

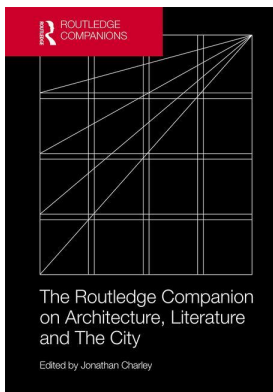
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## **The Routledge Companion on Architecture, Literature and The City**

Jonathan Charley

### **Figuring speech**

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## Figuring speech Before and after writing

Jane Rendell

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### Before and after writing

In the autumn of 2014, as I was drawing to a close a book I was writing on architecture, psychoanalysis and social housing, I discovered that my flat in Southwark – and so the very desk at which I had been writing – was in the council’s ‘estate renewal zone’.<sup>1</sup> The property consultants Savills had been advising the council of the need to ‘unearth the potential’ of public land, including ‘brownfield sites’, a term which for them included fully occupied housing estates.<sup>2</sup> This raised for me uncertainties around my home. I had written before about social housing, but writing about the home in which I was living and the site of that writing itself, figured the relation of my life to my writing practice differently.

### Site-writing

*In visual and spatial culture, feminists have drawn extensively on psychoanalytic theory to think through relationships between the spatial politics of internal psychological figures and external cultural geographies.<sup>3</sup> With words such as ‘mapping’, ‘locating’, ‘situating’, ‘positioning’ and ‘boundaries’ appearing frequently, the language of these texts has been highly spatialised and discussions of new ways of knowing and being articulated through spatial concepts such as ‘standpoint theory’ and ‘situated knowledge’. The development of these two terms, particularly through the work of Sandra Harding and Donna Haraway, has been key for examining the relationship between the construction of subjects and the politics of location – put simply, where I am influences what I can know and who I can be.<sup>4</sup>*

*‘Site-writing’ is the name I have given to a practice I have developed to question notions of neutral, objective and disinterested judgment in criticism, and to draw attention to the situatedness of criticism. Such a project involves rethinking the terms of criticism, specifically judgment, discrimination and critical distance, from a spatial perspective, one where space is physical and architectural rather than solely metaphorical.<sup>5</sup> I am interested in how – through the practice of writing itself – we can investigate the spatial and often changing positions we occupy as critics materially, conceptually, emotionally and ideologically.*

*‘Site-writing’ draws on Howard Caygill’s notion of strategic critique, which shares with immanent critique the capacity for discovering or inventing the criteria of critical judgement ‘in the course of criticism’,<sup>6</sup> and is in tune with Gavin Butt’s ‘call for the recognition of an “immanent” rather than a transcendent,*

*mode of contemporary criticality' which is 'apprehended within – and instanced as – the performative act of critical engagement itself'.<sup>7</sup> I have suggested that with her or his responsibility to address a work and an audience, the critic occupies a discrete position as mediator, and that this situatedness plays a part in conditioning the performance of his or her interpretative role.*

*Critics from feminist and performance studies have also expressed an interest in the performative qualities of criticism. Amelia Jones and Andrew Stephenson, for example, take issue with the tradition that the interpreter must be neutral or disinterested in the objects, which s/he judges, and posit instead that the processes of viewing and interpreting involve 'entanglement in intersubjective spaces of desire, projection and identification': 'Interpretation', they argue, 'like the production of works of art, is a mode of communication. Meaning is a process of engagement and never dwells in any one place'.<sup>8</sup>*

*This practice, that I call 'site-writing', figures what happens when discussions concerning situatedness and site-specificity extend to involve urban and literary criticism, and the spatial qualities of writing become as important in performing meaning as the content of the criticism.<sup>9</sup> 'Site-writing' seeks to question the separation of critical analysis and creative work in urban research and literary analysis by aiming to 'write sites', rather than write about sites. My hope is that by operating as a mode of writing practice in its own right – one which takes into account its own sites and situations – this kind of criticism can raise ethical questions concerning the relation of the critic to the work positioned 'under' critique, and propose alternative ways for researchers and writers to 'relate' to their own objects or subjects of study by experimenting with new possibilities for writing the situatedness of criticism.*

## Writing before speaking

The text below combines two voices, both are written texts that were spoken aloud as part of The Public Inquiry into the Aylesbury Compulsory Purchase Order (CPO), held in 'Arry's Bar at Millwall Football ground from 28 April to 1 May 2015. The one in plain text is a summary of the Academic Expert Witness Statement I submitted to Government Inspector Leslie Coffey on 23 April 2015 and the one in bold the Witness Statement of an Aylesbury Leaseholder.

23 April 2015

I, Jane Rendell, of The Bartlett School of Architecture, University College London (UCL), 140 Hampstead Road, London, NW1 2BX, say as follows.<sup>10</sup>

### Professional Role

My name is Jane Rendell and I have been a Professor of Architecture and Art at the Bartlett School of Architecture at University College London (UCL) since 2008. I worked as an architectural designer on social housing in the 1980s and 90s, and I have an MA and PhD in architectural history. My forthcoming book looks at the destruction of 1950s/1960s welfare state housing designed and built by the London County Council (LCC), and how the democratic aspirations of the post war period to provide housing based on need have been replaced by a market-based housing model.

### Methodology

#### 1 Literature review

My statement is based on the following sources: (i) academic literature held in the public domain on housing, regeneration and the current London Housing Crisis, including evidence-based analyses of the Aylesbury Estate made by Professor

Loretta Lees and Dr Richard Baxter;<sup>11</sup> (ii) summaries of the on-going Aylesbury demolition on three key websites – 35%, Southwark Notes, and Better Elephant;<sup>12</sup> (iii) material on the redevelopment of the Aylesbury Estate since 2005 from the Southwark Council website or accessed through FOI requests.

## 2 Situated knowledge

My published research draws on my personal experience, on what Professor Donna Haraway has described as ‘situated knowledge’.<sup>13</sup> Since 2010 I have been a resident leaseholder of a flat on the eighteenth floor of Crossmount House, on the Wyndham Estate, half a mile west of the Aylesbury Estate and the ‘Order Land’.<sup>14</sup> I have been a Strategic Member of the Aylesbury Leaseholders Action Group since November 2014, through which I have first-hand knowledge and understanding of the experiences of various Aylesbury leaseholders.

My experience as a Southwark leaseholder (over my own windows and balcony described in my statement) has highlighted for me:

- i The imbalance of power in relations between Southwark leaseholders and Southwark Council, and how Southwark Council has the power to make decisions that are extremely difficult for leaseholders to challenge without expensive legal advice.
- ii The lack of importance with which Southwark Council holds modern architecture, particularly the ways in which the views and the communal areas, which are integral to the design of ‘point’ and ‘slab’ blocks in post-war welfare state housing, are devalued with the insertion on my estate of poorly designed plastic windows and the locking off of laundry rooms.

My statement is based on research given *pro-bono*, partly to help my neighbours, and partly as my home is in a post-war ‘point’ and ‘slab’ block estate in Southwark’s renewal zone. I will return to the relevance of this definition.

### *Historical context: The Aylesbury as part of post-war Welfare State Public Housing*

Crossmount House, where I live, was built in 1967, it is a point-block, one of five, designed by Colin Locus, one of the architects of the renowned LCC Alton Estate at Roehampton.<sup>15</sup> With a target population of 10,000 the Alton Estate was the largest of the L. C. C. developments, and one of the largest housing projects in Europe. Alton East pioneered ‘point’ blocks, based on Swedish designs, of which Crossmount House is a fine example. Alton West pioneered ‘slab’ blocks, based on Le Corbusier’s famous *Unité d’Habitation*, built between 1947 and 1953 in Marseilles,<sup>16</sup> and situated in 8.65 acres of parkland, offering views to all its inhabitants: ‘everyone looks out on trees and sky’.<sup>17</sup> The *Unité de Marseilles*, was in turn inspired by the Narkomfin Communal House in Moscow, designed by Moisei Ginzburg with Ignatii Milinis in 1928–1929, a scheme which included green space, communal facilities and whose dwelling blocks were orientated to include air, sun and access to greenery, via ribbon windows and roof gardens.<sup>18</sup> Key to the *Unité* and the Narkomfin designs were the communal spaces, specifically the wide corridors, for

people to meet and socialize, later termed ‘streets in the sky’ by the British post war architects, Peter and Alison Smithson, and which inspired the recently refurbished Park Hill in Sheffield,<sup>19</sup> as well as the Aylesbury.<sup>20</sup>

### *Current context: The Aylesbury and ‘Estate Renewal’*

Much of Southwark’s housing strategy for council estate ‘renewal’ is informed by research conducted by property consultants, Savills, who recommend that councils ‘unearth the potential’ of public land.<sup>21</sup> The post-war ‘point’ and ‘slab’ blocks that make up most estates, including the Aylesbury, are not dense enough Savills argue; they must be replaced by mansion blocks situated on re-introduced old street layouts.<sup>22</sup> Savills cite a report published by Create Streets, which claims that people do not like in living in post-war high-rise blocks.<sup>23</sup>

However, such viewpoints are directly countered by qualitative research, such as that conducted recently on the Aylesbury Estate by Dr Richard Baxter whose oral history with residents on the estate counters the dominant trend to dismiss high-rise living as a failure, showing instead the importance of the high-rise view to people’s sense of identity, and the pleasurable role of vertical experiences in belonging to place and in home-making.<sup>24</sup>

Professor Loretta Lees has pointed out how unfavourable representations of post-war estates like the Aylesbury in the media, have helped to create a biased impression of a violent underworld by those who do not live there, and thus participated in building an image of a failing housing estate which requires demolition.

As London property prices have been leveraged up to unsustainable levels, the motive for ‘unearthing the potential’ of public land, which depends on the demolition of post-war public housing estates, is to open them up for private investment, rather than ‘the greater public benefit’. This is the context for the use of CPOs to acquire leaseholder properties.

### *Overall argument*

I question Southwark Council’s use of Compulsory Purchase Orders to acquire leaseholder properties on the ‘Order Land’. In my view, there is not a ‘compelling case in the public interest’,<sup>25</sup> to ‘justify interfering with the human rights of those with an interest in the land affected’,<sup>26</sup> by the use of CPOs which would go against Article 1 of the *Protocol of the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms*.<sup>27</sup>

The Government Circular 06/2004, *Compulsory Purchase and the Crichel Down Rules*, notes that CPOs can only be taken when ‘there is clear evidence that the public benefit will outweigh the private loss’.<sup>28</sup> The *Statement of Case made by the London Borough of Southwark under Rule 7 of the Compulsory Purchase Inquiries Procedure) Rules 2007* states that:

a local authority must not exercise its compulsory purchase power ... unless it thinks that the development, re-development or improvement is likely to contribute to the achievement of any one of more of the following objects: (a) The promotion or improvement of the economic well-being of their area; (b) The

promotion or improvement of the social well-being of their area; (c) The promotion or improvement of the environmental well-being of their area.<sup>29</sup>

In my view, the regeneration programme of the Aylesbury neither promotes nor improves the wellbeing of the area. If we recognize the existing residents as part of the 'area', it is difficult to imagine how removing people from their homes against their will and demolishing well-designed housing improves and contributes to the environmental and social well-being of the area.

The following seven aspects of Southwark's regeneration scheme do not promote or improve the wellbeing of the area, are not 'in the public interest', and thus do not justify the CPO of leaseholder properties on the 'Order Land'.

**I made the decision to buy my home in 2003. It was because I loved the area and being close to the largest park in South East London (Burgess Park) was another attraction. Beautiful outside space with various elements which is a wonderful place for family life as well as serenity. My future benefits and my expectations would be met by having a home for life.**

#### 1 Choosing to demolish rather than refurbish

The Conisbee report of March 2005 is a structural survey of the Aylesbury Estate commissioned by Southwark Council.<sup>30</sup> Based on an assessment of the buildings, the Jespersion construction technique used to construct the Aylesbury, and the Building Regulations current at the time of construction, it concludes that the only action required is minor repairs to the 5-storey blocks.

**The LBS [The London Borough of Southwark] state that the estate is ugly, run-down and beyond economical repair and I have read this negativity from outsiders. I would like to know these people writing these things and if they have actually been on the estate and walked around – prior to the decanting – and seen the beauty of the estate. 'Every rock is someone's diamond'. That's how I would describe it. Yes there may be some miniscule flaws but nothing that cannot be ironed out with refurbishment.**

Estates in other London Boroughs, built using the same construction system, such as Six Acres in Islington, have been refurbished rather than demolished. However, at a meeting on the 27 September 2005 Southwark decided to demolish rather than refurbish the Aylesbury. I have been unable to access information of any cost benefit analysis undertaken to determine the financial basis for the decision and a key numerical table on p. 10 of the Conisbee report is missing from the bundles of information sent to Leaseholders by Southwark. [see Witness Statement of Beverley Robinson, point 2.]

**I also believe it is a wonderful structure and it brings together all the elements of community spirit. I have made so many friends with people on the Aylesbury, e.g. direct neighbours and people that I have conversed with within the lift (when they are working).**

## 2 Reducing the number of affordable units

There are 566 existing units in the 'Order' land, of which 511 are social rented and 55 leasehold; these will be replaced by 830 new units of which only 406 are affordable.<sup>31</sup> The addition of 424 units for private sale at the full market rate, against the loss of 511 social rented units, is evidence not that public benefit outweighs private loss, but of the reverse: that private benefit outweighs public loss.

**My home is being taken away from me for a fraction of the cost I believe it is actually worth. This is a bitter pill to swallow.**

**Because of all this unnecessary stress of decanting and the hostility that comes with it, I have already suffered several health episodes, which fatally could result in stroke or heart attacks – this due to stress.**

## 3 Displacing mixed communities

The 'right to buy' has produced a mixed community of estate residents – council tenants and leaseholders. This quality of mixed tenure is one of the prime features of diversity in most public housing estates across London, certainly in the Wyndham where I live, as well as the Aylesbury Estate and the 'Order Land'. Southwark Council in its *Equalities Impact Assessment for Aylesbury Area Action Plan* (January 2009) describes a ratio of 18% leaseholders to 82% tenants. They also describe the existing residents as highly diverse in terms of ethnic composition, with 67% belonging to a minority ethnic group, and around 21% over 60 years of age.<sup>32</sup>

**I have lived on the estate for over 27 years. Prior to living on the estate I spent many summers here on Aylesbury with my cousins from Latimer (my first introduction to the Aylesbury) and those were the fun years of my teenage life running around the estate and networking in the bag wash (laundromat). My cousins continue to live in the area and I enjoy socializing with them.**

By its own admission, the Aylesbury Estate and the 'Order Land' within it, is *already* a diverse community with mixed tenure, which contradicts a key reason that Southwark Council has given for redeveloping the Aylesbury Estate to create a 'vibrant new neighbourhood'.<sup>33</sup>

**You get to know so much about individuals just by a conversation in the lift on the estate and there is a large presence of community spirit. Some people you don't even know their names but you still say hi and have a long chat.**

Of the 575 Aylesbury households removed from the estate to date (387 tenants and 188 leaseholders),<sup>34</sup> just a third (195) have managed to remain in Walworth.<sup>35</sup> This map shows how in the Heygate Estate, a mile to the north, tenants were displaced from central London into other boroughs, and leaseholders ejected from the city entirely.<sup>36</sup> If the statistics for the Aylesbury households continue to follow this pattern of dispersal then the regeneration will have the paradoxical effect of displacing precisely those people who it was apparently intended to benefit.<sup>37</sup>

**The properties I have seen go no way to meet the spacious elements of my flat. The Council tax on these properties is more than the property I am living in. Moreover, I would have to pay more money in transport to move to these properties or if I moved out of the area have to find the money to get into the area to attend the hospital and other services.**

A recent Government report states that ‘leaseholders should be offered a like-for-like replacement of their property, or a similar offer, wherever possible’,<sup>38</sup> yet Southwark’s options for leaseholders which include them acquiring shared ownership or equity of the new intermediate units is not realistic given the difference between the sums leaseholders are being offered for their own properties and the price of intermediate units.

**I am not in a position to get a mortgage because of my age and currently being unemployed so my future looks very bleak! And the uncertainty of moving away from my life-long friends, family is killing me on a daily basis. My health continues to deteriorate waiting for my home to be.**

**The negotiations with LBS have been extremely difficult and the conduct of certain parties can be called into question as they do not treat people fairly and equitably. The money on offer cannot buy another property of the same size in my area.**

**I am unemployed, have restricted funds and the CPO is harming my prospects for the future. This threat of a compulsory purchase order has prevented me from pursuing my goals of further study, impinged on my right to a family life, and had a negative effect on my health.**

#### 4 Organising the new housing according to economic status

Southwark Council in its *Equalities Impact Assessment for Aylesbury Area Action Plan* (January 2009), states it will not ‘create an area of the “haves” and “have nots”’.<sup>39</sup> Yet housing at Camberwell Fields is segregated into zones – private sale, social rent, and intermediate – according to the purchasing power of the occupants/buyers.<sup>40</sup> In phase 1a of the Aylesbury redevelopment, the units are distributed so the south-facing views over Burgess Park previously enjoyed by a mix of tenants and leaseholders will mainly benefit units for private sale on the open market. See in the plan how the majority of units overlooking the park (D) and directly behind this (B/E) are for sale, while the intermediate are mainly located on site A, towards the back of the site, and site D, at the far back of the site, is mainly social rented units.

**The views from my living room, bedroom and kitchen and front landing are breathtaking. I can see an array of London tourist attractions e.g., the London Eye, Big Ben, Shard, Gherkin, Razor, St Paul’s Cathedral, Canary Wharf, Strata Tower at the Elephant and Castle. I will no longer be able to see the sights from my windows if this CPO is granted. My family and friends come from all over the world to see these tourist attractions and go back and tell their friends about what**



**spectacular views their cousin/friend has from her flat windows. And their friends then want to come and see for themselves so if this was such an ugly deprived estate why do people so love coming to visit and moreover love living on it?**

5 Ignoring the democratic decision-making processes

Unlike Heygate residents, who were denied a ballot on the future of their estate, Aylesbury residents were fully balloted. In 2001 76% of Aylesbury residents turned out to vote against a proposed stock transfer and regeneration (3.73%).<sup>41</sup> This democratic process has been ignored by Southwark who have gone ahead with privatization regardless of the majority of residents' wishes.

**In 2001 the LBS proposed that the Aylesbury estate was to be refurbished. This proposal was strongly supported by residents. Refurbishment would be in the public interest and for the wellbeing of the current community of residents of the Aylesbury.**

**At a ballot in 2001 in relation to stock transfer, 73% voted against and a promise of refurbishment was then given by the council. As a result I signed on the dotted line to complete my transaction of the purchase of my property. Then I became aware that my property was now going to be demolished. My property became immediately blighted.**

**You could imagine my shock and anxiety. I felt that I had been deceived. I know that I was given a discount for the property and I was informed that if I sold my property back to the LBS I would have to pay back the discount. This I could not afford. So I was now between a rock and a hard place. I am faced with the immediate threat of losing my home due to the Compulsory Purchase Order**

6 Prioritizing private profit over leaseholder wellbeing

Southwark Council plan to compulsorily purchase properties that they previously sold to leaseholders. However, one key financial objective of the redevelopment of the Aylesbury Estate, as stated in the report of the meeting of Southwark Council on 27 September 2005, is to allow developers to make 15% profit. How can making a profit for private developers be for the public benefit? When a local authority uses statutory powers to dispossess leaseholders of their homes and life savings, to the great benefit of private capital, trust in public institutions as systems of governance is weakened.

**I have seen the devastating effects that this regeneration has had on people. It has broken whole families apart, caused many to lose their jobs, resulted in children being out of school for months until Schools in other areas could take them in. Many residents are concerned about losing that support network and the health of those non-visible vulnerable residents has deteriorated.**

7 Redaction of key information concerning 'viability'

The claim made by the Aylesbury Area Action Plan that 'replacement of all the existing social rented housing would not be possible economically',<sup>42</sup> is impossible

to disprove since the viability studies and financial models that form the basis of the decisions have been redacted from key documents, and are unavailable for public scrutiny. When requesting information concerning the partnership deal between Southwark Council and Notting Hill Housing Trust, Southwark Council asserted that ‘the public interest in providing this information does not outweigh the likely prejudice to commercial and economic interests of both the council and the third party.’<sup>43</sup> Southwark Council argues that the demolition of the ‘Order Land’ is in the public interest and that public benefit outweighs private loss, yet this contradicts its decision to protect the privacy of the developers’ financial information, while demanding that leaseholders should have their finances means tested and opened to public scrutiny.

**The LBS has reneged on the promise to allow residents to return to the footprint of the estate. The LBS initially stated that people would be allowed to return, however subsequently I was informed that there is no right to return after redevelopment has been completed.**

### *Speech acts*

*In The Human Condition Hannah Arendt draws a distinction between labour, work and action, in which labour corresponds to the biological life of humans and animals, work to the artificial processes of artefact fabrication, and action – and its connection to speech – is the central political activity.*<sup>44</sup> *The actions that I and other expert witnesses, leaseholders and residents, including members of the Aylesbury Leaseholder Action Group, made as objections to the use of the Compulsory Purchase Order, consisted of oral evidence-based testimonies and academic arguments, presented first in writing, and then spoken aloud, at the site of the Public Inquiry.*

*Those who voice their protest in the public and semi-legal space and language of Public Inquiries,<sup>45</sup> frequently do not have the financial means to obtain legal representation, and so it is that the legal team paid for by those implementing the CPO, Southwark Council in this case, can discount words – written and spoken – often because they have not been presented in the correct manner. However, despite the contested status of these spoken and written words as legal evidence, they do have the power to draw attention to injustice in a public setting.*

*Following J. L. Austin’s seminal 1955 lecture series ‘How to do Things with Words?’ in which he discusses the performative capacity of language,<sup>46</sup> these spoken words could be considered as speech acts, or in Austin’s terms ‘performative sentences’ or utterances. Yet the two are not quite the same; a speech act is an act that ‘can (though need not) be performed by saying that one is doing so’, such as resigning, promising, asserting and asking, whereas a performative sentence is one in ‘the first person, present tense, indicative mood, active voice’.<sup>47</sup> Austin also draws the following distinction between two kinds of speech act:*

*The locutionary act [...] which has a meaning; the illocutionary act which has a force in saying something; the perlocutionary act which is the achieving of certain effects by saying something.*<sup>48</sup>

### **Writing after speaking**

The Public Inquiry ran out of time and was adjourned. In the meantime I consulted documents of relevance to the questions I had been asked during my cross-examination by

Southwark Council's barrister, but which had thus far not been presented as written evidence. I submitted my responses to these documents as a written statement, when the Public Inquiry resumed on 12 May 2015.

Statement written in response to cross-examination on 1 May 2015.

Jane Rendell  
11 May 2015

After having presented my expert witness statement on 1 May 2015, when I was cross-examined by Southwark Council's legal representative, I was asked to comment on two documents which I had not seen before – the Conisbee Report 2004 and Levitt Bernstein Report 2004. The Levitt Bernstein Report 2004 had only been circulated to the objectors the previous day.

On reading these documents subsequently I discovered that the Conisbee Report 2004 states that its commentary must be read in parallel with the Frost Associates Cost Option appraisal, since 'with differing priorities the findings currently have different preferred outcomes'. There was no copy of this report in the core bundle. [This was requested by the Statutory Objectors and provided to me on the afternoon 10 May 2015].

The Conisbee Report 2004 also mentions the BPTW Construction Cost Report. This is a report by Levitt Bernstein, BPTW and PTEa, dated April 2005 and headed 'Estimated Costs for Estate-wide Refurbishment Options [...]'. In para 16 it states: [...] 'this report relates to the capital cost of construction only. Replacement, repair, maintenance and other associated costs/benefits are the subject of a supplementary report prepared by Frost Associates.' [This report was requested by the Statutory Objectors and was sent to Judi Bos, I have read through it here today.]

Having had time to briefly consider the contents of the documents, these are my reflections on them, and the relation of their contents to the decision made by the Executive on 27 September 2005 to demolish rather than refurbish the Aylesbury Estate.

a *There remains a lack of evidence of costings for demolition-new build option.*

There is no evidence provided to date, which compares, in outline or detail for the whole estate, the costs of the refurbishment and demolition-new build options. The Frost Associates Cost Option and BPTW Construction Cost Reports provide detailed costings for refurbishment, but they contain no financial information concerning the demolition-new build option, and thus in my view the information they contain is not sufficient to make an economic comparison concerning the refurbishment re demolition. [The Conisbee Report 2004 itself argues for the need to look at these costings in detail as part of the next phase.] At page 10 of the Conisbee Report 2004 is a table of figures, which might compare the costs of five options (refurb and demo/new build) for the Aylesbury. [It is not legible and Southwark Council have argued that they have no report of the original document.][...]

b *Lack of consultation of key documents when making the decision to demolish.*

How could a key decision on whether to refurbish or demolish the Aylesbury have been reached by the Executive in their meeting of 27 September 2005 when the documentation of that meeting lists no documents as having been consulted?<sup>49</sup>

c *Lack of any case study analysis.*

Since other London councils with identical building stock (for example Islington's Green Acres Estate) chose, in the same time frame, to refurbish rather than demolish their housing estates, I do not understand why Southwark did not conduct any comparative case study analyses when making the decision to refurbish or demolish the Aylesbury Estate. This would have been an obvious piece of research to conduct in order to provide evidence for informing such a key decision.

d *The lack of 'future-proofing'.*

The decision taken by Southwark on 27 September 2005 to demolish the Aylesbury does not work today for two main reasons: 1) due to the embodied carbon costs of existing building structures, as well as other social reasons in terms of displacing communities, demolition is now seen to be a non-sustainable option; 2) the policies for rehousing leaseholders as described in item 14 (Appendix 3)<sup>50</sup> and item 15 (para 45)<sup>51</sup> of the 26 September 2006 meeting of the Executive, cannot be used today because of the increase in housing prices in this part of London.

45. The following options have been considered in respect of the re-housing of leaseholders with provision through either the private sector, RSLs or the Council:

- a Buying a property on the open market
- b Buying a shared ownership unit
- c Buying a retained equity unit
- d Comparative value transaction
- e Alternative acquisition (siting tenant Value) becoming a tenant within one of the new early housing site properties or with the Council's existing stock.<sup>52</sup>

The evidence given by leaseholders at the Public Inquiry on 30 April, 1 May and 11 May 2015, demonstrates that Southwark's policies for rehousing circulated in 2005 do not work in practice in 2015 because of today's house prices and will result in leaseholders being displaced from the area, which is clearly not in the public interest, and will not improve its wellbeing.

### *The shape of a mouth*

*We see here, between the letter and the meaning, between what the poet has written and what he thought, there is a gap, a space, and like all space, it possesses a form. This form is called a figure, and there will be as many figures as one can find forms in the space that is created on each occasion between the line of the signifier [...] and that of the signified [...] which is obviously merely another signifier offered as the literal one.*<sup>53</sup>

In his book *Figures of Literary Discourse*, the literary critic Gérard Genette discusses the work of literature in terms of the word 'figure'. He examines the status of the figure in the rhetorical tradition and argues that since Antiquity rhetoric has defined figures as 'ways of speaking removed from those that are natural and ordinary'.<sup>54</sup> Genette describes how 'rhetoric is a system of figures', but the definition of figure in the rhetorical tradition has not been clear; a figure might be distinct in its effect in terms of 'vividness, nobility, and pleasantness', but that what makes a figurative expression different from a non-figurative one is that it has a 'particular modification which one calls figure'.<sup>55</sup> Genette acknowledges that such a definition could be considered almost tautological, 'but not quite, since it places the being of the figure in the fact of having a figure'.<sup>56</sup> Genette explains: 'Simple, common expression has no form, the figure has one: so we are brought back to the definition of the figure as a gap between sign and meaning, as the inner space of language.'<sup>57</sup>

In her commentary on Genette's work on the figure, Marie-Rose Logan notes:

*From Quintilian on, a figure has been defined as a gap or a modification; this time-honoured definition is taken up by Genette and extended to the 'visible body of literature'. In so doing, Genette implies that a literary work, like a figure, takes place in a space which is not empty but which in fact contains far more than a certain mode of eloquence or of rhetoric because it encompasses the very process of writing. It is precisely in connection with the process of writing that Genette in another essay establishes a relationship between the discourse of the writer and the discourse of the critic, a relationship which offers a parallel to the definition of figure as 'a gap between sign and meaning'.<sup>58</sup>*

Logan outlines how,

*[i]n the Institutio Oratoria, Quintilian uses figurae as a translation of the Greek term schemata: [...] "A figure ... as is clear from the name itself, is the term employed when we give our language a conformation other than the obvious or the ordinary."<sup>59</sup>*

Logan continues: 'Quintilian refers to the accepted meaning of figura, a conformation or a form. For instance, figura was used in the expression formae figura, the conformation of a mold.'<sup>60</sup> 'Hence', according to Logan, 'Quintilian operates a displacement from "virtual language" (that which would have been used as a simple or common expression) to "real language" (in this case, that of the rhetorician)'.<sup>61</sup> She concludes: 'The meanings of figura actually parallel those of the Greek term schema. In Aristotle's writings, schema is used either to render a rhetorical notion or, simply, to designate a shape such as "the shape of a mouth".'<sup>62</sup>

## Speaking before writing

It became clear on 12 May 2015, that the lack of legal representation on the side of the objectors had produced an unbalanced situation in the Public Inquiry, allowing Southwark Council's legal team to control the type of language used and its speech performance, thus setting up a situation where those objecting to the use of the CPO were put at a disadvantage. As objectors we argued therefore that the Public Inquiry could not continue without 'equality of arms' – i.e. that for a Public Inquiry to be fair and just, if one side was to be provided with legal representation then the other should be too.<sup>63</sup> The Inspector agreed, and gave the Aylesbury Leaseholder Action Group three days to find a barrister. We managed to secure the services of Chris Jacobs of Landmark Chambers – who was willing to act for us, partly pro-bono, and partly for a fee raised

by the Aylesbury Leaseholder Action Group, their supporters and Creation Trust. On that basis the Public Inquiry was adjourned again until 13–4 October 2015, so that our barrister could represent us. He did so on three points, for which he asked a group of us to prepare written statements: on affordable housing; on human rights and housing for protected groups; and in my case, on the relative costs of reconstruction and demolition/new build.

My written submission was a commentary on the documents on which the Executive Committee has based their 27 September 2005 decision to demolish rather than refurbish the Aylesbury Estate. I pointed to evidence based on research and design, previously commissioned and paid by Southwark, which showed that the costs of refurbishment were approximately one third of demolition/new build. This was based on a table on p. 10 of the Conisbee Report dated November 2004, which had been illegible when the Public Inquiry met in April and May, but which was requested and circulated as a legible document on 30 July 2015. Southwark ‘rebutted’ a number of my points, and so I submitted another written document in response to the rebuttal, but also to another set of documents issues to the leaseholder group on 22 September 2015.

Jane Rendell

Extracts from Response to Southwark Council’s Rebuttal Statement (9 October 2015)  
11 October 2015

[...] I do not consider this one page cashflow report at Appendix C to constitute sufficient evidence for comparing figures on redevelopment, with the substantial research, designs and costings on the refurbishment and redevelopment options.

The only information contained in Annex C are figures for ‘estimated land value’, ‘income from development’, ‘leaseholders CPO’ and ‘tenants decant’. There is no figure given for construction. There are figures in red for ‘delivery team fees’ and ‘master plan’, but these are meaningless without any other information. The master plan referred to is not attached, and there are no designs or details concerning construction. There is no code given to allow the reader to decipher the abbreviated terms, so it is not possible to understand the costs to which some of the figures refer.

This one-page cash flow chart is the only information with which the Executive was provided for the meeting of 27 September 2005. This is clearly not detailed enough information on which to base such an important decision as the refurbishment or redevelopment of the Aylesbury Estate, and it is in no way comparable to the costings given in the 71-page report by Frost Associates, the 20-page report by BTPW, as well as the design package (up to Stage E) provided by architects Levitt Bernstein for the refurbishment options.

[...] no reference was made, or information provided to the Executive, concerning the design options by Levitt Bernstein commissioned by Southwark for the SW corner which included 5 options for the refurbishment and/or demolition and rebuilding of the 5–6 storey blocks, the costs of which are reported in the table of figures (BPTW) from CD25 ‘Conisbee Report 2004’ (Vol. 2, section 11.2 of Stage E Report November 2004). This is relevant because the financial comparison given in this table on p. 10 based on design solutions provided in the report – for three refurbishment options, and two demolish/new build options for the 5- and 6-storey buildings in the SW corner – is the only designed and costed example of a comparison of the refurbishment v demolish/new build options for the whole of the Estate.

Document US6 CB, a 'Comparative Table of Reports', was issued to some of the leaseholder group on 22 September 2015, and compares the following four documents

- The table of figures (BPTW) from CD25 'Conisbee Report 2004' (Vol. 2, section 11.2 of Stage E Report November 2004).
- Report of Estimated Costs by BPTW April 2005, (Vol. 2, Section 11.8 of Stage E Report November 2004).
- Frost Associates Report May 2005 (Separate report but referred to in Vol. 2, 11.8)
- Executive Report September 2005 CD8 Annex A

However this summary table is problematic for multiple reasons:

- 1 It provides no figures from the table of figures on p. 10 (BPTW) from CD25 'Conisbee Report 2004' (Vol. 2, section 11.2 of Stage E Report November 2004).
- 2 It is not possible to compare the sets of figures for the other 3 documents because:
  - a the categories are not the same,
  - b even when there are related categories the figures do not correlate,
  - c there is no background supporting data on which to understand how the figures were arrived at.

A sound argument must be internally consistent and also correlate with external facts. Southwark's argument is not internally consistent: the figures provided do not tally; and although sums of hundreds of millions of pounds are at stake, it is not possible to verify whether the figures are based on facts, as the figures are not substantiated.

For example the figures given in Annex A and reported in Section 3 of the 2005 Executive report (CD8, p. 585) do not tally with the Report of Estimated Costs by BPTW April 2005, (Vol. 2, Section 11.8 of Stage E Report November 2004) and the report of Frost Associates Report May 2005 (Separate report but referred to in Vol. 2, 11.8)

I have looked again at the summaries of the refurbishment costs provided in the Frost and the BPTW Reports, and they do not match the figures given in Annex A. The BPTW Report gives the following figures for refurbishing the whole Estate:

Decent Homes: £171M  
Decent Homes Plus: £229M

The Frost Report gives the following figures for refurbishing the whole Estate:

Decent Homes: £261M  
Decent Homes Plus: £354.5M

There are discrepancies here, of some £90M in one case, and £120M in the other, which are not accounted for.<sup>64</sup>

## Speaking after writing

When the Public Inquiry resumed on 13 October 2016, Chris Jacobs requested that I be questioned on the evidence I had provided in my written documents of 29 September 2015 and 11 October 2015. In response to Jacobs' questions I discussed the lack of evidence for the costing of external works at £120M as part of the refurbishment option, and the lack of financial information on the new build option as presented to the Executive Committee in their meeting of 27 September 2015 in which the fate of the Aylesbury Estate was decided. Southwark's barrister, Ms Melissa Murphy, chose to disregard this evidence, and instead questioned me on whether I had any knowledge of the funding mechanisms for regeneration available to local councils. She was keen to query my professional status, to undermine my expertise and emphasize those areas in which I had weak claims to knowledge rather than in examining the content of my argument. The experience was so excruciating that I cannot bear to hear the recordings in order to transcribe them as I had intended: in short, I am not yet able to hear the sound of my own voice speaking words that I had earlier written.

### *Parrhesia*

*In the autumn of 1983, Michel Foucault gave six lectures at the University of California, Berkeley exploring the practice of parrhesia in the Greek culture of the fourth and fifth centuries BC. He examined the evolution of the term with respect to rhetoric, politics, and philosophy, and investigated the link between parrhesia and concepts of frankness, truth, danger, criticism, and duty. Foucault summarises his thinking in the first of these lectures as follows:*

*Parrhesia is a kind of verbal activity where the speaker has a specific relation to truth through frankness, a certain relationship to his own life through danger, a certain type of relation to himself or other people through criticism (self-criticism or criticism of other people), and a specific relation to moral law through freedom and duty. More precisely, parrhesia is a verbal activity in which a speaker expresses his personal relationship to truth, and risks his life because he recognizes truth-telling as a duty to improve or help other people (as well as himself).<sup>65</sup>*

*In the later lectures on parrhesia, Foucault turns to examine the function of parrhesia in terms of the crisis of democratic institutions, and then moves on to discuss how parrhesia occurs as an activity in human relations, with respect to oneself and the care of the self, and in relation to others, specifically through three kinds of relation: individual personal, community and public life.<sup>66</sup>*

### After speaking

Instrumentalised through legal and bureaucratic mechanisms, spoken and written, the CPO allows local councils to 'purchase' back from leaseholders the very properties they previously sold them. The CPO is a tool whose operation can only be justified when used for the public interest, yet this very tool is one put into action by councils, agents of the state, to privatize public land through processes of what Paul Watt and others have called 'regeneration and state-led gentrification'.<sup>67</sup> What can words do to contest this forcible process of privatizing land in the public interest, especially when those words are those of a leaseholder, who in speaking out for public housing, has also, in purchasing a leasehold, acted against public housing?



On Friday 16 September, almost a year after the spoken events of the Public Inquiry had concluded, I received an email with a written answer to this question:

The Inspector recommends (IR 424) that the Order should not be confirmed. For the reasons given below, the Secretary of State agrees with the Inspector's recommendation and concludes that the order should not be confirmed.<sup>68</sup>

It seemed as if the evidence provided at the Public Inquiry, specifically the arguments of barrister Chris Jacobs based on Southwark's Public Sector Equality Duty, had managed to block the confirmation of the CPO. The 35% Campaign reported:

In his damning decision, the Secretary of State has said that Southwark has not fulfilled its Public Sector Equality Duty. He points out the majority of the estate (67%) are from black or ethnic minority backgrounds and it is '*highly likely that there is a potential disproportionate impact on [these groups] who are... likely to have to move out of the area if the Order is confirmed.*'<sup>69</sup>

In December 2016, Southwark Council requested permission to apply for a judicial review of the Secretary of State's decision to reject its bid for a CPO on the Aylesbury Estate, but their request was denied.<sup>70</sup>

### *Feminist figurations*

*A key aspect of situated knowledge is the locatedness of personal experience, and the relation of one person's knowledge, understanding and experience to another, which brings us very much into the fields of life-writing, biography and autobiography. The oral historian Linda has drawn on the work of Paul Ricoeur to consider how different forms of figuration operate in narration, relating the act of telling to the told, such that oral history might be itself understood as 'a double interpretive operation in which the narrator recapitulates the told in the telling.' Following Ricoeur, Sandino describes how the individual in interpreting his or her life 'appears both as a reader and writer,' and the 'story of a life continues to be refigured by all the truthful and fictive stories a subject tells about himself or herself... a life is not "how it was" but how it is interpreted and reinterpreted, told and re-told.'*<sup>71</sup>

*In the feminist figurations of Donna Haraway and Rosi Braidotti spatial arrangements are an intrinsic aspect of their story-telling function; specifically the role of actual locations, and the cartographies of power relations and the differing positionalities they generate.*<sup>72</sup> Braidotti writes:

*Figurations are not mere metaphors, but rather markers of more concretely situated historical positions. A figuration is the expression of one's specific positioning in space and time. It marks certain territorial or geopolitical coordinates, but it also points out one's sense of genealogy of historical inscription. Figurations deterritorialize and destabilize the certainties of the subject and allow for a proliferation of situated or 'micro' narratives of self and others.*<sup>73</sup>

*My own practice of 'site-writing' is a literary one, which involves processes of both narration and story-telling. It could also be described in terms of the figure, if we follow Jean-Francois Lyotard's account of how a 'figure' as opposed to a discourse, is conscious of its own modes of representation:*

*[...] it is not a question here of letting the figural insinuate itself into words according to its own rules, but rather of insisting on the word's capacity to utter the preeminence of the figure. The ambition is to signify the other of signification.*<sup>74</sup>

*Site-writing is also strongly informed by psychoanalytic understandings of subjectivity and positionality, where relations between critic and site, as well as between text and reader, are figured, configured and re-configured over time, through the processes of writing and speaking.*

## After writing

A year after taking part in the Public Inquiry, and almost two years after completing my book on social housing, I looked across at the Aylesbury from my flat on the eighteenth floor for the last time. Experiencing the uncertainties of a pending CPO from the perspective of the Aylesbury leaseholders, as well as the poor treatment of leaseholders by Southwark council, in terms of the flawed yet highly costly major works bills, had made it impossible for me to feel ‘at home’ in Southwark. In the five years I had lived there, I had paid Southwark £30,000 in major works bills (for a new roof and windows, lobby decoration, and fire prevention alterations to my block), so it seemed highly unlikely that my estate was under threat. Yet the fear lingered and had taken hold of me like a kind of paranoia. Despite extremely careful and repeated searches over a two-year period, I could find no evidence that my estate was to be regenerated, let alone demolished, in the future. And with plans for estate renewal now shifting east to the Old Kent Road, and my own estate out of the firing line, I decided it was time to sell my flat.

Another year on, and writing the final paragraph of this essay that I began last summer, I am still living in Southwark, and in touch with the leaseholders at the Aylesbury. This essay is dedicated to Beverley Robinson, who instigated the formation of the Aylesbury Leaseholders Action Group, and whose courage and stamina in defending her home in Southwark has been an inspiration to me. Despite the fact that the Secretary of State did not confirm the CPO, Southwark has started demolition of one of the blocks. And on their second attempt, Southwark won the right to a judicial review. The case will be heard at the Royal Courts of Justice on 9 May 2017.<sup>75</sup>

## Epilogue

On 25 April 2017 Southwark Council produced a press release with the heading: ‘Secretary of State overturns previous decision regarding Aylesbury estate compulsory purchase order’.<sup>76</sup> The reason the Secretary of State did this was not reported in the article, which instead stated that ‘Since the Secretary of State’s Decision Letter dated 16 September 2016 the council has continued to make further better offers to leaseholders.’<sup>77</sup> But in fact Southwark had hired a Barrister to ‘argue[d] on case law’ that the Secretary of State had not provided full reasoning behind a specific aspect of his decision not to grant the CPO. This aspect related to the fact that after the Public Inquiry ended Southwark decided to drop their policy of requiring that ‘all of a leaseholder’s savings, less £16,000, would be required from them, if they wanted a new home on a shared-ownership or shared equity basis.’<sup>78</sup> The Secretary of State had actually taken this policy change into account,<sup>79</sup> but as the 35% Campaign reported ‘he conceded the appeal on this ground alone, a fact he made clear in the consent order’: The 35% Campaign continued:

The leaseholders and interested parties have now somewhat reluctantly signed the Consent Order to quash the decision. To do otherwise would have required further legal fees and layed ourselves open to potentially ruinous cost orders. But the Consent Order also has conditions, one being that there is another full public inquiry to hear the objectors’ case and re-examine the public interest of the scheme.<sup>80</sup>

Six months on, and I've been writing a new witness statement to present orally at the Public Inquiry due to take place in January 2018. I'm still in Southwark, but a day away from moving to Kent, after having lived in London for 25 years, nine of them here. In the Inspector's report following the April 2015 Public Inquiry she questioned the displacement maps produced by Southwark Notes, noting that they only showed the people who had left the area, not those who had stayed. She also pointed out the lack of substantive evidence provided to indicate 'whether those who moved out of the area did so due to preference rather than necessity'.<sup>81</sup> As a resident who is leaving the area because she no longer wishes to be a Southwark leaseholder, but who will continue to offer help to those who want to stay, I find that the distinction between moving and being moved, displacing and being displaced is not as clear as I once thought. There is also displacing oneself to consider.

When I began my site-writing practice, it was in response to art works, and later in relation to architecture,<sup>82</sup> but as this essay makes clear my most recent work focuses on the sites of my own life, and as such is a form of life- or live-writing, that unfolds in real time. This research is part of a larger project called *Home-Work Displacements*, composed of two strands: *Taking Work Home*, which focuses on the financialisation of the university, my work-site; and *Making Home Work*, presented here, which engages with the demolition of public housing, my home-site. Over the last few years, I have come to understand the actions of speech that I have taken in various sites – at home and at work – as interventions into existing institutional structures, performed to activate them, and so these could be considered forms of 'critical spatial practice', a term I introduced to describe works that intervene into sites in order to critique them.<sup>83</sup> I have also started to realise that site-writing can offer not only a tracing or an afterlife to more transitory forms of critical spatial practice, like acts of speech, but also a set of prompts for other actions yet to come.

## Notes

- 1 35% Campaign, 'Southwark's Mysterious Estate Renewal Zone, (23 July 2014). See <http://35percent.org/2014-07-23-mystery-objector-1301/> (accessed 14 April 2017).
- 2 See Savills Research, 'London Regeneration Research Proposal', (24 April 2014). [www.savills.co.uk/\\_news/article/72418/175241-0/4/2014/savills-research--london-regeneration-research-proposal](http://www.savills.co.uk/_news/article/72418/175241-0/4/2014/savills-research--london-regeneration-research-proposal) (accessed 14 April 2017). For specific reports see for example Savills Research, 'Spotlight, Public Land: Unearthing Potential', (Autumn 2014) <http://pdf.euro.savills.co.uk/residential---other/spotlight-public-land.pdf> (accessed 14 April 2017).
- 3 See for example, Susan Stanford Friedman, *Mappings: Feminism and the Cultural Geographies of Encounter* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998); Diane Fuss, *Identification Papers* (London: Routledge, 1995); Elizabeth Grosz, *Volatile Bodies: Toward a Corporeal Feminism* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1994); and Kaja Silverman, *The Threshold of the Visible World* (London: Routledge, 1996).
- 4 See Donna Haraway, 'Situated Knowledges: the Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Knowledge', *Feminist Studies*, v. 14, n. 3 (Fall 1988) 575–603, especially, 583–588; and Sandra Harding, *The Science Question in Feminism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press and Milton Keynes, England: Open University Press, 1986).
- 5 See for example Hal Foster's discussion of critical distance and identification in Hal Foster, *The Return of the Real: The Avant-Garde at the End of the Century* (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 2001), 223–6.
- 6 Howard Caygill, *Walter Benjamin: The Colour of Experience* (London: Routledge, 1998), 34, 64 and 79.
- 7 Gavin Butt, 'Introduction: The Paradoxes of Criticism', Gavin Butt (ed.) *After Criticism: New Responses to Art and Performance* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), 7.
- 8 Amelia Jones and Andrew Stephenson, 'Introduction', Amelia Jones and Andrew Stephenson (eds.) *Performing the Body/Performing the Text* (London: Routledge, 1999), 1–10.

- 9 My site-writing project was initiated as a mode of spatializing writing first in Jane Rendell, 'Doing it, (Un)Doing it, (Over)Doing it Yourself: Rhetorics of Architectural Abuse', In *Occupying Architecture* edited by Jonathan Hill, (London: Routledge, 1998) 229–46. I then first named it as a form of site-specific practice in Jane Rendell, 'Site-Writing'. In *Transmission: Speaking and Listening*, vol. 4, edited by Sharon Kivland, Jasper Joseph-Lester and Emma Cocker, (Sheffield: Sheffield Hallam University and Site Gallery, 2005) 169–76. I then developed it through a series of essays and texts, brought together in Jane Rendell, *Site-Writing: The Architecture of Art Criticism* (London: IB Tauris, 2010). I have also worked with 'site-writing' as a pedagogic practice since 2001 at the Bartlett School of Architecture, UCL.
- 10 This statement has been edited slightly here to fit word length requirements, and I have updated the references as many of the documents are no longer in the same place on websites, and in some case documents and websites have been removed. For the statement at the time, see 'Summary of Witness Statement of Jane Rendell', (1 May 2015). <http://crappistmartin.github.io/images/SummaryProfRendell.pdf> (accessed 14 April 2017).
- 11 See Loretta Lees, 'The Urban Injustices of New Labour's "new urban renewal" the Case of the Aylesbury Estate', (3 May 2013), accessed <https://fightfortheaylesbury.files.wordpress.com/2015/02/lees-aylesbury.pdf>. (accessed 14 April 2017). See also Ben Campkin, *Remaking London: Decline and Regeneration in Urban Culture*, (London: IB Tauris, 2013), especially 77–107, for his chapter on the Aylesbury and wider look at 'regeneration'. For work that confront the injustices of estate demolition through research and design practice, see ASH (Architects for Social Housing) <http://www.architectsforsocialhousing.co.uk>
- 12 See <http://35percent.org/>; <http://betterelephant.org/>; and <https://southwarknotes.wordpress.com/> (accessed 14 April 2017).
- 13 See Donna Haraway, op. cit. and D. Soyini Madison, *Critical Ethnography: Method, Ethics and Performance* (London: Sage Publications, 2005).
- 14 See the description of this part of the Aylesbury Estate as 'the order land', in The London Borough of Southwark, *Statement of Case made by the London Borough of Southwark Under Rule 7 of the Compulsory Purchase (Inquiries Procedure) Rules 2007*, p. 1 and throughout. See <http://35percent.org/img/STATEMENTOFCASE.pdf> (accessed 14 April 2017).
- 15 For journal articles from the 1950s, on the whole estate, see Anon., 'Alton Estate, Roehampton' in 'LCC Housing II', *The Architect and Building News*, (11 June 1958), 767–74; Anon., 'The Slab and Point Blocks of Flats on the London Country Council Roehampton Estate', *Architecture and Building* (April 1959), 129–36; and Nicolaus Pevsner, 'Roehampton: L. C. C. Housing and the Picturesque Tradition', *Architectural Review*, (July 1959) 126, 21–35. For secondary sources on Roehampton see for example Joseph Rykwert, 'Architecture', Boris Ford (ed.) *Modern Britain: The Cambridge Cultural History*, [1988] (Cambridge: The University of Cambridge, 1992), 253–77; Simon Pepper, 'Housing at Roehampton', Ford (ed.) *Modern Britain*, 279–87; and John R. Gold, *The Practice of Modernism: Modern Architects and Urban Transformation, 1954–1972* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007).
- 16 For the initial designs see, Le Corbusier et P. Jeanneret, *Oeuvre complete 1938–1946*, v. 4, publié par Willy Boesiger, architecte, Zurich (Erlenbach–Zurich: Les Editions d'Architecture Erlenbach–Zurich, 1946), 172–87. See also Le Corbusier, *The Marseilles Block*, [1950] translated by Geoffrey Sainsbury, from the French *Unité d'Habitation de Marseille* (London: The Harvill Press, 1953). For contemporary commentaries, see Alban Janson and Carsten Krohn, *Le Corbusier, Unité d'habitation, Marseilles* (London and Stuttgart: Axel Menges, 2007) and Jacques Sbriglio, *Le Corbusier: The Unité d'Habitation in Marseilles, and Rez-les-Nantes, Berlin, Briey en Foret, Firminy* (Basel, Boston, Berlin and Paris: Birkhauser Publishers and Fondation Le Corbusier, 2004).
- 17 Le Corbusier, *The Radiant City* [1933] (London: Faber and Faber, 1964), 94.
- 18 See Ginzburg, Moisei, 'Housing Complex for Employees of Narkomfin, Moscow', *Contemporary Architecture*, (1929), n. 5, 161–2 for plans and *Contemporary Architecture*, (1930), n. 5, 6–13, for photographs of the just completed building. For Catherine Cooke's translation of Moisei Ginzburg, 'Housing Complex for Employees of Narkomfin, Moscow', *Contemporary Architecture* (1929) n. 5, pp. 161–2, see Catherine Cooke (ed.), *Russian Avant-Garde Art and Architecture*, Profile 47, *Architectural Design*, v. 53, ns 5–6 (1983), 120. See also Victor Buchli, 'Moisei Ginzburg's Narkomfin Communal House in Moscow', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, (1998) v. 57, n. 2, 160–81.
- 19 See David Lewis, 'Criticism', *Sheffield*, A Special Number edited by Pat Crook, *Architectural Design*, (September 1961), 397–8; Anon., 'Housing at Park Hill and Hyde Park, Sheffield', *The Architects' Journal Information Library* (21 July 1965), 160; and Anon., 'Park Hill Development', *The Architects' Journal* (23 August 1961), 272.
- 20 See the work of Richard Baxter on the importance of the view to Aylesbury residents. See Richard Baxter, QMUL, and Mark Davidson, Clark University, 'The Violence of Urban Regeneration:

- Home and Place Unmaking in the Gentrification of the Aylesbury Estate', (April 2015) and Richard Baxter, 'The High-Rise Home: Practices of Verticality on the Aylesbury Estate' (March 2017), *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 41 (2), 334–352.
- 21 Savills Research, 'London Regeneration Research Proposal', (24 April 2014, see [www.savills.co.uk/\\_news/article/72418/175241-0/4/2014/savills-research--london-regeneration-research-proposal](http://www.savills.co.uk/_news/article/72418/175241-0/4/2014/savills-research--london-regeneration-research-proposal) (accessed 19 December).
  - 22 Eric Pickles, 'Foreword' to Savills Research, 'London Regeneration Research Proposal', (24 April 2014). <http://pdf.savills.com/documents/Foreword%20by%20Community%20Secretary,%20Eric%20Pickles%20and%20the%20regeneration%20research%20proposal.pdf> (accessed 19 December 2017).
  - 23 See the report by Nicholas Boys Smith and Alex Morton, 'Create Streets: Not just Multi-Storey Estates', (January 2013). See [www.bl.uk/britishlibrary/~media/bl/global/social-welfare/pdfs/non-secure/c/r/e/create-streets-not-just-multistorey-estates.pdf](http://www.bl.uk/britishlibrary/~media/bl/global/social-welfare/pdfs/non-secure/c/r/e/create-streets-not-just-multistorey-estates.pdf) (accessed 19 December 2017). See also Create Streets, 'Why aren't we building more streets?' (October 2013). See <http://dev.createstreets.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/Why-arent-we-building-more-streets.pdf> (accessed 19 December 2017) and Create Streets, 'Better Regeneration' (March 2014). See <http://dev.createstreets.com/employees/better-regeneration/> (accessed 19 December 2017). See also Savills, Research Report to the Cabinet Office, 'Completing London's Streets: How the Regeneration and Intensification of Housing Estates Could Increase London's Supply of Homes and Benefit Residents,' (7 January 2016). See <http://pdf.euro.savills.co.uk/uk/residential---other/completing-london-s-streets-080116.pdf> (accessed 19 December 2017).
  - 24 See for example Baxter, 'The High-Rise Home'.
  - 25 See The London Borough of Southwark, *Statement of Case made by the London Borough of Southwark under Rule 7 of the Compulsory Purchase (Inquiries Procedure) Rules 2007*, 4, para. 1.11.
  - 26 The Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, *Compulsory Purchase and the Crichel Down Rules* (2004), 7, para. 17. See [www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/472726/151027\\_Updated\\_guidance\\_for\\_publication\\_FINAL2.pdf](http://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/472726/151027_Updated_guidance_for_publication_FINAL2.pdf) (19 December 2017).
  - 27 European Court of Human Rights, *Protocol of the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms* (1952), Article 1, 31. See [www.echr.coe.int/Documents/Convention\\_ENG.pdf](http://www.echr.coe.int/Documents/Convention_ENG.pdf) (19 December 2017).
  - 28 The Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, op. cit., 7, para. 17. See [www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/472726/151027\\_Updated\\_guidance\\_for\\_publication\\_FINAL2.pdf](http://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/472726/151027_Updated_guidance_for_publication_FINAL2.pdf) (19 December 2017).
  - 29 See The London Borough of Southwark, op. cit., 8–9, para. 5.2.
  - 30 See Alan Conisbee and Associates, *Aylesbury Estate: Robustness Considerations to Inform Risk Assessments*, (10 March 2005), job no. 050041. Obtained from Southwark Council under FOI 493517.
  - 31 Southwark Council, *Southwark's Objection Statement Version 2 – ALG Statement of Case Updated pdf*, (24 April 2015), 21, points 2.04–2.06.
  - 32 See Southwark Council, *Equalities Impact Assessment for Aylesbury Area Action Plan* (January 2009), 8. This is no longer available on Southwark's website. See [https://southwarknotes.files.wordpress.com/2009/12/equalities\\_impact\\_assessment1.pdf](https://southwarknotes.files.wordpress.com/2009/12/equalities_impact_assessment1.pdf) (19 December 2017).
  - 33 Southwark Council, *Revitalise: Aylesbury Area Action Plan* (January 2010), 4. See [www.2.southwark.gov.uk/download/downloads/id/13132/aylesbury\\_area\\_action\\_plan\\_2010\\_inc\\_appendices](http://www.2.southwark.gov.uk/download/downloads/id/13132/aylesbury_area_action_plan_2010_inc_appendices) (accessed 19 December 2017).
  - 34 See [www.whatdotheyknow.com/request/216037/response/534726/attach/html/2/Freedom%20of%20Information%20request%20response%20for%20405721.pdf.html](http://www.whatdotheyknow.com/request/216037/response/534726/attach/html/2/Freedom%20of%20Information%20request%20response%20for%20405721.pdf.html) (accessed 19 December 2017).
  - 35 See [www.whatdotheyknow.com/request/216037/response/543034/attach/html/3/lbsouthwark%20cbarfield%2025%2007%202014%202011%2004%2032.pdf.html](http://www.whatdotheyknow.com/request/216037/response/543034/attach/html/3/lbsouthwark%20cbarfield%2025%2007%202014%202011%2004%2032.pdf.html) (accessed 19 December 2017).
  - 36 For a mapping of the displacement of tenants and leaseholders from Southwark's Heygate Estate, see the article by Loretta Lees, Just Space, and SNAG (Southwark Notes Archives Group) 'The Social Cleansing of Council Estates in London', Ben Campkin, David Roberts and Rebecca Ross (eds). *Regeneration Realities: Urban Pamphleteer*, n. 2, (2014), 6–11.
  - 37 See 35% CAMPAIGN, 'The Heygate Diaspora', (8 June 2013). See <http://35percent.org/2013-06-08-the-heygate-diaspora/> (accessed 19 December 2017).
  - 38 The London Assembly's Housing Committee, 'Knock it Down or Do it Up?' (12 February 2015). See [www.insidehousing.co.uk/journals/2015/02/11/t/u/j/KnockItDownorDoItUp.pdf](http://www.insidehousing.co.uk/journals/2015/02/11/t/u/j/KnockItDownorDoItUp.pdf) (19 December 2017).

- 39 See Southwark Council, *Equalities Impact Assessment for Aylesbury Area Action Plan* (January 2009), 5. See [https://southwarknotes.files.wordpress.com/2009/12/equalities\\_impact\\_assessment1.pdf](https://southwarknotes.files.wordpress.com/2009/12/equalities_impact_assessment1.pdf) (19 December 2017).
- 40 See the zoning of this development where Aylesbury leaseholders are being offered shared ownership deals. See [www.camberwellfields.com/the-development/site-plan](http://www.camberwellfields.com/the-development/site-plan) (accessed 22 July 2016). This website has been removed, and I was unable to locate the zoning diagram on the replacement website. See [www.nhhg.org.uk/residents/](http://www.nhhg.org.uk/residents/) (19 December 2017).
- 41 See Lees, 'The Urban Injustices of New Labour's "new urban renewal".'
- 42 Southwark Council, *Revitalise: Aylesbury Area Action Plan* (January 2010). See [www.southwark.gov.uk/assets/attach/1647/Aylesbury%20AAP%202010.pdf](http://www.southwark.gov.uk/assets/attach/1647/Aylesbury%20AAP%202010.pdf) (accessed 14 April 2017).
- 43 Under an FOI, 502731, I requested to see a copy of the Partnership Agreement between Notting Hill Housing Trust and London Borough of Southwark. The letter I received on 3 March 2015 in response to my request stated: 'Your request has been dealt under the Environmental Information Regulations 2004. In response to it we have enclosed a redacted version of *copy of the Partnership Agreement between Notting Hill Housing Trust and London Borough of Southwark*.'
- 44 See Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958).
- 45 'A tribunal of inquiry is an official review of events or actions ordered by a government body in Common Law countries such as the United Kingdom, Ireland, Australia or Canada. A public inquiry accepts evidence and conducts its hearings in a more public forum and focuses on a more specific occurrence. Interested members of the public and organisations may not only make (written) evidential submissions as is the case with most inquiries, but also listen to oral evidence given by other parties.' See [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Public\\_inquiry#United\\_Kingdom](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Public_inquiry#United_Kingdom) (accessed 19 December 2017).
- 46 J. L. Austin, *How to do Things with Words: The William James Lectures delivered at Harvard University in 1955* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), 6.
- 47 See for example, <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/speech-acts/> (19 December 2017).
- 48 Austin, *op. cit.*, 120. See also Judith Butler, *Excitable Speech: A Politics of the Performative* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 21–2.
- 49 See <http://moderngov.southwark.gov.uk/CeListDocuments.aspx?CommitteeId=118&MeetingId=986&DF=27/09/2005&Ver=2> (accessed 19 December 2019).
- 50 Southwark Council, 'Council Policy for Rehousing Tenants/Homeowners on Regeneration Schemes', (26 September 2006), para 14. See Appendix 3: 'Comparison between Current and Proposed Policy'. See also Appendix 1: 'Current Policy for rehousing tenants/homeowners on regeneration schemes as agreed December 2002' and Appendix 2: 'Proposed Policy for Rehousing Tenants/Homeowners on Regeneration Schemes'. See <http://moderngov.southwark.gov.uk/Data/Executive/20060926/Agenda/Item%2014%20-%20Council%20policy%20for%20rehousing%20tenants-homeowners%20on%20regeneration%20schemes.pdf> (accessed 19 December 2017).
- 51 See Southwark Council, 'Rehousing of Tenants and Homeowners for the Aylesbury Estate Regeneration Programme', (26 September 2006), para 45. <http://moderngov.southwark.gov.uk/Data/Executive/20060926/Agenda/Item%2014%20-%20Council%20policy%20for%20rehousing%20tenants-homeowners%20on%20regeneration%20schemes.pdf> (accessed 19 December 2017).
- 52 *Ibid.*
- 53 Gérard Genette, 'Figures', *Figures of Literary Discourse* [1967–70], translated by Alan Sheridan (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1982), 45–60, 47.
- 54 *Ibid.*, 48.
- 55 *Ibid.*, 48–9.
- 56 *Ibid.*, 49.
- 57 *Ibid.*
- 58 Marie Rose Logan, "'Ut Figura Poiesis": The Work of Gérard Genette', in Gérard Genette, *Figures of Literary Discourse*, translated by Alan Sheridan (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1982), vii–xix, pp. viii–ix.
- 59 *Ibid.*, ix.
- 60 *Ibid.*
- 61 *Ibid.*
- 62 *Ibid.*

- 63 See for example, Stephen Morgan of Landmark Chambers, 'High Courts Planning Challenges Seminar: Frustrating Regeneration Schemes – Recent High Court Challenges to Compulsory Purchase Orders' (October 2008). see [www.landmarkchambers.co.uk/userfiles/documents/resources/3.4\\_High\\_Court\\_Challenges\\_to\\_CPOs.pdf](http://www.landmarkchambers.co.uk/userfiles/documents/resources/3.4_High_Court_Challenges_to_CPOs.pdf) (accessed 19 December 2017).
- 64 This evidence was drawn upon for the following news article, Keith Cooper, 'Assessing Aylesbury: What's the True Cost of Demolishing Council Estates?' *Architects Journal*, (19 November 2015). [www.architectsjournal.co.uk/news/assessing-aylesbury-whats-the-true-cost-of-demolishing-council-estates/8692267.fullarticle](http://www.architectsjournal.co.uk/news/assessing-aylesbury-whats-the-true-cost-of-demolishing-council-estates/8692267.fullarticle) (accessed 14 April 2017). See also my own commentary: Jane Rendell, 'Reflections on the Outcome of the Public Inquiry into the Aylesbury Estate Compulsory Purchase Order,' <https://architectforsocialhousing.wordpress.com/2016/09/27/reflections-on-the-outcome-of-the-public-inquiry-into-the-aylesbury-estate-compulsory-purchase-order/> (accessed 19 December 2017).
- 65 Michel Foucault, *Discourse and Truth: the Problematization of Parrhesia*, n. p. Six Lectures given by Michel Foucault at the University of California at Berkeley, October–November 1983, edited by J. Pearson, 1999. See [http://foucault.info/system/files/pdf/DiscourseAndTruth\\_MichelFoucault\\_1983\\_0.pdf](http://foucault.info/system/files/pdf/DiscourseAndTruth_MichelFoucault_1983_0.pdf) (accessed 14 April 2017).
- 66 Ibid.
- 67 See for example, Paul Watt, 'Housing Stock Transfers, Regeneration and State-Led Gentrification in London', *Urban Policy and Research*, v. 27, n. 3 (2009), 229–42.
- 68 For the letter from Sajid Javid, the Secretary of State for the Department of Communities and Local Government (DCLG), see [http://35percent.org/img/Decision\\_Letter\\_Final.pdf](http://35percent.org/img/Decision_Letter_Final.pdf) (accessed 19 December 2017). For the Inspector's report, Lesley Coffey, 'CPO Report to the Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government', (29 January 2016), see <http://35percent.org/img/inspectorsreport.pdf> (accessed 19 December 2017). For an overall commentary, see 35% Campaign, 'Victory for the Aylesbury Leaseholders: Government Blocks Compulsory Purchase Order', (18 September 2016), see <http://35percent.org/2016-09-18-aylesbury-compulsory-purchase-order-rejected/> (accessed 19 December 2017). For a critique, see Architects for Social Housing (ASH), 'Financial Compensation for Human Rights' (17 September 2016), see [architectforsocialhousing.wordpress.com/2016/09/17/financial-compensation-for-human-rights-the-aylesbury-estate/](http://architectforsocialhousing.wordpress.com/2016/09/17/financial-compensation-for-human-rights-the-aylesbury-estate/) (accessed 19 December 2017). See also Kevin Rawlinson, 'Government Blocks Plan to Force Out London Estate Residents', *The Guardian*, (16 September 2016), see [www.theguardian.com/society/2016/sep/16/government-blocks-controversial-plan-to-force-out-housing-estate-residents](http://www.theguardian.com/society/2016/sep/16/government-blocks-controversial-plan-to-force-out-housing-estate-residents) (accessed 19 December 2017).) and Ella Braidwood, 'Aylesbury Estate CPO Ruling: What went wrong?', *The Architects' Journal*, (26 September 2016), see [www.architectsjournal.co.uk/news/aylesbury-estate-cpo-ruling-what-went-wrong/10012171.article](http://www.architectsjournal.co.uk/news/aylesbury-estate-cpo-ruling-what-went-wrong/10012171.article) (accessed 19 December 2017).
- 69 See 35% Campaign, 'Victory for the Aylesbury Leaseholders: Government Blocks Compulsory Purchase Order'.
- 70 Luke Barratt, 'Southwark Bid for Aylesbury Judicial Review Rejected', *Inside Housing*, (22 December 2016), see [www.insidehousing.co.uk/news/news/southwark-bid-for-aylesbury-judicial-review-rejected-49003](http://www.insidehousing.co.uk/news/news/southwark-bid-for-aylesbury-judicial-review-rejected-49003) (accessed 19 December 2017).
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- 73 Braidotti, *Transpositions*, 90.
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- 76 Southwark Council, 'Secretary of State Overturns Previous Decision Regarding Aylesbury Estate Compulsory Purchase Order', (25 April 2017), see [www.southwark.gov.uk/news/2017/apr/secretary-of-state-overturns-previous-decision-regarding-aylesbury-estate-compulsory-purchase-order](http://www.southwark.gov.uk/news/2017/apr/secretary-of-state-overturns-previous-decision-regarding-aylesbury-estate-compulsory-purchase-order) (accessed 19 December 2017).

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- 81 Lesley Coffey, op. cit., para 348.
- 82 See Rendell, *Site-Writing* and Jane Rendell, *The Architecture of Psychoanalysis: Spaces of Transition* (London: IB Tauris, 2017).
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