

Good Life Now: Leisure and Labour in Cedric Price's Housing Research, 1966–1973

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Cedric Price is known and loved for his radicalism. He famously kept company with both anarchists and conservative peers, a lifestyle Peter Murray described as 'breakfast of champagne and grouse at the Savoy and lunch with the freaks at Phun City.'¹ His friendship with union leader Norman Willis, his staunch support for the anti-apartheid campaigns waged against the Royal Institute of British Architects, and his taste for Labour politics have secured his reputation as a leftist. His architecture, when examined politically, is usually assessed in the context of these beliefs, but other readings are possible. Price's vision of the architect as an enabler is not politically neutral. Considered within the context of his times, the emphasis he places upon flexibility and freedom from all constraint can be seen to align with nascent neoliberal discourses on individualism. The obvious connection is his collaboration on the 'Non-Plan' project, a radical manifesto for freedom from planning restrictions, whose principles were later implemented in the 1981 creation of the London Docklands Development Corporation by Margaret Thatcher's Conservative government.² But beyond this historical link is a more fundamental quality of Price's work: it takes consumer choice as the organising principle of the built environment.

His 'short-life' house, developed through the housing research he published in *Architectural Design* between 1970 and 1972,³ applies this principle to domestic space.⁴ As a housing system that attempts to reduce the home to an expendable

commodity, compressing its lifetime to twenty-five years, it also poses questions about the duration of the social form it houses, the family. Proposed as a solution to a national housing shortfall yet also concerned with satisfying consumers' individual visions of 'the good life,' the short-life house self-consciously operates at multiple scales. These encompass the human level of the home – the patterns of daily life, the paths traced by bodies through designed domestic space – and the market level of flows, consumption trends, supply and demand. In fact, the interconnection of the market and the home is fundamental to Price's vision of housing as a disposable commodity, using consumption patterns as a measure of unmet needs and desires in the population. His writings on the project, as well as the form and intended operation of the house itself, articulate a vision of freedom from constraint, mobility, and a working day that blends into leisure. What is striking, when taking up his 'short-life housing' – and its parent projects, Non-Plan and the Potteries Thinkbelt – today, is how clearly his language aligns with what we now consider neoliberal discourse.

Neoliberalism is a notoriously slippery term, sometimes used as a more palatable academic synonym for 'capitalism' in general. In my use of the term 'neoliberalism', and my understanding of how it relates to architecture, I draw primarily upon the work of David Harvey, Douglas Spencer, and Nancy Fraser. I treat neoliberalism not as synonymous with capitalism, but, as David Harvey sees it,

a historically specific manifestation of capitalism, in which the market becomes not just an economic tool but a social one, seeking to bring 'all human action into [its] domain'.⁵ For Harvey, neoliberalism is an ideological economic project – with a series of leaders, institutions, and key texts – but it is also a cultural process that coincided with and appropriated the dramatic shifts occurring in social norms in many parts of the world at the time of its emergence. Fraser shares this view. For her, neoliberalism is a historical shift in capitalism that reverses the norms of its predecessor: while state-organised capitalism sought to 'use politics to tame markets, proponents of [neoliberalism]... use markets to tame politics'.⁶ Connecting neoliberalism to architecture, Douglas Spencer traces a genealogy from May '68 to the depoliticised, iconic architecture produced today. For Spencer, neoliberalism is 'a truth game'; fundamental to neoliberal common sense is the idea that 'individuals can achieve only a narrow and very limited knowledge of the complexities of the world,' which casts the planning of society as an untenable – even dangerous – proposition. Instead, 'the economic market is better able to calculate, process and spontaneously order society' than the state.⁷ The implications for architecture emerge in cybernetics and flexible designs, which offer freedom within parameters defined in advance. He connects this to neoliberal freedom, which is 'expressed through choices made within the economic market, but not through any choice or determination over the norms structuring this condition.'⁸

These thinkers argue that neoliberal policy initiatives would not have succeeded without a crucial cultural component, which from the beginning addressed subjects on a personal level. The engineers of the neoliberal project understood the link between economic and social forces, seeking to change not only the material conditions of the populace but their very wants, needs, and desires. As the British neoliberal par excellence, Margaret Thatcher, famously stated: 'Economics are the

method. The object is to change the heart and soul.'⁹ Thus, an examination of neoliberalism's influence on housing cannot be confined to the results of neoliberal policy, exercised through government power. Long before neoliberalism as an ideology wielded state power in Britain, its ideas were percolating at the level of popular and intellectual culture. This emerges in the work and writings of architectural thinkers such as Alison and Peter Smithson, Archigram, and Reyner Banham as a desire for freedom and 'frontier living'. The complex interrelation of architecture's radical potentials with state and corporate power in the corresponding North American context has been thoroughly documented by Felicity Scott in *Outlaw Territories*.¹⁰ In Great Britain, these critiques have their own character, responding explicitly to the British welfare state. Reacting against the fixed and constricting, the British architectural avant-garde produced visions of living that they intended as emancipatory – even sometimes explicitly leftist – yet came up against what Simon Sadler, speaking of Archigram, called 'the ideological disorder encountered in a bid for complete freedom'.¹¹ Cedric Price's short-life house offers an illustration of how, contradictorily, those visions aligned with socioeconomic theories later developed into hegemony by the right.

Literate, skilled and highly mobile

When the first of the 'Cedric Price Supplements' appeared in the October 1970 issue of *Architectural Design*, it included a project called 'Non-Plan: An Experiment in Freedom'. The supplements were produced at the invitation of *AD*'s editor, Peter Murray, and provided a space for Price to float ideas and projects both completed and speculative. Non-Plan, an anti-planning manifesto, had first been published months earlier in *New Society*. Its authors Reyner Banham, Peter Hall, Paul Barker, and Cedric Price advocated stripping nearly all planning regulations from special urban and rural zones, where the built environment would be left to grow wild. The article appeared in 1969, when criticisms

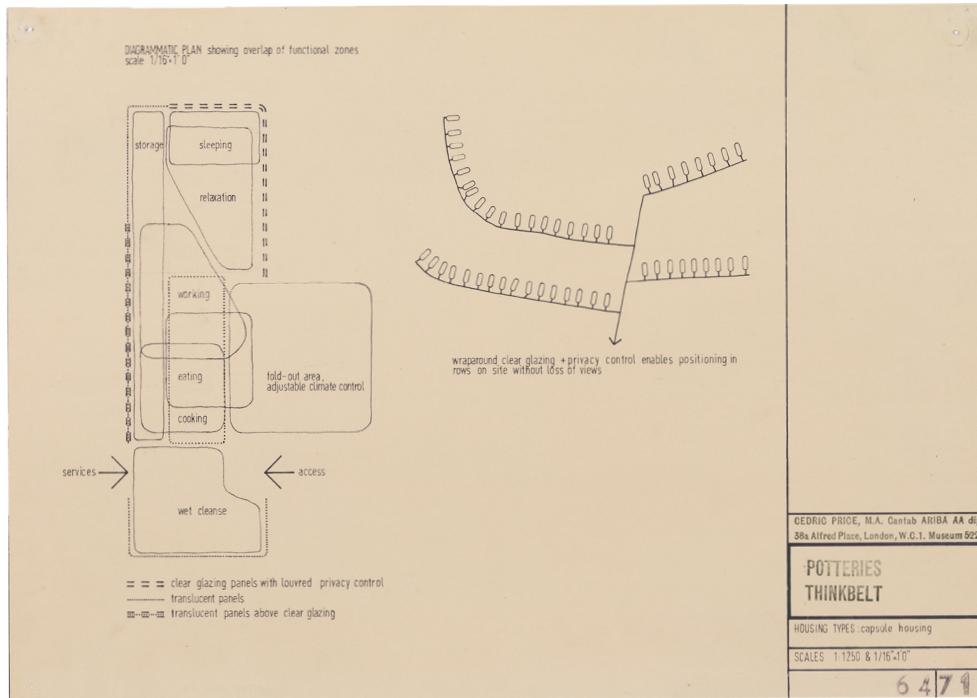


Fig. 1

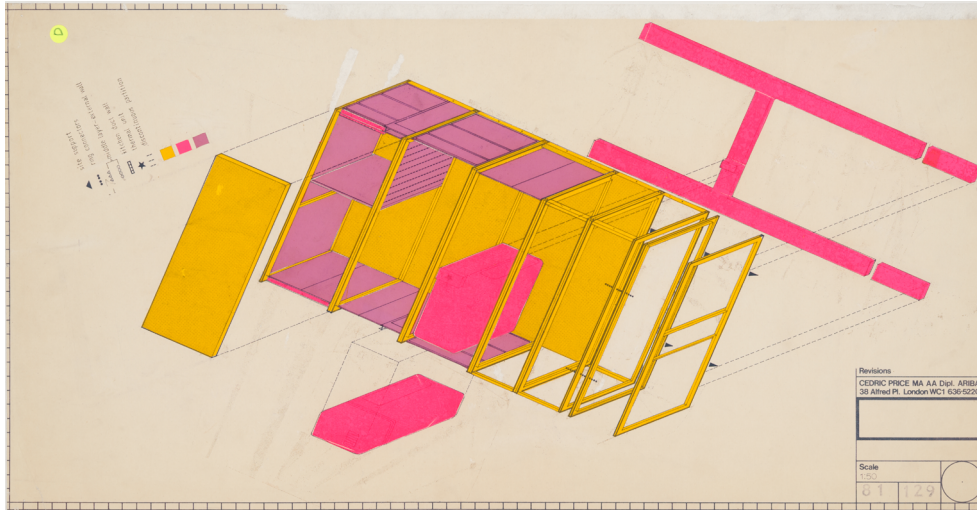


Fig. 2

Fig. 1: Potteries Thinkbelt, example of the 'capsule' housing type. Living zones are mapped according to function, with overlapping 'working', 'eating', and 'cooking' areas marked. Cedric Price, 'Diagrammatic plan and site plan for capsule housing for Potteries Thinkbelt', 1966. Architectural reproduction on paper. 30 x 43 cm. DR1995:0216:291, Cedric Price fonds, Canadian Centre for Architecture.

Fig. 2: Axonometric projection showing the structure of the Steel House. A key indicates site support (triangular icons), 'ring' connectors (line of black dots), and discontinuous partitions (dashed lines). Cedric Price, 'Axonometric for housing unit, from the project file "Housing Research"', 1967–1971. Montage (cutouts over architectural reproduction on paper). 37 x 70 cm. DR2004:0231:001, Cedric Price fonds, Canadian Centre for Architecture.

of the welfare state had become widespread, with a sense that Britain was being 'ground down to a grey mediocrity', under 'the stifling bureaucratic ineptitude of the state apparatus and oppressive trade union power'.¹² The Non-Planners were concerned about the failure of the British welfare state to satisfy the needs of its citizens on a notably *subjective* as well as material basis; that its prescriptions for how plans dictated the use of space might be stifling individuals' visions for a better way of living.¹³ They asked: 'what would happen if there were no plan? What would people prefer to do, if their choices were untrammelled?'¹⁴

Their problem was not just with current planning restrictions, but planning itself. Simon Sadler and Ben Franks have pointed out this project's startling resonance with the emergent New Right, echoing the writings of the neoliberal thinker Friedrich Hayek.¹⁵ Hayek claimed that 'social planning for given outcomes ... was insufficiently flexible to deal with the myriad needs and desires of a large population'.¹⁶ The Non-Planners posed this same problem to the field of physical planning, an English tradition they despised, equating it with 'the old bourgeois culture'.¹⁷ 'Why don't we dare trust the choices that would evolve if we let them? ... It's permissible to ask – after the dreariness of much public rebuilding, and after the Ronan Point disaster'.¹⁸ Looking to American experience, they argued that decentralisation of industry would create suburban commutes, drawing people out of cities. They predicted 'colossal pressure for scattered, often small-scale growth in hundreds of villages and small towns,' which Non-Plan would allow.¹⁹ Reacting to the British Planning Acts, they disputed 'the notion that the planner has the right to say what is "right"', calling it 'an extraordinary hangover from the days of collectivism in left-wing thought'.²⁰ In this context, deregulation, which has since been associated with the free market, appeared as 'a truly radical anti-establishment stance,' to left-leaning thinkers like the Non-Planners.²¹

As intended, Non-Plan caused controversy at the time of its publication, only magnified in retrospect when the 'experiment' became real in the neoliberal transformation of the London Docklands.²² It is thus often segmented off in discussions of Price's work, detracting from the narrative of his social conscience, leftist credentials, and general popularity. But Price's susceptibility to these ideas need not be an uncomfortable footnote in his story; it can draw attention to the complex political meanings that surround ideas of flexibility and freedom in architecture, especially at this time in history, and the contradictions of the political moment. This analysis posits that Non-Plan is not an aberration in Price's oeuvre, but that the same ideas guiding Non-Plan emerge in other projects, notably in his housing. Price presents an especially self-aware case of how a bundle of ideas can extend through multiple project-iterations, changing and developing, at each stage still presented with a wink as potentially complete solutions. In his own, later article on Non-Plan, included under the 'resultant forms, patterns, systems and artefacts' he thought likely to flourish in these zones of freedom was 'housing as a consumer commodity'.²³

This idea first appeared in the intellectual workers' housing of the Potteries Thinkbelt (1966). The Thinkbelt was a university system conceived to re-educate workers suffering from the loss of manufacturing jobs in the Potteries region of Staffordshire, where Price grew up. Published in the June 1966 issue of *New Society*, Price's university consisted of a network of rail transport cars and interchanges, through which the students would move, and portable, flexible housing that would accommodate both students and teaching staff in towns along the network. Courses would teach practical skills to address the 'brain drain' in trained technicians Britain was suffering at the time.²⁴ Notably, as they trained to fill these positions they would be paid a wage, with student grants becoming salaries. Price's rationale was: 'If people are doing a

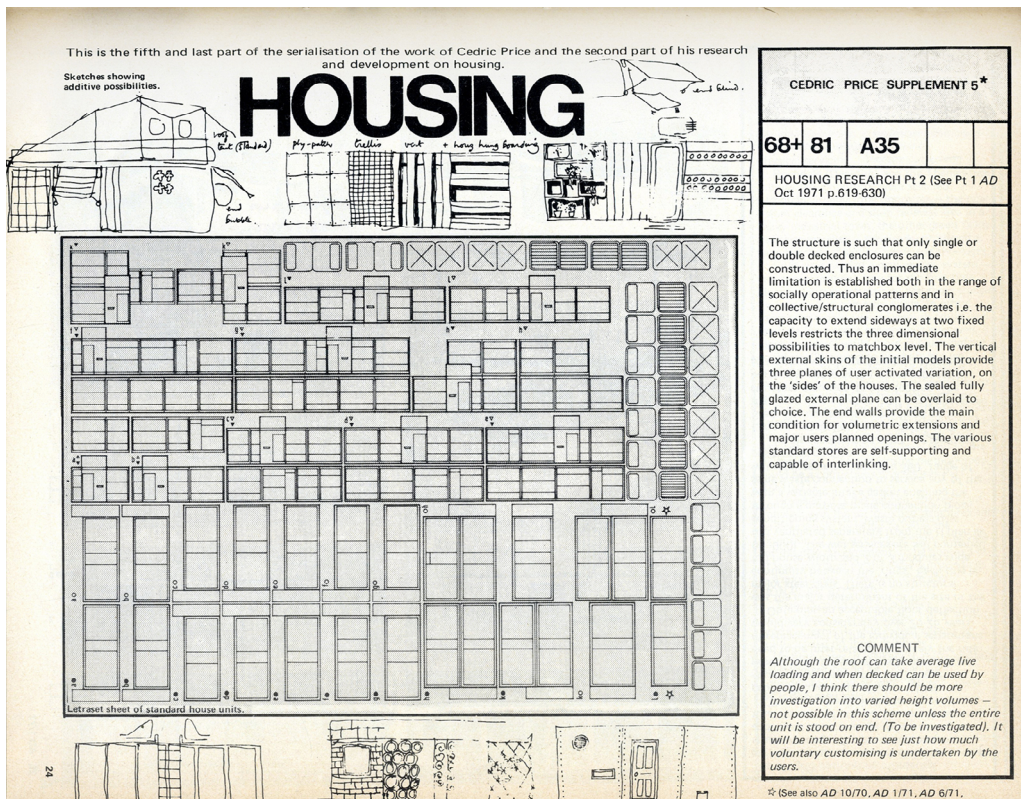


Fig. 3

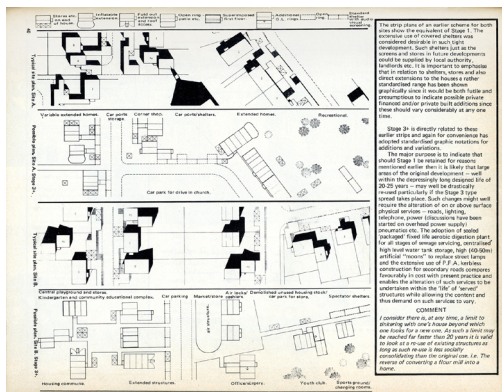


Fig. 4a



Fig. 4b

Fig. 3: The opening page of 'Cedric Price Supplement 5', the second of the two supplements dedicated to *Housing Research*. Prefabricated construction provided a whole catalogue of possibilities for the user to select. Cedric Price, 'Cedric Price Supplement 5', *Architectural Design* 43 (January 1972): 24.

Fig. 4a: The short-life house's pattern of expansion over prospective sites, as published in Supplement 5. Cedric Price, 'Cedric Price Supplement 5', *Architectural Design* 43 (January 1972): 40.

Fig. 4b: The short-life house, comically out-of-scale, perches atop a university building, advertising its siting versatility: 'After the lecture come up home to meet Mum.' Another model, this one single-story, rests lightly on a broad field alongside a country road. Cedric Price, 'Cedric Price Supplement 5', *Architectural Design* 43 (January 1972): 42.

job society wants them to do, they should be paid for it.²⁵ The project sought to repurpose neglected manufacturing infrastructure, both mechanical and human, in a system dynamic enough to accommodate future changes in labour demand.

Spencer has posited, along with others, that neoliberalism is characterised by changes in the form of productive labour in society.²⁶ Drawing from Foucault's *The Birth of Biopolitics*, he describes how productive labour comes to incorporate 'the investment of the self as capital', and notes its implications for the worker's experience of space. Under neoliberalism, 'investment of the self as capital' takes place 'in conditions where divisions between labour and its reproduction, between production and consumption, are progressively dissolved'.²⁷ Pier Vittorio Aureli, considering the Potteries Thinkbelt project in the context of today's neoliberal policies, draws parallels to the Bologna Process in European higher education. As Price clearly intended the Thinkbelt to interact with the economy directly, educating workers in 'knowledge that would be immediately useful in the jobs market', Aureli claims this foreshadows the shift to workers' responsibility for their own educations, and the phenomenon of the 'student entrepreneur'.²⁸ This is characteristic of the neoliberalisation of labour, wherein the worker's personality, free time and motivation are monetised and subsumed into a lifelong working day. A spatial expression of this blurring can be seen in the housing that accompanied the project.

The Potteries housing accommodates a lifestyle in which the workplace and home are overlapping categories. In Fig. 1 we see the interior of one of the Potteries houses mapped by use, with areas of 'working', overlapping with the basics of reproductive labour – 'cooking', 'eating', and 'sleeping'. The whole unit was designed to be lightweight, easily transportable, to rest lightly on the ground and leave few traces. Not only are the unique living patterns of the student or intellectual labourer designed for

at the scale of the body, but in the larger aggregate patterns of housing. Features of the mobile housing unit such as 'flexible siting with minimal disturbance to existing amenity' and 'small unit size, jacked supports and flexible service/access requirements [allowing] siting in any ground condition' give the instability of the students' living-patterns a practical architectural answer.²⁹ As Price makes explicit in the text:

The Thinkbelt accepts the student as an integral part of the local authority housing programme, and the three-to-five-year student cycle is an opportunity for hot-house research into new living patterns and types of housing. The requirements of a student population approximate closely to *the future pattern of a literate, skilled and highly mobile society*.³⁰

In later issues of the 'Cedric Price Supplements,' Price returned to this idea with a new subject, asking: what happens when the nuclear family takes on the nomadic lifestyle of a student labourer?

The volatility of dwelling

In a car I would require
What in homes is rarely seen
The lineaments of a satisfied desire
(Price, 1967–71)³¹

The 1960s in Britain saw housing in a crisis, suffering from a shortage due to high consumer demand, a rapidly aging existing housing stock, and scarcity of usable and desirable land for building. The post-war focus on 'slum clearance' in housing policy that had dominated the approach to housing 'blight' – clearing large segments of unsuccessful housing to build anew – had produced long waiting lists for council housing, which neither New Towns nor new towers could immediately satisfy.³² In 1966, the Ministry of Housing and Local Government published *The Deelish Study*, examining the area of Rochdale in Greater Manchester.³³ It was significant for marking a turn from the policy of

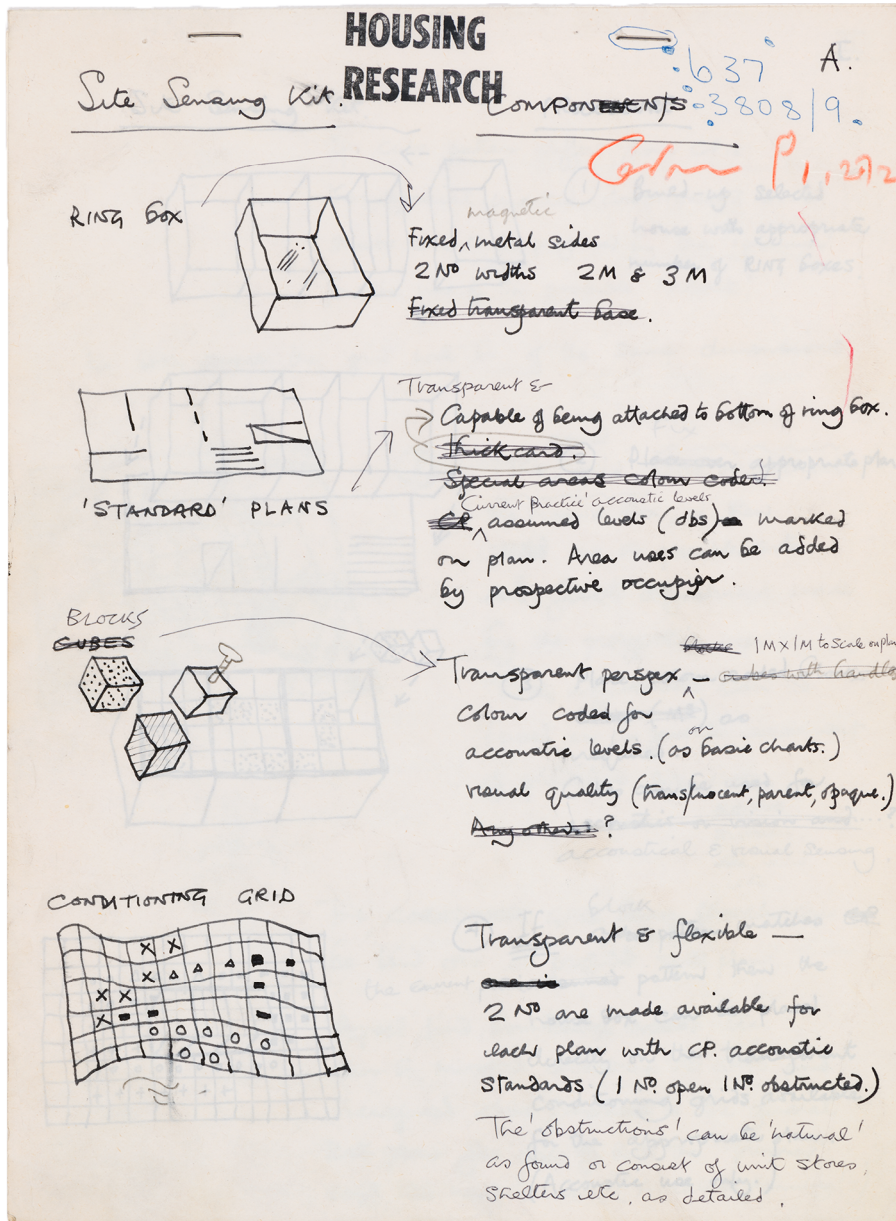


Fig. 5: Price's notes on the Site-Sensing kit. The procedure begins: '1) Build-up selected house with appropriate number of RING BOXES, 2) Fix appropriate plan, 3) Place colour coded blocks as required. Cubes can be used for acoustic and visual sensing, 4) If block pattern matches the current practice patterns then the house box can be placed directly on the transparent conditioning grids available for the appropriate plan (Acoustic use only.)' On the final page, Price notes proudly: 'There is no requirement for thermal sensing since all units are fully air-conditioned with variable area control.' Cedric Price, 'Description of "Site Sensing Kit", from the project file "Housing Research" 1967-1971. Ink and graphite on paper. 29 x 21 cm. DR2004:0260:001, Cedric Price fonds, Canadian Centre for Architecture.

slum clearance, suggesting instead grants offered to the owner-occupiers of the area, and government-driven environmental improvements to make brownfield sites more liveable. It opened up the question of piecemeal solutions to what had long been considered totalising problems; what was not clear was how the production of new housing fit into this picture.

The problem of how to create a 'good life' for the population through housing, carried over from Modernist principles of social transformation, still occupied the architectural thinkers of the day.³⁴ The Architects' Department of the Greater London Council (GLC) was, in the late 1960s, beginning to embrace industrialised building methods.³⁵ Mass prefabricated housing had operated as a stop-gap in the acute postwar housing crisis of the 1940s and 50s, but was generally considered temporary; however, new architectural experiments in system-built council housing were emerging as they enabled more rapid production and required less labour.³⁶ These were aided by the establishment of the National Building Agency (NBA) in 1964, which produced standardised plans for houses with the aim of streamlining production.³⁷ During the same period, early experiments with flexible architecture, such as the PSSHAK (Primary Support System and Housing Assembly Kits), unveiled by the GLC in 1967, proposed the separation of the main building structure and its internal fittings, an idea certainly influential on the Steel House, the structural basis of the short-life house, which was developed by Price's office that same year.³⁸ The state, like Price, took up housing as a social concern – though perhaps the possibilities produced were not imaginative enough for his liking.

One antidote was the high-tech, unbuildable fantasies of Archigram, the group founded in part by three LCC architects.³⁹ Contemporaries of Price – who were, by contrast, proudly apolitical – Archigram also reacted against the constricting and planned,

with their idea of 'indeterminacy.' Against functionalism and 'kit of parts' prefabrication, which they associated with wartime austerity, Archigram proposed luxury and comfort. As Sadler explains, they thought 'modularisation smacked of standardisation, when what the postwar public wanted was *choice*'.⁴⁰ In his words, they championed the breakdown between high and low, valuable and kitsch, navigating 'the entente between the avant-garde and "popularity"' which saw the avant-garde – once considered oppositional to the status quo, begin 'assimilating late capitalism' into its operation.⁴¹ Price was was a regular contributor to Archigram's eponymous publication *Archigram*,⁴² and he benefitted greatly from 'the shift toward informality and pop' they helped initiate in British architecture.⁴³

Price was also not the first to look to the freedom and pleasure of motor vehicles for inspiration. Alison and Peter Smithson saw a vision of housing freedom in the caravan, which 'provides a "home" *at the right time, at the right price*; with little or no outlay on furnishings, and which is technological, twentieth century, new or very nearly so', a symbol of 'population in flux.'⁴⁴ They insisted that architects and designers see in the rise of the caravan a population 'expressing as clearly as they know how, through choice of what the market offers, their needs in a technological society in economic and functional terms'.⁴⁵ Their writings also recognise the significance of the development of the car as a status symbol, the car being an object whose rapid obsolescence seemingly only made it more attractive.⁴⁶

The needs of this young, mobile 'population in flux' were not necessarily the needs of their parents. They had new desires, prompted by a generally improved and rising standard of living. Eric Hobsbawm has described the changes that the collective expectations of workers underwent in Britain during this period. 'The range of goods and services offered by the productive system, and available to them, made

former luxuries part of everyday consumption.⁴⁷ When incomes rose year by year, how 'would they not go on rising forever?'⁴⁸ Social mobility also translated into desire for physical mobility: with increased leisure time and education came a will to travel.⁴⁹ This is the landscape Price's short-life house was placed within in his imaginings and writings in *AD*. It self-consciously anticipates and celebrates a future lifestyle in which 'the working day shrinks', at a time when the evisceration of worker power that was to follow in the 1970s and 80s seemed inconceivable in Britain.⁵⁰

Price's research approached the housing problem in this spirit. He identified problems in '1) Overall numerical provision, 2) Social and physical mobility, 3) Product choice' and '4) Environmental performance'. His aim was to 'postulate a coarse model of a potential "housing" service which would correct such a shortfall, and ensure that future appetites and demands, as yet unknown, can be identified and satisfied'.⁵¹ One problem was a misalignment between the number of rooms in houses and the demand for rooms, resulting in either overprovision or overcrowding. Price explains that 'the main reason for this – the reduction in family size – is not likely to continue to the same extent as in the last half century', but there will be 'other factors effecting the size of households such as the earlier formation of separate households by children, earlier marriage, and... easy divorce'.⁵² In response to statistics taken from national surveys and journalistic sources, Price hypothesised that families desired in their houses what they wanted in their cars: more space and mobility for less money. He set about constructing an architectural solution in the form of a housing system.

Seeing construction methodology as key to breaking apart the existing 'constricting system', Price's system would begin from a prefabricated kit of parts. He could achieve 'maximum fit between

desired degree of occupancy and performance' only with a structure flexible enough to accommodate 'both "over" and "under" occupation'.⁵³ For site, he demanded 'maximum separation between the housing product and the land upon which it alights, enabling rapid response to greater mobility'.⁵⁴ The sort of home that could provide this, as can be seen in the news clippings and product brochures he collected on the new potential of caravans, would be temporary and easily adapted.⁵⁵ Finally, 'maximum environmental "plateau" for each dwelling coupled with minimum time lapse before such a plateau can be upgraded by every individual through the selection of a new model'.⁵⁶ Thus, the house is to be consumed, like any other commodity. Indeed, this is how Price sees it: housing has always been a commodity that, due to sentiment and tradition, has not been recognised as such. He blames the housing crisis on this 'categorisation of "housing" as an *autonomous and peculiar* commodity, which has built up a self-perpetuating and exclusive interlocking supply system'. Claiming the 'full extent of unsatisfied appetites can only be sampled by an investigation of fields external to "housing" where diversification of production has occurred to supply such demands', he cites the increased number of temporary homes being sold as leisure equipment as evidence that desires are not being met.⁵⁷

Hobsbawm notes that the young people of the 1960s and 1970s did not only desire new choices, they also 'rejected the long-established and historical ordering of human relations in society'.⁵⁸ Attentive to these shifts, Price examines what a family actually looks like in Britain at the time of the study, and what forms it might shortly take, mapping a variety of possible influences that would have real impact on housing demands. For instance, 'All children leave home one year earlier' results in a 3.58 percent increase in households. Also considered are 'Life expectancy increases by one year' (+1.79 percent) and 'Average marriage age increases 1 year' (+1.79

percent). Price included the extreme 'All 18–23 year olds change to 1 person households' (+10.14 percent) to demonstrate just what new social norms could do to the figures.⁵⁹ Since changes in the domestic composition of the family aggregate into population-wide shifts, Price determines that an appropriate housing solution should address both scales. He also sees the need to account for error in his modelling – due to the impossibility of accurately predicting future changes, flexibility must be *built into* the house.

Rethinking the 'life' of a home becomes crucial. Comparing a hypothetical twenty-five-year house to the standard sixty-year build, he finds that maintenance expenditures as well as foundational changes defray costs, with short-life housing ultimately costing 84.3 percent the amount of a conventional dwelling.⁶⁰ Reconsidering this one entrenched convention, lifespan, generates the formal solution: a prefabricated steel housing system, borrowed from the unsuccessful 'Steel House' competition entry of 1966–67.⁶¹ The structure was a rectangular shell Price called a 'ring,' two by seven metres in dimension, with a lifespan of forty to fifty years. The inner living area, subdivided into cells, would have a life of only twenty to twenty-five years, hence the term 'short-life housing' (Fig. 2 shows how these fit together). The factory-fixed rings could rest lightly on the site with a minimal foundation, reducing on-site labour as well as manufacturing time for 'maximum speed of erection and removal', while the inner cells allowed maximum variety for consumer choice.⁶² The idea was that the parts could be assembled in kits for transport to the site on a single truck. As Fig. 3 shows, a wide range of fittings created a variety of choices, checked only by a two-level limit imposed by the structure.⁶³

Two sites were selected to illustrate the benefits of the short-life house. As Steven Mullin, an employee of Price's office, explained in a 1976

issue of AD, Price was inspired by the Deeplish Study, 'the first in this country to recommend rehabilitation of old housing stock in preference to demolition and development'. It seemed logical to combine the Steel House and 'sprawl housing' of the Potteries into new 'limited-life housing', tested in Deeplish and a "virgin" site in Tilbury, Essex'.⁶⁴ These two examples were chosen for contrast, to illustrate versatility: the short-life house was meant to operate as a pattern, springing up in an area as demand, job opportunities, and desire dictated, expanding the habitation possibilities of otherwise unused or brownfield land. Price speculates on suburban possibilities in Fig. 4a, which gives sample locations of the 'variable extended homes' where 'inflatable extensions' can spread outward alongside such modern (and typically Pricean) amenities as the 'car park for drive-in church'.⁶⁵ Fig. 4b shows how the houses could perch on nontraditional sites and nestle into existing architecture, operating as infill in urban settings.

On neoliberal logic, Harvey notes that 'to presume that markets and market signals can best determine all allocative decisions is to presume that everything can in principle be treated like a commodity'.⁶⁶ What Price's short-life house set out to do explicitly was make the home a commodity like any other, provided as easily and in as many forms as 'a chocolate bar'.⁶⁷ He observes that 'despite a lack of public or governmental realisation', housing 'is rapidly becoming a consumable commodity'. Moreover, 'the reality of this comparatively new role is a major motivational force in the individual's and the family's use of the house', a use which his design accommodates.⁶⁸ Just as the project had been generated in constant consultation with statistical evidence of the British family's new needs, the selection, combination and erection of the house would happen through interaction with the members of that family.

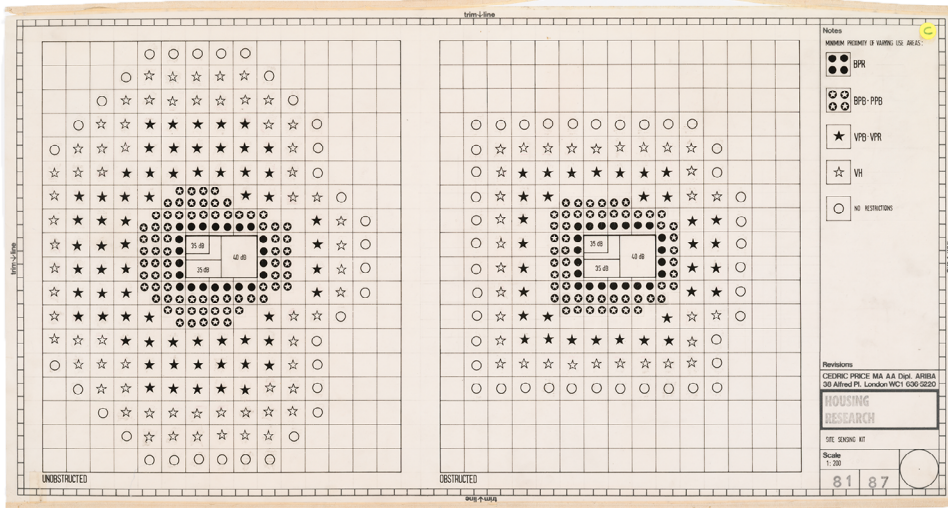


Fig. 6

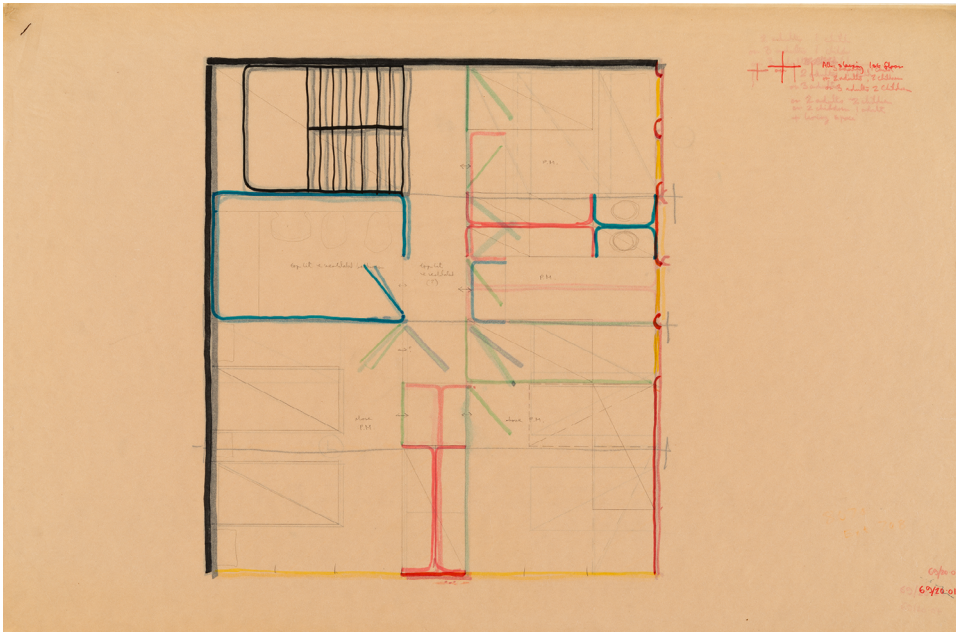


Fig. 7

Fig. 6: Sheet from the site-sensing kit, meant to be overlaid with a site plan of corresponding scale to show acceptable range of noise disturbance around the unit. Cedric Price, "Conditioning grids" for "Site Sensing Kit", from the project file "Housing Research" 1967–1971. Ink and transfer type on pre-printed translucent paper. 38 x 72 cm. DR2004:0232:006, Cedric Price fonds, Canadian Centre for Architecture.

Fig. 7: Here, in a typically Pricean way, bright and fluid drawings accumulate to exhaust the possibilities of an underlying tireless, optimising logic. A key notes the meanings of the colour-coding, which differentiates only very broadly as to the function of certain areas of the walls (yellow: 'access to natural light, air, views, etc', blue: 'wet servicing', pink: 'storage', green: 'non-storage partition') without prescribing room usage. Cedric Price, 'Plans for Steel House,' 1965–1969.

Ink and graphite on translucent paper. 51 x 77 cm. DR1995:0226:063–066, Cedric Price fonds, Canadian Centre for Architecture.

Twenty-four-hour living toy

Reyner Banham theorised design's entanglement with consumerism in his 1961 article 'Design By Choice'. In it, he tracked the beginnings of the prominence of consumer choice in design in the 1950s, and the difficulties it presented to the architect, whose past attempts at 'total design' had failed but who nevertheless maintained some responsibility for the interior conditions he created. Banham locates the fundamental difficulty in 'incomparable rates of obsolescence', since 'architects, for entirely valid reasons, are habituated to think in terms of a time scale whose basic unit is about half a century'.⁶⁹ Meanwhile, the ordinary domestic occupier will not make the 'right' aesthetic choices when purchasing furnishings and all the commodities that fill the building. This clash, which Banham formulated as between mass and elite, called for 'some sort of reasonably permissive architecture with built-in directions about where to put things'.⁷⁰ Price saw the same problem, seeking to resolve it instead by diminishing the status of the building to the point that it became another product, catalogue-ordered and built to suit.

If the Modernist dilemma had been 'how can one make people desire that which is standardised?', Banham and Price rebelled against the welfare state's status quo of distilling the essentials of needs before designing for them.⁷¹ Addressing the history of this practice in European welfare states, David Kuchenbuch describes how, in Germany, the debate in the 1950s centred around differentiating between 'true, indispensable needs and wishes'. At the same time, 'Swedish architects tried to raise people's ability to rationalise their needs and articulate them properly'.⁷² The 1960s saw the rise of sociological approaches to the 'user', in Anglo-American and European spheres, with new implications for architecture.⁷³ With the use of studies and consumer reports, the needs of the people no longer needed to be approximated, but could be expressed directly as desires, articulated through census, survey, and

purchases. This opened up the possibility of the architect as an 'enabler' rather than interpreter, who could present a set of options to the subject of architecture – the user.

Choice determined the short-life house's form. The 'Site-Sensing Kit' was a 'handbag-sized' invention meant to help consumers – the families purchasing the house and overseeing its assembly – determine the optimal auditory and visual placement of their purchase. Never produced, but explained somewhat cryptically in the supplement (and more fully in unpublished notes, see Fig. 5) the kit allows the client to take a plan of their proposed site, and, using tables prepared by Price's office pertaining to the structural qualities of the prefabricated rings, design and position the house optimally.⁷⁴ As seen in Fig. 6, inner cell and room placement could be determined by mapping the noise levels in environmental surrounds, on the basis of statistics on typical road noise that had been collected by Price's office. The selection of the number and arrangement of rings is created through a negotiation between the family's sensory needs (light, sound) and consumer wants (space, height), in an interplay of data and desire.

This process of creating an individualised living space responds to a lack of certainty about what the needs and desires of users will be. As Harvey notes,

the process of neoliberalisation has entailed much "creative destruction," not only of prior institutional frameworks and powers but also of divisions of labor, social relations, welfare provisions, technological mixes, ways of life and thought, reproductive activities, attachments to the land and habits of the heart.⁷⁵

These upheavals, which Price tried to track with statistics, cannot be designed for; this is where the user's agency must come in. The user, Price insists, has always 'reacted against the house as found' to some extent. But he identified a shift

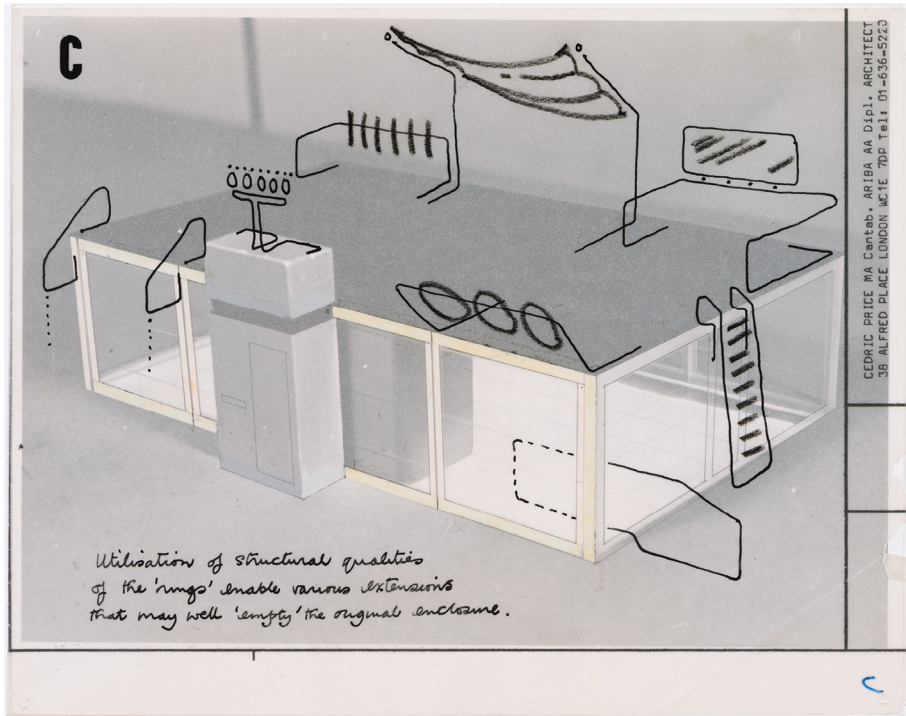


Fig. 9a

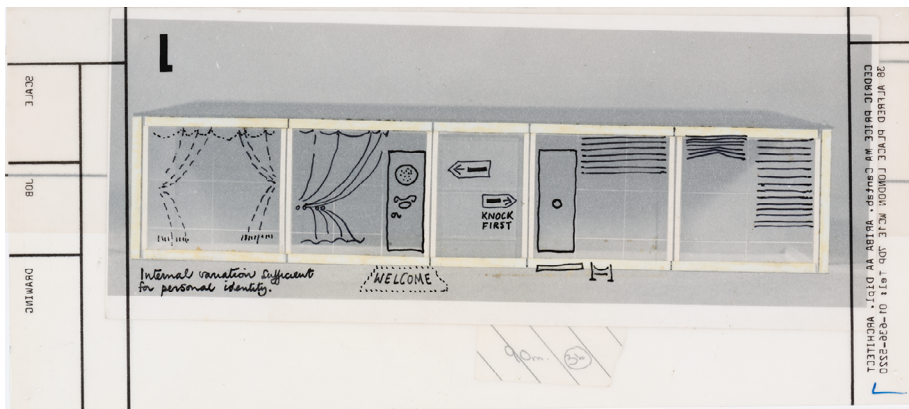


Fig. 9b

Fig. 9a: Price's model of the 'matchbox' housing generated was photographed, and overlays allowed him to visually speculate as to what outward appearance 'the good life' could take. Cedric Price, 'Perspective sketch for house showing "extensions", from the project file "Housing Research" 1967–1971. Photomontage (manipulated photograph overlaid with sketch in ink and coloured pencil on translucent paper). 21 x 26. DR2004:0228:001, Cedric Price fonds, Canadian Centre for Architecture.

Fig. 9b. Different personalities can be accommodated. Here an extrovert and an introvert room in the same structure, with separate entrances. Price comments laconically that his house provides 'internal variation sufficient for personal identity'. Cedric Price, 'Perspective sketch for house, showing internal variations, from the project file "Housing Research"', 1967–1971. Photomontage (manipulated photograph overlaid with sketch in ink on translucent paper). 14 x 30 cm. DR2004:0228:002, Cedric Price fonds, Canadian Centre for Architecture.

where 'the role of a house as a long-term adaptable living-box becomes less important than its 24-hour cycle performance as an economic living-toy'.⁷⁶ His short-life house is unfettered by nostalgia for the fixed forms of the family or the home, driven by the manifesto printed in block capitals in Supplement 2: 'THE HOUSE IS NO LONGER ACCEPTABLE AS A PRE-SET ORDERING MECHANISM FOR FAMILY LIFE'.⁷⁷

Price thought the romantic notion of the family could be replaced by the contemporary 'family unit'. According to him, the actually-existing household was damagingly idealised by the designers of other housing studies, and completely ignored by the existing British housing stock.⁷⁸ In unpublished notes, Price points to the endurance of the traditional "Christian Family" or its derivatives as assumed sole consumer of houses' as central to the problem, although perhaps he was wary of including this wording in his final draft for *AD*.⁷⁹ The tedious plans produced by the NBA, for instance, with prescribed room usage for everything, owed more 'to loose, slovenly assumptions on the part of the designer than to *the nature and immutability of the home and family*'.⁸⁰ Instead, he defines dwelling unsentimentally as 'a person-to-person multi-purpose exchange condition'.⁸¹ In his initial sketches, Price iterates different combinations of a five-person family, with two children, two parents and 'one other adult'. [Fig. 7] However, though he designs for a family of a 'traditional' shape, Price hints that the relationships within it are fluid. In fact, rather than a family bound by blood, the composition of the modern family could be looser, bound by economic necessity.

The family house is as much related to isolation and solitude as to kinship, friendship, and conviviality. The patterning of parents, children, other relations, short- or long-term guests, friends, acquaintances, is too sophisticated a variable in design to be neatly matched by architecture.

His goal in the face of this was, 'a physically protected matrix for a voluntary group of people... a house but not necessarily a home.'⁸²

In designing this house that is not a home, Price turned to flexible architecture. Tatjana Schneider and Jeremy Till distinguish between two different kinds of 'flexibility' in nineteenth and twentieth century housing. They define it primarily as 'housing that can respond to the volatility of dwelling', by being 'adaptable, or flexible, or both'.⁸³ They distinguish between 'adaptability as "capable of different social uses" and flexibility as "capable of different physical arrangements"'.⁸⁴ The flexible house can offer its residents varying degrees of customisation and rearranging within the structure designed by the architect – that is, its physical construction lends itself to 'permitted' modification. The adaptable house encourages the use of the same space for different functions. Price's short-life house has both qualities.

Physically, its flexibility manifested as mobility and customisability of parts. The wall interfaces were composed of panels, chosen by the user, which could be fixed or left to shift over the life of the dwelling. [Fig. 8] Alongside designed-in modifiability, Price's hopes for the project included user-modification, the ultimate expression of individual choice. This would be accomplished through 'additives' applied to the generic wall openings Price designed and extensions that could puncture through them. Price points out excitedly that 'vertical external skins of the initial models provide three planes of user activated variation'.⁸⁵ The inhabitants can vary their store-bought product as needed'; the autonomy of the individual members of this family is enacted through product selection, with the later purchases of the occupier absorbed by the house. [Fig. 9a, 9b]

The design was also adaptable, avoiding prescribed uses for rooms. Price roundly criticised what he called a 'form of slovenly overdesigning

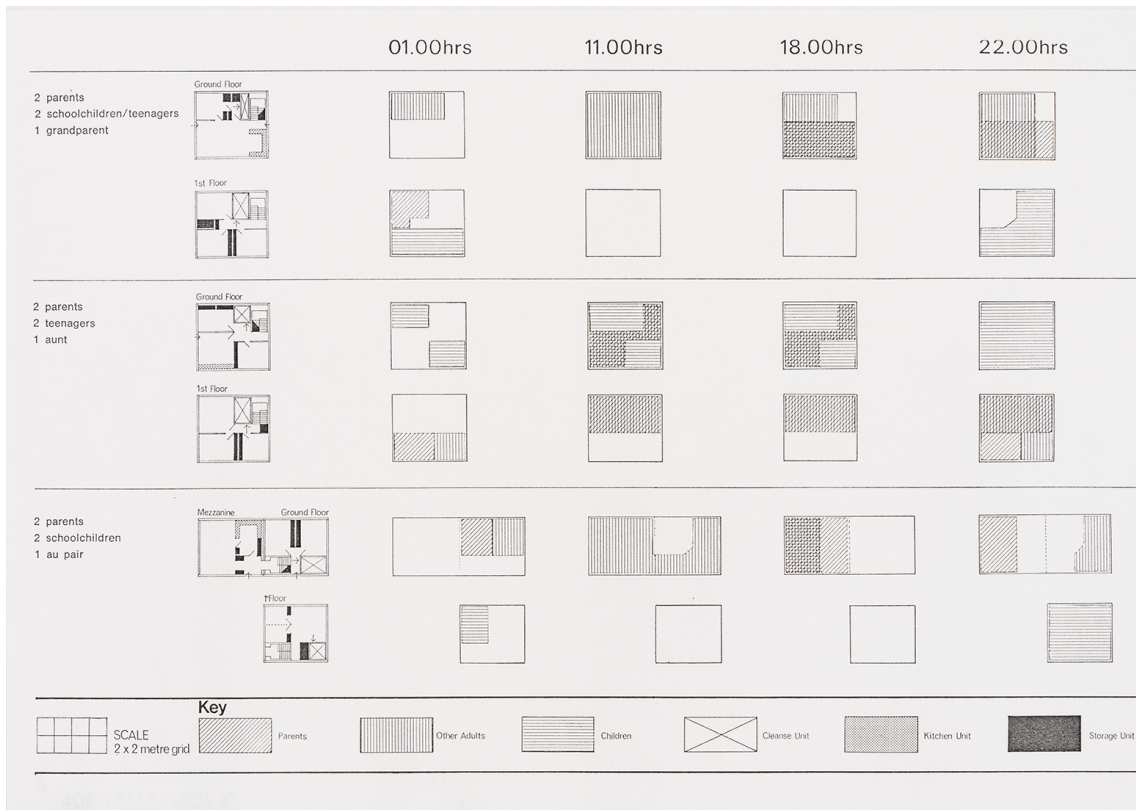


Fig. 10. Price notably specifies different kinds of adult occupants by their familial relationships: an aunt, an uncle, and a grandmother move into and out of the spare room. Cedric Price, 'Plans for housing units showing occupation of space at different times of the day, from the project file "Housing Research"', 1967–1971. Photocopy on paper. 22 x 30 cm. DR2004:0223:001, Cedric Price fonds, Canadian Centre for Architecture.

insulating and *sterilizing* all available areas on the off-chance of something happening anywhere sometime.⁸⁶ His designs, rather, were 'intended to enable an increase in the frequency and particularization of individuals' personal servicing (urinating, making love etc.) through a separation of necessary physical zoning through a 24 hour cycle'.⁸⁷ Thus, each room was supposed to be capable of being adapted to different uses, with functions separated not in space but in time. By opening up the usage of each room, he frees the house from its most basic prescription: that it is the place where reproductive labour takes place, its equipment and room provisions all oriented around various kinds of individualised restorative function. Nancy Fraser has examined how financialised neoliberal capitalism creates a crisis in social reproduction, where 'reproduction' comprises 'the work of birthing and socialising the young... caring for the old, maintaining households, building communities and sustaining the shared meanings, affective dispositions and horizons of value that underpin social cooperation'.⁸⁸ One part of this is how neoliberalism 'squeezes' the capacities of its labouring populations, inside and outside the workplace.

In *24/7: Late Capitalism and the Ends of Sleep*, Jonathan Crary considers what Marx called 'the annihilation of space by time', the drive to continuously extend productive capacities into every waking moment. Under neoliberalism, reproductive and productive functions blur together, as the working day extends into leisure time, and into the home.⁸⁹ Price's short-life house is built to accommodate this lifestyle. Here, it is not as blatant as the overlapping boxes prescribing where to 'work' and 'eat/sleep' in the Potteries student housing – the family is more complex. A twenty-four-hour activity cycle is mapped speculatively in diagrams, showing when different members of the family are using the spaces. [Fig. 10] Education again forges a link between 'work' and 'leisure.' Price asserts that 'an example of the massive domestic space demands

likely to be made in the near future is that for the provision of selfpace educational facilities, which, with the increase of educational radio, TV and postal services, are likely to be based primarily in the home'.⁹⁰ Advances in technology will allow intellectual working-from-home, which Price intends to accommodate.⁹¹ In fact, the living toy must even accommodate straightforward productive work; space for 'offices, studios, classrooms, shops or chapels must be available', showing the interconnectivity between 'work' and 'leisure' that Price's vehicle for the good life supports.⁹² Individuals' desires are limited by the form, which Price will loosen. In doing so, and in encouraging emerging technologies that can bring labour into the home, the short-life house encourages the infiltration of production into the realm of reproduction.

The Good Life

Beyond presenting a solution for the housing provision problem, Price really sought to create a house that would 'gratify' desire in the same way his most beloved consumer object, the car, could, and that would entertain during the hours of 'increased leisure time' he envisioned in Britain's near future.⁹³ This house was functional – a '71 model machine for living in, designed for efficiency but with pleasure in mind. As Price put it: 'Maximum opportunity for occupants to mess around with the house combined with minimal need – on physical well-being terms – to do so. The right to idleness must not be sacrificed'.⁹⁴ Through Price's framing of the project we see the thread that continues from Non-Plan: his belief that 'physical planning... should consist at most of setting up frameworks for decision'.⁹⁵ The house

must enable and encourage its occupants' desires for a finer life, and not stultify or restrict them... *Since prediction of "the good life" for others is neither feasible nor desirable*, housing must incorporate socially desirable life-spans in its physical design.⁹⁶

The assumption that predicting the good life is somehow threatening returns us to Hayek – where planning is inherently oppressive. Yet, when the fixed is replaced with the infinitely adaptable, other oppressions can emerge.

Price frequently poses new, seemingly emancipatory forms of economic flexibility and affluence against the static, oppressive model of ‘traditional family life’. Notably, he constantly connects this dichotomy of fluidity/solidity to architecture, equating the fixed with the constricting. ‘Security and shelter are often cited as the domain of domestic architecture, although a healthy bank balance and hotel credit cards can provide appetizing alternatives.’⁹⁷ The potential instability of this mode of living, characteristic of precarious labour under neoliberalism, is not yet imagined. His talk of ‘increased leisure time’ indicates that his vision of ‘the good life’ is one in which the workday will play an increasingly shrinking role, in a context where worker power is presumably still robust.⁹⁸ Moreover, the implications of a fully commodified society are not necessarily explored beyond the rhetorical flair they lend Price’s project. For instance the favoured metaphor of the car, as a product that requires built-in stylistic obsolescence to avoid market saturation, reveals the flip side of the pleasurable expendable commodity; that the continued health of the market depends upon the quick and continual turnover of commodities.⁹⁹

Throughout all of this, the market emerges as the ultimate arbiter. It inspires the project, through the offerings of caravans, prefabricated living pods and self-build housing brochures amassed in the *Housing Research* files; it demonstrates that needs are going unmet, through representing individuals’ choices; it offers a solution in the imagined dissemination of Price’s new commodity, a commodity that will satisfy where housing as an ‘autonomous and peculiar commodity’ has failed. The composition of the short-life house is driven by consumer choice: not choice exercised abstractly, in a blank field of

possibility, but through the market and shaped by the market’s offerings. It asks: what happens when the house is not just a container for the paraphernalia of consumption, the property of the owner, but when the house itself, the family itself is posited as consumable? Breaking with traditional forms, Price asks of the house what he would ask of any commodity: what it can do for its user, what part of living it can enable or ease. He envisions a system where ‘the good life’ is not designed but self-organised by the consumer, who purchases the house either ‘privately over the shelf (cf cans of soup)’ or through the state ‘as a national service (cf false teeth)’ and designs it according to his or her specific wishes; an individualised vision of mass housing.

Rather than condemning Price for unforeseen future developments, this analysis serves simply to point out that the common characterisation of his work as ‘radical’ or ‘leftist’ is overly simplistic. Beyond his opinions, his work can convey something more useful; his historically-specific conditions, which he designed it to accommodate. Price’s proposal to pay students a wage in the Potteries Thinkbelt did not come out of a critical understanding of the increasing complicity of higher education with industry and capital. Similarly, his short-life housing is not a fundamental challenge to the family itself, British housing policy, or capitalism. It is not necessarily interested in imagining the negative implications of precarious living for labour, addressing why the family form might be dissolving, or what kind of new social relations could be made possible, but this does not invalidate it.

Schneider and Till assert that in architecture ‘there is a simplistic association of flexibility with progress: something that can move escapes the shackles of tradition, something that can be changed is forever new’. Within this logic, flexibility provides ‘a convenient and immediate fix to that common architectural need to be allied with the “progressive” forces of modernity’.¹⁰⁰ Adrian Forty condemned the false

progressivism of flexible architecture, suggesting that while it pretends to cede autonomy to the user, it really 'allows architects the illusion of projecting their control over the building into the future'.¹⁰¹ Considered in this context, the Non-Planners' careful avoidance of control can backfire. Price was famously opposed to the preservation of the small number of built projects he produced. He succeeded in defeating the listing of one of his notable flexible buildings, the Inter-Action Centre (1971), and it was demolished in 2003, the year of his death. He recognised that even his designed uncertainty would ultimately fail in its ability to service ever-changing needs. Whether or not he thought of it this way, he understood that his buildings, like all things, would dissolve in the fast flow of capital.

Notes

- Every effort has been made to trace copyright holders and to obtain their permission for the use of copyright material. The author apologizes for any errors or omissions and would be grateful if notified of any corrections that should be incorporated in future reprints or editions of this article.
- Peter Murray quoted in Cedric Price, 'Cedric Price Supplement 5', *Architectural Design* 43 (January 1972): 43.
 - Reyner Banham et al., 'Non-Plan: An Experiment in Freedom', *New Society* 13, no. 388 (March 1969): 443.
 - Cedric Price, 'Cedric Price Supplement', *Architectural Design* 40 (October 1970): 507–522. Cedric Price, 'Cedric Price Supplement 2', *Architectural Design* 41 (January 1971): 25–40. Cedric Price, 'Cedric Price Supplement 3', *Architectural Design* 41 (June 1971): 353–368. Cedric Price, 'Cedric Price Supplement 4', *Architectural Design* 41 (October 1971): 619–630. Cedric Price, 'Cedric Price Supplement 5', *Architectural Design* 43 (January 1972), 24–43.
 - 'Housing Research' was the name under which Cedric Price's office grouped the papers, drawings, pamphlets, and ephemera relating to the development of the 'short-life house.'
 - David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 3.
 - Nancy Fraser, *Fortunes of Feminism* (London: Verso, 2013), 218.
 - Douglas Spencer, *The Architecture of Neoliberalism* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), 2.
 - Douglas Spencer, 'Architecture After California,' *e-flux Architecture*, 12 October 2017, <https://e-flux.com>.
 - Ronald Butt, 'Mrs. Thatcher: The First Two Years,' *Sunday Times*, 3 May 1981.
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 - Simon Sadler, *Archigram: Architecture Without Architecture* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2005), 8.
 - Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*, 57.
 - Ben Franks, 'New Right/New Left: An alternative experiment in freedom,' in *Non-Plan: Essays on freedom participation and change in modern architecture and urbanism*, ed. Jonathan Hughes and Simon Sadler (New York: Routledge, 2000), 39.
 - Banham et al., 'Non-Plan', 436.
 - Franks, 'New Right/New Left', 32.
 - Ibid.*, 33.
 - Banham et al., 'Non-Plan,' 442.
 - Ibid.*, 437.
 - Ibid.*, 438.
 - Ibid.*, '443.
 - Simon Sadler, 'Open Ends: The social visions of 1960s Non-Planning', in *Non-Plan*, ed. Hughes and Sadler, 145.
 - Jonathan Hughes, 'After Non-Plan,' in *Non-Plan*, ed. Hughes and Sadler, 176.
 - Cedric Price, 'Non-Plan', *Architectural Design* 39 (May 1969): 271.
 - Stanley Mathews, *From Agit-Prop to Free Space: The Architecture of Cedric Price* (London: Black Dog Publishing, 2007): 198.
 - Cedric Price, 'Potteries Thinkbelt', *New Society* 7, no. 192 (2 June 1966): 17.
 - For more about the neoliberal monetisation of subjectivity, see Maurizio Lazzarato, *Signs and Machines: Capitalism and the Production of Subjectivity* (New

- York: Semiotexte/ Foreign Agents, 2014).
27. Spencer, 'Architecture After California'.
 28. Pier Vittorio Aureli, 'Labor and Architecture: Revisiting Cedric Price's Potteries Thinkbelt,' *Log* 23 (2011): 113–114.
 29. Cedric Price, 'Potteries Thinkbelt Housing Types: Capsule Housing,' 1966, *Potteries Thinkbelt* document folio DR1995:0216:283-300, Cedric Price fonds, Canadian Centre for Architecture.
 30. Price, 'Potteries Thinkbelt,' 15; emphasis added.
 31. In reference to William Blake, from *Gnomic Verses*:
'What is it men in women to require?
The lineaments of gratified desire.
What is it women do in men require?
The lineaments of gratified desire.'
Cedric Price, 'In a car I would require', 1967–1971, *Housing Research* document folio DR2004:0252, Cedric Price fonds, Canadian Centre for Architecture.
 32. Nicholas Bullock, 'West Ham and the Welfare State 1945–1970: A Suitable Case for Treatment?' in *Architecture and the Welfare State*, ed. Mark Swenarton, Tom Avermaete and Dirk van den Heuvel (New York: Routledge, 2015), 99.
 33. Ministry of Housing and Local Government, *The Deepish Study: Improvement possibilities in a district of Rochdale* (Richmond: HMSO, 1966).
 34. John Gold, *The Practice of Modernism: Modern Architects and Urban Transformation, 1954–1972* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 205.
 35. *Ibid.*, 192.
 36. *Ibid.*, 193.
 37. *Ibid.*, 199.
 38. GLC Architects, *New Directions in Housing* (London: Academy Editions, 1977), 48.
 39. The London County Council (LCC) was replaced by the Greater London Council (GLC) in 1965.
 40. Sadler, Archigram, 103; emphasis in original.
 41. *Ibid.*, 7.
 42. *Ibid.*, 107.
 43. *Ibid.*, 64.
 44. Alison Smithson, 'Caravan, Embryo, Appliance House', *Architectural Design* 29 (September 1959): 348; emphasis in original.
 45. *Ibid.*, 348.
 46. M. Christine Boyer, *Not Quite Architecture: Writing Around Alison and Peter Smithson* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2017), 205.
 47. Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Extremes* (London: Abacus, 1995), 267.
 48. *Ibid.*, 267.
 49. Boyer, *Not Quite Architecture*, 205.
 50. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Extremes*, 307.
 51. Cedric Price, 'A change is required in our current attitude to "Housing"', 1967–1971, *Housing Research* document folio DR2004:0252, Cedric Price fonds, Canadian Centre for Architecture.
 52. Cedric Price, 'Cedric Price Supplement 4', *Architectural Design* 41 (October 1971): 623.
 53. *Ibid.*, 620.
 54. *Ibid.*, 621.
 55. *Ibid.*, 620.
 56. *Ibid.*, 621.
 57. Price, 'A change is required'. Emphasis in original.
 58. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Extremes*, 334.
 59. Cedric Price, 'Supplement 5', 29.
 60. Price, 'Supplement 4', 625.
 61. Submitted as an entry to the European Coal and Steel Community Competition, 1967. Cedric Price, 'Homes in Steel', *Building Magazine* (28 April 1967): 115–16.
 62. Price, 'Supplement 4', 620.
 63. Price, 'Supplement 5', 24.
 64. Steve Mullin, 'Cedric Price, or, still keeps going when everything else has stopped', *Architectural Design* 46 (May 1976): 287.
 65. Price, 'Supplement 5', 40.
 66. Harvey, *Brief History of Neoliberalism*, 165.
 67. Price, 'Supplement 4', 619.
 68. Cedric Price, 'Cedric Price Supplement 2', *Architectural Design* 41 (January 1971): 28.
 69. Reyner Banham, 'Design By Choice,' in *A Critic Writes*, ed. Mary Banham (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 71.
 70. *Ibid.*, 75.
 71. Helena Mattsson and Sven-Olov Wallenstein, 'Introduction', in *Swedish Modernism: Architecture, Consumption and the Welfare State* (London: Black

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72. David Kuchenbuch, 'Footprints in the Snow', in *Swedish Modernism*, ed. Mattsson and Wallenstein, 166–167.
 73. Avigail Sachs, Architects, users, and the social sciences in Postwar America', in *Use Matters: An Alternative History of Architecture*, ed. Kenny Cupers (New York: Routledge, 2013), 71.
 74. Price, 'Supplement 4', 627.
 75. Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*, 3.
 76. Price, 'Supplement 2' 28.
 77. Ibid.
 78. In 1965, it was estimated that half of Britain's housing stock was over 70 years old, and up to one sixth was over a hundred years old. W. Beckerman, *The British Economy in 1975* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), 381.
 79. Cedric Price, 'Housing Group: Present Barriers', 1969, *Housing Research* document folio DR2004:0243, Cedric Price fonds, Canadian Centre for Architecture.
 80. Cedric Price, 'Architecture as a device', 1969, *Steel House* document folio DR2004:0260, Cedric Price fonds, Canadian Centre for Architecture. Emphasis in original.
 81. Cedric Price, 'CASE: FIELD PROBE: STUDY'.
 82. Price, 'Architecture as a device'.
 83. Tatjana Schneider and Jeremy Till, *Flexible Housing* (Oxford: Architectural Press, 2007), 5.
 84. Ibid.
 85. Price, 'Supplement 2', 24; emphasis added.
 86. Ibid., 28; emphasis added.
 87. Ibid., 28.
 88. Nancy Fraser, 'Capital and Care', *New Left Review* 100 (July/August 2016): 101.
 89. Jonathan Crary, *24/7: Late Capitalism and the Ends of Sleep* (London: Verso, 2014), 74.
 90. The Open University, broadcasting educational courses on public radio and television, was founded in 1969. Price, 'Supplement 4', 630.
 91. Samantha Hardingham, *Cedric Price Works 1952–2003: A Forward-minded Retrospective* (London: Architectural Association Press, 2016), 217.
 92. Price, 'Supplement 4', 630.
 93. Mathews notes that there was a climate of expectation in Britain in the early 1960s that the government's assumed commitment to welfare state policies of full employment and the increase in workplace automation would result in shorter working hours and more free time for workers. An urgent subject of debate was the development of leisure equipment and activities that could occupy such new freed time. Mathews, *From Agit-Prop to Free Space*, 196.
 94. Price, 'Supplement 5', 41.
 95. Banham et al., 'Non-Plan', 442.
 96. Cedric Price, 'Steel Housing,' *Architectural Design* 37 (May 1967): 246; emphasis added.
 97. Price, 'Architecture as a device'.
 98. Price: 'Steel Housing,' 245.
 99. Boyer, *Not Quite Architecture*, 196.
 100. Schneider and Till, *Flexible Housing*, 5.
 101. Adrian Forty, *Words and Buildings* (London: Routledge, 2000), 143.

Biography

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