Cedric Price's Pop-Up Parliament:
A Role Model for Media Architecture and Data Politics

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We shape our buildings, and afterwards, our buildings shape us.
Winston Churchill[1]

When proposing the Pop-Up Parliament as a replacement for Westminster Palace, architect Cedric Price and editor Paul Barker had one thing in mind: Political reform through architecture. In their new design, politics – traditionally happening behind closed doors – had to be made accessible to the public. Thus, the Pop-Up Parliament affirmed a definition of populism that distinguishes between political elites and ordinary citizens. To do so the designers had foreseen a block along the river Thames that connected Parliament Square with ramps running into the plenary hall to provide public access to the plenary sessions. In a period when TV cameras were not yet allowed inside, in the design three large television screens replaced Big Ben to stream plenary discussions live into the urban landscape. In front of the building, floor heating and a foldable roof gave shelter for protests to take place. Although Price's 1960s design for a new parliament was never built, it provides an architectural intervention in the relation between politics, media, and populism that is still pertinent today. In the following I use Cedric Price's work as the starting point for a reflection on the consequences of the mediatisation of politics and democratic processes. I seek to elaborate how Price's design for the Pop-Up Parliament dealt with the media-technical condition of politics and proposed architecture as an integral part in the network of governing. This not only opens up the question of how ownership and infrastructure affects the political agency of media, but also investigates how architecture influences the politics of media in the digital age.

The Pop-Up Parliament: from things to data

The main aim of the Pop-Up Parliament project was to make parliamentary politics public. If 'Parliament is to make electors feel involved in its activities…, it must be observable',wrote Price in his first contribution to *New Society,* a British centre-left weekly magazine for social and cultural commentary. [2] Published in 1965 in collaboration with the magazine's editor, Paul Barker, the project was in the first instance a provocative design proposal that imagined the demolition of the 'outdated' Westminster Palace in favour of an open architecture that would foster political reform.[3] In that period, many eighteenth- and nineteenth-century institutional buildings in London were considered for demolition, either for speculation or because they represented Victorian values and an imperial bureaucracy. This progressive project marked the starting point of a long-lasting collaboration in which the authors expressed their belief in an anti-elitist form of planning: 'what ordinary people wanted, was the best guide.'[4] This approach culminated in their later work with Reyner Banham and Peter Hall for the 'Non-Plan' project in 1969, which influenced many of Price's later projects.[5] In opposition to the allegedly outdated politics of Westminster Palace, Price and Barker argued that 'if we have an efficient parliament, let's give it a whole, efficient building to work

in. … Permanence isn't the thing to symbolise in an era of throwaway Pentel pens and planned obsolescence.'[6] Once instant architecture had become a trend in the UK by the mid-1960s, it was only a matter of time before this concept would extend into other fields.

Price had frequently used *New Society* – a magazine that often featured intellectuals like Banham, but also American linguist Noam Chomsky, and British historian Eric Hobsbawm, among others – to promote alternative social and architectural visions.[7] This time, Price was proposing his own design as a reaction to Leslie Martin and Colin Buchanan's government-appointed grand-scale Whitehall plan, running from the Thames to St James's, which favoured a brutalist aesthetic and a historicist acknowledgement in leaving the Abbey and the towers of the Palace of Westminster locally dominant.[8] But even if his project was primarily intended as a critique of the conservative architectural heritage practices of the time – which had been an ongoing topic of discussion at least since the identical reconstruction of the Houses of Commons after the 1941 bombings – the Pop-Up Parliament brought a number of political, social, and technological questions into the debate. The main question, however, was how architecture could contribute to bringing ordinary people into a discourse with the political elite. According to the designers, it is the 'politician's job to abolish the House of Lords, or revamp it. [Yet,] it is the architect's job to allow for that' to happen.[9] In other words, Price and Barker proposed a populist architecture that made the previously ignored voices of ordinary people heard by the political elite. The particular novelty here was the emphasis on mass media technologies.

An architecture of openness

The design of the Pop-Up Parliament was divided into three strips, running from North to South, parallel to the Thames River. While the riverside section would be privately reserved for MP's, the centre strip served for transport, and the section

facing Parliament Square was meant for the public. In the public section visitors could access balconies and follow the plenary sessions of the House of Lords, the Commons as well as two committee rooms. With this gesture, Price inscribed the highest value of democracy into the building layout, giving public access to the tribunes of the assembly hall to attend plenary sessions – 'architecturalising' public politics in an idealised sense. On the one hand, this openness enabled the public to witness decision-making politics. On the other, it introduced the possibility of public protests disrupting the plenary sessions, inside and outside the parliament. Price considered 'the notion of keeping rioters away from the parliament' to be outdated.[10] To accommodate demonstrations, Price envisioned floor-heating in Parliament Square, together with a foldable plasticised nylon roof structure for rain protection. The presence of the protesters' bodies guaranteed citizen participation in the political sphere by intervening in the parliamentary space, and consequently in national politics. At the same time, Price intervened architecturally into a parliamentary debate about the legitimate presence of the public in Westminster Palace that had been happening for decades, if not centuries. The so-called Strangers' Gallery in the House of Commons is intended as a place where the public can follow proceedings of the House, but it is up to the speaker to decide when the public has to withdraw, with the order 'I spy strangers!' Even if the term 'stranger' has been replaced with either 'member of the public' or 'the public,' after the modernisation of Commons procedures in 2004, the practice remains the same.[11] [Fig. 1]

Through his political involvement with the Labour Party Price was aware that politics do not only result from relating politicians to the general public but also to interest groups and lobbyists.[12] Therefore, the middle section of the building was intended not only to serve the communication of people and things through an additional heliport, but was also for the exchange of secret information.
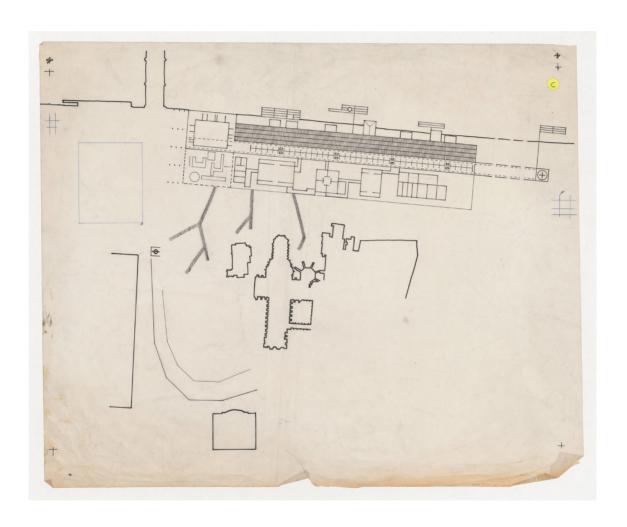
Fig. 1: Plan for Pop-Up Parliament with public access from Parliament Square, London, England, 1965. Source: Cedric Price Archive, Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montréal, File: DR1995:0219:011.

Barker wrote that in this informal zone, 'lobbying and opinion-forming will become buoyantly mobile.'[13] Both meanings of the term 'lobby' come into play here. In the spatial sense, the lobby is charged with the critical role of providing a space for discussions, where speech stays entirely off the record – that is, before the actual conference where speech is written down in the form of minutes and becomes an official document. In the political process, this is the moment where the special interest lobby can emerge, so that here lobbyism as verbal practice finds its purposely designed place. Thus, the architectural setting facilitates informal discussions that subsequently influence the official decision-making process. Here the lobby architecture is delineated within the political processes of Parliament, promoting practices that will remain entirely unmentioned in the official Rules of Procedures.[14]

Pop-Up Parliament as a populist design

The Pop-Up Parliament might be considered a populist design in the sense that it assumed the Marxist base/superstructure dichotomy as a condition for political change: the base of productive forces determines the social, economic and cultural relationships comprising its superstructure. The base/superstructure model essentialises class relations, that is, those between workers and industrialists or ordinary people and the political elite, as a result of material conditions and the mode of production. This combination of forces of production and relations of production forms the materialist base that influences the superstructure (political ideas about democracy, as well as social and cultural values). Any political change in society could subsequently only occur if the social relations are changed at the material base, and this is precisely the starting point of Price's design: making the gap between political elites and ordinary public explicitly tangible would eventually lead to a reconsideration of British political culture. Most populist strategies built on the assumption of essential class difference between and stigmatisation of social groups. But Price was

anything but an orthodox Marxist. His design opens up the question to what extent populism is a media-based phenomenon, rather than a matter of historic materialism translated into contemporary political debate. For Price, media played an essential role in showing, if not distorting, class relations. It had the potential to be used either for or against political change. He designed the Pop-Up Parliament at the time when Marshall McLuhan was developing his media theory, and the House of Commons was discussing the role television could have in the parliament. Consequently, Price's Pop-Up Parliament was a model for a new dependency in the threefold relation between architecture, media and politics as an operative network. Intentionally or not, Price had translated McLuhan's dictum that 'the "content" of any medium is always another medium' into architectural design, thus bringing the media of pens, press, television, computer, and architecture into a common political field.[15] On the one hand his design strikingly anticipated how media make politics in the information society. On the other, it foreshadowed a media theory of cultural techniques that allows for a reconsideration of the human through the operative sequences of technology, in opposition to media-anthropological concepts that limit technology to the extension of human faculties.

The definition of populism that was embedded in Price's design may be understood to imply that such a dichotomy is a fundamental conflictual feature of democracy, which has to cover the whole political spectrum. In order to allow for conflict between adversaries, institutions such as Parliament need to ensure that opinions ranging from left to right can enter the debate.[16] But even the actual political connotations of populism are quite contrary to what Price had in mind with his emancipatory use of mass media and architecture. His embedding of media and use of information technology in architecture points the way to many of the political conflicts and trends present today. This project shows that populism is conditioned by a specific type of media architecture that differs from 1960s

pop-culture, which current-day populism has indirectly appropriated. The techno-political dimension of populism is firmly rooted in the type of media that provides immediate feedback loops for governing in real time. Subsequently, the Pop-Up Parliament stands as a paradigm for a period in which television, cybernetics, and parliamentary procedures paved the way for a digital populism where media operations of information compression, prediction, and audience targeting became more decisive for politics than the contents of debate.

This media politics is cloaked in a democratic ideology, which at its best allows transparency and citizen participation in the information society, and at its worst introduced affirmative data logistics into politics, anticipating today's exploitative feedback economy and disruptive platform capitalism.[17] But apart from these ambiguous effects, Price made explicit his belief that parliamentary architecture is a political medium that shapes politics and its public perception. He acknowledged not only that physical things have a political agency in parliament by the way that they arrange social relations through public access and make politics public, but also that data makes politics into an effective administrative field between state and individual. In short, Price's proposal converges the parliament of things with the parliament of data.

Politics on screen

Through his project, Price addressed the hot debate concerning television's presence inside the House of Commons. Even if today the publicness of British parliamentary sessions is taken for granted (and, at least since the Brexit debates, these sessions have gained worldwide attention), it is easy to forget that television was only allowed inside parliament from 1989 onwards. Price's proposal deemed the Big Ben tower to have 'outlived its use,' and planned to replace it with three large television screens that were to transmit live parliamentary debates.[18] The immediacy of politics and television was made explicitly coexistent, while ironically

inverting the social function of the Ayrton Light on Big Ben. Originally, the well-known light had been installed to inform Queen Victoria about the status of parliamentary sittings after dark, but Price replaced it with illuminating screens that made the work of the Parliament public. But while the project had the ambition of informing the public about the parliamentary proceedings, the use of television introduced an ambiguous absence of the body politic, which made it impossible for the public to intervene other than by switching off the television programme, when the broadcasts were viewed at home. In any case, heckling and even riots that might happen in the plenary hall would not actually be shown on domestic televisions. Nevertheless, placing public screens on Parliament Square would allow for immediate public reaction. In a discussion from 1965, a member of the House of Commons expressed his concerns: 'Parliament is a wonderful and unique institution and I want to keep it as it is … it is different in character after television is brought in. That is what I am afraid of.'[19] Parliament would need to be protected 'against the mass and against the machine,' as Winston Churchill had put it.[20] By 'machine,' he was referring to television, and he was expressing his fear of mass media when he stated that it was 'a shocking thing to have the debates of Parliament forestalled by this new robot organisation of television and BBC broadcasting.'[21] Back then, when politics feared the mass in mass media, such a media turn in architecture and urban planning provoked a reconsideration of design in the age of television. But despite initial scepticism, research in the field of political science has not been able to find direct evidence of a personality cult in parliamentary politics and legislative behaviour following the advent of television. What the introduction of television cameras into the House of Commons did bring about was an increase of media coverage by 80 per cent.[22] The consequent increase in public interest is undeniable.

However, what contributes to the rise of populism is not so much the idea of politics as spectacle, but

rather the constant measuring of political success through data quantification. The advent of television made the mass into a quota, an integral part of modern democracy, quantifiable at any given moment. When politics feared the power of media to influence public opinion, television was still an unpredictable weapon. It is perhaps not incidental that McLuhan's affinity with television led him to note in his chapter on weapons in *Understanding Media* a 'trend toward more and more power with less and less hardware that is characteristic of the electric age of information.'[23] As television started transmitting politically relevant information, it was not far from becoming a political weapon, beyond even what McLuhan had described metaphorically in the TV debate between Nixon and the telegenic Kennedy.[24] The ballistic power of television was not only the result of the distorted representation of politics in compressed statements, as Jean Baudrillard discussed in his theory of simulacra, but also of the pre-digital capacity of data processing. Baudrillard developed his critique on the basis of newly emerging media spaces. His form of media criticism relied on television to reveal the dystopian dimensions of a technocratic society. Baudrillard argued that television, among other audio-visual media, introduced the inability to distinguish between reality and simulacra, leading to a society that replaced all meaning with symbols and signs. Under this theoretical umbrella, the contents of politics was rendered meaningless, and replaced instead by the effects it has in the simulation of reality. In other words, *Realpolitik* became deprived of the real.

But television can be considered a pre-digital medium of populism, not only because it turned politics into reality TV shows, but also because it provided direct feedback about the popularity of persons and political messages. If politicians could receive immediate feedback via television quotas about the success and impact of their broadcasting footage, then popularity and populism are constituted by the media-technical operations of quantification and correlation. Television quotas

are the pre-digital statistical equivalent of metadata in the digital age, and has a similar meaning for politics. It was subsequently only a question of increasing computational power, before these could be used strategically as a weapon in politics.

Education as emancipatory tool for society

For Price education was an emancipatory tool for society, one that could bridge the gap between political elites and ordinary citizens. It was common sense among many people from the progressive left in the 'swinging sixties' to pave the way for cultural revolution through pop culture and mass media. In the introduction of the issue of *A.D.* Price edited in 1968 entitled *What About Learning?*, he argued that mass communication media would promote increased access to knowledge and thus facilitate more intense questioning of previous social structures: 'such as industrial automation rendered various skills and operations obsolete, new methods of information storage, retrieval, comparison and computation enable the content of traditional education to be pruned.'[25] It is therefore no coincidence that the Pop-Up Parliament was for Price only one aspect of political education, which would be part of a broader revolutionary image that would reappear in various other projects.[26]

In the Oxford Corner House (OCH), an unrealised feasibility study that Price developed between 1965 and 1966 for the private company J. Lyons & Co, Parliament was to be physically connected to a centralised self-learning centre. [Fig. 2] This twenty-four-hour 'information hive' would provide a range of public facilities and mass media communication channels for conferences, teaching, exhibitions, and a library.[27] Referring to McLuhan's distinction between the 'hot' medium of film and the 'cold' medium of television, Price considered different stages of user participation. While some areas would be restricted to a low degree of participation, furnished with projections, other areas were considered highly interactive zones between humans and machines. For this project, Price had considered
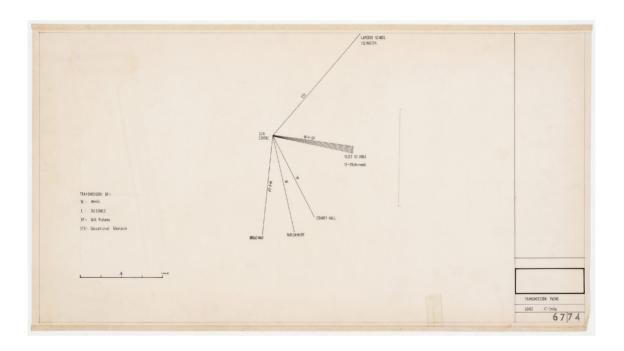
Fig. 2: Information transmission paths for Oxford Corner House, London, England, 1966. Source: Cedric Price Archive, Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montréal, File: DR1995:0224:127.

IBM mainframe computers that would offer the highest computing power for an expected monthly rental fee of £17 500.[28] Despite Price's emancipatory concept of making information publicly accessible, the question of private data ownership, – so heated today – is undeniable, as Nina Stener Jørgensen remarks in her critical review of this project.[29] Because user data can be gathered and evaluated, such a network hub has the capacity to become a valuable resource for studying user behaviour. But in particular, the connection to Parliament renders this project especially useful for a study of populism, since the affective dimension of political messages and their effects on popularity can be evaluated in real time.

Digital populism in the Pop-Up Parliament

In the basement of the Pop-Up Parliament, Price envisioned the technological basis for the politics of the twentieth century: a computerised library that centralised, processed, and distributed all information within Parliament. [Fig. 3] By that time Price had already exploited the computer as an instrument of democratic decision-making, by giving the public access to governmental information – an aspect that he indicated in the conceptual drawing for the project. By placing the computer at the heart of the new Parliament building, Price proposed that democratic social culture be redesigned through technology by using architecture and computation as integral parts within it. The computer was intended to promote communication as the basis for parliamentary work, and to become an instrument for both opinion-forming and decision-making. According to Price,

> improved information and communication facilities for Members [of the Parliament] would be … from a computerised library, easily accessible to all both physically and by electronic members … No longer merely a collection of printed information, the installation of a computer would transform the library from an information retrieval service to an information reinforcement and decision-making machine.[30]

Contrary to conventional library systems where finding information depended upon indexing by librarians, the computerised library would itself efficiently record, transmit, and process information. For Price, the generated feedback loops were an essential part of the new library system, which had the media operation of prediction at its core: 'once it knows your subject, it can plan what you should be thinking next.'[31] Undoubtedly this function would become useful for politics one day, as soon as the computational power and infrastructure of such libraries were able to effectively target what the public 'should be thinking next.' In sum, mass, media and data politics is the combination that precedes what nowadays is known as e-governance. In addition to its supposedly novel powers of socio-technical disruption, the computer can be understood in much more traditional terms: it can be seen as a fundamentally bureaucratic medium, its logics as primarily administrative ones. In the words of media-historian Cornelia Vismann: 'the computer implements the basic law of bureaucracy according to which administrative techniques are transferred from the state to the individual.'[32]

In his design Cedric Price acknowledged that governing as a cultural technique cannot exist without information processing. Rather than concealing this fundamental media operation behind the closed doors of bureaucracy, Price opened it up to the public, provoking a potential socio-technical reconsideration of what open data means for society.

In his day, Cedric Price may have been justified in his intention of opening up the black box of the House of Commons, and of making politics accessible to the public through technology. However, this anticipated a tendency that would become a problem with digital populism decades later. The TV ratings of the 1960s were the small statistical forms of today's big metadata. This is precisely why the question of the ownership of infrastructure and data should be raised as a political issue in the historical context in the same way as today. If, at the time,
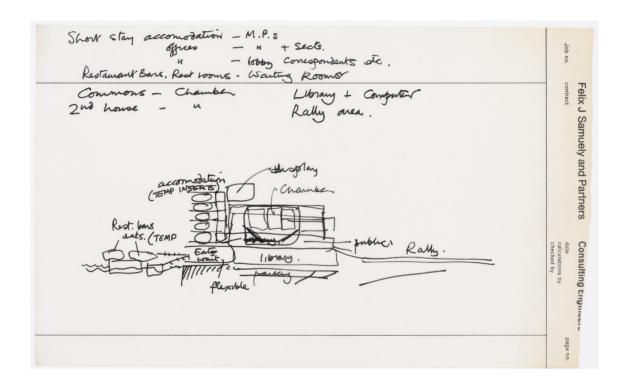
Fig. 3: Conceptual sketch for Pop-Up Parliament, London, England, 1965. Source: Cedric Price Archive, Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montréal, File: DR1995:0219:002.

the quantification of ratings could already communicate immediate results to politicians indicating their popularity, then it was only a matter of increasing computing capacity before this could be turned strategically against the public itself, in order for (populist) news to reach its intended target groups. Having McLuhan's forecast in mind that information can be used as a weapon, Price's 'decision making machine' now appears to be a deliberately dangerous gesture that anticipated today's feedback politics in a surprisingly apolitical manner. The free availability of data has a disproportionately high price, which is determined by the ownership of the infrastructure providing the access. As is commonly recognised, the result of this sad irony is that it was precisely this combination of big data and populism that would drive the UK out of the EU almost fifty years later, with the 'help' of the broadcaster Nigel Farage, the UKIP party, and Cambridge Analytica.[33] Although it can be assumed that this kind of development was not at all what Price had in mind, nevertheless, the appropriation of mass media by twenty-first-century populism may be seen as a technical condition already embedded in 1960s pop culture. A critical discourse about the popularisation of politics through technology, rather than blind affirmation, could have probably created a deeper awareness. We are now used to the idea that user-generated content and data-driven campaigning would bolster populist strategies in what has recently been coined the 'technological performance of populism.'[34] On the contrary, data-driven politics have a cultural history that reaches to the origins of the cybernetic era, in which architecture plays a central mediating role in the relation between user and technology. Ultimately, the relationship between mass media and politics is not a trivial matter.

On the aesthetic level, mass media may appear free, open, and even participatory, but technical standards and infrastructure render them potential political weapons. After reading McLuhan, Banham had termed television 'the symbolic machine of the Second Machine Age.'[35] But this reduction of media to symbolic or aesthetic qualities underestimates its real political impact. Beyond the symbolic aspects, television sets up the conditions of an operative machine that dictates mechanisms of immediacy and quantification, which will only be realised through computation at a much later stage.

Parliamentary obsolescence

Price had planned for his Pop-Up Parliament to be obsolescent within fifty years. So, if this design had ever been realised, it would have been demolished by now, raising the question of what kind of media-architecture would be adequate for the task of redesigning political discourse today. Price does not mention anywhere what precisely the 'Pop-Up' in his project title signifies. Architecturally, it may refer in representative terms to the instantaneous, temporary, ephemeral construction of the parliament, adaptive to political changes. Aesthetically, it may also refer to pop culture, with its tendency to bind together mass media and the public into a new political agency. But none of these interpretations can do without media in socio-technical terms. Whether it be the physical things that make politics public through ramps and screens on Parliament Square, or open-data mechanisms that process governmental information, these dynamics show how media politicise. Media are not neutral, and so it becomes even more urgent to question notions of care and responsibility within the framework of a media-critical practice.

Recent literature has treated architecture in traditional terms as an iconographic place of politics, and tended to make superficial accusations, such as right-wing ideology being symbolically associated with particular designs. Such a misconception perpetuates the assumption that the physical and the digital are two unrelated spheres, in which right-wing populism finds the ideal conditions for it to be heard and articulated.[36] In other words, populism is considered an ideology that is stored and transmitted through things, by ignoring

the effects of information processing. Reconsidering the Pop-Up Parliament in this light makes us aware of how information-processing is inherent in the use of mass media, which is why current-day populism has been so effective in targeting its intended audience. Populism has appropriated the use of mass media that was once rooted in pop-culture, because ownership of data and infrastructure has not been interrogated critically enough; instead, the media was assumed to have a neutral agency. In this sense, Price may have been overly idealistic in his belief that open access to information would be enough to set up the condition for emancipation within the emerging knowledge society. This kind of approach ignored the fact that data ownership determines data politics, in a sense paving the way for populism to appropriate media infrastructures for its own sake. But if Price had made us aware over half a century ago that political concepts may become obsolete with technological innovation, the question arises whether the architectural typology and institution of Parliament has not become obsolete with the growing impact of digital platforms and cloud computation.

Notes

1. Hansard, 'House of Commons Rebuilding', *Parliamentary Debates: House of Commons*, vol. 393, (28 October 1943) columns 403–473.
2. Cedric Price, 'The Pop-Up Parliament', *New Society* no. 148 (29 July 1965): 8.
3. Ibid., 7–9.
4. Peter Barker, 'Non-Plan Revisited: Or the Real Way Cities Grow: The Tenth Reyner Banham Memorial Lecture', *Journal of Design History* 12, no. 2 (1999): 95–110.
5. Reyner Banham, Paul Barker, Peter Hall and Cedric Price, 'Non-Plan: An Experiment in Freedom', *New Society* 13, no. 338 (20 March 1969).
6. Price, 'The Pop-Up Parliament', 8.
7. Potteries Thinkbelt was published in 'Potteries Thinkbelt', *New Society* no. 192 (2 June 1966): 74. Non-Plan was published in Banham et al., 'Non-Plan', 435. The Fun-Palace is discussed in B. N. Lewis, 'Fun Palace: Counterblast to Boredom', *New Society* no. 133 (15 April 1965): 8.
8. Adam Sharr and Stephen Thornton, *Demolishing Whitehall: Leslie Martin, Harold Wilson and the Architecture of White Heat* (London: Routledge, 2013).
9. Price, 'The Pop-Up Parliament', 8.
10. Ibid., 8.
11. House of Commons Information Office, 'Sitting in Private', in 'Some Traditions and Customs of the House', factsheet (January 2009), 5, https://www.parliament.uk/globalassets/documents/commons-information-office/g07.pdf.
12. Price was a member of the Labour Party that in the 50's and 60's defended the idea that automation of industrial production as a form of technical progress had the potential to bring about freedom for society. For Price's political position see also: Tanja Herdt, 'Die Stadt und die Architektur des Wandels: Projekte und Konzepte des britischen Architekten Cedric Price (1960–ca. 1984)', PhD Dissertation (ETH Zurich, 2012), 25–26.

13. Price, 'The Pop-Up Parliament', 9.

14. On a media-historical framework in the distinction between spaces of speech and spaces of textuality see Dennis Pohl, 'Simultan Regieren: Sprache und Schrift im Europäischen Ministerrat', *Archiv für Mediengeschichte* 19, *Kleine Formen*, ed. Joseph Vogl, Friedrich Balke, and Bernhard Siegert (2021): 157–169.

15. Price, 'The Pop-Up Parliament', 10.

16. See for instance Chantal Mouffe, *For a Left Populism* (London: Verso Books, 2018).

17. On Cedric Price's Oxford Corner House project and the entanglement of platform capitalism and participation, see Nina Stener Jørgensen, 'Capital of Feedback', *Footprint* 13, no. 2 (December 2019): 25–46.

18. Ibid., 8.

19. Quintin Hogg (Lord Hailsham), House of Commons Debates (1965) vol. 713, column 1065, 28 May, a motion by T. L. Iremonger to introduce an experiment in television broadcasting, as cited in Bob Franklin, 'Televising the British House of Commons: Issues and Developments' in *Televising Democracies,* ed. Bob Franklin (London/New York: Routledge, 1992), 10.

20. Michael Cockerell, *Live from Number 10: The Inside Story of Prime Ministers and Television* (London: Faber, 1988), 41, as cited in Franklin, *Televising Democracies,* 3.

21. Ibid.

22. Alastair Heatherington, Kay Weaver, and Michael Ryle, *The Study for the Hansard Society on the Televising of the House of Commons* (London: Hansard Society for Parliamentary Government, 1990).

23. Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1994 [1964]), 342.

24. Ibid., 329–30.

25. Cedric Price, Introduction, *Architectural Design (What about Learning?)* (May 1968), 242.

26. Cedric Price, 'Developing Patterns of Urbanisation: Learning', *Transactions of the Bartlett Society* 7 (1968), 55–73.

27. Canadian Centre of Architecture, 'The Information Hive: A Reading of Cedric Price's Oxford Corner House', March 2011, https://cca.qc.ca.

28. Stanley J. Mathews, 'An Architecture for the New Britain: The Social Vision of Cedric Price's Fun Palace and Potteries Thinkbelt', PhD Dissertation (Columbia University, 2003), 298–313.

29. Jørgensen, 'Capital of Feedback', 25–46.

30. Cedric Price, handwritten manuscript (1965), Cedric Price Archive, Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montréal, File: DR:1995:0235:007:003, as cited in Herdt, 'Die Stadt und die Architektur des Wandels', 280.

31. Price, 'The Pop-Up Parliament', 9.

32. Cornelia Vismann, *Files: Law and Media Technology,* trans. Geoffrey Winthrop-Young (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008), 163.

33. Mark Scott, 'Cambridge Analytica Did Work for Brexit Groups, Says Ex-Staffer', *Politico,* 30 July 2019, https://www.politico.eu/article/cambridge-analytica-leave-eu-ukip-brexit-facebook/.

34. Jessica Baldwin-Philippi, 'The Technological Performance of Populism', *New Media & Society* 21, no. 2 (February 2019): 376–97, https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444818797591.

35. Reyner Banham, *Theory and Design in the First Machine Age,* 2nd edition (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1967), 10.

36. For such attempts see *ARCH+* No. 235 (May 2019), *Rechte Räume: Bericht einer Europareise*, guest ed. Stephan Trüby, https://archplus.net/de/archiv/ausgabe/235/.

Biography

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