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# WITNESSING LOSS: DRAWING AND URBAN REGENERATION

Howard Read

University of Wolverhampton, UK h.read@wlv.ac.uk

This paper is a practice-led account of the relationship between lost city spaces, post-war redevelopment in London and drawing as a method of witnessing. The motivation and purpose of this paper is to critically analyse and reflect on the connection between selective British post-war drawing of the destroyed and regenerated urban environment and my own practice as an artist. I have used as a case study my on-site drawings of Elephant and Castle in south-east London, an area I have lived in for the last twenty years. Recording and making visible what is destroyed, forgotten and lost in the repeated rupture and transformation of the area, during the latest cycle of regeneration. I have combined my practice as a research method with urban theory, cultural geography and writing on drawing.



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### Introduction

The structure of this paper is formed of two equal parts, using historical context and selected examples of artists drawing urban development. The expansion of the industrial Victorian city and all its inequalities, followed by the destruction and rebuilding in the post-war period, are used to give background. British artists Muirhead Bone, John Piper and David Bomberg are referenced to show the differing aesthetic approaches in recording and documenting the destroyed city and what they tell us about reconstruction. The expressive location-based drawings of building sites by Frank Auerbach are cited to align by practice with a tradition that rejects the neo-romantic and picturesque in documenting reconstruction. The 'spectral turn' of the 1990s and the ideological discourse it engendered are discussed in relation to the work of Rachel Whiteread and Laura Grace Ford. My drawings of regeneration form the later section and focus on of the contested demolition of the brutalist Heygate social housing estate (Figure 1).

The synergy between my practice and urban history seeks to ask questions about remembering and forgetting as a means of addressing erasure and absence in the urban environment. Inequality and the suppression of urban memory are linked; buildings and streets represent much more than the materials they are constructed from, they embody lived experience. The erasure of social and cultural memory is a recurrent theme in contemporary market-driven city development initiatives. I will argue the activity of drawing is a method of not only witnessing what has been lost but also an act of resistance, challenging the motivation and flow of visual communication used to initiate and sell urban regeneration by developers, planners and local and national government. This paper presents my ongoing research into drawing and the loss of local places in London's global city spaces.

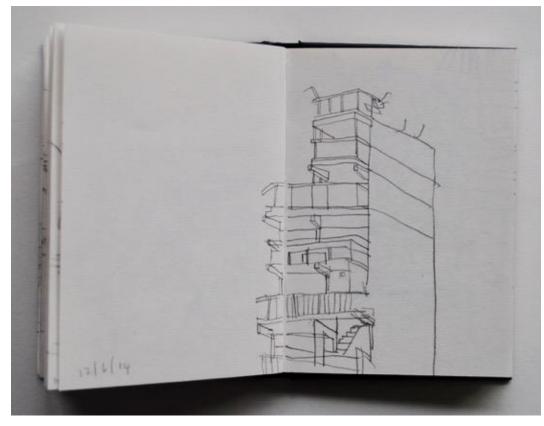


FIGURE 1. KINGSHILL HOUSING BLOCK DEMOLITION, HEYGATE ESTATE, LONDON. JUNE 2014.

## Historical and visual context

The history of London includes many episodes of destruction and ruination caused by fire, plague, civil and world war, industrialisation and its social-economic consequences. This repeated cycle of rupture has led to new planning, demolition and rebuilding and more recently the privatisation of publicly owned land. At each stage of these traumatic events, those who live and work in the city are immersed in the changes and often exiled and excluded.

In Victorian Britain it was by looking backwards to the nature of Gothic architecture that the leading architect and Catholic convert Pugin and his socialist rival, the critic John Ruskin, hoped to rethink the form of the modern industrial city and what had been lost in its rapid expansion. Their damning critique of industrialisation was communicated largely by drawing. A. W. N. Pugin's book Contrasts (1841) combined thirty-six images that juxtaposed the modern industrial city with examples of medieval England. Ruskin's exploration of Venice carried out through intensive observational drawing in notebooks resulted in The Stones of Venice (1851-53). The notebooks represent a form of intuitive visual and textual reportage, resulting in a subjective architectural hypothesis and moral critique on the nature of work and the development of British cities (Dannatt & Richardson, 2010:13).

Paul Hogarth emphasises the role of intuition for what became known as 'Special Artists' and drawing became closely aligned with journalism. The London weekly Graphic founded in 1869 'pontificated on the social evils of the day and demanded reforms' (Hogarth, 1986:57). The impact of these journals and their visual and textual criticism of Victorian society had huge reach. The rapid industrialisation of the city and rise in population shocked the middle class. The drawings commissioned often had a moral force and campaigning zeal in their depiction of social injustice. The publication in 1872 of Doré's London a Pilgrimage, perhaps more than any other sequence of drawings of the time, evokes the contrasting experience of the crowded Victorian city. The use of light and shade is used to express the conditions of the poor and renders them almost as an apparitional presence in the city, often barely vertical, worn out and in need of food and shelter. Pugin and Ruskin's social concerns for the industrial city meant looking to the past to create a more progressive urban future, while Doré focused on the present to bear witness to the parlous state of the Victorian city and the densely packed streets to visualise social injustice.

# Drawing Destruction: Muirhead Bone, John Piper and David Bomberg

The career and drawings of Muirhead Bone (1876-1953) encompassed both First and Second World Wars as a war artist and his methodology of searching for urban subject matter by walking at night in London after moving from Scotland are communicated in letters written to his wife. Bone describes how he 'trudged' all night in London '...haunting, seeing, considering...', and walking allowed him to see imaginatively (Bone, 2009:47). The dramatic viewpoints and composition of his drawings are fundamental aspects of Bone's practice; he finds locations that allow him to get up close and peer into city spaces under construction. The detailed linear quality of the work sits at a nexus between the Victorian aesthetic of Doré and emerging Modernism without borrowing from either. Bone witnesses directly the changing construction of the early twentieth-century city and its infrastructure.

The drawing practice of John Piper (1903-1992) forms a very different tradition of recording the urban environment to the observational methods of Bone. Piper's drawing and paintings of the bomb-damaged ruins across Britain won widespread appeal when they were exhibited in the National Gallery from the 1940s onwards. The synthesis of modernist styles, most notably Cubism and Surrealism, and the

aesthetic appeal of ruins helped forge a neo-Romantic revival amongst many of the war artists commissioned by the Ministry of Information's War Artists Advisory Committee. There is a very different set of value systems at work in the post-war period with the nostalgic neo-Romantic revival competing with harder edged modernist ideals for the future shape of the urban landscape and rebuilding of British cities. This is evidenced in the Architectural Review's visual style which changed in 1949 when Gordon Cullen became art director replacing the longstanding illustrative work of John Piper, who had been there since 1936. The 1951 Festival of Britain in its architectural form and housing displays presented the modern over the neo-Romantic as the preferred route for reconstruction.

In the context of my own practice it is the direct, situated and expressive drawings of David Bomberg (1890-1957) that had most impact. His recording of the blitz damage near St Paul's Cathedral in the Second World War in the immediate aftermath of bombing are observed, stark and powerful. Bomberg's drawings are visual manifestations of his belief and intense physical immersion in the bomb scarred landscape. The expressive nature of the drawings Bomberg was producing at this time show no extraneous detail. Cork has suggested that 'Bomberg sees the cityscape as a sequence of eerily deserted containers, no more than a skeleton of the metropolis that he knew before Hitler's raids pummelled the area so grievously' (Cork, 1987:255). The drawings of St Paul's Cathedral contrast with those of the official war artist Muirhead Bone. Bone's approach is highly detailed and linear, Bomberg's is an essential outline of the architectural form made boldly in charcoal with the grey, smudged background showing the constant revisions. The drawings, through their making, evoke the smouldering ruined landscape that convey Bomberg's intentions to grasp the 'tactile values' of drawing and 'to disengage from ordinary perception and discover a more intuitive way of grasping reality' (Cork, 1987:266). The drawings are balanced between an expressive abstraction and figurative observation and have more in common with later American artists in the mid 1950s than anything in British art at the time (Cork, 1987:260).

Bomberg's classes at the Borough Polytechnic provided a radical and independent voice to traditional art school teaching at the time: he encouraged his students to observe the world rigorously and create work that was intuitive and rooted in physical engagement with their subject matter (Hallman, 2014:33). Chorpening has argued that Bomberg's drawings of the London cityscape at this time were intensely phenomenological in their expressive use of charcoal. Bomberg's drawings of the destroyed landscape around St Paul's Cathedral are arguably his most effective because of their materiality and physical engagement with the urban landscape, Chorpening has written:

Those drawings of the area surrounding St Paul's Cathedral after the Blitz – using burnt wood to depict destroyed buildings – will always be powerful for the way the visible hand of the artist lends proof to the event that took place and the artist was there to record it (Chorpening, 2015:10).

Frank Auerbach was heavily influenced by the teaching and art of David Bomberg. The recurring themes of Auerbach's work and creative drive have been to 'show us what it feels like to live in the city, a terra firma in constant flux '(Hallman, 2014). Auerbach was not interested in recording the ruins of post-war London and has spoken about his fascination with construction sites as subject matter: 'This was territory that had not been resolved into a neo-romantic idiom and did not lend itself readily to past idealisations as an aesthetic of ruins' (Wright, 2009: 17). For both Bomberg and Auerbach, personal histories and collective memory are assimilated into the experience of witnessing ruin and reconstruction.

## The End of History and the Spectral Turn

The ideological debates between left and right in the 1990s and the cultural and artistic impact they engendered are evidenced by the publication of Francis Fukuyama's The End of History and the Last Man in 1992 and Jacques Derrida's riposte, The Specters of Marx (1993). Both Fukuyama and Derrida were responding to the demise of the Soviet Union and the perceived loss of communism as a political model to counter capitalism as the only viable economic model. Derrida's use of the term hauntology was as much a puncept as concept, Fisher has argued, 'the pun was on the philosophical concept of ontology, the philosophical study of what can be said to exist' (Fisher, 2014:17).

The idea that American neo-liberalism had triumphed and brought about the end of socialist ideals and the welfare state ethos found expression in the debates about artworks focused on housing and the urban landscape in Britain. Crinson has suggested Rachel Whiteread's cast of an entire East End house in 1993 focused debate on housing in London and the role of art, memory and 'mute mourning'. Although not a council dwelling, Crinson suggests House provoked varied interpretations with its spectral presence: 'evoking the Blitz and post-war planning, House attracted Freudian and political interpretations' (Crinson, 2005:196). The pivotal role of drawing in Whiteread's visual process has emerged more recently, with exhibitions of works on paper at Tate Britain (2010-11). The drawings are smaller in scale, exploratory and show the intimate textures and surfaces of everyday dwelling. The sense of human absence is reflected in all artworks, both monumental and on paper, but this ghostly presence is not overtly political or ideological.

Artist Laura Grace Ford's Savage Messiah zine, independently published between 2005 and 2009, reclaims drawing as a political tool and personal confessional and makes use of hauntology as theoretical method. The work combines drawing and fragmented textual extracts with photography. Memory and diary elements fuse with critical reflections on the urban environment. The zine format is used in the radical tradition of the pamphlet as a form of activism and protest. The drawn biro pen images and text 'are anti-nostalgic' and reflect on the lost urban projects of the last four decades as a 'timely reminder of a spirit of optimism which has long since been subverted' (Coverley, 2020:250). The sites and places visited evoke the upheavals of recent history. The work triggers past and present associations of place to merge and flow with the repetition of dates. Above all, it is an account of the present condition of regenerated London. Ford has spoken about 'layers of memories colliding, splintering and reconfiguring' in the sequence of eleven zines. Fisher has argued that Ford's work is a hauntological quest to reclaim the past but not as a form of nostalgia. It is not the spectre of communism and its ideals that haunt the work 'but its disappearance' (Fisher, 2014:19). It is the legacy of the political right that has not been laid to rest, Coverely has suggested: 'the prevailing spirit of the last 30 years in the UK... has been conjured from an altogether different point on the political spectrum: that of Thatcherism' (Coverley, 2020:269).

The sequence of drawings that follow this section are informed by the context and artists mentioned above. My drawings are about witnessing the cycle of regeneration as a process from demolition to reconstruction and newness. We are blinded by the slick promotional images of renewal and by drawing the stages of urban erasure on site I feel this can be debated and recorded, if never stopped or restored. In housing, consumer-and-culture-led regeneration the economic drivers at work are evident in the process far more than the social considerations because 'the city as an economic entity holds far more weight than the city as a social entity' (Miles and Miles, 2004:172). I see my drawing practice forming

part of the visual tradition that attempts to present an alternative record of urban redevelopment, encompassing a sense of social justice with personal memory and an understanding of the local context.

# My Practice: Elephant and Castle regeneration 2014-2021 – selected drawings

### A critical evaluation of my methods

I wanted to capture episodes of neglected and overlooked acts of the regeneration process and to achieve this by an observed location-based account that focused on the demolition of the Heygate social housing estate and the land it occupied with the emerging new construction. Additionally, I wanted to record the reconfiguring of the Elephant and Castle shopping centre and the erasure of the post-war planning legacy as a way of witnessing the loss of public land and social spaces in London. In an exhibition at the Drawing Room, London, exploring the theme of Graphic Witness, curator Kate Macfarlane has suggested:

To witness is to have observed, either as a participant, as a bystander or remotely, to create a graphic response to this act of witnessing is to reconstruct this experience in the immediate aftermath [....] Drawing is particularly suited to representing evidence as it is a legible medium; to look closely at a drawing is to trace the history of its making and in this sense, each drawing acts as its own witness (Macfarlane, 2017).

I drew on location as an eyewitness, not remotely, as I wanted to be present to record the destruction as it happened and create a visual testimony through a series of drawings made over time. I was of course a powerless witness in preventing the loss of social housing, but by drawing I became an informed witness deeply troubled by the disruption caused by the regeneration and loss of publicly owned land. The panoramic studio drawings are in part created from the drawings made in my sketchbook and the recalled memory. The experience is a new calibrated one at a remove from being on site. The drawings act as a mnemonic to the cycle of erasure and as a form of resistance against the official images of urban renewal.

My participation has been through watching, listening and drawing what I have seen and making it visible on the pages of my sketchbook, often in a series of quick, hurried marks without looking down at the paper as I tried to record what I was seeing and capture the movement of clamshell diggers and the collapse of walls and ceilings – sketching became a form of frenetic retrieval and imprecision by overdrawing and overlaying marks (Figure 2). Derrida cites Baudelaire and his description of sketching as an act of memory and speed in trying to capture what can vanish so quickly, in the brevity and transience of the moment:

For Baudelaire, it is the order of memory that precipitates, beyond present perception, the absolute speed of the instant (the time of the chin d'oeil that buries the gaze in the batting of an eyelid, the instant (the time of the Augenblick, the wink or blink, and what drops out of sight in the twinkling of an eye)...'(Derrida, 1993:48).



FIGURE 2. FRENETIC LINES OF THE TURBULENT AND RELENTLESS DEMOLITION PROCESS. JULY 2014.

#### The drawing timeline: demolition

The Heygate estate housed a thousand people in high- and low-rise units with green space and mature trees between each block. An example of a late modernist planning-in-the-park estate it was completed in 1974. In a highly contested process, residents had been removed – some forcibly – before I started drawing and the estate had a calm eeriness before the demolition process started. Perimeter fencing was erected, and access and views of the estate became more difficult. The removal of toxic and salvageable building material formed the first 'soft-strip' demolition phase followed by the physical destruction of the housing with clamshell diggers. Interior spaces were left exposed to the elements and the individual decoration of each room was highly evocative and a reminder of the individual lives that had been displaced by the regeneration (Figure 3 a, b, c). The small maisonette blocks were often seen as the most successful housing on the Heygate estate due to their low density and the green spaces and mature trees that surrounded them. In writing about hauntology Fisher has suggested popular music impacts on our memory and the Specials' Ghost Town (1981) lyrics repeatedly came to mind, evoking the legacy of Thatcherism as a dominant ethos on British life.

I was drawing by focusing on architectural details such as the shapes of the walkways and the concrete structures (Figure 4). The columns had many associations with the post-war modernist infrastructure built in Britain, from new towns to motorway bridges. The columns were built with a spirit of optimism and a progressive vision of the future. Hatherley has argued that 'Instruments brought in after 1945 in order to bypass the interests of slum landlords and landowners legally – were now used to the opposite end' (Hatherely, 2010:xvii). The small details and the human scale of the maisonettes provided a real sense of the homes that had been lost. Pallasmaa has written, 'there is a vivid unconscious identification, resonance and correspondence between images of the house and our own body' (Pallsamaa, 2011:124). Pallasmaa cites Bachelard's writing about the home and its fundamental importance to human existence.

Bachelard writes, 'man is laid in the cradle of the house [...] life begins well, it begins enclosed, protected...' (Bachelard, [1964] 1994:7). There was a poignancy in drawing the exposed interior spaces and individual choices of decoration. The buildings were no longer homes but now unprotected, isolated and empty containers about to be destroyed.



FIGURE 3 (A). GHOST TOWN - DO YOU REMEMBER THE GOOD OLD DAYS BEFORE THE GHOST TOWN? EXPOSED WALLS OF A LOW-RISE HOUSING BLOCK, WITH SALVAGED METAL WIRE. AUGUST 2014.



FIGURE 3 (B). A PAUSE IN THE PROCESS EXPOSING THE INTERIOR INNER WALLS AND DECORATION. AUGUST 2014.

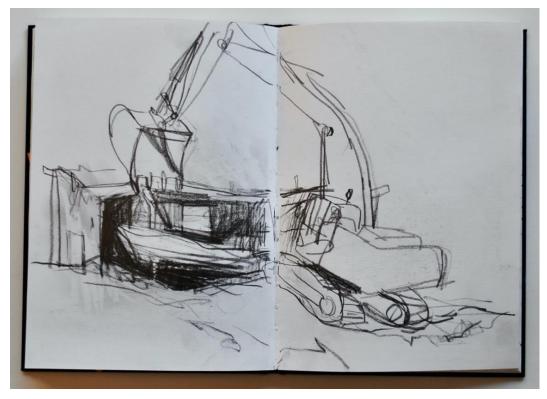


FIGURE 3 (C). GROUND DOWN. AUGUST 2014.

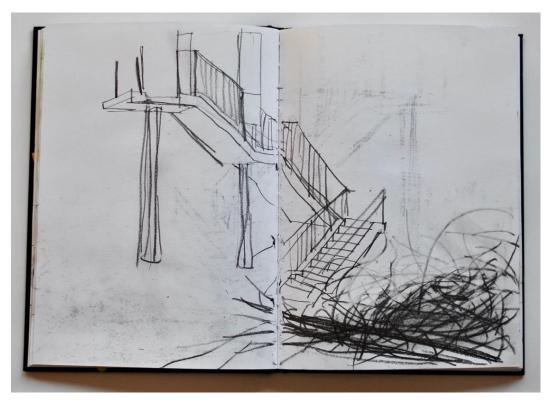


FIGURE 4. ISOLATED STAIRS, WALKWAY AND PILLARS REMINISCENT OF LARGER INFRASTRUCTURE PROJECTS.

#### Studio-based work: contrasting viewpoints

The larger scale studio drawings made with charcoal are from higher viewpoints and depict the proximity of the cleared land of the former housing estate to the financial centre of London, those force felt like an omnipresent sensor in the ideological expunging of the estate. The rooftop of a nearby building provided a unique view of the site in its totality. My focus was on the cleared earth and the open spaces emerging from the demolition of the estate. Using charcoal allowed me to erase and redraw – building up textures and marks that represented the new landscape. The drawings were created by standing and working quickly, blocking in shapes in the same manner I had drawn when sketching. My memory became important in assessing what I had seen from different locations on the roof. It would not have been possible to create these drawings without physically being on the roof and experiencing the site from this height. Over the course of the first phase of the regeneration I made four large drawings from the rooftop. I stopped when the new buildings blocked out the view entirely. There is an atmosphere of abandonment and forlornness in the drawings in the depiction of the obliterated estate (Figure 5). The rubble of the former homes form shapes like burial mounds on the left of the drawing. The drawing was intended to emphasise the 'scorched earth or tabula rasa approach that is a dominant form of development in many contexts globally' (Campkin and Duijzings, 2016:7).



FIGURE 5. THE LOST ESTATE (CHARCOAL DRAWING). AERIAL VIEW FROM THE ROOF OF DASHWOOD STUDIOS. WALWORTH ROAD. 2016.

The view of the cleared land at ground level provided a contrast with the aerial view and greater definition. The concrete imprint of the rectangles of the former housing blocks was visible. From the rooftop it was not possible to see the elongated shapes of the housing blocks, as the colours merged with the earth. The vertical luxury of the new buildings being erected was also more evident. The traces of the Heygate blocks lay on the ground, like unmarked sepulchres before the new construction obliterated them forever (Figure 6). The properties of charcoal as a medium felt particularly pertinent in depicting the landscape at this phase of the regeneration process, with marks made by blurring and smudging suggesting ghost markings and lost traces.

Petherbridge, when discussing material traces, drawing and the materiality of charcoal alludes to the varied properties of the medium and its connection with building and construction, noting that its dust is traditionally used 'for snapping strings fixed on nails as guides, plumb lines or grids...' (Petherbridge,

2010:136). Charcoal is an 'archaic' drawing material with expressive, gestural and speculative qualities; this connects it to the provisional qualities of the sketch. Charcoal's inherent materiality, its 'simplicity and friability' when combined with erasing and revising marks on a paper 'reveals the history of its own processes of making'. Petherbridge goes on to suggest that rubbing out when drawing with charcoal, using an eraser, is 'a battle of accretion and disavowal'. The connotations with excavation and the early stages of the construction process link with the French term for rubbing-out, 'arrachage', implying 'uprooting' and could equally imply digging out or extracting (Petherbridge, 2011:138). The contested erasure of other London council estates has provoked national significance and debate: an eight-tonne section of the Smithsons' designed Robin Hood Gardens in Tower Hamlets was purchased by the V&A museum and later a fragment of the façade was exhibited at the Venice Architecture biennale in 2018. The last remaining architectural fragments of the Heygate estate disappeared without such exulted display or memorialisation. The uprooting and extraction was complete.



Figure 6. The last traces of the Heygate Estate with the New Buildings rising above them. Charcoal on paper. 2016.

#### Reconstruction and newness

Building and construction work is messy and physical, carried out all year round under all weather conditions and Pallasmaa has argued that the 'traces, stains and dirt' should all be shown in drawn images to reflect the human labour taking place on site (Pallasmaa, 2009:109). Construction sites are temporary settlements in the urban landscape and usually concealed by hoardings around their perimeter. The imagery used on the hoardings has no connection with the physical nature of the work carried out within the sites. The visual styling of the images around the site showed a twilight setting with incorporeal figures appearing to float in the spaces rather than inhabiting them.

Construction work is physically demanding and the skills used are rarely made visible in the regeneration process. Drawing as an emotionally embodied activity is an engaged method by which to document these events and make visible what is hidden and placed out of view. I focused on a series of drawings of workers and their immersive tasks, such as pouring cement and disgorging earth from piling drills, to record the movement and exertion needed at each stage of the building process (Figure 7, 8). At all times, human skill was required to control and complete the task which was repeated many times over during the course of the day; often the figures seemed to merge with the earth. The collective tasks required equally skilled judgements and moments of force to prepare the earth for construction (Figure 9).

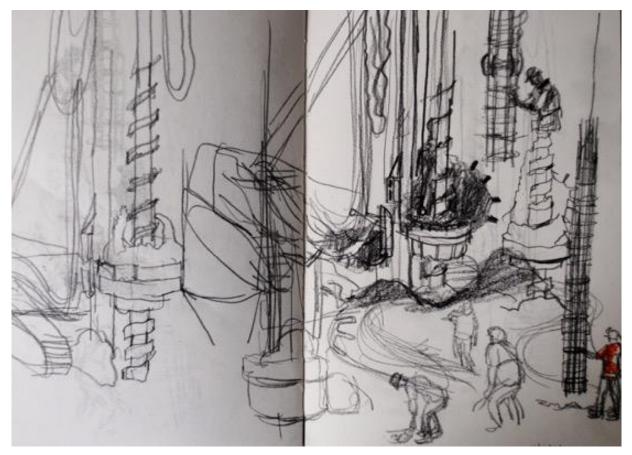


FIGURE 7. WORKERS, PILING DRILL AND MOULDS. APRIL 2016.



FIGURE 8. POURING WET CEMENT INTO A PILING MOULD ON SITE.



FIGURE 9. LOOKING DOWN ON THE CONSTRUCTION SITE WITH WORKERS IN HIGH VISIBILITY JACKETS. APRIL 2016.

The gated buildings and street plans that emerged from this vast amount of human labour referenced the market gardens and semi-rural spaces of the early nineteenth century (Figure 10). Names such as South Gardens or Orchard Gardens sat oddly with the reality of the increased density and height of the

new development, with no fruit trees in sight. The use of language to subvert meaning was evident throughout the regeneration area.

The control of reputational image and accessibility adds another hidden outer layer of complexity to the management of the regeneration. This outer layer is vital to the official narrative of the development, in pursuit of the official vision, as vital as the on-site construction schedule and labour.

With the completion of South Gardens the first phase of the regeneration had been achieved by the developers (Figure 11). The new owners had moved into their apartments with polychrome brick facades, balconies and concierge facilities (Figure 12). Architecturally, they had no resemblance to the Heygate, and some of the features seem to reference the previous tenements the Heygate replaced, such as the window bays. Overall, they give a sense of newness and a generic conformity that could locate them in any new development in London. The landscaped gardens had dense planting and were gated and monitored with security cameras to secure the enclosed spaces. There was a stark contrast with the images of the gardens on hoardings and in marketing publicity – they are open and shown without any barrier or fencing and it is perpetually mid-summer – with no sign of the heavy railings that now secure them.

Watt and Minton calculate that 'during the New Labour period 1997/98-2009/10, a derisory 340 new council homes were built in London'. Watt and Minton argue this has marked a real shift in public attitudes since the 1960s and the impact of television dramas like Cathy Come Home, directed by Ken Loach in 1966 for the BBC, which resulted in the founding of the homeless charity Shelter. Fifty years later there has been no defining drama or artwork to galvanise collective memory and impact on national consciousness in the same way. In the aftermath of the 2017 Grenfell Tower fire, the need for more safe high-quality social homes has become more urgent than ever.



FIGURE 10. SOUTH GARDENS UNDER CONSTRUCTION. CHARCOAL ON A1 CARTRIDGE PAPER.

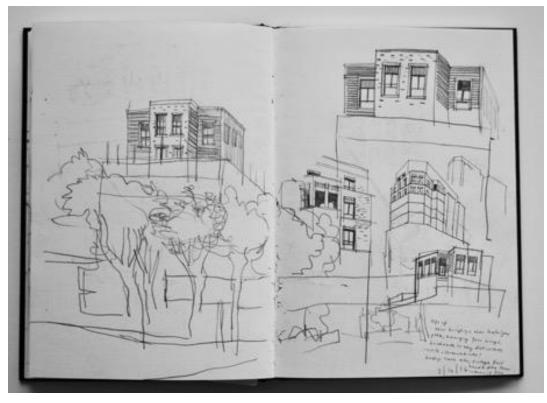


Figure 11. The New Private and Gated Buildings of South Gardens with Polychrome Brickwork. A4 Sketchbook. Pencil on paper. January 2017.

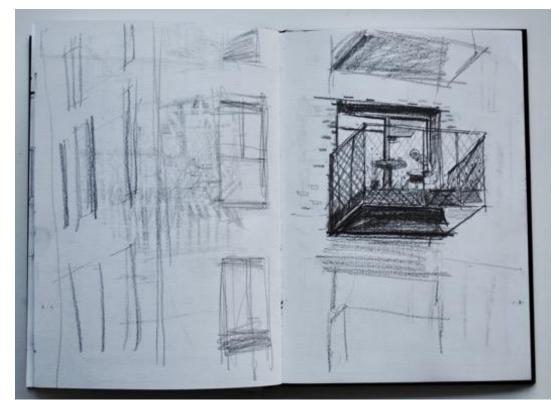


FIGURE 11. SOUTH GARDENS - BALCONY WITH FIGURE. A4 SKETCHBOOK. PENCIL ON PAPER. JUNE 2017.

### Conclusion

My aim has been to capture observations of urban regeneration as a witnessing artist and engaged citizen, using a process which emphasises my individual opposition to the loss of social housing and public land in the regeneration of Elephant and Castle as a representative case study of urban policy throughout much of the UK. I feel that drawing has the necessary capacity to witness and document these changes, to make us look at and examine what has been lost. Drawing is 'seeing for the last time' (Berger, 2005) and it prevents us forgetting. In the contested urban landscape of Elephant and Castle my drawing has been used as a prescient mnemonic of personal and collective history. The effectiveness of drawing over other media is its legibility and simplicity to use in a situated first-hand account. Allen and Pearson have suggested that drawing acts as a subjective tool in recording urban loss and creating an authentic record:

...drawing can become a site for deviating and challenging the historical... drawing can serve as an analytical tool to reveal the real history of spaces, its inherent subjectivity offering a different means of inquiry to the photograph and text (Allen and Pearson, 2016:68).

My drawing method was influenced by Bomberg's war-time drawings in capturing the landscape using high viewpoints with little extraneous detail and an expressive use of charcoal. Moorhouse has suggested Bomberg's 'response to structure is, at a profound level, felt – and it is this that must also be expressed' and 'Drawing is the visual evidence of looking, an encounter that... at a profound level, drawing deepens the experience of seeing...' (Moorhouse, 2020:200).

I did not want to create a neo-Romantic vision of ruins and the observational and felt drawings. Auerbach's use of the building site provided possibilities to view the landscape in a way that showed its impermanence and constant flux. I wanted to capture the raw energy of the process and both Bomberg and Auerbach have a visceral energy that corresponded to what I witnessed on site.

The local context and contested nature of the site was navigated via the hauntological method of Ford's experience in the gentrifying neoliberal city. I chose not to use textual elements in my drawings, but to present them as a record of the process of regeneration from demolition to renewal as an alternative version of what happened and to counter the official imagery and language of the hoardings and promotional material. Coverley has argued that, in making visible specific areas of the regenerated city, Ford shows 'ways in which hauntology can resist the ongoing attempts of those who seek to misrepresent or overwrite the past and the futures it once promised' (Coverley, 2020:258).

My drawings show the removal and enclosure of public land and social housing, followed by the new gated communities. The language and names of the new buildings are used to refer back to the semirural nature of the area in the nineteenth century – a time beyond living memory. There is no memorial or legacy of what has been lost and overwritten on the post-war years.

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