impact of the second phase of post-WWII narcotic modernity, however, was the rise of systems of ('high'-capitalist) mass production and mass consumption. As Highmore (2002, 13) has remarked, post-war reconstruction and modernization in Europe was contemporaneous with the birth of modern consumer culture. Corresponding to the increasingly interconnected capitalist economies of developed Western nations, the establishment of institutions of mass media—particularly in the form of advertising—directly accompanied the rise of mass consumption in the emerging *city of spectacle*.

Taking inspiration from the Hausmannization of Paris, the frenzy of European post-war reconstruction paved the way for '*clean sweep*' urban renewal to become standard urban planning practice (Buck-Morss 1989). Shunning the "symbolism of historical continuity" in favour of the "modernist symbolism of progress", post-war urban planners sought to "transcend the destruction and the past by creating cities better than their predecessors" (Relph 1987, 144). From this perspective, the destruction of urban areas in the wake of the Second World War therefore had the positive—albeit unintentional—consequence of facilitating the near complete reconstruction of many largely unplanned, disorganized, inefficient urban centres across Europe (144). Cementing the practice of clean sweep urban renewal as a central (and inherently *creative–destructive*) tenet of early urban planning theory, policy, and practice, the mid-twentieth century rise of mass consumer society following WWII was additionally responsible for precipitating another series of significant changes in the form and character of our narcotic modernity and the intoxication indigenous to the addicted city: the birth of the suburbs (Derrida 1993; Hayden 2004; Wild 2002).

An intimate expression of capitalist mass production/consumption, the history of suburban development in North America represents a direct

product of *the city of spectacle and alienation*, representing the second era of narcotic modernity. The post-war suburbs, as Dolores Hayden argued, were "deliberately planned to maximize consumption of mass-produced goods" (2004, 128).[30] In addition to promoting—and, moreover, effectively mandating and enforcing—the culture of *mass consumption*, suburban development has additionally been described as the spatial embodiment of *mass production*, specifically that associated with *Fordism*. Having pioneered the assembly line model in his mass production of automobiles, Henry Ford is credited with revolutionizing industrial production in America (128). Posed as the *spatial expression of Fordism*, the model of mass-produced post-war suburban development was pioneered by William Levitt, dubbed "the Henry Ford of housing" by *Time* magazine (Lane 2007). Borrowing from the ideology and structural design of industrial mass production, the first suburban development in North America—Levittown—was explicitly constructed based on assembly line principles, its developers regarded as the 'general motors of housing production' (Hayden 2004, 132). Consisting of formulaic, 'cookie-cutter' designs,[31] the post-war suburbs established standards for aesthetic homogeneity premised on the emergent notion of 'architectural control'.[32]

The entrenchment of mass production and mass consumer society symbolizing the arrival of the post-war suburbs was accompanied by the rapid shift from moral to criminological paradigms regarding drug/addiction. In the homogenizing, typologizing, Cold War-influenced culture of mass consumption that came to characterize mid-twentieth century America, in other words, the consumption of controlled substance was further cemented as a transgressive threat to normative sub/urban socio-spatial borders, identity, and existence. Signalling the second formal phase of (narco-)modernity, in other words, several distinct factors served to shape and inform the popular and professional positioning and perception of drug/addiction in the *city of spectacle*, revealing how the rapid growth of suburban consumer culture was heavily reliant on typologies of deviance as integral instruments of disciplinary power, their subjectivity (trans-/in-)formed by "the repetitive seriality of commodity production" (Brodie and Redfield 2002, 4).

Returning to the question of medical/technological developments corresponding to the city of spectacle, the mid-twentieth century witnessed the appearance of powerful, multi-/trans-national pharmaceutical corporations and an attendant rise in the cult of the corporate pharmacopeia through the development of a wide and diverse range of new—and increasingly *synthetic*—pharmaceutical drugs that served as panaceas for an emerging range of what came to be known as 'lifestyle diseases' or 'diseases of civilization'. Here, the list of narcotics and anaesthetics developed in the nineteenth century, such as heroin and cocaine, was exponentially expanded through the synthesis of a diverse range of new and largely synthetic pharmaceutical compounds. Belonging to a class of drugs technically known as *benzodiazepines* and popularly referred to as tranquilizers or *anti-anxiety medication*,

the popular anti-anxiety drug *diazepam*, for instance, was first introduced in the commercial market in the early 1960s under the trade name Valium® (Keane 2002, 22; Szasz 1985, 54). Becoming one of the most widely prescribed and best selling pharmaceutical products of the later half of the twentieth century (Gadsby 2000), the drug earned the nickname "mother's little helper" owing to its rampant popularity among depressed, bored, anxiety-ridden, or alienated suburban housewives, left alone all day to tend to domestic chores while the 'man of the house' was at work, in a classic expression of patriarchical, suburban heteronormativity characteristic of North America during the 1950s. With the rapidly increasing power of pharmaceutical companies, in other words, the proliferation of pathologies that were directly or indirectly produced by the rapidly shifting (late-)industrial urban landscape was thus implicated in the increasing power of the pharmaceutical industry as it competed to develop, produce, and market an endless list of new pharmaceutical panaceas.

In the wake of WWII, the U.S.–Russia Cold War effectively projected fears of socio-political difference on to North American public consciousness, transforming drug/addiction[33] into the foreign Other: not merely an enemy of the state, but *public enemy number one*. Enflamed by mass media-fuelled 'moral panics' (Cohen 1973), the fabricated enemy of drug/addiction was conflated to the point of becoming subsumed by that of the communist/socialist Other of the capitalist imagination. As U.S. Cold War tensions peaked at the beginning of the 1970s, then president Richard Nixon formally declared the '*war on drugs*', establishing and perpetuating the representation of drug/addiction as a 'foreign aggressor' (Derrida 1993, 7) and thus elevating the consumption of controlled substance to a morally informed, enforcement-driven issue of criminal justice that conveyed rigid distinctions between good and bad, right and wrong, 'us and them'. Here it bears noting that in 2009, eight years after the *war on drugs* seamlessly morphed into the '*war on terror*', the acting Director of the U.S. *Office of National Drug Control Policy* announced that the Obama administration would eschew the term 'war on drugs' owing to its counter-productive connotations (Fields 2009).[34]

Indistinguishable from the larger forces underlying the post-war suburbs and other early socio-spatial expressions of mass production/consumption, during the second distinct stage or phase of narcotic modernity, the notion of *spectacle* implicitly informed all popular, professional, and critical–creative or oppositional responses to drug/addiction and the experiential intoxicating of the (mid-/narco-)capitalist addicted city. Representing a subtle, sophisticated, and significantly more powerful, all-encompassing manifestation of phantasmagoria, both phenomena are experienced and represented in expressions of language/landscape that situate the urban drug-scape/dream-state as site and source of (narcotic) intoxication. Often misread as a form of media, the spectacle constitutes a ubiquitous, omnipotent, immeasurable force encompassing the "totality of capitalist social relations in the

late twentieth-century" (Grindon 2004, 149). Although media represents merely one overt manifestation, the social role of images and visual culture more generally is central to the *mediating* force of spectacle. "[T]he spectacle is not a collection of images", wrote Guy Debord (1994, 12) in his seminal book *Society of the Spectacle*,[35] but rather "a social relation between people that is mediated by images". Whether in the form of "news or propaganda, advertising or the actual consumption of entertainment", the spectacle permeated and encapsulated "the prevailing mode of social life . . . serv[ing] as total justification for the conditions and aims of the existing system" (13), coming to compose both the "dominant form of social relations" and moreover the "dominant form of social regulation" (Cubitt 2001, 33) accompanying the second (late-/high-)industrial stage of (narco-)modernity.

Its foremost objective being to encourage (read: enforce) consumption, the spectacle first worked by creating a sense of submission, passivity, and alienation (Cubitt, 2001, 39; Plant 1992). Here, as Douglas Kellner (2003, 3) has suggested, the notion of the spectacle is "integrally connected to the concept of separation and passivity", where spectacle-induced political passivity and submissive consumption creates "estrange[ment] from actively producing one's life". By actively separating "workers from the products of their labour, art from life, and consumption from human needs", Kellner's analysis of the Situationist-derived notion of *spectacle* asserted that individuals are thus atomized and alienated, reduced to little more than "inertly observ[ing] the spectacles of social life from within the privacy of their own homes" (3). Mirroring the myriad consumer identities produced by the spectacle, therefore, consumption invited subjects to recognize themselves in accordance (read: conformity) with reigning (narco-)capitalist ideologies. Seen as being highly instrumental in catalyzing the 'near-revolutionary' events in Paris, May 1968 (Plant 1992), Debord's *Society of the Spectacle* represented a radical synthesis of "modernist art practice, a politics of everyday life, and an analysis of contemporary capitalism" (Crary 2002, 455). Bearing direct relevance to the underlying theme and purpose of this meandering, circuitous exercise in mapping out the successive socio-spatial permutations of our narcotic modernity, here it is relevant to note that Debord (1994, 30) himself described the spectacle as a "permanent opium war", conducted in an explicit effort to render indistinguishable "goods from commodities, or true satisfaction from a survival that increases according to its own logic".

Just as the sense/state/scape of 'shock' derived from the phantasmagoric nature of urban space came to characterize the first formal era of narcotic modernity during the intoxication-inscribed *city of phantasmagoria*, the phenomenon of 'alienation' constituted the primary impact of the *city of spectacle*. The primary social function of the spectacle, as Debord (1994, 23) explained, "is the concrete manufacture of alienation".

The spectacle-infected sense/state/scape of alienation, as Sadie Plant (1992, 1) has suggested, is inherent in all hierarchical expressions of social

class in capitalist society. Spreading rapidly throughout "all areas of social life, knowledge and culture", individuals become alienated and distanced "not only from the good they produce and consume, but also from their own experiences, emotions, creativity, and desires" (1), the force of spectacle transforming subjects into mere spectators of their own existence, where "even the most personal gestures are experienced at one remove" (1). Originating in the work of Karl Marx (1977), *alienation* refers to particular forms of capitalist-dictated social relations rooted in the expression and experience of estrangement. In this conception, alienation traditionally manifests in capitalist relations of production: the alienation of the worker from the commodities or products of her labour.[36] In contemporary Western pop cultural discourse, however, alienation has come to name a more general, everyday sense/state/scape of separation, isolation, atomization, loneliness, and estrangement induced by the socio-spatial transformations—or, what we might begin to think of as various forms of (psycho-social) '*dislocation*'— wrought by capitalism (Alexander 2000, 2008; Highmore 2002; Lefebvre 2002). Most commonly attributed to the modernizing forces of urbanization and (de-)industrialization, alienation thus signals the radical reconfiguration of relationships between commodities (substance), individuals (subjectivity), built form (urban space), and the act/ideology of consumption central to capitalist society.[37]

"As capitalism's ever-intensifying imposition of alienation at all levels makes it increasingly hard for workers to recognize and name their own impoverishment", Debord remarked, "the revolutionary organization must learn that it can no longer *combat alienation by means of alienated forms of struggle*" (1994, 89; original emphasis). If Surrealism emerged as an expression of critical–creative resistance to the early apparition of narcotic modernity as the city of phantasmagoria, the city of spectacle was similarly contested by its avant-garde successors, the Situationist International (SI). Assembled from the fragmentation of post-WWII Surrealism and inspired by a multitude of dissident (post-)Surrealist splinter factions, the Situationists placed the experiential intoxication of the city of spectacle at the very centre of their dys-/u-*topian* revolutionary project from its very inception in the 1950s (Dark Star Collective 2001; Debord 1994; McDonough 2002; Plant 1992; Sadler 1998; Vaneigem 1983).

Yet if the Surrealists were uncritically *swept away* by the all-consuming sense/state/scape of intoxication indigenous to the city of phantasmagoria,[38] the Situationists espoused a decidedly more politicized reading of the second phase of (narco-)modernity, in the form of the (late-/high-industrial) *city of spectacle* and its attendant sense/state/scapes of hallucinatory alienation. Posed as its most acute manifestation, Situationist critics such as Guy Debord (1994) and Raoul Vaneigem (1983) described the city as the direct product of the drug/dream/disease of consumer capitalism, an embodiment of the inherently enslaving, will-destroying, passivity-inducing force of the spectacle. Subsuming all manifestations of capitalism's inherently

intoxicating nature in the diffuse and amorphous concept of the *spectacle*, the SI's critique suggested that the ubiquity of the spectacle in the modern capitalist cityscape—in advertising as much as architecture, commodities as much as more literal and repressive forms of social control—rendered urban subjects little more than passive, submissive spectators (McDonough 2002; Plant 1992; Sadler 1998).

Playfully reframing Marx's famous dictum '*religion is the opiate of the masses*',[39] a piece of Situationist-inspired graffiti in Paris during the 'near revolution' in May 1968 read: "merchandise is the opiate of the people" (Cronin 2002, 316). Drugged to the extent that they became willing participants in perpetuating its all-pervasive power, the SI asserted, individuals' every gesture of resistance was *recuperated*—and thus rendered apolitical and unthreatening—by the ubiquitous force of the spectacle, only to be re-packaged and sold back to them in commodity form (Cubitt 2001; Debord 1994; Plant 1992). Describing the process through which oppositional acts or expressions are appropriated, commodified, and correspondingly de-politicized by the dominant forces of power (Plant 1992), in contemporary terms recuperation might be likened to the expression 'selling out'. The recuperation of dissent, in other words, served to convey "the subtlety and effectiveness by which criticism of the spectacle [was] enlisted in its support" (Plant 1992, 75). Closely related to the notions of *co-optation* (i.e., the act of taking over through assimilation) and reification (i.e., commodification or *thing-ification*, involving the transformation of social relationships into commodities), in the case of recuperation, "the vocabulary of revolutionary discourse is taken up and used to support the existing networks of power" (Plant 1992, 76).

Disrupting the commodification of artistic expression, the pan-European members of the Situationist International openly worked to destabilize and disrupt normative bourgeois conceptions of 'exchange value' versus 'use value' in relation to art/practice following the Dada-inherited Surrealist tradition. Unlike the Surrealists' anti-drug stance, however, the SI was composed of a notoriously debaucherous cast of international provocateurs who innovated new techniques.[40] In tandem with the use of controlled substances (chief among them being alcohol), the prevocational techniques of the Situationist International facilitated the state of socio-spatial urban *disorientation* that served as the creative source from which much of the movement's force was derived (Knabb 1981; Nieuwenhuys 1998, 2002). Simultaneously situating the narcoticiz*ed*/narcoticiz*ing* cityscape as site of artistic/activist intervention, source of creative disorientation, and object of radical political critique, the Situationists sought to render transparent the omnipresent, enslaving narcosis of the spectacle through explicit emphasis on direct, public forms of (urban) intervention described as the *construction of situations* (Plant 1992).

Centred on the '*principle of disorientation*', the broad spectrum of techniques and practices established by the SI enabled a pointed attack on the

passivity-inducing, submission-based dream-scape/drug-state of capitalism, exposing the hallucinatory effects that accompanied the dawn of mass consumer culture through literal and metaphorical exercises in re-mapping the (late-)capitalist cityscape of (mid-/narco-)modernity. Posed as the tentative first step towards remedying the epidemic of mass enslavement and addiction to the spectacle, this playful urban re-mapping was conceived as a vehicle to instigate and inspire a '*formulary for a new urbanism*'[41] by tearing down and re-creating the form and function of the capitalist landscape in the city of spectacle. The fundamental principles of the SI might therefore be best summarized by making recourse to what is perhaps one of their most notorious slogans: "*beneath the paving stones, the beach*" (Dark Star Collective 2001). A double entendre, this oft-cited passage attributed to the SI both explicitly gestured to the utopian potential inherent in (creatively) destroying capitalism's urban built form and implicitly pointed to the use value and convenience of paving stones as form of projectile that could be aimed at figures of the repressive state apparatus—authorities deployed as agents of the capitalist spectacle (Althusser 1971).

CONCLUSION: SHOCK, ALIENATION, AND THE SENSE/STATE/SCAPE OF ADDICTION

Working to isolate, 'pin-down', and 'fix' the socio-spatial genesis and early development of (late-)industrial narcotic modernity, this chapter re-mapped the shape-shifting form and character of the addicted city as a progression, constituting a series of literal and metaphorical symptoms both rooted in and routed through the interstices of environment and affect, experience and expression, language and landscape, stimuli and response, inside and outside (Massumi 1992). Conducting an exploratory investigation into the dynamic inter-relationships between phantasmagoria and shock, spectacle and alienation, this analysis revealed how the oppositional avant-garde undercurrents of Surrealism and the Situationist International represent a series of literary, artistic, and interventionist expressions attempting to variously diagnose and 'cure', treat and hustle the disease-state/drug-scape/ dream-sense of narcotic modernity during the early to mid-twentieth century.

Delineating the different stages or phases of narcotic modernity since the early twentieth century (iatrogenic) 'diagnosis' of drug/addiction,[42] in tandem with each era's specific permutations of narcosis or intoxicating force, this quasi-archaeological investigation paused to identify a succession of crucial sites of transition, intersection, and inter-/intra-activity, yet perhaps 'barely scratched the surface' of the addicted city. Clumsily charting its earlier incarnations,[43] there is little evidence of the excavation save for traces of dirt under otherwise untarnished and well-kept fingernails. In an effort to render our narcotic modernity in even more vivid detail, exploring its intoxication in terms that both flesh out and render more concrete

the collapsed object/subject of drug/addiction, mimetically internalizing its force we now therefore drunkenly stumble forward into the contemporary manifestation of the (decidedly) (*late-*)capitalist addicted city: the *city as site of 'safe'/'supervised' consumption.*

NOTES

1. (i.e., in place of the body, in the shape of a body)
2. Here, s(tr)u(c)turing serves to equate the act of stitching or *suturing* with a form of composition or *structuring*.
3. An experience that is always already fundamentally framed by the terms of 'intoxication' (Buck-Morss 1992; Hickman 2004, Porter 1992)
4. (i.e., conjuring *dreams*)
5. (i.e., invoking the tragic nature of sudden and unanticipated *disease*, where the divide between the mind and the body, physical and emotional pain become inseparably blurred, as emotional anguish manifests in the flesh, while physiological maladies make simultaneous imprints in affect [Goodeve 1999])
6. (here, the intermingling implications of fantasy and hallucination, desire and projection manifest in the experiential form of *drug* where, as Weinstone (1997) suggests, the notion of transcendence represents the common goal of both 'addiction' and 'virtual reality'.
7. (in representation as much as 'reality', an increasingly futile and useless distinction following the collapse of the borders that were once thought to separate the space of drugs from the space of literature from the space of the body from the space of the city [Baudrillard 1994; Fitzgerald and Threadgold 2004; Gibson 1984; Goodeve 1999])
8. (hybrid and thus inherently cyborg entities born in the synthesis [read: synapse] between substance, space, and subjectivity)
9. (a language/landscape of pure simulacrum)
10. (i.e., critical–creative, political–poetic analyses of the commodity form, narrative form, built form)
11. (open, exposed, uncontained, unprotected, and in other words messy, further excavation—an exercise in 'getting our hands dirty'—reveals the point of (inter)connection between what turns out to be a set of substance-addled Siamese twins: the abject body of the addict and the social body of the addicted city)
12. (or, rather, tinkering with their exposed (in-/ex-ternal) wiring or circuitry)
13. (i.e., transit and traffic, the individual and collective vehicles of passage throughout the physical *and* virtual built forms of the addicted city)
14. (accomplished in the critical–creative interplay between representation and lived experience, the stuff of impure imaginations adulterated by the overwhelming sensory assault of the everyday overabundance of stimuli, be it physical, emotional, psychological, or otherwise hybrid/virtual)
15. (again, in place of the body, in the shape/space of the body)
16. (and accompanying sense/state/scapes of i*n/tox(if)ication*)
17. (spatial, environmental, contagious)
18. ***Intra-Text:*** See Chapter 1, Endnote #7 (i.e., *Freeze-frame, still-life, snap-shot #1*)—re: the surgical 'theatre'.
19. The term '*croaker*' is antiquated street/user slang for a crooked doctor who writes narcotics prescriptions for an inflated fee.
20. Here it is interesting to note that in Ontario, Canada, physicians with a Federal exemption to prescribe Methadone Maintenance Treatment (MMT) for

opiate dependence are typically referred to as 'prescribers', with some pre-scribers jokingly(?) referring to themselves as 'legalized drug dealers' following the media-fuelled moral panic surrounding MMT that swept the province in 2006–2007 (see C. Smith 2008, 2010, 2011). As its central defining characteristic, however, the pathological essence of narcotic modernity and its accompanying iatrogenic affliction of addiction were therefore passed down and inherited through the various socio-spatial phases or permutations of the (late-)capitalist addicted city, becoming fundamentally embedded in and encoded as an integral, hereditary part of the oxymoron otherwise termed 'human nature' (Porter 1992, 186).

21. (as subject, object, and spatial container)

22. Where all visible sign posts and directional arrows warn the wanderer to prepare themselves and watch out for the "slippage-prone" and "gap-filled" nature of the path ahead.

23. *Intra-Text:* See Chapter 1, Note #8 re: the hypodermic syringe as central enduring artefact of narcotic modernity.

24. In light of this socio-historical context, it is perhaps unsurprising to note that the first cinematic depiction of the cyborg dates back to this period, with the 1927 release of Fritz Lang's film *Metropolis*; here it is perhaps also unsurprising that the first visual representation of the cyborg was explicitly gendered female (Kirkup et al. 2000).

25. Intentionally becoming lost and 'swept away' by the dense social mystery of crowds, the twentieth century avant-garde Surrealist movement therefore established and (en)acted the first primitive forms of what contemporary practitioners often refer to as (critical-–creative, political–poetic) *urban intervention*, encompassing unique, hybrid (and often performance/installation-based) forms of art/activist practice that playfully attempt to liberate inter-disciplinary artistic experience from the sterile bourgeois institutions of the gallery and the museum into the space of the physical public sphere (Liinimaa et al. 2005; C. Smith 2004).

26. For a quintessential example of such practice, see Marcel Duchamp's (1973) "Fountain" (initially exhibited under the pseudonym *R. Mutt*), a 'found object' or 'ready made' consisting of a signed porcelain urinal (Duchamp 1973, 141–42).

27. Here it is interesting to note that Benjamin does not negate the potential for drugs to offer *some* form of 'profound illumination', as evidenced in his later documentation of self-experimentation with hashish, among other drugs (see Benjamin 2006). In his 1929 essay devoted to the burgeoning Surrealist movement, Benjamin (1999c) describes the ideological and political underpinnings of the movement and its central practitioners as residing in *profane illumination*: "a materialistic, anthropological inspiration, to which hashish, opium, or whatever else" can provide little more than an "introductory lesson" (209—original emphasis).

28. In many ways Surrealism can be understood as a post-WWI re-invention of its pan-European Dada predecessors or antecedents, as evidenced in both shared literary/artistic techniques and the fact that many central members were involved in both movements, namely, Louis Aragon, Andre Breton, and Tristan Tzara, to name only the movement's most infamous literary and political–poetic practitioners (Ades 1974, 28–32).

29. (perhaps to the extent of even being 'addicted' to)

30. *Freeze-frame still-life snap-shot #15*: **1960s Suburbia and the Culture of Consumption:** Atomized into nuclear family units and geographically separated from the urban core, the form and function of suburban life demanded mass consumption: a range of modern appliances to ease the house wife's domestic burdens, a second car to allow for women to escape the oppressive confines

of the domestic interior while her 'bread-winning' husband was at work, a lawnmower and other outdoor tools necessary to maintain the perfectly mani-cured lawn and garden. Suburbia, in this sense, is implicitly suggestive of the act of conspicuous consumption encoded in the expression '*keeping up with the Joneses*'. Here, a critical re-reading of the possible social etymological relationship between *keeping up with the Joneses* and the term '*jonesing*'— informal street/user slang for a state of strong desire or craving—points to the interstices of addiction, consumption, desire, and social conformity in this shifting socio-spatial landscape of the addicted city.

31. Here, 'cookie-cutter' represents a domestic suburban metaphor turned back on itself, suggesting the repetition of similar models and designs: of streets, 'sub-divisions', and the very housing stock that came to compose such newly developed suburban enclaves.

32. In this application, 'aesthetic control' refers to the standardization of aesthetic elements such as paint colour, most often in the context of gated communi-ties, where upper-middle class residents seek to reflect "their own landscape aesthetic of orderliness, consistency and control" (Low 2003, 167). A match-book from the late 1960s designed to promote the burgeoning satellite suburb of Kitchener, Ontario, for instance, boasted 'architectural control', implicitly situating what has today become known as the 'cookie-cutter' model as the desirable standard in suburban planning and design.

33. (among other urban outcasts and typologies of urban deviance, namely includ-ing homosexuals)

34. Which begs the question: under what guise is the war on drugs now subtly continuing to be fought in the contemporary era of our narcotic modernity, the *city of safe/supervised consumption*?

35. "*Beneath the paving stones, the beach*" reads a piece of graffiti prominently adorning a Paris wall photographed during May 1968 (Dark Star Collective 2001). The near revolutionary events that characterized this period were in no small part attributed to the agitational activities of the SI, not the least of which being the 1967 publication of the movement's two most influential texts, Guy Debord's (1994[1967]) *Society of the Spectacle*, and Raoul Vanei-gem's (1983 [1967]) *The Revolution of Everyday Life*.

36. Having little or no control over the production process, this form of alienation points to workers' lack of autonomy or independence in relation to the trans-formation of the commodity's *use value* into *exchange value*, notions which were central to the Situationist critique of post-Surrealist bourgeois artistic practice. Among the most infamous members of the Situationist International who engaged in critical–creative forms of artistic practice that actively and explicitly worked to critically engage notions of 'use value' versus 'exchange value' were the Danish painter Asger Jorn and Italian artist Giuseppe Pinot-Gallizio. First, '*detourned painting*' was an artistic style coined by Asger Jorn, involving the "unmanipulated appropriation" of "second-rate canvases that the artist found in flea markets" and modified to varying degrees by paint-ing over (and hence, *re-inscribing*) the work (Gilman 2002, 191–92). Second, Pinot-Gallizio is widely regarded as the innovator of what the Situationists termed '*industrial painting*', entailing the production and sale of "painting by the meter", a tactic that he and other members of the movement believed would "deliver the final blow to the little glories of the easel", as his work was literally composed on giant rolls of paper, thus eliminating issues of size and scale, as the canvas was "cut before the eyes of the satisfied customer" (Bern-stein 2002, 70).

37. As 'creatures of the simulacrum' (Ronell 1992, 57), at home in the 'addicted city' (Wild 2002), perhaps this landscape (or, rather, spatio-temporal expression/

experience) of phantasmagoria and shock, spectacle and alienation, represents all we have ever known, thus raising a problem or question equally relevant to each successive socio-spatial permutation of our narcotic modernity: how to sufficiently see outside of the intoxication indigenous to the lived experience of the (late-)capitalist, (narco-)modern cityscape long enough to critique its inner-workings, in which we are all, always already, implicated?

38. (experienced in the explicit terms of *shock* [Benjamin 2003b; Buck-Morss 1989, 1992; Highmore 2002])

39. Or, rather, *detourn*-ing. A tendency common throughout both earlier twentieth century European avant-garde movements (namely Dada and Surrealism) *and* contemporary critical–creative political–poetic *urban intervention*-based praxis, the Situationist notion of *detournement* served to expand the practice of "reus[ing] preexisting artistic elements into a new ensemble" (Knabb 1981, 55), honing it into an explicitly political exercise.

40. (the vast majority of which were merely reconfigured, refined, or outright appropriated from the ruinous legacy of their Surrealist predecessors)

41. "We are bored in the city", begins Chtcheglov's (1981 [1953], 1) *Formulary for a New Urbanism*, a tract associated with the group/movement that was in fact produced in the period immediately preceding the formal constellation of the Situationist International (see Knabb 1981): "we really have to strain to still discover mysteries on the sidewalk billboards".

42. What we might call a case of 'dual diagnosis', otherwise known as 'concurrent disorders' (i.e., the parallel, equally paralyzing fears of moral, physical, and spatial contagion by the *disorder of drugs*).

43. Almost like a ghost, the ghastly, shape-shifting socio-spatial permutations or *incarnations* of narcotic modernity, almost resonate with the metaphorical gesture of *invocation*.

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7 The Contemporary Cityscape as Site of Safe/Supervised Consumption

> . . . burgeoning technologies require outlaw zones [. . .] a deliberately unsupervised playground for technology itself . . .
>
> (Gibson 1984, 11)

INTRODUCTION: (LATE-)CAPITALISM AND SAFE/SUPERVISED CONSUMPTION

Beginning in the late 1980s and gaining full momentum at the turn of the twenty-first century, a series of subtle changes in the form and character of our narcotic modernity served to effect yet another shift in the form and function of the addicted city, away from the notion of spectacle and towards a new manifestation (or, rather, reconfiguration) of the forces of consumption and control in the thinly-disguised notions of 'safety' and 'supervision'. Figuring chiefly among the defining features of this new phase of the dream/drug/disease of (late-)capitalist narcotic modernity, the intimately inter-related forces of globalization and deindustrialization played a central role in the reinvention of this stage or phase of the addicted city, variously described and defined as *late*-capitalism, *hyper*-capitalism, *late*-modernity, or *post*-modernity. Most specific to the analysis contained throughout this chapter, perhaps we might begin to think of this era as (*late-/narco-*)capitalism, a late stage post-euphoric moment in the drug 'trip' constituting the denouement immediately preceding the final crash. Here, as Susan Sontag (1977, 35) wrote in her discussion of cancer and tuberculosis and their perceived historical relationship to space and place, it is "not an accident that the most common metaphor for an extreme psychological experience viewed positively—whether produced by drugs or by becoming psychotic—is a trip".

The most recent, contemporary manifestation of the addicted city of our narcotic modernity can be seen and understood as a site of *'safe'/'supervised' consumption*. Representing one of the most controversial and contested—yet also ostensibly most progressive—drug policy interventions currently in existence, the notion of the *'safe' or 'supervised' consumption site* (SCS)

is firmly situated in the ideological tradition of *harm reduction*. Variously referred to in different regional and institutional contexts as *safe injection sites* (SIS), *supervised injection facilities* (SIF), *drug consumption rooms* (DCRs), and *medically supervised injection centres* (MSIC), such sites or facilities can be defined as "legally sanctioned low-threshold facilities that allow the consumption of pre-obtained drugs under supervision in a non-judgmental environment" (City of Toronto 2005, 66). First established in the Netherlands in the late 1970s, different models of SCS facilities have been adopted in Switzerland, Germany, and Australia; the first and only SCS facility in North America—Vancouver's *Insite*—was instituted as a scientific pilot project in 2003 and continues to operate in spite of continued government opposition (Hwang 2007). The primary public health objectives of SCS initiatives typically include the reduction of public disorder caused by open, public drug scenes (including public drug use and dealing, as well as discarded drug use paraphernalia), overdose prevention, reduction in HIV and Hepatitis C (HCV) blood-borne virus transmission, and increased access to health and social services for people who use drugs, a population group that is typically marginalized from conventional models of social service delivery (Dolan et al. 2000, 338).

In order to situate the contemporary manifestation of our narcotic modernity in the terms of the *city as site of safe/supervised consumption*, this chapter begins by briefly describing the major shifts in the form and character of contemporary urbanism following the slow disintegration of the city of spectacle. Pausing to consider one of the central, defining elements of the present-day addicted city, this section moves on to examine contemporary patterns of gentrification and urban redevelopment. Building on this discussion of (late-)capitalist urbanism, the analysis turns to conduct a political reading of the development of harm reduction practice, suggesting a relationship between the objectives of urban governance and redevelopment and the adoption of harm reduction as institutionalized (and thus de-politicized) public health policy (C. Smith 2012b). The chapter then concludes by arguing that from a metaphorical perspective, the notion of safe/supervised consumption perfectly embodies the contemporary urban landscape of (late-)capitalist narcotic modernity.

EXCAVATING THE CITY OF SAFE/SUPERVISED CONSUMPTION

From the turn of the twentieth century to the end of the Second World War, the capitalist cityscape witnessed a series of profound and irrevocable shifts, the underlying animating force of *phantasmagoria* coming to be supplanted by that of the *spectacle*, and the consequent, symptomatic impact of *shock* coming to be replaced by that of *alienation*. Accompanying these shifts were a number of fundamental changes to the form and character of the drug/

dream/disease of urban modernity, and the corresponding nature of the sense/state/scape of intoxication produced by the experience of the addicted city. With the rise of globalization and deindustrialization, however, formerly industrial cities throughout the developed Western capitalist world were increasingly compelled to reinvent themselves by restructuring their economies and repositioning the role of culture and creativity in relation to their former urban 'brands' or identities (Barnes et al. 2006; Florida 2002; Short 1999; C. Smith 2014). With the 'hyper-mobility of capital' brought about by the forces of globalization (Sassen 1998), cities were increasingly forced to compete to attract and retain international investment capital, which was progressively becoming more 'restless' and 'footloose' (Harvey 1990). Since the turn of the twenty-first century, the dominant themes or strategies in urban planning and redevelopment discourse have been centred on notions of the 'creative class' (Florida 2002).

Florida's theory of the 'rise of the creative class' is premised on the emergence of a new, young, upwardly mobile social class composed of intellectuals, artists, and members of the knowledge economy that constitutes a significant economic force in the era of globalization. Widely embraced throughout the world, the policy implications of Florida's creative class theory are that cities and specific urban spaces that have suffered industrial decline should attempt to "aggressively plan for, and compete to attract, members of this new 'creative class'" in order to lure and entice hyper-mobile investment capital and thus remain competitive in the new global economy (Barnes et al. 2006, 337). In the context of Canada's largest 'mega-city', Toronto, the influence of Florida's creative class notion has been dramatic and widespread, evidenced in not only the privileging of high-profile 'creative culture' oriented redevelopment projects,[1] but also in prominent boosterist regimes of representation. Toronto's most explicit attempt to woo and attract the 'creative class' and position itself as a 'creative city' can be seen in the 2006 *Live With Culture* campaign (City of Toronto n.d.),[2] which emerged from the 2003 *Culture Plan for the Creative City* (City of Toronto 2003).[3] Harnessing the city's "unprecedented wave of creative and cultural successes"—in the form of architectural spectacles designed by "world renowned architects", arts and culture festivals "created through private sector vision and leadership",[4] and the "ground-breaking adaptive reuse" of former industrial infrastructure (AuthentiCity 2003, 2)— Toronto's *Live With Culture* campaign consisted of a 16-month advertising and promotional strategy celebrating the city's arts and culture industries.

Animated by the complementary forces of consumption and control, the *city of spectacle* constituted a quintessentially *disciplinary* society, distinguished by the existence of inter-linked disciplinary institutions based on the notion of confinement (the prison, the hospital, the school, the factory), each with its own specific set of rules and regulations (Deleuze 1995c; Foucault 1977). As the driving force of the spectacle began to dissipate and give way, so too did the disciplinary apparatuses of power upon which it was

based, signalling the rise of what Deleuze (1995a, 1995c) referred to as *control society*. Here, the sense of confinement dictated by disciplinary incarnations of power was replaced by the amorphous, shape-shifting, uncontained, fundamentally fluid, and free-floating notion of '*control*'. Articulating the sharp distinction between discipline and control, Deleuze (1995a, 178–79) wrote that "[c]onfinements are *molds*, different moldings, while controls are a *modulation*" (original emphasis).

Directly correlating to the displacement of disciplinary society by that of *control*, in the city as site of safe/supervised consumption the underlying force of *spectacle* has therefore come to be replaced by the ('*virtual*') phenomenon of *hyper-reality*, enabled by the rapid development and proliferation of electronic communication technologies and various forms of 'virtual reality' in the (post-)industrial, globalized, digital era. In this context, hyper-reality describes the impossibility of human consciousness to make clear, precise distinctions between the 'real' and the 'virtual'. Effectively blurring and erasing, collapsing and conflating notions of the 'real' with notions of fantasy or imagination, hyper-reality thus represents a landscape of pure simulacrum, where lived experience of the world is inseparable from the fictional/ized narrative constructs of representation (Baudrillard 1994, 1–7); from this perspective, therefore, *virtual reality* is thus the only 'reality' we know. In this context, hyper-reality constitutes a "medium for communication between the real and the virtual, between human and artificial intelligence and between fact and fiction" (Tiffin 2001, 25). In the present era of hyper-reality, in other words, the forces of surveillance and spectacle that epitomized the *city of spectacle* have come to be superseded by new forms of (virtual) control and (virtual) consumption, embodied by the notions of 'safety' and 'supervision'.

The sense/state/scape of phantasmagoria that characterized and brought to life the first era of narcotic modernity around the turn of the twentieth century can be seen as a new technology of representation, embodied in/as the media of built form or the architecture of fantastic display: a "magic lantern show of optical illusions, rapidly changing size and blending into one another" (Buck-Morss 1989, 81). For Walter Benjamin, the incarnate expression of urban phantasmagoria was found in the display of fetishized commodities; here, Benjamin's (1999) *Arcades Project* constituted a materialist excavation of urban modernity that explored the notion of phantasmagoria through the extinction of the Paris arcades, arguably constituting the original historical template for the contemporary shopping mall (Buck-Morss 1989). In Benjamin's analysis, however, phantasmagoria was not confined to the display and representational value of literal commodities, but instead bled out into other forms and phenomena implicated in market and state forces, including the phantasmagoric nature of the Haussmannization of Paris. It is in this respect that we might begin to think of phantasmagoria as a mode of architecture or (physical/material/metaphorical) built form in and of itself (Buck Morss 1989).

Having emerged in the second era of narcotic modernity with the dawn of mass consumer culture at the close of the Second World War, by contrast, the notion of the *spectacle* can be seen as being a fundamentally fluid form of media. Not merely composed of the *mass* media of communication technology (newspapers, radio, television, etc.), from its earliest articulation in the work of Guy Debord, spectacle was described as an amorphous and uncontained energy: a symptomatic expression or manifestation of capitalism, which *mediates* virtually every aspect of everyday urban life (Debord 1994, 12). Moreover, spectacle in this sense can be conceived as a synthesis of phantasmagoria with the city of mass consumption: a synonym for the imminent arrival of (late-)capitalism (Crary 2002, 456). The unbounded nature of spectacle, coupled with its contagious, all-pervasive ability to induce passivity and submission, therefore became the logic of capitalism's (creative–destructive) transformation throughout urban modernity, representing the "total justification for the conditions and aims of the existing system" (Debord 1994, 13).

With the subsequent mutation of spectacle into hyper-reality that accompanied the reinvention of the addicted city in the shape/space/site of *safe* or *supervised consumption*, the force animating our present era of narcotic modernity is indistinguishable from the notion of substance articulated in chapter two. Here, the virtual nature of hyper-reality simultaneously constitutes a tool or technology of mediation as well as a form of media itself: instrument, vehicle, nourishment, the elemental matter that composes all socio-spatial bodies in the dizzying inter-/intra-active synthesis of p/re/in-scription between substance, space, and subjectivity. Hyper-reality thus describes the diet that *sustains*—as well as the environment and identity that *contains*—the creatures of the simulacrum (Ronell 1992, 57), at home in the addicted (late-/narco-)capitalist landscape of safe/supervised consumption.

Taking the form of a generalized sense/state/scape of (psycho-social) 'dislocation', the impacts and implications of hyper-reality are immeasurable (Alexander 2000, 2008). In his book *The Globalization of Addiction*, Canadian psychologist Bruce K. Alexander bases his assessment of the aetiology, root causes, and nature of addiction in the notions of psycho-social *integration* and *dislocation*. Describing a sense of 'profound interdependence' necessary for healthy human functioning, Alexander (2008, 58) defines psycho-social integration as a force that "reconciles people's vital needs for social belonging with their equally vital needs for individual autonomy and achievement", based on both "an inward experience of identity and meaning" and "set of outward social relationships". The negation, loss, or lack of psycho-social integration constituting positive and healthy forms of psychological and social interdependency, Alexander argues, creates a sense of psycho-social 'dislocation' (58). Because the global forces of free-market capitalism systematically negate and undermine psycho-social integration, Alexander asserts that consumer capitalism and free-market society thus serve to mass-produce the conditions leading to psycho-social dislocation.

Addiction, Alexander concludes, is therefore a symptomatic adaptive response to the absence of psycho-social integration, or, in other words, a means of "adapting to sustained dislocation" (62).

Embodying the direct effects produced by the shifting sense/state/scape of hyper-reality in the (late-)capitalist city of safe/supervised consumption, for the purpose of this analysis it is necessary to extend Alexander's notion of dislocation in more playful, virtual dimensions. Here, the notion of dislocation must be seen and understood in not only psycho-social terms, but also importantly in socio-spatial, ideological, and discursive dimensions. Akin to Jean Baudrillard's (1994, 12) discussion of Disneyland—which, as he suggested, "exists in order to hide that it is the 'real' country, all of 'real' America that is Disneyland"—in its most acute technological manifestations (i.e., the internet, virtual reality, video games, 3D cinema, the ubiquity of mobile digital communications technology in the form of 'smart phones', etc.), the contemporary force of hyper-reality draws our attention away from the underlying virtual nature of everyday urban life, distracting us from exposing or revealing the intimately inter-connected composition of all socio-spatial bodies, their neuro/chemical circuitry and nervous 'systems' more generally. Here, drawing on the foundational work of Walter Benjamin, Surrealist-inspired anthropologist Michael Taussig (1992, 13) asks, "what does it take to understand our reality as a chronic state of emergency, as a Nervous System?" Actively concealing the cross-wiring and interdependence of cyborg subjects and virtual spaces,[5] hyper-reality thus participates in perpetuating the dream of the self-en/closed circuitry of subjectivity, an act that is eerily mirrored in the co-responding sense/state/scape of dislocation, encoded as/in the severing or disconnection of the dream from its accompanying scape(s), the drug from its correlating state(s), the disease from its attendant senses. Dislocation, in other words, is a force that furthers the fallacy of the perceived separation between the abject body of the addict from the social body of the addicted city, the sense/state/scape of addiction from the drug/dream/disease of (late-)capitalist narcotic modernity.

GENTRIFICATION AND THE SHIFTING IMAGE–SPACE OF (LATE-)CAPITALIST URBANISM

As site of safe/supervised consumption, the present era of narcotic modernity has been directly informed—and, as it were, ushered in—by dramatic changes in the nature of (late-/*hyper-*)capitalist urban redevelopment. In order to historicize the arrival of the contemporary *city of safe/supervised consumption*, therefore, it is useful to delineate recent shifts in urban planning, design, and redevelopment, tracing how such changes—particularly in the case of gentrification—intersect with contemporary drug policy and addiction treatment discourse. Although gentrification in different guises has taken place throughout the various stages of narcotic modernity and

the development of the capitalist cityscape, this process has morphed or transformed into an entirely new beast in the present era of (late-)capitalist consumer culture. Characterized in theoretical terms as an irreconcilable conflict between *revanchist* and *emancipatory* models, paradigms, or constructs, (late-)capitalist gentrification is, not unlike the subject of drugs, rendered and relished as source of both punishment *and* liberation, revenge *and* freedom.

Attributed to the work of Canadian scholars Jon Caulfield (1989, 1994) and David Ley (1996), the 'emancipatory city' construct understands gentrification as a positive, culturally influenced force (Caulfield 1989; Slater 2004). In this model, gentrification is understood as a middle class reaction to the monotony, conformity, and repressive institutions found in suburban life, constituting an '*emancipatory practice*' driven by "the emancipatory attraction of old city places" (Caulfield 1989, 625). Here, middle class resettlement and *reclaiming* of the (post-)industrial inner city is conceived not in the terms of class conflict and displacement, but as a liberating form of escape from the "routine of placeless space and monofunctional instrumentality" that characterized the post-war Fordist suburbs in Toronto and other major urban centres throughout the Western world (624–625). In simplistic terms, following the mass-scale experience of ('white') flight to the suburbs to escape the industrial working class city core during the preceding city of spectacle and alienation, the middle class experienced a "collective disdain for the monotony of suburban life", overcoming "resilient pathological images of inner-city neighbourhoods" and transforming them into new middle class settlements in the urban core based on the heritage value of older urban structures and an ostensible embrace of difference (Slater 2004, 1194).[6]

In sharp contrast to the 'emancipatory city' model of gentrification is that of the 'revanchist city', a concept attributed to Neil Smith's (1996) work drawn from case studies of gentrification in (post-)industrial American cities, chiefly New York City. The notion of the 'revanchist city' unambiguously positions gentrification as a negative, *revengeful* phenomenon, involving attempts by the middle class to re-take and 'reclaim' the urban core from the working class, particularly immigrant and minority groups (N. Smith 1996; Slater 2004). As Smith (1996, xviii) writes, the revanchist character of urbanism in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries "embodies a revengeful and reactionary viciousness against various populations accused of 'stealing' the city from the white upper classes".

As a metaphor that functions to "rationalize and legitimate a process of conquest", Smith (xv) argues that urban 'frontier' discourse has played a central role in revanchist gentrification in North America since the 1960s. Here, in media, popular culture, and the public imagination, real estate agents' promotional campaigns have portrayed the *new urban frontier* as "the habitat of disease and disorder, crime and corruption, drugs and danger" (xiii), a space of wilderness that needed to be tamed, conquered, and settled. This shift in the application of frontier metaphors from rural to urban spaces

took place within a larger shift in North American urban social theory involving a focus on 'urban blight' and the pathologies of urban life—what Beauregard (1993) referred to as the "discourse of decline"—where urban theorists noted the emergence of "a new group of 'urban outlaws' in connection with inner-city drug cultures" (N. Smith 1996, xiv).[7]

Fundamentally premised on the notion of urban 'redevelopment' and its many organic/anatomical euphemisms or metaphors, the new urban frontier is therefore a plural, shifting, ideologically infused construct that manifests in specific urban spaces owing to a confluence of different socio-economic forces and factors. In geographic terms, Neil Smith (190) suggests that the gentrification frontier represents "a line dividing areas of disinvestment from areas of reinvestment in the urban landscape" and as such can be mapped. Because gentrification results in the displacement of poor and working class residents through the creation of bourgeois and upper-middle class enclaves in the urban core (Glass 1964), Smith (1996, 17–18) argues that the deployment of frontier ideology and discourse "rationalizes social differentiation and exclusion as natural, inevitable", thus justifying "monstrous incivility in the heart of the city" through revanchist strategies of socio-spatial stigmatization, purification, and exclusion.

As a process of socio-spatial contestation and conquest that serves to displace poor and working class individuals and families and re-brand formerly industrial areas of the urban core through urban boosterism-driven strategies of both place promotion and spatial purification, revanchist gentrification is therefore fundamentally based on the systematic exclusion, marginalization, and stigmatization of 'undesirable' elements; here, the figure of the addict features prominently in 'dark/shadow' regimes of representation of the new urban frontier (Short 1999; C. Smith 2010, 2014). Gentrification, in the subtle, coded, organically derived form of 'urban regeneration' or 'urban revitalization' projects, has in many cases been put forward by public and private coalitions and organizations as a conscious, intentional strategy designed to address and eliminate the social, spatial, and moral contagion that is publically perceived as directly corresponding to the *disorder of drugs* (Cusick and Kimber 2007; Dear 1992; Fischer et al. 2004; Short 1999; C. Smith 2010, 2012a, 2014). In this sense, urban redevelopment can be understood as both a symptom and cause of socio-spatial exclusion and marginalization; here, under the pretence of 'making the city safe for gentrification', pariah groups such as the homeless and people who use drugs become the explicit targets of revanchist architectural details that 'reclaim' by rendering public space unusable and uninhabitable (Davis 1990, 223–34; Smith and Derkson 2002). Fuelled by the shifting ideologies of fear and domination that characterize the 'new urban frontier', the transitional process of (revanchist) gentrification inherently produces a heightened climate of community conflict and contestation that effectively serves to construct and perpetuate forms of socio-spatial stigmatization (Colon and Marston 1999; C. Smith 2010; Strike et al. 2004; Takahashi 1997).

In its contemporary manifestation as the city of safe/supervised consumption, gentrification is a process that is always already seduced by the 'sketchiness' of disordered, deviant, vice-strewn—and invariably (post-) industrial—urban landscapes. In this sense, what Neil Smith described as the redevelopment *frontier*—the literal 'line in the sand' separating spaces of *re*investment from those of *dis*investment—is the space where hipsters and junkies, artists and winos, working girls and yuppie DINKs inter-mingle and,[8] if only for a brief period of time, co-exist—at least until the dis*place*ment of the perceived source(s) of socio-spatial disorder is complete. The new urban frontier therefore often fetishizes inherently *marginal/ized*—socially and spatially, literally and metaphorically—urban spaces, landscapes that were once upon a time the sole stigmatized home or habitat of the Other-ized (and largely immigrant) industrial working class. Infused with foreign-ness (in sight, smell, behaviour, and the character of the streets) as much as dirtiness (due to the proximity of industrial pollutants and by-products, as much as the presence of its workers), such socio-spatially marginal sections of the capitalist cityscape have always been animated by the equally infectious and in/toxifying (i.e., imagination fuelled and fuelling) 'disease' of vice and drugs: the space of brothels and opium dens, 'dive' or 'alkie' bars, and 'needle' or 'junky' parks, inhabited by a cast of creatures who are simultaneously produced and nurtured by urban decay.

Viewed from this vantage point, it is perhaps not surprising that our global mega-cities' most notoriously disordered (read: 'seedy', 'sketchy', or 'dodgy') neighbourhoods—including East London's *Docklands* and *Canary Wharf*, New York City's *Harlem* and *Brooklyn*, Toronto's *Corktown* and *Parkdale*—now exist as sanitized, post-gentrified phantoms; upper-middle class reincarnations that retain only trace evidence and faint, fading representations marking the 'gritty-ness' that once gave them their character. Coming full circle to the stuff of science/fiction, in his book *Triton: An Ambiguous Heterotopia*,[9] Samuel R. Delaney (1976, 9–10) portrays a future world in which each city contains a self-governing, so-called '*unlicensed sector*'.[10] Here, Delaney fictionally suggests that there was a "different feel to the streets" in the unlicensed sector, and those who chose to live there "did so because, presumably, they liked that feel" (10), arguably gesturing towards Caulfield's (1989) assertions concerning the emancipatory attraction of older, inner city neighbourhoods among prospective middle-class gentrifiers.

As earlier chapters have served to demonstrate, the *Not-In-My-Back-Yard* or *NIMBY* phenomenon is directly relevant to the phenomenon of socio-spatial stigmatization as it relates to people who use drugs and the public health, harm reduction, and treatment interventions designed to meet their needs. Such *NIMBY*-based forms of community opposition, conflict, and contestation are, moreover, fundamentally rooted in perceptions of the (socio-spatial) *disorder of drugs*, effectively situating addiction as a *pathology (out) of place* (Fraser and Moore 2008; C. Smith 2010). Growing out

of a dynamic, interdependent discourse that oscillates between 'light' and 'dark/shadow' regimes of representation based on notions of both place promotion and spatial purification (i.e., intra-urban boosterism and forms of abjection-fuelled exclusion) (Barnes et al. 2006; Short 1999; Sibley 1995), contemporary patterns of gentrification in the present manifestation of the addicted city intersect and combine with socio-spatial stigmatization surrounding the disorder of drugs to produce a landscape that is portrayed in the terms of 'war zone' or 'battle ground' (C. Smith 2010, 2011b, 2014; Sommers and Blomley 2002; Woolford 2001). Here, metaphors of 'war' and 'battle' are often invoked by community opponents in reference to conflicts surrounding the contested space of harm reduction and addiction treatment, mobilizing the ideological force of both 'revanchist' urbanism and the morally informed American 'war on drugs' (Derrida 1993; C. Smith 2014; N. Smith 1996).

In his analysis of representations of injection drug use and HIV/AIDS in Vancouver's Downtown Eastside, Woolford (2001, 44) suggests that references to 'war' in relation to social problems traditionally fulfil one of two ideological purposes. First, the discourse of 'war' in instances of socio-spatial conflict provides a means of "signalling the justice of a certain cause", drawing clear, simplistic lines in the conflict between 'us' and 'them', 'good' and 'bad'. As Woolford writes, "when we make reference to a 'war' against HIV/AIDS or a 'battle' for East Hastings Street we are engaging in the construction of a noble fight against a perceived ignoble enemy" (44). By clearly signalling the 'sides' of the battle, elevating the justice of the fight, and thus stigmatizing the perceived opponents in the conflict, discourses of war—in this specific case, ushering in a new era in the then recently proclaimed *'war on [drugs/]terror'*—implicitly reinforce George W. Bush's infamous proclamation: "if you are not with us, you're against us".

The second central purpose of war discourse as applied to social problems is identified by Woolford as a response to the perceived complexity or irrationality of a given social conflict. In Woolford's (2001, 45) view, "war is a signifier with which we hope to capture a situation that is thought to be irrational or complicated". In other words, when 'simplifying discourses' fail, fragment, or begin to fall apart, forcing individuals to confront the sheer complexity of a given situation, one common response is to normalize and naturalize the terms of conflict. As Woolford suggests, "in this way, we remove our own ability to make a difference . . . by placing the event in a realm that is not amenable to human action" (45). By portraying the Downtown Eastside as a 'war zone', for instance, the issues involved in this particular area "take on a complexity that places them beyond repair (except, perhaps, through extreme authoritative measures)" (45), thus serving to naturalize the state of contestation or conflict as 'war'.

Derrida's commentary concerning the ideological underpinnings of war discourse in the case of the 'war on drugs' provides theoretical insight into how this particular strategic oppositional discourse relates to larger regimes

of representation concerning the social body of the city. According to Derrida (1993, 4), prohibitionist discourse implies the need to shield or protect the social body politic from the abject associations that accompany popular projections of drug use/rs, a sense of protection that is always already posed in the terms of maintaining the (fictional) 'nomality' of 'natural' socio-spatial bodies: the abject body of the addict and the social body of the addicted city. In this line of discursive attack, prohibitionists argue that the drug addict exists in a completely synthetic 'artificial paradise', where the consumption of controlled substance effectively serves to taint or infect the naturalness of the 'ideal' or 'perfect' body (Derrida 1993, 25; also see Baudelaire 1996). Here, the desire to reconstitute the 'ideal' or 'perfect' body underlying prohibitionist discourses on the war on drugs can be extended and applied both to the body of the addict and the social body of the city, where the use of war metaphors can be interpreted as an effort to restore or reconstitute the 'pure', 'untainted', 'ideal', or 'perfect' body of the addicted city, thus metaphorically re-mapping the redevelopment 'frontier' as that of a 'battle ground' or 'war zone' (Derrida 1993; C. Smith 2010, 2011b, 2012a; 2014; N. Smith 1996).

SAFE/SUPERVISED CONSUMPTION AND THE GOVERNMENTALITY OF INSTITUTIONALIZED HARM REDUCTION POLICY

Referring back to the various discussions of pathology and place contained in earlier chapters, the rise of the bio-medical brain disease model or pathology paradigm for understanding the phenomenon of addiction has closely accompanied the emergence of the present era of narcotic modernity, in the form of the *city as site of safe/supervised consumption*. In the contemporary addicted city, therefore, addiction is thus situated as a *pathology (out) of place*, constituting both a symptom specific to (and produced by) the (late-)capitalist landscape of (narco-)modernity and a projection or portrayal of abject bodies and behaviours 'out of place' in relation to normative conceptions of (late-)capitalist urban order, symbolizing a profoundly transgressive threat to the borders and boundaries of all (physical and figurative, literal and metaphorical) socio-spatial bodies (C. Smith 2010, 2011a, 2012a). Manifesting as a masked reconfiguration of the forces of consumption and control in the coded guise of 'safety' and 'supervision', pandemic pathologization—what elsewhere has been referred to as epidemic 'addiction-attribution' or 'addiction-mania'—has moreover become perhaps the most centrally important defining feature of the (*late-*)capitalist phase of our narcotic modernity (Critical Art Ensemble 1996; Sedgwick 1992). Here, the power of the pathology paradigm draws all forms of human behaviour and consumption into what Sedgwick (1992, 583) has termed the "orbit of potential addiction-attribution" and the terms 'addict'

and 'junky' have entered the contemporary popular lexicon in reference to pathological/pathologized relationships to sleep, exercise, sex, television, the internet, video games, or food,[11] among countless other examples.

Anchored in and framed by the ideological confines or constraints of the pathology paradigm, the social positioning of drug use and addiction in our present era of (late-/narco-)capitalist (narco-/late-)modernity has, since the 1980s, increasingly been articulated in the terms of harm reduction. As an applied expression, extension, or tool of the pathology paradigm, the philosophy and practice of harm reduction shares a number of curious and complex relationships to the realm of urban planning and redevelopment—the policy-mediated regulation or governance of urban capitalism's built form. The notion of 'regulation' regarding the question of drugs and addiction represents an oppositional stance to the prohibitionist discourse characterized by the American 'War on Drugs', a stance closely mirrored in Canadian drug policy until the 1980s (Erickson 1992; Fischer 1997). Although it continues to remain conspicuously absent from American public health policy discourse, regulation, in the form of the emergent notion of 'harm reduction', was first introduced to Canadian federal drug policy with the establishment of *Canada's Drug Strategy* in 1987 (Fischer 1997), having appeared in Australia two years prior (Miller 2001). Adopted as part of the European 'four pillar' approach to drug policy including *prevention*, *treatment*, and *enforcement*, *harm reduction* refers to "interventions that seek to reduce the harms associated with substance use for individuals, families and communities" through a comprehensive range of "co-ordinated, user-friendly, client-centred and flexible programs and services" that "provide a supportive, non-judgmental environment" where focus is placed on "the individual's behaviour, not on the substance use itself" (City of Toronto 2005, 6).

Although on the surface this approach appeared to constitute a radical departure from the right wing, conservative, U.S.-led 'War on Drugs', scholars have suggested that *Canada's Drug Strategy* embraced harm reduction in theory but not in practice, demonstrating "very little evidentiary progression of drug policy reform based on public health principles" (Hathaway and Erickson 2003, 476). Moreover, in October 2007, less than a year after taking office, Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper unveiled the Conservative government's new *National Anti-Drug Strategy*, suggesting that the notion of harm reduction was being written out of Canadian drug policy altogether. Based on a three-pronged approach that included prevention, treatment, and enforcement, the new *Strategy* unambiguously signalled the complete erasure of harm reduction from federal Canadian drug policy. Furthermore, clearly signalling a return to the moral–criminological approach to addiction, responsibilities for the new *Anti-Drug Strategy* were shifted from Health Canada to the Department of Justice (Government of Canada n.d.).

While the primary objective of prohibition is to suppress and eliminate all use of 'illicit' substances, regulation in the form of harm reduction merely

seeks to restrict and monitor "the circumstances, procedures and subjects of drug use" (Hathaway and Erickson 2003, 466). The shift from prohibition to regulation, it is argued, involves several factors associated with the social understanding of drug use, including a growing perception of substance use and dependence as "a health problem rather than a moral issue" (466).[12] In this sense, harm reduction explicitly adopts the bio-medical brain disease model for addiction research and treatment, addressing addiction as an organic disease (Ning 1999). Because the disease model has grown to become the prevailing paradigm for drug/addiction in the contemporary era of our narcotic modernity—the city of safe/supervised consumption—Robert Granfield (2004, 29) has argued that it is "now hegemonic" given the fact that it "possesses its own self-legitimating ideology".

Established as a direct result of the moral panic surrounding growing rates of HIV/AIDS among inner-city injection drug users (IDU) during the 1980s, the first harm reduction measures in Europe were needle exchange programs (NEPs; Hathaway and Erickson 2003; Riley 1993). Although methadone was used prior to the formal establishment of the harm reduction model, it has since been recognized as one of the first *informally* operating harm reduction measures due to its role in reducing blood-borne disease transmission among IDUs, preventing crime associated with illicit drug use, and reintegrating users into conventional social and employment systems (Riley 1993). Viewed by bio-medical proponents as a "technocratic magic bullet that can resolve social, economic, and human existential quandaries by intervening almost surgically at the level of the brain's synapses" (Bourgois 2000, 173), methadone represents a harm reduction intervention based on pharmacological substitution that perfectly complements the bio-medical 'disease' model of addiction.

As a rational and pragmatic approach to the question of drugs and addiction, harm reduction "recognizes drug use as an inescapable fact, rather than a moral issue, and seeks to reduce the individual and social costs of abuse rather than to eliminate all drug use per se", thereby addressing the behaviour of drug users "in practical terms of cost-benefit analysis rather than in terms of ideology" (Hathaway and Erickson 2003, 471). Here, the cost-benefit or 'bottom line' analysis of harm reduction policy is a calculation based not only on the reduction of harms to the individual user, but also includes the larger 'social costs' of abuse (Ning 1999). Harm reduction is therefore posited as an intervention that seeks to balance the interests of the individual drug user and those of the larger community (City of Toronto 2005, 7). Concerns regarding 'public order' and 'public safety' arising from widespread public drug use practices have been seen as constituting perhaps the primary line of justification for the establishment and expansion of harm reduction interventions (Fischer et al. 2004; Ning 1999; Small et al. 2007). Here, 'harm reduction' refers not only to the harms suffered by substance users, but also the harmful impacts of substance use on the larger community, which is often expressed in terms of the concrete, visible impact on

urban public space. From this perspective it is relevant to raise the question *whose harm* does the policy notion of harm reduction seek to mitigate and reduce (Hunt and Stevens 2004), that of the individual drug user (the body of the addict) or the wider community (the social body of the city)?

As an applied extension of the pathology paradigm, the notion of harm reduction has increasingly become the subject of critical debate in what Keane (2009, 450) has referred to as the sub-field of '*Critical Drug Studies*'. Prior to being institutionalized as public health policy following the AIDS epidemic of the 1980s, harm reduction originated as a clandestine practice that existed in direct political opposition to the prohibitionist principle of criminalization. In other words, harm reduction began as an 'illegal' activity where activists and politicized front-line public health workers acted in defiance of the law, risking sharp penalties for distributing drug using paraphernalia such as clean syringes, thus constituting a kind of anarchist-inspired social movement or activist practice (Roe 2005; C. Smith 2012b). Some critics have argued that as it was formally institutionalized in public health policy, however, the practice of harm reduction became sanitized, its oppositional political origins obscured. In this respect, Roe (2005, 244) notes a historical tension between "those who see harm reduction primarily as a medical means of promoting health and mitigating the harm to individuals", and a more political, activist-oriented faction who see it as "a platform for broader and more structural social change". Such arguments illustrate how harm reduction, originating as a form of anarchist-oriented, direct action based social movement or form or activist practice, has been co-opted or recuperated by dominant state institutions and public health authorities (Plant 1992; C. Smith 2012b), where the explicitly oppositional political origins of the movement have not only been diluted, but in fact become inverted and skewed to support apolitical mainstream public health objectives (Ning 1999). Here again we might rightly ask (following the example of Hunt and Stevens 2004): *Whose harm? In whose interest?*

Roe (2005, 245) argues that institutional harm reduction advocates engage in cooperation and collaboration with state bodies at the expense of ignoring or overlooking the fact that "the health problems they address are substantially created by the ideology of the systems in which they work". The more activist-oriented, explicitly politicized proponents of harm reduction, by contrast, tend to see the notion of harm reduction as "a political and moral commitment to altering the material and social conditions of drug users" by placing emphasis on a structural critique involving a "political analysis of 'risk' and 'harm' as by-products of social, economic, racial or political inequality" (245). The 'optimistic naïveté' of traditional harm reduction proponents, as Peter Miller (2001, 176) argues, fails to acknowledge or take into consideration the fact that this approach is "tailor-made to suit the current dominant ideology of economic rationalism" and thus avoids or outright ignores "the structural inequalities that, in the very least, contribute to problematic drug use".

While harm reduction ostensibly takes a 'value-neutral' stance regarding substance use, critics suggest that the "moral warrants behind the movement . . . with their basic respect for human rights, are the very principles that have yet to be fully established", leading to the fact that "the human rights of drug users are typically downplayed in favour of 'cost-benefit' analyses that are claimed to be morally neutral" (Hathaway and Erickson 2003, 484). Given the highly contested status of harm reduction policy and practice in North America today, continued recourse to 'bottom line' analyses—an approach that Miller (2001, 175) argues is "congruent with middle class values"—can in many ways be understood as a strategic measure to appeal to fiscal conservatives. Here, however, as Helen Keane (2003, 228) remarks, " 'neutral' cost-benefit analysis will often lead to the sacrifice of individual rights in favour of the greater public good".

Roe (2005, 245) furthermore suggests that specific harm reduction interventions and policies based on the 'bottom line' analysis represent the most recent strategic efforts to "*minimize risk from*, and *maximize control over*, marginal populations" (emphasis added). While harm reduction initiatives such as supervised consumption sites seek to manage urban drug using communities in the interests of 'public order', these programs have increasingly been criticized as lacking focus on the core structural issues underlying different forms of social suffering, thus representing a new form of 'governmentality' that contributes to socio-spatial exclusion (Bourgois 2000; Fischer et al. 2004; Foucault 1991; Roe 2005). Here, the institutionalization of harm reduction as sanitized public health policy divorced from its explicitly autonomous, oppositional political origins clearly marks a shift from the disciplinary society described by Foucault (1977, 1980) to Deleuze's (1995c, 181) conception of 'control societies', where instead of being located in major sites of confinement, power is "short-term and rapidly shifting, but at the same time continuous and unbounded". In this sense, rather than serving as a site of 'confinement', specific harm reduction interventions and harm reduction policies more generally represent expressions of the fundamentally fluid forms of power found in such societies of control, constituting a nexus of shifting and diffuse forms of power embodied in the notions of consumption and control, surveillance and spectacle, 'safety' and 'supervision' (Debord, 1994; Foucault, 1977, 1980; Deleuze 1995a, 1995c).

As contemporary euphemisms for gentrification, urban 'revitalization', 'rejuvenation', and 'regeneration' explicitly lend themselves to organic or anatomical readings, serving to situate the city and particular urban spaces as animate entities by actively invoking notions of healing and recovery (Furbey 1999). Throughout the arguments contained in the previous chapters, this work has suggested that if addiction is indeed a form of pathology, then in popular and professional contexts, addiction constitutes a *pathology (out) of place*, simultaneously a product *of place* (the capitalist cityscape), and one that is perceived to be *out of place* in the increasingly planned,

ordered, and controlled (read: privatized, commodified, and sanitized) urban landscape (Cresswell 1996). Extending these playful arguments, this chapter maintains that in the present era of our narcotic modernity, the city itself is increasingly being re-designed and redeveloped as a sprawling *site of safe(r)* or *supervised consumption.*

As one of the more recent and controversial harm reduction interventions, supervised consumption sites (SCS) are variously referred to in different regional and national contexts as *safe injection facilities* (SIF), *drug consumption rooms* (DCRs), and *medically supervised injection centres* (MSIC). While most existing facilities throughout the world were established exclusively for *injection* drug use/users, there is an increasing move towards inclusivity by accommodating drug users whose primary route of ingestion is smoking; hence the more general reference to such facilities as 'consumption' sites (Bayoumi et al. 2012). As opposed to the pharmacological substitution involved in methadone maintenance treatment (MMT), where an illegal '*drug*', heroin, is replaced by a legal '*medication*', methadone (Bourgois 2000, 169), supervised consumption sites (SCS) constitute a harm reduction intervention based on *environmental* substitution (Dovey, Fitzgerald, and Choi 2001; Rhodes et al. 2007).

As legally sanctioned facilities that permit the consumption of illicit substances under the supervision of medical and public health authorities, SCS sites have been established in a growing number of countries around the world as a response to public health and 'public (dis)order' concerns associated with open, public drug use. Here, the 'unsafe', 'risky', 'unhygienic' environment of the street is substituted for the 'safe(r)', 'supervised' interior environment of the consumption site. From '*safe*' to '*safer*' to '*supervised*' to '*medically supervised*', the shifting discourse employed in reference to sanctioned sites of illicit consumption thus reflects shifts in the nature and understanding of control that such interventions represent.

Appropriating, inverting, and *detourning* the discourse of harm reduction to describe the city itself as a *site of safe/supervised consumption*, this analysis illustrates the generalized, continuous operation of control in the contemporary manifestation of the addicted city. Competing to attract the increasingly mobile, footloose capital of tourists and foreign investment, and under the pretence of making the city 'safe' for upper-middle class consumption and redevelopment, new urban boosterist regimes of representation, coupled with policy interventions aimed at displacing or reducing the visibility of urban social 'problems' such as poverty, homelessness, sex traffic, and the consumption of controlled substances, serve to invoke the twin processes of place promotion and spatial purification (Barnes et al. 2006; Harvey 1990; Short 1999; Sibley 1995; C. Smith 2010, 2014; N. Smith and Derkson 2002). But the questions remain (Hunt and Stevens 2004; Keane 2003; Ning 1999): *Whose safety? Whose supervision? Of who and by whom? Whose safety does this model effectively promote and protect and whose harm does it seek to reduce? In whose interest, this city of safe/*

supervised consumption? And, on a more abstract theoretical level, how and to what extent do such interventions intersect with the central capitalist notion of 'consumption'? In light of the ways that drug users are ghettoized, marginalized, and evicted from urban spaces, we might therefore propose that the city itself is being redesigned as a site of safe/supervised consumption for tourists and international investment capital, rendering harm reduction as merely another thinly disguised strategy to 'clean up the streets' (Fischer et al. 2004).

The contested space of harm reduction consists of various interventions designed to address the disorder of drugs and the 'pathology (out) of place' that is this thing we call 'addiction', a phenomenon particular to (or, perhaps more appropriately, *p/re/in-scribed* in) the urban landscape of (late-)capitalist narcotic modernity (C. Smith 2010, 2011a). In policy discourse, these strategies—from NEPs to MMT to SCSs—ostensibly seek to strike a balance between *public health* and *public order*, the interests of the individual drug user, and those of the larger community (City of Toronto 2005; Hunt and Stevens 2004; Keane 2003; Ning 1999). Harm reduction interventions, in other words, implicitly seek to navigate the interdependent, cross-wired, mutually constituting relationship between the abject body of the addict and the social body of the addicted city.

Tracing the development of harm reduction from its oppositional political origins to its contemporary mobilization in support of the pathology paradigm for addiction research and treatment, this section has pointed to the ambiguous liberatory potential of institutionalized—and thus de-politicized—harm reduction practice (Roe 2005; C. Smith 2012b). In reference to the conflicting, contradictory discourse of prohibitionism, Derrida (1993, 5) implies that any and all efforts to 'condemn or prohibit' cannot be accomplished without some degree of inherent confusion. In the delirium of competing discourses regarding the 'disorder of drugs' and the contested space-cum-subject of drug/addiction, therefore, the traditional distinctions between left and right wing, authoritarian and libertarian political positions have become blurred (Craig 2004; Derrida 1993; Fischer et al. 2004). Examining established SCS facilities such as Vancouver's *Insite*, for example—what Fisher et al. (2004, 361) refer to as "new sites of surveillance and responsibilization"—reveals that not unlike the inherent bio-political implications of MMT, such interventions are designed to discipline, regulate, and 'normalize' the bodies and behaviours of people who use illicit drugs. Here, related to the practice of 'designing out fear' or *Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design* (CPTED), SCS are designed with the explicit objective of visibility (Cusick and Kimber 2007; Dovey et al. 2001; Koskela and Pain 2000; Newman 1972). As Fisher et al. (2004, 361) suggest, the individual injection stalls at Vancouver's supervised injection facility *Insite* are "mounted in a half-circle around an elevated 'monitoring post'", essentially constituting an "inject-icon arrangement (cf. Foucault's 'panopticon') from which staff constantly watch all users in the room". Here, beyond drawing drug users away from the socio-spatial disorder

signalled by public drug use, the task of 'supervised' consumption facilities is rendered stark: to "attract the injecting practices into the panoptic gaze of medical supervision" (Dovey et al. 2001, 330).

Perhaps one of the most contentious aspects of harm reduction philosophy is its ostensibly 'value-neutral', 'amoral', or 'judgement-free' approach to the consumption of controlled substances (Keane 2003; Miller 2001; C. Smith 2012b). While right wing conservative opponents argue that this approach essentially condones substance use, equating harm *reduction* with harm *production* by actively facilitating the use of illicit drugs—and furthermore actively providing users with the tools to continue to engage in 'self-destructive' forms of illicit consumption—it is seldom acknowledged that "judgements of harm themselves contain moral assessments" (Keane 2003, 228). Seen from this perspective it becomes painfully clear that in the wider, morally charged social context of drug debates, where substance use is overwhelmingly viewed as being inherently 'bad', 'wrong', or 'evil', "a view that drug use is neither right nor wrong is *not* neutral, but is itself a committed and critical standpoint" (228). Moreover, as Peter Miller (2001, 173) asserts, "the claim of amorality due to harm minimization's 'scientific' basis is a moralistic claim in itself, which furthers the standpoint that science and objectivity are preferable to other forms of knowledge".

As one of the most contested forms of existing harm reduction intervention, safe/supervised consumption sites exemplify the ambiguous liberatory discourse and ideology underlying institutionalized, public health-based harm reduction practice. Positioned as a compassionate gesture that serves to minimize and mitigate harm and thus increase the safety of the wider community as well as individual drug users by subjecting them to the supervision and regulation of bio-medical and public health authorities, such models can thus be read as a contemporary example of 'surveillance medicine' (Miller 2001, 173), constituting "a disciplinary regime of power and knowledge that regulates both individuals and populations" (Keane 2003, 231). From the perspective of liberationist discourse, in other words, while supervised consumption facilities may provide street-involved drug/service users with a safe, sanitary, and supervised space to consume illicit substances, "they are also at the same time coming under increasing control, both through increased contact and surveillance with institutional bodies and through the modification of the [substance] using behaviours" (Miller 2001, 170).

CONCLUSION: SAFETY, SUPERVISION, AND ILLICIT CONSUMPTION IN THE URBAN LANDSCAPE OF (LATE-) CAPITALIST NARCOTIC MODERNITY (*OR*, [NARCO-] CAPITALISM, [LATE-]MODERNITY, AND THE ADDICTED CITY)

To suggest that the pathologized intoxication of narcotic modernity and its corollaries—namely the sense/state/scape of addiction and the moral–criminological deviant typology of the addict—are indigenous to the (late-)

capitalist urban landscape is by now perhaps redundant, not to mention something of a gross understatement. Here, the eerily intimate, inter-connected, and cross-wired historical associations between the sense of narcosis and intoxication implied in the altered states of our nervous, narcotic modernity and the relentlessly (*creatively–destructively*) redeveloping, shape-shifting space of the (late-)capitalist (post-)industrial cityscape are so closely inter-related and interdependent that they might instead suggest a pre-existing imprint or *p/re/in-scription:* the originary source material for the stuff of the simulacra (Baudrillard 1994; Derrida 1993; Ronell 1992).

The story of our narcotic modernity since the invention or social construction of the addict during the first decade of the twentieth century, therefore, is the story of the drug/dream/disease of addiction, a story of successive shifting permutations between substance, space, and subjectivity. The stage or setting for this story is thus the urban landscape of (post-)industrial (late-)capitalism, as the simultaneous site and source of utopian dreams and dystopian nightmares. The two chapters that have made up this section of the book, *Narco/State*, both worked to navigate, chart, and re-map the progression of our narcotic modernity, tracing the shifting experiential sense/state/scapes of intoxication induced by the various stages, phases, and socio-spatial permutations of the dream/drug/disease of the addicted city, from *phantasmagoria* and *shock*, to *spectacle* and *alienation*, to *safe/supervised consumption* and *hyper-reality*. Interrogating the form and character of the (late-)capitalist cityscape and the social positioning of the consumption/consumer of controlled substances, this analysis began by examining the dawn of narcotic modernity during the early twentieth century, where the city of *phantasmagoria* was responsible for inducing a widespread sense/state/scape of *shock*. After having establishing the rural-to-urban migratory roots/routes of 'foreign' substance and the genesis of narcotic modernity in the city of phantasmagoria, the work turned to investigate the post-WWII rise of mass consumer society and the accompanying developments that led to the emergence of the second phase of (narco-)modernity, the city of *spectacle* and *alienation*. Having furnished a sense of background and context to these two earlier eras of (narco-)modernity, this chapter therefore critically explored the contemporary manifestation of the addicted city, overwhelmingly characterized by the notions of *safe/supervised consumption* and *hyper-reality*.

Interrogating these shifts in the historical development of narcotic modernity demonstrated how permutations of the dream/drug/disease were closely accompanied by both profound changes in the dominant (moral, criminological, and bio-medical) ideologies and professional research/treatment paradigms regarding the origin or aetiology of addiction, and fundamental shifts in the organization of (*late-/narco-*) capitalism, namely the roles played by (post-)industrialization, mass-production/consumption, and globalization. While qualifying our present era as *'late-'* capitalist obviously implies a sense of propinquity or intimate proximity to the projected

end-point of the capitalist system, the prefix *'narco-'* points to the hallu-cinatory, intoxicating nature of capitalism itself (Alexander 2000, 2008; Brodie and Redfield 2002, 6). Although these terms have been used almost interchangeably throughout this and preceding chapters, perhaps the most precise and appropriate expression of the character of our current mode of capitalist development is a compound of both 'late-' and 'narco-'. *(Late-/narco-)capitalism*, in this sense, captures the essence of our current histori-cal moment as a sense of coming down or impending plummet—the last fleeting instants of 'high'-capitalist(-*drug/culture*) intoxication dissipating before the inevitable, accompanying crash, bringing to mind the laws of physics playfully encapsulated in the popular colloquial expression, *'what goes up, must come down'*.

The shifting sense/state/scapes of intoxication produced by the vari-ous phases of the dream/drug/disease of (late-/narco-)capitalist (narco-/late-)modernity represent an always already schizoid multiplicity of spatio-temporal-specific *assemblages* of substance, space, and subjectivity (Deleuze and Guattari 1987; Fitzgerald and Threadgold 2004): the flip-flop flirting flaneur and righteous dope fiend of early narcotic modernity Charles Baudelaire (1996, 2002), strolling slowly through the streets of Paris during the demolition and re-fashioning of the city's labyrinthine urban core and the accompanying redevelopment of its arcades; Walter Benjamin (2003, 2006), on hashish, curiously attempting to retrace Baudelaire's paths throughout Paris, from the vast seedy underbelly of the city to the elite hashish clubs; William S. Burroughs in America, awash in a sea of abject bodily fluids, following the place of junk with an all-encompassing sense of fascination across the shifting (post-)industrial landscape of urban America, his psyche (self-?)positioned as a "form of petri dish, within which were cultured the obsessive and compulsive virtues of [narcotic] modernity" (Self 2006, 15);[13] and Will Self (1998, 15–21), exploring the insidiously fleeting, insatiable nature of crack cocaine, the (late-)capitalist fetishistic commodity par excel-lence, "where all was lust, and lust itself was a grim fulfilment", arriving at the realization that the entire crack high is fundamentally premised on the creation of a psychological super-capacity of insidious desire, constituting little more than "the wanting of *more rock*".

In this sense, the various moral, legal, and bio-medical paradigms for understanding addiction can be seen as representing a succession of ideolog-ical formulas "that inscribed the cultural crisis of modernity on the bodies of those whom it identified and named as addicts" (Hickman 2004, 1294). Theoretically repositioning modernity itself as a form of (socio-spatial) pathology, this section of the book therefore critically tracked the assem-blages resulting from the shifting syntheses of substance, space, and subjec-tivity in three crucial dimensions: as the progression (changing *states*) of an invading pathology (*disease*) as it advanced through the body; as the move-ment (across land*scape*) of imagination (*dream*), travelling back and forth between (intimately inter-connected, perhaps even inseparable) socio-spatial

bodies; and finally, as the experience (*sense*) of intoxication marking the genesis of new identities and spaces through the media/technology of inscription variously termed 'controlled', 'illicit', or 'foreign' substance.

From the architecture of phantasmagoria, to the media of spectacle, to the elemental virtuality of hyper-reality, the sense/state/scape(s) of urban intoxication accompanying the socio-spatial permutations of our narcotic modernity and the parallel trans-mutation of the addicted city become hard-wired or p/re/in-scribed; here, destruction and creation are rendered indistinguishable in the collapse of distinctions between want and need, desire and fulfilment (Ronell 1992, 135; Self 1998, 21–22). Critically deconstructing our narcotic modernity's relentless, reckless cycles of creative–destructive (hyper-capitalist, socio-spatial-substance-mediated) synthesis we have therefore arrived at our final dislocation-fuelled and fuelling destination, the *city as site of safe/supervised consumption*: the synthetic, artificial paradise of the virtual, hyper-real addicted city (Baudelaire 1996; Baudrillard 1994; Weinstone 1997).

With the rapid shift to a post-Fordist urban economy throughout the developed Western world brought about by the advance of deindustrialization and globalization, cities ever more aggressively compete and market themselves as spaces for consumption and investment. The 'creative class'-inspired rush to re-brand and re-fashion the image of (post-)industrial cities therefore led to a dramatic increase in boosterist regimes of representation, high-profile redevelopment projects, and an accompanying increase in efforts at spatial purification (Barnes et al. 2006; Florida 2002; Short 1999; Sibley 1995). Designed to attract tourists, international investment, and other forms of 'restless', 'footloose' international investment capital, such efforts therefore represent attempts to market or sell a given city or specific urban area as a space that is *safe* for consumption. Here, notions of security, stability, order, and regulation (in the form of fluid forces of control and panoptical 'supervision') have become central to contemporary urban boosterism discourse, as evidenced both in attempts to quell potential Western investors' concerns about political unrest by entrepreneurial initiatives in the developing world, and in the case of increased police presence in Manhattan following 9/11 and continuing into present day.

While overwhelmingly privileging the city as a space of consumption for elite international investment capital, encompassing both individual tourists *and* transnational corporate entities, however, the contemporary manifestation of our narcotic modernity in the form of the city of safe/supervised consumption also simultaneously inscribes a formal space for deviant, disorderly consumption. The city of safe/supervised consumption is in this sense structured and informed by the ostensibly amoral and value-neutral ideology of harm reduction as an applied, embodied extension of the prevailing bio-medical pathology paradigm or brain disease model of addiction (Keane 2003; Miller 2001; Roe 2005; C. Smith 2012b). Driven by a 'rational', 'pragmatic' bottom line, cost-benefit analysis of substance use according to

the dictates of harm reduction (or 'risk minimization') policy as an applied extension of the bio-medical brain disease model, our contemporary era of narcotic modernity thus curiously (re-)positions addiction as a *pathology (out) of place*.

Closely corresponding to the shift in addiction paradigms throughout our narcotic modernity, the taxonomic transformation of people who use drugs—from 'evil' or 'possessed' people, to 'criminals', to 'patients', to 'clients', to 'consumers', to (drug/service) 'users'—was also accompanied by changes in state and institutional responses to the subject of drug use and dependence. Here, disciplinary treatment of the consumer of controlled substances shifted from corporeal forms of punishment inflicted in the flesh, to carceral efforts at imprisonment and containment, to more fluid and diffuse types of management in the form of monitoring and regulation (Fischer et al. 2004; Miller 2001). In the city of safe/supervised consumption, therefore, addicts are no longer cast out, exiled, or imprisoned, but instead enmeshed in a new, amorphous manifestation of control represented in the act of *supervised consumption*. As officially sanctioned, designated, and regulated spaces for the consumption (and in most cases specifically *injection*) of illicit substances, scientific evidence demonstrates the considerable success of supervised consumption sites in mitigating harms attributed to risky, unsafe (public) injecting practices, including both overdose prevention and the reduced transmission of blood-borne viruses such as HIV and HCV (Bayoumi et al., 2012). In the regime of behavioural regulation entailed in these services, however, such interventions also implicitly seek to create and (re-)inscribe new forms of drug using/user subjects and subjectivities.

Seen from these two polar perspectives, the contemporary expression of our narcotic modernity in the embodiment of a safe/supervised consumption site therefore serves to re-create the city by both privileging and perpetuating valued forms of (commercial, hyper-capitalist) consumption and re-scripting deviant, disorderly forms of 'illicit' consumption through regulatory neoliberal (re-)inscriptions of the 'responsible' drug using subject. Unlike the earlier eras of narcotic modernity, however, where Surrealist provocateurs explored the phantasmagoria of (narco-)capitalist urban space through political–poetic excavations of the 'marvellous' (Breton 1960; Highmore 2002, 45–59) and Situationist agitators took on the numbing, sedating, passivity-inducing intoxication of the spectacle by calling for a complete reconstruction of the form and function of the capitalist cityscape (Debord 1994; Knabb 1981; Nieuwenhuys 2002), to date our discussion of the contemporary city of safe/supervised consumption has not paused to critically address undercurrents of opposition and resistance. This theme will, however, be addressed in the concluding chapter to this book, during our critical consideration of the hybrid, cyborg subject of drug/addiction, the composition of a *users' guide to urban space*, and our final interrogation of the 'heterotopian' nature of harm reduction as a direct action-driven

form of anarchist practice (Crimethinc 2002; Day 2004; Foucault 1970, 1997; Graeber 2002; C. Smith 2012b).

As both tool/technology/prosthesis and matter/materiality/media, previous chapters have argued that the notion of substance acts as the critical intermediary or media of p/re/in-scription in the dynamic, inter-/intra-active synthesis of space and subjectivity in the urban cityscape of (late-/narco-) capitalist modernity, effectively s(tr)u(c)turing all interactions between the interior, affective language/landscape of the subject, and the exterior, environmental landscape/language of city space and/as urban built form. Substance, therefore, must be seen as the animating 'life blood' or very 'flesh and bones' of the dynamic synthesis (folding and assemblage) between inside and outside, affect and environment, sense and expression, language and landscape, space and subject/ivity throughout the successive socio-spatial permutations of our narcotic modernity (Deleuze 1995b; Deleuze and Guattari 1987; Fitzgerald and Threadgold 2004; Malins 2004; Malins et al. 2006; Massumi 1992; C. Smith 2011a, 2011b). Merely presenting a static, theoretical reconceptualization of such ideas, however, may perhaps be *insubstantial*, thus requiring additional *substantiation*. In other words, in order to clearly elucidate the fundamentally interactive nature of subject, space, and substance, such notions may need to be further *concretized* or *fleshed-out* through additional efforts to *ground* and *cement* our arguments in the everyday language of landscape and/as landscape of language. Here, drawing on the rich and vast historical tradition of spatial (and specifically urban) metaphors applied to the human body that are almost unconsciously embedded in popular, everyday expressions throughout the English language, various dimensions of the relationship between pathology and place begin to become startlingly trans(ap)parent, as revealed through discursive invocations of the 'disorder of drugs' and the 'addicted city' across each successive phase or stage of our narcotic modernity (Derrida 1993; C. Smith 2010, 2011a; Wild 2002). Yet at a more basic level, examining the history of body/space metaphors and analogies in popular discourse and tracking the 'folding' trajectories of body/city and subject/space through the substance of language/landscape reveals an intimate series of representational correlations between the city-as-body and the body-as-city, expressions that have been animated by an array of shifting forces throughout the (post-) industrial, (late-)capitalist sense/state/scape(s) of the drug/dream/disease of our narcotic modernity (Fitzgerald and Threadgold 2004; Highmore 2014).

In an effort to playfully mimic the experience of intoxication indigenous to our present period of narcotic modernity in the *city of safe/supervised consumption*, formally introducing the experimental 'intra-textual' structure that underpins much of the book—albeit somewhat cryptically to date—the following chapter thus employs Ronell's (1992, 14) notion of splintering 'fractal interiorities'. Comprised of a critical, experimental interrogation into the history of common body/space metaphors in the everyday English language, the analysis contained in the following chapter reiterates

the book's underlying arguments concerning the mutually constituting, interdependent relationship between ('illicit') substance, (city) space, and (cyborg) subjectivity by conducting a critical interrogation into how urban/spatial metaphors have been applied to the human body, across various (physical and figurative, literal and metaphorical) *generations* of popular everyday English language. Organized thematically, under the broad yet evocative subtitle *"'Going to Pieces': Fragmentation, (Dis-)Embodiment, and the City/Space of the Body"*, the vast span of body/space metaphors under examination loosely corresponds to the successive socio-spatial permutations of narcotic modernity's urban (built) form and (social) function. Here, as the previous two chapters have demonstrated, each permutation produces a subtly—yet distinctly—different form of attendant intoxication over the approximate course of the last century, beginning with the invention or social construction of the 'addict' as a typology of moral–criminological deviance shortly after the turn of the twentieth century.

NOTES

1. Evidence of contemporary urban development initiatives in Toronto premised on Florida's (2002) notion of the 'creative class' can be seen in high-profile architectural makeovers by international celebrity architects in the case of the Ontario College of Art and Design (OCAD), the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM), and the Art Gallery of Ontario (AGO).
2. See www.livewithculture.ca, accessed April 10, 2008.
3. See http://www.toronto.ca/culture/cultureplan.htm, accessed April 10, 2008.
4. Symptomatic of neoliberal urbanism, public-private partnerships (PPPs) are an increasingly prevalent form of urban redevelopment (see Zukin 1995).
5. (i.e., the virtual marketplace, the virtual town hall, and the virtual public sphere, all coming to compose virtual cities, in an increasingly virtualized world)
6. As part of Toronto's *Live With Culture* campaign, the City of Toronto, n.d. Poster Exhibition was rooted in the belief that "protecting our heritage resources—buildings, structures, landscapes, and neighborhoods—is fundamentally about enhancing the meaning and quality of life, maintaining a unique sense of place, supporting the cultural and economic vitality of our cities, and improving the health and sustainability of the environments we inhabit" (http://www.livewithculture.ca/livewithculture_ca/features/heritage_toronto_2008_poster_exhibition, accessed June 20, 2008).
7. For example, see Howard Becker (1963) and Jock Young (1971).
8. Both demographic acronyms, *yuppie* is an adapted abbreviation of 'young urban/upwardly mobile professional', while DINK stands for 'dual-income no kids'.
9. Here, the subtitle to Delaney's (1976) *Triton: An Ambiguous Heterotopia* represents a clear inter-textual reference to both Ursula K. LeGuin's (1974) anarchist-inspired science/fiction novel *The Dispossessed: An Ambiguous Utopia* and Michel Foucault's (1970) *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*, representing the first introduction of the concept of the *heterotopia*. As Foucault suggested, heterotopias are unsettling due to the fact that they surreptitiously "undermine language" and "desiccate speech", thus serving to "dissolve our myths and sterilize the lyricism of our sentences" (xix).

10. "At founding", Delaney (1976, 9) creatively posited, such cities "develop, of necessity, such a neighborhood anyway", as they fulfil a "complex range of functions in the cities' psychological, political, and economic ecology".
11. (i.e., conjuring the figure of the *junk food junky*)
12. According to a representative population survey conducted in the province of Ontario, Canada, by the *Centre for Addiction and Mental Health* (CAMH) in 2003, 80% of the sample (2411 people) agreed that "Drug users are ill people and should be helped by the health care system" (Cruz et al. 2007, 57).
13. Here, as Burroughs (1977, 111) reminds us, junk—*dope*, *smack*, *down*—is most often found "adjacent to ambiguous or transitional districts", areas representing the point where "dubious business enterprise touches Skid Row".

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Part IV

Brain/Disease

*The Deafening Internal Dialogue
of Fractal Interiorities*

8 The Intoxication of Narcotic Modernity

Cyborg Subjectivity, Urban Space, and the Media/Technology of Substance

INTRODUCTION: DIRECTIONAL ARROWS: YOU. ARE. HERE.

[*Intra-Text:* See note #43 re: navigation, intra-/inter-textuality, 'fractal interiorities', and 'narco-analysis']

LANGUAGE, LANDSCAPE, AND THE SENSE/STATE/SCAPE OF INTOXICATION

From the dawn of urbanization, the body has been likened to the city through a diverse multiplicity of spatial metaphors describing human form, function, consciousness, and affect. Here, metaphors of health and 'vitality' have characterized recent pop cultural representations of both the city and the body, based on notions of 'naturalness' and the 'organic' (Derrida 1993; Keane 2002) situating the city-as-body as a central metaphor that has actively served to articulate notions of illness and wellness, order and disorder throughout urban modernity (Highmore 2014). In his article entitled "Metaphor City", Highmore (2014, 27) asserts that the 'metaphorics of the city' need to be understood "not as a poetic substitute to a more fundamental reality, or a veil of symbolism that we can poke through to get at the real reality behind it", but instead as an integral aspect of socio-spatial built form, or "part of the material stuff constituting the real city" itself. Building on Highmore's (2014) investigation of metaphor and urban space, this chapter therefore explores the migratory, slippage-prone language—and/as landscape—of spatial metaphors invoked in relation to the human body.

Arguing for a radical shift in contemporary approaches to 'making sense' of the experiential sense/state/scape of addiction, this work suggests that the interstices between *inside* (affect, consciousness) and *outside* (environmental stimuli and physical/material built form) is the gap-littered space of semiotic disorientation that must in/form both method and site, theoretical engagement and transportation (Buck-Morss 1992; Fitzgerald and Threadgold 2004; Malins 2004; Massumi 1992). Suggesting that the interdependent, mutually constituting relationship between space and subjectivity is

fundamentally mediated by the media/technology of (variously '*controlled*', '*illicit*', '*foreign*') substance, the work concludes by re-mapping the sense/state/scape(s) of intoxication central to the socio-spatial permutations of what Derrida (1993) termed 'our narcotic modernity' through expressions of semiotic slippage and discursive migration surrounding the dynamic interplay between affect and environment.

Contrary to popular bio-medical perceptions, Susan Buck-Morss (1992, 12) suggests that the nervous system is not in fact "contained within the body's limits", but rather extends into the physical/material world as the integral source of sensory stimulation. Here, the spatial environment effectively serves to complete the subject's inherently *open* and *exposed* neuro/chemical circuitry,[1] representing "an interpenetration, both ways" (Williams 1963, 259). Framed in such terms, space and the body thus share a mutually constituting relationship, each mapping on to and folding in to one another in a dynamic and interdependent fashion (Deleuze 1988; Malins 2004), simultaneously constituting both a *body-becoming-city* and a *city-becoming-body* (Fitzgerald and Threadgold 2004). Manifesting in the interplay between (cyborg) subjectivity, (urban) space, and (controlled) substance, this chapter demonstrates how the prosthetic media of drugs (Ronell 1992) serves to mediate the space–subjectivity dynamic by tracing the gap-filled historical progression of (urban) body/space metaphors in tandem with the shifting sense/state/scape of everyday intoxication indigenous to our experiential engagement with (narco-)modernity.

The (late-)capitalist urban landscape functions as the primary source of intoxicating stimuli underpinning modern urban experience (Berman 1982), thereby implicitly situating the (late-)modern cityscape as the indigenous habitat of the addict. There is an increasing body of critical theory that posits this thing we call addiction as a characteristic—and moreover *symptomatic*—manifestation of the drug/dream/disease of capitalist modernity (Alexander 2008; Buck-Morss 1992; Granfield 2004; Hickman 2004; Porter 1992; Ronell 1993). Characterized by the central trope of *creative–destruction*, over the course of the last century critics have investigated the experience of modernity as (1) a dream-world or **dream***scape* (Benjamin 1999a; Buck-Morss 1989), (2) a *state* of pathology or **disease** (Hickman 2004; Porter 1992; Reith 2004), and (3) a *sense* of intoxication produced by the prosthetic technology of **drugs** (Buck-Morss 1992; Derrida 1993; Ronell 1992, 1993). Related to both *dreamscape* and *disease-state*, body/space metaphors of narcotic modernity form the primary focus of this chapter, implicitly conjuring the experiential landscape of (late-)capitalism. Given the analytical focus of this chapter, however, the corresponding history of bodily/anatomical metaphors applied to (urban) space is addressed in only the most cursory manner so as to critically focus on the various different deployments of urban/spatial metaphors applied to the body.[2]

As narrative incarnations laden with symbolic socio-cultural investment, the significance of metaphors cannot be understated. Metaphors, in other

words, provide a rich discursive landscape of likenings, where language itself comes to form a space that we can explore and map out. *Loaded* with metaphorical references to empiricism, the tradition of critical analysis *clearly illustrates* how references to *areas* of analysis, *bodies* of thought and literature, and *realms* of investigation, as much as a given social, political, or economic *climate*, can all be *seen* as explicitly spatializing gestures.[3] As discursive vehicles of transport and transformation, metaphors therefore enable a certain sort of *listening* to *landscapes*, revealing a series of shape-shifting forms that convey the materializing, animating force of discourse, where narrative itself can sometimes fuel the 'toxic drive', rendering the sense/state/scape of *intoxication* virtually indistinguishable from everyday life itself (Ronell 1992, 23; also see Alexander 2000; Goodeve 1999; Sedgwick 1992). In/directly situating flesh, affect, and consciousness in relation to normative conceptions of 'place' and 'dis/order', the English language contains countless examples of urban/spatial metaphors applied to the body. Although the inventory of expressions included here is by no means exhaustive, this playful investigation reveals a series of inter-related themes, each comprising different metaphorical articulations of (dis)*embodied* (dis)*place*(ment). These themes include: (1) *The body in pieces*: Body/space metaphors of fragmentation and displacement; (2) *The body in transit*: Shifting invocations of body/space transportation; (3) *The body as landscape*: Climate and/as the cartography of containment; (4) *The body consumed*: Metaphorical negotiations of boundaries and thresholds, and; (5) *The cyborg body*: Body/space and/as media/technology. The sixth and final analysis of body/space metaphors in popular language—'*Smashing' and 'fixing'*: Body/space metaphors and/as the sense/state/scape of intoxication—is featured in the concluding chapter of the book, "Postscript to P/re/in-scription: A Users' Guide to Urban Space".

Arguing that the historical development of body/space metaphors corresponds directly to the analogous evolutionary stages of (post-)industrial (late-)capitalism and its attendant technological transformations, this analysis reveals how such discourse conveys a shifting series of intoxicating sense/state/scapes of fragmentation, displacement, and transit between self, body, emotion, and place, notions of interior emotional climate, and corresponding depictions of the subject *as* a seamless part of the (post-)industrial machinery of urban space. Explicitly focusing on spatial—and specifically urban—metaphors as they have been applied to the human body, consciousness, and affect, this analysis directly bleeds in to the following (and final) chapter, "A Users' Guide to Urban Space". Here, the work concludes by asserting that body/space metaphors surrounding the discourse of drugs and/as the everyday sense/state/scape of intoxication indigenous to the ever-changing experience of the socio-spatial landscape of (late-)capitalist (narco-) modernity represent the most transparent, concrete renderings of the dynamic interplay between people, place, and prosthetic technology. Positing the origins of narcotic modernity in the invention of the 'addict'

as a typology of deviance at the dawn of the twentieth century (Brodie and Redfield 2002), this interrogation therefore suggests that the present era of (late-/narco-)capitalism serves to situate the *self as city as media/technology/machine*, asserting that representations of the *body-becoming-city* similarly 'un/fix' space and subjectivity in a contingent relationship to the media/technology of ('foreign', 'illicit', 'controlled') substance (Fitzgerald and Threadgold 2004).

'GOING TO PIECES': FRAGMENTATION, (DIS-)EMBODIMENT, AND THE CITY/SPACE OF THE BODY

Over the approximate course of the last century, spatial metaphors applied to the body have been popularly centred on tropes of displacement, disorder, and fragmentation, *containing* recurrent emphasis on *transgressing* the borders of the body's (presumed bound and singular) form. Throughout the shifting stages or phases of (post-)industrial (late-)capitalist (narco-)modernity, however, evolutions in transportation and communication technology have served to facilitate emerging forms of time/space distanciation and compression (Giddens 1981; Harvey 1990), providing the material conditions for an endless series of new metaphors depicting the body according to shifting technological developments. Such body/space metaphors might therefore be analysed according to several broad, inter-related themes, each resonating with the intoxicating impact specific to each successive era of socio-spatial transformation wrought by (late-)capitalist narcotic modernity.

Beginning with popular descriptions of *the body in pieces*, body/space metaphors of fragmentation and displacement reveal the anxiety underlying early twentieth century upheaval in the urban landscape, articulated through multiple expressions of *dis/connection* between the body, consciousness, and affect. Shifting to invocations of *the body as movement*, metaphors of transit invoke varying states of *presence* and *absence* informed by rapid advances in communication and transportation technology during the 'high' period of industrial capitalism. Situating *the body as landscape*, metaphors evocative of weather liken the subject's negotiation of boundary-states and threshold-scapes to embodied senses of climate, calling forth the 'natural' environment via metaphorical manifestations of cartography, containment, and catastrophe. Metaphorical invocations of *the body consumed*, by contrast, articulate states of suffocation and drowning that invoke social, economic, and political forces in the slippery discursive interplay between (human) accidents and/as (natural?) disasters (Hartman and Squires 2006). Finally, through re-readings of *the body as machine*, body/space metaphors specific to the virtual infrastructure of (post-)industrial (late-)capitalist urbanism point to the true cyborg nature of our contemporary narcotic modernity, directly implicating various forms of creative–destructive synthesis between subjectivity, space, and the media/technology of substance.

The Body in Pieces: Body/Space Metaphors
of Fragmentation and Displacement

Positing the body in the terms of dis/orientation, dis/organization, and dis/placement, at times one's thoughts, emotions, and affective states are described as *scattered*, lacking order, structure, and *(self-)containment*. Here, the expressions '*falling apart*' or '*going to pieces*' describe how crisis signals disorienting transgressions in the subject's blurred distinction between the (singular) form of the body and its unfixed sense of self/place, as the (natural?) 'home' of consciousness. Furthermore, *coming apart at the seams* implies that the stitching of the body has come undone, resulting in a spilling out of (*out of place*) affect that similarly conveys the transgression of normative socio-spatial boundaries (Butler 1990; Cresswell 1996). In this context, metaphorical anomalies in the body's (physical) *form* and (emotional) *shape* might be met with the call to *gather*, *pull*, or *keep* one's '*self together*', metaphorically repositioning the expression '*on the mend*' in the almost nostalgic invocation of *re-suturing* the undone seams of the body.[4]

In related incarnations suggesting the transgression of self-splintering, the subject is described as a (discombobulated) '*mess*'. Reflecting frighteningly uncontained interior landscapes that are articulated as being '*all over the place*', such metaphors function to juxtapose the *dis*order and *dis*organization of the body with the rigidly striated, everything-in-its-place sense of order inscribed in urban built form. Anachronistically, such instances of fragmentation are sometimes articulated as cases of *cracking up*, the fragility of early industrial construction materials such as clay, porcelain, or glass encapsulated in the euphemisms '*crackers*' or '*crackpot*' in reference to the 'cracked' subject.[5] In this application, 'crack' implicitly suggests the threat/appearance of *leaks*, another case of fluid affect *over-spilling*.[6] Further, 'cracks' connote not only a state of compromised structural integrity,[7] but also point to the contemporary (digital) re-coding of 'cracked' in the form of *de-encryption*, where hackers haunt the spectral landscape of cyberspace in the wire(d)/less manifestation of our narcotic modernity, actively complicit in the emergent sense/state/scape of virtual intoxication that has elsewhere been termed a 'consensual hallucination' (Gibson 1984).[8]

In a similar manner, individuals are commonly valued based on their *composure* or *(self-)contained-ness*, as measured in the expressions *swept*, *taken*, or *carried away*. Here, to be 'swept away' popularly implies a wash of *positive* affect, while 'taken away' signals the *negative* effects of surging emotional current, and getting 'carried away' conveys a state of succumbing that is not dissimilar to getting '*worked up*' about some*one* (often an Other) or some*thing*. Body/space metaphors of fragmentation therefore implicitly invoke transit, speed, and direction, where the self is measured against socio-spatial landscapes that do or do not *fit in*, and affect might be deemed as *in* or *out of place* (Cresswell 1996).[9] Discursive vehicles of dis/orientation can thus be read as shifting reflections of transportation technology driven

by the unrelenting (and *inhumane*) demands of (post-)industrial capitalism (Harvey 1990; Giddens 1981). Extending this argumentative trajectory, '*overboard*' connotes the metaphorical nautical antithesis of '*even-keeled*', where the technology of the steamship implicitly conveys the separation between passenger and their cognitive contents by metaphorically repositioning the body as container or vessel of passage.

The Body in Transit: Shifting Invocations of Body/Space Transportation

Growing out of metaphors of (dis)*place*(ment),[10] the popular expression *out of sorts*[11] works to re-locate one's *feelings*[12] as being or belonging elsewhere,[13] implying a state of being *unsettled* that suggests the subject's *composure* and/as *self-contained-ness* have become compromised by the rise of affective *restlessness*. Depicted in a sub-set of metaphors that point back to the distortions of sense and place enabled by technological mediation, when one's *self* or *path* or *life*[14] has gone *off course*, *off track*, or become *derailed*, the appearance of being *composed* is exposed as illusory.[15] To *clean up*, extending this discursive framework, thus means to *straighten out*, where the path to *clean living* is decidedly *straight and narrow*.[16] 'Straight', in such metaphorical directional deployments, is thus equated with trustworthy, honest, honourable, good, noble, and perhaps most importantly, (hetero-)*normative*. Here, a *straight face* is one devoid of humour, and *crooked smiles* denote deviation from the righteous (i.e., *straight*) path, implicating '*crooked*-ness' as a transgression in linearity otherwise known as *getting out of line*.[17] Directly invoking the individual's *sense of place*, getting *back on track* therefore extends from the rail lines of capitalism's conquered frontiers to describe a renewed or regained *sense of direction*.[18]

Contrary to getting *carried away*, the expression *in another world* conveys not only the transitory sense/state/scape popularly described as *spaced/spacing out*,[19] but also the empirical intoxication otherwise known as being '*transported*' by music, media, or literature.[20] Arising from *restlessness* or other forms of *unsettledness* originating in one's absent, confused, or disoriented *sense of place*, on the other hand, subjects may end up *beside themselves*, a state of (self-separation) anxiety that can result in complete disconnection, as in the case of *losing one's mind*.[21] Here, severing the loose (ideological) threads or unstitching the tenuous (social) fabric that symbolically maintains the borders or boundaries of the body effectively works to expose the anxieties attendant in collapsing distinctions between the 'inside' of consciousness and the 'outside' materiality of the flesh, (re-)positing the body in relation to the inherently volatile and disorienting nature of emotional landscapes.[22] Arising either from carelessness or acts of in/voluntary mind/body transit, one might therefore be asked to '*use their head*'. In a closely related trajectory, in cases of individuals *losing touch* with 'reality', the 'situation', or one's individual sense

of self, the subject is thereby asked to '*get a hold of themselves*', '*get a grasp on the issue*', or simply told to *hold on* and *get a grip*, implying any tactile *grounding* in the sense of space, itself posed as a *space of sense* navigated by the body-as-vessel and its empirical negotiations of interior neuro/chemical circuitry.

Indirectly conveying the transitory, hyper-mobile qualities of affect, subjectivity, and place, metaphors of tactility position the self in various stages of leaving or, more commonly, returning, in the form of '*coming back to their senses*'. Bleeding into shape-shifting metaphors of fluidity, *unmoored* becomes a synonym for the in-between, liminal sense/state/scape of 'limbo' described as feeling *adrift*,[23] another thinly disguised allusion to the drug/dream/disease of narcotic modernity that works to metaphorically position the self in various stages of techno-mediated transit and transportation. Stemming from further allusions to '*out of sorts*' subjects, descriptions of acute emotional or physical disorder position bodies as either being '*in bad shape*' or '*not in top form*', articulating the anxiety underlying transgressions of conformity within the body's capitalism-inscribed borders.[24] Antithesis to '*well-adjusted*', to be *maladjusted* therefore migrates into commingling expressions of failure to '*find one's place*', '*fit in*', '*find a home*', or '*feel at home*' in the world, or even in one's own body.[25] Which is not to even attempt to unpack what we might appropriately call the *everything-but-the-kitchen-sink* '*baggage*' surrounding the infinitely varied cultural invocations of the term '*lost*', let alone the *loaded* socio-spatial implications underlying the question of '*finding one's self*'. These instances of not being '*at the top of one's game*' are often countered by the demand to '*shape up*', short for '*shape up or ship out*'. Conveying the consequences of non-conformity in the terms of enforced exile, here the threat of estrangement or excommunication due to socio-spatial acts of *drawing outside the lines* is encoded as yet another case of *stepping out of line*,[26] demonstrating the jarring slippage between invocations of linearity and/as socio-spatial order.

The Body as Landscape: Climate and/as the Cartography of Containment

Demonstrating subsequent spatializing shifts drawing on invocations of internal (emotional, affective) climate, bodies are variously positioned as *vacant*,[27] *hollow* (i.e., a 'husk/shell of their former self') or *empty*, where the content-less interior is inhabited only by echoes.[28] Measuring advancing sense/state/scapes of absence in varying degrees of *gone*-ness, these metaphors additionally implicate the incompleteness that stems from real or imagined *loss*, *feeling lost*, or simply being *left out*. Sometimes posed as a symptom of life's *highs* and *lows*,[29] the (re-)mapping of internal landscapes thus functions through metaphors of sensory distanciation, transit, and confinement, where it is also possible to *find one's self*[30] variously *bursting*,

brimming, and *full* with excited affect (i.e., happiness, joy). Unlike an 'out of place' affective *outburst*, however, in the case of *bursting* with excitement, the subject might be *gushing* or *barely able to contain themselves*, but stops short of *boiling over* or *spilling their guts* at the risk of *bursting at the seams* in a highly disciplined display of *self-restraint*. Representing a series of iterative negotiations of *personal* (socio-spatial, inside-outside) *boundaries* that effectively serve to delineate (the spatial boundaries of) the self, hence we arrive at the slippage-strewn circumstantial transgression-cum-tradition encoded in the corresponding metaphorical implications underpinning notions of '*keeping everything bottled up*' and '*letting it all (hang) out*.'

The el(ev)ation of affect,[31] for instance, finds subjects *falling in love*, the sensation of being *swept away* by an object of attraction conveyed as a sense/state/scape of *imbalance*. Cut from the same metaphorical cloth, this free-fall tumbling through emotional space is then in some cases re-articulated as a case of being *swept off of one's feet*, where surging emotional current causes the subject to *lose touch* and thus become *un-grounded*. *Losing touch*, in this deployment, blurs into becoming *moved* or otherwise affected by a *touching* emotionally laden/invested gesture.[32] Standing in as the inevitable end-point of (intoxicating) emotional suspension, *breaking up* therefore conveys the in-built potential of *emotional breakdown*[33] for either party. Metaphorically resituating the sometimes overwhelming affect of romantic 'intimacy'[34] in tandem with the fragility of glass[35] and the breakdown-prone nature of early mass-produced engines, the predictability of such patterns thus follows the empirically derived 'laws' of 'hard' science as they have bled out into (and subsequently become diluted by) the increasingly virtual, a-spatial public sphere,[36] as encapsulated in the expression 'what goes up must come down', reasserting narcotic modernity's creative–destructive oscillation between (emotional) highs and lows, booms and busts, spectacular soarings and (p/re/in-)scripted crashes.[37]

Subsequent migrations of interior landscapes morph into descriptions of climate, where one who is *warm* is caring and '*open*', and emotion-less-ness is encoded as *cold, frosty*, or *frigid*. Offspring of barometric pressure and other socio-spatial scales used to account for the uneven distribution of the *weight of the world*, *light-hearted-ness* juxtaposes discursive deployments of *heaviness*, as embodied in metaphorical invocations of resistance (i.e., *being a drag*) and surrender (i.e., *dragging one's self through life*), or descriptions of the self/body being *dragged down* by the sheer *weight* and *gravity* of *heavy* hearts or urgent circumstances. This represents a sense/state/scape often described as '*down*' or '*low*' that in other contexts might be termed '*pulling a heavy*'. Recalling metaphors of transit and displacement, articulations of interior '*dispositions*'[38] are also calculated according to speed, pace, and orientation, epitomized by invocations of one's *easy-going* nature (in the sense of '*going with the flow*' or '*rolling with the punches*') as much as *racing thoughts* and *racing hearts*, *wandering minds* and *wandering eyes*.[39] Demonstrating the interdependent metaphorical collapse between self/sense/

experience and/as movement/transit/journey, in this discursive trajectory to be made *blinded*, *woozy*, *light-headed*, *taken aback*, or *thrown off balance* by love and other affect-driven[40] forms of intoxication thus suggests a condition of sensory disorientation closely related to *synaesthesia*.

Extending from the human body as originary template for collective understandings of form and function, structure and dis/order, urban space represents a mimetic social body, reflected as shifting narrative relations that implicitly situate the self against the narcotic cityscape. Variously positioned as *flesh* or *meat*, the *vessel*, *container*, or *prison* for sense, experience, subjectivity, and consciousness, cartographic metaphors thus represent mediated spatio-temporal inscriptions of intimacy and proximity between industrial technology and the creative–destructive nature of (late-)capitalist (narco-)modernity, re-inscribing the space of the self at the interstices of sensory perception and communicative expression, blurring incarnations of the *body-as-city/city-as-body* (Fitzgerald and Threadgold 2004).

The Body Consumed: Metaphorical Negotiations of Boundaries and Thresholds

Articulating an increasingly *heightened* disconnect between the body, its contents (i.e., 'insides'), and the incarcerating ('outside') materiality of urban built form, the preceding analysis gestured towards the gaps written into the varying articulations of '*open-ness*' and '*closed-ness*' conveyed in popular metaphorical body/space expressions such as *presence (of mind)* and *(emotional/social) distance*. Excavating deeper strata that lie beneath this dissipating meta-narrative of body/space metaphors, however, we find the notion of consumption masquerading in a multiplicity of complex forms. Here, in a *dead obvious* case of discourse *staring one in the face*,[41] invocations of bodies becoming *consumed* by grief, sadness, or loss[42] litter the surface-level landscape of the virtual.

Abandoning one's self further into this DIY excavation of fractal interiorities,[43] the act of *getting one's hands dirty*[44] implicitly conjures bodies being consumed by outside social and ideological '*pressures*' through in/direct allusions to the subject becoming *subsumed by* or *engulfed in* a range of physical and figurative forces. Invocations of bodies *drowning in* sorrow or substance,[45] work, grief, or other external agents, for instance, opens up a vast *sea* of subsequent spatialized metaphors centred on water, the now polluted lifeblood of early industrial capitalism. Metaphors of buoyancy, however, merely stand in as masked expressions of the '*sink or swim*' ethos of (late-)capitalist consumer culture. Awash in the push–pull force of discursive currents, metaphors therefore embody the exercise of '*staying afloat*' during the "maelstrom of perpetual disintegration and renewal" that is our narcotic modernity, likened to a time–space hallucination via Karl Marx's allusion to changing states in the terms of ('*thin*') air (Berman 1982, 15).

Conjuring similarly consuming forces, that most infamous literary junky of urban modernity Charles Baudelaire (1972, 34) located modernity in terms of "the transitory, the fugitive, the contingent". Likened to the violent unpredictability of natural disasters, the experiential force of (narco-) modernity is thus re-fashioned through metaphors that shift and slip between fluidity and fixity. Ranging from the catalyzing displacement concealed in notions of *drowning* or becoming *swept under*[46] to the backdrop of volatile landscapes conveyed in becoming *buried* and *swallowed up*, metaphor enables the opening up of social and spatial, natural and 'man-made' landscapes. Alternately, the expression '*what's eating you (up)?*' demonstrates how (cannibalist) metaphors of the body/subject/self becoming *consumed* migrate between and across the tenuous *outside/inside* boundary, revealing a sense/state/scape of porousness and permeability that resituates capitalism as a disease of consumption (Hickman 2004; Porter 1992; Reith 2004; Ronell 1993).[47]

Posed in such terms, capitalism is positioned as an almost 'natural' process of de-composition that eats away at bodies, variously 'stifling', 'burying', or 'snuffing out' opposition by conjuring figurative forms of suffocation and asphyxiation that convey the experiential sense/state/scape of being *buried alive* by the intoxicating neuro/chemical infrastructure of urban built forms, be they virtual[48] or otherwise inscribed and inhabited by the human imagination. Tracing the non-linear migration of slippage, the expressions *gasping for air* and *unable to come up for breath* signal that all-too-familiar[49] thrashing beneath the surface of normative capitalist social relations that has become symptomatic of the everyday abstractions subsumed as 'poverty', 'homelessness', and 'addiction'. Not unlike the displacement signalled by invocations of '*fish out of water*', for instance, expressive gestures repositioning the subject as being '*in over their heads*' serve to inscribe the spectacular strangle-hold climax of complete immersion as invariably, inevitably giving way to the landscape of total absence[50] that is often described as '*swallowed whole*'.

Sifting through the slippery strata of everyday discourse, *reading between the lines* locates *the daily grind* and its derivative expressions in a sense/state/scape of body/space compromise and contortion calling forth the submission of agency and autonomy underlying the body's (enforced?) insertion into the machinery of (late-)capitalist production. Here, the unceasing action of *the daily grind* seamlessly slides from bodies becoming *worn down* to the everyday experience of ephemerality encoded as *wear and tear*. In what appears to be a curious case of premeditated slippage,[51] the U.S. East Coast urban colloquial term *grinding*[52] is re-appropriated to re-locate hustling and/as work. *On one's grind* thus implicates questions of position and mobility in relation to striating forces, black market or otherwise, where the ubiquitous American Dream distils down to 'Imma get mine',[53] and the immediate, *gut-level* question 'get what?' prompts Ronell's (1992, 135) retort that "the distinction between need and desire is the luxury of the sober".

Lodged amidst the untold layers of sediment obscuring the inter-activity between affect and environment, space and subjectivity, we arrive at the ever-present embedded subtext concerning body/space negotiations of inside/outside inter-/intra-activity (Massumi 1992), analogously positioning the ('organic'?) body in relation to the ever-shifting techno-structure[54] of (late-/narco-)modernist urbanism. Surveying new surroundings,[55] subjects commonly (albeit often unconsciously) liken environmental stimuli to sustenance, conveying the processing of sensory *data*[56] or *input*[57] in the terms of *taking* or *drinking it all in*, thus resituating the intoxication encoded in consumption. Spilling from commodities into stimuli, sustenance, Otherness, bodies, and controlled substance, the notion of consumption implicates every imaginable scale of inside/outside exchange, situating the always already cyborg body in direct relation to shifting embodiments of *substance*. Implicating in no uncertain terms the elusive and illusory character of (narco-)urban intoxication, re-fashioning Ronell's (1992, 63) assertion,[58] these examples expose how the question of consumption, particularly as it intersects with the concepts of matter, materiality, tool, and technology, implicates an urgent reconceptualization of the role of substance in this thing we call drug/addiction.

Bodies who become '*emotionally overwhelmed*' due to defence system crash or other failures in boundary enforcement are sometimes reminded of the in-built danger[59] of *keeping it all in*, a speech that spells out the circumscribed social context for *letting go* (the home, the counsellor's office, the confessional booth, or otherwise always already in private).[60] Emerging from the dynamic nature of inside/outside inter-activity and 'folding' between affect and environment (Deleuze and Guattari 1987; Malins 2004; Massumi 1992), we then encounter the circulatory/industrial metaphor '*(to) vent*', a cathartic *deep sigh* conjuring *pent-up* respiratory (e)motions by facilitating an overdue *breath of fresh air*. Invoking an incomprehensibly complex network of mutually engaged cogs, to *vent* semiotically slips into *having an outlet*. Signalling a pastime, social community, or (virtual/social) '*network*' that one can '*plug in to*', metaphorical migrations specific to the wired/lessness of the digital era connote incidents of slippage that resonate from far beyond the inflammatory 1960s mantra '*tune in, turn on, drop out*' that has been attributed to Timothy Leary.[61]

The Prosthetic Cyborg Body: Body/Space and/as Media/Technology

Symptomatic of the shifting sense/state/scape(s) of disconnection and ('psycho-social') dislocation demanded of bodies throughout the successive phases of our narcotic modernity (Alexander 2000, 2008; Brodie and Redfield 2002), the exhaustion induced by being '*over-worked*', '*over-extended*', or '*stretched/spread too thin*' renders the subject variously *depleted, drained, dead tired, done in, ruined, finished, frayed, beat, whipped, pooped*, or

wiped out.[62] Representing expressions of the experiential scars inscribed by the intimate proximity between the *meat* and (post-)industrial machinery,[63] the self is (re)situated according to measurements of exchange value conditional upon one's ability to endure the blunt force trauma of mechanical re-insertion into said machinery, thus rendering indistinguishable the *cog* from its housing *machine/system*.

Unambiguously re-framed[64] by the migratory creative–destructive force of our narcotic modernity, the body is resituated in relation to the technological infrastructure of the city, where the emotional landscape of the self is depicted as *city* as *(war) machine*. Articulating the arrival at affective *thresholds*, being or feeling '*blown away*' conveys the intersection between the sense/state/scape of disembodiment encoded as being/feeling '*blown apart*' and the suspicions of arson inscribed in the causal (emotional, inter-personal) '*blow-up*'.[65] Active engagement in such heightened emotional modes is therefore correspondingly invoked in efforts to '*collect ourselves*', '*pick ourselves up*', or simply '*pick up the pieces*' after the shattering, scattering effects of internal gale force winds. Its insides (i.e., emotional guts) *consumed* by the explosive force, the *blow-up* renders the subject barely recognizable, variously positioned as *distant, gone, absent, vacant, not themselves*, '*not all there*', or a '*shadow of their former selves*'.[66] Directly interpolating the birth of mass consumer society, the sense/state/ scape of affective eruption encoded in metaphors of explosion thus simultaneously conjures forth and signals back to *breakdown*,[67] by way of an incidental *bomb-shell*.

Re-read as a shifting succession of socio-spatial reflections of the urban landscape as the indigenous, natural 'home' of narcotic modernity, *blow-up* therefore belongs to the era of early industrial accidents, while *breakdown*[68] signals a commonplace experience born in the wasteland/ wonderland of suburbia built out of the ashes of the Second World War.[69] Extending this analysis one stage further, the de(con)structive phenomenon popularly described as a *meltdown* marks a subsequent shift in the dawning (post-Chernobyl) nuclear age of (techno-/hyper-)capitalism. Invocations of human accidents, for instance, are often framed as originating in the (inclement) conditions of the subject's interior climate, where the sheer pressure of negotiating inside/outside forces[70] wreaks havoc with the subject's (soft) affective infrastructure, ending in the self '*crashing*', not unlike that of an old computer. Equally evocative of miscalculated high-speed *impact* and the malfunctioning of an over-burdened hard drive, the slippage-spilled space of the gap resituates '*system crash*' in synonymous relation to the literal act of '*collapsing*', whether from shock, exhaustion, or the sometimes crushing cumulative weight of 'everyday life' and its attendant sense/ state/scapes of *overload*.[71] And once the structural integrity of the subject's (always already externally informed) interior system-scapes have been compromised, the threat of having one's foundations '*shaken*' (a state of being '*shook*' or '*shaken up*') is henceforth ever-present in the form of '*relapse*': as

'*re-collapse*' or '*co-re-lapse*'. Here, not unlike the broken window theory of urban regeneration, isolated incidents of '*shattered nerves*', '*mental break-downs*', '*emotional collapse*', or '*mid-life meltdowns*' are often posited as agents of contagion responsible for igniting pandemic, hyper-mediated episodes of moral panic (Cohen 1973).[72]

CONCLUSION: THE INTOXICATION OF NARCOTIC MODERNITY

Through stress, over-work, or emotional *over-load*, bodies periodically become *worn-out* or *run-down*, losing their city-as-machine-like sense of efficiency and functionality. Similar to the soles of old shoes or the appearance of blighted, *decaying* neighbourhoods slated for urban '*regeneration*', the creative–de(con)structive subtext beneath the grand narrative façade of narcotic modernity (re)positions the subject in migrating expressions of ephemerality mimicking the commodities and built forms that people and haunt the (post-)industrial cityscape as ghost in the machine. Sometimes likened to becoming '*run-down*' to the point of '*running-one's-self-into-the-ground*',[73] here '*burn/ing out*' connotes a decidedly different sense/state/scape than notions of *breakdown*, *blow-up*, or *crash*. Simultaneously conjuring the En*light*enment technology of the candle, the state of exhaustion evoked by *burning the candle at both ends*, and the eventual end result of compulsive (i.e., addictive) illicit consumption, *burning out* is rhizomatically reincarnated in body/space metaphors extending into inherently *mediated, wired/lessness* sense/state/scapes of intoxication characteristic of the *consensual hallucination* at the heart of the inherently *virtual* landscape that has elsewhere been termed 'cyborg urbanism' (Gandy 2005; Gibson 1984; Swyngedouw 1996).

Spilling from the *haywire* circuits and electrical fires implicit in '*burning out*', '*crossed-wires*' conveys an inherently *mediated* mode of *(mis)communication*, where *wired* itself becomes an *unmoored* migratory metaphor deployed in relation to caffeine as much as technology. Unlike speculative cyberpunk representations, however, our increasingly *wire-less* communicative landscape is **not** dependent on a *direct connection*, the hard-*wiring* implicit in projections of '*jacked-in*' consciousness responsible for little more than drawing attention away from the underlying forces at work. Here, the fundamentally open, exposed, and inter-connected nature of neuro/chemical circuitry endogenous to the cyborg subject in always already *wired* through the dynamic interstices between inside and outside (stimuli and response) that represent our individually and collectively conditioned engagement with the everyday world.

Variously fixed as fragile, faulty, disloyal, untrustworthy, chaotic, '*out of place*', and '*out of order*', (Fraser and Moore 2008; C. Smith 2010) metaphors of dis*order*, dis*place*ment, and dis*embodi*ment are compounded by

the implied entanglement of fractal interiorities (Ronell 1992) in popular discourse re: 'drug/addiction'. Casting the threat of transgressive contagion in simultaneously social and spatial dimensions (Sibley 1995; C. Smith 2010; Sommers and Blomley 2002; Woolford 2001), the 'prosthetic' subjectivity popularly associated with drug use/users serves to *fix* this thing we call 'addiction' as a sense/state/scape of intoxication that is somehow false or inauthentic—an 'experience without truth' (Derrida 1993, 4). Sifting through the smouldering wreckage of collapsed distinctions between language and landscape, our final exercise in conceptual re-mapping suggests intoxication does not occupy a marginal or unique position in the shifting socio-spatial permutations of narcotic modernity, but instead represents perhaps its most central, enduring theme. Here, via the experiential sense/state/scape of narcotic intoxication, discursive shifts actively *enable* the slippery, migratory nature of metaphor to open up (i.e., *blow wide open*) and radically re-fashion the dynamic, substance-mediated interplay between inside and outside in the increasingly familiar (cyborg) form of *city* as *self* as *machine* as *media/technology/drug*.[74]

NOTES

1. Here, reference to the subject's *neuro/chemical 'circuitry'* represents an electronic metaphor rooted in the technological trajectory of industrial capitalism, where the distinction between the neurons of the brain, its (assumed 'organic') chemical composition, and the *synthetic* (read: refined, purified, and processed) 'man-made' chemicals of industrial civilization collapse.
2. For example, 'arterial' roads that cause traffic 'congestion' and 'clogged' highways, and the symbolically inscribed 'heart' of the city, to name but two of the most popular anatomical metaphors applied to urban space.
3. For a detailed exploration of the predominance of visual metaphors in French philosophy and literature, see Martin Jay's (1993) *Downcast Eyes: The Denigration of Vision in Twentieth-Century French Thought*. Regarding the centrality of visual metaphors (i.e., *occularcentrism*), Jay's (1993, 1–2) opening paragraph in the introduction to his book contains no less than 21 explicitly visual metaphors, "many of them embedded in words that no longer seem directly dependent on them".
4. Stitched together, not unlike the narrative threads of a story.
5. Offering a startling illustration of the conceptual distinction between notions of consumption, substance, and sustenance, crack cocaine is often referred to by street-level users and dealers in Toronto as 'food'. Slippage here, to be sure, stemming from various metaphorical reincarnations of money migrating from 'dough' to 'bread' to 'cheddar', extending then into invocations of the *land of milk and honey*.
6. Particularly acute in the case of bodily fluids, anxieties surrounding matter out of place slide immediately into projections of the *abject* (Douglas 1966; Kristeva 1982; Sibley 1995)
7. Be it a fixable hole in the roof (skin) or the sometimes condemning appearance of cracks in the foundation (variously perceived and represented as subjectivity, skeleton, or affective circuitry) of said socio-spatial structures.

8. In the always already substance-mediated interplay between inside and outside, affect and environment, 'cracked' or 'pirated' software and the porous, gap-filled, binary-composed security infrastructure of the virtual public sphere implicates media itself as the drug that nurtures and sustains both order and resistance, simultaneously serving to both placate and incite the cyborg subject of drug/addiction.

9. Here, dominant visual metaphors of '*blending in*' and '*standing out*' convey varying states of contrast, fit, or disguise with one's immediate socio-spatial surroundings, as inscribed in the expressions '*poker faced*', in contrast to one who '*wears their heart on their sleeve*' or who is otherwise read as an '*open book*'.

10. This multiply inscribed invocation of sense, place, and (un)belonging calls to mind the Talking Heads's (1981) seminal song "Once in a Lifetime", particularly in its intentionally confused sentiments re: home, dis*place*ment, and the sense/state/scape of precarity inherent in everyday expressions of in/habit(u)ation [**Intra-Text**: Also see Note #25 re: Kanye West's "Lost in the World"].

11. In this context, '*out of sorts*' directly *speaks to* the typologizing tendencies inherent to contemporary (late-)capitalism, where the sorting and classification, training and (d)e/valuation of bodies via systems of regulation, monitoring, and control effectively work to impose artificially constructed distinctions between inside/rs and outside/rs according to states of non/conformity corresponding to the body's form, shape, and (social) place/status. Such taxonomies thus serve to inscribe intractable divisions between notions of 'us' and 'them', 'good guys' and 'bad guys', 'docile bodies' and dissenting subjects (Foucault 1977, 1978).

12. Here, 'feelings' stand in as an ambiguous empirical dimension originally extending from the sense of touch. Metaphorically invoking a tactile experiential tracing of socio-spatial built form, such feelings signal the first inklings of slippage between empiricism as the realm of the senses and affect as emotional landscape.

13. Deployed according to this contextual framework, *elsewhere* implies 'anywhere not here', invoking the transcendentalist drug/culture-derived expression 'reality is everything you don't see here'. [**Intra-Text**: Also see Note #39 re: 'Wanderlust']

14. Terms that are often used interchangeably in relation to an individual's *sense of progress* or *sense of direction* (i.e., in one's career, in life more generally, or otherwise), the intentional invocation of the (directed, yet disoriented) *self* and/as (prescribed and predetermined) *path* and/as (everyday) *life* in this passage points to the popular conflation between experience and/as existence and/as passage/transit/journey/'trip'. Coded expressions of an abandoned or collapsed sense of home/place/belonging/self, such metaphors therefore serve to extend and tran-/in-scribe distinctions between here and home, sense and place, self and belonging.

15. A performance commonly referred to in childhood as *make-believe* or *play-acting*.

16. One who is *straight as an arrow*, in other words, is a *straight shooter*, a person who volunteers the *straight truth* is *straight* with others, and generally conducts themselves in a '*straight up*' sort of manner (derivative of, but conveying decidedly, distinctly different sentiments than the expression '*straight up, no chaser*'). Following from the clear moral investments fuelling this discursive trajectory, when thought and expression have become clouded or confused, it is common for individuals to remark that they *can't think straight*, and the process of *straightening things out* means to correct, clarify ambiguity, or otherwise arrive at an amicable resolution.

17. Here, crookedness marks a certain kind of getting out of line, to which cops and politicians seem particularly susceptible.

18. The metaphorical application of the expression '*sense of direction*' subtly works to implicate notions of direction, purpose, and momentum with articulations of self/identity/belonging. And *here* we might now pause to ask, what is this abstract peopled-place called 'home' if, as kitsch culture would have it, '*home is a house with a heart in it*'? Unlike the simple spatial state of '*getting turned around*' encoded in projections of one's poor (geographic) *sense of direction*, in its more metaphorical forms of deployment, confusion or interruption in one's sense of direction might require un-learning, retraining, and the acquisition of new tools and tactics for navigating the ever-changing (read: violently volatile and precarious) job market, in order to identify and adapt to a new *career-path*, and thus correct or realign the subject's *life-course*. The implicit anxieties encoded in this contextual invocation of *sense of direction* are eerily foreshadowed—if not always already implicit—in the simplistic central childhood program of indoctrination propaganda popularly conveyed as/in the question: *what do you want to be when you grow up?* Here we might suggest that conflating the question of *who you are* with *what you do* is almost as dangerous and potentially destructive as confusing one's 'story' with the body belonging to the teller of tales. [**Intra-Text**: Also see Note #14 re: the semiotic slippage underlying invocations of *self* and/as *path* and/as *life*]

19. *Spacing out*, it must be noted, is a sometimes desirable *headspace*—perhaps the antithesis to feelings of being tense, stressed, overwhelmed, or '*wound up*'—that might be due to tiredness or induced by TV, drugs, or the lull of the engine and the blur of landscape framed through the passenger side window.

20. In re-presenting the experience of being *transported*, the post-intoxication excitement of the narrative might lead the listener to insist that the storyteller *slow down*, lest they start *going overboard*, *getting ahead of themselves*, or in other words becoming *carried away* (again), in a blurred, intermingling metaphorical invocation of transit/displacement as self/body as narrative/representation [**Intra-Text**: Also see Note #14 re: metaphorical deployments of *self* and/as *path* and/as *life*, and Note #18 re: one's *sense of direction* in relation to more general philosophical notions of the individual's *purpose, life-course,* and/as/or *career-path*]. Situated in the interstices between emotional, imaginary, sensory, social, or material landscapes that are effectively posited as being/feeling *out of this world*, the sense/state/scape of being 'transported' is rendered innocuous when invoked in relation to the effects of art and literature, yet posed as an inherent threat in the context of 'bad drugs'. This 'monstrous union' (Cocteau 2001 [1930]) is posed as an "externally induced interior make-over" between substance and subject, thus automatically igniting public anxiety, where popular perception deems that "to discover your interiority through an external agent (book, film, drug, TV) is to merge your god-given self with some corruptible 'nonhuman' substance, transforming you from spirit to chemistry" (Goodeve 1999, 234).

21. To forgetful, daydream-prone adolescents, parents readily and repeatedly liken parts of the body to those of a machine, as in the case of the expression '*you'd forget your head if it wasn't screwed on*'. The penchant for daydreams advancing into an immediately pre-'burnt-out' state that can only be described as 'spaced out' in later years (your 'burn-out', 'space cadet' period), burning ears overhear whispered asides about one's having 'a few loose screws'.

22. In an effort to clearly re-orient ourselves, we might pause here to reflect on the vastly different symbolic ascriptions corresponding respectively to both *head* and *heart*; for a particularly '*moving*' illustration of the Western pop cultural

distinctions between heart and head (i.e., '*ticker*' and '*time-bomb*'), see Modest Mouse's song "Heart Cooks Brain" from their 2007 album *The Lonesome Crowded West*, where culinary metaphors serve to situate the brain as 'burger' and the heart as 'coal' or fuel for cooking.

23. According to this discursive framing, the unanchored sensory experiences described as being *swept away* or (intentionally) set *adrift* are posed as states of purgatory preceding the inevitable social intervention known as *putting one in their (proper) place*. A more static and passive yet grounded body/space state encapsulating the liminal sense of limbo, the expression '*sitting on the fence*' represents a metaphor that simultaneously signals resistance to capitalism's sometimes violent forms of imposed confinement and reveals the battle scars endured in encountering everyday life in the present ('kiss-the-sky'-high) era of '*our narcotic modernity*', metaphorically extending out into inherently capitalist-inscribed implications of property ownership and division implied by the invocation of a (border or boundary-delineating) fence.

24. Invoked in a range of contexts and modes of deployment, such expressions position subjects as players imbued with the natural instinct for competition, signalling capitalism as a '*game*' with little room for ambiguity as to the rules, objectives, or outcomes, articulating a landscape of winners and losers stratified according to their invested stakes. [**Intra-Text:** Also see Note #52 re: '*grinding*' and/as the fundamental ethos underpinning the inverted reflection of America's shattered and broken dreamscape and Note #53 re: capitalism and/as hustling]

25. Here, see Kanye West's song "Lost in the World" from his 2010 album *My Beautiful Dark Twisted Fantasy*.

26. A response that in some socio-political contexts might be prompted by even so much as *thinking outside the box*.

27. As in a '*vacant gaze/look*', a condition that may or may not have to do with '*abandonment issues*'.

28. Is this what Deleuze and Guattari (1987, 149–66) meant by a 'body without organs'?

29. i.e., '*life's little highs and lows*', '*ups and downs*', manias and depressions, stimulated and tranquilized states, be they induced by the slippery (semantic) distinction between *drug* and/as *medicine* or otherwise. As inherently valued measurements, however, 'high' and 'low' are not neutral in their deployment as metaphors, as evidenced in the rigidly hierarchical historical distinctions surrounding notions of 'class' and 'culture', 'uptown' and 'downtown' (street slang for 'uppers' and 'downers'), which is not to mention the ladder-climbing capitalist implications of the term '*down-trodden*'. Here, like many other theorists working in this trajectory, Ronell (1992, 13) points back to the question posed by Nietzsche in *The Gay Science*: "Who will ever relate the whole history of narcotica?—It is almost the history of 'culture,' of our so-called high culture".

30. In this case as/in the literal site/space of the body.

31. Here, the double encoding of elation and/as elevation can be seen as conveying a kind of heightened or energized animation of affect. [**Intra-Text:** Refer back to Note #29 re: 'life's little highs and lows' as a euphemistic expression that effectively encapsulates bi-polar manic-depression]

32. In a separate metaphorical application calling forth the tactility of the built environment, the notion of *losing touch* also implies losing direct communicative connection to individual and social bodies with whom we have *fallen out of touch*, provoking the call to *stay in touch*. Such deployments easily lend themselves to critical readings into the relations of proximity, propinquity,

displacement, separation, and the blunt force impact trauma of 'psycho-social dislocation' that is actively mass-produced by (late-)capitalist (narco-)modernity (Alexander 2000, 2008; Granfield 2004).

33. On the subject of 'breakdowns', Paul Simon's (1986) "Gumboots" is a particularly salient pop cultural point of reference. Depicting a discussion with an un-named interlocutor taking place in a taxi cab, Simon alludes to re-evaluating his (fictional?) perspective on a friend who had suffered a minor (emotional) breakdown, concluding this segment of the song by describing the transitory, 'come and go' nature of malfunctions in the machine-like engines of human affect.

34. Implying a blurring of sense of proximity between two subjects, emotional, physical, psychological, or otherwise, intimacy in the case of marriage is curiously articulated as a case of collapse between self and other, where the other *grows on one* to the extent that they become perceived and depicted as one's '*other/better half*'.

35. Central throughout the history of industrial manufacturing, glass is a substance processed and refined from the stuff of raw nature.

36. Explicitly suggesting a pre-encoded state of interiority in her attack, Ronell consciously avoids directly confronting the question of drugs or intoxication, instead skirting around the issues (and thus delineating the immensity of their depth and force) by leaning on the antiquated narcotic fodder afforded by literature. Here, through a series of glancing, sidelong advances, Ronell (1992, 52) situates drugs not in terms of their essence, but rather, action; in spite of their formal place in every dimension of social regulation, she argues, drugs "act as a radically nomadic parasite let loose from the will of language". In later fractal iterations of trans-internal dialogue, Ronell (1992, 29, 51) invokes the 'virtual and fugitive' potential ascribed to drugs, amounting to an underground splinter cell or an anarchist-oriented affinity group complete with coded intra-personal communicative tools designed to curiously probe old wounds, demons from the past, and skeletons in the closet. And in this fearless ([a-?]moral) inventory of spectral figures, Ronell (1992, 51) insists that "something is beaming out signals, calling drugs home", giving shape to substance outside the fluid instrumentality of media by stumbling upon the fundamental expression of drugs as vehicles of discursive transportation, transformation, articulation, and other communicative guises: a sense/state/scape of "hallucinated exteriority" located at the interstices between inside and outside, interiority and exteriority, fundamentally implicated in negotiating the shifting boundary-scapes, threshold-states and transgression-sense encoded in the very nature of this dynamic inter-/intra-activity and exchange.

37. Here the sense of flight (passage, height, high) as fuelled by the substance of drugs is strikingly rendered in Marvin Gaye's (1971) "Flying High (in The Friendly Sky)".

38. Which is to carefully avoid an extended entanglement with the encrypted nuances underpinning notions of (genetic) *predisposition* that serve to re-articulate the diseased will lurking behind one's neuro/chemical *susceptibility* as an almost literal form of experiential hard-wiring.

39. Which again is not to neglect but avoid becoming carried away by the complex and immense symbolic socio-spatial significance of '*wanderlust*', manifesting as a tangible, entangled emotional attraction to elsewheres. Here, see Bjork's (2007) song/composition "Wanderlust", described as a sense/state/scape of 'relentless restlessness'. [**Intra-Text:** See Note #13 re: 'elsewhere']

40. In the sense of *driven crazy* as it has discursively migrated in/to such instances as being '*driven to distraction*', a sense/state/scape that may perhaps represent a precondition to the similar invocation of being '*driven to drink*' (memories

of a kitsch sign littering the fake wood panelled bar in the basement of your childhood home that read: "*I drink to make other people more interesting*"; a glaring sign-post early in the road that still finds you feeling slightly puzzled).

41. That is to say, its obviousness almost to the point of *banging one over the head*.

42. Or, perhaps sometimes attributable to those *diseases of the will* (Valverde 1998) variously known as manias, obsessions, or generalized 'addictions', calling forth the figures of the 'shopaholic' and 'workaholic' in tandem with the alcoholic and outlaw addict proper.

43. **Directional Arrows:** *You. Are. Here.*
    Mimicking the intoxicating, slippage-shaped language/landscape of the 'fractal interiorities' of its central neuro/chemical cyborg subject (i.e., the 'drug/[culture/]addict', here reconceptualized in the terms of dynamic exchange and *inter-/intra-activity* within and between inside/outside forces), the notes scattered throughout—and ostensibly serving to help anchor, steer, and otherwise orient—this text, represent the archaeologist-author's first tentative efforts towards sketching and mapping out what we might properly term a structure of *inter-/intra-textuality*. While *inter*-texuality describes directly invoking and engaging the work of an Other *exterior interlocutor* (Goodeve 1999, 234), *intra*-textuality renders trans-apparent the simultaneous presence of an on-going internal dialogue (an affliction alternately described as *talking to one's self*), amounting to a frantic, paranoid series of gestures and directions that explicitly flag and point out instances of (affective) absence, inter-connectivity, and convergence within and between (other similarly unfixed and non-linear) narratives of splintering fractal interiority. Tracing its creation story, the notion of *inter-/intra-text* resonates not only with Ronell's (1992) imagined dialogues in *Crack Wars*—particularly the section entitled *Cold Turkey, or The Transcendental Aesthetic of the Thing to be Eaten*—but also with the concurrent sub-text literally written in to Brian Fawcett's *Cambodia: A Book for People who Find Television Too Slow* (1986), and the endearingly neurotic, obsessive-compulsively self-referential (and thus perhaps implicitly intra-textual) 'fictional' footnoting tendencies of David Foster Wallace (1996, 1999). Such an experimental, intra-personal, internal dialogue also therefore bears some similarity to Bill Evans's 1963 recording *Conversations with Myself*. As a tool of 'narco-analysis' (Ronell 1992) with equal potential for productivity and distraction, the premature introduction of this underdeveloped intra-/inter-textual trope/framework may merely represent a case of the author getting *carried away with himself*, constituting the incidental repository for the purging implicit in invocations of getting something *out of one's system*.

44. (More than a simple case of merely applying a little metaphorical '*elbow grease*'.)

45. Before arriving at the (*intoxicating*) conclusion, here we might do well to point out that the notion of '*drowning* in *sorrow*' is perhaps intimately related to what we might pose as its metaphorical corollary or response, in the form of '*drowning* one's *sorrows*' (i.e., via alcohol). [**Intra-Text:** Also see Note #40 re: notions of being '*driven to distraction/drink*']

46. i.e., by the demands of the workplace. In this context, '*bills, bills, bills*' represents a common (and explicitly capitalist-inscribed) articulation of the driving force behind the subject's ability to endure temporary forms of partial submersion as an effort not to become bankrupt (described as being '*flat broke*') by the *crushing weight* of debt, an experience indigenous to consumer culture and its encouraged/enforced state of living on credit.

47. In her book *Illness as Metaphor*, Susan Sontag (1977, 9) explains how '*consumption*' was employed as a synonym for tuberculosis (TB) starting in 1398.

Similarly, Sontag (1977, 10) suggests that early medical practice positioned cancer as a 'disease of consumption' that served to erode and consume the healthy body from the inside out.

48. Clarifying the ambiguity of neat lines in her meditation on boundaries and thresholds of experiential intoxication, Ronell (1992, 70) writes of the "chemical prosthesis which was the real, insubstantial vehicle that was the virtual".

49. The sight itself *triggering* an inherently precarious experiential possibility.

50. Here, the expressions *dead drunk*, *dead* tired, *dead* asleep, and *dead on my feet* serve to inscribe death as the penultimate form of absence, forming the imaginative, experiential fodder for related projections of the 'walking dead'. In subsequent instances of semiotic or semantic slippage, dead as the most extreme incarnation of the absent-state shifts into 'kill' as the least circuitous route to affective disconnection, as in the case of the migration between the expression '*buzz-kill*' (used to describe the sobering effects of a given social antagonist on sensory intoxication), the mortal capitalist sin inscribed in the notion '*killing time*', and Nelson Algren's (1976 [1949], 253) rendering of the state of absent affect encoded in one's experiential engagement with bad ('addictive') drugs, an inverted sense/state/scape that destabilizes not only normative invocations of sickness and health but the subject's own inner sense of self, identity, and belonging:

> "It kills me in the heart, how you are now", Sparrow couldn't keep from saying. "It just ain't like bein' Frankie no more".
> "That's the hardest thing of all for me to be, Solly", Frankie told him with a strange gentleness. "I'm gettin' farther away from myself all the time. It's why I have to charge so bad, so I can come back 'n be myself a little while again. But it's a longer way to go every time. It keeps getting' harder 'n harder. It's getting' so hard I can't hardly afford it." He laughed thinly. "I can't hardly afford to be myself no more. . . I got to economize 'n just be Mr. Nobody, I guess". He looked at Sparrow curiously. "Who *am* I anyhow, Solly?"

51. Here, intentional, premeditated instances of slippage–inscription might be described in the plagiarist-inflected terms of *yanking something out of its [proper] context*.

52. '*Grinding*' and the foundational 'DIY' ethos of hip-hop culture that it emerged from arguably constitutes a reincarnation or 'hustler'-inspired 'remix' of the popular American dream of unfettered 'black-market' capitalist enterprise, epitomized through the ubiquitous hip-hop/pop culture narrative of crack-dealing-as-liberation. This uncanny manifestation of the 'informal economy', however, represents a highly superficial, thinly disguised inversion, arguably reproducing or replicating the rigidly stratified hierarchy and violence of conventional American (hyper-)capitalism.

53. In U.S. urban colloquial language, the middle-class metaphorical sediment/sentiment surrounding invocations of 'American pie' is more often rendered in the terms *going for self*, *going for broke*, and *imma get mine*. Here, the '*imma get mine*' ideology specific to U.S. urban culture is perfectly illustrated in The Notorious B.I.G.'s opening remarks to the chart-topping single "Juicy" from his debut 1994 album curiously entitled *Ready to Die*, which amounts to a dedication to everyone who either implicitly questioned or overtly dismissed his relationship to the 'informal', 'underground', or 'black market' economy, ostensibly posed as a measure of sheer necessity to provide for his child. Not dissimilar to that most clichéd of narrative devices, following this explanatory preamble, the song begins by portraying the artist's (upward) socio-economic

mobility in the terms of a '*dream*'. Simultaneously invoking the nocturnal imagination-scapes of Biggie himself, the misappropriated sleep-states of Martin Luther King, and the 'black market' reincarnations of America's decidedly *bad* (and not to mention irreparably *broken*) dream, as the beat kicks, the first line of the first verse *hits home* like a *ton of bricks*, becoming lodged inside the body, lingering not unlike the vague contours (shapes and sensations) following a particularly vivid nightmare. [**Intra-Text:** Also see Note #52 re: 'grinding']

54. Here, techno-structure merely denotes technological infrastructure, situating the substance of technology as the elemental materiality of all socio-spatial urban forms.

55. In this contextual deployment, the very term '*surveying one's surroundings*' can be read in metaphorical terms, implicating the interplay and exchange between inside and outside, affect and environment, the body and space, as the term *survey* implies critically analysing space through the sensory apparatus of sight, while the word *surroundings* invokes the limitlessness of 'outside' forces that seamlessly encircle and sometimes threaten to engulf or '*swallow whole*' the subject. [**Intra-Text:** See Note #12 re: the migration between tactility/touch as an invocation of empirical sense/state/scape(s) and the character of interior affective climate]

56. Always already accompanying the endless (un/conscious) sensory calculations involved in the body's experience and negotiation of the '*outside*' world is the simultaneous enactment of preventative measures commonly known as '*defence mechanisms*' employed to anticipate, parry, or circumnavigate potential instances of sensory/stimuli *overload*. Here, the popular expression '*defence mechanism*' connotes tactics and tools in the 'attack and defence' terms of war between inside and outside forces, suggesting a sense of fragility inherent not only to the subject's 'inside', but also in the very border that distinguishes between and separates inside from outside. Infinitely variable and idiosyncratic, individual defence mechanisms are most often organic/cognitive, but sometimes also techno-mediated (as in the case of iPods, BlackBerries, and so-called 'wireless' 'smart phones'), reflecting the specific character (and attendant resiliency/fragility) of the subject's *inside* composition (that is, their individual emotional and psychological '*make up*') and its corresponding de/sensitization to *outside* forces. For more on the relationship between technology and 'defence mechanisms', see Buck-Morss (1992, 32), who suggests that the "powerfully prosthetic sense organs of technology . . . provide the porous surface between inner and outer, both perceptual organ and mechanism of defense".

57. Calling back to the early computer era expression 'garbage in, garbage out', the positioning of sensory perception as 'data' or 'input' represents the migration of digital-era technological metaphors serving to discursively erode the distinctions separating the inner and outer worlds of the subject.

58. Here, Ronell (1992, 63) argues that the question of drugs "makes us ask what it means to consume anything, anything at all".

59. Read: explosive potential.

60. In an era where *appearances are everything*, *you never get a second chance to make a first impression* (read: inscription), and *keeping up appearance* (perception) *is* the performance that makes up the experiential fiction we call *everyday life* (as journey as narrative), *biting one's tongue* and *keeping it bottled-up inside* imply an unhealthy form of *guardedness* inherent in maintaining a seamless external projection of self-containment/composure. Sealing off and otherwise concealing the insides from view conveys a complete state

of being '*closed in*', thus negating the subject's ability to take advantage of the permissible moments of emotional outburst encouraged by capitalist society, however forced, artificial, or socially constructed. Extending from metaphors of the body as vessel/container for sensory experience, we might therefore refer to such cases as a '*message in a bottle*' that was '*set adrift*'. In order to avoid subjects '*making a public spectacle of themselves*' or becoming a public embarrassment, instances of boundary transgression are, of course, almost always implicitly restricted to interior, private space relegated to the (social) sense of intimacy inscribed in notions of family and the 'significant other'. In representational terms, we might begin to think of such examples as a kind of 'social safety valve' designed to prevent the 'aggressiveness' and 'assertiveness' so highly valued in consumer culture from, um, *biting the [invisible] hand that feeds it*, or otherwise engaging in subversive gestures of resistance and revolt.

61. In what is by now surely a textbook case study in the conflation of medium, message, and metaphor to the point of utter meaningless collapse, Leary attributes the development of this term to his interactions with Canadian communications theorist Marshall McLuhan.

62. Probing its capitalism-inscribed social etymology, the expression '*burning the candle at both ends*' might be 'read in a similar light' as '*burning the midnight oil*', suggestive of the pre-electricity tools and fuel expenditure necessary for one to work through the night, a phenomenon more popularly referred to in present-day terms as '*moonlighting*' or '*pulling an all-nighter*'. Creatures perhaps pre-inscribed by the violence and volatility of (narco-)capitalist modernity's creative–destructive character to such an extent that '*drive*' and its traumatic impact on the body (see Ronell 1992, 23 re the 'toxic drive') are convincingly imagined as originating from and being *driven by* the self and commonly described as (implicitly: *too*) 'high strung', 'wound up', or otherwise 'intense' in the affect/psychological-makeup department. Lending further credibility to this reading, it is interesting to note that each of these metaphors derives from the technologically enabled ability to invest and concentrate various forms of power in inanimate objects, signalled by the migratory sense of physical and figurative tension written into the expression '*coiled like a spring*', again pointing to the body's metaphorical rendering in machinic form. Sometimes induced by signs of the subject's sinking/shrinking socio-economic position and mobility, here an unhealthy relationship to work, whether by circumstance or the obsessive condition/disorder of workaholism, is seen in almost religious terms, posed as a kind of warning regarding the importance of having 'balance' in one's life, as in the expression '*work hard, play hard*', which serves to blur and erase the ambiguous line between the subject's *personal life* and the high-stakes, *all or nothing* '*game*' of capitalism. With the kind of horror-masked-as-sympathy possessed only by people who hate work but insist upon going to work everyday regardless—either because they believe it's the 'right thing to do' or due to the demands imposed by the economic 'reality' of the capitalist world (which is to say basically the vast majority of the disappearing materiality/ideology of the 'middle'/'working' class)—*nine-to-five*-ers, living in the *work-a-day world* struggling to stay afloat in the endless sea of '*bills bills, bills*' [**Intra-Text:** See Note #46 re: "bills, bills, bills"]) might '*choose their words carefully*', delicately suggesting that the workaholic in question is being '*too hard on themselves*' and needs to '*learn how to relax*'. Implicitly suggesting that the forces of *tension*, *pressure*, and *stress* are indigenous to contemporary capitalist culture, such expressions implicitly work to reposition *relaxation* as an unnatural phenomenon requiring (un-/re-)learning that is as elusive and illusory, recuperated and commodified as the notion of '*free time*' to which it corresponds. Self-perceived as voluntarily

or 'passionately' *throwing themselves* into work, the workaholic's *personal drive* is situated by the *work-a-day world* as an aggressive and self-destructive force, perhaps mimicking those very same 'wearing down' capitalist forces from which they profess to be trying to escape, eliciting gentle suggestions that the work-obsessed subject either '*take up a hobby*' or '*buy a pet*' (both implicit exercises in conforming with consumer culture), or furthermore '*take a step back/away from their work*', '*take a vacation/holiday*', '*find a nice boy/ girl and settle down*', or, perhaps most commonly, simply '*relax and have a couple drinks*', short-cutting the learning curve implied in more organic strategies and methods. As perhaps the most ubiquitous response to the sometimes damaging impacts of *(self-?)driven-ness* and *over-work*, the practice of *letting loose*, *unwinding*, and *decompressing* from sense/state/scapes of stress, tension, or pressure induced by work via the use of substance may in extreme cases, however, only serve to exacerbate and amplify the urgency of the situation, catalyzing the creation of a whole new kind of hybrid (and hence *transgressive*) capitalist monster: the *substance-user-worker*.

63. See William Gibson's (1984, 6) *Neuromancer*, where the body is positioned as '*meat puppet*': "For Case, who'd lived for the bodiless exaltation of cyberspace . . . the body was meat . . . the prison of his own flesh".

64. In this context the act of discursive re-framing serves to simultaneously *re-situate/re-place/re-locate* the subject in space, via the shape-changing, slippage prone substance of metaphor, in the interplay between the figurative and the physical, reality and re-presentation.

65. Here, the notion of 'inter-personal' issues or instances of 'blow/ing up' might signal a condition arising from the entanglement of two or more fractal interiorities, splintering plural self(selves)/narratives that simply '*don't see eye to eye*' or occupy the same level (as in 'we're not on the same level', sometimes a metaphorical case of speaking two different languages), a condition common to or symptomatic of the fractal, fragmenting nature of such inside/interior states and the ambitious endeavour of '*putting one's self out there*' (Ronell 1992) [**Intra-Text:** See Note #43 re: narco-analysis and/as the exercise of tracing 'fractal interiorities']

66. Such states of gone-ness might, in other words, suggest a ghost possessed by the circumstantial capitalist-dictated intersections between the body and the city, flesh and stone (see Sennett 1994). [**Intra-Text:** Also see Note #50 re: 'dead' as the penultimate articulation of absence]

67. In the early industrial context, breakdown implicitly suggests the saboteurs' strategy also known as 'throwing a wrench into the plans/works'. Evidencing a slippage from the rigidly striated nature of the assembly line to the smooth, fluid projections of cyberspace, '*hacking*' can be read as a similarly literal/descriptive metaphor informed by the violent repetitive motions to destabilize, break down, and penetrate the always already literally and metaphorically *coded* and *encrypted* structures of cyberspace, a commercialized and simultaneously anarchic virtual landscape composed of the binary language (code) of zeros and ones, increasingly interspersed with "fire-walls" and "pop-up windows".

68. Attributable to that of (the) 'nerves'/nervous system or otherwise, following such incidents of breakdown or collapse, the resultant sense/state/scape of *broken*-ness, or *unrecognizable*-ness implicates the subject's inability to simply *rebound* or *bounce back* following the emotional explosions that accompany certain (*fragmenting, displacing*) kinds of emotional volatility, in spite of the exponential proliferation of new methods and models of mechanical intervention in the enigmatic engine of emotions.

69. Perhaps more explicitly, *breakdown* invokes the era of mass car ownership necessitated by the mass-consumption produced by the post-WWII period of

mass suburbia. Breakdowns or other accidents enabled by suburbia's ideological and material sprawl during the high era of spectacle (Debord 1994) suggestively slip and seamlessly conjure '*clogs*' and *congestions* in the circulatory system of human/highway traffic caused by the voyeuristic phenomenon popularly known as *rubber-necking*. Also see Jean-Luc Godard's (1967) film *Week End* re: '*weekend warriors*' and the congested culture of traffic.

70. Probing the collapsed distinctions between nature, technology, and the body, the notion of 'accident' directly implicates the human, invoking the range of related associations spilling from *human error* (i.e., '*to err is to be human*') to '*I'm only human*'. Migrating from invocations of '*pissing one's pants*' to the twisted metal of a car-wreck, metaphors of accident therefore serve to suggest the fundamental conflict attending notions of 'natural' *disaster*, pointing to the implied (human) role of *non/intervention*.

71. Here, the expression 'passing out' captures the displaced consciousness of the subject, articulating the elsewhere of absent sense in the terms of transit and passage.

72. Moral panics (Cohen 1973) can in some instances be ignited by contagious forms of emotional *disturbance* and ideological contagion, the fear or phobia of which is itself a pathology of place particular to the socio-spatial proximity and public-ness of the urban.

73. Inadvertently signalling a state of grounded-ness, *running one's self into the ground* represents one kind of '*seeing/reaching/hitting (rock) bottom*'.

74. Delineating the first dawn of our narcotic modernity, Buck-Morss (1992, 22) traces how metaphors of what we might term *narco-tography* migrated into urban built form, where "a narcotic was made out of reality itself" through the appearance of phantasmagoric forms that began to people the urban landscape, or in other words the techno-mediated "appearance of reality that tricks the senses through technical manipulation". Such '*technoaesthetics*' amounted to 'simulated sensoria' that functioned to anaesthetize the subject "not through numbing, but through flooding the senses".

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9 Postscript to P/re/in-scription
A Users' Guide to Urban Space

> [I]t is too soon to say with certainty that one has fully understood
> how to conduct the study of addiction and, in particular, how it may
> bear upon drugs. To understand in such a way would be to stop
> reading, to close the book, or even to throw the book at someone.
> I cannot say that I am prepared to take sides on this exceedingly diffi-
> cult issue, particularly when the sides have been drawn up with such
> conceptual awkwardness. Clearly, it is as preposterous to be "for"
> drugs as it is to take up a position "against" drugs.
>
> (Ronell 1992, 50)

INTRODUCTION: USING SPACE, USER SPACE

And so we arrive at the end of our tour. As a 'cure' to popular percep-
tions of the 'disorder of drugs', a discourse that simultaneously signals the
body-becoming-city and the city-becoming-body in metaphors of abjection,
infection, and socio-spatial pathology (Fitzgerald and Threadgold 2004),
this *users' guide to the city* can therefore be read as antidote, or more appro-
priately 'fix'. Conceptually re-mapping this force or phenomenon we call
'addiction' in the terms of *p/re/in-scription* can be seen as a project of com-
posing a *users' guide to urban space*—and somewhat more specifically, a
users' guide to the city as site of safe/supervised consumption—illustrating
the interdependent, mutually constituting relationship between substance,
space, and subjectivity in the addicted city of (late-)capitalist narcotic moder-
nity. Here, the concept of a '*users' guide*' conjures the notion of a manual,
while the reference to 'the city' invokes guidebooks designed to help orient
the foreign tourist. *Using space*, *using words*, *using 'illicit' substances*, and
using socio-spatial tactics to navigate, negotiate, and narrate a place for the
disorder of drugs (Fraser and Moore 2008; Keane 2002; C. Smith 2010,
2011b) in the shifting (late-)capitalist urban landscape, this meandering,
circuitous critical interrogation of 'addiction', modernity, and the city was
driven and animated by several central analytical tropes.

The first section of the book—*Drug/Culture: At Home in the Addicted City*—worked to delineate the general framework for the project, positing the relationship between the (abject) body of the addict and the social body of the (addicted) city as being fundamentally dictated and informed by the inter-/intra-active dynamic interplay between substance, space, and subjectivity. Unpacking the 'place' of drug/addiction in relation to (late-)capitalist (narco-)modernity and the urban landscape, this section established the major arguments that served to structure our excavation and exploration (unearthing and analysis) of narcotic modernity by engaging in a playful examination of drug/culture, pathology and place, and a series of critical medi(t)ations on/of substance.

The second section of the book—*Dope/Sick: Bootstraps, Brain Diseases, and the Depathologization of Drug Dependence*—served to trace and critique the prevailing paradigms for seeing and understanding, researching and treating the phenomenon of drug/addiction throughout the various stages of narcotic modernity, beginning with the social construction or invention of the addict as a figure, identity, character, or typology of deviance following the turn of the twentieth century. Shifting through moral, criminological, and bio-medical ideologies and research/treatment modalities, this analysis placed specific focus on the reigning pathology paradigm or bio-medical 'brain disease' model of addiction, suggesting that in popular and professional discourse addiction is perceived and positioned as a *pathology (out) of place*. Simultaneously seen as both a disease or disorder that is '*of place*', symptomatic of the intoxication inherent to the successive urban manifestations accompanying each socio-spatial permutation of our narcotic modernity, and a form of pathology deemed to be '*out of place*', in stark contrast to the rigidly planned, ordered, and controlled nature of the form and function of the (late-)capitalist cityscape, this analysis revealed how addiction is thus articulated as a form of illicit consumption, and its subject (the compulsive consumer of controlled substance) is correspondingly encoded in discursive projections of deviance and disorder (Fraser and Moore 2008; C. Smith 2010, 2011b).

Critically interrogating the historical associations between pathology and place in the urban context, this examination traced how the spatial characteristics, environmental conditions of—and potential for epidemic contagion in—the city were each attributed to a host of specifically urban ills. Following from this analysis, the work argued that popular forms of representation and opposition concerning the use of ('foreign', 'controlled', 'illicit') substance and the figure of the addict are based on the notion of *disorder*. Discursive projections of the socio-spatial '*disorder of drugs*', this analysis served to suggest, thus situate the body of the addict—or, rather, the prosthetic, cyborg subject of drug/addiction—as an abject agent of contagion who threatens to both taint and infect the (artificially assumed natural and organic) character of the 'healthy' social body of the city and transgress

the normative borders and boundaries between literal and metaphorical, physical and figurative socio-spatial bodies.

Hinging on the experimental act of temporarily 'swallowing', 'dropping', ingesting, or otherwise buying into the pathology paradigm, repositioning the notion of addiction as a *pathology (out) of place* itself took the metaphorical form of a hallucinatory drug 'trip', where arriving at the 'come down' or 'crash' served to facilitate the theoretical depathologization of drug dependence, allowing for the theoretical reconceptualization, re-mapping, or re-inscription of addiction in the terms of *p/re/in-scription*. Here, in a quintessential act of (late-/narco-)modernist *creative–destruction* the first semblance of a post-pathology paradigm for understanding addiction was bit piece reassembled from the smouldering wreckage of the bio-medical brain disease model following the final acts of crashing and burning that culminated in its collapse. Investigating the intersections between agency, autonomy, and the addicted subject, (late-)capitalist consumer culture, control societies, and illicit (read: deviant, disorderly) consumption, this interrogation worked to situate both space and subjectivity as palimpsests that are inscribed and p/re/in-scribed by the central, mediatory media/technology of substance (Huyssen 2003). Setting off a multiplicity of semiotic trajectories, according to this theoretical reconceptualization, *p/re/in-scription* thus re-articulates addiction as a phenomenon that is simultaneously scripted, prescribed, inscribed, and p/re/in-scribed, representing a central characteristic feature of the hard-wiring of narcotic modernity by definitively demonstrating the inter-connected neuro/chemical circuitry, or cross-wired 'nature', of socio-spatial nervous systems (Buck-Morss 1992; Keane 2002; Taussig 1992).

The third section of the book—*Narco/State: Excavating the Socio-Spatial Permutations of Narcotic Modernity*—worked to critically synthesize the preceding analysis to undertake an historical, archaeological examination (read: excavation) of the various socio-spatial permutations of narcotic modernity and their accompanying sense/state/scape(s) of intoxication. Postulating the origins of our narcotic modernity in the invention or construction of the addict as a typology of (moral–criminological) deviance at the dawn of the twentieth century enabled by the development of new medico-legal discourses and institutions, this analysis identified three primary stages or phases in the historical evolution of the (late-)capitalist addicted city. Closely coinciding with both dramatic changes in the nature and organization of (post-)industrial (late-)capitalism and fundamental shifts in the popular and professional perception and social positioning of drug use/rs, this genealogical investigation into the socio-spatial permutations of our narcotic modernity drew largely from the form and function, landscape and character of the addicted city in its successive manifestations.

Dating from the turn of the twentieth century to the beginning of the Second World War, this section posited the *city of phantasmagoria* as representing the first era of narcotic modernity, characterized by early industrial

capitalism and the widespread adoption of 'clean sweep' urban development, and corresponding to the synthesis of 'hard'(-wired) drugs such as cocaine and heroin, along with the widespread proliferation of the hypodermic syringe. During this period, 'shock' named the sense/state/scape of disorienting intoxication produced by the ubiquitous nature of phantasmagoria that was embodied in virtually every aspect of the urban environment, from architecture to commodity display, public spaces, and the anonymous mass of the urban crowd (Baudelaire 1955; Benjamin 2003b; Buck-Morss 1992). Here, articulating the close inter-relationship(s) between addiction, modernity, and shock, Buck-Morss (1992, 21) writes that "a drug-free, unbuffered adaptation to shock can prove fatal". The experiential sense/state/scape of intoxication indigenous to the (post-)industrial, (late-)capitalist addicted city, Buck-Morss (1992, 22) furthermore insists, "is not limited to drug-induced, biochemical transformations", but can also be brought about by the fundamentally narcotic-like nature of *phantasmagoric* forms that rapidly spread throughout the urban landscape, quickly coming to form an essential part of the physical/spatial environment.

Underlying this analysis of the *city of phantasmagoria*, the critical–creative, political–poetic activities of the Surrealist movement placed the intoxication of urban experience at the centre of their avant-garde agenda, providing a primary example of opposition and resistance to the phantasmagoric nature of the first formal era of narcotic modernity. Constituting what Ben Highmore (2002, 46) refers to as a "form of social research into everyday life", here Surrealism pioneered the use of new artistic, literary, and cinematic techniques based on harnessing the forces of collage and montage, the unconscious imagination, and chance, inspired by the infamous pre-Surrealist passage derived from Lautréamont's (1978) *Maldoror* regarding "the chance juxtaposition of a sewing machine and an umbrella on a dissecting table" (217). Situating urban shock as the site and source of their artistic expression, the Surrealist movement therefore sought to defamiliarize the phantasmagoria-infused dream-state/drug-scape of industrial capitalism during the first formal stage of our narcotic modernity through the tactics of collage and photomontage, automatic writing and 'cut up' poetry (Highmore 2002).

Accompanying the formal emergence of urban planning theory and practice following the destruction wrought by the Second World War throughout countless major European cities, the force of phantasmagoria thus morphed into that of *spectacle*, leading to the *city of phantasmagoria* being displaced by that of *spectacle* and its corresponding sense/state/scape(s) of *alienation*. As a spatial expression of the Fordist assembly line that was profoundly influenced and informed by the fundamental economic shift towards systems of mass production and consumption (Hayden 2004), the city of spectacle gave birth to the contemporary form of the suburbs. Separated into individually atomized nuclear family units and forced into competitive consumption practices dictated by both the dawn of mass

media advertising and the pragmatic realities of being isolated in the new, automobile-dependent urban peripheries, both the social and spatial conditions of suburban life served to produce and perpetuate alienation. Giving rise to a host of new quintessentially suburban maladies, the rapid expansion of suburbia was facilitated by corresponding developments in medical technology perpetrated by the cult of the corporate pharmacopeia, namely the synthesis of anti-anxiety medications such as Valium® (i.e., diazepam) and the pioneering of 'substitution' or 'replacement' therapies for opiate dependency in the form of what is today most commonly termed *methadone maintenance treatment* or MMT (Dole and Nyswander 1967).

Manifesting in a more explicitly political guise, the Situationist International (SI) picked up where Surrealism left off in the years following the Second World War, focusing their intervention-based political–poetic avant-garde practice on critically challenging and disrupting the numbing, sedating, passivity-inducing narcotic-like effects of the ubiquitous capitalist spectacle. Similar to phantasmagoria, the force of spectacle permeated all aspects of everyday urban life during this second era of narcotic modernity. In an attempt to render transparent the intoxicating sense/state/scape of submission and passivity actively produced by the '*society of the spectacle*' and in turn catalyze a '*revolution of everyday life'*, Situationist provocateurs took to the streets, staging 'situations' that worked to encourage the reclaiming of everyday life from the colonizing force of the spectacle in tandem with the re-imagination/reinvention of urban form and urban social life (Debord 1994; Vaneigem 1983). Here, the SI believed that the potential for realizing a new, radical vision of urban society lay just behind the surface of the visible city, encapsulated by the slogan '*beneath the paving stones, the beach*' (Dark Star Collective 2001).

Driven largely by the deindustrialization of the Western world spurred by globalization and the consequent rise of a post-Fordist economy,[1] the later part of the twentieth century witnessed a second radical shift in the nature of narcotic modernity, ushering in the decidedly (*late-*)capitalist era of the *city as site of 'safe'/'supervised' consumption*. Accompanying the shift from the disciplinary society described by Foucault (1977), where power was primarily concentrated in a network of separate but inter-linked disciplinary institutions (i.e., the prison, the hospital, the detox centre), to what Deleuze (1995a, 1995b, 1995c) described as *control societies*, in the contemporary manifestation of the addicted city of narcotic modernity power takes on a fundamentally fluid, amorphous character, with confinement coming to be replaced by shifting, continuous incarnations of control exercised in large part through the corresponding force of consumption. Characterized by the confluence of (late-)capitalist consumer culture and the metamorphosis of power from discipline to that of control, the *city of safe/supervised consumption* directly coincides with both the emergence of psycho-social *dislocation* that came to supplant the previous forces of *shock* and *alienation* (Alexander 2000, 2008) and the widespread adoption of the bio-medical

'brain disease' model or pathology paradigm for addiction research and treatment, a model that in theory appeared to constitute a radical departure from earlier moral and criminological conceptions, but in practice merely represented a thinly disguised reiteration of these underlying ideologies.

Representing the blurring and eventual erasure of the distinction between reality and imagination/fantasy, and the consequent impossibility, futility, and irrelevance of attempting to distinguish between the 'real' and the 'virtual', *hyper-reality* describes the sense/state/scape of intoxication produced by the contemporary manifestation of the addicted city of narcotic modernity, rendering obsolete the forces of phantasmagoria and spectacle characteristic of earlier permutations. While our examination of the earlier phases of narcotic modernity in the form of the *city of phantasmagoria* and the *city of spectacle* contained analysis of how the avant-garde techniques of Surrealism and the Situationist International variously attempted to critically and creatively engage the intoxication induced by narcotic modernity in each respective era, however, the notions of opposition and resistance were conspicuously absent from our discussion of the *city as site of safe/supervised consumption*. Concluding this three-part investigation by presenting a *users' guide to the city*, we now therefore return to the question of resistance in the context of the contemporary stage of our narcotic modernity, the *city of supervised consumption*.

With is central adherence to the bio-medical brain disease model of addiction and the corresponding full-scale adoption of the notion of harm reduction as institutionalized public health policy, the rise of the *city of supervised consumption* has been accompanied by a range of harm reduction-based interventions aimed at the socio-spatial regulation and designation of the (illicit, disorderly, deviant) consumption of controlled substances, and, by extension, the subjects of drug/addiction. Here, as earlier arguments served to suggest, institutionalized (and thus *de-politicized*) harm reduction policy can be understood as a tool or weapon of the addiction-as-pathology paradigm that places control over drug users in the hands of bio-medical authorities (Roe 2005; C. Smith 2012). Seen as a native outcast or indigenous pariah, the subject or drug/addiction is simultaneously positioned as both a product or symptom of the (late-)capitalist addicted city and as the explicit target of a range of social and spatial strategies designed to protect the (artificially constructed healthy, natural, organic) social body politic or social body of the addicted city—and the rigid inscription of borders and boundaries upon which it is constructed—from the inherently transgressive (infectious, contagious) threat of the 'disorder of drugs' (Fraser and Moore 2008; Keane 2002; C. Smith 2010).

Originating as an explicitly oppositional, political movement that placed emphasis on the structural and systemic forces that served to produce and perpetuate harm for people who used drugs (stigma, repressive drug laws, punitive treatment modalities), harm reduction became de-politicized in the process of becoming institutionalized as formal government public health

policy, its founding spirit of dissidence obscured (Roe 2005; Stoller 1998). In order to examine the potential for resistance in our present era of narcotic modernity in the form of the *city of supervised consumption*, constituting an applied extension of the addiction-as-bio-medical-brain-disease model, we must therefore begin with a political analysis of institutionalized harm reduction policy and practice. Re-politicizing and thus re-claiming the notion of addiction from the de-politicizing forces of the pathology paradigm, as the following section suggests, necessarily entails re-engaging the historical conflicts concerning how the phenomenon of addiction is defined and understood, and perhaps more importantly, confronting the institutional forces that exert control over its definition, thus serving to re-frame this *users' guide to urban space* as a *users' guide to capitalism and addiction* (C. Smith 2012; Tabor 1970). This line of thinking, which posits addiction as a direct symptomatic manifestation of capitalist forces, is clearly illustrated in a short essay published in 1970 entitled "Capitalism Plus Dope Equals Genocide" by Michael Tabor, a 'political prisoner' and member of the Black Panther Party. As Tabor (1970, 2) suggests, "drug addiction is a social phenomenon that grows organically" from the capitalist system. "The government", Tabor continued, "is totally incapable of addressing itself to the true causes of drug addiction, for to do so would necessitate effecting a radical transformation of this society" (2). This analysis therefore begins with a critical consideration of the 'heterotopian' character of the contested space of harm reduction (Foucault 1970, 1997; C. Smith 2010).

THE HETEROTOPIAN SPACE OF HARM REDUCTION

In spite of their complicit role in disciplining and regulating the (*out of place*) bodies and behaviours of people who use drugs—that is, the consumers of controlled substance—harm reduction facilities such as safe/supervised consumption sites (SCS) also have the inherent potential to act as *heterotopian* spaces that challenge and contest both fluid control forces and popular and professional misconceptions concerning the interdependent, mutually constituting nature of not only substance, space, and subjectivity, but also addiction, modernity, and the city (Cresswell 1996; C. Smith 2011a, 2011b). As opposed to utopias, which "have a general relationship of direct or inverse analogy with the real space of society", Foucault (1997, 352) argues that heterotopias "are absolutely *other* with respect to all the arrangements that they reflect and of which they speak". Constituting 'counter spaces' with the potential to challenge, contest, and overturn normative socio-spatial dynamics, 'heterotopias' have historically been associated with the themes of resistance and transgression (Johnson 2006). Leading to questions of power "not as the expression but as the problematizing of resistance and transgression", this notion reflects Foucault's "wider questioning of the complexity of resisting power relations" (Johnson 2006, 86).

Foucault's description of the characteristics common to such sites permits a reading of the contested space of harm reduction in the terms of heterotopia. "Over the course of its history, a society may take an existing heterotopia", Foucault (1997, 352) suggests, "and make it function in a very different way". Consisting of various institutionalized public health interventions, harm reduction has witnessed a series of rapid changes in both policy and practice since its formal beginnings in the 1980s. Shifts in needle exchange program logistics clearly reflect the evolution of harm reduction practice, where the original 'one-for-one' policy was abandoned due to the recognition of the potential importance of secondary syringe distribution (Bourgois and Bruneau 2000). Other profound changes in the contested space of harm reduction in the Canadian context have taken place more subtly, beyond the gaze of policy makers. Here, the informal toleration of drug use at harm reduction sites in downtown Toronto, where biohazard containers for the disposal of used syringes have been installed inside client bathrooms, points towards potential future shifts in public health policy.[2]

Founded as an explicitly political, oppositional social movement, the founding origins of harm reduction philosophy directly implicate harm reduction as a form of anarchist practice (Smith 2012). Here, in relation to the founding anarchist spirit of harm reduction, it may be appropriate to refer to the playfully provocative—yet highly accessible—definition of anarchism posed by the U.S. anarchist 'ex-workers' collective Crimethinc (2002, 5): "[w]henever you act without waiting for instructions or official permission. . . . Any time you bypass a ridiculous regulation when no one's looking. . . . If you don't trust the government . . . or the management to know better than you when it comes to things that affect your life", you are an anarchist. "And you are especially an anarchist", Crimethinc continues, "when you come up with your own ideas and initiatives and solutions".

Underground crack kit distribution. Abandoning the even scientifically flawed logic of one-for-one exchange in favour of syringe distribution. Actively encouraging unsanctioned secondary exchange. Peer-based naloxone training. Bathrooms inside harm reduction organizations that act as informal safe injection sites. Clandestine ibogaine treatment teams operating illegally out of rented hotel rooms. Doctors writing off-the-books scripts for morphine, Dilaudid®, buprenorphine. Politicized harm reduction practitioners have all engaged in such practices, and many have pushed the boundaries too far and been punished, fired, or even arrested for their actions. In spite of this, the fundamentally anarchist spirit of harm reduction persists, shifting from practice to political commitment to a fundamental element of everyday life that is directly informed by the equitable engagement of people who use illicit drugs under conditions of *collaborative autonomy* (Cheng and Smith 2009).

Another fundamental principle described by Foucault (1997, 354) involves the power of heterotopias to juxtapose "different spaces and locations that are incompatible with each other" in a "single real place". In the

'comprehensive care' model, harm reduction sites embody a wide range of services including education, counselling, primary health care, referrals, and advocacy. While at first glance these services seem to exist in a state of conflict, harm reduction interventions such as SCS are increasingly marketed on their ability to serve as 'contact sites' for the most marginalized, socially vulnerable, 'service resistant' urban drug using populations. In this model, it is believed that after establishing a level of comfort and rapport with staff, users will then begin utilizing ancillary services offered through the site, such as referrals to detoxification, addiction counseling, or MMT.

The final characteristic of heterotopias relevant to our discussion of the contested space of harm reduction is that they exist "between the two poles of illusion and compensation" (Chaplin 2003, 344). On the one hand, as Foucault (1997, 356) suggests, "they perform the task of creating a space of illusion that reveals how all of real space is more illusory", while on the other hand, "they have the function of forming another space, another real space, as perfect, meticulous and well-arranged as ours is disordered, ill-conceived and in a sketchy state". Here, Foucault concludes by invoking the image of the ship as the "heterotopia *par excellance*" (356). As Chaplin (2003, 344) writes, the ship constitutes a space of both illusion and compensation: "it transports passengers to other worlds, depositing them on foreign shores to discover as yet unknown other spaces, and it also recreates in its architecture . . . an ordered arrangement which parallels lived reality on terra firma". In this sense, Foucault appears to point towards the relational aspects of such sites, which provide "a passage to and through other heterotopias . . . form[ing] relationships both within the site and between sites" (Johnson 2006, 80). Here, the role of harm reduction as a 'contact site' which has the potential to link clients into other health and social services illustrates how such interventions and services form an alternate, 'counter-space' with the potential to forge alliances and networks with other spaces and service providers, allowing for transit and points of connection and contact in between. At the same time, the bio-political strategies at work in the contested space of harm reduction serve to transform the subjects of addiction/treatment into 'clients' or 'consumers' in the business-like system of (disciplinary and regulatory) bio-medico-political control, revealing the illusory nature of the city as site of safe/supervised consumption. Here, the tension and conflict between the original, explicitly oppositional, radical founding philosophy of harm reduction and its present day institutionalized incarnation as public health policy reveals the attendant de-politicization the movement has witnessed over the past decades (Roe 2005; C. Smith 2012).

HARM REDUCTION AS ANARCHIST PRACTICE

The story of harm reduction's evolution is a story of compromise and contradiction, conflict and co-optation, revealing evidence of an uneasy

relationship with institutionalization from the very beginning. In order to illustrate how its adoption by public health authorities has diluted the anarchist foundations of harm reduction practice, it is necessary to begin by re-examining the historical conflict concerning how addiction is defined and understood, and more importantly, *who* has control over its definition. Stoller (1998, 101) explores how the first needle exchange in San Francisco began as an underground "act of civil disobedience by a group of pagan, hippie anarchists" who slowly entered into a wary relationship with city authorities. The original consensus-based anarchist principles upon which the group was established were, however, negated when the formerly autonomous collective finally ceded to institutional control. Here, critics such as Roe (2005) have argued that as it was institutionalized, the oppositional political origins of harm reduction became sanitized, leading to a historic tension between what we might refer to as the two ideological poles of harm reduction theory and philosophy. Here, as Roe notes, on the one hand are those who understand harm reduction as an applied extension of the bio-medical 'brain disease' model for addiction research and treatment, while on the other are those who see harm reduction as an explicitly political forum for challenging structural barriers and increasing capacity building efforts towards increasing the central role and importance of drug/ service users' involvement (244).

Roe (2005) argues that institutional harm reduction advocates engage in cooperation and collaboration with state bodies at the expense of ignoring or overlooking the fact that "the health problems they address are substantially created by the ideology of the systems in which they work" (245). The more politicized proponents, by contrast, tend to see the notion of harm reduction as "a political and moral commitment to altering the material and social conditions of drug users" by placing emphasis on a structural critique involving a "political analysis of 'risk' and 'harm' as by-products of social, economic, racial or political inequality" (Roe 2005, 245). Roe moreover suggests that the creation of institutionalized harm reduction policies and interventions based on the inherently economic cost-benefit logic of the 'bottom line' analysis represent the most recent strategic efforts to "minimize risk from, and maximize control over, marginal populations" such as people who use drugs (245).

Based on this analysis, we might begin to understand institutionalized, de-politicized harm reduction policy as a tool of the pathology paradigm that places control over drug users in the hands of bio-medical authorities. In Helen Keane's (2003) view, harm-reduction-as-public-health-policy thus "avoids confronting the very things that produce the most harm for drug users: drug laws, dominant discourses of drug use and the stigmatisation of users" (231). This therefore begs the question of how politicized harm reduction practitioners, activists, advocates, and service users can begin to reclaim the original oppositional spirit of harm reduction practice. First, it is crucial to begin to recognize and account for the ways that institutionalized

harm reduction policy has put chains on the fundamentally anarchist spirit of the movement's collective practice. Perhaps the most glaring example of this trend can be seen in the persistence of strict policy regulations mandating one-for-one exchange over syringe distribution, in spite of a plethora of evidence supporting the benefits of distribution in the reduction of HIV, Hepatitis C, and other blood-borne viruses directly associated with injection drug use (Bourgois and Bruneau 2000).

As the urban landscape increasingly becomes a site of conflict among competing social, economic, and political interests, and contemporary patterns of urban redevelopment actively serve to produce and perpetuate spaces (or *displacements*) of 'harm', the space of harm reduction becomes more and more contested, both from within and without. Seen from these opposing perspectives, then, the contested space of harm reduction constitutes both a product of the forces of socio-spatial exclusion that are symptomatic of the process of 'making the city safe for consumption' and a space that challenges, contests, and overturns the notions of consumption and control upon which these new visions of the city are based (Fisher et al. 2004; Keane 2003; Miller 2001; Roe 2005; C. Smith 2012). Experiential engagement with the contested space of harm reduction therefore involves a series of negotiations for the 'user' or 'client', and it is through these acts of negotiation that we can begin to speak of a users' guide to the city of safe/supervised consumption. A close reading of this users' guide to urban space yields crucial insights into the processes through which users navigate and narrate, assert and articulate, construct and convey their 'right to the city' (Lefebvre 1996).

A USERS' GUIDE TO THE CITY AS SITE OF 'SAFE'/'SUPERVISED' CONSUMPTION

Examining addiction as a *pathology (out) of place* revealed that community opposition to the perceived socio-spatial *disorder of drugs* contains an inherent, in-built spatial dimension, serving to cast solutions to the social 'problem' of addiction in explicitly spatial terms (Barnes et al. 2006; Cusick and Kimber 2007; Fischer et al. 2004). In discursive invocations of the 'disorder of drugs', therefore, the subject of addiction/treatment is always already situated in relation to the space of the (addicted) city through metaphors of pathology, infection, and contagion, calling forth the palimpsest-like nature of the relationship between the abject body of the addict and the social body of the addicted city, both of which are p/re/in-scribed by what is variously, interchangeably termed the 'foreign', 'controlled', or 'illicit' media/technology of substance (Huyssen 2003). Tracing the inter-/intra-active, dynamic interplay between 'disorderly people' and disordered landscapes, opposition premised on the 'disorder of drugs' is based on the process of body–space 'folding' (Deleuze 1988, 1995b; Hermer and Mosher 2002;

Malins 2004; C. Smith 2010, 2011b); here, the dirt, disease, dangerousness, and deviance associated with the body of the addict folds into the social body of the city, producing discursive projections of urban disinvestment, decline, and decay (Beauregard 1993; N. Smith 1996; Short 1999; C. Smith 2010, 2011b, 2014). Literal and metaphorical, real and imagined, this work has argued that these two bodies are mutually constituted—produced and re-produced—through the process of *p/re/in-scription*, coming together through the central medium of substance to constitute what we might begin to think of as a 'p/re/(in-)scription for addiction' (Sky 2006).

Extrapolating from the establishing framework regarding substance, space, and subjectivity, this project advanced a number of theoretical arguments concerning the nature of the relationship between 'addiction', modernity, and the (late-)capitalist cityscape. Playfully appropriating, re-reading, and in some cases consciously subverting popular and professional discourse regarding addiction/treatment, these arguments traced the underlying themes of control and consumption in narratives of the 'addicted city' (Wild 2002). Proceeding through a series of questions that worked to reconceptualize the relationship between the body of the addict and the social body of the city, the theoretical force of this project was premised on the project of depathologization, constituting a conceptual re-mapping of both the *subject* of addiction/treatment and the *place* of drugs and drug users in the city through the notion of *p/re/in-scription*.

A product of the complementary—yet diffuse and decentralized, disguised and deterritorialized—forces of control and consumption that have come to characterize everyday life in the (late-)capitalist cityscape, *p/re/in-scription* signals the multiplicity, complexity, and ambiguity surrounding the socially constructed notion of addiction. Pointing to the irreducibility of the phenomenon of drug dependence to moral, criminological, or bio-medical explanations, *p/re/in-scription* denotes multiple simultaneous trajectories, emphasizing the inherently political stakes involved in the question of addiction research and treatment. In this sense, the notion of p/re/in-scription can be seen as a conceptual tool that reveals the inadequacy of earlier paradigms, situating this thing we call 'addiction' as a generalized, normative phenomenon symptomatic of (late-)capitalist urbanism and our narcotic modernity. In other words, considered in the terms of p/re/in-scription, the process or experience of 'addiction' can be seen as a direct manifestation of consumer culture, constituting (in the particular case of drugs) a 'deviant' and inherently disorderly form of consumption that signals the immediate need for social control. Here, 'addiction' is simultaneously *prescribed*, *scripted*, *inscribed*, and *p/re/in-scribed* by the socio-spatial dynamics of the capitalist cityscape.

The inherent sense of complexity and multiplicity that is written in to the notion of addiction as *p/re/in-scription* is based upon the interplay between space and subjectivity, situating both the body of the addict and the social body of the city as *contested* bodies that are produced and negotiated in the

dimensions of policy, discourse, and the lived experience of urban redevel-opment. In the interstices between drug policy and urban planning policy, discursive opposition to the 'disorder of drugs' stakes strategic power in the blurring of boundaries between social and spatial cyborg bodies, mutually constituted in the language of health and illness; here, social pathologies are projected on to specific urban spaces at the same time as environmental interventions intended to address the disorder of drugs are aimed at bodies and behaviours deemed to be 'out of place', thus locating addiction itself as a 'pathology (out) of place' (Fischer et al. 2004). Extending from this conceptual re-mapping of 'addiction' as p/re/in-scription, the theoretical investigation into the relationship between the body of the addict, the social body of the city, and the medium of substance thus shifted through a series of playful interrogations into the discourse of drugs.

This project thus contributed to the task of composing a users' guide to the city through several distinct forms of analysis. First, by exploring the shifting flows and fluid, amorphous forms of control implicated in the question of drug/addiction, the work revealed how the consumption (and consumers) of controlled substance pose an inherently transgressive threat to the normative conceptions of consumption and order upon which the contemporary (late-)capitalist cityscape is based. Second, by re-mapping the intimate inter-relationships between pathology and place, the proj-ect can be seen as representing a guidebook to the fundamentally urban affliction of addiction, detailing how the perceived socio-spatial 'disorder of drugs' serves to position the abject body of the addict as an agent of contagion. Third, by re-reading addiction as a product of the interactive, dialectical dynamic of substance, space, and subjectivity, this book served to re-map the inherently open and exposed and intimately inter-connected and cross-wired neuro/chemical circuitry and shared nervous systems of all socio-spatial bodies.

Finally, by arguing for the *depathologization* of the notion of addic-tion, this work explicitly gestured towards the *(re-)politicization* of the subjects of addiction/treatment and addiction/research, underscoring the political importance of "nothing about us without us" (Canadian HIV/AIDS Legal Network 2008). Here, the conceptual re-mapping of addiction as p/re/in-scription provided a series of theoretical starting points towards re-imagining the identity of the user and users' relationship to urban space outside the tension between moral and bio-medical metaphors that char-acterize discursive invocations of the 'disorder of drugs' and the 'addicted city'. As physical gathering points for user communities, needle exchange programs, methadone clinics, and safe/supervised consumption sites can importantly serve as sites for new forms of user activism and advocacy. Here, the contested space of harm reduction provides a site through which not only users, but also politicized front-line harm reduction workers strug-gling against the confines of institutionalized, de-politicized public health policy and practice can come together to participate in forms of activism

and advocacy that engage in a "direct political critique of the social and legal systems that create harm" (Roe 2005, 243).

As an attempt to counter regimes of representation that serve to re-cast the city as site of safe/supervised consumption and position the abject body of the addict as agent or carrier of the disease called the 'disorder of drugs', this project—a *users' guide to urban space*—has advanced new insights into the interdependent, mutually constituting relationship between substance, space and subjectivity. In their real and imagined, physical and figurative, literal and metaphorical forms, both the abject body of the addict and the social body of the addicted city constitute lived fictions that people the capitalist cityscape in the interplay between prescribed spaces and social prescriptions, scripted performances of identity and the spatial scripting of consumerism, inscriptions of control in and through physical built form, and re-inscriptions of subjectivity in the forms of (body–space) 'folds' and 'assemblages'. As a 'cure' to popular perceptions of the 'disorder of drugs', a discourse that simultaneously signals the body-becoming-city and the city-becoming-body in metaphors of abjection, infection, and socio-spatial pathology (Fitzgerald and Threadgold 2004), this *users' guide to the addicted city* can therefore be read as antidote, or more appropriately, 'fix': an attempt to reform and rehabilitate the city of safe/supervised consumption (and the rigid enforcement of social control upon which it has been established) in order to assert an explicitly politicized reading of this thing we call 'addiction' as *p/re/in-scription*.

As an inherently political project, reconceptualizing this thing we call 'addiction' in the terms of 'p/re/in-scription' therefore rests on the premise that addiction is a phenomenon produced by the particular sense/state/scapes of experiential intoxication inherent to the successive (post-)industrial, (late-)capitalist urban landscapes of the addicted city—spanning the cities of phantasmagoria and shock, spectacle and alienation, and hyper-reality and psycho-social dislocation—that have accompanied the shifting socio-spatial permutations of the drug/dream/disease of our narcotic modernity. From this perspective it is therefore fitting to conclude by revisiting the critical interrogation of popular, everyday body/space metaphors that served to compose the balance of the preceding chapter. Reflected most acutely in discursive invocations of the embodied, experiential sense/state/scape of intoxication produced by the hallucinatory socio-spatial permutations of the dream/drug/disease of narcotic modernity, this investigation therefore works to reveal the inherently transgressive nature of 'addicted' socio-spatial bodies, whose permeable boundaries and porous borders point to the fundamentally inter-connected, cross-wired neuro/chemical circuitry and open, uncontained, shared nervous systems of the city-becoming-body-becoming-machine-becoming-body-becoming-city (Buck-Morss 1992; Fitzgerald and Threadgold 2004; O'Neill 1999). Here, the conflated, collapsed distinctions between the object of drugs, the subject of addiction, and the physical/virtual urban landscape of (late-)capitalist narcotic modernity are mutually

constituted, mapped on to, folded in to and p/re/in-scribed in one another,[3] where '*bombed*' and '*wasted*' are adjectives that are seamlessly applied to states of subjectivity as much as space, amidst bodies that are '*going to pieces*' or '*coming apart at the seams*' in the '*belly of the beast*': the '*seedy underbelly*' of the addicted city throughout the various phases or stages of our narcotic modernity.

CONCLUSION: '*SMASHING*' AND '*FIXING*': CREATIVE DESTRUCTION AND ILLICIT CONSUMPTION

Indigenous to the successive socio-spatial permutations of narcotic modernity since the invention or social construction of the 'addict' as a typology of deviance at the turn of the twentieth century, the experience of intoxication provides a distinct subset of metaphors depicting transformation of the self as city as machine via mediations of (controlled, illicit, and foreign) substance. Growing out of literal references to socio-spatial disorder embodied by *dirt*,[4] the '*clean*'/'*dirty*' binary represents a morally encoded metaphor grafted on to the body and its perceived inorganic relationship to substance (Keane 2002). *Clean living*, in this strategic deployment, implicates clean and/as sober, but also points to the pre-encoded slippage surrounding traditional Judeo-Christian conceptions of 'good'.[5] Starting at the dawn of (narco-)modernity, however, the experience of intoxication came to be housed in explicitly spatializing language, constituting a discursive landscape that both reflects and refracts shifting socio-spatial permutations in (late-)capitalist city space. A metaphor originally rooted in alcohol inebriation,[6] *stoned* denotes a state of *spaced out* that renders the subject virtually inanimate: as, literally, *rocked*,[7] a sensation that is perhaps not dissimilar to being *plastered*.[8] From *loose* as an anachronistic euphemism for *tipsy* that implicitly conjures the figure of the *loose woman*,[9] to its corollary *(wound up) tight*, metaphors surrounding alcohol inebriation developed in tandem with machinery of capitalist production, (post-)industrial technologies of war and destruction, communication and rebuilding.[10]

Migrating from *wound up* to *wasted* to *trashed*,[11] the logic and experience of creative–destruction positions post-intoxication subjectivity in relation to varying states of *refuse*[12]—*spent*, worn out, burnt-out commodities to be discarded at the *dump*. Later incarnations of the *wasted*-state re-invoke the notion of use value, situating the *trashed*-subject/commodity in explicitly *de*structive terms, where *bent, smashed*, and *mangled* position consciousness as *bent out of shape* or otherwise disfigured. Following the Second World War, metaphors for drunkenness came to be positioned in yet another state of *wasted*-ness—or, rather, *as* a (post-war, late-industrial) *wasteland*. Here, descriptions of the wasted-state as *bombed* or *blitzed* work to implicate not only the site-specificity of bombed-out landscapes but also their corresponding technologies of *destruction*.[13] Throughout, allusions to

drunkenness have additionally taken the form of literal references to the subject in the inherently *fluid* shapelessness of booze. From *sloshed* or *juiced* to *well-oiled* or *lubricated*, another succession of representational shifts that work to simultaneously frame the body in machinic form and render the subject-substance interface (i.e., drunk-bottle) in technologically mediated, almost scientific terms: booze as the stuff that animates and fuels (*oils* and *lubricates*, thus *loosening* and *tightening*) the machine that is the body of the alcoholic.

Tracing the discourse of 'drug culture'[14] proper yields a subset of spatialized metaphors centred on socio-spatial invocations of the *foreign*.[15] Originating in the *drug* (hence *counter-*) *culture* of the 1960s following the first synthesis of LSD, psychedelic experience was described as a '*trip*', invoking a voyage to previously unseen (or unseeable) interior landscapes.[16] From this perspective it is important to emphasize that psychedelic substances traditionally associated with '*tripping*' were embraced by 1960s counter-culture due to their perceived *mind-altering* or *consciousness-expanding* properties, inscribed with the potential to enlarge the scope/scape of (inner or 'out-of-body') experience to the point where it might literally *blow your mind*.[17] If the *stoner* of drug/culture was neutrally positioned as a sensory-perception-dulled creature reduced by drugs to an almost inanimate form, the figure of the *burn-out* was destructively encoded as one who has literally burnt out their (open and exposed) neuro/chemical circuitry (Buck-Morss 1992; Plant 1999).[18] Variously victim of successive *bombed*-out states or the resilient survivor of repetitively being *blitzed*, the cyborg sub-species of the *burn-out* is one who has *crashed*, *then burned*, a vacant body emptied of affective content in the explosion and ensuing combustion. The fuel for its combustion (i.e., the consumption of controlled substance) depleted,[19] the crash or come down state finds the embodied wreckage of the burn-out irrevocably altered, provoking queries directed at bodies as if they were vacant, abandoned houses: '*hello?—is there anybody home?*'. Mirroring earlier incarnations of the body as (urban) landscape, oscillations between substance consumption and crash are most popularly articulated through invocations of elevation, where *high* or *lifted* come to denote the state of being suspended prior to the destructive descent and eventual *crash*, where the faltering vehicle of flight (substance) positions the subject as plummeting.[20]

To postpone their inevitable crash, therefore, the cyborg subject of 'drug/addiction' simply needs one more '*hit*' or '*fix*', expressions that metaphorically anticipate the impending impact trauma otherwise known as *hitting bottom*.[21] Shifting into the place-based slippage of colloquial encapsulations rooted in the inherent restlessness of street/drug-user culture, regional manifestations of drug/culture/discourse reveal that a '*hit*' of crack cocaine (i.e., *rock, food, hard*) might become a '*blast*', and to inject heroin (i.e., '*junk*', '*dope*', '*down*') might mean to '*fix*', or in other words '*whack*', '*slam*', '*smash*', or '*bang*' through the use of *works*, a *fit*, or a *rig*.[22] And this

doesn't even begin to implicate the literal and figurative spatializations of *kicking* that have migrated into everyday language to describe the intimate (self-splintering) narrative of 'quitting' or 'giving up' that is always already implicit in all 'bad' habits.[23] Positioned by Sedgwick (1992, 582) as "that other, even more pathos-ridden narrative"—*kicking the habit* represents a literal reference to the involuntary thrashing of the addicted body during opiate *withdrawal*.[24]

Shadowing the semiotic migration of intoxication from the tactility of art and literature to the ephemerality of (virtual) media infrastructure, invocations of *body as city as machine* can therefore be read as metaphorical representations of the experience of narcotic modernity in the techno-mediated terms of drug/dream/disease. Capturing an explicitly destructive inscription of physiological dependency, here the sense/state/scape of 'addiction' migrated organically from street slang to popular culture[25] through a (linear) succession of linear metaphors extending from 'hooked' to 'strung out'[26] to '*wired*', thus serving to re-code the question of interdependent neuro/chemical circuitry beyond the *(sp)e(ja)culative* meta-fictional matrix of '*jacking in*' to an elsewhere utopian dreamscape. Yet it is here in the space of the gap that the rolling hills of greener pastures simultaneously become dangerously slippery and un-navigable.

In the contemporary capitalist cityscape of late-narcotic urban modernity, space is a landscape composed of media: a blurring rush of competing stimuli and overlapping systems of non/verbal signs and symbols; furthermore, this mediated landscape—a built form constituted from communication technology, the substance of images, discourse, and information—comes to stand in as the language of the subject in the space of interplay and exchange between affect and environment, inside and outside. Recalling the discovery of *endorphins* in the 1970s, so named because they were *endogenous* to the body and had a similar chemical structure to *morphine* (Mate 2008, 150), in its virtual manifestations the media/technology of drugs is equally implicated in the co-production of subjectivity and space, repositioning the (virtual) stimuli of narcotic modernity as inseparable from the capitalist subject's innate neuro/chemical circuitry. Suggesting that drugs are "animated by an outside already inside" where endorphins "relate internal secretion to the external chemical" Ronell (1992, 29, 51) locates the 'virtual and fugitive powers' associated with drugs as "a secret communications network with the internalized demon", enigmatically suggesting that "[s]omething is beaming out signals, calling drugs home". In later narrative exercises in fractal interiority, Ronell (1992, 72) herself experimentally adopts the voice of drugs:

> Don't look for me in your unconscious or on your monitor, even less in that thing you still call a book. Your spaces are on my time now. That's why I need to seem less interested in the instrumentality or toolness of

mediatic incursions than in the relation to a hallucinated exteriority that these reflect—or rather, in the place where the distinction between interiority and exteriority is suspended, and where this fantastic opposition is opened up.

Earlier analysis revealed how body/space metaphors commonly function to contrast the *disordered* states of the body with the rigid, everything-in-its-place sense of *order* characteristic of (late-)capitalist urban built form. Corresponding directly to the experience of intoxication at the heart of our narcotic modernity, by contrast, the discourse of drugs instead functions to draw parallels and analogously suggest an essential sameness between the (late-)capitalist cityscape and the indigenous cyborg subject of drug/addiction, thus effectively situating *smashing* as analogue to *fixing* through the dynamic creative–destructive synthesis of substance, space, and subjectivity.

NOTES

1. During this period, formerly industrial cities slowly began to re-brand themselves in accordance with dominant themes and principles of urban planning, with the identity of the industrial city eventually coming to be displaced by the birth of so-called 'creative cities' (Barnes et al. 2006; Florida 2002; Short 1999).
2. During the most recent national survey of risk behaviours among injection drug users conducted by the Public Health Agency of Canada (I-Track), a series of site-specific questions regarding possible models for the establishment of a SCS in Toronto included incorporating SCS facilities into existing NEPs (Bayoumi et al. 2012).
3. (hence the collapsed binaries that have been deployed throughout this book, namely *drug/addiction*, *drug/culture*, and *neuro/chemistry*, among others)
4. Here, as Mary Douglas (1966, 2) suggests, dirt essentially *is* disorder.
5. Implicitly invoking the notion of *the body as* temple, here cleanliness is of course situated *next to Godliness*.
6. Originating in the experience of alcohol intoxication, *stoned* only later migrated to the users/consumers of foreign/illicit/controlled substance (namely marijuana).
7. [*Intra-Text*: See Chapter 8, Note #5 re: the semiotic slippage between notions of food, currency, substance, and sustenance]
8. Originating in the use of commercial cigars (i.e., *Phillie Blunts*) to roll marijuana 'blunts', *blunted* denotes a state of being *stoned* that is seen and measured in the comparable terms of sensory dulling, distanciation, or displacement.
9. An analogue to what later would be referred to as the '*street walker*'.
10. i.e., 'making up' after a 'war of words' between friends, implicitly conjuring that old schoolyard rhyme: '*sticks and stones may break my bones, but words will never hurt me*'.
11. Here, a critical mass of '*wasted*' (drunk) high school kids having a party while their parents are away may result in the family home being *trashed*, signalling the slippage between bodies and spaces in such invocations of intoxication.
12. e.g., as embodied in the race and class-inscribed term '*white trash*'.

13. In another revealing instance of the collapse between medium and message, the slippage and migration encoded in *blitzed* reveals how the central media/technology/prosthesis of substance is intimately related to depictions of a dystopian wasteland as simultaneously sense, state, and-scape. In this manner, such metaphors cryptically, implicitly gesture towards the post-destruction, creative process of *re-construction*, thus further reinforcing the centrality of creative–destruction as the underlying force animating and propelling the intoxication of (late-)capitalist narcotic modernity.

14. This dynamic is perhaps better represented as *drug/culture*, invoking both Nietzsche's assertion regarding the central role of narcotica in the historical trajectory of our "so-called high culture" (Nietzsche (1974), cited in Ronell 1992, 3) and Derrida's (1993) presumptively collective description of 'our' (narco-)modernity.

15. Signalling the border-transgressing threat of un-natural synthesis, the consumption of *controlled* substances is a metaphorically encoded act that represents the incorporation of the decidedly *foreign* Other (Derrida 1993); extending from this positioning, the 'foreign' Otherness of the 'alien' is thus implicitly also both *controlled* and *illicit*. Complicating this discourse, Ronell (1992, 15) asserts that drugs "are not so much about seeking an exterior, transcendental dimension" but rather a tool through which to "explore *fractal interiorities*", prompting a more nuanced reflection on notions of substance, intoxication, and its mediatory role in the interplay and exchange between inside/outside forces (Malins 2004; Massumi 1992).

16. Here, Derrida's (1993, 7) reference to drug/addiction as a form of 'wandering' from which there is no way to return to one's point of origin seems particularly salient. *Tripping*, therefore, later came to metaphorically migrate from the sense/state/scape of transit and passage enabled by psychedelic substances into the emergence of *trippy* as an adjective to describe artefacts of the psychedelic era (i.e., tie-dyed t-shirts) or other sensory experiences that have resonance with the drug-state: art, video games, cinema, or other (prominently visual) media capable of finding us feeling *transported, spaced out*, or *in another world* [**Intra-Text**: See Chapter 7, Notes #19 and #21 re: the sense/state/scape of being '*spaced out*'].

17. [**Intra-Text**: See Chapter 8, Note #66 re: instances of interpersonal 'blow-ups']

18. [**Intra-Text**: See Chapter 8, Note #63 re: notions of '*burning the candle at both ends*' and/as '*burning the midnight oil*']

19. In New York City street heroin user colloquial, the state of being *dopesick* is sometimes described as '*running on E*' (i.e., empty) or '*running on fumes*'.

20. Extending this, *high* comes to denote a (perception-altering) sense/state/scape of floating above everyday concerns, environment stimuli, or the limiting, prison-like confines of consciousness and the body.

21. [**Intra-Text**: See Chapter 8, Note #74 re: '*hitting (rock) bottom*']

22. *Works*, *fits*, and *rigs* each represent localized street/drug user slang terms for syringes and ancillary injection paraphernalia.

23. Creatures of habit whose coping skills/mechanisms have become deemed unhealthy, either by internal conflict (self-critique/discipline) or the insistence of ostensibly caring others [**Intra-Text**: See Chapter 8, Note #56 re: '*defence mechanisms*'].

24. *Withdrawal* denoting the process/pathos of substance leaving the site/space of the body, in spite of the hurried mobilization of junk logic evidenced in yet another '*one last good-bye*' narrative . . .

25. i.e., as evidenced in the case of '*hooked on phonics*'

26. Although similar in the surface appearance of anxiety, the state of being *high-strung* and *strung-out* obviously derive from radically different

circumstances, where the *hung out to dry* status of the *strung out* subject is rendered as the boundary negotiation exercise implicated in the expression *airing dirty laundry in public*.

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